“WHAT THIS COUNTRY REALLY NEEDS . . .”

A STORY OF AN AMERICAN VICE PRESIDENT:

THOMAS R. MARSHALL

by

JOHN EUGENE BROWN

Introduction by

Birch Bayh, United States Senate (1963 - 1981)
What this country needs is a good five-cent cigar!"

Thomas R. Marshall, Vice President (d. 1925)

"What this country needs is more Tom Marshal1s!"

Will Rogers, humorist (d. 1935)
to the memory of

two gentle men of Columbia City, Indiana

George William Myers (1897-1977),
beloved friend, who introduced me to T.R.M.

and

Ralph F. Gates (1893-1978),
faithful Hoosier who emulated him
through his own governorship
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FOREWORD

By Birch Bayh
United States Senate (1963-1981)

History, in one of its many improbable turns, has relegated the name of Thomas Riley Marshall to quiet obscurity. When remembered at all, the former Hoosier Governor and two-term Vice-President of the United States is recalled as merely being the man who uttered the immortal line about America and a good five cent cigar. The earthy Marshall would undoubtedly not resent his peculiar position in American history. But it would be most regrettable for students of history to neglect the life and career of a man who presided over, and was personally involved in, one of the greatest periods of American history.

Thomas Marshall was a public servant in the finest sense of the word. Sincere, loyal, and unpretentious, Marshall served as a highly effective progressive Governor of Indiana from 1909 until his inauguration as Vice-President. Accepting the duties of the Vice-Presidency, Marshall remained quietly in the background presiding over, coaxing, and gently cajoling the United States Senate into acting on President Wilson's historic "New Freedom" program. He summarized his duty to the President simply:

I believe it to be my duty to obey not only the orders but the requests of my chief, and the only thing I got out of my loyalty was to be called by some people, an idiot, and by others, fool. Whether idiot or fool, I have the consolation of knowing that I kept my faith and my loyalty.
Marshall's credo of faith and loyalty was put to its sternest test during one of the most critical periods of American history. Woodrow Wilson, exhausted by his debilitating struggle for the League of Nations, suffered a series of strokes in 1919 which left him semi-invalid. The Constitution of the United States was ambiguous on the procedure to follow in the case of Presidential disability, stating only that, "In case of the removal or the President from Office, or his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President . . ."

Given the ambiguity of the Constitutional language, the question of who would govern the nation depended chiefly on the actions taken by Marshall and the President's Cabinet.

Characteristically, Thomas Marshall responded to the President's illness with dogged loyalty. Devoid of any personal ambition, Marshall declared that he would assume the powers of the Presidency only if Congress, Mrs. Wilson, and the President's personal physician agreed.

His condition slightly improved, Woodrow Wilson lingered on in office for the rest of his term. The serious question of Presidential succession and disability remained unresolved for nearly fifty years after that. The twenty-fifth amendment, ratified by the states in 1967, finally established on orderly procedure in the case of Presidential disability--a recognition that unlike the America of 1919, modern America could not withstand weeks of doubt and uncertainty surrounding the Office of the President of the United States. For like the five-cent cigar he so loved, the simple slow-paced America of
Thomas Marshall is no longer with us. The twenty-fifth amendment which I authored is a response to the nuclear age of today.

But to prepare for the future we must draw upon the lessons of the past. Although he is rarely remembered, Thomas Marshall played a leading role in the most serious Constitutional crisis of this country. It is gratifying to see that through Dr. Brown’s extensive research and highly informative volume, Thomas Riley Marshall has finally received the historical recognition he so richly deserves.

Birch Bayh

United States Senate, 1963-1981
**Prologue**

The reporter knocked three quick times on the office door next to the Senate chamber. He paused, wasn't sure he heard a voice, and knocked again. From within, someone shouted, "Come in." He turned the handle firmly, opened the door, and saw the Vice President sitting at his small, rectangular wooden desk. The short, white-haired, white-mustached man appeared subdued but expectant. His visitor couldn't tell whether he was interrupting the man. The newspaperman had come there with unusual urgency. Despite his considerable experience in meeting public figures, he now wanted his words to say exactly what he meant to say.

A Washington reporter for the *Baltimore Sun*, Fred Essary seldom roved with the Senate, and never around the Vice President. He was a Wilson man, assigned to report on the words and deeds of the President. Now, he was a messenger with an announcement about the man mysteriously secluded in the White House.

"Mr. Marshall," he began, "the President's secretary asked me to inform you that Mr. Wilson could have a third stroke and die anytime . . .! Mr. Marshall?"

The sixty-five-year-old gentleman made no comment. His head was bowed as though he were in a trance.

Essary, standing at the front of the desk, repeated with effort: "Mr. Marshall, don't you understand? President Wilson's condition is very serious. You may suddenly become President of the United States!"

Still no response.
Frustrated, the reporter turned and went toward the door. As he opened it, he heard Marshall mumble something like, "I'm sorry I can't help you." What did that mean? Essary closed the door politely and hurriedly left the building. He had tried his best. God only knew what was to become of the Government.

The visitor was unaware that he had given Thomas Marshall the greatest shock of his life. The Vice President sat dumbfounded upon hearing the reporter's terse words: You may suddenly become President of the United States. The stress of the situation had reached its utmost. Days of waiting for some word, some real news of the President's condition--and now it was his time to act. One can fantasize what one will or will not do in a crisis, but cannot know with certainty his actual behavior or decision until it comes. Tom Marshall was now at that point.

How distant the time seemed when he first arrived in Washington, he reflected, although it had been only six and a half years. How different the mood in the Capitol now from the rauous campaign days of 1912, and four years before that the excitement of his race to become governor of Indiana. Nobody could take that victory from him, not even Tom Taggart!

His mind kept going back in time as if in defense against the stark affront of Essary's announcement. The Vice President envisioned himself in a more innocent day: as a nine-year-old boy, Tommy, sitting alongside his grandfather on the front porch of his home in rural Pierceton, Indiana, in 1863, a half-century earlier.
The nine-year-old boy sat still on the front porch of the family home in Pierceiton, en-\n\ntranced with the old man's tales of earlier days. Tommy, named after both his grand-\nfather Riley and his great-grandfather Thomas Marshall of Virginia, capitalized on the \nelderly gentleman's patience and pleasure in relating the past. The lad had heard some of \nit before, even lived part of it. Riley Marshall seemed important to the boy's understanding of himself, who he was, what he would become.

I

The family's American experience began just before the Revolution when three English brothers arrived in the New World under the British flag. John and Samuel settled in Maryland, while great-grandfather Thomas moved about in Virginia, looking for a proper place in which to live and raise his family of three sons. Harriet Oliver Marshall was a good helpmate to Thomas as they worked together to develop the fertile farmland in the center of the state. i

Colonial Virginia in the 1790's was enjoying a steady progress in agriculture, commerce, and land speculation. Enterprising farmers were buying Africans and using them on their farms. Thomas Marshall owned no more than a handful of slaves, a symbol
of rural prosperity and, for the more fortunate, part of English life in America. More than
two out of five were of African descent in the area. Slavery had become profitable and
appropriate to the economy and psychology of Virginian existence.

After a while Thomas became disenchanted with his Bedford County farm next to
the Blue Ridge Mountains. Farmers in nearby Liberty were complaining about the soil
getting bad from their planting tobacco so much. They passed on glowing news about the
vast wilderness beyond the mountains and about getting wealthy through investing in
new land with real estate speculators such as the Greenbriar Company of western
Virginia. That was the answer to his discontent: move west.

While the young nation was being guided by the Washington Federalists, the
pioneers of the period were clearing trails and moving westward, away from the populous
coastline. The Marshall family with belongings and slaves left Liberty and worked their
way along the James River as it cut across the Appalachian range to the western side and
into a river valley. There Thomas found what he had been looking for, a new land -- few
people, guarded at first, but friendly. Besides white folk he found Indians as neighbors,
content with peaceful trade arrangements. In time the area would be named Greenbriar
County.

Transplanted Virginia farmers had few slaves. While it was a mark of social
status to be a master, not all people were persuaded of its propriety. Thomas was
questioning slavery as a moral issue when news came of the action of John Randolph, a
former neighbor from Roanoke and the foremost citizen of that area. Marshall admired
the Virginia statesman's independent spirit even to the point of freeing his own few slaves
when he heard that Randolph was doing so. Thomas' three sons were divided on this
issue of bondage of Africans. It was one more reason for the young men to go their separate ways. Alexander departed for Kentucky, while Samuel acted quickly by taking "a colored boy and girl and a team of mules" off to the Missouri territory before the slaves had been told they were free.² Riley, opposed to owning other human beings, bade his parents good-bye and moved northwest into Ohio. While in Highland County he courted and married Elizabeth Cravens and in 1819 took his bride into the new state of Indiana. Within the next twenty years they brought forth ten children, four girls and six boys.³

Tommy watched his grandfather strain to recall from sixty-six years of life what happened where and at what time. Riley relished the boy's attentiveness. He knew his grandson wouldn't understand everything he told him about the past half century, though he was living during the most exciting part of it with the War of the Rebellion into its third year.

Riley Marshall was as much a pioneer in the new world as any who had preceded him in two hundred years. Men such as he could buy eighty acres of farm land for only a hundred dollars, clear it of heavy timber, plant crops, and raise a family. In time Riley sold his land in Randolph County and bought eighty more acres, northwest, in nearby Grant County. The little boy listened to his grandfather's adventure of taking forty bushels of wheat in an old Conestoga wagon from Marion to Fort Wayne, some fifty miles in three days. For his labors he was paid one barrel of salt.⁴

For twenty years Riley Marshall and his growing family lived in Grant County, moving four times -- always to a larger acreage and a more substantial house. With energy and dedication he served his east central Indiana community as county clerk,
auditor, and recorder. In time, Grant county became a rich oil and gas belt. Seizing the chance to make good money Riley sold his land. "His neighbors said he was rich as a prince and he didn't deny the allegation," recalled a grandson. In 1849 he decided to move nearby to the undeveloped Miami County in the north central region of the state. With money from the sale of his farm he bought a dry goods store in the village of Lagro, a few miles east of Wabash City, northwest of Grant. His oldest remaining son, William, helped in the store while the younger brothers and sisters learned their lessons in school. The family grew smaller as daughters and sons married and moved away.

It had required only a little thinking for him to decide to gravitate westward. Riley's attention was diverted toward Kansas where land was said to be as cheap as dirt. Two of his daughters had married and were living near Osawatomie, and that seemed a sound place to buy land for further speculation. By 1849 his third child, Daniel--Tommy's father--had read medicine in the office of a local physician, taken the three-year course and graduated from Rush Medical College in Chicago, and returned to Indiana to claim a bride.5

II

The young woman who became the bride of Daniel Marshall had been born in Pennsylvania. Her parents subsequently moved across the Allegheny mountains into Ohio country and settled around Lexington near Mansfield. Martha Patterson traced her ancestry to educated ministers and professors and even to Charles Carroll of Maryland, one of the Founding Fathers. By the time Martha met Daniel while visiting at the Marion, Indiana, home of a sister, her parents had died. It was not difficult for Daniel to
persuade her to become his bride. With his medical education behind him he was ready to become a country doctor. Following their marriage in Piqua, Ohio, in 1849, Daniel and Martha chose the village of North Manchester, Indiana, as the place in which to begin life together.\textsuperscript{6}

Younger than her husband by six years, Martha settled confidently into the role of doctor’s wife. Her one and-a-half story white frame house on Main Street was surrounded by a white picket fence, erected to keep out wandering animals and chickens.\textsuperscript{7} Her devotion to Daniel was surpassed only by her deep religious faith, handed down by Scots-Irish parents. Martha Patterson Marshall was a Presbyterian, and even Daniel's backwoods Methodism could not erase her Calvinistic sense of destiny which she would pass on to her son.

Martha was twenty years old when she married Daniel. Her first child, a girl, died in infancy, and then a son, Tommy, was born on 14 March 1854. He proved to be a healthy baby, but his mother would have no more children. Now twenty-five, she was having trouble breathing and Daniel became concerned that he might lose her as he had his little daughter.Shortly thereafter, Martha became dangerously ill with tuberculosis. Daniel hoped a change of climate might help her. Living in the open air of the western plains might make a difference.

The boy Tommy was nearly three years old when he and his parents moved westward in a covered wagon. Daniel's father, sisters, and youngest brother, Woodson, were in Kansas, but two other brothers had gone no farther than Illinois. Sam and Ezra had decided to operate a dry goods store in Champaign; they were there when Daniel and
his family arrived in 1857. For a time Daniel practiced medicine while his brothers made their living in the center of town.\textsuperscript{8}

Throughout the year 1858, a great controversy on slavery was being debated around the state by the two rivals for the soon-to-be vacant seat in the United States Senate. On the 27th day of August, Democratic Senator Stephen A. Douglas and Republican Representative Abraham Lincoln met at the town of Freeport to continue their second of seven debates, one that would be crucial in defining their respective positions. Daniel Marshall was already persuaded that Douglas's position of popular sovereignty made a lot of sense: let the people decide whether they wanted their new state to be free or slave. Daniel’s little boy might learn something from seeing those two politicians in action. It was a considerable distance for father and son to travel to the northwestern part of Illinois --over 150 miles--but it was worth it for both of them. They got front row positions. Something about the boy attracted the politicians at the podium, and at one point in the debate they invited him to the platform. Tommy sat on the lap of each speaker while the other spoke. He recalled that one was "tall and ungainly," the other "small and animated." Later, to his father's question the boy replied, "I liked the tall man."\textsuperscript{9}

III

Martha's health was not improving. Her son remembered, "... For two years [we] lived practically in the open, on the prairies around Urbana." Dr. Marshall perceived that his wife's condition was worsening. After the election results revealed that
Douglas had beaten Lincoln, the Marshall family decided to join grandfather Riley and the others in Kansas.

By late 1858 Kansas had become "a dark and bloody ground" with guerrilla bands intimidating persons and families of different political persuasion. Four-year-old Tommy was old enough to understand that living in Kansas was full of excitement and danger. He remembered seeing "John Brown, surrounded by a few of his misguided followers. Of course, I know nothing about it and, of course, I remember nothing about him, still I have it impressed upon my mind that he had an eye with 'a fine frenzy rolling.'"\(^{10}\)

Dr. Marshall's views on popular sovereignty caused him harassment. Some of the citizenry did not agree that a majority of the population in a territory should determine whether that new state would become slave or free. Unpopular with both pro-slavery and anti-Douglas advocates, the physician found few friends and patients.

The family did not stay long in Kansas but moved in their covered wagon to the Mississippi river town of LaGrange, Missouri, early in 1859. It was a small town in Lewis County, across the river from Quincy, Illinois. The townspeople included descendants of Scots-Irish ancestry, and surrounding counties had such names as Knox and Scotland. Daniel's Uncle Samuel had been residing there for some time with his wife, Hannah, and two daughters, Caledonia (aged 22) and Elizabeth (aged 18). A son, Silas, operated a general store and apothecary shop. Within a year Daniel had established his reputation there as a physician and surgeon. He was 37 years old, had a two-story cottage worth a thousand dollars, and felt that he had finally found a community in which to settle. Martha's health was improving in LaGrange's higher altitude and climate.
Tommy, too, had cousins to play with, especially Lizzie (Elizabeth). For a year and a half the Marshalls lived secure in LaGrange.\footnote{11}

As in Kansas, there were heated discussions about whether Missouri was to be slave or free. Prominent among local pro-slavery supporters were the Green brothers, Martin and James. Martin was an enthusiastic advocate of the Southern cause and eventually became a Confederate brigadier general in the War between the States. James after the War entered politics, subsequently to serve three terms as United States Representative and one as Senator. Dr. Marshall's outspoken defense of Douglas's views got him embroiled with the Greens, who were supporting Vice President John Breckinridge of Kentucky in the 1860 presidential race. Daniel's cousins and uncle feared that something drastic might happen to the young doctor. Martin Green had threatened Daniel unless he left the area. Tom later remembered that it was "Duff" Green who had gotten extremely angry when one day Daniel told him that within six months he, Green, would be leading a revolt against the national government. For Green this was an unforgivable and damnable charge. Perhaps Daniel suspected that he had gone too far in his offending remarks. His cousins were convinced of it.\footnote{12}

At sundown that same day the father, mother, and their little boy were guided out of town by the Marshall boys just before Green's guerrillas arrived at their house and destroyed everything they could find. Daniel drove the wagon fast down to the river dock to get his family into the ferry boat. Tommy never forgot the setting sun as he sat on the boat sailing across to Quincy. His small eyes watered as he thought about "a little girl playmate" whom he would never see again. His father silently reflected that they had lost their home but not their lives. They were still together, determined to start anew
back in Indiana. On the sixth of November, the day Lincoln was elected President, the Marshalls disembarked from the train at Warsaw, now the home of Daniel's brother, Woodson. After a brief reunion the refugees settled a few miles from Warsaw in the village of Pierceton.\(^{13}\)

IV

Within a year Daniel's father, Riley, returned to Indiana from Kansas with almost empty pockets. Southern sympathizers and pro-slavery extremists had succeeded in chasing out of their territory anyone who did not agree with their position. Riley had to leave his possessions behind except the memory of it all. There was no alternative for this once successful land speculator. With Woodson and his family not far away there was yet precious time to spend with two families and two sets of grandchildren.\(^{14}\)

Daniel had no trouble in starting a new medical practice. Pierceton had nearly a thousand people and several small industries, including a wheelbarrow factory. Tommy occasionally went with his father on house calls or overheard secret conferences between him and his patients. With short-cut hair and ears that stuck out sideways the lad resembled a prankish elf. He was filled with a boyish curiosity about life. "I well remember, as a boy," he wrote in his Recollections, "looking through a microscope into the abdomen of a dead man and seeing all sorts of squirming worms." With Dr. Marshall 's medical office in one part of the house on Main Street, the boy witnessed an increasing procession of patients who always seemed to be there at lunchtime! Mrs. Marshall felt compelled to provide a meal for such ill-timed persons. Aided by her cook and her maid,
she let her son help now and then by gathering and storing kindling for the kitchen stove.15

As Tommy grew older, he learned more about the land of his birth, Indiana. The state was not quite half a century old, yet it had been a part of the national history almost from the beginning: "The land of the Indians," where Hoosiers lived and imperiously pushed the Red Man into pockets of conformity. It was the land of Tecumseh and the Prophet, of Little Turtle, of the Miamis and the Delawares. Pioneers entered from the East, altering the population patterns, whether they were Virginians and Carolinians emigrating into the southern part of the state or "Buckeyes" and Pennsylvania “Dutch” entering the northern half. 16

Even the village of Pierceton was not immune to the world. With other youngsters Tommy learned the language of the streets, which occasionally got him into "considerable trouble." During the early ’sixties he listened to other boys share tales of horror about the “War of the Rebellion” fought hundreds of miles to the south. Indiana boys fighting in the War were returning home but not as victors. "It was not long," he recalled, "until I began to see plain pine caskets taken off the train, weeping women and wailing children, and for the first time I think I realized what life and death and war really meant." The boy's mother indoctrinated his mind and morality with study sessions on the Bible and on the Presbyterian catechism. As Tommy read about the battles of conquest in the Old Testament, his imagination switched to the current encounters of North and South. He heard his father and grandfather complain of the suspicion of neighbors who could not understand how Democrats could be trusted to be loyal to the Union cause.
Yet, Riley Marshall's offspring were among those fighting for the preservation of the Union.\textsuperscript{17}

To his cousin, Elizabeth, nine-year-old Tommy shared his concern for his kinsmen in the war-torn Missouri. On 16 March 1863 he penned a delightful letter from his home in Pierceton, Indiana:

Dear Cousian Lizzie:

I thought I would write you a few lines to get a invitation to your wedding. We received a letter from there stating that you and Callie [Caledonia] were both going to get married—we would like when you and Callie get married to make us a visit. Ma says when you get married if you get a Major she will feed you on potliquer im claking [clerking] for Uncle Ezra. I get one Dollar per week. I suppose you have heard of the sad news of Grandfathers Death Pa has written and written and has Recieved no Answer we supposed theat there was some thing the matter that you did not write. I am at Exchange of Currencies in my Arithmetic I believe I have told you all the news as you are going to be married. Ma & Pa send their love to all.

I remain your aff Cousian

Thomas Marshall

Caledonia, the older sister was about to be married, and the boy seemed impressed that his cousin Lizzie was contemplating marriage. Times were changing. Life did not want to stay put. Tommy sensed it. Grandfather Riley was now dead. The boy would miss the colorful old pioneer.\textsuperscript{18}

Tom attended public school in Pierceton and, later, in Warsaw (primary through eighth grades). Dr. Marshall boarded his son at the home of his brother Woodson in Warsaw while the boy studied for part of a year there in secondary school. For one additional year of schooling Tommy lived in Fort Wayne, the largest city in northeastern Indiana, thirty miles from his parent's home. Daniel wanted his son to have a superior
education. Tom studied the classics, science, mathematics, history, and rhetoric. His essays included topics such as "Our Boat Is Launched but Where Is the Shore?", "Are Men Great Independent of Circumstances?", and "All Is Not Gold that Glitters." In the latter essay (dated 4 December 1868) the fourteen-year-old warned his fellow students to discern the false from the true:

Young men starting forth upon the stormy and intricate paths of a profession, on a commercial life, should always be on the lookout for men unprincipled in their designs who would not hesitate one moment by intrigue and fraud to pass upon them something, which in their old age, when they have acquired better judgment, they would discover to be counterfeit.

These words would have bold meaning for him in his later legal and political life.¹⁹

V

Tom was a mature fifteen years old when he entered Wabash College in Crawfordsville, forty miles northwest of Indianapolis. His mother tried to coax him into studying for the Christian ministry. He did not feel "called to preach" and, true to his faith, could not enter such a vocation without some directive from Above. He never appeared to have had money problems; his father provided for his room, board, books, and tuition. The youth took seriously the opportunity to learn about life and to become an educated man.²⁰

Certain professors at Wabash impressed Tom by their dedication and their desire to give their best to the students who sat under them. Caleb Mills, professor of Greek, persuaded Marshall of the importance of reading the classics and the New Testament in their original language. His mathematics teacher, John L. Campbell, was fond of the Pirceton boy and wanted him as his assistant in a project after graduation. By then,
however, Tom's mind was set upon the profession of law. He believed he could not yield three years to be the private secretary of the Commissioner of the 1876 Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia. He realized years later that he may have made a mistake in refusing an opportunity filled with promising experiences in that big eastern city.21

The liberal arts were not the only subjects he learned. Marshall's class in military science was taught by Colonel H. B. Carrington, a veteran of the war just concluded. The course included drilling and mock artillery exercises that at times proved too demanding and too ridiculous to college boys who had not gone to school to become soldiers. One day they "mutinied" and were summoned to appear before the faculty to explain why they had placed the College's cannon and caissons on the Big Four Railroad track at the edge of the campus. The students agreed among themselves that a persuasive argument and an artful arguer were their most pressing need. They chose Tom Marshall to plead their case.

Looking directly at the panel with intense gray eyes and standing erect to communicate confidence in his cause, Tom was bold and to the point. His father had sent him to college to become mature, not to act like an army mule. If the faculty did not agree, he and the rest of the boys were ready to leave school without the sheepskin. He proved persuasive: the mutiny was successful. Years later he reminisced, "So far as I have been able to ascertain, no man in the crowd distinguished himself at San Juan Hill, in the artillery, by the training he obtained at Wabash College."22

On another occasion a female lecturer appeared at Wabash and, while lecturing with the students, allegedly “played footsies" with the boys under the table. Marshall wrote an article on the incident for the new college paper, The Geyser. The woman was
furious when she learned of the story and sued everyone connected with the newspaper for $20,000. Since he had written the article, Tom was delegated by the newspaper staff to go to Indianapolis to the law office of Benjamin Harrison (later President of the United States) to request counsel. The portly Harrison advised the young man that he would have to secure evidence regarding the woman's character to persuade a court of law of the veracity of his position. Harrison agreed to take the case gratis and Henry Ward Beecher, by now a famous New York clergyman, was willing with others to testify to his knowledge of the lady's dubious character when she had lived in New York. Such a witness was enough to cause her to withdraw her case. It was a hard-taught lesson for the collegians never to charge anyone with wrongdoing unless they had solid evidence and good reason.23

College life was not all play, but the young man enjoyed learning. The course work was traditional: philosophy, science, Christianity, Greek, German, rhetoric, and military science. Tom felt that he was good at putting "things in a manner that seemed to please those who listened to what I said." He enjoyed most the debating society: it gave him opportunity to apply all of the history that he had been assigned to read by such authors as Guizot, Grotus, and Gibbons; Hume and Macauley; and Rollins, d'Aubigne, and Bancroft.

He listened to his professors' lectures, analyzed President Tuttle's Sunday afternoon speeches, and spent Saturdays at the county courthouse watching the lawyers in action. His experiences with his fraternity brothers of Phi Gamma Delta added to his enjoyment of his college days.
Tom was well liked. His fellow students respected him for his wit, intelligence, and liveliness, and he coveted the closeness of a few good friends. The class history recorded that "his height is 5' 2 1/2", his weight 128#, his hair nearly black and his eyes gray. He is a good scholar, excelling as a linguist. His ready command of language makes him a pleasant speaker and writer."

Almost the youngest graduate among the twenty-one who in 1873 received their diplomas, written in the traditional Latin, Tom Marshall was ready to take on the world. The question was, where should he begin? 24
Experienced lawyers advised their young friend that he would do better reading law in the office of a practicing attorney than in attending law school. Tom had seen impressive, experienced men in action before the courts in his college town of Crawfordsville -- Thomas Hendricks, Joseph McDonald, and Benjamin Harrison: men who eventually became Governor, Senator, and President, respectively. Law schools were just in their embryo. Go to a small town, they advised. Study law there for several years before you try the big city.¹

By the time he graduated from college in 1873, Marshall decided to follow their advice and work for a practicing country lawyer. His hometown of Pierceton and surroundings was too small in population to support an attorney. Lawyers practiced in county seats. Since Warsaw (in Kosciusko County) was where his Uncle Woodson practiced law, Tom accepted to work in his law office for a time.

Nearby Whitley County was an equally active community with a population of over three thousand people. Columbia City, the county seat, was located some twenty miles west of Fort Wayne on the Pittsburgh Road. The heart of the town was the courthouse square with its businesses, banks, cafes, and dry goods stores situated roundabout. Traveling salesmen stayed at the Centenniel Hotel and frequented Daniel Myers’ restaurant nearby. Jacob Steinfeld, A. L. Sandmyer, and James Washburn
competed with each other by providing dry goods to the public, though Steinfeld had an edge by including hardware and clothing among his goods. Competition indeed was the order of the day with a diversity of attorneys, architects, dentists, and physicians attesting to the phenomenon of a growing midwestern town. Dr. Marshall had lately moved there with his wife and opened an office upstairs in the Feist building. In short order their son, Tom, followed from Warsaw and moved in with them at their new residence on the corner of Van Buren and Cherry.\(^2\)

I

Adam Hooper was the most respected lawyer in Whitley County, and his reputation extended beyond the county line. He had been a Congressman in both Houses, and was still in his prime, 48 years old. With Walter Olds, a promising young lawyer from Ohio, as partner the firm of Hooper and Olds was as good as one might find. Olds' wife was a distant cousin of Tom's mother, Martha, a kinship which must have influenced the young man's attitude toward his new legal mentors.\(^3\)

For a year and a half Tom worked as a clerk for the two men, researching, writing, listening, observing. He found the reading of law delightful. He felt at home in the community as he got well acquainted with all kinds of people who lived or had business there. More people were moving into the state from Ohio and Pennsylvania and from farther east. Civil and criminal cases accordingly increased in number and complexity. Thirty years earlier there had been only two or three resident lawyers (most lived in Fort Wayne). New lawyers were now moving into the community: Krider,
Zollars, and O'Rourke. Columbia City was not standing still in its march toward maturity.

Neither was Tom Marshall. He felt ready to try his wings as a fledgling lawyer. He had learned about rural law practice, about the people, and about himself. Within a month of the sudden death of Adam Hooper, Marshall took the oath of fealty to the constitutions of his nation and state and to the profession. Walter Olds attested to his moral character, and on 26 April 1875, he was appointed an attorney of the Whitley County Circuit Court. He was now on his own professionally.

Competition for legal work was keen. People had to have time to see and hear this young attorney before they would trust him with their legal problems. Moral support and a little publicity now and then were provided by Eli Brown, editor of the Democratic Columbia City Post. The Wednesday newspaper was avowedly partisan, describing itself as being “devoted to the advocacy of the principles of the Democratic party and to general and local news.” A close friend of Daniel Marshall, Eli Brown offered Tom a desk in his editorial room. His help was a great boost. The Civil War had ended only ten years before and considerable animosity existed between many Republicans and Democrats. Marshall knew this. His early clients were usually Democrats, but then the majority of the voters of Whitley County were Democrats.4

The bulk of his first cases were mundane: collecting money due a client, writing a land deed, and representing a party in a divorce case. His first legal case concerned a group of townspeople dissatisfied with the proposed site of a new schoolhouse. They chose Tom Marshall to represent them. Appropriately, he went about the countryside gathering witnesses and later making an argument before the county superintendent of
schools. He knew it would be only a matter of time before he would be asked to handle "big" cases.

When the young lawyer received ten dollars as his first earnings, he spent part of it with a certain young lady in mind. From a local tailor Tom ordered a pair of "lemonade" colored pants. When they were completed some days later, he prepared to visit the lass, who lived a mile or two from the edge of town. With lemonade pants on proud and joyful legs he proceeded along the dusty road. The late April skies were clear but Tom did not notice the clouds' gradual shifting. He heard only "the nocturnal calls of the robins." The evening experience was pleasant enough, but as he readied to leave his friend's home he faced a wet earth. His lemonade pants seemed in danger of dilution. He rolled them up and stepped out into the darkness. Down the lane a few yards his feet tangled with the cuffs of his pants. He missed the trail, stepped into a ditch filled with water, and fell pants first into the mud. Sheer humiliation about his clumsiness enveloped the young man. The girl may even have seen him trip! To forget the incident he vowed, then and there, never again to wear those lemonade pants. Some memories were not pleasant.  

Tom Marshall never forgot the first time he had to present his client's position before a jury. "The world went black." The only sounds came from within himself: his "voice sounded as though it were in the neighborhood of Chicago." He was on the point of breaking down when he remembered the counsel of an experienced lawyer: "When you make your first jury argument, make it if it kills you, and see what effect it will have upon your future life." That advice gave him the courage he needed. He never again was afraid of an audience. Judge Long who heard the case was impressed. So was the editor
of the Republican **Whitley County Commercial**, writing in the 6 May 1875, issue:

"Tommy Marshall made his first legal speech before a jury on Friday night last. It is spoken of by those who heard him as an effort that would have done honor to an old practitioner. Tommy is a bright, young man, and we predict for him a useful career." By the time the Commercial appeared in its 1 July issue "Thos. R. Marshall" was included among the advertised list of lawyers doing business in the county.⁶

II

William F. McNagny was a "Buckeye" transplanted from Ohio. Born in Summit County on 19 April 1850, "Billy" grew up with no particular vocation in mind. His family moved west to Indiana where his father, Alexander, bought a farm in Whitley County. After attending common school and the Springfield Academy, he became a school teacher. He eventually discovered that the practice of law interested him more, and he quit teaching to become a railroad station agent so he would have more time to read about the legal profession. With ties to Ohio he decided to go back to Akron to read law under a friend. Following an apprenticeship he returned to Columbia City to commence his practice. Admitted to the bar in 1875, within a month he joined with James A. Campbell to open an office on the courthouse square, next to the post office.

In his relations with the public McNagny had a formal air, but he was at ease and informal with his clients. A popular orator, he was called on several times by the superintendnet of education to speak before a teachers institute or to deliver a lecture before the Larwill Lecture Association. Such contacts with the public assured McNagny an increasing opportunity for serving the legal needs of the people.⁷ Within two years of
their partnership Campbell left for greener pastures. McNagny, meanwhile, became a justice of the peace.

Billy McNagny and Tom Marshall, both lawyers and both Democrats, seemed drawn to each other temperamentally. In time, a fifth law firm operated in the Whitley County county seat as the new partnership of Marshall and McNagny. Eli Brown put their law firm name at the top of the Post's advertisement section for attorneys and wished them "a liberal share of the patronage." Though their backgrounds were different, Marshall contributed his formal education and training while McNagny added his limited experience but keen insight. The two were co-equals; Marshall's name simply came first. If there were any noticeable qualitative difference between the two men, perhaps it can be said that McNagny was a little more mature. He married quite a bit earlier than Marshall, who seemed destined to be a perpetual bachelor.8

During their first year of practice together the two men took turns working early (6:45 a.m.) and late (10:00 p.m.). They made enough in paper work -- mortgages and deeds -- to pay all of their expenses. By making themselves available to the farmers who came into town early and to others who chose to see them in the evening, they became one of the more sought after law firms. Periodically, Marshall and McNagny performed legal services for the Board of County Commissioners, another indicator of their growing reputation.9

Certain criminal cases brought public attention to the young lawyers. In a case against a minister charged with killing his wife, the prosecution had to determine what constituted the evidence against the clergyman. The accused had superficial cuts on his arms and chest resulting (according to the defense attorney) from a scuffle with an
intruder. As the prosecution lawyer, Marshall learned that during the evening of the murder there had been a slight snowfall and that no tracks were found leading to or from the house. Referring to this evidence before the jury he held, "It is possible and it is probable. They may have come in on the wing of the night, because they left no footprints!" He turned and looked at the jury for one full minute, letting his words sink in. The verdict was against the minister.

In another case a young man managed a farm but had been short in his accounts. To destroy the incriminating records he burnt down the farm home. During the fire he shot off one of his legs, claiming he had been shot by robbers in a fight to protect the property. In defending him Marshall made a dramatic defense, and then the jury went out to deliberate. "What do you think the young man will get?" he was asked. Marshall fired back, "He ought to get twenty years but I think he will be acquitted." The jurors, meanwhile, considered the defense counsel's plea that through the loss of his leg the man had already paid a frightful penalty. Marshall's plea was so persuasive, his words were so moving, that the young man was acquitted.10

In one of the most famous cases to be held in the Whitley County courthouse the young lawyers were asked to participate, Marshall for the defense, McNagny for the prosecution. The accused, Charles Butler, son of a wealthy Ohio physician, had killed his wife in an act of passion. The couple had been arguing in the home of her family in nearby Pierceton when the husband suddenly shot his wife in the shoulder and in the brain. Realizing what he had done, Butler surrendered to the sheriff but later escaped from the Columbia City jail, subsequently to be captured. To the surprise of many, Marshall refused to assist the chief defense counsel. Perhaps he did not want to be pitted
against his friend and partner. It was later said that his mother did not want her son to get mixed up defending such an atrocious criminal. If this view were true, there must have been a considerable conflict within Marshall as he sought to resolve his loyalty to his mother with his self-respect as a reputable lawyer. His way was to attend the trial as a reporter for the Chicago Times, sending out news developments in the trial every day. Butler was found guilty and eventually hanged in the courtyard of Columbia City, the first and only public execution in Whitley County.\(^{11}\)

McNagny’s professional reputation grew with his courtroom accomplishments. He was impressive but distant to people. As he grew older, McNagny often wore a Prince Albert coat with a silk handkerchief wrapped around his neck. Compared to his partner, McNagny was an old-fashioned type, rather sober, who had "come up the hard way." Marshall had a college education, appeared less reserved than McNagny, and possessed a more social temperament. Marshall's personality radiated to others on the street. He often had a grin, a cigar, a cane, and a new joke. Tom Marshall's natural humor derived from the obvious pleasure he received in dealing with other human beings. A son of McNagny recalled how his father's partner could use the local dialects to humorous advantage. One such incident occurred not far from Columbia City.

During the 1880's and 1890's when railroads were being built throughout the midwest and companies were hiring the new immigrant labor, there was a section of track being laid south of the Eel River in an area called Fiddler's Green. Among the Irish workers was a fellow named Timothy Kelly. Marshall, driving his horse and buggy through the countryside, saw Timothy in a field digging a ditch. The attorney stopped, tied his horse to a fence, and walked through the field toward Kelly, getting mud and
muck over his boot heels with each step. "Oh, Mr. Marshall, it shames me to have you wastin' your time on me--with all your honors and letters after your name!"

"How long have you been doing this, Tim?"

"Oh, some forty years."

"Kneel down, Tim," Marshall commanded. With the man in front of him the lawyer raised his right arm to heaven and proclaimed, "I confer upon you the degree Doctor of Ditches." Henceforth for ever after, Tim would sign his name "Timothy Kelly, D.D."12

III

Marshall found a variety of cultural interests in the community, among them the Presbyterian church in Columbia City. An earnest supporter of his church, he derived his inspiration early from his mother. With characteristic humor he noted that being a Presbyterian "does not necessarily make a good man, but it makes a religious one." While he shared his mother's faith, he did not maintain a pious posture in his human relations. He knew his Bible "from kiver to kiver" and quoted profusely from it in the many speeches he gave throughout upstate Indiana, but his was a religion of the intellect. His emotional attachment was to his Calvinistic mother, not to any predestinarian God.

His father was respectful of religion, but Daniel had other interests which his son admired. Daniel Marshall was preeminently a dedicated country doctor. In the Columbia City Post of March 16, 1877, a letter to the editor extolled the generosity of that physician for coming to help two sick girls and not requiring any remuneration. Marshall had his father in mind when years later he characterized the country doctor as one who chose to
put up with "the awful roads, the inhospitable houses that were called homes, the lack of furnaces, bathrooms, hot water, electricity, gas; mud everywhere; cracks in the houses everywhere; children waking in the morning with their blankets covered with snow; huge fireplaces, where you roasted on one side and froze on the other." Obviously he had accompanied his father on many errands of mercy while growing up.13

Perhaps Tom Marshall was more like his father than his mother as he found so many interests and avenues for his talents. He became secretary of the county's Democratic central committee after being out of college for only three years, and was intimately involved in the county politics of that presidential election year, 1876. That same year he was elected to the board of directors of the Whitley County Joint Stock Agricultural Association. His civic interest centered for a time in helping to raise money for the building of a county library. His personal business interests included the county directorate of the New York, Fort Wayne, and Chicago Railroad. Within two more years he had become a stockholder in the Harper Buggy Company. At one point he was elected a school trustee. Noted an editorial writer: "The Honorable Thomas Riley Marshall is a bachelor, but he has always manifested considerable interest in our schools."14 Perhaps because of his outgoing personality as much as his abilities Marshall did very well for himself in business, in community activities, and subsequently in politics. It was in the hemisphere of the heart that he had unhappy experiences.

IV

Billy McNagny had kidded him about wanting Katie Hooper for her two million dollars, but Tom knew better. He had met her at Adam Hooper's home when he first
arrived at Columbia City five years earlier. She was sixteen then. She interested him and must have felt he had something to offer.

Their relationship grew deeper from the good times shared in Philadelphia at the Centennial celebration (1876), away from the eyes and ears of their mothers who went along to chaperone. Within the next two years they saw each other more frequently. When Katie agreed to marry him, he was the happiest man in the world. With the wedding date set Katie made several trips by train to Indianapolis to buy all of the appropriate finery and invitations and particulars young women dream about. Her girlfriends got into the spirit of the occasion by buying new feathered hats and new dresses with tuck ornamented in silk braid and arranged in stylish designs. It would be a grand wedding.

And then abruptly, unexpectedly, Katherine, a lovely young woman of only twenty-one, died on the day before the wedding, 21 September 1878. Tom did not know that she had tuberculosis. Of all the things that interest a young man, none measures up to the attraction of the beloved. When Katie died, something vital within him seemed to expire.15

With all of his successes made insignificant by this personal tragedy, he depended increasingly upon alcohol to drown his sorrow or to give him imagined support. For all of twenty years (1878 - 1898) Tom Marshall beat a slow but steady path toward alcoholism. He was at times an embarrassment to his father, who was active in local temperance activities. Tom could talk about temperance, but he became an increasingly unlikely orator for that cause. To newly married Jewish friends he proposed a toast to their health in "the double distilled dew of heaven." Outwardly he gave the appearance
of a likable and sociable friend, but the memory of Katie Hooper must have pained him deeply even as he wished joy to his friends following their nuptial ceremony. He kept within himself his sorrow, but developed the habit of taking a drink more than he used to in order to fortify himself against the awareness of her death and the reality of his loneliness.

As he recovered from the first shocks of his grief, Marshall became known again as an eligible bachelor. By the fall of 1881, three years after the death of Katie, he was writing to Violet Casner, a young lady who had caught his attention. Her sister, Clarindas, was married to a Columbia City physician, Dr. Isaih E. Lawrence. The couple resided in a large frame house with a spacious L-shaped porch fronting on the west side of Chauncey Street. The imposing structure was on the way between Marshall's home on Jefferson Street and his office one block south. The twenty-seven-year-old bachelor would hardly ignore the sight of a young lady seated properly but conspicuously upon the porch of the Lawrence "mansion." In time the two met and became acquainted in company with the Lawrences, playing cards with them or sitting together alone on the porch swing.

In the fall of 1881 she went to visit her family in Ohio. In anticipation of her return Marshall penned these lines: "My dear Ma'm'selle Violet, the gray matter in my brain is getting so heavy that I feel it absolutely necessary to write you, in order to lessen the weight . . . . You observe that your absence has wrought a wonderful change in me."

He poured out his feelings; he confessed his ardor. "All last week I watched the Lawrence mansion in hopes of hearing from you." No word. He even asked the postal clerk if there was any letter. Still no word. He vowed he would go to Clarindas, as if
seeing her would relieve his longing. "I am going to see your sister," he wrote to Violet. "I long for a clove. I want to sit & look upon that greasy euchre deck & curse. I want to pull down the blinds. I want to lean my head against the wall, and imagine I hear your sister swear."

He was not only lonely and longing; he was jealous. Violet was planning to have her picture taken by a young photographer, Tom Brown. She promised she would give Marshall a picture. He reminded her of this and admonished, "See to it that while he puts carmine on your photograph he does not bring the ruby to your cheeks by his soft nothings. I have bought me a pair of green goggles & have sworn to wear them whenever a painter is around so that I can hate, perfectly, your utterly attentive Mr. Brown."

She finally sent her photograph, two weeks before Christmas. The promise of her returning to Columbia City from her Ohio home was almost enough to provoke him into asking a serious question. Jim McDonald was a local pastor, and this fact would not have escaped Violet's attention. Marshall wrote her immediately upon receiving her picture by mail.

December 13, 1881

La Belle Violet:

For two days it has been raining, and I had begun to think the world was going to the "Venetian bow wows," then the express messenger causes a change to come over the spirit of my dreams. He was a stub & twish boy with a turned up nose, freckled face & shilling sugar hair, and yet when he left he was more to me than Ganymede.

I know that violets are accustomed to spring up in odd places & at odd times; but, I never knew before that a December rain would
bring them out . . .

If it were possible, you are several feet taller this morning to my estimation. Believe me, I did not think you would ever send me your photograph. I had no more confidence in your doing so than I have in the average republican.

When do you come to see your friends again? The days are so rapidly lapsing into the past that the Holy Christmastide will soon be upon us. What could be greater gifts to "a lovelorn creature" like myself than to see you arrayed in your new dress. Be kind enough to write when you are coming and on what train. I would like to creep behind the door at the depot & see you unawares. Come soon. You will no doubt create a sensation. About 14 Mesdames grande are ready to bid you to beware of me. If they don't succeed, I will prevail upon Jim McDonald to strike the fatal blow. Believe me, I am,

sincerely yours,

Tom Marshall

Violet eventually journeyed back to Columbia City to be with her sister and to see Tom. A breach was taking place, meanwhile, between Dr. Lawrence and Clarindas which did not help the relationship between Violet and Tom. A few days after Christmas, when Violet was expecting to be taken to a concert, Tom sent a note which told her that a business meeting in Warsaw would prevent their being together. He still seemed interested in her for he enclosed a poem, "And Have You Quite Forgot Me, Dear?" No more letters passed between them, apparently. Violet never married. Her sister subsequently was divorced from Dr. Lawrence, who gave her the house to live in. With Violet living with her sister (and with other brothers and sisters in the area) the Casner clan seemed complete unto themselves. Tom must have felt rejection. He had only his mother to turn to.16

Martha Marshall had not mellowed with old age. She was a "gossipy, spiteful-tongued old lady" who on occasion interfered with her son's professional work. Marshall
had to contend with his growing public image as a ladies' man and a son of a crabby old woman. The more socially accepted people of Columbia City did not always receive him well because of his playboy activities.\(^{17}\)

Tom's father had a different reputation in the community. Even though a Democrat, in Republican eyes Daniel was an honest man and a universally respected country doctor. While his son had the facial features of his mother, Tom inherited his father's qualities of humor, earthiness, and political conviction. Daniel was not as rigid in his ways as Martha. He was more like a counselor, "the man who knew your peculiarities, your idiosyncrasies and your life." On 22 October 1893, a year after Daniel died of tuberculosis, his son participated in the dedication of a new church building to which he gave in memory of his father a large stained-glass window. At the dedication service he said, "We need and the world needs a broader charity and yet a narrower path of life. See to it," he admonished the officers of the congregation, "that this is God's church, not man's."\(^{19}\)

Not all of Marshall's legal work was in Columbia City. Often he had to journey to surrounding communities to conduct his business: to Warsaw, Huntington, and Fort Wayne. One case required him as a journeyman judge to make periodic visits to Angola, county seat of Steuben County in the northeastern corner of the state. William E. Kimsey had been county clerk for some time in that Republican-dominated area, assisted by his daughter, Lois Irene, who had just completed a year of study in business at Tri-State Normal College in Angola. Judge Marshall entered the clerk's office now and then, but she gave him no thought as a potential beau. He had noticed her, though.
It was around the middle of the summer that a local attorney approached "Lo" (for so her friends called her), saying that he had a beau for her. A quizzical smile widened her lips. She learned that Tom Marshall had been eyeing her. She considered him an older married man. No, her friend corrected, an old bachelor. Her willingness to meet Marshall formally on the steps of the courthouse propelled the attorney to report back to his friend the Judge.20

Tom Marshall began his whirlwind courtship immediately. He dated Lois frequently. Buggy rides over the low hills and around the tri-lake area of Steuben County became a favorite pastime. After a ride they would return to town and sit on the porch of the South Street home of her friend, Ina Craig Emerson, where Lois was lodging.21

Martha Marshall had died of cancer early in December, 1894. Almost ten months to the day later Thomas Riley Marshall married Lois Irene Kimsey at her father's home in Salem Centre, near Angola. In his wife were those qualities which he had admired in his mother: a quiet regalness, a tested confidence, and an attractive personality. He was forty-one years old. For Marshall the pretty twenty-three-year-old lass seemed to be the one who could fill the voids in his life. He needed Lois as he had needed his mother. He adored them both and years later dedicated his Recollections "to the two women who were uninjured in the Fall of Eden."

But if they were so pure and adorable, he did not feel himself to be so unstained. His periodic bad language, his easy inclination to anger, and his drinking problem contributed to make him feel uneasy in the presence of those he most admired.

He had to be honest with Lois. Before he proposed marriage, he told her about his predilection to liquor, which had been more frequently used lately since the deaths of
his mother and father. He told her about Katie, who had been dead almost twenty years. Lois thought she could help him overcome his weakness. She found the task overwhelming.

Following a speedy courtship of three months and a wedding trip of two weeks' length, Tom Marshall escorted his bride into a picturesque white Victorian home on west Jefferson Street in Columbia City. Entering through the front door, centered on a porch that stretched from one side of the house to the other, Lois found a parlor on her right and a library on her left. In the library were windows with leaded glass designs around them, similar to the glass in the front door. The light shining through these windows onto the floor revealed variously shaped pieces and varieties of wood beautifully designed. The stairway was not ostentatious: it stood in the center of the hallway, leading upwards at two right angles to the master bedroom on the left with its own tub and toilet and to three other bedrooms, for guests and for a cleaning maid and a cooking maid. It was a fine home for a new bride. It would be even finer, reasoned the master of the house, after improvements to the basement and the front of the house.

It was fun being married to a prominent country lawyer, Lois reflected. Especially if he were as funny as Tom Marshall. A bachelor could wear what he wanted when he wanted. Since he had business out in the country one morning, Marshall found nothing amiss in putting on high boots. As he donned his boots with his young bride looking on, he heard a snicker. She tried to cover her amusement by stuffing her mouth with her handkerchief. Lois found the high boots on her small statured man quite funny. He soon figured out the reason for her giggles and threw away his boots in disgust.
He liked her to help him into his shirt in the morning and to select an appropriate tie. First, she had to cure him of wearing the kind of tie that slid on the shirt button, making tying unnecessary. For Tom it was a more pleasurable experience to have his pretty bride button his collar and tie his necktie.

She seemed not to mind his smoking cigars or occasionally a pipe. She could not abide by his habit of chewing tobacco and, even more, of his pretending he wasn't chewing. Their family stories included a dream she had in which she discovered exactly which pocket of his pants had a plug of tobacco. When she awoke, to test her dream she reached for the pocket and uncovered the "incriminating evidence." Marshall joked, "Since then I've actually been afraid to do anything I knew I shouldn't. I've been absolutely certain she'd dream all about it!"22

A newcomer to the community, Lois came to know a number of the prominent families: the Walter J. Tyrees who lived next door; the Eli Browns across the street; the wives of McNagny and Clugston; and certain close friends, Mrs. S. F. Pontius, Mrs. Robert Hudson, and Mrs. Andrew A. Adams. With no effort she was on the social ladder.

After little more than a year of marriage Tom Marshall was "50 per cent up and 50 per cent down, physically." His drinking problem was becoming noticed in the courtroom. He continued to practice law but with increasing difficulty. People were talking. Lois was contemplating divorce unless he did something soon. He lost weight--down to 101 pounds -- and experienced "sciatica, dyspepsia, and malaria, intermittently." Marshall became desperate. He did not want to lose Lois, and he had to find a cure. In time he sent for drugs from an Illinois "Institute" and under medical supervision Mrs.
Marshall secluded herself with her husband in the upstairs back bedroom for two weeks and helped him through his alcoholic illness.

In a 1910 interview Marshall mentioned his illness but never indicated that the cause was alcoholism. He jokingly expressed, "Once, after a lively run of typhoid fever, I broke all adult records in the neighborhood by balancing the beams of the scales at eighty-eight pounds scant. I doctored for years with regulars, specialists, old women and quacks, and then bought a fifty-cent bottle of medicine and was cured." One suspects that the medicine from Illinois cost more than one half-dollar, as it was used towards curing him of his alcoholism. It was a tremendous victory. The public only observed that Tom Marshall did not drink anymore. They did not know how or why, but Lois Marshall did and she vowed not to tell anyone.23

There was one additional development in this period of Marshall's life. For many months Lois had tried her best to dissuade her husband from drink. Her pleadings would have been insufficient had it not been for the sense of impenitence he was harboring in thinking how he had shamed his mother. She had wanted him to be a minister of the Gospel, but he had refused her. Many years later, after Marshall's cold turkey cure, it was learned that he had written to a college friend, a missionary in Tokyo, "telling him of his acceptance of our Lord Jesus as his personal savior and how it affected his life. This was at the time of his change of convictions . . . ." (Emphasis added.) The letter was written in 1900, symbolic of the transition from an old existence to a new beginning.24

Marshall must have experienced a religious conversion at about the same time as his victory over his alcoholic habit. He had never been as committed to the church as his mother had wished, had he become a minister. Perhaps her death and his growing guilt
over his drunkenness were factors in changing his life. What effect his cure, his conversion, his wife, and his guilt bore in these events will never be known, probably, but Tom Marshall entered a new century with changed convictions and ready to step into political life with a verve he had not had for almost twenty years.
The War between the States had challenged men to declare their political allegiances. The intolerance of a Methodist minister against Democrats had driven Daniel into the Presbyterian camp of which his wife was a member. Grandfather Riley declared that he would sooner "take a chance on Hell than on the Republican party" and remained a Virginian Democrat at heart, although both he and his sons supported the Union. Environment more than anything else influenced Tom toward becoming a Democrat. He saw himself as no different and no better than anyone else. As he grew older, he became persuaded there was only one of two main political philosophies a man could choose: democracy or autocracy. Looking at politics simplistically was the mark of the midwesterner, who was convinced that the fate of the country would be decided by either the common man or the corporate man.

While at college Tom developed his interest in party politics. For the campaign of 1872 he organized the Democratic Club of Wabash College. When gubernatorial candidate Thomas A. Hendricks visited Crawfordsville that year, Tom and the collegians escorted their hero in a downtown parade. Later, in Indianapolis, New Yorker Horace Greeley, the redoubtable presidential choice of the Democratic leadership, attempted to encourage support from Hoosiers. In enthusiastic attendance at that rally the Democratic Club, all seven or eight of them, boosted Tom Marshall onto a platform
where he gave his first political speech in public. He later considered that "it was about the crudest and most sophomoric effort that ever come from the mouth of a boy."¹

Politics had that special thrill about it, nevertheless, especially local politics. Young Marshall's "proudest moment" was his reading a poster on the county courthouse door listing his name with others who were to speak at a political rally. His political conviction, his successful legal career, and his speaking ability would work to make him eventually one of the leaders in Indiana party politics.

I

It was in the presidential election year of 1876 that Tom Marshall got involved in county politics. Barely twenty-two years old, he was elected secretary of the Whitley County Democratic Central Committee, undoubtedly through the influence of his father and Eli Brown, committee chairman.² This was the year that New York Governor Samuel J. Tilden hoped to bring a victory for the Democrats and defeat Ohio Governor Rutherford Hayes in the presidential race. Tilden was the darling of the Democrats and the Liberal Republicans for having exposed and sent to prison the Tweed ring of Tammany Hall. His running mate was Indiana Governor Thomas A. Hendricks, known for his sympathy for the South and for the resurrection of Democracy throughout the nation. Having supported Hendricks four years earlier it was obvious that the young lawyer would work to send him to Washington.

At a meeting of Democrats in Columbia City, Marshall and two other young lawyers were selected to draw up a declaration of principles for a Tilden-Hendricks Reform Club in upstate Kosciusko county. At that same meeting Tom's father, Dr.
Marshall, made "a ringing speech" on behalf of the party. His son, laboring in love for
the party, was developing his own political philosophy. He adored the image of President
Thomas Jefferson who had held aloft the virtue of the yeoman farmer and who had
warned his fellow Americans against the crafty wiles of the business interests. Marshall
accepted the populist agrarian philosophy which continued the polarity of plain American
and eastern capitalist, giving a geographic distinction to the opposing social and
economic groupings. Tom and his fellow Democrats were optimistic about victory.
Tilden was strong with nearly enough electoral votes to win the presidency.

The predicament of a Republican candidate equally strong caused both houses
of Congress to agree upon an electoral commission to decide whether Hayes or Tilden
would win. With one Republican member extra to tip the balance Hayes was proclaimed
the victor, and the Republicans got another term in the White House. The greater victory,
however, went to southern Democrats who had cooperated with Republican leaders and
won assurance that with the departure of Union troops the South would once more be
governed by southerners. Tom Marshall's people had supported the Union cause, but he
rejoiced that with a dozen years passed since the Civil War the South would once more
be governed by Democrats.

It was during this period in Marshall's life that he courted and won Katie
Hooper, and then lost her just as quickly to death. It became obvious to his friends that
he was progressively less interested in affairs of the head and of the heart. It is perhaps
with this in mind that Eli Brown recommended to Tom that he run for district prosecutor
in the 1880 election race. Here was a real challenge for a Democratic hopeful, because
the Thirty-third Judicial District (including both Whitley and Kosciusko counties)
contained more Republicans than Democrats. He had never run for public office. Here was a chance to win!

The Fourth of July celebration at the local community park was the traditional occasion for inaugurating a political campaign. Marshall chose to attend the Independence Day festivities in Warsaw rather than in Columbia City, the better to become known by voters farther away from his home. This annual gathering of townspeople and country folk was part of the excitement of politics. Tom's senses were alert to hear the crowds singing old, familiar, patriotic songs, to sit with family and friends and eat a basket dinner, and to learn which fire department would win this year's competition. He sauntered over the area to watch the grand trotting match, a balloon ascension, and the parade. Throughout the area ladies sipped lemonade while children gulped soda water and talked about the fireworks display that would excite the Indiana skies. Men smoked cigars and exchanged views on the cost of feed or on the change in the weather. This was the hometown scene that Tom never forgot. When the time came for political oratory he presented himself as best he could along with other candidates for various offices.5

The final voting tabulations did not favor Tom Marshall. Though the race was close, out of 10,617 votes he lost by seventy-two votes. It was a bitter experience for him to lose, whatever comfort he might have taken in considering that 5,023 people did vote for him. He did not give up on the political process, but he learned a lesson: he who seeks political office is sure to lose unless he is first sought for that office by the people.

Neither Marshall nor his partner, McNagny, chose to run for public office during the 1884 election campaign. Tom had experienced a series of defeats: Katie, the
abortive race for prosecutor, and Violet. He was drinking more and enjoying it less. He was still respected but there was no joy of life such as he had once known. In an address before fellow Masons in May of 1884, Marshall revealed his growing cynicism of the world: "History is the imperfect recollection of mutations. It is the It Was of the world. It is the carving upon marble, the inditing upon papyrus, the printing upon paper of the ephemeral. It is blasted hope, with withered ambitions, dead enjoyment . . . . It is not growth, it is decay. It is a skeleton, a coffin, a neglected grave." These are the words of a dejected, demoralized human being. History for Marshall was the past, and its blasted hopes offered no solace for the future. Still, one might find some small thrill in political oratory.6

One month later (in June) Tom Marshall went to the State Capital to speak before the Democratic Editorial Association of Indiana. It had been nearly ten years since he made his maiden speech before a county jury. Inside the prestigious English Opera House on the Indianapolis Circle, before men older and more experienced than he, the young man now spoke words of reassurance: "I know of no such thing as the old democracy. Like religion it never grows old. Founded upon that which is best and noblest in man they continue in perennial youth." He looked around the crowd of seasoned politicians and reporters, felt their response to his oratory, and played politics with his words: "I should but offer an insult to the gray haired men whom I see before me to-night, to the men who helped to Polk the whigs in 1848, who Pierced them in 1852, and who so successfully Bucked them, the republicans, in 1856, did I call them the old democracy . . . ." The thirty-year-old country lawyer set in bold contrast the typical Democrat and the typical Republican. Eulogizing the former, he held that the latter
"believed in packing courts and juries for party purposes and sent its soldiers into a sovereign state upon the ground of expediency." Here was a Democrat waving the bloody shirt in reverse. His audience liked what he was saying. Working within the Party, rather than running for office, seemed to Marshall to have its rewards after all.7

For the next three to four months both Marshall and McNagny worked Whitley and Kosciusko counties for the party. Dr. Marshall was eyed as a potential candidate. He was quoted as not being a candidate, though he had been frequently asked to run for office "and had just as frequently declined . . . but if his friends wanted to use his name he would abide the consequence." Daniel's close friend, Eli Brown, was being pushed as Democratic candidate for United States Senator. Thomas Hendricks was making a second try as a Vice Presidential running mate, now of Grover Cleveland of New York State. Hendricks urged all brother Democrats to get their precinct votes in to the ballot box as early as possible on election day, November 4. "Our cause is the cause of the country," he wrote in a campaign letter. The country agreed. The Democratic rooster was crowing with confidence.8

II

Grover Cleveland's administration proved hopeful for civil service reform and convincing for the Democrats over the next four years. The South became as natural to the Democracy as the protective tariff to the Republican party. Cleveland appeared strong and was supported again as Presidential candidate at the 1888 national convention in St. Louis. At home Billy McNagny was drafted as a candidate for Congress, but partisan Democrats cut him down at the state convention in Kendallville. The Post was
pushing Marshall to run for Congress, but he had no interest in the offer perhaps because his partner was a known candidate from the same district. Another lawyer friend from Columbia City, Andrew A. Adams, found the necessary votes to win a seat in the state legislature.

Marshall's partner looked better to the Indiana Democratic leaders four years later in 1892, when he ran for Congress from the Twelfth District. The Fort Wayne Journal held that McNagny "looks every inch a congressman and while he has none of the free and easy manners of the average politician, he impresses strangers favorably, holds his friends and grows in their estimation for he is a man of remarkable ability." McNagny proved victorious. Having invited fellow-lawyer "Harry" Clugston to work with Marshall, the new Congressman and his wife and two sons, Rob and Phil, went to Washington for the next two years, 1893 - 1895. During this period he served in the House and the family lived in Washington, McNagny's wife, Effie, died. From that time on he no longer was interested in remaining in the Capitol. At the next election a Republican replaced him, and he and his sons returned to Columbia City. It was McNagny who reached Washington before Marshall had achieved any far-reaching political influence. Some years later, the story is told, a young man approached McNagny, who as usual was wearing his three-quarter length coat, flowing bow tie, and black hat, and asked, "Tell me, why has Mr. Marshall gone so far?" The implication was, Why haven't you done as well? "Young man," McNagny retorted, "you just don't know your politics!"

Within the first two months of 1892, Thomas Taggart of Indianapolis became the new state chairman of the Democratic Central Committee. Having influenced
municipal and county victories in the center of the state the previous several years, at age 36 Taggart was fast becoming the top "boss" of the state Democratic machine. All who aspired to a political career would have to deal with Taggart: for him or against him. Within the next twenty years Tom Marshall and Tom Taggart would have numerous encounters. Their views on party politics were of quite different worlds. They would eventually work together because only in that way would both achieve their respective goals.\textsuperscript{10}

National politics was not centered on only two political parties at this time. In the latter years of the nineteenth century growing discontent of western and southern farmers evolved into a loose political organization known as the People's or Populist Party. The Republicans were defeated by the Democrats nationally in 1892, but the Populist platform became appealing to larger numbers of voters. Over a million Americans voted support for the Populist ticket in 1892. It was feared that by 1896 that party might gain more support than the Democrats. Not since 1860 had any third party won any electoral votes.

In the early weeks of 1896, Marshall, recently married, became the committee chairman of the Party in the Twelfth Congressional District (the northeastern part of the state) and thereby a member of the State Central Committee. The free-silver debate was considered to be the central issue of the presidential race. Citizens worried about the value and the availability of the dollar. Democrats worried about their chances of winning because the second Cleveland Administration was being blamed for the 1893 "panic" and the hard times that followed. Marshall perceived that the free-silver issue was not as vital to the interests of the plain American as was the issue of responsible
banking practices. Democrats and Populists could not beat the Republicans, who proved persuasive to the American middle class with their cautious conservatism. William Jennings Bryan was no match for William McKinley.

In 1896 and again ten years later, 1906, Marshall was encouraged to run for a seat in the United States House of Representatives. With over twenty years of experience in local and district politics Marshall had gained a reputation as a popular Democratic speaker. Voters looked forward to his Saturday night bonfire speeches prior to election day. It was natural for party professionals to see in him a potential vote-getter. Since Republican candidates had consistently been victorious from his congressional district, Marshall did not want to be another Democratic "also-ran." Furthermore, the thought of his and Mrs. Marshall's living in Washington on the limited salary of a Congressman, and thus in a "third-rate" rooming house, was abhorrent. McNagny was disgusted with his partner's decision not to run. But Marshall had only one office in mind that he would work for: the governorship of the state. He admitted this aspiration only to a favored few of his friends, especially to McNagny and Clugston at first, to make them quit pressing him to run for political office at that time. It was said in jest but the idea stuck with him.

III

Indiana politics in the first decade of the new century was heavily swayed by state Republican leaders, some of whom were nationally known: United States Senators Albert J. Beveridge and Charles W. Fairbanks (the latter becoming Theodore Roosevelt's Vice President during 1905 - 1909). The Democrats in the state, as across the nation,
were divided by the defeat of Bryan at the hands of McKinley in the 1896 election. With war erupting for a time between Spain and the United States over conditions within Cuba, and with the Republicans vocalizing imperialistic sentiments shared by many Americans the Democrats simply could not command sufficient attention from the electorate. No one, nationally or in the state of Indiana, could be raised by the Democrats to lead the party and stir the populace during this high tide of Republican prominence.

It was the era of a century ago historians called "Progressive" (c. 1896 - 1916), when reform sentiment influenced individuals to spotlight America's critical economic and social liabilities: long working hours for men, women and children; unhealthy living conditions in the large cities where newly arrived non-English-speaking immigrants gathered in ghettos; unsanitary preparation of food in the meatpacking houses; working areas where man and machine engaged in daily battles and where mechanical parts and human bones got broken and blended. Machines could be repaired; bodies often could not -- all in the name of "progress." Yet, it was not just the workers who suffered pain and humiliation. America suffered at the hands of unscrupulous businessmen, politicians, and governmental officials. Some Americans began speaking up, and out, and loud. Some who spoke were political leaders who had zest and conviction and vision.

Republican leadership in Indiana during the days of William McKinley and of Theodore Roosevelt accomplished noteworthy beginnings in reform. The General Assembly passed laws that regulated the rates charged by such businesses as building and loan associations and insurance companies. Factory and labor laws were passed to ease the plight of the working people. Bills were directed at insuring fair voting through the use of voting machines.
During the administration of Governor J. Frank Hanly (1905 - 1909), legislative effort was made to eliminate such abuses as gambling and vice, political chicanery, and railroad fee cutbacks. Hanly's private passion was prohibition, and he pressured his legislature to enact a county option law whereby the voters of a county, in contrast to those living in the town or city, would decide whether their population would support the saloon business. Typical rural Indiana folk voted "dry" and Republican while the urban citizenry voted "wet" and increasingly Democratic. The 1908 governor's race in Indiana would be decided upon the voters' attitudes toward the liquor question. Nevertheless, issues are made by forceful personalities who can touch responsive hearts by the power and art of oratory. Tom Marshall was seen by his friends as one such personality.13

Albert W. Wishard, Louis Ludlow, Andrew A. Adams, Joseph W. Adair, Andy Moynihan, and law partners McNagny and Clugston -- all of these men were of a common mind: Thomas Riley Marshall should be the Democratic candidate for Indiana governor in 1908. He had the reputation of being a friendly person, a good lawyer, an honest man, and a devoted Democrat. He had the capability to speak the mind and tongue of the people of northeastern Indiana. He surely could do the same for the rest of the state.

Wishard of Indianapolis had been a college friend of Marshall. Though a Republican, he was confident that Marshall would make an honest and capable governor and so suggested the idea to Louis Ludlow, a Washington reporter for a newspaper chain in Indiana. Ludlow knew of Marshall's growing reputation in state Democratic circles and wrote an article in the Indianapolis Star (dated 3 September 1907) depicting the
upstate lawyer as a potential candidate in the upcoming governor's race. The Secretary of the Democratic State Committee regarded Marshall as an active candidate, and in addition Lou V. Ulrey, a former state senator from Fort Wayne and a personal friend of Marshall, endorsed the Columbia City lawyer. Ulrey passed his views onto Andy Moynihan, editor of the Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette, whom Marshall affectionately dubbed as "the most loyal son who ever lived on earth."¹⁴

Supporting Columbia City lawyers (Adams, Adair, and Marshall's law partners) proceeded to work within their Twelfth Congressional District to insure him as the sole runner from that section of the state. McNagny and Clugston prepared an eight-page pamphlet on their candidate for use as a campaign tract. Marshall could not help but know of his friends' efforts to boost him, but the pamphlet his partners produced contained such fiction and flattery that Marshall assumed the costs of that production and had a janitor burn every one of the pieces. McNagny was incensed. Few people throughout the state knew Tom Marshall and if some material were not used, there was no possibility of his winning. His office secretary was working for his nomination by sending letters to newspaper editors throughout the state, asking them for their opinions of Marshall, and then relaying their replies to party propagandists for local and statewide publication. The candidate could not stand by and let his friends say about him what he felt was not true about himself. Angrily he charged, "You may write letters to your personal friends but you cannot go whooping around the state just as if I were a circus parade, a breakfast food, or a cure for smallpox!"¹⁵

Tom Marshall did little to help himself during 1907, prompting the Fort Wayne Sentinel to explain that Marshall was not a candidate in the traditional sense of
actively seeking the office, but his support was spontaneous and vocal. He was labeled "brainy, broad-minded, brilliant," knowledgeable about affairs of state and of law, and a lover of justice. By the beginning of the new year Twelfth District Democrats centering around Fort Wayne presented a resolution endorsing Marshall as the next governor.16

The Columbia City lawyer began to move into public sight and hearing. On 22 January Marshall attended a reception at Greenfield, ninety miles south of Columbia City, giving people there a chance to see and hear him. He attended other receptions and meetings. Reporters interviewed him and learned his views on running for office. He said he felt complimented by being supported in the race for governor but that he would not have time nor money to go soliciting votes from every county in the state. He hoped that supporters would honor him with their votes at the Indianapolis convention in March. In accord with his philosophy Marshall was making a point to align with no faction. His position was both moral and practical, believing that views disruptive of the party harmony and philosophy would debilitate Democratic support and in the end prove perilous at the polls.

Mark Thistlethwaite, an Indianapolis correspondent for the Fort Wayne News, wrote that anti-Taggart men were concentrating on Marshall to win. Andy Moynihan was boosting his man for the governorship and his words on Marshall were adulatory: "His private character stamps him a stainless knight of the people, his great abilities have already made him a leading man in the state, and his powerful influence for right thinking, right doing, right governing combine to make him the man needed by the people of Indiana to insure the proper administration of their affairs." One week later the Columbia City Post noted Marshall as the principal speaker at a DeKalb County political
"love feast," and added the observation that if he was not working hard to be nominated it seemed strange that he was so involved in speechmaking.  

IV

Prior to the Democratic state convention in Indianapolis at the end of March, Thomas Taggart was working to get undisputed control of the delegate votes. An Irish-born, self-made businessman who understood human psychology, Taggart was maneuvering to get Samuel Ralston enough delegates to insure winning the party nomination for governor. Anti-Taggart men, however, selected William Fogarty to be the new Democratic chairman of Marion County (Indianapolis). Fogarty was responsible for deciding disputes over delegate seats. He saw too late that Taggart’s men were playing the game by different rules.

No matter what Fogarty decided in the Marion County district convention, Taggart had gained control of the credentials committee of the state convention and thus of sixty-six delegate votes. He was again in control of the delegate votes of his own county and was pledged support by several others. Thomas Taggart had developed a strong base of support not only in Indianapolis but throughout the state from top to bottom, north to south. He was "the city boss," to use Russel Nye's expression, "never quite socially respectable, but shrewd, intelligent, expert at his business." The name of the game was patronage, a carryover from the nineteenth century spoils system where power was jealously guarded to dispense various kinds of favors to supporters. Taggart used patronage wisely and with cunning. His fame would spread and in the process so would Tom Marshall's.
It was very unusual for there to be eleven candidates for governor at a state convention. Typically, the Party had one serious candidate. Since 1860 there had been only two conventions in which there were two candidates. By voting time there were six aspirants with real delegate strength: Samuel Ralston, L. Ert. Slack, C. K. McCullough, T. M. Kuhn, C. C. Conn, and Thomas R. Marshall.19

Most delegates had no negative feeling toward Marshall because they thought he had no real chance for the nomination. Marshall's campaign manager, Andrew Adams, had worked hard to get a delegation from the home district that was unanimously for their "favorite son." Adams knew his man might not win, but he refused to release the delegates to any other candidate until given the absolute word by Marshall himself. It was inexpressibly difficult to manage a man who was not willing, before the start of the convention, to canvas the state for votes.20

The top contender among the non-Taggart candidates was Ert. Slack, leader of the Democrats in the Indiana General Assembly. Many were for Slack because they were against Taggart or because they were for temperance. Slack admired Marshall and felt that should the situation require it, he would wish his delegate votes to go to the man from the Twelfth District. Stephen Fleming, a Marshall supporter working with Andrew Adams, agreed with Slack's manager to keep him posted on the Marshall ballot strategy.21

Following the convention keynote address which was anti-Republican, anti-tariff, anti-extravagance, and anti-centralism, the 1,371 delegates proceeded to vote. Claude Bowers, a young reporter from Terra Haute, remembered Marshall drawling at his headquarters in the Grand Hotel, "I can afford to lose the nomination, I reckon, and I reckon I will, but I can’t afford to lose any friends. If the boys want me, here I am."
Marshall appeared to Bowers as a rather modest man who seemed to enjoy poking fun at himself and complimenting his opponents. His wide, gray mustache and "humorous eyes" made people glad to be around him.22

When the first ballot was taken, Ralston with the most votes got only 344 (he had expected 500). A lot of rural delegates had become disenchanted with Taggart's man. Ralston was branded. Taggart denied unpersuasively that he was personally involved in this race.

Marshall got 239 votes to Slack's 342. The country lawyer from Whitley County did not seem to be a winner, but his supporters surprised him. Periodic yells of "Rah Rah for Marshall!" carried through the convention hall. When the Twelfth District delegation was called on the roll call, as one man answered all of them arose in support of their man.

After two more ballots Slack had moved ahead of Ralston. Marshall trailed by some 267 votes. Most of the other candidates dropped out of the race. Things were not looking well for Taggart's political future and certainly not for Ralston. Some radical action had to be taken by Taggart before the next ballot, which would surely be the last. Fast thinking was called for: if Ralston could not win, Slack must not. The next highest vote-getter was Marshall. His dark horse candidacy could save Taggart's influence and keep him firmly in control of the party machine.

At Taggart's direction Ralston withdrew his votes. Small American flags had been given to all those delegates who had switched their vote to Marshall. The more votes Marshall got, the more American flags were being waved about. At the end
Marshall received 719 votes, Slack 630, and Conn 21. There is no question but that Taggart forces had helped Marshall by the time of the fifth and last ballot.  

Conciliatory remarks were made following the voting in the huge civic auditorium. Slack was quite emotional. He had had victory so close but lost it. Still, the anti-Taggart men felt that they had thoroughly defeated the Taggart forces. Taggart's men, on their part, felt that they had defeated the machine represented by Slack and his cronies.

The winner stood at the convention podium, looking at the mass of perspiring party faithfuls, It was time for Marshall to be forthright and forceful, and he was. He observed, "It has been the fortune of my life to have the bitter and the sweet strangely intermingled." He admitted that though he had just won the Democratic nomination for governor, he was a compromise winner. Nevertheless, he made it clear that he would not be compromised. "I cannot say that I am unduly exalted over this gift from your hands. I don't pride myself on being the first Democrat in Indiana. But I am not depressed, for I believe you will all take me for what I am worth." Marshall emphasized that he had no ill will towards the vanquished. In fact, he wanted the support of all the Democrats: "The good book tells us that on one occasion when there was talk about divisions among the early Christians, the great apostle urged the followers to cast aside differences and to all be for Jesus Christ. And so now I ask the Democrats of Indiana not to be for this thing or that, but to be all for the Democratic party."  

Among the cheerers no one was more exuberant nor more indefatigable a worker than Fr. Anthony Ellinger, an intimate friend of Marshall's and the pastor of St. Paul's Roman Catholic Church in Columbia City. Stephen Fleming from the Twelfth District had been
in the thick of the battle for Marshall. His Fort Wayne Brewing Company was in
competition with the Indianapolis Brewing Company, supported by Taggart. Being a
brewing man, Fleming wasn't happy about the temperance plank of the platform. His
man had won, though, and Taggart had lost. Andrew Adams was overcome with joy; he
had become a successful political campaign manager. As for Lois Marshall: "I did not
care to see Mr. Marshall nominated, but now that he has been chosen as the nominee I
naturally want to see him elected."\(^2\)
A “Wet” Democrat

March - December 1908

Following the state convention the Marshalls left Indianapolis by train for northern Indiana and home. Young James Adams was also on his way home from Wabash College for a weekend respite. Marshall invited him to sit beside them as the Vandalia chugged northward to its destinations. The older man revealed that he had just been nominated by his party for the office of state governor. Adams appeared pleased, proud to be in the Marshalls' company and to know them personally. After all, Mr. Marshall was an alumnus of his college.\textsuperscript{ii}

At dusk the train steamed into the village of South Whitley; people were standing expectantly at the depot with shouts of cheer for their returning hero. Marshall stepped to the rear platform of the train, waved and expressed a few words of appreciation, and then returned to his seat. His college friend offered, "There may be quite a demonstration for you at Columbia City." "I hardly think so," he answered.

As the locomotive slowed to a halt at the Columbia City station, whistles were blowing so vigorously that Adams thought there must be a fire nearby. Disembarking the train Tom and Lois Marshall were confronted by the Auburn band, vigorously playing a marching tune and drawing them into a parade headed up Ellsworth Street toward the courthouse square.\textsuperscript{2}
Crowds jammed Chauncey Street and thronged the courthouse lawn. Leaving the carriage and with his young wife by his side the Candidate strode into the Centennial Hotel and soon appeared at the balcony overlooking the square. His speech was brief: "My fellow citizens, I have lived among you for thirty-three years. You know the evil there is in me. You know the good there is in me. If you think I would not make a good governor, it is your duty to vote against me!" The words were to the point. The people listened intently, as though drawn by the magnetism of the man, a prophet honored by his own and hundreds of well-wishers from the northern part of the state.3

Following the speech, John W. Baker, postmaster and former editor of the Republican Commercial, spoke to the Marshalls on behalf of the three to five thousand citizens present. Baker had first met Marshall at Pierceton, and later attended the same school, Wabash College. Although a Republican, he was proud of his Democratic friend. Pointing to Marshall's wavy gray hair, Baker told the people the Republicans would take his scalp. Marshall replied loudly, "If you take my scalp, I hope you'll give it to Mr. Baker. He needs it!" After the laughter and applause, the Marshalls returned to their carriage and headed home with the band marching behind, serenading. A reporter for the South Bend Times noted that of the several candidates for the Democratic nomination for governor the one who got it did the least campaigning. For him this was a sure sign of the office seeking the man.4

I

For the next few weeks the Marshalls vacationed in Arizona where Lois' family usually went for periodic vacations. Upon his return to Indiana Tom Marshall looked
"brown as a berry" and said he never felt better in his life. His law partners were carrying on the legal responsibilities of the firm. McNagny was busy as a special judge for a case in adjoining Kosciusko County, while Clugston worked attentively in the office.

Meeting with the Democratic State Central Committee Marshall learned of the times and places of his scheduled campaign tour throughout the state. It looked simple enough on paper: about twenty communities between then and the end of August. What he did not realize was that there would be many sidestops and extemporaneous speeches required of him.5

Marshall's opponent was James E. Watson of Rushville, a Republican congressman of nominally conservative persuasion. He had a "big name" but being personally against the temperance plank he was often at cross purposes with Republican Governor Frank Hanly, an obsessive opponent of liquor interests. Nationally Watson had a bad voting record so far as organized labor was concerned. Samuel Gompers, American Federation of Labor president, urged Indiana workers to defeat the Republican candidate in the upcoming election. Even many Hoosier Republicans did not give their complete support to Watson. The party was badly divided, and a strong minority of delegates was sick that he had won the nomination. Senator Albert J. Beveridge, for example, did not trust Watson. In a letter to Chicago publisher John C. Schaeffer, Beveridge admitted that he had tried several times to develop a friendship with Watson but he always got the feeling that he could not trust him. On his part Watson believed that the way to success was through cooperation with the Republican state party machinery.6
Unfortunately for Watson he had gotten out of touch with his fellow Hoosiers. During the campaign Marshall emphasized state problems; Watson spoke primarily on national problems. The Democratic candidate interpreted the executive branch of government as literally the organ of legislative execution, whereas the Republican emphasized the leadership role of the executive branch. Marshall argued the position of local option with respect to the most heated issue of prohibition, Watson (for his party’s sake) favoring county option.7

The initial speech of Marshall’s campaign tour was given at Indianapolis. From there he traveled to Crawfordsville (the home of his college), and then to New Castle across to the east central side of the state. While there he told a large crowd that moneyed corporations press the public even as the President, Theodore Roosevelt, acts like an emperor carrying a big stick. He spoke with conviction but he also spoke in line with the current philosophy of the Democratic party nationally. Four days later found him west of Indianapolis at the town of Danville. He told his audience that he would not give a speech but would just talk, which he did for an hour and a half.

Claude Bowers, the news reporter who recently met Marshall at the state convention, followed him around the state. To him the candidate appeared as "a scrawny looking individual, dominated by a flaming red tie." Marshall’s words and ways were unorthodox and quite refreshing. He told his audiences, Bowers later reminisced, what he would do if they elected him governor. Marshall held that they probably would not like that kind of talk and would vote against him to which he added that he didn't much care if they did. He could always go back to his country law practice, "taking advantage of the idiocy of people who didn't have any more sense than to go to law instead of
settling their quarrels among themselves." Bowers saw that the crowds liked what
Marshall was saying. Here was no carbon-copy politician! Marshall's memoirs reveal
that he was "called to headquarters" to confirm or deny that he was saying such things to
the people. He admitted that it was so and was promptly informed that "that was no way
to campaign. What I ought to do was to beg them to vote for me." Marshall, however,
was wise enough to know that as the sole Democratic candidate he could say anything he
wanted to say, and so he kept on being "as utterly frank and honest as you possibly could
be."8

At Richmond on 2 June, Marshall outlined for the first time his position on
matters which had not yet been discussed by him in public. It was a keynote speech in
which he talked on two major concerns: trusts and temperance--the former a national and
economic problem and the latter a statewide and social question. Marshall was as
opposed to trusts as was President Theodore Roosevelt, but he did not agree with his
methods of trust-busting. There was a flagrant inconsistency, he noted, whereby
Republicans supported also a high protective tariff, that is, wanting Congress to charge
foreign imports at such rates to make domestic products competitive on the market. One
position worked contrary to the other, he warned.9

In the manner of Marshall's approach both to the liquor question and to Indiana
audiences one friend quoted him loosely: "There's a considerable amount of
misunderstanding about the issues in this campaign. I want to try to clear it up! You've
heard a lot about township option and county option. Mr. Watson is for county option
and I'm for township option, but I want to make it perfectly clear that we're both 'wet.'
Mr. Watson thinks that if you want to drink you ought to have to go to the next county to
get it. I think it's far enough to go to the next township!" The audience would roar with laughter.\textsuperscript{10}

Republican editorial reaction was represented by the \textit{Hamilton County Ledger}, which held that Marshall's speeches were so mild that there was little to protest. Incumbent Governor Hanly on his part was now for local option, curiously, in contrast to his party's position. He felt that the people of the township and the city wards should be given the chance to vote on whether to permit the sale of liquor within their district. Many had earlier voted that they did not want liquor sold. Since Hanly was a "dry," he felt his position to be a step in the right direction: local option over county option. Democratic reasoning in favor of the same position was quite different. If a city votes for local option, and it becomes the law, the sale of liquor is not permitted in those areas which prohibit it. This is not so if the law favors county option, because as the position was so constructed prohibition of liquor sales could be forced upon townships and cities whose citizens actually wanted liquor to be sold. The Columbia City \textit{Post}--Democratic--called the position of county option "not only thoroughly undemocratic but impractical."\textsuperscript{11}

II

As his party's candidate for governor it was appropriate for Marshall to attend the national Democratic convention at Denver in June. It was a thrill for him to visit and have a small part in the convention. He was asked to present his views to the platform committee in regard to the bank deposit guarantee plank, and to reporters he indicated his opinion that the Democratic platform was the product of that committee and not of the
prenitional candidate, William Jennings Bryan, who was reported to be overbearing in
his policy suggestions. Marshall proved to be articulate in his views, and it was fortunate
for him that he was.

John Worth Kern of Indiana was a vice presidential aspirant, and his nominating
speech was to be addressed to the Denver delegates by John E. Lamb of Terre Haute. As
fate would have it, Lamb's voice failed him and Marshall was asked to give the speech
with only fifteen minutes to prepare.

When the time came for him to speak, he faced undoubtedly his largest audience
to date. As if to spur him on, the Indiana delegation moved to the front of the convention
floor with the gallery band beside them playing "On the Banks of the Wabash." This was
a time for a happy blending of wise words and impressive oratory: "Mr. Chairman and
gentlemen of the Convention, I rise, at the instance of the Honorable John E. Lamb, of
the State of Indiana, to greet the representatives of an oft-times defeated but never
dismayed Democracy, to salute the delegates of a reunited and confident Democracy, to
hail you as the harbingers of a new springtime in the cause of the people and
Constitutional government." To the delegate voters Marshall worked his voice to exalt
his home state of Indiana: its place in the Union through sons who have served the
Democratic party: Thomas Hendricks, Joseph McDonald, and Daniel Voorhees. But
"the greatest man in Indiana" at the moment was John Worth Kern, a man skilled in
statecraft, a man of character, a knowledgeable Democrat, a proven vote-getter.
"Gentlemen, beware how you close this convention." Marshall concluded.

His was the first nominating speech for a vice-presidential aspirant, thanks to the
yielding by the Alabama delegation. Though there were a few other nominations, the
convention unanimously acclaimed Kern as the running-mate of Bryan, who was making a third attempt to capture the Presidency. An unkind interpretation, and possibly true one, was that party bosses had already decided that Kern would be named and would win a "sham battle."\textsuperscript{12}

Who knows what effect Tom Marshall had upon his hearers? In the printed Proceedings his speech does not look that distinctive, but he had, as he was wont to say, "a way with words." Claude Bowers, Tom Taggart, and Stephen Fleming all knew this, and John Kern surely appreciated it. One would think John E. Lamb would be grateful; he was to have made the speech in the first place. Marshall, within the first six months of 1908, had become something of a national figure.

III

As election day in Indiana neared, the mood of the people seemed to favor the Democratic gubernatorial candidate. An eleventh hour attempt to turn the voters away from Marshall threatened to undo the image the man had labored so hard to mold. His past, his "dirty" past, was brought forth for all to behold. By way of rebuttal the Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette headlined:

MARSHALL'S PASTOR REFUTES HELLISH FALSEHOOD

Rumors had spread about the candidate's reputation with the bottle and with the ladies. People throughout the state had written to Marshall's Presbyterian pastor wondering whether there was any truth to allegations against his character:
Was it true Marshall appeared drunk in the courtroom?

Was it true that his wife didn't trust him out of her sight?

Isn't Marshall really a hypocrite and a fanatic?

The Reverend Alexander Sutherland was appalled. He knew his parishioner very well. He knew Marshall's past and that it was no enslaver of his present. The minister could not remain silent: "Mr. Marshall is not only not a drunkard, but on the contrary is a total abstainer; a practical, consistent temperance man, yet not a hypocrite nor a fanatic. His influence and support are foremost in every moral and philanthropic movement in this city. No breath of scandal of any kind rests upon him here, but he is loved and admired by all right living, right thinking people irrespective of sect or party."

Sutherland was telling the truth. He himself was a Republican, not a Democrat. His fellow clergyman, Father Ellinger of the local Roman Catholic Church, was also close to Marshall. They were kindred spirits, and the priest endorsed the minister's sentiments against the political slander circulating about their friend.

The Presbyterian pastor was particularly angry that Lois Marshall was included in the scandalous gossip. "Mrs. Marshall has always accompanied her husband on his business trips since their marriage, and she is but continuing the custom now. Having no children, it is a matter of congeniality for them to travel together; besides she is a great support to him with her sympathy and intelligent interest in this arduous campaign. Language cannot fully portray my indignation that partisan depravity should not even spare her name." The minister went on to speak of Marshall's home, church, and community life. He was pictured as an active churchman, college trustee, thirty-third degree Mason, accomplished lawyer, and "a sterling Christian gentleman of exemplary
conduct and unblemished character." Apparently Marshall was deeply grateful to Sutherland for his words of support, but his pastor's letter to the newspapers might have backfired and brought more trouble to the candidate. Adversaries had a way of twisting statements of fact to political advantage.13

"The last Saturday of the campaign," he remembered, "Mrs. Marshall and I got up at five o'clock in the city of South Bend, managed to secure a cup of coffee and a sandwich, and took the train for Goshen where I talked for an hour. At twelve o'clock I was talking again in Middlebury; at two o'clock, in Shipshewana; at four o'clock, in the Princess Rink, in Fort Wayne, and as the midnight bells announced the ushering in of Sunday, I quit talking on the steps of the courthouse in the city of Fort Wayne. We took the train at four o'clock for home. I went to bed and knew nothing until Monday morning."

The night before the election the Marshalls' home on Jefferson Street was filled with well-wishers from around the state. A group of partisans from Fort Wayne appeared before the screen door with a "Democratic Mule" that had been a part of a parade in that city. Lois opened the door and invited them in, mule and all. “The donkey," she later remembered, “seemed to realize the importance of the occasion as he walked very sedately the whole length of the library” to where Marshall was sitting. The master of the house, for a good laugh, obliged his callers by mounting the long-eared beast. “It all seems very foolish now but then it was quite amusing,” she wrote to her historian friend, Robert Lancaster.

Elsewhere in town, Republican ladies assembled at the home of a prominent lawyer, even as a collection of Democratic ladies was preparing to celebrate the expected
victory of their candidate. An unknown, Republican female voice telephoned the Democratic women that Watson had defeated Marshall; thus ensued gloom and silence. Soon realizing that they had been tricked, the Democratic ladies conspired to have one of them telephone the Mossman home and use reverse psychology. Their spokesman, conjuring up a deep voice, informed Mrs. Mossman that Watson had been elected and the Republicans had won the entire county ticket. The Republican ladies screamed with joy, according to the account. Literally scurrying with bells on the Brand home where the Democratic ladies were thought to be gathered, the women made so much noise that for a time they did not notice that their counterparts had gone downtown to celebrate the victory of Marshall over Watson.

By then it was early Wednesday morning, the day after the election. Marshall, exhausted by the campaign, was asleep at home when his wife was telephoned by Thomas Taggart in Indianapolis with happy news: the Republicans had conceded the election in favor of her husband! She raced upstairs to her soundly sleeping husband, woke him, and revealed that he was about to become the new governor.\(^4\)

The election results showed that Marshall had won by some 14,800 votes over James Watson. The Republican Presidential candidate, William Howard Taft, carried Indiana with around 10,700 votes over Bryan. The pluralities indicated the lines drawn between people who were "wet" (favored the local or township option) and those who were "dry" (favored the county option). The offices of governor, lieutenant-governor, and superintendent of education went to Democrats, though the Republican candidate for secretary of state squeaked by with a 492 vote margin. Of thirteen new Congressmen sent to the House of Representatives eleven were Democrats.
Why did the voters come out so strongly for the Democrats? Certainly, many Hoosiers were upset by what they regarded as the asinine antics of Governor Hanly for his extreme temperance stand and his intraparty arguments with fellow Republicans. The urbanites especially were incensed with the state's control of the sale of liquor. Republican voters, while faithful to the national ticket, did not favor the control of their state party in the hands of politicians who seemed interested in their own affairs. Democratic voters were tired of voting a third time for the same national candidate, Bryan, but were encouraged to support a candidate whom they felt could beat the opposition for the top state office. Furthermore, Marshall's personality appealed to the people who heard him speak in a witty, down-to-earth, honest way. Fate may have played a part in Marshall's election. He believed so. Hoosier voters wanted him. That is certain. Not since Claude Matthews' governorship a decade earlier had the Democracy controlled the top state office. People once again had a working two-party system in their state. The people from the city were beginning to see the results of their voting power; a significant shift was occurring in Indiana society.

The victory was Marshall's. He was wanted by the people. No machine cranked him up. He did not force himself on the people (though his campaigners wished he had tried a little harder). It was nearly thirty years before, that he had run for office -- and lost. Now, he was a proven campaigner, a practiced politician.

That Monday morning, knowing now that he had won, Marshall went to his law office after an absence of a month and a half. His mail was heaped onto his desk, much of it containing campaign contributions from supporters, checks ranging in amount from five to twenty-five dollars and totaling over seven thousand dollars. As he later
explained, his political campaign cost him $3,750. He returned every single contribution to the "good Democrats" and borrowed money from a local bank in order to prevent any party from alleging that votes were bought or that he was bought by vested interests.15

As Marshall wrote in the Recollections some fifteen years later, he felt obliged to express his opinion of Thomas Taggart. (Curiously, Taggart is mentioned solely in the section following the account of Marshall's gubernatorial victory.) The diversity in the philosophy of political ways and means between himself and Taggart, as Marshall understood it, was expressed this way: "So far as I have any knowledge, there has never been the slightest personal difference between us. In matters political we have been as far apart as the poles. In making this statement it is not to be implied that I deemed myself right and him wrong. It is only the difference in viewpoint. He has believed in the power, efficiency and necessity of organization. I was never able to divorce myself from the idea that the appeal for principles should be made to the individual. I was foolish enough to think that an honest presentation of a cause to the people is enough. Perhaps he was right; perhaps I am wrong." Perhaps both were right in their way. Despite divergent philosophies they did work together. The 1908 campaign established that the people preferred Marshall's practical political philosophy. They understood what he had been talking about.16

On 1 December 1908, the law firm of Marshall, McNagny, and Clugston dissolved. Thomas Marshall was about to move to Indianapolis. Harry Clugston was dying of a pulmonary disorder. William McNagny with the aid of his two sons, Rob and Phil, continued his private practice of law in Columbia City until his death in 1923.
Governor Marshall

1909-1910

Sandwiched between the Gay ‘Nineties and the Roaring ‘Twenties the first two decades of the twentieth century had their own peculiar brands of creativity and corruption. "The age of the average American," Mark Sullivan labeled it in Our Times. Perhaps only average politicians were needed to govern the country. With all the cries for reform one would think there was a multitude of mediocre or mercenary rulers: mayors, councilmen, legislators, and governors. When he first took office as Governor, the fifty-four year old Marshall was not thought of as a politician so much as an old-fashioned country lawyer with impractical, outdated ideas about running a state. Indiana had nearly three million inhabitants scattered through 92 counties, 88 cities, and several hundred small incorporated towns. It would be a lot to govern.¹

Just as he had not accepted one cent of campaign contributions, believing it unethical to do so, the Governor-elect could not allow the state to pay for his Indianapolis residence. It would be unconstitutional. So, the Marshalls moved into leased housing during the four years in office. The move included a maid, possibly two, and a large angora cat named "Pink." Lois Marshall made a favorable mark upon the new friends and acquaintances in the State Capitol. They marveled at her youthful appearance. Now thirty-seven years old, she impressed interviewers with her "brown eyes, girlish face, sweetness of expression, ease and grace of manner [reflecting the] poise and charm of a delightful personality."²
Not since Claude Matthews' administration (1893 - 1897) had there been a Democrat in the Governor's Chair in Indiana. In fact, there had been few Democratic office holders in the state capital since that time. It looked as though Indianapolis would be bulging with office-seekers. With pontifical aplomb Marshall decreed, "Any man who says he had a promise from me, directly or indirectly, tells what is not true and if his name is given me, I will promise now that he will not get the appointment; and no appointment will be made on a man's ability as a politician, but on merit. I shall appoint Democrats, real Democrats who will give the state service for the pay they receive."

He meant what he said. Just the same, his friend and campaign manager attorney Andrew Adams ultimately got a job in Indianapolis as an appellate court judge. Dr. William King, also of Columbia City, got the position of chairman of the State Board of Health and promptly moved his family to the state capital.

The story is told of Marshall later visiting his hometown upstate and meeting an old friend, Phillip Anthes, a saloonkeeper of German stock.

"Phillip," he asked, "how's the men's club at the Presbyterian church?"

"Tom, you damn near ruined it, transferring all those people to Indianapolis!"³

Marshall's four years as governor of an agricultural state, 1909-1913, were witness to positive developments in urban growth and farming but also to political infighting and illicit activity by avaricious entrepreneurs, gamblers, and labor leaders. The common man's politician that was now his governor established his reputation as a fearless leader by risking his influence for what he genuinely believed was good for all the people. Not everyone would agree with him, including certain politicians, educators, ministers, and
fellow lawyers. His greatest battle would involve a repudiation of Indiana’s state constitution.

I

In early January, 1909, the outgoing governor, bantam-weight J. Frank Hanly, addressed the General Assembly for virtually the last time. In his own way Hanly was a reform-minded governor, as were his Republican predecessors, James A. Mount and Winfield T. Durbin. Between 1897 and Hanly's departure from office the Indiana General Assembly had passed laws on the regulating of monopolies, on the processing and sale of food and drugs, and on the legalizing of voting machines. During his tenure Hanly had overseen passage of laws on liquor traffic control and the manufacture and sale of cigarettes. In his farewell message he reviewed the State's finances and offered legislative proposals which he wanted to see enacted, including a uniform accounting law, a voter registration measure, the direct primary election, an inheritance tax, amendments to the railroad commission, and regulative laws for private banks.4

For all of his "progressive" inclinations Hanly was single-minded about the abolition of alcohol from the state and the nation. He despised anything and anyone that was not prohibition-oriented. Hanly and Marshall had exchanged strong views on each other in their campaign oratory. Though Marshall himself had long since ceased to imbibe, he was a "wet" politically and a Democrat supported by state liquor interests. Now custom required that these men sit together in the carriage ride to the inaugural ceremonies for the new governor.
The new Secretary of State, Fred A. Sims, being of calmer temperament, persuaded Hanly to telephone Marshall to invite him to ride in the governor's carriage to the ceremonies. Sims and Hanly rode to the Marshall home and while Hanly remained in the carriage Sims went to get the governor-elect. During the ride to the State House there was complete silence, Sims sitting between the two men who were looking out their own sides of the carriage. As they approached their destination, with a touch of wickedness Marshall blurted out his intent to an approve certain school bonds which Hanly had refused to sign. Sims was shocked. Hanly said quickly, "Mr. Marshall, when you are governor, you may do exactly as you please about signing the Vincennes University bonds."5

At the capital building elation and tension were felt. The Democrats were happy, but no one knew what Hanly might do or say as a final gesture. The ceremony proceedings went according to plan. Marshall took the oath of office from Frank Roby, State Appellate Court Justice, and Hanly presented him as the new governor, whereupon (as Marshall remembered) "some big Irishman in the gallery interrupted the proceedings by yelling in a stentorian voice, 'Thank God!'" The throng burst into long applause.6

Subdued, the new governor presented his inaugural address and his message to the legislature both in the same day. The recommendations that Marshall made were in the progressive tenor of the times. He favored the adoption of a uniform primary election law and the hiring of nonpartisan experts outside the state to examine the work of each state official. He asked to have personal authority to remove officials not doing their duty rather than to pursue the old and time-consuming practice of legislative impeachment. The new chief executive wanted laws to provide against the watering of
stock by corporations. He wanted insurance companies investigated in order to modernize the state's insurance department. Marshall favored widening the power of the State Board of Health and having local boards assume jurisdiction over pollution of streams and supervision of tenement maintenance. And, he wanted a new election law that would apply to candidates running for the United States Senate.

Of all his requests the creation of a State Board of Accounts to audit all the records of state and local officials was most favorably received and subsequently acted upon despite strenuous objection by the county officers' lobby. Along with these recommended legislative regulations, the Governor warned the General Assembly to walk gingerly between the extremes of paternalism and socialism. The majority of the listeners were Republicans, and for the first two years, the first session, there was little Democratic-sponsored legislation that passed.\textsuperscript{7}

The new governor began his executive duties believing that Thomas Jefferson's ideas about democracy were as timely as ever. At the midwestern Jefferson Day Dinner in April he cautioned Democrats to "remove not the ancient landmarks." Jefferson did not contend that it was the right of a powerful majority to take away the individual rights of any man. "Freedom for us is a possession and not a gift," held the Governor, "and its holding must be paid for by the sacrifice of personal desires and personal motives." Jefferson never meant to blend business with statecraft, Marshall offered. Government has no business with business as it does when it supports protective tariffs. In this situation government acts to benefit the few at the expense of the commonwealth.
With his philosophy of government spread out for all to see, Thomas Riley Marshall proceeded to "Democratize" Indiana. He felt strongly about individual initiative and at the same time believed in rule by the majority. He was not a socialist in that he would hand over private means of production to the government, but rather he saw government as steward of the people's economic and social interests. As administrator of a midwestern state Marshall began to perceive his responsibilities and political philosophy in a new light even as his champion Jefferson saw that sitting in the President's chair was far different than criticizing his opponent who preceded him for practices that he was close to adopting.8

The Hoosier State had an indebtedness due in large measure to the construction of a new State House. Governor Hanly earlier repealed a sinking fund law that would have retired the construction debt. Marshall caused the law to be reenacted. Secretary of State Sims recalled that "probably to Mr. Marshall more than any other man was due the honor of retiring Indiana's state debt." There is no question but that Marshall was intent upon economy in public administration. His "Governor's Bill" saved the taxpayers $13,600 alone by reducing the work force in the governor's office.9

Marshall's office staff contained fewer persons than did Hanly's. Lou Slagle resigned her job in Columbia City as stenographer to the Marshall, McNagny, and Clugston law firm to join the Governor's office staff. Journalist Mark Thistlethwaite was named as his private secretary. Newsmen soon began making witticisms about the young man's name. "Hith name ith Thistlethwaite. Can you thay it?" and "It is quite probable that office holders will call him 'Thistle' before six months roll around." Nevertheless, Thistlethwaite had good qualifications: a Richmond Democrat, a graduate of
Swarthmore, and a former newspaperman with experience in Philadelphia and in Indianapolis, most recently as an acting editor of the Democratic Indianapolis News.10

Another member of the staff was Bert New, among whose secretarial tasks it was to place the daily correspondence on the Governor's desk. As it happened, many letters arrived to him from women constituents and their feminine handwriting was apparent. New's practice was to separate the correspondence into male and female piles and to open only the male letters. After a few days of observing this ritual Marshall bellowed out, "Bert, open all these letters. I ain't keepin' no goddam whore!"11

Naturally the Governor did not use such language around his wife. In an interview with an Indianapolis reporter she confessed, "I never get angry and lose my temper, and Mr. Marshall -- oh! sometimes he gets awfully roiled." One suspects that Lois doted on her husband a great deal. The Governor liked cigars and she seemed to be ever ready with a match while he searched his pockets for one, after having bitten the end off of his cigar.12 They spent a lot of time together when he was not involved in official duties. They would take walks, sometimes streetcar rides, not minding what people said. Call him thrifty: he was contented. He did not keep a horse and buggy and he chose not to own an automobile, though Indiana was noted for its fledgling automobile industry.

Tom Marshall became a familiar sight on the sidewalks of downtown Indianapolis. One Hoosier noted, "You can see him almost any morning in Indianapolis, walking slowly down Market Street toward the State House. He is calm and serene and small . . . . His hair is gray and so is his mustache. His clothes are gray and so is his tie . . . . His
gray fedora hat shades his gray eyes." As if to add a little color to his life now and then, he would put on a red bow tie.\textsuperscript{13}

One well-known Indiana sport had its beginnings during his first year in office: the Indianapolis 500-mile Race. The two-and-one-half mile race course was under construction when the first scheduled event, the national balloon races, took place on 5 June 1909. Twelve balloons were entered (nine actually participated), ranging in size from 40,000 to 100,000 cubic feet. Owner-manager Carl G. Fisher and his cohorts invited the Governor to participate in the pre-race ceremonies. On the road leading to the Motor Speedway Marshall got caught in a traffic jam of cars and carriages. By the time he entered the gate the balloon race had started. The Governor did get to see Barney Oldfield make history soon after by driving his Benz around the track at an average speed to 83.2 miles per hour. Such fast driving and such dangers that existed prompted the owners later to build a paved surface on the roadway that was first composed of crushed stone and tar. 3,200,000 paving bricks later and the track was ready for another ceremony. On 17 December the Governor arrived at the track early enough to place a "gold" brick in position at the starting line. (The brick was actually a compound of bronze and brass, and not gold.)\textsuperscript{14}

Tom Marshall was a considerable contrast in appearance and temperament to his predecessor in the Governor's Chair. There was a tempered quality about the man. His physical appearance was fodder for the political cartoonists, but he who looked closely at the Governor saw a blending of serenity and nervous energy. His silvery gray hair crowned a handsomely shaped head. Deep-set and expressive, his eyes could twinkle at a
joke or glare at an error. His large eyebrows and mustache added attractiveness to a pleasant-sounding voice. He was not a large man, but there was character in his carriage.

He was different from the popular image of a state governor. The World To-Day for January, 1910, contained four brief statements by governors of certain midwestern states. Two of them held that the great need of their states was conservation of natural resources and a third deemed the issue of trust regulation to be a preeminent need. Marshall wrote that Indiana's greatest need is contentment. By that I mean that it should possess a body of citizens who are content to do a day's work for a day's wage; who are willing to pay a day's wage for a day's work; who are unwilling to shirk work and gain wages by cunning; who are unwilling by enforced employment to increase profits; who believe more in the common good than in the larger good; who would rather be buried in a pine box wet with genuine tears than to have a rosewood casket guarded by detectives; who really feel that Indiana is the land of opportunity, individuality and manhood, and not the land of knavery, trickery and cunning; who believe he is not wise who is not just, and that justice is as much the other fellow's right as his own. Maybe a majority of Indiana's citizens are such. I hope so.  

Once in a while Governor Marshall commuted between Columbia City and Indianapolis. It was his custom to travel on the Big Four Railroad north to Warsaw and take an evening train over to Columbia City. There would be a hack parked at the depot to take arriving passengers to the hotel a mile away. The hack was a one-horse-drawn vehicle with seats along the side. On one occasion Marshall got into the back, according
to his version, and there were no other passengers. He was disturbed that he did not know the driver, since he prided himself on knowing most all the townsfolk. Remaining anonymous, he remarked to the driver, "Isn't this where Governor Marshall lives?"

"Yes."

"What do people say about him?"

"Oh, they just laugh!"

It was typical of Marshall to tell stories like that about himself. One might say that on occasion he was self-deprecating. One also might say that here was a man who could laugh at himself, not take himself overly seriously, and exhibit an inner strength of self-confidence not available to many men.\(^{16}\)

II

As in many other states at this time, candidates for the office of United States Senator were chosen by state party caucuses and elected by both houses of the Indiana General Assembly. (This occurred before the Seventeenth Amendment was passed in 1913 permitting the direct election of senators by popular vote.) Several prominent Democrats wanted the coveted nomination. The Indiana Democratic caucus was scheduled for 13 January 1909. Thomas Taggart let it be known that he was interested in the position even though other aspiring candidates included John W. Kern, who had recently lost the vice presidential election as Bryan's running mate the previous year; Benjamin F. Shively, a Congressman several times since 1884; Ert. Slack, a leading state
legislator; and Edward G. Hoffman, a young politician from Marshall's section of the state.

When the Democratic party caucus assembled in Indianapolis, considerable wheeling and dealing took place. Throughout twenty ballots there were charges and countercharges of infidelity and trickery. Taggart and Marshall publicized themselves as neutrals. Many observers believed Kern would win largely because of his having been Bryan's running mate. Shively, though, ultimately won the Democratic nomination and went on to win the U. S. Senate seat by a vote of 86-67 over the Republican incumbent, James Hemenway, because of a plurality of Democratic votes in the General Assembly and because he had helped the liquor interests by defeating a prohibition measure which action they repaid with victory. The charges of vote buying, of double dealing, and of outright lying convinced many that the caucus method of electing a United States Senator was a poor method of choosing outstanding candidates honestly. Governor Marshall was offended by the vicious infighting of the January caucus. He worried how people throughout the state would react to the intraparty strife, particularly with the impending Democratic State Convention scheduled for April, 1910.

John E. Lamb, defeated earlier in his race for Governor, was also giving serious thought to that April convention at which time another vote would take place to choose a second nominee for United States Senator from Indiana. He did not have much of a chance if a caucus were called to choose the next candidate. Newspaperman Claude Bowers of Terre Haute, who had literally followed Marshall’s progress in his gubernatorial race, was summoned by Lamb for a conference. Lamb conveyed to Bowers his idea that the state Democratic convention should nominate its candidate for
the Senate and require the Democratic legislators to pledge themselves to that candidate. Lamb felt he would then have a realistic chance for the nomination. Bowers agreed. A potential candidate, Lamb argued that it would not look good for himself to suggest such an idea to the convention. Instead, he would ask Governor Marshall if he would agree to sponsor this plan.

Marshall heard Lamb's rationale: "If it goes through, it would give you a reputation all over the country of having bucked the machine in the interest of the rank-and-file of the party!" The Governor was impressed and agreed to do it, though he knew it would anger Taggart and others. Bowers himself had typed out the plan in Lamb's office and now Marshall would intentionally publicize the plan as his own in newspapers around the state.

To South Bend newspaper editor John B. Stoll, Marshall expressed his feeling that the people—through their convention delegates—should have a say as to who shall represent them. "In the final analysis," he wrote to Stoll, "my political philosophy has been that it is far better to educate every Democrat in Indiana to think for himself and to have every Democrat a leader than to transfer to one man or to a number of men the right to do the thinking for them. It would be unutteringly [sic] depressing, my dear Mr. Stoll, if after one hundred thirty years of free government in America we had reached a point where the solution of a proposition that has been put up to the people of Indiana is to be left to the voiced desires and personal ambitions of a few men." Andrew Jackson would have been pleased to hear this statement out of his own brand of Jeffersonian politics. Marshall's friends agreed that the Governor would have a golden opportunity to express his views personally to the delegates at convention time in the last week of April.'
Relations between Marshall and Taggart were distant at this time. Taggart was accustomed to having top Democrats consult with him and Marshall had not shown due appreciation for Taggart's role. On his part Marshall simply did not play the same game of politics as did the "boss." Three weeks before the state convention Taggart received a letter in which the Governor tried to explain his own position. In that letter, written on 8 April 1910, Marshall explained his position on candidate endorsement, and he endeavored to assure Taggart that whatever position he held, even if in opposition to Marshall’s, “will not change the friendly relations existing between us.” Marshall was not trying to boom or bust any candidate by his proposal. (But, Taggart's desire to run for the senate seat would be dashed if the decision were left to the convention. Taggart knew this; Marshall surely did.) The proposal, the Governor believed, would be "an honest and wise one for our Party to adopt." Then, he ended the letter “with renewed assurances of my personal esteem.”

By mid-month Taggart, Ralston, and Shively were furious with this radical plan. Lamb could see that Marshall was wavering in his resolve to support the plan and confided to Bowers, "I believe he's getting cold feet. We've got to do something to bolster him up. Bryan is coming back from South America and is landing in New York next week. I can't go to New York to see him because that would attract attention, but I want you to go to New York, explain the situation to him, and have him send a telegram of congratulations to Marshall."

Bowers followed Lamb's suggestion. In a few days William Jennings Bryan sent a telegram to the Governor, which proved to be the encouragement Marshall needed to take decisive action. Opposition to the Governor's plan continued, however. Ohio
Democrats felt it would issue in defeat at the polls and have wide-ranging implications. Taggart's men thought they could head it off at the convention.20

The delegates assembled in Indianapolis on 27 April. The convention was guided by committees whose members belonged to different factions. Taggart's men were able to gain control of these committees, especially the rules committee in which they outnumbered the others seven to six. The Governor began to worry again. Many Democrats liked Marshall's plan, but the opposition had Taggart announce that he would be a candidate for United States Senator. Thus, Taggart and Marshall were pitted against each other.

Addressing the Democratic state convention, Marshall asked that the delegates consider issues and principles and not to focus on policies and personalities. They were encouraged to support their beliefs with their honest vote and to nominate the best candidate for United States Senator.

Then Taggart made a strange move. He directed the rules committee to recommend that the first item of business be an open vote on the Governor's plan. If it were defeated, Taggart would know that he had clear control of the convention. Perhaps he felt overconfident that he would win, but he soon saw defeat inevitable. Out of 1,747 votes he missed by 30 votes! The plan was adopted.21

John W. Kern ultimately became the delegates' choice to run that November against Senator Albert J. Beveridge whose second six-year term was coming to a close. (John Lamb got lost along the wayside.) Marshall was pleased with the Kokomo lawyer, who had reform sentiments like his own and who was apparently not a henchman of the
machine boss. Kern had enough experience as a state senator to know the issues and ills of American politics. His candidacy for the Vice Presidency in 1908 revealed his national reputation among Democrats.

In the months leading to the 1910 November election Governor Marshall provided support to Kern by criticizing the Republican county-option law (still on the legislative books). He worked to woo the state's large German population away from the Republican camp. Kern took the offense in his battle with Beveridge who expressed his own progressive ideas with a water-and-oil mixture of explanations about Old Guard Republican policies. When the votes came in, Democrats won enough seats to have a majority in both houses of the General Assembly, which meant Beveridge's defeat. The rising tide of progressive thinking was colored Democratic. Beveridge, hurt, commented to reporters, "Fortunes of war." Claude Bowers was convinced that Governor Marshall’s political reputation began to stand out nationally. It was Marshall’s “Plan” that was tried and not found wanting.22
6.

Gamblers, Workers, and the New Moses
1909-1911

Thomas Taggart was having trouble with the law when Thomas Marshall succeeded Frank Hanly as governor. Gambling was notorious in certain sections of the state, including French Lick in the south central area where Taggart owned a lavish hotel. Many people linked the Democratic boss with gambling interests. His friends insisted that he had no part in the illegal activities taking place elsewhere in the town. Governor Hanly had wanted to see Taggart indicted for complicity with the operators of the casino. Hanly's state auditor was discovered to have lost money at the gaming tables, and the Republican Governor not only dismissed him but supported his prosecution for embezzlement of state money.¹

I

In the spring of 1910, cries of outrage at the flouting of the law reached Governor Marshall from French Lick itself. The president of a local manufacturing company, W. E. Ryan, was incensed at what had happened to his town because of the gambling interests. "There are very few men in this town," he wrote the Governor, "mostly long-tailed rats." It was common knowledge that gambling was occurring not in the Taggart hotel but in the Al Brown building under lease to Ed Ballard. Local citizens were not supporting the law but were abetting the betters! Some 600 of the population were living comfortably because of their employment in connection with the French Lick Springs
Hotel which accommodated the people who journeyed by train and carriage to the out-of-the-way gambling house.

James Bingham, State Attorney-General, presented his own evidence to Marshall about the casino. The information was conveyed to the Orange County prosecutor who did nothing with it since he was aware of the community's attitude of support for Taggart. Within a month the Governor summoned the local prosecutor to show cause why he had not pursued the indictments. Bingham's office worked closely with the Orange county prosecution, but in the end the grand jury--composed of local folk--found no illegal activity connected with Thomas Taggart.²

The Governor had no real cause to "go after" Taggart, but he made no effort to help the Indianapolis businessman-politician. Taggart's private secretary, Gertrude McHugh, knew that "there was never a warm feeling between Taggart and Marshall." When the new governor first arrived in the state capital, Taggart charged her to go to Marshall and ask for a state appointment as a stenographer. He wanted to know what sort of consideration the new governor was giving in patronage to the Taggart people. At the time Marshall said he knew only of a position with the forestry department. She inquired there, discovered the job paid only $45 per month, and reported back to Taggart. He was now convinced that Marshall was giving only menial positions to his people. Within a short time Taggart would visit Marshall to discuss Democratic patronage, and the two would work out an amiable understanding. The Governor stood fast on hiring only competent Democrats, whoever recommended them.³

French Lick was only one of several key gambling areas. Gambling was taking place in pool rooms in Indiana near her borders next to Louisville in the south and
Chicago in the northwestern corner. Slot machines had been outlawed. Boxing matches were really "prize fights," and illegal bets were regularly made on who would win the fight and in what round. It was evident that Marshall needed to take radical steps to stop organized gambling in the state.

After six months in office Governor Marshall ordered the Jeffersonville sheriff to close up the gamblers' headquarters and with the aid of the state militia, if needed. His outspoken position against the gamblers encouraged citizens to send him letters and telegrams about the conditions of vice in their own communities. He learned that race track news was being sent into Cincinnati and Louisville by way of leased wire belonging to Western Union and to Bell Telephone Company. Railroad lines were contributing to illegalities by furnishing transportation to gamblers entering the state. To one railroad official the Governor wrote, "... The state can protect itself to the extent of withdrawing the privilege of doing business in Indiana, if corporations make themselves silent partners in the violation of the criminal laws of Indiana."

Even little towns were havens for crime. A frustrated Jasonville citizen wrote a letter to the Governor: "If there is any law in the land this place surely needs it. We have a town marshal and the Good Citizens League, but the blind Tigers and gambling dens are in full force." Marshall found, nevertheless, that most of the townspeople favored the illegal sale of liquor and would not support prosecution. A young prosecuting attorney from Lake County, next to Chicago, was upset that the Crown Point citizens had no interest in justice. He admitted to the Governor that because of such apathy he could understand why vice was rampant throughout the state.4
Chicago underworld figures recognized that there would be little public opposition to building a race track and gambling facilities in Porter County, fifteen miles from the Illinois line near Chicago. They surmised that there would be virtually nothing the Governor could do because he would be making political campaign speeches outside the state.

It was not long before news of the proposed race track reached the State House at Indianapolis. Informed, Marshall sent a speedy letter to the sheriff of Porter County telling him what he obviously already knew: that the proposed race track at Mineral Springs was being opened by a "foreign corporation which had not complied with the laws of this state." Marshall told him to take his men to the track and arrest every member of the corporation when they tried to run their first race. Within a week Sheriff C. A. Wood acknowledged that he and the prosecutor were watching developments and would act accordingly.

Days went by. Nothing happened upstate. Marshall directed his secretary, Mark Thistlethwaite, to authorize the hiring of a private detective to look into the situation at the race track. "Operator 52" went to Chicago and learned that the gamblers had "fixed" the county authorities and expected to beat the State in the courts. The "Association" in Chicago was confident that it had the money to influence the outcome of any litigation in its favor. Still, no racing had yet taken place by the middle of October. Owners of horses had shipped their animals to the Porter County track and were having to pay boarding costs without making any money. At least, this was in the agent's report of 12 October 1912. His last report was on 2 November.
Chicago reporters were making their own inquiries, and published articles on gambling and bookmaking at the Mineral Springs track. It soon became obvious that Operator 52 had been “bought” by the Association. In Wyoming by then, Marshall heard about developments. He wired Thistlethwaite:

STOP PORTER COUNTY GAMBLING AT ONCE OR I WILL COME BACK AND DO IT.

The command had been given. The office of the State Attorney General in agreement with the Adjutant General called up the state militia, and soldiers with fixed bayonets marched onto the racetrack. Preparations for the first race were made anyway. The horses readied at the starting position, the doors opened, and they sprinted ahead. The jockeys, looking up rapidly became impressed with guns and bayonets facing them several hundred yards away and stopped their horses abruptly. The militia forced the horses off the track and they ran the customers out of the grandstand. They then destroyed the stands.

Quickly the racetrack operators filed a lawsuit against the Governor and others for sending in the National Guard— who went in with force and arms, did not pay an admission fee (!), broke up the race, and excluded spectators from the grounds. The operators eventually dropped their suit when they learned that "an executive is not personally liable in damages for the use of his militia in enforcing what he believes to be the law." The Governor had won.5
One of the most gratifying experiences Marshall had as Governor was in seeing men succeeding in society who had once been incarcerated. Because he believed in the possibility of humans rehabilitating themselves if given the chance, he earned the label of "Pardoning Governor." More than a dozen years passed between his term in office and his writing his memoirs and yet his mind was vivid about experiences and encounters concerning men whom he had given a second chance and who had made good their record in society.

Marshall did not believe in capital punishment. Paradoxically, he did not believe in pardoning prisoners indiscriminately, particularly those serving life sentences, but there were many in prison whom he (with a lawyer's background) felt were wrongly placed there by their judges. He had no brief with the man clearly established as a criminal: "Your outlaw is essentially a coward. He protests against society, its organization and its laws; he takes the law into his own hands and immediately, when he finds himself in its clutches, he uses every device of the law to avoid responsibility for his acts; in other words, he is for the law to save himself, but against the law if it prevents him from injuring another." The Governor believed that new laws were needed to cover criminal action and criminal conspiracy where these are clearly connected in a given situation.

Marshall profoundly respected the law and the courts and the society for whom these exist. For thirty-three years he had practiced law and occasionally been a judge. He knew human nature and was not naive about human behavior, as events would show.
Labor trouble throughout the Midwest was connected with the expansion of industry, the increase in immigrant workers, and the conflicting interests of management and labor. Union membership increased notably in the first decade of the century, especially among miners, but there was determined opposition to organized labor by manufacturers. The United States Steel Corporation in Gary successfully opposed efforts by iron and steel workers' unions to force the creation of an open shop. When confronted with crisis between management and labor, Marshall acted according to his philosophy of government. In situations where it might have been easier and safer to call out the state militia, the Governor chose the way of arbitration and law, as in the streetcar strike in Vincennes and the railway strike in South Bend. The exception was the closing down of the Porter County race track at Mineral Springs.

Marshall was sensitively aware that many strikers were well-intentioned but culturally ignorant immigrants who wished their fair due from exploitative factory owners. He later admitted, "I ought to have been more patient with the hundred tribes and tongues which went into the making up of the city [Gary], and to have realized that it would take time to blend it into the body of what I believed to be one of the most law-abiding states in the Union." There were mixed feelings about the factory owners. He realized that they had grown so used to power that they were almost oblivious to the rule of law in the interests of all the people.  

Public opinion about labor unions varied within each section of the state and nation. One publicized incident brought disfavor to the union cause and almost obliterated Marshall's political career.
Early in 1911, newspaper headlines carried details of the dynamiting of the Los Angeles Times Building. Investigators traced the plot to the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' Union, headquartered in Indianapolis. On a Saturday morning in April, 1911, agents of California Governor Hiram Johnson appeared before Marshall to request extradition of John J. McNamara, a union officer. Johnson sent along an indictment charging McNamara and his brother, James, with having engineered the dynamiting. After reading the grand jury indictment, Marshall issued an arrest warrant and the agents promptly apprehended the accused and took him out of the state to the West Coast to stand trial with his brother.

Union men were in an uproar when they heard that John McNamara had been extradited without benefit of counsel or hearing. They were especially furious when they heard that he had not even been in Los Angeles at the time of the crime. The Indiana Governor became the target of attack: Marshall allegedly knew better but he broke the law by not allowing McNamara legal protection.

From April to December of the following year indictments and trials continued, implicating over fifty persons in the act of dynamiting or in the transporting of the explosives. Under advice by Chicago defense attorney Clarence Darrow, John and James McNamara pleaded guilty to the crime of conspiracy to blow up buildings. John's Indianapolis office was found to contain enough dynamite to kill forty thousand people.

Marshall was castigated for his part in McNamara's extradition. He, in fact, did act properly in regard to the warrant. Counsel was denied McNamara, but Marshall maintained years afterward that the federal law regarding persons being in the state of the crime at the time of its occurrence was obsolete. When that law was written, no system
of telegraph, telephone, radio, or railroads flourished. In terms of labor union regard for the Governor, it is a paradox that for six months during the heat of the McNamara incident Secret Service men "shadowed" Marshall for a possible assassination attempt by misguided union men, yet by the end of the Governor's term a frequent union critic, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, presented him "with a gold-headed cane and an engraved address stating that they had received better treatment under my administration than that of any other governor of Indiana."8

IV

On 5 January 1911, the Second Session of the Indiana General Assembly met to hear the Governor's annual message. The audience was more receptive than two years earlier, since Democrats now held a majority in both houses.

Marshall’s remarks belied the charge that he was an old-fashioned country lawyer whose views were outmoded for modern society. He forcefully presented that new laws were needed for new times, regarding liquor control, voting procedures, workmen's compensation, control of stocks and bonds, and other matters. His Democratic legislators were determined to enact as many measures as were in accord with their party platform.

During the 1911-1913 session a child labor law passed which forbade any child under fourteen years to work, unless around the home or farm, although limited types of work for youths 14 to 16 were permitted. This legislation would have longterm effects on the adolescent labor supply throughout the state of Indiana.

Three liquor laws passed, written by state senator Robert Proctor: one concerned the city and selection of the township option (favored over the county), another
concerned the regulation of saloons, and the third centered on rules governing local option elections. Though he was secretly a reformed alcoholic, Marshall's concept of democracy was such that he could not honestly deny another man the right to buy liquor. He consistently supported the local or township option position. That Marshall would support the Proctor local option bill threw terror in the hearts of certain local Indianapolis preachers. At a meeting of the Methodist Ministerial Association a Reverend Tillotson berated the Governor for his approach and advocated the passage “of such laws as are in keeping with the laws of Christ and the spirit of democracy and will take the open door of temptation away from weak and fallen man.”

Marshall's boldest venture was to draft, legislate, and refer to the voter a new state constitution. No provision had been made in the Indiana Constitution of 1851 for its revision or for a constitutional convention. The only forethought of the state fathers was to provide for amendment of the Constitution. The amendment process, however, was extremely difficult: for an amendment to be ratified, it had to gain the approval of every single elector at a specified election time when the amendment had been submitted.

The Governor was aware of the legal history of the matter. He knew that sixty years with the old Constitution had frustrated many a General Assembly. He also knew how involved and expensive the calling of a constitutional convention could be. So, he sought another way.

To the legislators Marshall referred to the debates of the 1850 Constitutional Convention, which produced a provision in the new Constitution giving the people the right to change their governmental structure. The legislators realized that there might be a new way to break the decades-long impasse. Upon study and recommendation by a
caucus of Democratic lawmakers both houses of the General Assembly supported the basic need for revision. Jacob P. Dunn, a chief architect and the principal authoritative defender of the "Marshall Constitution," publicly proclaimed that the proposed constitution would aid immeasurably in improving conditions surrounding elections.10

Senate Bill #407 was virtually a copy of the 1851 Indiana Constitution but with some 23 proposed changes. The bill included that upon its acceptance by the electors in 1912, it would take effect in January, 1913. To an Indianapolis News reporter the Governor explained, "I presented the matter to the General Assembly because I believe it to be right, and I am prepared to defend it either as a party measure or simply as a proposition to be put up to the people, regardless of party."11 After the committee work and final drafting, the new document was brought before the state legislature for approval.

Considerable debate and controversy centered around what to more conservative legislators, especially Republicans, were radical proposals. Marshall had conferred extensively with Dunn about what Indianans needed in a reform state constitution. On his part Dunn incorporated progressive, democratic procedures that would bring the Indiana constitution into the twentieth century.

After heated exchanges between Democrats and Republicans on and off the floor, the proposal passed with the order that it be put before the people for ratification or rejection. Opponents of the Marshall Constitution protested that no branch of government can make or unmake constitutions. Only the people can do that. It was the Governor's idea, though, that the people could vote yes or no after the constitution was
made known. Marshall became depicted as a robed Moses with the Ten Commandments, "our new Lawgiver."¹²

An Indianapolis Republican lawyer, John T. Dye, brought suit against the unorthodox procedure and the allegedly unconstitutional constitution. Near the end of September, 1911, the case was heard in the Marion County Circuit Court by Judge Charles Remster. His decision was that the legislative act--the proposed constitution--was void because the General Assembly had no constitutional right to adopt such an act. He charged that the act was not proposed in the prescribed manner for making amendments and so sustained the lawyer's suit.

An appeal was then made to the Supreme Court of the State of Indiana (which at that time had 3 Democratic and 2 Republican judges). This court supported the decision of Judge Remster. Marshall was furious. He felt the Supreme Court had inferred that despotic rule was endeavoring to foist upon the people a new constitution. The Governor quickly sought a writ of error to the Supreme Court of the United States on the ground that the State Supreme Court was trying to usurp the powers and responsibilities of the legislative and executive branches of state government. The matter was not settled until after Marshall had been out of the Governor's office for almost a year. The federal court decided not to recognize Marshall's writ because he had made it as Governor of the State and not as a private citizen whose personal rights had been violated by the courts.¹³

Months later at a dinner party in Washington, D. C., Marshall asked the Supreme Court justice who had denied the writ why he did so. The justice, Marshall remembered, implied that the Governor had been right and the Supreme Court of Indiana had been wrong, but the federal court did not wish "to interfere, if it [could] avoid doing so, in any
political questions arising in any of the states of the Union." Marshall had to content himself with that answer. He felt that agitation and publicity over the issue had gotten the people to realize that they did need a new constitution for the good of their state in terms of improved voting procedures and voter qualifications.\textsuperscript{14} Not an expressed office holder, not an advocate of the spoils system (though he did practice patronage for professionals and other qualified persons), and not a copier of past governmental practices, Governor Marshall had shown genuine interest in the people and with capable civil assistance had managed well a state emerging into the twentieth century. Adding his contribution of improvement in legislation to Republican progressive accomplishments, he held to convictions that sought to protect the citizen not only from exploitative capitalism but also from interfering government. Without being obnoxious he resisted control of his party by machine politicians and yet worked with them, as he understood it, for the good of the party and the people. While unable to make his state a utopia, he stood up to organized interests in business and in the underworld that would exploit communities and citizens for their own selfish ends. Because Marshall had provided courageous leadership along with a strong administrative hand, his supporters began to consider their governor for the highest office in the land.
7.

A David Among the Goliaths

January 1910 - June 1912

Even if he were not an announced candidate, Tom Marshall was acting like a cautiously expectant one. The American presidential race was only two years away. Before the middle of his term as Governor, Marshall began to hear people using his name in connection with the 1912 campaign. Indiana friends believed that he had the makings of a United States President. He was enjoying success as a state executive and as titular head of the state Democratic Party. He impressed political leaders in other states as he had occasion to journey throughout the country. By the end of 1910 the Indiana governor had achieved national prominence for his action in the McNamara case and throughout 1911 for his novel attempt to get a new state constitution. He rated nationally as one of the most popular Democratic governors. Marshall knew that his chance to become President was remote. He wanted that office but refused to work for the nomination. He kept saying that the office should seek the man, not the other way around. Was this view really a rationalization for not doing more to deserve the office?

I

No sooner had the new legislative session begun in 1910 than Marshall admirers boomed their governor for President at the annual banquet of the Lafayette, Indiana, Jackson Club. At that time the recommendation made hardly a ripple on the surface of the national political water, but one month later Democratic leaders in the East were
voicing concern about the waves emanating from the Hoosier state. The big dinner, the National Jefferson Day Banquet, when all the Democratic stars and satellites would shine forth in apparent unity, was only two months away. A decision was made to change the meeting place from Washington to Indianapolis; it was closer to the center of a geographic region that was important to the Democrats nationally. At least, this was the explanation of Indiana Democrat, Colonel William C. Liller, chairman of the National Democratic League of Clubs. Many Eastern Democrats were supporting Ohio Governor Judson Harmon for the 1912 Presidential nomination, and they began to see this change of place as a subversive plot initiated by the Marshall forces. Perhaps they should check this Marshall boom.¹

The Indiana Governor was making no secret of his political views. "The one great question before the people is the tariff," asserted Marshall. "I should like to see the Democratic party go to the country with two issues--protection and economy and not a single line about anything else."² The country needed to be impressed by something. The American people’s votes were responsible for the failure of the Democratic Party to elect a President since 1892.

The Jefferson Day Banquet in Indianapolis on 13 April 1910 was attended by over six hundred Democrats, principally from the midwestern states. (There was even a sprinkling of renegade Republicans.) Ex-Governor Joseph Folk of Missouri was present, a not-so-subtle presidential aspirant. So were John Shafroth, Governor of Colorado, Chicagoan James Hamilton Lewis (later a United States Senator), and William Sulzer, a New York Congressman and friend of Governor Marshall. Local party boss Thomas
Taggart, now a member of the powerful Democratic National Committee, was in attendance also.

After dinner and welcoming speeches Senator John Worth Kern arose to praise and launch Thomas R. Marshall onto uncertain political waters leading to the 1912 presidential race. Kern's accolade was followed by applause and shouts of "Marshall! Marshall!"

The fifty-six-year-old Governor arose before the multitude, his less than medium stature nearly hidden by the podium. With upraised hand to still the crowd he spoke plainly: "I am not a candidate for anything under the sun. I am simply the Governor of Indiana, desirous of serving the people of Indiana!" This expression of public servitude only served to bring more applause and shouting. The visiting Democrats wanted to hear more from this man who was becoming a David among the Goliaths of the party leaders.

The Governor avoided a direct approach to the question of his active participation in a national campaign for the Presidency. He nevertheless criticized the policies of Republican Presidents Roosevelt and Taft. He had no sympathy for one branch of government usurping the functions of another branch, which he alleged Roosevelt to have done while President. Taft, Marshall judged, should have signed the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill and then kept his mouth shut. The tariff bill, passed the previous August, he felt to be harmful to the people of the nation. It is not the Republican Party but the Democratic party that has rescued the country from the special interest groups: "Let me tell you that the best thing that the old chariot of state ever had put on it was a brake--a brake to keep the blamed old thing from going too fast down hill; and the Democratic party has been
the brake that has kept this country from being plunged into an aristocracy or a monarchy before its time!"³

Campaign rhetoric grew more volatile with the onset of the state Democratic convention two weeks later. It seemed to some that Marshall was turning around statements uttered by Theodore Roosevelt, who recently spoke in Indianapolis. Life magazine, a popular national weekly, editorialized that the Indiana Governor did not know what he was talking about and should not be taken seriously. The Republican-influenced Indianapolis Star did not agree with Marshall's politics, but it sided with him against Life. The Governor, it was contended, had cast some "unfortunate flings" at Roosevelt and Beveridge, but as a leader he deserved his party's support and nomination for President.⁴

Marshall kept aware of the Democracy's gain and status throughout the other states, including the races for governor. New Jersey Democrat Woodrow Wilson, Princeton University president and his party's choice for state executive, won at the polls. To the voters of New Jersey Wilson had urged that government ought to be the servant of all the people: it will not kowtow to corporations or tremble before trusts; it will seek compensation legislation for workers and primary elections for all public officials. Both men were talking the same rhetoric: economic and legislative reform. Marshall quickly sent a telegram to the victorious Wilson:

I WELCOME YOU INTO THE COMPANY OF GOVERNORS WHO THINK THAT PRINCIPLES ARE WORTH MAINTAINING. CONGRATULATIONS.
THOMAS R. MARSHALL⁵
Along with certain other Democratic governors Marshall and Wilson were being esteemed as Presidential timber. The Washington Herald, following the November election victories, editorialized:

It is easily conceivable that the repetition of 1890, recorded by Tuesday's landslide, may in two years be followed by the repetition of 1892. All the more conceivable it is with men of the caliber of Wilson, Dix, Marshall, and Baldwin intrusted with the party's destinies in states traditionally Democratic under normal conditions. Marshall has already demonstrated conspicuously the qualities of sane, progressive leadership, and if the Governors-elect in the east measure up to their opportunities for public service as he has done, their ability for greater service and highest honors will be apparent to all in 1912. Certainly, in the meantime, it is to such statesmen as these that the party will look for safe guidance and prudent counsel.⁶

The Indianapolis News, a Democratic organ, quoted this sentiment and added that it was nice that Governor Marshall was so well spoken of outside the state: “The Governor of Indiana is evidently as highly esteemed abroad as he is at home. Without making the slightest effort to do so he seems to have impressed himself on the country. There never was a poorer advertiser, and yet the people have heard enough of him to make them admire him.” In office as Governor just one year, Marshall had brought the state into financial respectability, had initiated legislative reform measures some of which would become enacted in time, and had become "his own man" in regard to Democratic
party domination. Even party boss Thomas Taggart began to show respect for him, which no doubt influenced other powerful Democrats to see a new stature in the man, superseding that of country lawyer.

II

In January, 1911, Taggart publicly supported Marshall as a Democratic Presidential nominee. Within a month campaign buttons were being circulated throughout Indiana, Michigan, and Illinois. The buttons had printed on them: "For President Thomas R. Marshall of Indiana for me." Colonel Liller, a Taggart man supposedly on the Marshall bandwagon, told reporters that there was growing support from seven midwestern states and that plans were underway for "an active and aggressive campaign on his behalf." Marshall still had not committed himself to run for the Presidency.8

The Governor was assuming a cautious stance. Men who had been his political enemies were suddenly becoming "supporters." He knew who his old friends were. It was these new ones of whom he was unsure. Bernard Korbly, an Indiana Congressman, spoke with Marshall to learn whether he would block efforts of friends in Washington to help him secure the Party's presidential nomination. In typical fashion the Governor told Korbly that he would be honored by Democratic support but he himself would not seek the office, believing always that the office should seek the man. He emphasized to Korbly that "under no conditions would I permit my name to be considered for the nomination for Vice President." The Governor was alert enough to know that a Vice
President's salary did not go far. Having little money and much love he did not want his wife to have to live in dull surroundings for even one term in Washington.\(^9\)

Senator Kern communicated his personal support to Marshall. The two men saw each other in the same ideological camp: trying to help the party grow democratically lest it be completely wrested away by machine politicians. In a letter written just prior to a scheduled Democratic dinner, Marshall expressed his concern and hope "that we are going to get through the banquet without having any trouble with the Colonel [Taggart or Liller?] but nobody knows when or where or under what circumstances he is liable to break out." The Indianapolis affair was to be a widely publicized one in which the Indiana Governor had invited the Democrats’ three-time leader, William Jennings Bryan, to be present. Bryan was also called “Colonel”. Time would shortly tell who was Marshall’s friend and who would be his foe.\(^10\)

The all-day conference of Democrats took place on 13 April at the Murat Temple in Indianapolis, an imposing structure on Massachusetts Street built for the Indiana Freemasons. Speeches were given by various notables. Woodrow Wilson spoke on "The Democratic Party and the Present," George Harvey of New York on "Progressive Democracy," and H. B. Ferguson of New Mexico on "Militant Democracy." Other speakers, all governors, were Cruce of Oklahoma, Hawley of Idaho, and Marshall of Indiana. Bryan unexpectedly was not present but was in New York attending the funeral of Tom L. Johnson, former reform mayor of Cleveland.\(^11\)

The ostentatious dinner that evening had been dubbed the National Democratic Achievement Banquet. At the speakers' table with the Governor of Indiana sat the new Governor of New Jersey. Marshall must have realized that Woodrow Wilson's exposure
to midwestern Democrats might influence them to support him later in 1912. He kept to himself his thought and feelings about Wilson as a potential competitor or as one whom the Indiana Governor might want to support as a Democratic candidate for the Presidency.

During the banquet Wilson, governor just three months, received word that he had won a legislative battle in his own state through the passage of the Geran Bill which provided for direct party primary elections of delegates to national conventions. This news was relayed by Wilson to the toastmaster who read it aloud to the audience, "and the crowd cheered." Many at the banquet saw in Wilson one who could become the next President of the United States. The editor of the Gary Evening Post was pleased with Wilson's honesty and directness: "Some time ago The Post singled out Woodrow Wilson as the most probable nominee of the party for the presidency. The better he becomes known the more power there is added to that belief."¹²

Wilson was feeling magnanimous as a result of his happy reception to his presence and speechmaking at the Indianapolis Democratic banquet. He was truly comfortable among the midwesterners. He was impressed with the Indiana capital city, "a remarkable place. I do not know any American city of its size that is the home of so many interesting people . . . ." He was even affected by the personality of the governor of the state, “a capital and very able man. If the sphere of his thought and action had been a little bigger than Indiana, he would be a big man. He has the brains and the sagacity.”
It is likely that the Marshalls hosted Governor Wilson at their home while he attended the Achievement Banquet. In a letter written to his special friend, Mary Allen Hulbert Peck, shortly after his departure from Indianapolis he described Lois as being a dear, and uncommonly pretty. Her mouth is adorable,—singularly like yours! They have no children, and live, with delightful simplicity, in a little house which they hire for themselves, Indiana, like New Jersey, not supplying her governor with an executive mansion.13

Colonel Liller revealed his true colors one week later when he wrote Wilson that he was using his influence to frustrate support for Marshall and to use a new allegiance to Wilson for his presidential hopes. By his actions Liller showed that he was not truly one of the friends of Governor Marshall, no matter how many campaign buttons he was passing across the borders of the state! As events proceeded, this hardly mattered. The Indiana delegation at the 1912 Baltimore Convention would vote when and as Tom Taggart directed—and Liller would not be there, not even as an alternate delegate.14

Tom Marshall did have genuine supporters. John B. Stoll, Indiana newspaper publisher and prominent upstate Democrat, liked Marshall, and the Governor himself felt that Stoll was an honorable man. In a letter to Stoll written soon after the April banquet he felt it necessary to repeat that he was not a Presidential nominee, "so kind have you and others been to me that I am going to keep on trying to remember that now I am the servant of Indiana and I shall most assuredly not put myself on exhibition in all parts of America offering myself to the highest bidder." To Senator Kern, Marshall expressed
grave concern over the emerging factionalism within the state Democratic Party: "I have never paid any personal attention to these matters because I did not think they deserved any, but latterly I have been afraid that they might disorganize us in the State. Indiana is of far more importance to us than anything else just now."  

Throughout the remainder of the year the Governor gave his attention to matters of state government, particularly in obtaining a new state constitution. He was aware, nevertheless, of his friends' trying to get a presidential campaign off the ground. Marshall himself was exerting no effort to create a campaign organization. He admitted that "many of my good friends, however, seem to be more ambitious for me than I am for myself and more aggressive than I care to be." One of those friends was Andrew A. Adams, now a judge in Indianapolis, who had managed his gubernatorial campaign. Any person who expressed support in the campaign was being referred to Adams.  

Marshall was behaving true to form. It was not that he did not want to be President but he remained profoundly convinced that if the people did not want him and did not show him by their efforts that they wanted him, it would be futile and presumptuous to initiate a fight for the Democratic nomination. The man was convinced that he could win if he had the kind of delegation at the national convention that he had in Indianapolis when running for governor. To his old friend, Judge Elisha Long, before whom as a young lawyer he had argued cases many times, Marshall wrote, "This is not a very proud position to occupy but you know, Judge, in the oldish days when I practiced before you when I could not get the principal and the interest, I would take either . . . as would best come to hand. This is my only chance."
On 28 November the Indiana State Democratic Committee meeting was attended
by scores of persons from around the state. Party leaders came out for Marshall for
President. His response: "If Indiana wants Tom Marshall to be a candidate for president,
then Tom Marshall can be president of the United States!" On Thanksgiving that year he
had something new for which to be thankful. His party had finally come to him publicly
in support. Henceforth, his record as Governor and his policies came into prominence in
order to be analyzed, attacked, or admired.\textsuperscript{18}

Another year, and another Jackson Day dinner for the Democrats took place at the
Raleigh Hotel in Washington, D. C., on 8 January 1912. Early in December Marshall had
written to a Washington Democrat that he could not attend that dinner. Something must
have made him change his mind because he was there along with over seven hundred
party faithful. His advisers surely instructed him that if he wanted to win the nomination
of his party he would have to get as much national exposure as possible. At the speakers'
table sat Senator James O'Gorman, the toastmaster, flanked by Bryan, Wilson, Kern, and
Champ Clark, Speaker of the House of Representatives. In the audience with Governor
Marshall sat Alabama Congressman Oscar Underwood, one of the more popular vote
getters; party bosses Charles Murphy of Tammany Hall, Roger Sullivan of Chicago, and
James R. Nugent of New Jersey; William Randolph Hearst the publisher, and Judge
Alton Parker, the Party's 1904 presidential candidate.\textsuperscript{19}

Following dinner and dessert the speakers one by one went to the podium to speak
briefly on "Democracy," that is, the Democratic Party. Thirteen speakers in all, Wilson
was fifth in line and Bryan was last. The speeches kept the audience captive from eight
in the evening to 3:30 the next morning. One wonders whether the applause which
accompanied the end of Bryan's speech was due to his apparent support of Woodrow Wilson and of party unity or to the end of the long night! At any rate, Governor Wilson had made an excellent presentation. Henry Morgenthau surmised that the other candidates commenced to see Wilson as their chief competition. Newspaper headlines soon showed that Governor Wilson and Champ Clark were strong favorites. Other candidates were mentioned, though their importance would be measured in terms of "favorite son" votes to be switched at appropriate junctures during the convention balloting. Thus, Thomas R. Marshall, the Indiana governor, was regarded by Democrats nationally as prominent but not preeminent.20

III

Marshall was cautiously optimistic about the outcome of the Presidential campaign. To Judge Long, Marshall wrote, "I have the same old Presbyterian prophecy to make--that if things continue as they now are, there will be a deadlock in the Convention and I shall be nominated." Two days later he wrote Long an even longer letter, revealing more of his feelings about his chance of becoming the Democratic choice for President. He was pleased with his apartness from factionalism in the state party. Such neutrality had enabled him to become Governor. His position of power was to him an occasion to keep the party united for the next political race. "This is not intended to be egotistical but simply as a condition of affairs which seems to be fortunate for me," he admitted. "You know," he reflected upon himself, "I am not at all a pushing sort of fellow." Whatever this meant, a postscript to another admirer is revealing: "I many say privately for you and no one else that I think I shall be nominated." By this time, five
months before the national party convention, Marshall was perceived by McClure's Magazine as a compromise candidate to front-runners Wilson, Clark, Harmon, Folk, and Underwood.\(^{21}\)

As the keynote speaker of the Indiana Democratic State Convention on 20 March Marshall did not overly sell himself as a candidate. He discussed state affairs along with the national political race. He gave his Democratic-controlled legislature the credit for a number of progressive legislative enactments. He handed Theodore Roosevelt a verbal thumping for his advocacy of "overruling" the court when one has been an unsuccessful litigant. "My sober judgment," Marshall offered, "looking to the permanent good of the people, entitles me to insist that the courts must remain free and untrammeled; that we must first seek relief through the remedy we now have and patiently abide by lawful reversal of judicial injustice."\(^{22}\)

Nationally he was still a question mark. The American Review of Reviews stated that "Governor Marshall of Indiana is a man of originality and force, whose personal equation is not at all known to the country at large." As an unannounced candidate for the Presidency, Marshall had neither the number of campaign workers nor the supporter commitment as, say, Woodrow Wilson. Here was the key to the Wilson campaign. In January, at the Jackson Day Dinner in Washington, the New Jersey governor had been at the speakers' table and had gotten indispensable exposure. His campaign strategists were doing their homework.\(^{23}\)

Former presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan was not asleep either. Having observed the Republican convention in Chicago in mid-June, prior to the Democratic conclave, the Great Commoner foresaw that only a progressive-minded
candidate could beat the conservative Republican candidate and that if the Democrats chose a conservative for President the nation would surely select the Progressive Party man. Right ideas but wrong party! Upon learning of Judge Alton Parker as the choice of the Convention Committee for Temporary Chairman, Bryan immediately assumed that the convention delegates would be led down the conservative trail. A telegram to the leading Democratic candidates might just calm the conservative storm that appeared to be brewing off the coast of New York City. Bryan's telegrams requested no less than a repudiation of Parker.

The olive branch strategy did not work. North Dakota Governor John Burke was the only one to give Bryan the answer he wanted. Wilson had already stated his position publicly. Clark answered against party discord. Governors Foss and Baldwin and Marshall had their own reasons for declining Bryan's kind support. Marshall's ideal of the office seeking the man and not the man seeking the office sounded admirable. Still, it was a man and a machine who placed the governorship in the lap of the Columbia City lawyer four years earlier. Marshall could never have achieved that office without Taggart's help. Would Taggart rescue the dapper little democrat at the national convention? Apparently unaware of the extent of his previous dependence on Thomas Taggart for victory, Marshall's thoughts were on the Indiana delegates who had pledged themselves to a man to help get the Democratic Presidential nomination for their Indiana leader. It remained to be seen what the Hoosiers would accomplish with the other forty-seven-plus state delegations.
Baltimore, that northernmost southern city, was the target for trains and motorcars containing state delegations to the 1912 Democratic national convention. City streets were decorated with red, white, and blue bunting as local citizens behaved with grace and curiosity toward their visitors. Out-of-state delegates were unaccustomed to the humid summer weather of the Chesapeake Bay area. A political reporter noted that most of the delegates came from the West and the South and were not as neat looking in dress as had been the Republican delegates at Chicago.¹

The Republicans had completed their convention at the Chicago Coliseum, and reports of bickering among themselves pleased the Democrats to no end. Taft and Sherman were renominated, but not without a fight from the progressive wing which wanted Roosevelt back at the helm. With the convention committee stacked with Taft supporters and the bulk of the delegations pledged to the President, the outcome became obvious. In a huff the progressives left when they failed to get real support and initiated their own Progressive Party in Orchestra Hall. Weeks later, in August, the Progressive Party would again meet in Chicago to nominate Theodore Roosevelt for President and California Governor Hiram Johnson for Vice President.

Slogans and slurs were making the rounds the closer the Democratic delegates moved to the Maryland Fifth Regiment Armory, a huge downtown fieldhouse that had
sheltered everything from marching troops to dancing dogs. Supporters of Champ Clark were singing,

Everytime I come to town
The boys keep kickin' my dawg aroun';
Makes no difference if he's a houn',
They gotta quit kickin' my dawg aroun'!

His supporters were going to Baltimore to stop others from kicking the dog (Clark). The fight would be touch-and-go, but the outcome looked hopeful. With the Republicans split into two camps, the Clark men might have a good chance of winning the Presidency for their man. The Wilson forces hoped to stem the tide of Clark support, but their man had only half as many pledged votes. Oscar Underwood from Alabama was confident that he would get solid support from the Deep South. Other known vote-getters were the "favorite sons": Thomas Marshall was one. There were 224 other votes that as yet belonged to none of the front-runners.

Not since 1860--and in Baltimore--would the Democrats take as long, and longer, to arrive at their decisions. Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois had been their choice then, a midwesterner with a southerner, Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia, to balance the ticket. The outcome of the 1912 convention voting, though the delegates would not yet know it, became the reverse: a southerner as Presidential nominee (Wilson) and a midwesterner as Vice Presidential hopeful (Marshall).}

I

The 1912 Democratic National Convention was called to order at noon on 25 June. A prayer was offered by James Cardinal Gibbons of the Archdiocese of Baltimore
after which the presiding officer, Norman Mack, offered the National Committee's choice for Temporary Chairman of the convention, Alton B. Parker of New York, the party's unsuccessful candidate for the Presidency in 1904. Bryan, who like Parker had run unsuccessfully for the Presidency (in 1896, 1900, and 1908!), was opposed to the nonprogressive Parker. The Nebraskan placed in nomination the name of John Worth Kern of Indiana, Bryan's running mate for Vice President in 1908. Senator Kern was offered as one "to represent the militant spirit of democracy" and to start the Convention in the most auspicious manner.

Kern declined the nomination. He had already decided whom he would serve:
"... I hail from the State of Indiana, which will shortly present to this Convention for its consideration the name of one of the best, truest, and most gallant Democrats on this earth, in the person of the Honorable Thomas R. Marshall, the Governor of that State." (The Indiana delegation cheered.) Faithful to his friend, Kern declared, "I desire to take no part in this Convention that will in any wise militate against him or against his interests, which all true Indiana Democrats this day loyally support." The Kokomo politician held that the good of the Party must take precedence over factional differences, and then he proceeded to name seven or eight other likely candidates for Temporary Chairman, including Judge Parker himself and even Bryan, "the great American tribune."

In response, Bryan strove to the podium to explain that he preferred any "progressive" who could "lead the battle." At length, he and Parker were pitted against each other for this brief but symbolic office. Judge Parker narrowly won the vote, 579 to 508, and for the appearance of unity was then unanimously elected. Bryan's progressive
forces, while inadequate to get him the position of temporary chairman, at least blocked the conservatives from getting two-thirds of the convention's delegate support. The tone of the battle was being set.

Marshall remained in Indianapolis throughout the convention. While native Indianans had a fair knowledge of their governor, he was hardly a name nationally except to the politically astute. Boss Taggart was not close to Marshall but he had chosen to back the Governor for several reasons. Taggart after all was himself from the same state, Indiana. He was always more interested in wielding power at the local and state levels despite his involvement with the Democratic National Committee. Besides the contests on the national level there was the current race for governor. The Irish-Indianan knew that his energetic fight for Marshall would stimulate Hoosier support for his crony, Samuel Ralston, then running for governor.5

Taggart was recognized as being one of the top three Democratic bosses nationally, along with Charles F. Murphy of New York and Roger Sullivan of Chicago. These men had learned to play the politics of realism: a well-placed word, a well-timed strategy meeting, a switch of allegiance if expedient--all toward winning the political game. Yet, the charisma of William Jennings Bryan might prove indispensable to their victory. These men were playing their cards close to their vests.

On the evening of the third day of the convention, the Permanent Chairman, Ollie James, called for the nomination of a Democrat for the Presidency of the United States. At that point, Bryan arose to sway the convention against "any candidate for president who is the representative of or under obligation to J. Pierpont Morgan, Thomas F. Ryan, August Belmont, or any other member of the privilege-hunting and favor seeking class."
The colorful Commoner was absolutely determined to prevent his party's selection of a reactionary for President, one who would surround himself with financial and political interests harmful to the Nation. It was a great and calculated gamble by Bryan, one that he felt he had to take to save his party and the American people.

Opposition to Bryan’s resolution was prompt and volatile. While many praised him, others cursed him. Ryan of Virginia and Belmont of New York were present as delegates but neither spoke publicly against Bryan. Long debate took place, forcing the convention to make a clear-cut choice between what were understood to be pro- and anti-Wall Street factions, in other words, "conservative" and “progressive" positions. As one eyewitness from Maryland described the reactions of the delegates toward Bryan, "When he mounted the platform and made statements, the uproar of the Convention, both for and against him, was so strong that it was almost pandemonium at the convention.” Most of the delegates agreed with Bryan that such men as Belmont and Ryan had no proper place in a democratic arena, and voted 883 to 201 1/2 in support of the resolution. No candidate was eliminated by this vote, but the convention had made progressivism its firm commitment. To insure this commitment Bryan was given every opportunity to assist in the composition of the party platform.6

That evening, nominating speeches were made for the contestants. Underwood of Alabama, Clark of Missouri, and Baldwin of Connecticut were the first nominations. Following them the name of Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey was presented in which this man, as governor of his state and a recent president of a famous and proud university, was advanced as one in whom all the people could place their confidence. Still other delegates arose to make nominations or to give seconding speeches.
the next morning. Indiana Senator Benjamin F. Shively walked to the podium slowly.
The sun had started its slow rise. Inside the armory the delegates were restless and tired. They hardly listened to Shively speak of his state's crucial geographical position and her historic role in the Democracy. It appeared too true to refute. Shively reminded his fellow delegates that "through all the ninety-six years of its statehood, as Indiana has gone, so had gone the Union. Whenever in all these years Indiana has been won for the national ticket, the presidency has been won." And, then, the reverse has been true. "Whenever Indiana has been lost [to the Republican party], the presidency has been lost."
Shively labored on to explain how typical of all America Indiana has been, and emphasized, "The candidate who can carry Indiana for the national ticket can carry all the States necessary to the election of the national ticket." Such a candidate, Shively presented proudly, is Governor Thomas R. Marshall. His accomplishments as Governor, his political philosophy, and his dedication to Jeffersonian principles were laid out for thoughtful consideration. Champ Clark is needed by the country as the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Shively offered. Oscar Underwood is needed by the country as head of the House Committee on Ways and Means. The other nominees who are governors of their respective states are needed by their people "to carry forward and complete the civic regeneration of their respective States which they have so nobly begun..." (The same reasoning, somehow, did not apply to Indiana's Governor.) The country, Shively concluded in a series of rhetorical questions, needs a candidate who is honorable, accomplished intellectually and physically vigorous, unattached to faction, loyal to Democratic principles, full of solid wisdom and universally admired. Marshall,
Indeed was all of these things, but something more was needed to win the votes, and that he did not have: a strong, sophisticated campaign machine dedicated to winning the contest for him.7

The first balloting for the Democratic nominee for President ended with Clark getting the highest number of votes (440 1/2) and Wilson the second highest (324). Harmon and Underwood were next highest with 148 and 117 1/2, respectively. Indiana gave to Marshall all her 30 votes, and one additional vote came from a Michigan delegate. Marshall never received more votes than these. Most of Indiana's thirty votes would go to another candidate at a critical moment in the balloting.8

Throughout the next day of the convention, 28 June, eleven more ballots were cast. By the end of the day Clark had gained 100 votes while Wilson received only 30 more. Clark's manager at the Convention, Arthur F. Mullen, believed that Wilson was too wrapped up in his idealism to win and that most of the other candidates had no real political power base such as Tammany Hall, which helped Clark on the tenth ballot. At this juncture Champ Clark seemed to be winning.9

Though no decision to desert Marshall had yet been made by the Indiana delegation, some delegates appeared to favor Wilson, some fewer Clark, and the rest were noncommittal. In general, the sentiment was for a progressive nominee. The question was to decide which candidates were reform-minded. Clark was not under the influence of either machine boss or Wall Street financier. Yet, he had not shown sufficient assertiveness to persuade people that he would not be influenced by special interest groups. Indeed, Bryan was himself troubled and uncertain as to how far he could go in supporting Clark.10 Marshall was progressive in some ways but was not a
thorough-going liberal. His greatest liability was in not being known well outside his state.

Meanwhile, Taggart worked to discover which of the leading candidates had the best chance to win. Mullen believed Taggart's promise to deliver Indiana's thirty votes to Clark "sometime around the fifteenth ballot," assuming Clark would maintain the majority of the ballot votes by then. As events developed, Clark did not remain in the majority. He was still ahead by the end of Friday but Wilson was gaining steadily and almost surely, as delegates became persuaded of his unattachment to Eastern bossism and financial interests.

The convention hall was crammed with both delegates and unofficial observers. Some persons, supposed doorkeepers, were making money by selling convention tickets for a dollar and a half apiece to people outside. Those who bought these tickets were surprised to find that they could indeed enter the crowded auditorium, particularly through the smaller, Biddle Street entrance at no cost! Inside, the place seemed in a state of chaos with constant movement of people in the aisles and on the floors. Ollie James, a big man with a big gavel, pounded the table by the podium and pounded it some more to get attention. The roll call votes caused great interruptions and with the acoustics so poor the turmoil was tremendous. No one appeared to know what was going on until after a vote was posted. Clark was leading the field, yet he had not achieved the needed two-thirds for the nomination by the end of Saturday's balloting. 11

II
Sunday, 30 June, was a day of rest for the Democratic delegates. It was not so for the candidates' strategists, including Wilson's McCombs and Marshall's Taggart. Great excitement had been generated the preceding day by Bryan's denunciation of the New York delegation coupled with his switch of confidence from Clark to Wilson because the former had not repudiated the New York support. There was genuine fear that Bryan might take advantage of the deadlock between Clark and Wilson to advance himself.

It was in the hotel suites of the convention campaign managers, particularly the Belvedere and the Emerson, in downtown Baltimore that the final results were engineered. By this time McCombs and others of the Wilson team were frustrated as to whether Bryan in fact would take away his support for Wilson if New York gave him its votes, which strength Wilson needed to pass Clark's total votes. From his Emerson suite McCombs telephoned Governor Wilson at his vacation home in Sea Girt, New Jersey, to inform him of Bryan's intransigence and of new alliances with certain key delegations. The party bosses allegedly were working to undermine Wilson in favor of a dark horse, A. Mitchell Palmer, a Pennsylvania progressive and Wilson worker. Palmer, however, remained loyal to Wilson.¹²

Taggart may have participated with Murphy in a plot against the progressive Wilson (the party bosses did not like Wilson’s principles or his politics), but subsequent events cast doubt on his involvement. McCombs recorded years later that he was in bed on Sunday night, virtually worn out by the physical effort required of him, when a bellboy arrived to ask him to go to Bryan's hotel room.¹³ While doubt has been cast on McCombs' version by contemporaneous sources, the experience was extremely vivid to the tired politician: "When I went in I shall not forget the sight. Bryan standing with his
profile facing me, and never turning. His hair was all in a frenzy. Suspenders down. Big trousers bagging at the knees and sagging from the belt. Loose, spreading carpet slippers. Brown Nebraska undershirt. You can imagine the picture as the army of stenographers and secretaries scurried to cover.

According to McCombs, Bryan looked at him sternly and pontificated that neither Wilson nor Clark nor Marshall [sic!] could be nominated: only a progressive Democrat would win. McCombs interpreted Bryan to be putting himself forward as the savior of the Party. In a huff McCombs said plainly that he was not at all interested in Bryan's views and left him immediately.

For no confessed reason other than admiration for Tom Taggart's political abilities, McCombs indicated that he "went straight" to the Indiana boss's hotel room at the Belvedere and shared the brief conversation he had just had with Bryan. He then asked Taggart, "How does Wilson look to you at this time as our man for president?"

Just as quickly Taggart replied, "McCombs, how does Tom Marshall look to you for vice-president?"

"Fine, as the running mate of Woodrow Wilson."14

A conversation held weeks after the Baltimore convention between McCombs and John Stoll, an Indiana newspaper publisher, occurred in the lobby of the French Lick Springs Hotel owned by Thomas Taggart. Pointing to him across the lobby, McCombs revealed, "There is the real general who made Woodrow Wilson president and Thomas R. Marshall vice-president. I was there and I ought to know." Stoll's account (above) is in essential agreement with McCombs' discussion in his book, Making Woodrow Wilson President
(1921). McCombs' secretary, Maurice Lyons, also confirmed that there had occurred a meeting between McCombs and Taggart.\(^{15}\)

What Taggart did after his meeting with McCombs was to call party boss Roger Sullivan of Illinois, Democratic National Committee Chairman Norman Mack of New York, and other delegation leaders to arrange an immediate meeting in his hotel room. In pajamas and lounging robes they spent much of the remaining hours of the night in conference deciding upon the suitability of the Wilson-Marshall combination. Having made the decision to support Wilson with his delegation votes, Taggart that morning went to Judge Andrew Adams, Marshall's personal representative at the convention. Adams knew that Marshall's bid for the nomination for President was hopeless. He was receptive to Wilson's candidacy and so agreed with Taggart on the switch to Wilson.\(^{16}\)

On Monday morning, 1 July, on the second ballot of the day, Taggart signaled to the Hoosier delegation that they were no longer bound to support their "favorite son." Twenty-eight votes went to Wilson, one to Clark, and one to John W. Kern. Later that day on the thirtieth ballot some of Iowa's delegation cast their support to Wilson, putting him ahead for the first time over Clark (460 to 455). The other candidates trailed far behind. Still, the necessary two-thirds majority was missing. Wilson's count increased slowly. The suspense was growing. Finally, with Illinois' support for Wilson on the forty-third ballot, followed by Virginia and West Virginia, and Underwood's Alabama delegation switch to Wilson on the forty-sixth ballot, the race was over. Wilson supporters ascended into seventh heaven. At 3:30 p.m., Woodrow Wilson was his party's nominee for the Presidency.
III

Shortly after the nomination of Woodrow Wilson a behind-the-scenes decision was made by the Wilson campaign then in favor of Marshall as the preferred running mate. This occurred probably during the recess on 2 July, between four and nine o'clock in the evening.

Wilson had received word that he had become the winner, whereupon he telephoned Albert S. Burleson in Baltimore about contacting fellow southerner Oscar Underwood to run with him. Burleson relayed to Wilson that the delegates were "leaning toward Thomas R. Marshall." "But, Burleson," Wilson reacted, "he is a small-caliber man." Burleson was sympathetic but realistic: Marshall was from the Midwest and would be a prudent compliment to the candidate from the East.17

William Gibbs McAdoo, an important member of the team, spoke long-distance with Wilson that same day and inquired about his choice of a political partner. Wilson replied that he would leave the decision in the hands of the delegates, and then asked whom McAdoo would suggest. McAdoo answered that Marshall of Indiana had a good reputation, "that of a liberal, and because he seems to be generally well regarded." This was enough to satisfy Wilson. McAdoo in his own mind believed that he had persuaded Wilson to accept Marshall as running-mate. He would later reminisce, “I do not think Marshall ever knew to what extent I was instrumental in having him nominated as Vice President at the Baltimore Convention.” The decision, however, had already been made between Wilson’s campaign manager and the Indiana “boss.” Thomas Taggart received the promise of a vice presidential nomination for Indiana in exchange for the promise of
delegate votes timed to begin a grand switch to Wilson. He had taken advantage of a
desperate move by McCombs to obtain needed support from any quarter.18

Monday evening was devoted to the convention's nomination of a candidate for
the Vice Presidency. A Georgia delegate announced his choice of the runner-up to
Wilson, Champ Clark. Clark refused but pledged loyalty to the party's choice for
President. North Dakota Governor John Burke was next offered for Convention
consideration, followed by support for Elmore W. Hurst of Illinois.

Governor Marshall was nominated by G. V. Menzies of Indiana. His words were
directed to appeal to Southerners who remembered "the dark days of 1870." They were
reminded that Indiana was the first state in which the Democrats achieved political power
following the Civil War: Indiana "turned the tide of radicalism and helped you to resume
the white man's civilization of the South." Thomas R. Marshall, he concluded, was not
only "of Old Virginia ancestry" but an Indiana Democrat whose reputation and name
would add much to the national ticket.

It was as though the convention were turning into a national basketball
tournament. An Iowan followed, nominating another Iowan. Kansas seconded the name
of John Burke, and Louisiana followed with support to Marshall. A Maryland
spokesman extolled the virtues of the mayor of Baltimore, James Preston. Just then,
unexpectedly, Senator Kern stepped forward to give the report of the Committee on
Resolutions, interrupting the nominations for the Vice Presidential candidate. The
introduction of the resolutions into the period of nominations for the Vice Presidential
candidacy was a device to stall for time while Thomas Taggart, Charles Murphy, and
Roger Sullivan went among the delegates to offset any ill effects of anti-Marshall
telegrams sent that day from labor leaders throughout the country, criticizing Governor Marshall's allegedly premature action in his handling of the McNamara extradition two years earlier. The noise subsided throughout the Armory.

The debate over who should be the Vice Presidential candidate resumed. The remarks were few, the hour was abominable, and the states mentioned little more than their choice. Then, a District of Columbia delegate mentioned in a "semi-humorous" way the name of William Jennings Bryan, which prompted the Great Commoner to go to the podium again to deliver an impromptu speech. He had declined to run for the Presidency: "It is not because the Vice Presidency is lower in importance than the Presidency that I decline it. There is no office this nation so low that I would not take it if I could my country by doing so." On he spoke, concluding with a second of not one man but two: Burke and Chamberlain.  

Had Marshall been present at this time in Baltimore, he would not have been surprised at this lack of support from Bryan. A constrained schism between them had developed when Bryan wired Marshall prior to the convention not to support Judge Parker for the temporary chairmanship. Years later Marshall revealed his reason for noncompliance with Bryan. He had not forgotten that Judge Parker had spoken throughout Indiana in 1908 in support of Marshall in his race for Governor while also supporting Bryan in his race for President. Marshall was cautioned not to cross Bryan, which action might wipe out any chance the man from Indiana had to be nominated for the Presidency. "But I realized," he later recorded, "that sometime in the future I would meet Judge Parker, and then when I did he would be thinking what an ingrate I was . . . ."

Thus, Marshall wired Bryan that he would support Parker. In consequence, he paid a
debt of kindness to Parker and incurred the wrath of Bryan. In retrospect, Marshall made no wrong decision, as the balloting would show.  

The time for voting for the candidate for Vice President eventually arrived. Five names were submitted for voting, and four more were added during the balloting. Voting results divided among the nine nominees showed Marshall considerably ahead of Burke and the others. A motion was made for a unanimous nomination. Bryan arose to ask whether there was time for debate. He was answered affirmatively, and then the man from Missouri who had requested a unanimous vote for Marshall withdrew his motion and a second ballot was called.

Maryland started the move to Marshall as she withdrew the name of Preston. Mississippi changed her twenty votes from Chamberlain and gave them for Burke. Split voting was not uncommon, but the highest number of votes again went to Marshall, 644 1/2; with Burke getting 386 1/3, and Chamberlain 12 1/2 (abstentions numbered 44 2/3). The battle was between the men from North Dakota and Indiana. The total was not yet providing a two-thirds split.

Hughes of New Jersey moved that Governor Marshall's nomination be made unanimous. The time had arrived as the Wilson forces showed their support of the Indiana man whose delegation began the switching of votes to Woodrow Wilson. Thomas Taggart was being personally repaid by this act. A North Dakota delegate decided that the battle was too far gone, withdrew Burke's name as a candidate, and seconded the motion for a unanimous vote for Marshall. The convention was almost at an end.
Tom Taggart strode to the podium. After expressing gratitude to the National Committee, the people and the mayor of Baltimore, and the Convention officers, he announced that Ollie M. James would notify Wilson of his nomination and that Alton Parker would notify Marshall. It was two o'clock in the morning, July third. The convention was over, finally.\textsuperscript{21}

In the middle of that same night a reporter sought out Governor Marshall's reaction at his home on Pennsylvania Avenue in Indianapolis. Lois heard the banging on the door downstairs and awakened her husband with her suspicion that the intruder had news from Baltimore. Marshall was not anxious to get out of bed but his wife persuaded him to go downstairs anyway. With the information given that he had been nominated by his party as candidate for the Vice Presidency--not the top office--he thanked his caller and went back to bed.

The next day a close friend, Meredith Nicholson, visited the Marshalls and proceeded to sound out the Governor as to his decision to accept the second spot on the ticket. Marshall unhesitatingly answered no. The position did not pay enough money in light of the cost of living in Washington. His wife was stunned. She commenced crying. The prospect of returning to Columbia City after Indianapolis when she might have gone to Washington was simply overwhelming to her. Her beloved was none other than a penny pincher, and his periodic remarks on his personal finances left no doubt the economy was quite important to him. Still, it is hard to conceive that a limited income in Washington would be the sole, even the most important reason for refusing the party's call. A disquieting reason is that Marshall was not that sure of himself. Maybe an
upstate Hoosier lawyer could handle the governor’s chair in Indianapolis, but to sit before
the senators of the nation?

Lois' tears were something else. Nicholson added his thought on why Marshall
should accept the nomination. He admired the Governor immensely for his integrity and
his untainted political philosophy. He even wrote a novel that was inspired by Marshall’s
character. The governor weakened and finally capitulated.22

Following the Baltimore convention analysts reflected upon the two Democratic
standard bearers. Wilson and Marshall were seen to have curious similarities: neither
had ever served in a legislative capacity; both had been in public life only as governors of
their respective states; both had been elected as Democrats by people who had often
voted in Republican candidates to the governorship and by machine bosses who
represented the opposite of reformmindedness, and both had shown themselves to be
progressives by their record while in the state house. What was not emphasized were
their differences. These would slowly and surely emerge as the two men settled into their
respective position.

From Sea Girt, Woodrow Wilson sent a prompt telegram to Marshall:

SINCERE CONGRATULATION. I SHALL LOOK FORWARD
WITH PLEASURE TO MY ASSOCIATION WITH YOU.

To the newspapers Wilson issued this statement: "Governor Marshall bears the highest
reputation both as an executive and as a Democrat, and I feel honored by having him as a
running mate. He is, I am happy to say, a valued personal friend of mine, a fellow-
Democrat." This is what the Indianapolis News reported. The New York Times carried
Wilson’s public response to learning of Marshall as his running mate:
An excellent man, one who is entirely satisfactory as far as I am concerned. I know Gov. Marshall and have been his guest on one occasion for thirty-six hours, and I am sure that his selection is another progressive triumph. It couldn’t be anything else.23

One could interpret this to be the epitome of hyperbole. Wilson’s earlier reaction to the knowledge that Underwood would not accept the Democratic nomination for the Vice-Presidency was not recorded except for Wilson’s initial reaction to Burleson in knowing about Marshall as the convention choice. He did not seem to be elated by the victory.

Messages went forth between the two new partners in politics. Marshall invited Wilson to Indianapolis for the Vice Presidential candidate's notification ceremony and then to Muncie, Indiana, to attend a Democratic rally: "I still have nothing but good news for you from Indiana. It now looks as though we would have a regular state republican ticket, a Bull-Moose ticket, and I am not at all sure that we will not have a county option ticket. The voter in Indiana, this year, will have his choice beyond doubt. Reports from every county, however, encourage us to believe that the loss to the democratic party will be negligible while hundreds of republicans are declaring they will vote the democratic ticket." The other requests to Wilson to visit Indiana were turned down since he was working on his acceptance speech and preparing for the campaign ahead. Two days before Wilson's notification ceremony the Marshalls left Indianapolis for Sea Girt on the Jersey shore where the ceremony would take place.24
IV

The weather was perfect: clear skies and cool winds. It could not have been otherwise or there would have been chaos for the occasion. The white Victorian summer home was beautiful to behold from the outside, but in event of rain there would have been no room inside for all the people in attendance. Governor Wilson, before the ceremony, took Governor Marshall in arm and reviewed the many Democratic clubs that had arrived from up and down the State of New Jersey. "A number of them are some of my old campaign friends," explained Wilson. "They march," observed his Hoosier guest, "as well as if they were Jersey militiamen." "No doubt some of them are!" was the retort.25

The ceremony began. The crowd became still as Kentucky Senator Ollie M. James set the tone of the occasion: "Sixteen years of Republican rule have riveted the chains of monopoly, special privilege and greed upon every avenue of trade. . . . It will take a giant for this task [of breaking the chains], a hero's heart, a soldier's courage. Democracy looked this Republic over, and with millions to choose from, selected you as the man. . . . "26

Wilson acknowledged the honor given him and his task as a potential President of the nation. He saw the day as a new age, a time to fight the forces of "privilege and private advantage." His words summarized the platform so recently adopted in Baltimore. The Democratic nominee charged that a very small group of men were involved in private affairs with motives not completely in the public interest. The tariff question has been a matter of politics, not of business, he claimed, a matter of the dispensing of favors instead of just regulation. He chose not to accuse any persons in
particular but he indicted the system. He did not denounce big business for its bigness but for its favoritism to the few. He did not attack business but the absence of genuine competition which had been created by the trusts. He touched on other planks and returned to the idea of the spirit of the new age in which the people's cause shall be his cause and in which he and his party shall be true servants of the people.27

The crowd who heard Wilson that day was made up mostly of news reporters and a few friends. No elaborate preparations had been made to impress anyone. It was a simple ceremony of acceptance. Governor Marshall was there as Wilson's "only personal guest." Before he left Sea Girt, he presented Wilson with an "Abe Martin" Indiana book, signed, "From your only vice, Thomas R. Marshall."28

Indiana Democracy's big day was on 20 August in Indianapolis. Various local committees were formed to cover the almost endless details. "Boss" Taggart, chairman of the reception committee, had big plans for the big day. He was going to entertain the visiting Democratic worthies at a luncheon at the Denison Hotel, and at the notification ceremonies he would call the meeting to order, a sign of his preeminence among the party faithful. Portly Samuel Ralston was running for the office of governor for a second time. He was to give a ten-minute talk after Taggart's initial greetings. Following the ceremonies Governor Marshall would entertain the notification committee at the local country club.

The day of notification arrived. Photographers busied themselves grouping distinguished visitors for posed pictures. On the steps of the State House stood one group that included Taggart, Governor Marshall, handsome Joseph E. Davies of Wisconsin, western campaign manager, and Josephus Daniels, a North Carolina newspaperman who
had supported Wilson every step of the way. National Committee Chairman William F. McCombs, ill in New York from the effects of the Convention, was represented by William G. McAdoo, vice-chairman of the National Democratic Committee. McAdoo also was a substitute for Governor Wilson who found it impossible to be present.29

This event was not the first time a Hoosier candidate for national office had received personal notification of acceptance by his party. Thomas A. Hendricks in 1876 received notice that he was the Democratic Vice Presidential candidate running with Samuel Tilden, and again in 1884 Hendricks was notified of his candidacy with Grover Cleveland. Four years earlier the Democrat William H. English was notified in Indianapolis that he was Vice Presidential candidate running with General Winfield S. Hancock. These notifications were all delivered by mail. Benjamin Harrison, Republican candidate for President in 1888, was the first Hoosier to be personally notified. In 1904 Charles Warren Fairbanks, Republican, was given a ceremony of notification as Theodore Roosevelt's running-mate. John Worth Kern received the news of his 1908 candidacy along with William Jennings Bryan, and in 1912 Thomas Riley Marshall became another recipient of notification.30

Before the Indianapolis crowd of enthusiasts and onlookers, Alton Parker delivered his notification address. Parker's round face, bald head, and bushy mustache turned in unison with his raised fist as he made each point in denouncing the opposition party, its leader President Taft, former President Roosevelt, and the monopolists' puppet Republican Congress. Parker referred to Wilson's attack on the partnership between government and privilege and of the theft of millions of dollars made possible by the tariff statutes. "The Republican Party is solely responsible!"31
A few kind words were directed to Marshall, of course, for whom the speech was given. His response was lengthy, almost as long as Wilson's, but where Wilson spoke of the sources of evil in economic terms and promised to do combat through the halls of Congress, Marshall chose to talk about the nature and needs, practical and ideological, of the American citizen. He expounded, "The individualism of Thomas Jefferson is not dead. It has not moldered back to dust in the grave at Monticello. It walks the earth this day knocking at the door of rich and poor, of wise and ignorant, alike, calling upon all men to be the master and all shall be glad to be the servants of the Republic."

"It cannot be that it is the system of Government which is wrong," he went on to say. "It is the unjust use of the system. From Jefferson to Lincoln, the Republic grew in might, in majesty, in pomp and splendor, and the humblest of its citizens could obtain justice, not as a beggar crawling in the sun, but as a man. It has not been the use but the misuse of the powers of government which has produced this discontent in the minds of men."

Like Wilson, Marshall reminded his hearers of the "iniquity" of the high protective tariff. The Republican Party had become the party of privilege whereby the minority of favored few had aligned itself with an administration which had ceased to act for the majority, the citizens of America.

The voter who wants an oligarchy to rule America, he explained, will vote the Republican ticket. He who wants his government to become a socialism, will vote the socialist line. He who wishes no separation of church and state, where religious issues with other ones are settled by ballot, will vote for the Prohibition Party. And, those who with "equalization of opportunity" in government and equalization of purchase price to
those at home and abroad will vote the Democratic ticket. He concluded, "The hour has come when patriotism must consist in something more than eulogies upon the flag. Whether voting the ticket or not, men everywhere looking upon the awful injustice of this economic system are becoming socialistic in theory if not in conduct. . . . I do not hesitate to say that if it be impossible to restore this Republic to its ancient ideals, which I do not believe, and I must make the ultimate choice between the paternalism of the few and the socialism of the many, count me and my house with the throbbing heart of humanity."32 Just exactly what he meant by his last statement may not be as obvious as it first appears. Nevertheless, the words had been spoken. Some there would be who would not forget it.

It cannot fairly be said that Tom Marshall came to politics late in life. His father's influence, his college days' dabbling in democracy, and his participation in local and district election races all went toward the practice of campaigning for his party's candidates. Marshall was not a "pro" in the minds of the machine bosses or the new organizational politics. Nevertheless, he proved he could deal with the politicos on his own terms while governor and could mend his fences among the rival factions. By his latest remarks he was showing himself to some to be a democrat bordering on socialism and the welfare state but never admitting such a perspective to himself. He was always in process of becoming and so he fitted into Wilson's "New Freedom" progressivism, yet he would use the "old" language of Jeffersonian individualism and attempt to persuade conservatives as well that Democracy was what America desperately needed if it were to save itself from the unfettered greed of growing corporations.
As soon as the Baltimore Convention was over, the national campaign was "off and running." Marshall found the experience both exhilarating and trying.

Magazine and newspaper writers took fresh looks at the governor from the "doubtful state" of Indiana. They noted Marshall's record in Indianapolis, his political views, education, and family life, and they compared his background with that of Wilson. Cartoonists were also interested, though they saw Marshall as little more than Wilson's running mate. C. J. Budd of Harper's Weekly drew a caricature of the little man with the big mustache, with his feet in the air and his hands hanging onto the Democratic donkey being led by Wilson. In the same magazine writer Charles Johnston disclosed "a talk with Governor Marshall" in which the Vice Presidential aspirant related his administration's accomplishments. He shared his views on prisoner rehabilitation, favored regulation of "big business" (but did not like that "condemning" adjective), communicated his pessimism about America's future (paternalistic despotism or socialism may result from "the present tendency of things"), and announced that the "protective tariff is the source of much of the evil of our present state. . . . I believe in tariff for revenue only."

Marshall's underlying conservatism showed itself in his business remarks. Change had to be slow. He believed in the recently instituted income tax, but feared the federal government might exaggerate its own administrative role over that more properly
assumed by the states. He interspersed his remarks with talk of the new spirit, the true spirit, the spirit of kindness, of fairness, and of brotherliness in an age of reform. Such sentiment seems strange in light of other, pessimistic political remarks. One statement he made which he contradicted the next year was that "our big men, our great public donors, are the men that are doing most to create the desire for betterment." Later he would be criticizing communities for their willing dependence on the beneficence of men like Andrew Carnegie.¹

The question arose of Marshall's progressivism. A reporter for Current Literature sought to clarify his political ideology and decided that Wilson's running mate was a "progressive" in that he had supported a state income tax, favored the direct popular election of Senators, and guided passage of an employers' liability bill, a corrupt practices law, and a law requiring disclosure of campaign contributions.

But Marshall was not all progressive: he was weak on the initiative, referendum and recall, did not believe in "pure democracy," and despised Theodore Roosevelt's New Nationalism which he saw as "federal autocracy." Marshall advocated a proper balance of authority and responsibility among the three branches of government. He opposed the recall of judges, and did not admire the current presidential primary which he saw as enabling mainly rich men or machine candidates to run for that office, a sentiment powerfully felt nearly a century later. There must have been doubt in some people’s minds about Marshall’s political temperament compared with that of the Midwest in general. His old friend, John Worth Kern, expressed concern to Wilson even before 20 August, the day of the notification ceremony that “Governor Marshall seems to have
conceived a great dislike to the word ‘Progressive.’ I hope he will not make that dislike manifest in his speech of acceptance, for it would be well nigh fatal.”

Bit by bit the puzzle of the Vice Presidential nominee was being put together. One more reporter went away from the Governor's office with several pages of information and pictures. Thomas Shipp sat with the Governor long enough to ascertain his physical stature, his preference of sports, and his choice of relaxing reading: "light books -- detective stories and thrilling adventures -- books which [the reporter added] Dr. Woodrow Wilson would undoubtedly condemn as very trashy." Years later, Wilson is said to have remarked to a friend, "There are blessed intervals when I forget by one means or another that I am President of the United States. One means by which I forget is to get a rattling good detective story. . . ." Perhaps Marshall and Wilson did possess some characteristics, ideas, and skills in common which would make them a workable combination.

I

Following the notification ceremonies Democratic strategists headed by Albert S. Burleson planned to send Wilson and Marshall on campaign speaking tours across the country. The South was not in doubt, and so Wilson's itinerary was to cover the midwestern states. Marshall was assigned to go to locales distant from Wilson's stops. When one man was in the Midwest, the other would be on the East Coast. Both were to work in two grand phases, centering in the eastern and western sections of the country.

Burleson wanted a great deal out of the man from Indiana, and Wilson sensed that perhaps Governor Marshall ought to be allowed some freedom of movement. He advised
Burleson by letter that "it would be wiser not to have a fixed itinerary for him but to leave the matter open so that he can fill appointments to speak on special occasions when the necessity arises for him to do so." Burleson surely knew, however, that Marshall was a proven hand to the rigors of political stump-speaking. His real concern would be focused on the Wilson tour.4

President Taft had privately decided that his popularity was at such a low point that no effort would make any difference on election day. Almost the only effort he made was to deliver his acceptance speech as Republican standard-bearer.

Roosevelt, having formed the Bull Moose Party, was not as pessimistic since he thought he had a chance, though not a big chance. In a letter written just before Wilson’s victory at Baltimore, Roosevelt confided to William Dudley Foulke, "In strict confidence, my feeling is that the Democrats will probably win if they nominate a progressive. But of course there is no use of my getting into a fight in a halfhearted fashion and I could not expect Republicans to follow me out if they were merely to endorse the Democratic Convention. So I hoisted the flag and win or fall under it. . . . " But, a month later, even before he was nominated, he had little hope of winning: "For your private information I will say again that I think it probable at present that Wilson will win. There are plenty of well-meaning progressives who do not think deeply or fundamentally who will go to him. . . . "5

Wilson warmed slowly to speechmaking. Mid-August found him before the people of New Jersey, decrying boss rule of state politics. During the first half of September he spoke before groups in New York clarifying his position with regard to the
Murphy-Tammany Hall machine Democrats. On 15 September, when he left New York City, he would travel and speak as far west as Sioux Falls and as far east as Boston.

By this time Wilson had secured the loyalty and assistance of the famed lawyer, Louis D. Brandeis, who would provide him with harmonious ideas about human rights, regulated competition, and "industrial freedom." Brandeis hoped that the Democratic Party could achieve the social goals he had been dedicated to achieve. Writing his fellow-Progressive Gifford Pinchot, Brandeis was convinced that Democratic progressivism had proven itself strong enough "to secure Wilson’s nomination with a much better man for Vice President than the Democrats have had for many years, and a reasonably good platform." Rich words of praise, indeed, from a man Wilson regarded as an intellectual “heavy” on the Democratic team.

Marshall's two-phased campaign was to begin in the extreme northeastern United States, continue to the West Coast, and swing back to Indiana. His contribution would be in stirring enthusiasm for the ticket and encouraging voter support for Congressional candidates. On the road he labored to persuade his hearers of the evils of business trusts with their lobbies in the legislatures of the land. At Portland, Maine, the first stop, the Indiana Governor began batting barbs at ex-President Roosevelt: "Does anyone doubt that for seven and one-half years the leader of the Progressive party was in power in this country? Can anyone put his finger upon a single effort made by him to curb the monopolistic tendency which was then rampant? Does anyone believe that his new platform, which stands both for socialism and for a system of licensing and curbing, is anything more than a bid for votes?" The Progressive candidate was Marshall’s whipping boy. "It is not the business of government to form a partnership with anyone
unless it forms a partnership with all," the Governor claimed before a capacity audience of 4,500.\(^7\)

In Gardiner the next afternoon Marshall foresaw "a peaceable or forcible revolution" in human affairs. "The people," he said, "will not permit a few to make peace or war, famine or plenty. Such conduct is breeding socialists like rabbits in a warren." In Augusta that evening he talked of conflicting interests and philosophies, and again lambasted Roosevelt: "When he began his career as a trust buster there were only 149 trusts, with four billions of capital. At the end of his career there were more than ten thousand with more than thirty-one billions of capital!" At Bangor and Lewiston the Democratic candidate continued against the trusts and the tariff and the increasingly prevalent lobbies in Washington. He challenged his hearers to consider that the perpetrators are not many citizens but "a little coterie" of men who exist only by deceiving the public. Marshall felt he was succeeding in his efforts and wrote Wilson that "things are in great shape in Maine."\(^8\)

After going back to Indiana to take care of state business, he resumed his campaign trail to Missouri. In Kansas City with his staff, he learned he was to give five speeches. His caustic response to his political managers, hardly a piece of finesse, was carried by all the newspapers: "This rear-end platform business never got a man anywhere. I've got little enough to say, but I must have time to say it . . . . I'll carry out your programme, gentlemen, but it's a 'tomfool' business. I'll be the Tom and they'll be the fools!"\(^9\)

The oratory had to go on, nevertheless. It was a game even if Marshall detested games. Identifying with his audience, he spoke of social ills created by advocates of the
protective tariff, of the small earning power of workers, and of the indescribably poor housing of working citizens. Marshall attacked the conditions of women who earned only a dollar a day in the Auburn, New York, plant of George W. Perkins' International Harvester Company. (For this remark he was subsequently called a liar by Perkins.) In Springfield, Illinois, he swiped at the Republican regime in Maine for its alleged favoritism to the Bangor & Aroostock Railroad (yet said not a word about this subject to his Maine audiences).  

Wilson and Marshall touched base with one another in Iowa, and then Wilson headed for Minneapolis while Marshall stopped off at his childhood home in Missouri.

A week's respite from battle was the Indiana politician's reward for the three weeks of party service, and then he headed again for New England. The Supreme Council of the Scottish Rite Masons gave a banquet in Boston which both Marshall and Taft attended, and they shook hands before dining, old acquaintances still friends. At Norwich, Connecticut, he reached an uncharacteristic low in his speechmaking by describing Roosevelt's attitude as "that of a man without whom civilization cannot longer survive." In New York City next day he compared Roosevelt to a rejected wife: "Roosevelt divorced the Republican party on the grounds of non-support. I am not interested in the amount of alimony or what the Harvester Trust pays him."  

By this time the fifty-eight-year-old Marshall was feeling the strain. A few days earlier, a small boy had thrown a stone which struck him near the eye. His hand was sore, having been hit in a friendly game by a softball thrown by "Charley" Fairbanks in Indianapolis. "It hurts like a toothache!" he exclaimed to reporters. His nerves were becoming frayed. Preparing to speak at the Tariff Chamber of Horrors (as it was called)
at Union Square in New York City, Marshall was suddenly "assaulted" by a bevy of exploding flashlight powder. The experience scared both him and the audience until they recognized news cameras as being the source of the smoke. En route from New York to Harrisburg Marshall again struck out at Roosevelt. The New York World labeled his Harrisburg speech as "Colonel the Victim of Autointoxication," wherein the Democrat alleged that Roosevelt was having a political love affair with himself.12

Marshall did not like the stress of speaking and did not like being manipulated by the campaign tour committee. In New York he learned that a tour of western states was being planned. From Indianapolis his secretary sent a letter to Burleson which objected to arrangements made without the Governor's knowledge or consent. Thistletwaite charged that undue pressure was being exerted to influence Marshall "to do things contrary to his conscience and his judgment," particularly to accept campaign money and to ride on trains financed by supporters. The Governor's man informed Burleson that on the western tour Marshall not only would ride on public trains but would pay expenses of himself, his wife, and a political assistant. "The Governor is absolutely in earnest," Thistletwaite emphasized, "in insisting that the use of money in politics is the bane of our system of government and is determined that no one shall pay his expenses thereby absolutely eliminating any possibility of an investigation such as now is being conducted in the City of Washington." This extreme rectitude of the candidate was not artificial. When campaigning for the governorship in 1908, Marshall asked Thistletwaite, then a journalist for the Indianapolis News, to find out who was paying for his train entourage. The information uncovered was that certain brewers were covering expenses. Marshall
refused, thereupon, to ride on a special train and ultimately paid for every cent of his campaigning costs.  

Despite the convictions he held, he was now involved in a national campaign which he did not direct and could not control. He went on the western tour on the train as planned. From 16 October to 2 November he addressed audiences at Grand Island, Nebraska; Greeley, Colorado; and Cheyenne, Wyoming. At Sacramento on 22 October he was wished success by Grove Johnson, father and staunch opponent of California Governor Hiram Johnson, vice-presidential candidate of the Progressive Party. In California, Marshall attacked the state law which allegedly forbade Republicans from voting for Taft. In San Francisco as candidate for a national office, he also acted as governor by dedicating Indiana’s site for a state building for the Panama-Pacific International Exposition scheduled for 1915. 

While in San Francisco he spoke on a subject of peculiar concern to the people of the west coast: Asiatic immigrants and the racial issue. Newspaper captions later read: "Marshall for Exclusion" and “Exclude Asiatics, Says Mr. Marshall.” Some interpreted that the Governor shared the local racism, particularly from his public statements: "I am unalterably opposed to the granting of citizenship to any race of aliens which by habit and by nature is absolutely unfitted to amalgamate with the American people." Yet, years later, after retirement from national office, he penned: "When I think of Americans I do not think of men of English blood, but of men of whatever blood, who have the mind to believe in our institutions, the conscience to uphold them and the will to defend them." This may well have been the meaning behind his words at San Francisco. He did not
believe the United States should support any immigrant or naturalized citizen who could not abide the laws of the land, even if he disbelieved them.

In his hometown of Columbia City Marshall could point to a Japanese friend, Shinzo Ohki, who lived his mature years as a participating citizen, a foreigner who had successfully amalgamated to the midwestern scene. Columbia City itself at the turn of the century was an ethnic salad bowl of the "old" immigration, Europeans and their descendants who had entered the Old Northwest from western and central Europe. They were another world culturally from the people who were filtering into Gary, Hammond, and Chicago in the decades following the Civil War. Historians label these the "new" immigration: people from southern and eastern Europe. It was not uncommon to find in the Columbia City papers nativist anecdotes about Jews and Negroes, stories borrowed from other newspapers and written in dialect, typically at the expense of these groups. Marshall was known to be friendly to all sorts and stations of people. With his paternal origins in colonial Virginia it is not surprising to see that he had paternalistic attitudes toward blacks, for example. Still, he could have views of Orientals that were distinct from those toward American Negroes.15

A second case of misunderstanding of the Hoosier Governor's words came from The Outlook. With Lyman Abbott as editor-in-chief and Theodore Roosevelt as contributing editor, its political opinion was basically practical: it admired agreements between political parties when they were "progressive." It quoted Marshall as having said that it is the American people who rule, for they "can have just the kind of government they want." The Outlook’s cautious response was that "Governor Marshall does not take too much stock in the opinion of Progressives that the people do not rule as
they should." Even so, Marshall was realistic enough to see that people rule through their representatives who, if crooked, are the people’s choice until voted out or thrown out of office.16

II

At last the day of voting came, and to the surprise of no one President Taft failed of reelection, former President Roosevelt failed (of reelection, his opponents were saying), and Professor Wilson and running mate Governor Marshall succeeded. According to the ground rules of American politics, congratulations were in order, and Marshall sent a brief telegram from Indiana to New Jersey:

I SALUTE YOU MY CHIEFTAIN IN ALL LOVE AND LOYALTY.

Wilson responded in a typical note, doubtless typed on his small portable and taken down to the Shadow Lawn telegraph station for sending:

WARMEST THANKS FOR YOUR GENEROUS TELEGRAM. YOUR PART IN THE CAMPAIGN WAS A SOURCE OF GREAT STRENGTH AND STIMULATION. NOW FOR THE DEEP PLEASURE OF CLOSE ASSOCIATION IN A GREAT WORK OF NATIONAL SERVICE.17

Lois Kimsey Marshall scarcely believed she would ever get out of Indiana, but now she was ready and eager to support her husband in whatever new way she could. Interviewed by a female reporter shortly after the victory, Mrs. Marshall was not hesitant in giving tidbits from her past, especially her interest in politics which, she said, grew out
of her family life and marriage. She had been brought up a Republican but was now a Democrat. She had been a Campbellite; she was now a Presbyterian. Tom Marshall had made the difference. As his wife she stove to accompany him on campaign tours to "save him the little annoyances and irritation. I go to make the way smooth. . . . I've always wanted to go to Washington. I used to wish Mr. Marshall would accept the nomination for Congress--you know he could have it. And then I thought he might someday be a senator. I thought I should love the life in Washington. But when he was elected governor and came to Indianapolis, I knew that was out of the question. And I gave up all thought of Washington. I never dreamed of this. . . . "18

These sentiments became a piece of campaign lore, although perhaps an unwitting piece, for Mrs. Marshall was only saying what countless political wives had said before, and would say in later years. She meant it, as did many of her predecessors and successors. The political leaders of other lands, observing what American women have said of American politics, doubtless have wondered about the solemnity and the devotion of political wives where the requirements of American political life were concerned. Mrs. Marshall stood in the grand tradition.

One of the last social gatherings Marshall attended in Indianapolis before he and his wife left for Washington was a post-Christmas holiday banquet at the Claypool Hotel. The Phi Gamma Delta college fraternity was having its 64th Ekklesia, or annual meeting, and the two most illustrious "Phi Gams" were present: Vice President-elect Thomas R. Marshall (Wabash '73) and former Vice President Charles W. Fairbanks (Ohio Wesleyan '72). One other notable brother from Ohio was present to enjoy food and fellowship:
Newton D. Baker, mayor of Cleveland (Johns Hopkins '92), who would become a Wilson cabinet member.

Fairbanks was right at home among the group. He was never one to sit along the sidelines. As usual, he who liked Fairbanks typically said good things about him, and vice-versa. (Certain newspaper reporters of the period had a somewhat different impression of the frigid Fairbanks, however, and compared the two Hoosier Vice Presidents after Marshall's term had become history.) Among his fraternity brothers Fairbanks reminisced: "Years are not measured by the calendar but by the heart. The first ekklesia I attended was in 1872, here in Indianapolis, and it was here that I first met Tom Marshall, now at my left, then an undergraduate at Wabash. I've always thought a lot of him. If Tom would only change his politics he would be perfection. . . ."

The Phi Gam reunion was festive in spirit. Marshall arose to respond to Fairbanks and to the others present. He looked about the audience, seated before long tables and empty dessert plates, noted the ages represented there, and began with a story of a man who had two sons. One chose to go to sea; the other entered politics. The former drowned; the latter became Vice President. "The poor father died of a broken heart -- he never heard from either one afterward!"

His words were filled with praise for Indiana and for the fraternity: "The center of literature, politics, the automobile industry, and Phi Gamma Delta fraternity, [Indiana] has also produced more first-class second-class men than any state in the Union." It was difficult for Brother Marshall to be serious, though he did have a sober word for his youthful hearers: "The great things of the fraternity are not the outward trappings, the pomp or the ceremony; its greatness lies in the men who make up the fraternity. I envy
you, young men, only your youth, and that because of the boundless possibilities which lie before the young men of today. The future of American Institutions rests upon the shoulders of the college-bred men of America. I have no doubt or fear of the future of Phi Gamma Delta. I learned four years ago, and again last year, to know the loyalty of Phi Gamma Deltas, to know what the fraternity will do for a man, and I thank God, Fairbanks, for one thing, and that is that you weren't running against me!"¹⁹

What man there could have realized the irony of fate when, four years later (1916), Fairbanks and Marshall would oppose each other for the Vice Presidency.
One war was over, but a new battle had just begun. Like a college freshman beginning his four-year course of study, Thomas Marshall was to find his first year as Vice President the most trying if not the most difficult. He and Lois were faced with the normal family problems in moving from one section of the country to another. Both of them would have to prove themselves anew as they had done in the transition from Columbia City to Indianapolis in 1909, leaving their home state to live in the nation’s capital for at least four years. During January they visited Lois' parents in Arizona and rested their bodies and spirits. Marshall's responsibilities with the office of governor of Indiana now lay in the past. Sam Ralston now had that job.

During a stopover in Philadelphia on their way to see President-elect Wilson, Lois Marshall answered a reporter's obvious question: "Of course I'm glad of the honor which has come to my husband, and I'm looking forward to life in Washington with pleasure, but we will live in the simplest manner possible, as we must meet all our expenses with the Vice President’s salary." Asked her position on the issue of woman suffrage, she responded that she would not oppose the voting right, if women ever obtained it, "but women have yet to bring about dress reforms and settle the domestic problem before they endeavor to handle man's affairs." And, yes, she was perfectly delighted at her husband's acceptance into the Chevy Chase (Maryland) Club.¹
Before the new administrative term took effect on 4 March, Wilson invited Marshall to meet with him in Trenton. Bryan had quietly advised Wilson to cultivate closer relations with the Vice President-elect and suggested a pre-inauguration conference at the New Jersey state capital. Marshall wired Wilson from Arizona in late January that as he was exhausted he was not in a hurry to move to Washington. When finally they did come together one month later, the two men talked for several hours about the plans and problems they expected to confront, including the selection of a cabinet. The meeting between a President-elect and his Vice President-elect was regarded as unprecedented by the New York Times: talking so long--four hours--and so early, a week before the inauguration. After Marshall left their meeting, Wilson spoke to newsmen and paid his political colleague tribute, saying that the two men had known each other for a long time and were in basic harmony on administration matters. In Wilson's view Vice Presidents in the past were inactive simply because "they did not have the calibre . . . . Marshall has it."²

Woodrow Wilson and Thomas Marshall had noteworthy similarities. Both men were products of a rural society--Wilson in Augusta, Georgia, and Marshall in Pterceton, Indiana. Both were students of private, church-related colleges, Davidson and Wabash, respectively. Both men enjoyed being in debating societies, reading books, and dealing with ideas and issues. The profession of law was common to Wilson and Marshall but with this difference, a very real one: Wilson attended one year of law school at the University of Virginia, studied at home for another year and a half (due to illness which prevented regular school attendance), and then opened a law office in Atlanta. Marshall did not attend law school but studied as an apprentice for a year and a half before being
admitted to the bar. By the time Wilson began his practice Marshall had been active in law for six years. Wilson either did not have the stamina for private practice that Marshall did or he did not have the opportunities or legal suits which went toward building a career in law. Wilson’s interests were not with the legal concerns and entanglements of common people as were those of Thomas Marshall. Wilson once wrote a friend: "The philosophical study of the law--which must be a pleasure to any thoughtful man--is a very different matter from its scheming and haggling practice." On his part Marshall respected the practice of the law because he felt close to the people for whom the law was made. He was realistic about the law, at the same time, because he saw it as "merely the organized enforced moral sentiment of the people."³

Marshall possessed a sincere interest in education and in the development of the common school and had stood many times before student audiences as commencement speaker, but he was not an educator. Whereas Marshall developed his reputation as a lawyer and politician, Woodrow Wilson's forte--substantiated by a doctoral degree from the Johns Hopkins University and by several books--was within the environment of higher education. With teaching positions at Bryn Mawr, Wesleyan, and Princeton (where he eventually became president) Wilson found his way in life as a scholar-writer and eventually as a public leader.⁴

Both Wilson and Marshall were governors of their respective states. They lived at a time when sentiments were strong for reform in many arenas of societal activity. Their state legislatures' enactments reflected the desire to improve society. They were both Democrats in the first instance because their fathers were Democrats and in the
second because the Democratic Party was not aligned with the business trusts and special interests that were such bug-a-boos to Populists and Progressives alike.

Finally, Wilson and Marshall were of the same religious heritage, Calvinistic Presbyterians and ordained elders in sister denominations. William Jennings Bryan, the third man of the triumvirate coming into power as Secretary of State, in March of 1913, was also a churchman. Their Church was proud and a little embarrassed that the three leading offices of the nation were to be held by elders of the Presbyterian Church:

This unusual and interesting historical fact is of no civil advantage to the Presbyterian church, nor does this Church desire it to be so. If anything, it is embarrassing to her, because she is so decided against any appearance of the union of Church and State, that she might be a little sensitive, lest anything should occur that would give any reason for criticism. . . . Presbyterians may, with the consent of all good men and all Christians, rejoice in the fact that this Church produces such men in such numbers....

Wilson and Marshall were of the same cloth, religiously, but they were not of the same temperament. Their difference lay in the position each came to assume, one, a President of the United States, the other, a devout subject.

I
As the Vice President-elect and his wife disembarked from the train at Union Station in Washington, a small crowd of Congressmen and newsmen was there to receive them. The conference which Marshall earlier had with Wilson prompted all sorts of rumors and headlines. the New York World countered with "One Man Knows Wilson's Cabinet, That's Marshall." Democratic Senators were not only happy to see their new Senate President but also anxious to learn what names were on the list of new cabinet members. Marshall was mum. The newspapers would have plenty of material for their readers in the days following the announcement of the new governmental heads. Not one of the ten men, accomplished in their respective fields, was as old as the President-elect (56); half were southerners; and, none would be a close confidant to Wilson during the most critical times.6

Already many thousand of citizens had arrived in Washington for the inauguration. Military uniforms abounded, the retinue of state governors. "Big hat boys" from the South could be easily spotted. It was a New Year's Eve atmosphere throughout the first week in March. Outside the Shoreham Hotel to which the Marshalls had just moved, Indiana Democrats sang sleep-impairing renditions of "On the Banks of the Wabash."7

The fourth day of March was beautiful for an inauguration. At 9:30 a.m. the President-to-be left the Shoreham Hotel for his new residence, escorted by the Essex Troop at Newark. The Black Horse Troop of impressive young cadets from Culver Military Academy of Indiana formed on Pennsylvania Avenue west of Jackson Place as the Vice President-elect and his wife proceeded to the White house. At the Capitol huge numbers awaited the arrival of the President and his Democratic successor. It took an
hour for Taft, Wilson, and Marshall to go by carriage from the White House to the Senate Chamber for the swearing-in ceremonies.

As they headed slowly toward Capitol Hill, crowds of people, mostly women, entered the Senate galleries and filled the available seats. Here and there sat men amidst bantering and bedecked ladies. "A black-coated man among them looked like a piece of chocolate tied to an illuminated Christmas tree," noted one eyewitness. Down below, business as usual was being conducted by the reading clerk—all waiting until the time of the inauguration of a new Vice President and the oath-taking by new United States Senators. Congressmen looked up toward the front gallery where Mrs. Wilson and her three daughters had just taken their seats. Next to them were Army and Navy White House aides assigned for the occasion. Down the way on the second row sat Marshall's youthful wife, Lois, with close friends seated near Hoosier politicians Thomas Taggart and John E. Lamb. Nearby sat a tall, broad-shouldered priest, Father Ellinger from Marshall's hometown, Columbia City. The gallery of sixty seats was filled to capacity.8

As the inauguration ceremony began, senators crowded together on the Republican side of the chamber, leaving the Democratic side vacant for the House members attending. From the back of the chambers strode in the well known former House Speaker, Joseph G. Cannon, whose nearly forty-year term of service had come to a temporary end. Ambassadors, ministers of state, and other diplomatic officers entered, at the head of which were Jules Jusserand of France, "dean of the diplomats," James Bryce of Great Britain, and Count Johann von Bernstorff of Germany. Next came black-robed Chief Justice Edward D. White and his associate justices, ushered to chairs placed ahead of the front desks. The Sergeant-at-Arms moved to the center aisle and proclaimed:
"The Vice President of the United States." Down the aisle walked Thomas Riley Marshall wearing the traditional black frock coat and flanked by two Senators and a guard. After shaking hands with President pro tempore Gallinger, he sat on the latter's right, folded his arms and looked straight ahead.

In a moment the arrival of the President was announced. Down to the front walked Taft and Wilson to their seats. The presiding officer then proceeded to administer the oath of office to the new Vice President. Taft's Vice President, James S. Sherman, had died unexpectedly during the recent campaign in 1912, and therefore the oath was not administered by the outgoing Vice President. Guided by slips of paper held in his hand, Marshall took the oath. The only words heard by the assembly were "God helping me, I will." Words of farewell and gratitude were expressed by the retiring Gallinger, whereupon he handed his gavel to the new Presiding Officer. "The Senate will be in order," charged Marshall. He was not ready to use his gavel. "Let us reverently attend while the chaplain invokes the blessing of our God and Father upon us."

Following the invocation, Marshall arose to speak. His voice was clear and forceful as he proceeded to deliver his inaugural address from typed half-sheets. Midway through his speech he realized that that was the time to end speaking--but he wasn't to the end of his speech. Abruptly, he commenced reading faster until he finished his message. The fledgling Vice President then turned to the final business of giving the oath of office to the new Senators.\(^9\)

Marshall's address was generally well received. It contained wisdom and the touch of humor that were to characterize the pronouncements of the man for the next four years. A sense of humility combined with certainty of purpose guided Marshall's
remarks to his new colleagues. It was to them he spoke, taking opportunity at this time to declare the hope "before he [speaking of himself] enters upon a four years' silence that all our diplomacy may spell peace with all peoples, justice for all Governments, and righteousness the world around." It was a line he might have taken from the writings of the Hebrew prophets, reminding his people's representatives that the Senate is not a perfect body but rather "the guardian of the people's honor," and on that honor are the people of the United States to be judged. If America makes a mistake, he admonished, let it be honorable to admit it and to make due reparation. Better to lose face than to lose faith.  

Subsequent reactions to his words were spirited. David Houston, new Secretary of Agriculture, noted that Marshall "caused the dignity of the Senate to crack a little by comparing it to a bridle with blinders." Texas Congressman James Slayden described his speech as being in ragtime with metaphors from the livery stable"; his wife did not know whether to take Marshall seriously or humorously. A New York Times editor took delight in writing, "There was something very refreshing in the spectacle of the Vice President on the eve of 'four years of silence,' addressing the Senate as Mr. Marshall did on Tuesday. The form of address was novel and naive; there were metaphors verging on the grotesque, and there were touches of sentiment on the one hand and whimsical, almost boyish, humor on the other that must have tickled the jaded ears of the older Senators and suggested ventures of their own to the new ones. . . ."  

The next day, Marshall received well-wishers at his new office, a single room adjacent to the Senate chamber. The location of the Senate's presiding officer was so planned, supposedly, that his office would be accessible to those persons having business
with the Vice President. Marshall was shocked upon first sight of his chamber. The room was so small "that to survive it is necessary to keep the door open in order to obtain the necessary cubic feet of air." Anyone walking along the hall could glance in to find the man at his desk. The tourists especially were irksome. "I don't see that this room differs much from a monkey cage," he griped, "except that the visitors do not offer me any peanuts." Furthermore, his official car was not yet in service; it had not been used by Vice President Sherman since the preceding summer. "I had two big baskets of mail at my hotel," Marshall told reporters, "but I did not know whether or not it was good form for the Vice President to carry his correspondence in a bushel basket on a street car, so I left it."

Congressman and Mrs. Slayden, being proper Texans, called on the Marshalls at the Shoreham Hotel. Marshall sent word for them to "come straight up" to his suite. Almost there, the veteran Washington couple found "the little V. P. standing ruefully before his door feeling in all his pockets for the key." Mrs. Slayden remembered him as being unpretentious, "but his interests seem bounded by Indiana. I spoke of his being related to the Chief Justice Marshall's family, and he said, 'Yes, but my family moved west in 1819, and I guess it's about rubbed off.'" Mrs. Slayden noted to herself, "I didn't guess, I knew it!"

The following Monday Lois Marshall joined wives of cabinet members in the White House library with Mrs. Ellen Wilson as their hostess. After dinner the ladies accompanied the First Lady downtown to the Belasco Theatre, where Lois saw her first Washington play, "Buntie Pulls the Strings." The new President’s wife made her feel at ease. Neither had been a "big city" sophisticate, and Mrs. Wilson was, in fact, "calm and
sweet." Lois did not return to the President's home until the Administration wives were again invited, once in October and again in November, due to Mrs. Wilson’s heavy social commitments. A Christmas dinner at the White House was the Wilsons' treat for Vice President and Mrs. Marshall, cabinet members and other Washington notables.13

The Wilsons and the Marshalls both made a practice of attending Sunday worship services. On the first Sunday of the new administration the fashionable New York Avenue Presbyterian Church was crowded with people trying hard to see the President and his family. Among these pushing their way into the church were the Vice President and his wife whom few recognized. The Wilsons and their daughters ultimately chose to worship at the Central Presbyterian Church, "far from Washington's social centre." It took Washingtonians a short while to learn which executive went to which church, for in a short time the Marshalls had decided to affiliate with the Covenant Presbyterian Church with which they felt more comfortable. Throughout their years in Washington Wilson and Marshall would be reasonably faithful attendees at Sunday services.14

Amidst the sober matters of administering federal government there were hours given to relaxation and recreation. The new administrators enjoyed the social as well as the serious moments. Besides banquets and ballets there were sports. And wherever the notables went, there went reporters, writing down and remembering what they saw and what they heard. One never knew but what some world-shaking bit of information might fall into their hands, like a golf ball into the cup.

To a group of newsmen Marshall quipped, "On Saturday I played eighteen holes. I had not taken any exercise for some time. I had played nine holes a few times in Arizona. Well, Saturday, I struck at the ball with all my might two hundred times. I sent
it into the woods, into the water and every place that it should not go. That night I was so
tired I did not eat a bit of dinner. I am not over it yet. I am through with golf." Besides
playing golf in the suburbs, Washington officials watched baseball. The Vice President
loved the game and appreciated an engraved annual pass given him by B. B. Johnson,
President of the American League. He wrote Johnson of his admiration for "the great
American sport," declaring, "The dirt accumulated upon the baseball diamond is clean. A
Democrat can say that for all the other diamonds in America."15

Marshall's first year in office was possibly his most difficult year in terms of
adjusting to new situation, new regulations, and new personalities. Though he said things
that aroused the ire of certain newspapermen and magazine writers, he found a receptive
mind in President Wilson whose burdens surely required light moments.

On one occasion the Vice President, in an outwardly serious way and upon
official stationery, wrote to Wilson the following note:

THE VICE-PRESIDENT'S CHAMBER
WASHINGTON

My dear Mr. President,

I enclose [for] you a Korean paper containing your inaugural
and my talk. I find mine correct. If you are not satisfied address the
Editor.

Faithfully yours,
/s/ Thos. R. Marshall

Attached was The Christian News, a weekly publication of the Presbyterian Church of
Korea, published in Korean. The President replied accordingly:

Dear Mr. Vice President:

Thank you very much for giving me an opportunity to see how my
inaugural looks in Korean: I note one or two typographical errors, but as long as
the paper has been circulated, I do not believe I shall go to the trouble of asking the editor to make the corrections.  

Cordially yours,
/s/ Woodrow Wilson

Hon. Thomas R. Marshall
The Vice President

II

As residents of Washington, D. C., Thomas and Lois found their social life stimulating if not always significant. They were not social butterflies; they had too few financial resources even if they had been so inclined. Marshall continually felt an economic pinch in a city which expected him to wine and dine with the best. He had been given an allowance by the Government, which provided for some entertaining on his part as the Vice President, and he was given an automobile and chauffeur to use whenever necessary. Both he and his wife took time periodically to leave the city for rides out of town or for visiting friends on the weekend. The Oldsmobile limousine was a far cry from the streetcar Marshall used to ride to the State House in Indianapolis.

The Marshalls' social life was temperate in keeping with their lifestyle. Tom Marshall's thin, high-pitched voice, his medium stature, his slight limp, and ever-present cane, upon first glance did not produce a countenance designed to impress the stranger. The humble Hoosier was friendly but not overly so, with a tendency to remain subdued around persons he knew only slightly. Lois was of a lighter vein, and she entered into the Washington social circles with ease.¹⁷

The first Christmas season arrived with time for thinking of matters other then affairs of state. To his "Chief" Marshall sent a second book, entitled Back Country Folks, for which Wilson acknowledged appreciation. With his own money the Vice President
provided a Christmas Eve dinner for the Senate pages, an innovation for the Wilson Administration. The boys (between 12 and 16 years of age), customarily dressed in their daily garb of white blouse shirts and knee breeches, were clothed in their best for this occasion. They never forgot the generosity of their host.\textsuperscript{18}

The Christmas recess allowed the Marshalls to return to Indianapolis. It was pleasant to see familiar places again, such as the seasonally decorated Soldiers and Sailors Monument with the statuary on its sides surrounded by fountains, the hub of a circle that was the center of the city's downtown area. The snow seemed whiter and the weather colder than that of Washington but without the bitter winds. Automobiles were honking and hurrying, making their appearance in greater numbers, but they were still oddities in Indiana.

The former governor was visited by old friends and reporters who asked about his new experiences in the Senate and about current legislation before the Congress. He ventured an opinion that "there was no need for any anti-trust legislation at present, in view of the enactment of the tariff and currency acts," but his timing was poor. President Wilson was planning to carry forward his program of anti-trust legislation and made his intentions known to Eastern reporters. After this news had reached Indianapolis, Marshall vowed to himself that from then on he would speak "no more against the announced plans of the party's chosen leader." He managed to keep his vow.\textsuperscript{19}

In mid-January the Marshalls gave a reception for President and Mrs. Wilson at the Shoreham Hotel. Lois enjoyed entertaining and being entertained in Washington society circuit. Appearing older than her forty-two years because of her clothing style,
she was excited with a new mode of existence. For her it was a busy and gay time, that first year in Washington.

In the twilight of his life Marshall reflected upon his social life during the Wilson years: "I have an idea that what success I had in getting along in the social life of Washington was due to the fact that heaven had given me a nimble tongue; that I could phrase a compliment and tell a story out of the book of my life, which had not been read by the people of that city....[My] social life was altogether delightful and wholly charming. Whether it was real regard--and that I am pleased to believe it to have been--or whether it was mere courtesy, at no time was I ever the recipient of a frowning face, never did I have a cold shoulder turned to me, nor the slightest suggestion that Hoosier manners did not appeal to that which was best and cultured in the social life of the city." While he saw himself as a product of the Midwest, Marshall was self-radiant and at ease among the social set in Washington. He had reason to be confident. He was in the prime of his mental powers. And he had a lovely, outgoing young woman for his wife.
Mid-America to the United States Capitol seemed a long way to Tom Marshall. The new Vice President began to feel that perhaps America had made a mistake in placing him among "the company of the wise men of the land." The truth was that he was awed: "I was quite uncertain as to whether a man from Main Street could dwell in harmony with these gentlemen who possessed all the wit and wisdom of the land, and with the women who had all its beauty and culture. It was quite natural, therefore, in such an attitude of mind that I should have got off with the wrong foot in the Senate of the United States."

His sole responsibility as Senate President was to maintain proper parliamentary procedure during Senate debates and discussions. One or more experienced clerks was usually at hand to inform him. There was no one to guide him, however, when a veteran Senator decided to throw "precedence to the four winds of the world" or when the Senators decided to reverse a ruling they had once agreed to. There was even the disconcerting act of a Senator speaking on a subject about which there was no apparent significance or relevance. Such experiences seemed almost planned in order to upset the President of the Senate! How he reacted, he realized early, would affect his relations with the Senators and, more importantly, relations between the Senate and the Wilson Administration. He had confidence in himself, and so he acted as he always had, in his words, with "good humor and a spirit of fairness."
In addition to the adjustment to living in a new city and working at a new job--how else can the presidency of the Senate be described?--Marshall had to contend with a new force in his life: the American press, friendly when wanting news stories but unfriendly if challenged by ideas that stab at its philosophic base, Marshall was harmless enough when doing what he was paid to do at the Capitol, but he ventured to speak his convictions in public places and within a month or two after coming into office became embroiled in conspicuous controversy.

I

At his inauguration President Wilson said he would call a special session of Congress to deal with the critical issue of the protective tariff and to eliminate as much as possible the high tariff rates that had become so detrimental to the American people but beneficial to privileged industries. According to Wilson, these rates had caused an unnecessary rise in the cost of living. With the Democrats in the majority in both Houses their lower tariff bill was expected to emerge unscathed. What was unexpected was the new President's intent to visit the Congress personally to share his views on the tariff. No President since John Adams had done so, influenced by the example of Adam's successor, Thomas Jefferson, who chose to have others read his messages to Congress.

The Senators' reactions to Wilson's proposed visit differed irrespective of party. Mississippi Democrat John Sharp Williams felt that such a proposal smacked of monarchism. Henry Cabot Lodge, Sr., was pleased that Wilson planned to speak to both Houses. As the Massachusetts Republican reflected on "the old Federalist arguments about the dignity and the impressiveness of the President personally appearing before
Senator Lodge offered that Congress should be given the opportunity, when the President was done speaking, to discuss, even to criticize his message on the House floor. As he anticipated the upcoming tariff debate, Marshall became fearful lest the Senators’ refuse to give unanimous consent to allow Wilson to appear before them. Rather than submit a request for Senate approval, the Vice President boldly declared it "a question of high privilege on which unanimous consent was not required." Despite Republican grumblings the matter was settled. On 8 April Marshall took his seat next to Speaker Champ Clark in the House of Representatives and listened to the President of the United States give his first message to the Congress.

One month later the Underwood tariff bill, advocating downward revision of rates, passed in the House, and with direction from Senator Furnifold Simmons, North Carolina Democrat, it passed in the Senate. The Vice President himself supported the bill: "I am and always have been a 'tariff for revenue only' Democrat," explained Marshall to the press. "I shall never admit the justice of taxing all the people for the benefit of some of them." He felt strongly about this issue. In a speech given the previous January he proclaimed, "The tariff has corrupted this country more than anything else. It has corrupted good men and made bad men worse. I don't care how good a man is. If you give him a tariff favor at the expense of his neighbor, you weaken his moral fibre. In a little while he can see no wrong in buying a franchise from a City Council!"

During the heated presidential election campaign the previous year Marshall preached his gospel of the revenue tariff wherever he went. In Augusta, Maine, he had advocated "an ultra-free-trade policy." He wondered whether certain southern sugar
growers might bolt the party and head for Roosevelt's Progressive camp. Following passage of the Underwood-Simmons tariff bill in September, 1913, Marshall sent a popular limerick to the President, who had a fondness for that kind of verse. The poem read:

Oh, a wonderful bird is the pelican!
His beak will hold more than his belican.
He can hold in his beak
Enough for a week—
I don't understand how the helican.

At the bottom of his note Marshall penned, "Respectfully dedicated to the Louisiana Sugar Planters." The limerick had a special message of its own. Louisiana, nicknamed "the Pelican State," was a leading continental producer of sugar cane, and sugar planters, typically Democrats, were fiercely against sugar being on the free list. As matters developed, the Louisiana Democrats did not revolt. The Underwood-Simmons tariff act was still protectionist in principle though with its schedules ten percent lower than those in the Payne-Aldrich Tariff under Taft; the important difference was that one hundred new items were added to the free list. While not changing his basic position as he listened to senatorial speeches pro and con, Marshall perceived long after the new tariff bill had passed that other men could have as strong and sincere views as himself regarding the protective tariff and that they "really believed that a high protective tariff was of value to the entire American people."  

A second formidable battle of the new Democratic Administration was fought over the banking and currency question, which ultimately led to passage of the Federal Reserve
bill on 23 December 1913. Marshall, as presiding officer, had no role to play in the Senate debate except near the end when on 19 December the Senators voted to a tie on an amendment that would place certain governmental employees under Civil Service. The proponent of the amendment was a Republican, and since the measure did not figure in the Administration’s bill the Vice President voted against the measure with a 44 to 43 result.5

Marshall had listened closely to the debates on the bill. He had been concerned about the financial system in America ever since Bryan ran for President in the year 1896. He followed carefully the Senators' arguments and drew his own conclusions from the mass of facts that were mustered from foreign countries as well as from the United States. The German people were currently paying ten percent of their income to their government and their army had grown to eight hundred thousand. In addition, socialism was making gains in Europe as was the cause of universal manhood suffrage. France was still the bitter enemy of the Germans. Placing these facts together Marshall concluded "that there would be a war in Europe within five years, and that we might be drawn into it; and if we were, that this [federal reserve] system would enable us to finance a war." When he shared these conclusions with his friends of the Senate, they laughed at him. They even accused him of imbibing the liquor bottle. So far as they were concerned "the peace of Europe was permanent." Yet, as Marshall foresaw, war came: "It was not five years--it was only nine months. . ."

6
Notwithstanding his position as Vice President ("four years of silence"), Thomas Marshall spoke firmly on subjects about which he had strong convictions. Public speaking engagements kept him a busy man when he was not in the Senate presiding. On the day following Easter in 1913, he addressed a Y.M.C.A.-sponsored assembly in Springfield, Massachusetts. His remarks included a "dig" at Andrew Carnegie and his libraries which dotted communities across America. Marshall noted how in his travels he had been impressed by the pride of local citizens in their public buildings. The notable exception was the Carnegie library, if a town perchance had one. The people everywhere seemed apologetic about their Carnegie library. "I don't wish to detract from Mr. Carnegie in the slightest," he declared, "but I do believe that he derives more pleasure from giving the libraries than the public does from availing itself of them. If you want institutions of which the public will be proud, dig down into your pockets and pay for them yourselves."

Nevertheless, the Vice President did detract from Carnegie in no uncertain terms. He earlier said, "The public does not appreciate charity that emanates from predatory wealth." Two days later a defense of Carnegie appeared on the editorial page of the New York Times: Marshall had erred in attacking the libraries as being derivative of predatory wealth. Indeed, Carnegie was not predatory, reflected the editor, else he would not have undersold his competitors! Furthermore, Mr. Marshall’s contacts in the twenty-seven states he visited were undoubtedly local politicians "who are not noted for their literary tastes, and would very likely disparage anything so impractical." The editor got even saltier by concluding that Marshall’s words were out of character and that he might
find his "place in the discard" where the muckrakers eventually found themselves! The new Vice President made no public retort to this, but he obviously got the message: the honeymoon was over--at least with the New York Times editors.

Later, in Boston Marshall gave forth his economic outlook for the country to interested reporters. Some businessmen were frightened that the Democrats were now in power. Investors were standing still, waiting for Congress to make a decision disclosing the economic path for the next four years. One man had come to Marshall for advice on what to do with a sum of money designated for investment. His response was colorful and consistent: "I said, Well, if I had my way, I'd see that $75,000,000 baked, boiled, and fricasseeed, and shoved down the throats of the men who own it. Capital that has no initiative isn't much good, and capital that wants Government assistance in its investment isn't much good to the country!" He went on to say, "I never could get myself into the frame of mind to believe that the Government was organized to promote any particular line of business for any particular set of men. . . . There is no question that the Government has been a promoter of business; big business has resulted, and big fortunes have been amassed. The country has suffered, and now we wait to change all this in order that all business men shall be treated fairly." Marshall seemed to be giving "big" business fair warning that the Administration was keeping close watch. The country was not about to go to the dogs just because the Democrats had won the White House and the Congress.⁷

On 12 April the Vice President held the spotlight at the Jefferson Day Dinner provided at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City. The National Democratic Club sponsored the annual dinner, and the audience consisted in the main of Democratic
businessmen. What they heard from the lips of the new Vice President was the sort of thing that causes Wall Street stocks to fall one hundred points. Their reaction to his speech was deeply negative.

People who had read his remarks made earlier in Boston should not have been surprised to learn that his strong feelings would not let him stay silent. Marshall warned his audience that "the institutions of the government may be jeopardized and the country revert to either socialism or paternalism." In his own words the Vice President expounded, "Nothing but a desire to arouse thoughtless rich men to a sense of their danger would induce me to suggest this--what might happen to them here in the great State of New York if those who have not, should take it into their heads to make common cause against those who have? They talk about vested rights, and in their talks assume they have both an inherent and constitutional right to pass their property down from generation to generation until some reckless descendant shall have dissipated it." Where do these men get the idea that they have the right? he asked. They have the privilege of descents, of inheritance, because they are given the benefit of the doubt by the citizenry that they will act responsibly, Marshall persuaded, and therefore they must change their ways before their ways are changed for them! "The belief that here is an unequal distribution of wealth in this country," he went on, "has been obtained through special privilege, that it did not come by labor, skill, industry, barter or trade, but through watered stocks and bonds, through corners on commodities, through corruption of legislatures, through the sale of impure foodstuffs, through wrecking railroads, through all the devices known to man whereby the law is not abrogated but chloroformed!"
This first major speech since his inauguration seemed aimed at the very people who were his most powerful political supporters. Concern for the economic welfare of the laboring man was being expressed by a person "from so high a position" as the Vice Presidency. That he was sincere was not in doubt. The truth of his remarks was not so obvious to his hearers. Were these the sentiments of a progressive? a reformer? or a socialist? or a crackpot?

Reactions multiplied rapidly. The Secretary of the Democratic National Committee, James F. Reilly, on the next day wrote a hasty letter to President Wilson charging Marshall with having made a socialistic speech. His language was strong: "Be careful that some crank of that order don't try to make Marshall your successor before your term ends so that the Socialists will have a leader at the head of the nation." A New York Herald editorial by-lined: "Our loquacious Vice President is at it again!" He was not, it noted, opting for more laws but was trying to persuade wealthy listeners to be more responsible with their wealth lest the country fall prey to the socialists. To the idea of one's inheritance passing to the State instead of to the offspring, Marshall said that he borrowed that idea from the Illinois State Bar Association and was passing it on as an example of what was presently being discussed throughout the country: inheritance as a privilege, not as a right. The New York Times editor was not charitable: Vice Presidents ought not to utter foolish remarks. In contrast, the Dallas News, supportive of the Wilson Administration and considering itself progressive, obviously admired the courage and convictions of the Vice President: "He entertains some old-fashioned views that are refreshing in these very modernistic times, but views which, though old-fashioned, he makes applicable to present problems. Apparently Mr. Marshall thinks we need
something more than just laws and equality of opportunity, assuming equality of opportunity to be a possible achievement of statesmanship; and so he suggests rather than proposes, that the shrewd and strong must learn to curb their greed and content themselves with the absorption of even less than an honest deference to just laws would enable them to make." The editor predicted that the Vice President’s "bold and big idea" will someday not seem as preposterous as it did to the audience at the Waldorf-Astoria.9

Before an assembly of students of the George Washington Law School in Washington, D. C., a week later the Vice President, himself a former small town lawyer, challenged the young men to consider what kind of ethics had entered the legal profession. Rhetorically he asked about the man who was interested in beating an opponent regardless of whether the former was in the right. Marshall wondered aloud about the businessman who can operate unethically and still remain outside penitentiary walls. He questioned the temptation of large fees in the determination of outcome in a divorce case. He queried how a poor man could get a just claim from a large corporation. And then proposed to his audience a standard of "legal ten commandments." They were, in fact, moral pronouncements:

I. Don't put a fee before a just cause.

II. Don't worship money to the extent of being willing to write a dishonest contract in order to get a large fee.

III. Be a peacemaker; that is the lawyer's business.

IV. Don't chase ambulances.

V. Honor your profession as your own sacred honor; therefore do not seek or confound litigation.
VI. Don't accept contingent fees.

VII. Use your influence against the system of allowing attorney's fees in advance of divorce cases. Therein lies the evil of the divorce laws; when that has been abolished, half the divorce cases will be stopped.

VIII. Use your influence to compel a person charged with crime to testify in the cause; the innocent man cannot be harmed thereby.

IX. Take the part of the known criminal, but only to see that justice is tempered with mercy.

X. Don't inquire as to your client's pocketbook before fixing your fee.10

This address to the law students prompted a reaction from the New York Sun:

"Friends of the Wilson Administration are beginning to search their heads and ask one another, 'what are we going to do with the Vice President?' Mr. Marshall's speeches against 'the thoughtless rich' are giving them a lot of worry."11

It was not long before both criticism and support reached the ears of the astonished Vice President. He admitted that he had received "many letters of approval" of his views. Again he placed himself on record: "I am an American. I would go down into a ditch and shake the hand of a poor man, but I would also be glad to shake the hand of a rich man. We are all brothers. My only thought has been that the men in power should know what the rest of the people are saying, and I merely repeat what has been said to me. If the men of wealth consult their consciences about their business they would not have to worry so much about the law." Any editorial impartiality appeared
waived in this controversy over economic philosophy. A *New York Times* editor felt
constrained to say that Marshall's intentions were good but, he instructed, the Vice
President does not see the necessity for correcting the inconsistencies of state and federal
laws which allow bad men to operate without fear of prosecution.  

A scathing speech by George Harvey, editor of the *North American Review*, was
soon made to New York bankers and businessmen at the very same hotel where Marshall
had earlier shared his view. The men who heard Harvey arise and deliver his first words
knew their evening's entertainment was assured. Harvey would rip into that small-
minced man, the Vice President.

And so he did. Harvey assumed a platitudinous tone to parry the attacks of his
antagonists, the western statesmen (Indiana, of course, being west of the Hudson River!) who took opportunity to point out the sins and shortcomings of the biggest city in the
country. He explained that the "latest monitory visitor was our worthy Vice President.
He had come almost directly from the place of his nativity, Columbia City, Indiana, which rests on the bank of the river Eel. His purpose was to inaugurate a four years'
period of perfect silence. He did it admirably. The aching void was filled to
overflowing." With tongue in cheek Harvey proclaimed, "As a Democrat, I was proud. I
had to be. We are in power, at least, some of us are. . . ."

Something profound was at stake for Harvey. Marshall had made irresponsible
remarks about the very backbone of the American economy. The speaker proceeded to
poke holes in the Vice President's logic--or illogic. By implication, reasoned Harvey, the
thoughtful poor are the foils of the "thoughtless rich," or so Marshall seemed to be
saying. The former seem possessed of attributes lacking in the latter. The rich are those
who have $100,000 or more to bequeath to their heirs. Why not confiscate the property of those who have all of $10,000 to bequeath? Mr. Marshall seems to be arbitrary. Has he forgotten that we "thoughtless rich" helped to get him elected? Harvey advanced. Did he overlook our support of the popular election of United States Senators? Why has he "picked on" us? The magazine publisher pointedly remarked, "I take care to refer to our recent guest as Mr. Marshall and not as the Vice President. I doubt he quite realizes yet that he has been elected. So, naturally, he keeps on campaigning." Like Mr. Bryan, he makes "a fine door-yard horse," and drops his head and tail when once out of public view. "The chief menace to our country," the speaker emphasized, "lies not so much in the activities of the predatory rich as an incitement of the predatory poor." With words whose meaning was not lost to his hearers Harvey concluded, "I may go so far as to admit that, if somebody had proposed the health of Mr. Wilson at the conclusion of Mr. Marshall's speech, the toast would have been drunk with rare enthusiasm!" Who would dare to expose the reins of government to one with such dangerous views!13

It was novel for a Vice President to become embroiled in public controversy and with American businessmen as targets! (Some forty years earlier another Hoosier Vice President, Schuyler Colfax, had run afoul of public opinion when it was learned he had engaged in questionable transactions with the notorious Credit Mobilier company.) In its May issue the Literary Digest noted the consensus of criticism directed against Marshall’s speech in such papers as the New York Times and the Journal of Commerce: how dreadful if such a man ascended to the White House! "The Progressive Evening Mail calls him a demagog and a 'defamer of the American people.' And an organ of Marshall's own party, The World, declares that for him 'to give free rein to his tongue to
no purpose but to stir up unnecessary class hatred is to render a great disservice to his party and the Administration!"\textsuperscript{14}

Though Marshall himself believed his views were not radical and that they strongly reflected sentiments of popular opinion, conservative editors branded his speech as socialistic, and socialist papers admitted the truth of the eventual triumph of their view of life. The socialist newspaper, St. Louis \textit{Labor}, observed, "In going to New York and making his sensational speech there Vice President Marshall thought he could whip the lions of capitalism into line and permit the Wilson Administration to carry out some of its campaign promises. However, the lions of capitalism will not even get up in their den and take notice of Mr. Marshall. They will have a smile of pity for him."\textsuperscript{15}

Not even pity was expressed by an editor of the New York \textit{Evening Post} when he wrote, "The idea that we are on the verge of a cataclysm, and that the only way to avert it is to make panicky concessions to the vague demands of the restless and discontented, is one that. . . is the common property of the whole tribe of cheap orators. It meets with easy-going acceptance among large numbers of enthusiastic young reformers. It is a pleasant refuge for those who cannot think vigorously enough upon the fundamental questions of society to range themselves either as socialists or as opponents of socialism. . . ." The Charleston \textit{News and Courier}, in contrast, viewed Marshall as "indicting the system under which we are governed. He will be blamed because he carried the torch of light into the powder magazine. But, the light will not hurt. . . . It may help bring reform by showing those who oppose reform how surely they are preparing for their own destruction."\textsuperscript{16}
In Washington the matter was just one of several current topics of conversation in political and social circles. To the home of General John Briddle his next door neighbors, new in the Capitol, were invited for dinner along with other local celebrities. Young Eleanor Roosevelt, wife of the new Assistant Secretary of the Navy, made her way carefully in this fascinating forest of federalism. At table she was enthralled to listen to the esteemed Justice, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. On her other side sat the Vice President of the United States. It was one of the first encounters Eleanor had with Mr. Marshall, and it was memorable enough for her to write to a friend her impression that "he is a good deal of socialist with a desire for the millennium and it seems to me no very well worked out ideas so far of how we are to get there." The young lady was perceptive. Marshall was not being consistent according to the either-or ideologies of the day.

There was obviously a wider range of perspective on the implications and consequences of the rich-poor chasm. The businessmen saw themselves and their forebears as industrial statesmen and not as the Vice President seemed to be picturing them. With the passage of time the controversy died down. The Vice President’s popularity survived the crisis, but there would be a taint of his reputation in some minds.

III

A larger issue confronting President Wilson during his first term was the Mexican problem. South of the border Francisco I. Madero had spent a shaky three months in office as President of Mexico. Though he was hailed as "El Redentor!" he was not the man for the job of heading the government of that much-abused populace. They had
suffered earlier under the aristocratic Porfirio Diaz, who looked to Paris rather than to Mexico City for his inspiration. Offering no progressive leadership, Diaz was forced to resign by popular demand. Madero also meant well, but he possessed no military power and had no immediate program to offer to the disaffected Mexican workers and Indian masses. His general, Victoriano Huerta, for a time achieved a new peace after his guards murdered Madero and his immediate followers. European governments promptly recognized the new regime, and one of Huerta's strongest supporters (admirers might be a more accurate word) was the American Ambassador, Henry Lane Wilson.  

The Huerta coup occurred just prior to Woodrow Wilson's ascendancy to the Presidency. President Taft had not followed the other nations with diplomatic recognition of the new government. He wanted to use the "gift" to bargain with Huerta regarding disputes that the United States was having with Mexico. Taft never dreamed that his successor's moralistic foreign policy would issue in complete withholding of recognition of the Huerta regime.

Ambassador Wilson, meanwhile, was about to be fired from his position. Neither the President nor Bryan wanted to retain him since his viewpoint was clearly at odds with their own. The rumor spread that the Vice President was doing his utmost to prevent the Ambassador's dismissal. A reporter confronted Marshall with the charge, and he replied that he never spoke to anyone in the Administration about Ambassador Wilson. "There is no earthly basis for the statement published beyond the bare suspicion that because Ambassador Wilson and I were graduated from Wabash College, and his brother, John L. Wilson, was a classmate of mine, I would attempt to interfere on his behalf. Personally the relations between Ambassador Wilson and myself are cordial, but the handling of the
Mexican situation is the business of the Administration, and not my private and social business."  

Doubtless Marshall meant well. There is no evidence of his having attempted to use his influence despite "the bare suspicion." At this early date he recognized that a gulf existed between "Administration business" and his own sphere of responsibility. So far as the handling of the Mexican situation was concerned, the Vice President really had no special insight. Other persons did have, however, and Marshall was only too willing to share their views with the President.

Throughout the spring and summer 1913, turmoil and tyranny reigned in Mexico. On 2 August Marshall sent President Wilson a handwritten note pertaining to Mexican policy and to current public opinion. The response from Wilson was prompt:

Thank you warmly for asking my advice about the protests which you sent me and which I herewith return. My own judgment is that it would not serve any useful purpose to lay them before the Senate. I believe that I can say that the prospects for a settlement in Mexico are better than they have been for some time, and I think the more quietly we go about it the more likely success will be. It is at best a difficult and puzzling situation, and I am very much afraid of even seeming to play into the hands of some of our Republican friends of the Senate who are trying to make the situation impossible.

Throughout the spring and summer months Wilson’s diplomacy attempted to influence the political winds of Mexico but without any real results. On 27 August the President spoke to the Congress and advocated a policy of "watchful waiting." Two months later
Wilson reaffirmed the Monroe Doctrine and demanded that President Huerta retire from office, which was now none other than a military dictatorship.

At this time the Marshalls were on their way to Arizona to enjoy a brief rest. In Kansas City, Missouri, the Vice President told reporters that "it was no secret in Mexico that Madero was to be killed, and I may say it was no secret in Indianapolis." How did he know? Three days before Madero's assassination a letter had been sent to him from a Mexican Masonic brother as well as to other United States Masons in an appeal for help for the Madero regime. It was too late. The Mexican situation, meanwhile, would get worse.  

By April 1914 the fortunes of Huerta were nearly at an end. He controlled only the central region where the capital was located. The remaining portions of the provinces were held by men with the now familiar names of Zapata and Villa and especially Venustiano Carranza who succeeded Huerta in mid-July. President Wilson felt that Carranza's middle-class aspirations might provide the basis for a new democratic Mexico. Thus, in February he revoked the United States embargo on the shipment of arms to Mexico, which act allowed the anti-Huerta revolutionaries to obtain arms that eventually led to the defeat of the brazen Huerta.

While Wilson was about to ask Congress in April for approval to use United States troops against Huerta, the Vice President expressed his view of Administrative philosophy in a speech at Camden, New Jersey: "Mexico can't have a republic until Mexico has different laws, different sentiments and different people. Here we have a republic because we have the people and the ideals that go to the making of a republic. But you can't have a pie without any filling, and that applies to the country to the South
as well as to any country anywhere else." The Mexican holding of United States Marines at Tampico on the ninth of April resulted in her troops being overcome by American naval and land forces at Vera Cruz on the twenty-first of that month. The situation was so uncertain that four days later Congress provided means for the raising of volunteer forces in case of an actual or threatened war with Mexico.\textsuperscript{22}

Marshall played no role in the formation of foreign policy in this matter. As an Administrative official he was quoted on the Mexican crisis, but he was privy neither to the State Department nor to the White House regarding what the United States Government proposed to do. He had known the United States Ambassador to Mexico, he had been recipient of "suggestions" from unidentified persons who may or may not have had any real information, and he had learned of a Mexican plot to assassinate Madero. Marshall did not even have an informed opinion about the Mexican situation. His last word to reporters on the matter was simplistic: "Of course, we all hope for peace with Mexico. . . . But we all know the Mexican temperament and how the nation is really a volcano of warfare. . . .\textsuperscript{23}

Wilson's policy of moral condemnation of the Huerta government and consequent diplomatic non-recognition of the new regime was not in accord with Marshall's own view of foreign relations. The Vice President consistently advocated that the United States recognize the Latin-American states as sovereign equals and not seek to impose its policies and standards upon those peoples. Marshall's role in influencing Wilson's foreign policy was minimal. Wilson made his own foreign policy with as little help as necessary from anyone.
By March, 1915, the situation in Mexico had become clearer politically, though perhaps not to Americans north of the border. A power struggle had taken place between Carranza and Pancho Villa with the former victorious for the moment. Meanwhile, Villa and Zapata separately harassed, raped, and murdered the countryside at odds with their ways. On his way to the west coast Marshall had the Mexican situation foremost on his mind. He had visited earlier with the family of an American sailor killed in the United States attack on Vera Cruz, Mexico, almost a year before, and had attended the sailor's funeral in Pittsburgh. His words to reporters revealed compassion and conviction: "[De Lowry's] mother is a brave Irishwoman and she had draped her boy's picture with the Stars and Stripes. That woeful visit caused me to take a solemn oath that I would support no war movement by this country unless the alien invader's foot was placed on our shores."

The Vice President did not favor American intervention in Mexico, for he considered that the same results would prevail as that when the United States conquered the Philippines. Besides the logistical problem of subduing Mexico, he worried about the diplomatic problem: "While we were intervening how would the republics to the south of us look upon it? Might they not regard us with distrust—as an invader armed with a big club who might push on into their provinces if successful?" In March, 1916, General John J. Pershing led a punitive expedition into Mexico to catch Pancho Villa but was unsuccessful. One year later Wilson begrudgingly "recognized" Carranza as the new President of Mexico. Marshall felt that the situation was resolved but not in the way he would have directed. Had he been President he would have ordered a joint expedition with Argentina, Brazil, and Chile to put down the revolt, "restore law and order, furnish
security for life, property and investments, and them withdraw or else. . . the United States, of its own volition, would enter, and come out when it got ready." As it was, he was left with the feeling of being "responsible for nothing and influential nowhere."25
Cave of the Four Winds

January 1914 - March 1915

It had been one whole year since Thomas Riley Marshall arrived in the Capitol as one of the new Administration officials. Congressman Slayden's wife, a tenured member of the Washington social crowd who did not hesitate to lay open her visions on any number of subjects, recorded in her journal on the evening of 17 March 1914: "... At a beautiful luncheon at Mrs. Porter's for Mrs. Benjamin Harrison we broke all precedent. Democratic women laughed with the rest of the melancholy society of the White House; the way some of the Cabinet couples address one another as 'momma' and poppa,' and the V.-P.'s latest witticism in agreeing to make an address somewhere if they would just let him stand up on his hind legs and talk." Could it be that the Vice President was getting uncomfortable with his position? Two months earlier Marshall had stood in front of the congregation on a Sunday morning and said, "I do not blame proud parents for wishing that their sons might become President of the United States. But if I sought a blessing for a boy I would not pray that he become Vice-President."\textsuperscript{iv}

With twelve months' experience in office Marshall discerned how limiting his role and responsibilities were as Vice-President of the United States. He later confessed, "I soon ascertained that I was of no importance to the administration beyond the duty of being loyal to it and ready, at any time, to act as a sort of pinch hitter; that is, when everybody else on the team had failed, I was to be given a chance. I reached the conclusion that I was too small to look dignified in a Prince Albert coat, and the way I
wore my silk hat was evidence that it was not a thing of common usage in the ordinary walks of life in Indiana. I, therefore, chose what I thought to be the better part: to acknowledge the insignificant influence of the office; to take it in a good-natured way; to be friendly and well disposed to political friend and political foe alike; to be loyal to my chief and at the same time not to be offensive to my associates; and to strive, in so far as I had the power, to deal justly with those over whom I was merely nominally presiding."

Thomas Marshall wrote this sentiment in reflection of his eight years’ experience in the Wilson Administration. It is the writer’s judgment that he felt his talents unused often, but sometimes more, sometimes less, according to the times. In his Recollections the Vice President did not specify a particular period when he wrote this retrospection.

Woodrow Wilson was too occupied to notice the Vice President’s uneasiness. Now and then he wrote short notes to Marshall expressing appreciation for his thoughtfulness, his service, and his generosity:

I am warmly obliged to you for being so thoughtful of my personal pleasure. I shall look forward with real zest to reading "General John Regan."

My warmest congratulations on your birthday and the hope that there will be many returns with constantly accruing satisfaction because of the disinterested and earnest public service you are rendering now as always.

I warmly appreciate the memorandum you placed in Mr. Tumulty's hands on April ninth. It is most interesting and helpful. It was kind of you to think of it and generous of you to prepare it.

One wonders why Marshall felt himself to be "of no importance to the administration"? Perhaps he thought that he might accomplish more than in fact he had. Perhaps he had encountered a stronger will in Wilson whose own "need for domination"
frustrated the Vice President's own will to succeed. During the time of the Sixty-third Congress Wilson used pressure to get legislation passed, and the session lasted from 7 April 1913 to 24 October 1914, longer than any session of Congress to date. As President of the Senate Marshall was forced to sit through endless speeches on matters which were not always personally interesting. Perhaps the former Hoosier governor had grown tired of his "esteemed" position.4

The events of the spring and summer of 1914 somewhat changed the mercurial spirits of the man from Indiana. A happy occasion helps the spirit tremendously. On his sixtieth birthday on 14 March Marshall's friends gave him a large birthday cake on which were placed six candles and a shield of the United States. They remarked that he certainly did not look sixty years old. "No," he said, "I keep young by not thinking about the years. I have seen a great many babies born and I have seen a great many men die, but I want to live to be in my second childhood. This is a good world to live in." Life was not so bad. The high school seniors back home in Columbia City still remembered him and wanted to dedicate their Columbian yearbook to him with his picture in it. He happily responded by lending them a steel engraving for making prints.5

The summer months were occupied with his presiding over the Senate and in going distances to deliver commencement addresses and speeches. The ousting of Mexican President Huerta by Venustiano Carranza on 15 July was overshadowed by the outbreak of war in southeastern Europe. On the day that Austria-Hungary declared war on Russia the President's wife, Ellen Axson Wilson, died of Bright's disease (nephritis). Though she had been ill for nearly a year, the gravity of her condition did not become apparent until after a fall in the White House in February. Her death was Wilson's
profound loss, and he and his daughters were joined in mourning by official Washington.  

I

In the words of one Administration official, William G. McAdoo, "he was a great job-hunter for his friends." McAdoo’s words have contributed to the traditional image of Marshall who was hurt because Wilson and others ignored his position and his requests. This writer found only one item in Wilson’s papers in which the President asked McAdoo about a man (a Republican, be it noted) whom the Vice President thought might be a worthwhile member of the shipping board. In fact, Thomas Marshall was neither notorious nor atypical in his usage of patronage. The Vice President recommended his writer-friend, Meredith Nicholson, for an ambassadorship to Portugal. In the summer of 1913, there had been a vicious Democratic intra-party fight in Indianapolis. Marshall was seen by state machine forces as ignorant of recent political conditions within Indiana and Nicholson was regarded as a too independent-minded Democrat who was outside the organization. Party spokesman Thomas Taggart criticized Nicholson publicly when it was learned that he might be offered an ambassadorship. (Nicholson seven years later seemed to have forgotten this slight, for he vigorously supported Taggart in his U.S. senatorial bid of 1920.) Marshall denied to the press his having recommended Nicholson to the President, but the Wilson Papers reveal that Wilson was introduced to Nicholson by letter from the Vice President. Nicholson ultimately turned down the President's offer for family and political reasons.
Marshall continued to supply cabinet members with names of persons he regarded as qualified for available job openings. His request would become heavy during the war years. Marshall sought a Civil Service appointment for more than one Hoosier lady working in a federal office in Washington. Charles Denby of Indianapolis, Consul-General at Vienna, was protected by a strong word of support by the Vice President to Secretary of State Bryan. Later, a couple of Indianapolis bankers were benefited by good words to the President from the Vice President, and one of the men expressed gratitude to Marshall for the former's bank having been selected by the federal government "to execute an organization certificate in their district." Another Indianapolis man was suggested in 1919 as a successor to William C. Redfield for the position of Secretary of Commerce.  

II

The Vice President's key constitutional responsibility is to moderate discussion and maintain order in the Senate. As President of the Senate Marshall on occasion had difficulty in maintaining order. The Senators talked loudly to their colleagues and sometimes to those seated above in the galleries (given the poor acoustics in the [old] Senate chamber and there being as yet no microphones). During one discussion Senator John Sharp Williams of Mississippi expressed unmistakable anti-Huerta ideas. Whenever he said something strong, such as demanding decisive United States action, there would be applause in the galleries. This provoked Marshall to interrupt with warnings to both observers and debaters:
The Sergeant at Arms will be compelled to clear the galleries. The chair is not responsible for the rules of the Senate. They were made contrary to the judgment of the Chair. They place upon the chair the duty of seeing that there are no demonstrations of approval or disapproval in the galleries of the Senate. Three times on this morning attention has been called to the fact, and the Chair had been compelled to clear one gallery, much to the regret of the Chair.

The Chair wants to say something further now: The Senate passed this rule; but the Senate, if the Chair is an observer of things going on, is largely responsible for the outburst in the galleries. If the Senate expects the Chair to enforce the rule as against the galleries, a decent respect for the feelings of mankind would suggest that Senators should also obey the rule.

Marshall and Williams became warm friends, but their friendship did not prevent them from speaking their minds when the occasion seemed to demand it. 9

During a debate toward the end of September, 1914, certain Senators were arguing the subject of governmental leasing of land. They became so involved in their debate that some were speaking out of order. Marshall felt that it was finally time for him to set the record straight; the confusion was becoming very trying for the Senate's official reporters. He declared, "There have been very frequent interruptions when Senators, without any reference to the Chair and without any regard to the Senator who had the floor, have risen and proceeded to talk on the floor." The interruptions were not only disrespectful but in violation of Senate rules of debate. Heated remarks continued, and not long after his admonition Marshall had to interrupt again. The Senators were
getting overly emotional, especially those from West Virginia (Chilton), New Jersey (Martine), and Oregon (Lane). Insults were cast at certain states, an infraction of another rule (Rule XIX, section 3: "No Senator in debate shall refer offensively to any state of the Union."). With tact the Vice President guided discussion back to the subject of leasing coal lands in the Alaskan territory. The behavior of some Senators on the Senate floor in the matter betrayed the reputation of their being an august body. To support this judgment, during a filibuster in January, 1915, Utah Senator Serge Sutherland made a facetious remark about Senator Owen of Oklahoma searching for a way to require a Senate vote to force Senators to raise their voice when speaking. Marshall responded that "the Chair has no power to decide in what tone of voice a Senator shall discuss a question." That seemed to settle the matter. 10

Another issue which aroused the Senate was that involving ship purchase and a merchant marine. When hostilities between Austria-Hungary and Serbia erupted into declarations of war, which encompassed several major powers in Europe during July and August, 1914, the United States immediately declared itself neutral in the war between Austria and Serbia. American firms promptly began to do business with the neutrals, exemplary of the President's admonition to all Americans to be "neutral in fact as well as in name during these days that are to try men's souls." The nation's economy was dependent on international trade, and for a war to occur across the ocean was a sign of impending economic crisis. The Government needed a large number of ships to handle the volume of business between North and South America and across the Atlantic Ocean. If it were possible to purchase ships already built, a merchant fleet could be quickly
obtained. Purchase of ships owned by belligerent nations was frustrated by the stipulations placed upon the United States Government by both belligerent factions.

Secretary of State Bryan in August, 1914, tried to persuade the Vice President to save the Administration's Ship Registry Bill by introducing a gag rule. Marshall felt that he was being asked to do something unethical. He did nothing about Bryan's request, and the bill at that point failed to pass. Williams of Mississippi was bitter about the defeat of the bill and spoke his mind to the Senators. He then submitted to the desk his resignation from the Foreign Relations Committee, but his resignation was worded in such personal terms that Marshall ruled Williams out of order. The Senator appealed, but the Senate supported the Vice President. Williams then rushed out of the chamber. 11

Through January and the first few days of February, 1915, Administration supporters in the Senate again sought enactment of the President's Ship Purchase Bill. Approval by the Senators would allow the expenditure of $30 million towards a shipping line owned and operated by the United States Government. Henry Cabot Lodge and other Republicans strenuously objected and thus far had prevented passage of the measure. These opponents feared that if Wilson got the money, he would proceed to buy German ships, a most unneutral act. Thus, it was reasoned, the German Empire would receive a large amount of money from the United States Government, which would not only help one belligerent but would also place the American Government in the arena of private enterprise!

To secure his goal the President’s Senate supporters planned a filibuster strategy to last as long as Democratic members were in the minority voting column (two Senators were then out of town). Upon their return a tie vote would result with the Vice President
Republican Senators Lodge, Kenyon, and Norris, who strove more earnestly and with success to defeat the measure. Marshall's aid never was required, since intransigent Democratic Senators became convinced that the vote of the insurgents together with that of the conservative Republicans was overwhelming. Defeat had been accomplished by the aid of seven "deserter" Democrats along with liberal and Old Guard Republicans. Wilson was furious, but there was nothing more he could do although he threatened to call a special session of Congress. The President had taken the position that the economy of the nation and the economy of Europe were dependent upon passage of the bill. Opponents were fearful that Britain might misunderstand America's intent and conclude that the latter wished to build a navy comparable to Britain's, capable of competing on the open market around the world. Britain was understandably sensitive at this time, and especially so if the American ships were originally of German construction. Conditions for international disorder were rapidly forming.  

III

During these early Senate debates Vice President Marshall made the remark that was destined to be his most memorable utterance: "What this country needs is a good five-cent cigar!" Marshall was often seen with a cigar in his mouth or hand, and it was not uncommon for him to take a break from his duties as presiding officer of the Senate and go to the cloak room for a smoke. During one of many speeches on the floor of the Senate Chamber, the story goes, Joseph Bristow of Kansas was expounding on the needs of the country and would follow each need with a suggested remedy. He talked about the
needs in industry, in finance, in agriculture, in labor, and so on and on. At this point in
the story, the traditions vary. In one account Marshall was fidgeting in his seat after
having listened for more than an hour to Bristow. Unable to endure it any longer he
called for a senator to take over his chair to preside and left for a rest in the Senate
cloakroom. Taking a cigar from his vest pocket Marshall looked at Henry Rose, Senate
secretary, and exclaimed, "Henry, Joe hasn't hit it yet. What this country needs is a really
good five-cent cigar!"

Another variant has Marshall remain in his Senate chair: he reacts, leans over and
makes his remark to John Crockett, chief clerk of the Senate. Still another finds him
blocks away at the Willard Hotel, his residence for most of his years in Washington. The
cigars in the ornate nineteenth century dwelling were so expensive that their price
"caused the salty Indianan to come forward with that epic statement about the nation's
need for a nickel smoke."

No contemporary of Marshall is ever recorded to have shown an understanding of
what the Vice President really meant when he made the statement. That it was a funny
remark, pure and simple, was the reaction of most people. Others saw it as the
expression of a superficial-thinking man who happened to be Vice President and, thank
God, not President!

The meaning Marshall intended to convey, but with a smile on his face, was a
serious one. In 1924, the year before he died, he visited St. Louis and, when reminded
about his famous remark, tried to lay it to rest: "His statement was accepted literally, he
said, when he meant it as a serious philosophical metaphor, indicating the more simple
life of times gone by." Unfortunately for him cigar manufacturers began to send him
samples of their products, requesting him to give his name to their product. At least one manufacturer took it upon himself to design cigar boxes with Marshall’s name and remark on the exterior. The ploy did not work. Marshall refused to cooperate. (At least one Marshall cigar box was preserved and is on exhibit at the headquarters of the Whitley County Historical Museum, the Marshalls’ former home in Columbia City, Indiana.)

Not only interested Americans kept alive the traditions. Several scholars of the Wilson era noted this quip, its teller, and the usual judgment that Wilson’s Vice President was a funny man who was inept and cowardly at critical junctures. Historian John Morton Blum, for example, in his biography of Wilson’s secretary, Joseph P. Tumulty, accepted uncritically the Administration’s caricature of Marshall: "No one high in the councils of the Administration had great respect for the Vice President. That affable politician typifying the mediocrity of most of the holders of his office, stood for little but a good five-cent cigar. Neither as Governor of Indiana nor as presiding officer of the Senate had he demonstrated the vision or capacity for leadership in such critical times."

Contrary to Blum, Marshall was never inept or cowardly. Indeed, at critical junctures he was, if anything, keen and sensitive. If anything was peculiar about the man, it was that he was a natural humorist with a tendency toward self-deprecation. Sober sophisticates are never supposed to be funny or daring. Marshall was all of these things. One may reflect that Blum’s negative judgment of Marshall was influenced by his subject’s [Tumulty] antipathy toward the Vice President and Blum’s own nescience of the object of his criticism. 13

A long-standing tradition with the Senate was that no motion pictures were to be taken while the senators were in session. The first recorded infraction of this tradition
occurred in October, 1914, when the Vice President, certain senators, officers, and the chaplain of the Senate allowed a motion picture company to get a sequence of shots of the opening of the daily session. North Carolina's Lee Overman, chairman of the Committee on Rules, was quite disturbed about the matter. He charged Marshall with usurping his authority and that of the Committee which was really the one to give the original consent. Marshall countered that he had assumed authority had been given by Overman's committee. In the investigation it was learned that the Senate's Sergeant-at-Arms had given consent to the movie company but only after he had consulted with the Vice President's secretary, Mark Thistlethwaite, who told him that there would be no objection to the pictures being taken. That Thistlethwaite would have done so without consulting Marshall first is unthinkable but not impossible.

Tradition can be very sacred matter. Marshall never admitted whether he gave original consent. In the course of debate by the Senate the Vice President exclaimed, "Instructions will be given that the films taken yesterday must not be used!" When it was realized that the filming had no other purpose than to be used as an educational production, tempers cooled and the films were freed of senatorial restriction. The New York Times editorial covering their curious controversy commended Vice President Marshall for being willing to "play" himself. After all, just as it is possible for an actor to make up like Hamlet, so could one have looked like Mr. Marshall: "It is, on the whole, better for the country to have a first-hand picture of Mr. Marshall calling the Senate to order than a clever make-believe. . . . The Vice President may be only leading the way in which all other statesmen must soon follow. For the art of movies is long and official life is fleeting." 14
The man simply could not submerge his inventive wit nor his unpretentiousness nor his impulsiveness. His frugality was mixed with frolic as he dared to "moonlight" to earn extra income. Bryan had done it for years on the Chautauqua circuit. Marshall biographer Charles Thomas relates that Bryan once advised Marshall, "Always get your money before you step onto the platform. Don't be standing around later waiting for it. Don't step onto the platform unless you already have the money in your pocket." When asked by reporters what he could say to his critics, the Vice President blurted, "I do not think the people of the United States care whether I am paid for lecturing or not. I do believe they care whether I am on my job as presiding officer of the United States Senate while that body is in session." Earlier that summer a Congressman introduced a bill to prohibit high government officials from giving lectures while Congress was in session. International crises could arise and officials would be off somewhere lecturing, oblivious to the dangers of diplomacy. Marshall felt no pangs of guilt. He took the offensive against critics of Bryan's lecturing. Besides, he reasoned, he himself was "billed" simply as Thomas R. Marshall, not as the Vice President of the United States. He would say no more about the subject. It was his business alone.  

IV

In addition to interest in the 1914 Congressional elections, political eyes were focused as well on the 1916 Presidential race. The Vice President was mentioned as a possible candidate, but his choice was the incumbent, Woodrow Wilson, and he issued a statement to that effect. Marshall thought about the 1914 elections in the context of the hostilities abroad. He perceived that Americans saw the European situation as delicate
and that they would remain neutral in accord with the President's injunction of 18 August. In his words, "Partisanship will be sunk by the American people in their desire to preserve the blessings of peace. We may and probably shall have politics in 1916, but not in 1914. . . ."

The question among politicians was whether or not Wilson would run for a second term, since the 1913 Democratic Platform writers had pledged their candidate for only one term. Marshall's position was that "Fair-minded Democrats will recognize that he [Wilson] is entitled to a chance for a second term to prove the utility of his policies. . . ." Joseph Tumulty told reporters that the White House knew nothing about Vice President Marshall's statement and had nothing to say about it. Wilson, however, thought about the idea Marshall had promoted and wrote him about it:

I have refrained from telling you how warmly I appreciated as a generous expression of your confidence in me what you are reported to have said the other day with regard to choice of a Democratic candidate for the Presidency in 1916 only because I hesitated to risk misrepresenting myself by seeming to be thinking of my own political fortunes. But I am not at liberty to believe myself by seeming ungrateful for such confidence as you have expressed merely because of such a delicacy of scruple. I am sure you will believe me when I say that the performance of my duties is not connected in my mind in the least degree with calculations as to my own political future. I'm willing to let that take care of itself. I should be especially chagrined if my fellow-countrymen were to think that such personal matters played a part in my thoughts in these critical times when duty should be purged to the utmost of every thought of oneself, of every thought except the country's welfare and advantage. But since you have spoken so generously I cannot be churl [sic] enough not to tell you how greatful [sic] I am to be so believed in and supported.

Wilson was obviously “warmed” by the Vice President’s sincere and selfless recommendation of the President for a second term of office. Woodrow Wilson fed upon this adulation by his “second-in-command.” The New York World held Marshall's
judgment about Wilson to be "unanimous" among Democrats everywhere. The editor believed that Wilson would be renominated by the Party and reelected by the people in 1916 unless something radical changed the picture.  

Faced with making an answer to reporters in Detroit several weeks later about the incongruity of the Democratic plank of one-term and his assertion that Wilson should run for a second term, the Vice President met the question by stating that not Wilson but the Democratic Party was obligated by the platform. Marshall simply could not foresee any issue or any leader within the Republican camp that could hurt Wilson's chances for re-election in 1916. The President did not let Marshall's support go unrewarded. Another letter from Wilson reinforced in Marshall his own worth to the Administration: “...The pleasure of being associated with you grows as the months pass and I want to send you as the session [of Congress] closes this simple message of congratulations and thanks.”

The last months of 1914 came to a fruitful end with Congress enacting several progressive measures, namely, the Federal Trade Commission Act (26 September), which facilitated regulation of corporations; the Clayton Anti-Trust Act (15 October), which strengthened the Sherman Anti-trust Act of 1890; the Revenue Act (22 October), which imposed special taxes to balance the economic depression brought on by the European conflict; and the Federal Reserve System (16 November) which went into effect on this date to stabilize the national currency and banking. Marshall was in basic agreement with these accomplishments under Wilson’s leadership, though "the Federal Trade commission Act approached too close to regimentation to meet his approbation," according to his secretary, Mark Thistlethwaite.
The Sixty-third Congress ended on 4 March 1915. Every Congressman seemed joyous with the expectation of a well-earned vacation at hand. Marshall was congratulated by the Senators for his conduct as presiding officer and for his impartial rulings. In return, he expressed his felicitous feelings about the Senators and his time with them during that period: "May I be permitted to say that when I came here two years ago it was the first time that I ever stepped inside of a legislative body. I know that I have made mistakes, errors sometimes, of the head; but, thank God, I can look you in the face and say to you that there has never been an error of the heart." At this juncture Marshall's position within the Administration seemed secure.
By the time the 1916 presidential election year arrived, Thomas Marshall would have successfully represented Woodrow Wilson at an international exposition, shown his consistent loyalty to the Administration, and proven himself to be a good party man. Still, he did not please everybody, and when the Democratic National Convention opened in St. Louis another man might be found to replace Marshall as a new Vice Presidential nominee for Wilson’s second-term race. Politicians were watching him even a year before the Convention date.

I

It was a curious anomaly that the Panama-Pacific International Exposition was going ahead on schedule in San Francisco. During the very time that a bitter war was raging in Europe, a multitude of nations would join in sponsoring buildings and exhibitions at an international trade fair. In September of 1914, Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan declared that the Fair would be held on schedule and was pleased that not one of the forty-one nations had withdrawn its entry on account of the war. Six months later President Wilson, due to an increasingly critical international situation, appointed the Vice President to represent him at the Exposition on the West Coast.¹
Plans for the Marshall entourage to the West Coast were made by William Phillips, Third Assistant Secretary of State, and Franklin D. Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy. Both men would accompany the Vice President and his wife on the trip. Roosevelt sent communications ahead to California, informing the naval officials there of the proper procedures to follow when the Vice President's party arrived and departed their presence. He directed that a special flag be used, newly designed, exclusively for the Vice President.

**NIGHT LETTER**  
**NAVY DEPARTMENT**  
**BUREAU OF NAVIGATION**  
**WASHINGTON**  
March 15, 1915

Commandant  
Navy Yard  
Mare Island, Calif.

Vice President visiting vessels or naval stations officially shall be saluted both upon arrival and departure. His flag is similar to Presidents except field is white. Seventeen guns is the salute prescribed for Assistant Secretary Navy also four ruffles instead of three. Inform Training Station.

ROOSEVELT  
acting

Away from Washington to make speeches in Cleveland and Indianapolis, Marshall wrote to Wilson the day following news accounts of his substitution for the President at the Exposition. He did not want Wilson to misunderstand his "seeming lack of courtesy in failing to call" before he left for Cleveland. He worried aloud that Wilson would think him responsible for the "leak" to the press concerning his going to San
me to do, I will comply to the best of my ability." Wilson in response had no suggestion to make. He was only too glad he had Marshall to handle that time-consuming task. As the Vice President and his wife joined the government officials in Chicago, a second letter came from Wilson, more personable than the first: "You may be sure that I did not at all misunderstand your going away without first seeing me. Indeed, I somehow feel that you and I instinctively understand one another and certainly nothing that you do would convey a wrong impression to me of your feeling or intention." If there remained any question of tension, it was removed by this letter.3

On the train moving westward were several officials directly interested in the international exposition. Senator James D. Phelan and Interior Secretary Franklin K. Lane, both of California, wanted to be present in San Francisco for the occasion. Eleanor Roosevelt was delighted to be able to accompany her husband in the Vice Presidential entourage. She had met the Marshalls but hardly to any personal extent. The several days' journey gave her the opportunity to become better acquainted, which she awaited with "trepidation." Marshall she found to be "a silent gentleman." In her autobiography Eleanor wrote with acute perception, "When he did not know a thing he said so. When he did not like a thing he said so, and usually had some amusing remark to make." She recalled that as they crossed the Great Salt Lake, viewing it from the train's rear platform, everyone was awed by the natural beauty of the landscape. Marshall took his cigar out of his mouth and pronounced in his occasional teasing manner, "I never did like scenery," and popped the cigar back in to continue smoking. "I discovered that he had a fund of dry humor and there was no pretentiousness about him," she observed.4
For two months the battleship Oregon lay fixed near San Francisco awaiting units of the Atlantic Fleet, in particular the Colorado, the flagship of the Commander, Rear Admiral Howard. It arrived on the 18th of March. On the next day the cruisers Maryland and New Orleans came near; the gunboat Annapolis, three submarines and their monitor Cheyenne, and two divisions of torpedo boats, each with a distinctive name, all made their appearance in San Francisco Bay.

The California welcoming party met the visitors and drove them to the Ferry Building downtown, thence to the Embarcadero, where a mounted band played "On the Banks of the Wabash" for the former Indiana Governor. Several streets were blocked off downtown as the entourage concluded their junket to the Fairmount Hotel. The ceremonial festivities were to last one week with a considerable agenda planned for each day.5

On the day of arrival newspaper publisher William Randolph Hearst and his wife Phoebe hosted the Vice Presidential party with a dinner and dance at the St. Francis Hotel. Marshall had known the wealthy newspaperman by reputation, but there is no indication that he had met him before this occasion. During 1912, Hearst sent an automobile, the Pathfinder, across the country in an effort to show America its need for new highways across the continent. Governor Marshall was one of those governors who supported the idea. Two and three years later, peace meetings, organized by Hearst to be held in large cities, included such speakers as Vice President Marshall and "Judge" Elbert Gary of the Steel Trust. In 1918, Hearst would launch "a movement for rebuilding and rehabilitating the ruined villages of France" to which Marshall would give his moral support.6 Following a day's relaxation at the Saratoga country estate of Senator
James D. Phelan, the group motored to the Exposition grounds situated along the bay coastline at the northeastern edge of the city. The sight which they were about to behold was unlike anything they had ever seen. The Vice President and his party discovered a spot on the face of the earth that looked like the City of Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow architecturally, containing congresses, conferences, and conventions where religion and learning (emphasized in the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893) would be "pragmatized" by the intellectual mood of the day. Educators ("pedagogists") would gather to consider just what the value of education really was. Nobody seemed satisfied with what had been done in the past. Historians would hear such learned presentations as "The Conflict of European Nations in the Pacific" and "The American Inter-oceanic Canal." Social scientists of the American Association for the Advancement of Science met as an organization for the first time on the West Coast and idealized "our knowledge" as the leaven of their civilization.7

A reception in honor of the presidential emissaries took place in the California Building. Representatives of participating foreign nations having exhibits at the Exposition were present, and toasts were offered. Admiral Baron Uriu of Japan proposed the toast to the Vice President.8 In attendance at the luncheon were several well-known American dignitaries, including California Governor Hiram Johnson; Charles W. Fairbanks, former Vice President; Charles C. Moore, President of the Exposition; and James Rolph, Jr., Mayor of San Francisco.

The honored visitor from the East spoke a few words of welcome on behalf of the President and the nation:
Shall I say welcome? Is it necessary? In a way, perhaps; but, my friends, you have but come into your brother’s house. You are here on a friendly mission. There is nothing like looking a man in the eye, and clasping his hand to know him. You may know that prejudices exist, but the gladness of my greeting today would be clothed in sackcloth and ashes if every Commissioner here, after he has met us to know us, could not go back to his own people knowing that he had been in a friendly land. I ask you, in the name of my chief, to uphold his hand in this, the crucial hour of the world's history, and help make swords into plowshares and spears into knitting needles. I greet you in the hope that here shall be cemented such ties of amity and concord as the world has never known before.

And then, as Shakespeare's Portia spoke to Antonio, Marshall ended, "Sirs, you are very welcome to our house. This must appear in other ways than words."

A dinner and Grand Ball that evening were given by the Exposition commission to honor the esteemed guests. The interior of the large California Building was decorated with red, white, and blue banners draped along archways that stood parallel along the length of the exhibition hall. At one point the crowd separated to provide a passage through which the Marshalls could walk to their place of honor. For Lois Marshall the experience of walking beside her husband, carrying a lavish bouquet of native California flowers, would be one she would never forget.

The arrangements committee let the Vice President spend his spare time as he chose, since his big day would be on Wednesday when he would dedicate the Exposition in the name of the President of the United States. Therefore, on Tuesday all he had to do was to be driven to Berkeley (decades before the Oakland-San Francisco bay bridge was
built) to deliver the Charter Day address at the University of California, and see Secretary Lane receive his honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. Following a reception by the Native Sons and Daughters, the Vice Presidential party entertained themselves with a walk through the Zone, the amusement area at the Exposition, which contemporary architectural historian Eugen Newhaus described as a “harmony of ugliness which is carried through this [riotous] melee of flimsiness and sham!” Architectural beauty was in the eye of the beholder.

The Day of Dedication arrived. Three thousand military men paraded past the reviewing stand by the Tower of Jewels, one of the wonders of the Fair. The President of the Exposition acknowledged the cooperative efforts that had made the moment possible. Senator Phelan followed with a few words, as did State Commissioner Chester H. Rowell on behalf of Governor Hiram Johnson. The people had come by the thousands to hear the President's Man. It was a solemn moment, one can only imagine, to judge by the contributions of photographers, reporters, and records of the event.

The short, gray-haired man stood on a podium decked with American flags unfurled by brisk winds. There was as yet no public address system, and surely all the people positioned far behind the seating sections in the promenade could not hear him. Marshall asked them for their charity as he sought to fulfill his responsibility on behalf of the President of the United States. The message of the Vice President expressed the high hopes of civilized man for peace on earth. He held up the artful wonders of the buildings roundabout the audience. He spoke of the dream-come-true of the pioneers and pathfinders who dreamed of uniting both coasts by a waterway. He referred to the Panama Canal, newly constructed, which the Exposition sought to call to the attention of
the world (and which the Californians hoped would bring more people and more commerce to the West Coast).

The man who represented the nation's Chief Executive showed conviction and courage when he included sentiments on a subject that was for him a soiled mark on the garment of his country: "I am quite sure that I am but one of a countless throng in the Republic who regret that this altruistic work has a real or seeming defect in the charge of an injustice done a sister republic to the South [Colombia]." The audience was vaguely aware that a dozen years earlier in Panama, a province of New Granada [Colombia], a successful revolution had occurred which had tacit approval from the United States Government already making arrangements to send army engineers to direct the building of a canal between the two oceans.¹²

It has not been our mission [Marshall continued] to impress our laws, our customs, and our civilization upon alien races. We have learned that while the code of ethics, morals, and religion consists of the 'thou shalt nots' of life, the few have feasted while the many grew faint. We have learned that it is not possible to force mankind to think as we think or do as we do. We strive only to hold the mirror up to nature. We believe that the whole world moves toward a far-off divine event and that our mission in that movement is to promote peace and good will. And we think the days here spent by those of other lands will greatly aid in that good work. . . .

The Vice-President spoke with forcefulness, using simple words in grander ways than they were accustomed to being used. He concluded: "Here men of every age and every clime behold the noonday of the world's accomplishment, the crystallization of the
dreams and thought of genius and talent. May we not hope that here a thought-dawn will be born that shall not cease to broaden until, at its meridian height, all men around the world are one?  

Who knows what went on in the mind of Franklin Delano Roosevelt as he sat on the front row a few feet away? Perhaps he could not envision his own future in Marshall's glowing words. Perhaps a rendezvous with destiny was too far into that future.

Marshall’s speech produced a strange response. There was applause, but it was restrained, hushed, "like applause in church, that indicates a feeling almost too deep for audible expression." One eyewitness reporter wrote that Marshall spoke "with an almost inspired tongue. Neither Woodrow Wilson or any other man could have made on this day at the Exposition a greater speech than that of the second officer who represented the American government. History, prophecy, humanity, civilization, sentiment, idealism, imagination, and logic all held place in the great heart and mind of this great American on this great occasion."  

With his responsibilities at the Exposition ended and before leaving San Francisco Marshall was honored with a brief naval ceremony on the flagship cruiser, San Diego. The Vice President's flag, newly designed by the young Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Franklin Roosevelt, added to the honor of the occasion. Its field of white with the President's eagle and stars in the center was unfurled for all to see when the Vice President went on board ship.

Unexpectedly, a calamity was about to occur. No one had instructed Marshall on how to board a Navy ship. Amidst the honor of the occasion there was also formal
tradition, certain acts being done in certain ways. Roosevelt, when President himself
years later, reminisced to a Navy man about the events that followed that particular day.
Ready to board ship Marshall "appeared to the gangway--silk hat, frock coat, cigar in his
mouth, gloves in his left hand, and cane in his right hand, and stepped over the rail to the
grating. At that moment, the Boatswain's pipe was heard and the four ruffles were
played. Everybody, including the eight sideboys--four on each side of the Vice
President--was at salute. The Star Spangled Banner began and the Vice President
realized his predicament. There was a moment of hesitation but he then transferred the
cane from right to left, took the cigar from his mouth, and with a good deal of difficulty
got his hat off. At the end of the National Anthem he started to put his hat on again,
when the first gun went off. The whole works went two feet in the air! When the hat,
cigar, gloves and cane were back in position, the Vice President, receiving no coaching
from his Naval Aide, stepped down from the deck and extended his hand to the first
sideboy on the right. The poor boy did the correct things, grinned broadly, took his hand
down from salute and shook hands warmly with the Vice President. By that time, the
Admiral and I had sprinted across the deck and rescued the Vice President. It certainly
was not the latter's fault. He had never done it before and if anyone was to blame, it was
the Aide who failed to tell him what to do. Three or four days later," Roosevelt
concluded, "we were all inspecting the San Diego Exposition and went into the
auditorium to see pictures of ourselves at the San Francisco Fair. The poor Vice
President was sitting next to me and when the moving pictures--then in an early stage of
development--showed the whole scene on the armored cruiser, he turned to me and said:
'My God, if I looked like that I will never go on board another ship as long as I live!'"
Although Thomas Marshall was not the originator of the proverb, "He that is born to be hanged shall never be drowned," the fatalism that he expressed so strongly to Taggart's young secretary years before stayed with him and was reinforced by circumstances. During the first six months of 1915 he was threatened with crank messages. As he was of "a more or less fatalistic temperament" he did not notify the Secret Service regarding the letters: he simply threw them away. To him the writers of the notes were demented from worry over the war in Europe. One letter had been signed by an "Adam" who informed Marshall that he had "permission to declare war and lift the weight from Congress and the President's shoulders."

The message that really made the difference in Marshall was a bomb which exploded in the Senate building on 3 July demolishing his desk and a door. His fatalism blossomed forth: "If I am to be killed by an anarchist, I don't believe all the Secret Service men in the country, if they were notified of the threat, could prevent it." Marshall may have had in mind President William McKinley who at the moment of his assassination was surrounded by Secret Service men. The bomb was not meant for Marshall specifically. It had been placed in the Senate reception room by a man who subsequently went to the Long Island estate of J. Pierpont Morgan to persuade the rich banker to stop exporting munitions to the European belligerents. Morgan resisted his attacker but suffered two bullet wounds in the groin, painful but not serious. The intruder was captured, and the newspapers were quick to pick up the news that he was a former
teacher of German at Cornell University. Marshall had not known the bomber, but at the time he surely felt that his life had been endangered for all the crank letters he received.16

As early as 1910, while governor, Marshall admitted to an Indianapolis reporter, "I am a fatalist. . . . What is to be will be, and staying awake won't change it."17 This belief in the inevitability of events determined by forces outside human capacity to control was accepted unquestioningly, and Marshall believed himself and all mankind to be so influenced. The judgment affected his motivation in running for public office, though he did exert effort to win when persuaded that he was "the people's choice." This philosophic determinism did not affect another belief in social progress, however, for he felt that legislation could affect society in such a way that unhealthy conditions could be partially eradicated. Nor did his fatalism affect his political ideology: it changed as international conditions altered to induce United States' involvement in a potentially global war. By the middle of the autumn in 1915 the Vice President had shifted his ideological position from an "ultra" pacifism to one that included a "reasonable preparedness."18

One of the tragic realities of war is that it affects the lives of countless innocents. Such was the case when on 7 May 1915, the British Cunard liner, Lusitania, was sunk by a German submarine. Nearly 1200 lives were lost, including 124 Americans. Ironically this incident occurred on the very day that King George mentioned its possibility to Colonel Edward House, at that moment Wilson's personal representative who was seeking ways to achieve a peaceful resolution of the war. With the two countries at war with each other, England's Lusitania seemed fair prey to the German U-boat. But, to a people who had no official role in the conflict, according to Arthur Link, Wilson’s
principal biographer, "the sinking of the Lusitania had a more jolting effect upon American opinion than any other single event of the World War." From the first news of the tragedy the Wilson Administration had urged calm. The New York Times four days after the event had the headlines:

PRESIDENT SAYS OUR EXAMPLE MUST BE THAT OF PEACE; GERMANY REGRETS OUR LOSS, BUT BLAMES ENGLAND; LUSITANIA VERDICT CHARGES THE KAISER WITH MURDER.

Some days after the tragedy Marshall was in Tupelo, Mississippi, giving a speech on "National Tendencies," and urged caution on the crisis before the nation. He pleaded for the pacifistic position until evidence changed the mind of the President: "I trust my chieftain at Washington and not until he says 'strike' will I speak in favor of war. The trouble with our civilization, especially North and Western States, is in not trying to follow the steps of "The Prince of Peace,' instead of scheming to avoid the law of the land and crying for war when war may not be the thing."20

Once more a hornets' nest of controversy became stirred up by Marshall's public remarks. The New York Times, which had lambasted him for his remarks on predatory wealth in 1913 and on Carnegie's "unfortunate" gifts of libraries, strove again to purge the State of Indiana of this "mediocre man" who ought to keep quiet when he has nothing to say. Indiana ought to produce a Vice President who "will have sense enough not to embarrass the President by utterances at odds with his settled policy, and who will not
spatter flippant epigrams on an international tragedy." The Times editor simply did not agree with Marshall that a non-Englishman was his own responsibility on the liner of a nation at war. A newspaper reader wrote to the editor and in defense of the Vice President questioned why men with unpopular opinions should not be given a hearing by "big-hearted America." The mood of the times was changing, however, and with America drawing closer to an official position respecting the conflict, free speech would be an ideal seldom practiced. Even Thomas Marshall would be found wanting in this regard.21

Woodrow Wilson's Vice President was angry. From Indianapolis he hurriedly sent a handwritten letter to the President's secretary, Joseph Tumulty:

My dear Tumulty,

I have been very much annoyed to see certain papers quoting me as not with the President on the war situation. I do not believe that he believes this. Still I want to tell you that everywhere I was I urged everyone to trust him & pledged myself to await his decision. These papers mix some comments on peace made before the Lusitania incident with that incident. But nobody who heard me doubts my loyalty & faith. Please tell him so, for I can't keep pace with ignorant reporters or vicious editors . . . .

Ever yours
/s/ Thos. R. Marshall22

The times were changing too rapidly even for Wilson to respond responsibly. He knew Marshall was loyal. War was not the answer, but neither was permissiveness toward Germany. Some people perceived that Germany was heading to a point where militarism would take over. Perhaps she had reached this point! In Philadelphia three
days after the Lusitania tragedy the President said that "there is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight." Torn between two views, soft and hard, toward diplomatic relations with Germany, Wilson sent a tactful but forceful note to the German Imperial Foreign Office. In it he requested that Germany recognize that the United States would support any of its citizens who wished to travel on the high seas and that she would not accept as an excuse a warning given prior to a sinking.23

The American President's note was sent to the Germans on 13 May and a reply was received on 28 May. The German Foreign Office realized that Wilson's message was not a threat, for Germany had already expressed its regret that non-belligerent lives were lost on the Lusitania. It remained to be proved to her that the luxury liner had not been carrying contraband and Canadian troops to the front, including ammunition (which exploded and caused the ship to sink so quickly). On 9 June Wilson sent a second note to Germany, following his own sense of proportion in the matter and guided by Robert Lansing of the State Department. Secretary of State Bryan found it impossible to persuade Wilson to take a comparable approach with England in order to keep neutral in fact as well as in word. The President was persuaded that a message to Britain was irrelevant since the issue was German submarine warfare against non-belligerents. Wilson felt that he had to make his position clear to the Germans, despite Bryan's clear call to avoid any act that might be interpreted by the Germans as unfriendly. As Secretary, Bryan would have to sign the note that Wilson decided upon. This he could not do in good conscience. It was the end of his career as Secretary of State.

During this time the President had constant recourse for counsel with his intimate friend, Col. Edward M. House, a wealthy Texan turned unofficial diplomat whenever
Wilson so chose to use him. In his diary following a meeting of the two men House reflected upon the preeminent importance of Woodrow Wilson to the problems in Europe. As far as House was concerned, he felt that “Woodrow Wilson today is the greatest asset the world has.” When he asked Wilson how Marshall might handle the presidency should Wilson die unexpectedly, Wilson responded, “The situation would hold him down and sit on his neck.” 24

Meanwhile, the Vice President's pacifism, so ardently expressed earlier, began to dry as he thought he better understood the high ideals Wilson was seeking to maintain. It was Marshall’s position that an American placed himself in a dangerous position when he chose to sail on a belligerent ship. He saw Wilson's position as one which asserted official United States responsibility for its citizens regardless of the poor judgment of the citizens who chose to board such a ship. The Vice President's word to the public was this: "Let us sympathize as we please with theories and nations, but let us act as Americans, who are citizens of a united country, and who forget their birthplace when they assume their duties to the Republic, and enter into the enjoyment of its blessings." 25

The Germans replied to Wilson's second Lusitania letter four weeks later. There was an acknowledgment of the traditionally good relations between the two countries. The German letter reviewed the quarrels it had with the British violations and established concessions it was willing to make to the United States. When the note was published in America, public opinion seemed to support a position of conciliation with Germany. The President felt obliged to continue the "conversation" with a third, and hopefully final, note. The third note was firm, perhaps too firm, in its demand for recognition of neutral rights on the high seas in time of war and for belligerent responsibility in recognizing
those rights. Following this last note numerous telegrams from American citizens were
sent to Washington expressing pride and encouragement. One such telegram to Lansing
came from the Vice President:

CONGRATULATIONS. YOU HAVE SAID IT. FOLLOW WITH NOTE
TO ENGLAND DEFINING THE AMERICAN IDEA AND WE ARE
IMPREGNABLE.26

Diplomatic negotiations between the United States and Germany were absorbing
the former's attention while relations with Britain were being strained by default. The
crisis developed when Britain threatened to declare cotton contraband, which caused
southern cotton growers to deluge Congress with their anxious rage. A secret agreement
between the two governments, whereby "the British government would buy enough
cotton to stabilize the price at ten cents a pound," resolved the disagreement.27 In time
the United States became Britain's most promising supplier of goods; the Government
allowed New York bankers to float a loan enabling the British to borrow money to buy
their necessities.

On 4 February 1916, Lansing received what proved to be the last German
memorandum, replying to Wilson’s third Lusitania note of 21 July 1915. Much water
had gone under the bridge since the year before. The German Government expressed
regret at the loss of American lives and offered to pay an indemnity. Germany did not
pledge to withhold her submarines from the Atlantic, however. Desirous of reassuring
the German people of the good will of the Americans, the semi-official German news
agency, the Wolff Bureau, set out to obtain peaceful statements from persons within the
United States Government. Among the officials interviewed were the Vice President, the
chairmen of the foreign relations committees of the House and of the Senate, respectively, and the Secretary of State. Asked for his view of the situation, Marshall offered that the American Department of State was only trying "to uphold the recognized principles of international law and maintain them impartially against all belligerents. We do not want to humiliate Germany. Nothing is further from our thoughts. We do not want war: we want peace, but peace with honor, and all that our Administration is trying to accomplish is an amicable settlement, honorable to both sides." Senator Hoke Smith of Georgia added the hope that when the war ends, a way will be found to insure that only on vessels of war will "death dealing ammunition" be permitted. The issue had not been settled, really, and would not be until war had destroyed Imperial Germany.²⁸

The public, the press, and the people of Washington wondered about how the President was handling the pressures of his office. Speaking before the Gridiron Club of Washington, Wilson waxed philosophical about the problems confronting the presidency. He held that the United States was founded not upon the principle of expediency but upon that of human liberty. He remembered an idea that the Vice President had just expressed in his remarks before Wilson stood behind the podium. The Vice President, Wilson said, "complained that he found men who, when their attention was called to the signs of spring, did not see the blue heaven, did not see the movement of the free clouds, did not think of the great spaces of the quiet continent, but thought only of some immediate and pressing piece of business." Emphasizing what Marshall had expressed, Wilson added, "It seems to me that if you do not think of the things that lie beyond and away from and disconnected from this scene, in which we attempt to think and conclude, you will
Indeed, there are other important aspects of life besides politics and diplomacy.

III

During the crisis months of 1915 Woodrow Wilson had developed another interest besides affairs of state. He had come to love a lady who had entered his life, a friend of his cousin, Helen Bones. Ellen Wilson had died in August 1914, and eight months later Edith Bolling Galt, a widow of a Washington jeweler, met Wilson at the White House for the first time. Six months went by and they became engaged to be married. The alleged suddenness of Wilson's decision to remarry caught the country by surprise. The Marshalls learned of the engagement while vacationing in Arizona, and wired the President their wish for his happiness. A week after his engagement Wilson wrote his colleague: "Of course I know that you and Mrs. Marshall are always thoughtful of my welfare and happiness and I thank you with all my heart for your thought of me at the present time." 

When it was learned that the marriage would take place in December, the Vice President took it upon himself to share some personal thoughts with the bride-to-be. The act in itself was very natural for such a well-meaning, unpretentious soul as Thomas Riley Marshall. On his official stationery and with pen in hand he wrote the following:

My dear Mrs. Galt,

Now that you are about to become the Mistress of the White House, you will, I am sure, pardon the seeming unwarranted intimate tone of this letter. Out here upon the desert, Mrs. Marshall and I have heard of your happiness and that of the President. As we start...
back home we have wondered how best we could remember you upon your approaching marriage. We know that the gods, big and little, will lay at your feet the finer products of civilization. And so we thought and hoped something typical of the West might not be inappropriate. We have succeeded in procuring a blanket, woven of native wool, by an Indian woman for a Navajo chief. We send it to you as a sample of America's earliest "infant industry," hoping that what was intended to adorn the shoulders of an alleged noble red man, may be worthy to be trodden underfoot by the great White Chief, whom democrats love and loyal Americans.

Believe that back of it there is the sincerest good wishes of Mrs. Marshall and myself.

Faithfully Yours and His,

/s/ Thos. R. Marshall

Mrs. Norman Galt
Washington, D.C.

The wedding of Thomas Woodrow Wilson to Edith Bolling Galt took place on 18 December 1915, in her home with an Episcopal priest and a Presbyterian minister officiating in the private service. Upon return from their wedding trip the new Mrs. Wilson began an exciting new existence. "On January 11th came the first state dinner to the Cabinet," she wrote in her diary; "then on January 14th the Vice-President and Mrs. Marshall gave a dinner for us at the Willard Hotel. It was a lovely affair."32

IV

A rumor began to circulate at this time to the effect that Wilson did not wish Thomas Marshall to be his running mate in the 1916 election campaign. Marshall told reporters that he did not believe President Wilson had said such a thing. One news dispatch had quoted an unnamed source that the Democrats would be "unlucky to run the same team twice." The source held that the President has turned cool to the Presiding
Officer of the Senate for the latter's refusal of support for several Administration measures, notably the Rivers and Harbors Bill. (Marshall had felt that the Senators were too absorbed with providing for their own state's needs without considering also a common or federal approach for the sake of the total transportation requirements of the country.) He refused to believe that he and Wilson were separating, since he himself had consistently supported the President for renomination in 1916, and "there has never been a suggestion that I was not heartily in favor of his policies."\(^{33}\)

In Washington, Tumulty denied the allegation that Wilson had said that he did not want Marshall as Vice President for a second term. Democratic leaders noted Marshall's consistent loyalty to the policies of the Administration and emphasized that the President desired the Democratic Convention, not himself, to decide who the Vice Presidential candidate would be. The significance of the controversy that was developing was obvious: some Democrats were looking for a new Vice Presidential candidate.\(^{34}\)

In mid-October, 1915, Arizona Senator Henry F. Ashurst overheard that a plot had been devised to remove Marshall from consideration for the Vice Presidency after his term was over. Ashurst, young and enthusiastic, dashed over to the White House to confront the President about the rumor and to secure his verbal and public support of Marshall. In response, the President countered, "I have a very high regard for Vice-President Marshall and I wish you would tell him so." The younger man could see that Wilson’s response was not the answer to his question. Again, Ashurst asked Wilson for his permission to quote him as saying that he was for Mr. Marshall’s renomination. "Thereupon he gurgled out, 'Why! Yes!'" Hearing this answer, which he strained so much to get, Ashurst politely left and promptly wired Marshall in Scottsdale, Arizona.
Marshall's reply to the senator was prompt:

I thank you for your telegram and kind letter, as much as for their contents. It pays a man for the little humiliations of life, to have such staunch friends as you and others are.

You saw, of course, that I said I did not believe it. Whenever it is shown that I would be a burden to the President I would voluntarily withdraw, but I do not think I deserve to be kicked by men who lost their states while we carried Indiana.35

Someone, inimical to Marshall, sent out the word, "If he will be good at the coming session of Congress the matter will be dropped." Who that someone was could have been one of two dozen Democratic Senators most of whom were from the South. Or, it could have been some "northern" Senator, to judge from Marshall's letter to Ashurst whose state had turned to be the Republican camp in the 1914 elections. By this time it was known that Senator James Hamilton Lewis of Chicago was interested in the Vice Presidential nomination. There was no outward indication that he and Marshall were enemies, though Lewis could have been part of any conspiracy to oust Marshall.36

Commenting on the brouhaha, a New York Times editor agreed that Marshall had frustrated Democratic attempts during the last congressional session to force cloture, and because the Vice President followed his own mind on the ruling of parliamentary questions, he supposedly prevented passage of the Ship Purchase Bill. "If this story is true," the editor added, "one thing is true. Mr. Marshall cannot yield to blackmail without forfeiting his own respect and that of his fellow-citizens. He can better afford to lose the Vice Presidency honorably than to win it at the cost of honor. There can be no doubt which course he will choose. Even those who have been most impatient with his loquacity, his lack of wisdom, and his blunt sense of proportion gladly admit his
impeccable honesty, an honesty which is not limited to dollars and cents, but is an intellectual honesty as well. . ." The editor cast the antagonists of the Vice President in a dark and evil light for having tried to pass an act the people did not want and for trying to intimidate Marshall in order to get their way.  

On 7 March 1916 Indiana became the first state to vote in the Presidential primaries. Wilson was the Democratic candidate, and since the Republicans had not yet chosen a national figure to oppose him, Charles W. Fairbank's name was entered into the Republican Presidential slot. The only name listed for the Vice Presidency was that of Thomas R. Marshall. The Senatorial race in Indiana would be of symbolic interest nationally. Incumbents John Worth Kern and Thomas Taggart were running for reelection against Republicans James E. Watson and Harry S. New. Taggart had been a United States Senator for only a few months, having been appointed to fill the unexpired term of Benjamin Shively who died in office. Being in the Senate was a lifelong dream come true for Taggart who wanted desperately to win. What was of more importance nationally in the campaign was whether the Democrats could return a sizable number of their own people to both Houses of Congress and thus provide the President (in all likelihood Wilson) with a strong government.  

Otto Carmichael was one of those Democrats well acquainted with Indiana politics. In a letter to "Jo" Tumulty in May, Carmichael speculated that the nearly two hundred thousand German-Americans in the state would vote against Wilson for his recent actions regarding Germany. They would be more likely to vote for Charles Evans Hughes. Furthermore, Hoosiers would probably vote for the Republican candidate for Governor, James P. Goodrich, because the Democratic Party had lost the confidence of
the people: taxes were high, certain public institutions mismanaged, and ballot boxes tampered with by Democratic ballot thieves (who eventually went to the penitentiary).

Carmichael went on to say that Harry New would probably beat Kern in the Senatorial race and Thomas Taggart would not have an easy time against James Watson. As for the Vice President: "Marshall is another weak place for the Democrats. He not only is weak in Indiana, but will be a primary weakness all over the country." 39

Marshall was not one to be counted out, as Carmichael so believed. Wilson’s occasional but warm letters to his Vice President were meant to persuade him that he was still a part of the team. Another Administration man, Josephus Daniels, felt that while Marshall would have good appeal to the southern voter, he ought to be used in the campaign where states were "in doubt." 40

The Vice President's name was on the ballot in several states. In February it appeared on the Oregon Democratic primary ballot. The Oregon Jackson Club noted that Marshall had given his approval to be on that state’s ballot and would "gladly accept if the Democrats wish[ed] to renominate him," according to Mark Thistlethwaite. The Ohio Presidential preference primary, was held in April and revealed the voters' preference for the Republican Presidential candidate, Senator Theodore E. Burton, over Wilson by a ratio of two to one. Midwestern Democrats, including those in the Buckeye State, were unsure of Wilson's leading the nation at a time when the world seemed to be headed toward a general conflagration. In this same primary Ohio Democrats voted "four or five to one" for Marshall for Vice President over the Republican candidate, reflecting continuing confidence in the Midwesterner who ranked next to Wilson on the ticket. 41
The years 1915-1916 encompassed America's growing involvement in the European conflict. The public mood was for preparedness and yet for non-intervention. In recognizing this paradox Wilson felt confident in the course he was pursuing. Congressmen’s minds were on the campaigning that was necessary to get re-elected in 1916. First, important issues before Congress needed attention.

I

On 15 March 1915, the President appealed to Congress to repeal the Panama toll exemption. Interest centered in the debate in the House of Representatives. Thetus W. Sims of Tennessee introduced a bill that would repeal the exemption. Some Democrats were against this repeal. Had not their 1912 Baltimore Convention supported American coastwise shipping and exemption of tolls through the Panama Canal? Wilson, conversely, was fearful of the international repercussion and of the (correct) charge that the present policy was a deliberate infringement of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty with Great Britain (1901). He therefore directed Administration leaders, including the Vice President, to bring pressure upon "wavering Democratic representatives." The pressure was not sufficient, as it turned out, to repeal the exemption. Like the President, Marshall was disappointed with the outcome since he firmly believed in a policy of free and equal commerce for all nations. The issue would arise again in 1920, but the Republican-
controlled Senate would vote again to exempt American coastwise shipping from the payment of tolls.

Another plank of the 1912 Democratic platform was in support of an imminent and complete independence of the Philippine Islands from the United States. The issue was brought forth in the House through a bill sponsored by William A. Jones of Virginia to the effect that once an all-Filipino government had been established and operated for approximately eight years, independence would be granted that government by the United States. This bill received considerable opposition from different interests throughout the country. A revision was then offered by Jones with Administration approval, namely, the Filipinos would have virtual control of their own government "subject to the vote of the Governor General" (an appointee of the President of the United States). In this way Filipinos would gain needed experience until such time as independence was granted. Senator Clarke of Arkansas submitted an amendment to the Jones bill to provide for complete American withdrawal and Philippine independence within two to four years after the Islands' legislature became established. Other powers would respect the independence for at least five years after American withdrawal or the United States would guarantee Philippine security.

The Senate debated a long time on the bill. The vote was taken on the Clarke amendment; the votes tied. As President of the Senate, Marshall now had the opportunity to vote his preference, so he voted that "the Filipino people should go free," but not only because Wilson favored their independence. In Marshall's words, "My vote was cast in accordance with what I believed to be the historic policy of the Republic: namely, to stay at home and mind our own business. I saw the complications arising every day over the
situation created by the war in Europe and of our relations thereto, and I was eager, whether or not it was a good thing for the Filipino, to get rid of those island possessions, in the hope that we might maintain our neutrality." His vote brought the count to forty-two to forty-one in favor of the Clarke amendment. After further debate, wherein Roman Catholic representatives in the House chose to reject the Jones bill with the Clarke amendment, the bill eventually was passed and later signed by Wilson. The Philippines was one step closer to independence.  

Since 1916 was an election year, it was conceivably the last year of the Wilson Administration. If there were to be a re-election of Democrats in November, there would need to be some tangible accomplishments to point to by the Democratic-controlled Congress and by the Administration. At this time the Democratic majority in both Houses exerted strenuous efforts to enact both social and economic legislation, laws designed to improve living and working conditions of various groups of citizens: workers, farmers, federal employees, and children. Between July and September there were enacted into law, in particular: the Federal Highway Act (11 July), which authorized federal aid to states in the building of rural post roads; the Federal Farm Loan Act (17 July), which was analogous to the Federal Reserve Act in that the country was divided into twelve districts each with a farm loan bank and all under a farm loan board; the Keating-Owen Child Labor Act (1 September), which prohibited interstate commerce of the products of child laborers under 14 years of age; the Adamson Eight-hour Day Act (3 September), which pertained especially to trainmen on interstate railways; and, the Workmen's Compensation Act (7 September), providing disability insurance for federal employees. Considered in terms of the total legislative enactments to date of the Wilson
Administration, in one scholar's words, "the fact was the Democratic Congressional majority had, by the fall of 1916, enacted almost every important plank in the Progressive [Party] platform of 1912."3

II

By mid-May, 1916, there was still a question as to whether Wilson truly wanted Thomas Riley Marshall as his November running-mate. Among the problems domestic and foreign discussed in private between Wilson and his friend, Colonel House, were the fall elections. And, should Marshall be side-tracked? How about Newton Baker, the Secretary of War, being the Vice Presidential nominee? No, held Wilson. Baker was too good a man to be sacrificed on the altar of the Vice Presidency.[!] House disagreed. He offered to Wilson the idea that “[no] man was too good to be considered for Vice President of the United States....if the right man took it, a man who had his [Wilson’s] confidence as Baker has, a new office could be created out of it. He might become Vice President in fact as well as in name, and be a co-worker and co-helper of the President.” Wilson thought this idea had merit, but it would take more than four years to educate the American people to thinking of their Vice President in such a grandiose way.4 Of course, this very reasoning connoted Wilson’s early disillusionment with his current Vice President, Thomas R. Marshall.

After the meeting with House, Wilson received a letter from New Jersey Governor James F. Fielder, asking whether the President had any views to share on the subject of the Vice Presidential nomination. Fielder was anticipating the upcoming Democratic Convention in St. Louis. Tumulty, Wilson’s executive secretary, acting as
intermediary, wrote back to Fielder in Wilson’s words, “I do not feel that I have any right to suggest anything on this head. The attitude of Mr. Marshall towards the administration has been loyal and generous in the extreme. He has given me every reason to admire and trust him.” Perhaps Wilson’s conversations earlier with Senator Ashurst and Colonel House were having some influence on the President’s thinking. Still, there were others who favored Baker, including Norman Hapgood, a Progressive who had been drawn to Wilson earlier. As he wrote Wilson in mid-June, “I am much worried over Marshall, and think the Indiana situation much exaggerated.” Perhaps the state of Indiana was not as important politically to the Democrats as its reputation seemed to offer.5

In early June the Progressive Party convened in Chicago and nominated Theodore Roosevelt of New York for President and John M. Parker of Louisiana for Vice President. In a surprise move Roosevelt withdrew his name in favor of Charles Evans Hughes and the Republican Party. His unexpected action broke the back of the Progressive Party which he had so energetically supported four years earlier. At the same time the Republican National Convention convened, also in Chicago. Only one ballot was needed to choose Charles Evans Hughes of New York, the distinguished Supreme Court Justice who had stepped down for the Republican cause to be Presidential nominee, and Charles Warren Fairbanks of Indiana for Vice President. Toward the end of the month the Prohibition party met in convention at St. Paul, Minnesota, and selected as its presidential candidate a former Indiana governor, J. Frank Hanly, and his running-mate Ira D. Landrith of Massachusetts. It seemed to be a heyday for Hoosier candidates.

Marshall was not at the St. Louis Convention but in Indianapolis with his wife who was under her physician’s care following an operation the previous November. It
was there that he learned of his nomination at the 1912 Convention; he decided that the
Hoosier capital was a good place to rest and wait for the news from St. Louis.

It was just as well that he was away from the din of battle. At the Convention
party treasurer Henry Morgenthau of New York announced his opposition to Marshall on
the grounds that the ticket would be weak, and he called for Newton D. Baker of Ohio,
currently Secretary of War, to be a nominee. (Baker sent word immediately that he was
not in the race.) Reporters told Morgenthau that they learned New York broker Jacob
Schiff had sent to Morgenthau a letter suggesting that Marshall not be renominated.
Morgenthau confessed that he agreed with Schiff. Other Democrats might be good
prospects: Roger Sullivan of Illinois, Governor Major of Missouri, and other favorite
sons.⁶

Opposition to Marshall never became powerful. Since Senator Henry Ashurst had
gotten Wilson's permission to quote the President regarding his choice of Marshall as
running-mate and since Governor Fielder as New Jersey delegate chairman had learned
that Wilson was not displeased with Marshall, there seemed to be no reason for getting
someone to oppose Marshall with the complications that such a "boom" might entail.
Indeed, Wilson somehow let it be known on or before the thirteenth of June that he
wanted Marshall. Morgenthau withdrew his opposition. Jacob Schiff had no comment.⁷

Curiously, one man wanted Marshall but did not want Wilson! That man was
William F. McCombs, who was Wilson's campaign manager for the 1912 campaign but
had since parted company with the President. McCombs hoped that something might be
done to find an alternative to Wilson during the 1916 Convention. Barring this,
McCombs reasoned that it would be better to retain Marshall as running-mate in order to
have someone of reasonableness as a potential, succeeding President. In McCombs' words: "In my mind, at that very time, Marshall was superior to Wilson. If there were to be any succession by fate, we could not go very far wrong with Marshall."^8

The Democratic National Convention lasted only three days. Woodrow Wilson received, except for the contrariness of an Illinois delegate, the acclamation of the Convention and its support as candidate for the Presidency a second time. After the concise nomination of Marshall by John W. Kern, the delegates at St. Louis gave the Vice President a total vote of confidence.\(^9\)

It was after midnight, the morning of 15 June when the Democrats nominated Marshall. Later that day the Vice Presidential nominee was obviously pleased but kept his enthusiasm in perspective. Marshall, consistently the loyalist, told reporters, "The reason I was not excited about the Vice Presidential nomination is that our cause stands or falls with the President, and the only thing for a Vice President to do is to support this cause. I wanted the convention to pick the man who could best do the work." That same morning he wired Wilson:

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IN THE FIGHT THAT YOU ARE TO WIN I AM ALWAYS YOURS TO COMMAND.

Wilson replied that he looked forward to being with him in another political campaign "and also, I hope and believe, in another four years of the administration of the Government."^10
At the Convention and following action on Wilson and Marshall, the platform committee approved planks for foreign policy, the tariff, and the preparedness issue. They were still thinking about women's equal suffrage, about "Americanism," and about the Mexican situation. The time came for the platform to be read, and the delegates listened attentively. One sentence stirred them to high fervor: "In particular, we commend to the American people the splendid diplomatic victories of our great President, who has preserved the vital interests of our Government and its citizens, and kept us out of war." There lay the sentiment of the populace regarding the crisis in Europe! The Democrats and other Americans by this time did not want to be actually involved in the fighting abroad, howsoever much they were repelled by the submarine warfare of the Germans. That Wilson had kept America out of war came to be the slogan that strongly influenced Americans to vote him back into office the following November.11

Again a recipient of his party's second highest honor, Marshall in a moment of glory was not a man to forget the encouragement and support of friends. To Robert Lansing, for almost a year now Bryan's successor as Secretary of State, Marshall wrote a note of appreciation for his telegram of congratulations. The relationship of Lansing and Marshall was then little more than a formal, professional one. Later, they would find their temperaments compatible, their philosophies similar, and their fates respecting Woodrow Wilson nearly alike. Marshall did not forget, either, the consistent support he received from the Indianapolis News, especially through its editor, Louis Howland. A commendatory letter from Howland brought a warm reply from the ex-Governor of Indiana in which he saw himself as not counting greatness among his portion but, what is
more important, truth and honesty: "My sole thought has been to try to be right and to be
sure to be honest."

III

The election campaign of 1916 was unique in American political history in that
national candidates from one state, Indiana, were so prominent: Republican Charles
Though a Presidential candidate for every election but one from 1900 to 1920, Socialist
Eugene V. Debs of Indiana was not running during this 1916 campaign. The race would
be fought decisively between the Republican and Democratic party candidates. The
third-parties--Socialist, Prohibitionist, and Socialist-Labor--were running candidates not
with the expectation of winning but to effect a tangible indicator of their political and
ideological popularity. In light of the subsequent passage of the Eighteenth Amendment,
the influence of the Prohibition Party would not be ignored as an example of what an
ideology-turned-political party can do.

The Senate race in Indiana was important nationally, as mentioned earlier.
Against incumbents John Kern and Thomas Taggart were Republicans James Watson and
Harry New. Politicians figured that whichever party won those two particular Senate
positions, because of the close party balance, that party would control Senate voting. A
New York Times editor viewed the circumstances this way:

If Watson and New are elected, the Republicans expect
to tie that body, now Democratic. If Kern and Taggart are elected,
the Democrats will still control it and be able to bid defiance to a
Republican President or make life easy for a Democratic one. . .
and if a Watson-New victory in Indiana ties the Senate, an Indiana
Vice President will give the casting vote and make glorious the
polices of a New Jersey President or bring down to defeat the
policies of a New York President, as the case may be. The limelight
falls on the banks of the Wabash, far away. No wonder the chest
of Indiana swells. . . .13

Time would tell.

The Democratic front-runners conferred by correspondence about what they were
going to say in their acceptance speeches. At Shadow Lawn, Wilson's summer home at
Long Branch on the New Jersey coast, the President worked on his draft. Political
friends offered advice about what he should say, and the President was gracious toward
their desire to help. A letter from the Vice President arrived in which Marshall in part
advised Wilson not to worry about the eventual vote concerning woman suffrage:

If all the women who don’t want the ballot in the equal suffrage States will
vote for you, you can carry them. I know. I’ve campaigned there twice.

To Marshall the President penned,
I sincerely value your letter of August second. Your first suggestion is one I intend to act upon. I do not know whether I can get down my speech of acceptance to quite as strait limits as you suggest, but I am going to make it just as short and pointed as possible. Your point about that is absolutely well taken. And I don't mean to worry about the woman suffrage question. I have too much confidence in the good sense and public spirit of the women of the country to believe they will act as unjustly as some of their number are predicting.14

Col. Edward House, ever the vigilant servant of the President, felt that he had to express his concern about the Vice President’s purported tendency to speak out on issues about which he had little knowledge, at least as far as House was concerned. In an letter to Wilson, penned 8 August 1916, House feared aloud that

we will be ruined if he makes some speeches as he did after the election four years ago. Marshall has plenty of ability, a great deal of humor and is an effective speaker, but he sometimes goes pretty far afield and is a dangerous speaker for this reason. Can you not confer with him concerning the best way to coordinate your speeches? It would make us all very unhappy if we awoke some morning and found that Marshall had put his foot in it.

In like manner, Patrick Quinn, a Rhode Island member of the Democratic National Committee, saw an advanced copy of a speech of Marshall’s and in a friendly letter to
Tumulty cited a passage which, as it stood, "might furnish the basis for some miserable so-called Irish or Catholic publication that is seeking an excuse for supporting the Republican ticket." (Tumulty, a Catholic, might be receptive to the intentions of Quinn who himself was probably of the same faith.) The bothersome words of Marshall appeared in Quinn's letter (with the questionable portion in italics):

But, those who criticize, say the President is an infirm American. Now it so happens in this country not...birth nor religion, but loyalty to America constitutes the American. Any blood and any faith and any party that assaults an American President because he chooses to ignore blood and church and party in the cause of peace would suffer less by committing hara-ki.

Quinn's concern, though he agreed with the statement, was that people might interpret Marshall to be referring to Irish-Americans and Catholics, "because certain Irishmen criticized him for his stand in Mexican affairs." The President was apprised of Quinn's letter by Tumulty but did nothing about it.¹⁵

In his acceptance speech on 14 September Marshall reminded his hearers with colorful allusions that it was disenchanted Republicans who formed their own Progressive Party: "This movement was organized with as much enthusiasm as any of the Crusades and its campaign was waged along camp-meeting methods. Ignorantly, it trusted its fortunes to a leader who promised that he would lead at Armageddon but who, alas! deserted at Bull Moose Run... The real issue of this campaign," Marshall went on to say, was the central concern of every American citizen, father, mother, wife, and
sweetheart, namely, "Can the President of the United States continue to so patently manage our international affairs as to maintain honorable peace?" Or, did Americans wish to place their faith in a candidate and in a party which would plunge this nation into war? Marshall hit hard at the slogans of the Republicans, "Firm Americanism" and "American Honor." The spunky Democrat attempted to persuade his people that it was Woodrow Wilson’s achievement that he had preserved American from plunging into war: "Parties come and go. Socrates . . . Savonarola . . . Lincoln . . . Woodrow Wilson who had not walked where the path had led, but who has walked where there was no path and who has left a trail." Marshall was shifting into campaign gear. He noted that Hughes thus far had been carrying on a "low key" approach designed to appeal to progressive Republicans, but his speeches were only mirrors of Senate Republican orations. Marshall should have known, for he heard so many of them.16

The Maine elections in mid-September, the first in the nation, did not go as the Democrats hoped they would, though to the professional politicians it was no surprise that a traditional Republican state produced a Republican victory. In Joplin, Missouri, on 12 September where the Vice President was aiding Democrats in the Missouri campaign, Marshall tried to minimize the significance of his opponents’ victory. Not so with the Speaker of the House, Missourian Champ Clark, who said simply, "We got beaten good and plenty."17

Pre-occupied with problems concerning Germany and Mexico, the President did not campaign vigorously. At Shadow Lawn, Wilson established in this speechmaking the theme of American neutrality. Between September and election day in November he gave few addresses. His running mate, meanwhile, concentrated his initial itinerary in
the Midwest: Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, and Kentucky. In October, Marshall spoke at Kansas City, Atlantic City, and Newark, and subsequently made speeches in Connecticut and Pennsylvania. In Connecticut Marshall was asked to comment upon Hughes' alleged alliance with the "hyphenates," persons whose loyalty was influenced by their "dual" citizenship, German-Americans and Irish-Americans, for example. He answered that "any party or any candidate hooked up with anybody except a pure American citizen will get the worst of it. I have been in politics for many years in Indiana, and my experience has shown that... every attempt to connect church or race or blood has been fatal to that candidate. The great body of Americans believe in nothing higher than in an allegiance to America." Not surprisingly, he was repeating himself.

For the sake of the Republican cause Charles Evans Hughes campaigned across the country, coast to coast, finding it hard to fight the Wilson Democrats because of his own moderate progressivism. On 3 September the President signed the Adamson Bill, which provided for an eight-hour day and time and a half for overtime for workers on interstate railways. The bill was timely, for its signing halted a threatened Labor Day strike by the railroad brotherhoods. Here was an issue Hughes could use against the Democrats, for he saw the event as one in which the President of the United States had been pressured into signing a bill and getting votes for doing so!

Hughes had spoken in Richmond, Indiana, just the night before the Vice President addressed a crowd of fellow Hoosiers. Eight years before, Marshall had made his keynote speech in Richmond, beginning his race for the governor's office against James Watson. Now, the place was the same but the issue was different. In response to Hughes' attack Marshall defended the passage of the Eight-hour Law but stated that his
law was not germane to the "paramount issue" in the current campaign, namely, "whether the President of the United States can continue so to handle our foreign relations as to keep our country at peace with honor."  

The Vice President did not like talking about the Adamson Bill. In fact, the Vice President did not like the Adamson bill. Keeping Wilson informed as to his progress, Marshall wrote just before speaking in Richmond, 

I am saying nothing upon the 8-hour law other than to make fun of it as an issue until the Republican candidates for President, Senators and Representatives will join in a written statement to the American people that they will repeal the law if elected. I hope to keep away entirely from it, but this is the best I can do--to deny that any body can make an issue by mere criticism. If you want me to accept it as an issue, please let me know and I will then take it up in detail before many audiences. 

Am not scared yet though Brother Hughes is blushing for his country all over Indiana. He says so. Nobody has seen the blush. 

Not many days later Wilson answered from Shadow Lawn:

Thank you very much for your letter about Mr. Hughes in Indiana. I think you are taking the right attitude toward the so-called issue he is making on the 8-hour day. For a little while I feel that in some quarters he is making some impression, but it will prove to be a broken reed in this hand, as everything else has."
Later in Kansas City, Missouri, the Vice President mildly rebuked Hughes for stating what he would have done had he been in Wilson's shoes. Marshall asserted that as an Associate Justice, Hughes should have been patriotic enough to advise the President out of his fund of knowledge on international law regarding the sinking of the Lusitania. Marshall also assailed Theodore Roosevelt for his reversion to the Republican Party. He issued no statements on primary campaign questions, but instead challenged the Republicans to come up with real goals other than their evident desire to get back into power. He reminded his Atlantic City audience on 20 October that he had never been anti-business, only that he had supported the equality of labor with business: "The laboring man must be treated as a human being." 

In Newark, New Jersey, Marshall rode with state Democratic officials in a mile-long Saturday night parade that included railroad trainmen whose banners showed support for the eight-hour law. With such a show of support for the law the Vice President felt that he must comment upon the subject. In his address that evening in the civic auditorium he told 2,000 persons that managers could get more out of their employees by putting "the spirit of love into service." It works at home, he said; it can work on the job.

Wilson had fewer speaking days but he crowded several appointments in the days he was away from White House business. The Mexican situation was going out of control with Pancho Villa causing trepidation among the Mexican and American diplomats gathered together to settle the disputes between the two countries. The
President was under pressure to be all things to all people and also to have the right answers and to do the right things.25

One of the best workers for the Wilson cause was the Republican candidate himself. He was not ideologically distant from Wilson, he was not a cynical or abrasive man, and he was not an experienced politician. Charles Evans Hughes made errors that offended many Republicans, including his snubbing of the Governor of California, Hiram Johnson, which act was critically damaging to the election results. He often spoke of what he would do if he were in the executive chair. Marshall retaliated: "He doesn't know what he would have done. He only thinks he knows. I think if I had been in the Garden of Eden I would not have eaten the apple. But I don't know--I never met the charming soubrette Eve. I might have eaten two apples." The Vice President referred to the Adamson eight-hour law and felt the need to defend it: "Solomon worked his men eight hours a day in building the Temple, and Solomon was a pretty wise man for his generation."

The crowds laughed at Marshall's calling Eve a "soubrette" (flirt) and may have felt the Adamson law to have divine approval since Solomon followed the eight-hour day. However, Solomon ignored management ethics by employing slaves to do his work. And, enjoined an editor, Eve was never called "dainty," never pretended to be "coy," and yet "she produced colossal effects without the aid of elaborate scenery or costume, and she accepted and carried the heaviest responsibilities. 'Soubrette,' indeed! Mr. Marshall should learn the language of the stage before he uses it!"

Marshall went on to talk of two parties in America: the Democrats and the aristocrats, referring to the latter as those "who think God had a special little clay bank
from which he made them." To those who wanted to fight in the European conflict he mentioned recruiting offices for them in London, Paris, and Berlin. "America is the last hope of civilization. If we get into the war, nineteen centuries of civilization go tumbling."26 At a Democratic rally in Philadelphia on 1 November Marshall repeated his charge against the United States Steel Corporation for influencing President Roosevelt to allow it to obtain the Tennessee Iron and Coal Company, despite an obvious violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, and against the "wool interests" forcing through a tariff law during the Taft Administration days. Marshall felt that the railroad workers were therefore justified in "going to Washington and chokin' a little justice out of the railroads."

The headquarters of the United States Steel Corporation were located in Gary, Indiana. The head of that corporation was "Judge" Elbert Gary about whom Marshall would write nothing in his Recollections. However, he did express his "irritation" with the unruliness of the inhabitants of Gary, Indiana, until he was "set straight" by personal contact with the people as their governor and learned that they as workers were being exploited by the steel company in town. Thus, his attitude of sympathy toward steel workers, railway workers, and the like.27

IV

While Marshall was stump-speaking throughout the East, political forecasters saw Hughes and Wilson neck-and-neck with either candidate as a viable winner. The prospect that Hughes might win frightened Colonel House, Wilson's close advisor. Hughes, if elected, would not become President until the first week in March, and there
would be a lame-duck government operating the foreign relations of the United States for three to four months before that time. House cautiously suggested to Wilson that should Hughes win, the President should ask the Vice President and the Secretary of State to resign, appoint Hughes Secretary of State and then resign himself, leaving Hughes to become interim President, to succeed himself in March, 1917.

It was a bold idea and, considering the crisis quality of the period, a not impractical one. But, all this was contingent upon one man: "The course I have in mind is dependent upon the consent and cooperation of the Vice President. . . ," the President wrote to Lansing. Ray Stannard Baker, whom Edith Wilson selected to piece together the first great biography of her husband, concluded that since Wilson was re-elected and Hughes was not, no necessity arose to include Marshall in House's plan.28

Marshall, consulted by Wilson, did not agree to the plan. Since the election turned out to be in favor of the Democrats, the plan was irrelevant and no mention was ever made by Wilson about Marshall’s refusal to resign. J. C. Sanders of Columbia City, a close friend of Marshall, mentioned to Charles Thomas in 1937 that Marshall told him, years after his second term as Vice President, that at one time President Wilson had asked him to resign. Sanders was then an old man and "thought it was at the time of the opposition to the league." For Wilson to have made such a request at that period, however, would have been politically inexpedient. Furthermore, his close advisers and actors in that drama were Senators who were more free to act than was Marshall as Senate president. The more logical situation for Wilson to have asked Marshall to resign was the one prior to the 1916 election. Wilson was not asking Marshall to resign, point-blank, but only if the Republican candidates won the election, that is Hughes and
Fairbanks. As the old friend of Vice President Marshall remembered, "The one thing certain was that he had refused to resign. Marshall emphatically explained to his friend that the people had elected him for a four-year term and he had intended to serve out the entire term." No other period of time would have been more relevant for such an encounter.29

The November election returns showed that Wilson received over nine million votes, besting Hughes' total of eight and a half million. The margin was not really great, but it was an expression of the majority of Americans. However, both New Jersey and Indiana, the home states of the Democratic candidates, repudiated their "sons" by voting for Hughes and Fairbanks and the Republican party.

Indiana Republican candidates won down the line. Hughes and Fairbanks, though losing nationally, won in Indiana by a vote of 341,005 to 334,063, over the Wilson-Marshall ticket. Incumbent Senator Kern lost to Republican Harry S. New, and Republican James Watson beat incumbent Thomas Taggart. The Republican candidate for Governor, James P. Goodrich, earned enough votes to join the victors' circle. Only four Democrats from Indiana remained in the House of Representatives. Republicans were on the move.30

Shakespeare had words for the results, and Marshall used them in his congratulatory telegram to the President:
'TIS NOT SO DEEP AS A WELL
NOR SO WIDE AS A CHURCHDOOR:
BUT 'TIS ENOUGH 'TWILL SERVE.

MRS. MARSHALL JOINS ME IN HEARTFELT CONGRATULATIONS TO MRS. WILSON AND YOURSELF.31

The President himself was warmed by the good wishes of Marshall and so many others. Marshall was hardly involved emotionally in the political strife of Hoosier politics. His focus was national.

Finally, two old political foes but personal friends exchanged greetings and good wishes. The defeated Fairbanks congratulated the Vice President in a proper and concise manner, ending, "My very best wishes go with you always." Marshall responded by thanking him and added, "As a partisan it is worth much to know that we have won. As a man it is worth more to know that the years of personal friendship have not ended with this campaign, and to feel that there are left a few men at least who may differ in politics and yet wish each other well. I rejoice to believe that you always have been of that chosen few. Long life and serene content for you."32

Thomas R. Marshall had made a name for himself by the results of the 1916 election. He was the first Vice President to be re-elected since the days when John C. Calhoun served under both John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson (1825-1833), and
he would be the first Vice President since Daniel Tompkins (1817-1825) to serve two full terms. Asked by a reporter whether he had aspirations toward higher office, Marshall held that his present position was sufficiently satisfying: "I think that a man who is running along a bithulythic road in a flivver and having a pretty good time, would be an awful fool to start out through a swamp in the hope of finding something better. I'm having a pretty good time right now. I enjoy my peace of mind. I haven't heard any voice of the people calling me, and I am not going to delude myself into a belief that there is an irresistible demand for my services after March 4, 1921." A lot would happen before then.33

“Go to it, Woodrow, go to it!”
Wilson’s struggles for peace, preparedness, and progressivism seemed to be rewarded by the close of 1916. The 1916 elections kept Wilson and Marshall in office. Though there was a handful more of Republicans in the House than Democrats (217 to 213), there was in the Senate a Democratic plurality of twelve (a loss of four from 1914). The pre-election prediction that whichever party won the two Indiana Senatorial seats would control the Senate did not prove valid. The Democrats lost both Indiana Senate seats and still controlled the Senate, at least until the next elections in 1918. In the main, the labor vote, the women's vote, and the Socialist vote went to Wilson along with the votes of reformists and peace proponents.¹

I

The battles of the year had produced bitter feelings among some partisans, and the battles going on across the sea would prove even more destructive of human harmony in the months ahead. In mid-December Thomas and Lois Marshall entertained an intimate group of Senators and their wives in honor of President and Mrs. Wilson. The President was in good spirits that evening until someone mentioned Senator Lodge's name. Wilson, agitated, "announced that he could not shake hands with Senator Cabot Lodge," a foreboding situation. He was smarting from the verbal thrusts of Lodge whose views on intervention in European affairs conflicted with his own. Still, he managed to keep his stronger feelings within himself.²
The Vice President, however, was perceiving Wilson’s pique from a different perspective. He internalized the President’s visible discomfort to apply possibly to something he himself had said. The next day he wrote a quick note to Wilson to secure himself onto the President’s good side:

Dear Mr. President,

I trust you did not glean from the table talk with Mrs. Marshall last evening [12 December 1916] that I was dissatisfied with the conduct of the National Committee touching money matters or vouching for the truth of statements made to me. I simply repeated various reasons given to me as to why we lost Indiana.

So far I can not tell to my own satisfaction. I am suspending judgment....

Two days later Wilson responded by note to assure him that nothing that Mrs. Marshall had said had caused him to “draw any wrong inferences” from the Indiana voting.³

II

On the same day as the Marshalls’ dinner William Jennings Bryan sent a letter to Count Johann von Bernstorff, Imperial German Ambassador to the United States. No longer Secretary of State due to disagreement with Wilson over the Lusitania issue, Bryan remained committed to searching out peaceful solutions to the widening gulf between his country and Germany. German Chancellor Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg wanted diplomacy to keep the United States out of the war. Neither he nor Bryan nor Bernstorff foresaw the imminent rupture that was about to take place between
the two countries. The German military chiefs accelerated the intervention of America into the war by their bellicose behavior toward Bethmann and their successful persuasion of the Kaiser to the plan of unrestricted submarine warfare. Admiral von Holtzendorff tried to reason with the German military staff that defeat was inevitable unless a quickened attack upon ships within the British perimeter was made soon. Field Marshal von Hindenburg agreed that Germany needed "the most ruthless and energetic action" to end the war as quickly as possible.4

On Monday morning, 22 January 1917, a letter arrived at the Vice President's office from the White House. The President had formulated some important thoughts regarding foreign affairs and wished to be allowed time that afternoon to deliver his ideas personally in the Senate chamber. Only Senator William J. Stone, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, knew of the President's intent; Wilson had asked him to confer with Marshall about the unusual visit. The President had been working on the speech for most of two weeks and had shown it to his confidant, Colonel House, to Robert Lansing, Bryan's successor in the State Department, and to Senator Stone. Wilson was excited about the possibility that "peace without victory" could be achieved. With confident expectation he had the message sent by code to major American embassies throughout Europe so that they would know his sentiments at the moment he stood before the Senate. He did not know, nonetheless, that the Kaiser had already decided to resume use of German submarines throughout British waters and the Atlantic area.

The President’s speech conveyed hope that the United States could have a role in bringing peace to the world and that the nations of the world would thereafter respect
each other despite their size, large or small. The words were uttered; the message was given.

Reactions varied. Democratic Senator John Shafroth of Colorado labelled it the greatest message of the century. Senator Stone called it "a great state paper." Senator Williams of Mississippi named it "an epoch-making state paper." Senator Bankhead of Alabama held it to have been a "fine literary effort." Senator Tillman crowned the address as "the most startling and the noblest utterance that has fallen from human lips since the Declaration of Independence." Republicans wisely chose to ponder its implications before committing themselves to a judgment. Most Congressmen, judging from their applause and their comments, were behind Wilson and would support him should war erupt with Germany. They did not want war, but German diplomacy and military policy were making a return to normal relations practically impossible. It was now for the German Government to decide about its future with the United States.5

Not everyone in the country supported President Wilson’s viewpoint. The Emergency Peace Federation began to organize peaceful resistance against the United States Government's entering into war solely on the basis of Congressional fiat. Over one and a half thousand telegrams were sent to labor groups across the country, and news releases of proposed peace meetings were given to the press. House speaker Clark and Senate President Marshall both received communications requesting enactment of a war referendum law.

On 1 March the secret Zimmerman telegram was published for all the world to note. It urged a Mexican alliance with Germany against the United States as a potential enemy. Before this news was made known, President Wilson asked Congress for
legislation authorizing the arming of merchant ships. Two days later, 28 February, the Armed Merchant Ship bill was introduced. Debate on the bill was stimulated by the Senators' knowledge of the Zimmerman telegram. On the floor of the Senate were heard impassioned speeches for or against the position of armed neutrality on the high seas. Most Senators seemed to be for the measure, willing to risk war with Germany. Four midwestern Senators proceeded to filibuster on Saturday, 4 March, and into the next day in an effort to block decisive action on the bill. The President was furious, but there was nothing he could do about the matter for the moment. There was another inauguration to attend.6

III

The mood of the crowd was sober if not somber. Edith Wilson remained at the side of her husband during the entire period; she was not smiling. "The inauguration was not a festival," wrote a New York Times reporter; "it was a momentary interlude in a grave business, and it must be got over with as briefly and simply as possible."7

The gaiety of the Senate ceremonies in March 1913 had no echo in the proceedings of March 1917. The forms and functions of the inaugural ceremonies were the same but the stillness and the starch were disconcerting. Thomas Riley Marshall took his oath; he said, "I do," but he did not stop there. His own sense of the urgency and the crisis quality of the moment caused him to respond, "I do, so help me God, in whom I believe." His inaugural address followed. All Americans must stand behind the American President, he advised, "and those who will not drop their disorganizing and disintegrating fights for clan interests at the water's edge must be made to drop them by
The Times editor commented that Marshall's words had "a sense and sanity that are urgently needed." The White House front lawn had been prepared for the inaugural ceremonies. The March wind was chilling while the sun gave little relief on this late wintry day. Marshall stood dutifully behind Chief Justice Edward White as the latter administered the oath to Woodrow Wilson for a second time. After lunch the two executives and their wives and others close to the President went to the reviewing stand to watch the inauguration day parade. One man wrote, “It was the plainest, simplest, briefest inauguration in the history of half a century at least, and yet perhaps there has been no inauguration so full of meaning.”

That evening, while the Wilsons and Colonel House somberly watched the inaugural fireworks from the second-story window of the oval sitting room, Vice President Marshall and his wife hosted a "dancing party" at the New Willard Hotel for some five hundred Culver Military Academy cadets from Indiana who as before had been their escort in the inaugural parade. For so many young men of high school age young ladies were sought from the numerous private girls' schools in the Washington area. Culver Cadet Superintendent and Mrs. Gignilliat remained near the Marshalls to enjoy their company and to keep an eye on the youth.

IV

The times were tense. Tempers became short, and intemperance gradually took control. Marshall noticed what was happening. To his Washington pastor, Reverend Charles Wood, he wrote:
My dear Doctor,

Let me thank you for your kind note. It is good to have such friends as you to cheer a man's heart by saying a kind word however undeserved it may be; for believe me, there is no trouble in finding those who will criticize. . . .

News of the Russian Revolution reached Washington as the Czar abdicated and the Provisional Government took the reins of authority on the following day. Wilson met with his cabinet on 20 March. The officials were of one mind: war with Germany is inevitable! The Cabinet believed that the Prussian belligerence had to be stopped for the sake of humanity. Their common voice served to convince Wilson more firmly that the United States had no other viable alternative at this late date than to meet the threat of the Kaiser head on. The next day the President called a special session of Congress for 1 April to consider "grave questions of national policy."

When they assembled in the House on that day, Wilson asked Congress for a declaration of war against Germany. "The world must be made safe for democracy," he admonished. The Germans were seen to be the aggressors, while the Allies, especially Britain and France and Russia were making a last-ditch stand for democracy. The Senate promptly passed the war resolution by a vote of 82 to 6, and on 6 April the House followed suit with a vote of 373 to 50. President Wilson in due time received the Joint Resolution of the Sixty-fifth Congress on which were inscribed in ink the names of Champ Clark and Thomas R. Marshall, and signed: "Approved April 1917. Woodrow Wilson."

The three months following saw contingents of war missions heading toward Washington, D. C. Along with diplomatic conferences, scheduled social gatherings gave American officials and Washington society opportunity to meet their new allies. At a
dinner honoring the British delegates in which the President's cousin and wife were the solitary ladies present, Edith Wilson was seated between Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour and Vice President Marshall. The contrasting personalities and decorum of the two males made an impression on her. On her right was Lord Balfour with his characteristic English charm and handsome features, while on her left sat Marshall, sometimes quiet and sometimes vocal, "saying all the things you hoped he hadn't." With her formal demeanor she was obviously embarrassed by his folksiness and familiarity in the presence of distinguished leadership.  

Within a few days the French War Commission arrived in Washington, headed by Rene Viviani, a former vice-premier and Minister of Justice in the Briand cabinet, and Marshal Joseph Joffre, head of the French military forces. On 27 April Administration and other government officials dined as guests at the French Embassy. After dinner Viviani addressed the Americans (in French), followed by remarks by the Vice President. An ailing throat did not hinder the effect of Marshall's words on the persons assembled at the Embassy. Complimentary letters were subsequently exchanged between Marshal Joffre and the Vice President, and it became Marshall's pleasant duty to welcome the French Mission in the Senate chamber on the first of May.

Monsieur Viviani, Marshal Joffre, and Ambassador Jules Jusserand arrived at the Vice President's room near the Senate chamber just before 12:30 p.m. Upon learning of their presence Marshall gave word for Senators Hitchcock and Lodge to usher them into the Senate chamber. The act was not without precedent, for in 1822 the Marquis de LaFayette had been received by Congress as guest of the nation. Now the United States
would be able to repay a debt to France made at the time of the American Revolution and go to her side as an ally in time of war.

The Senators' applause in honor of the Frenchman lasted several minutes. Viviani gave his speech in French and was understood by only a few Senators, notably Lewis (Illinois), La Follett (Wisconsin), and Broussard (Louisiana). Marshall later confessed in naked honesty that he had little understanding of what Viviani was saying: "It was quite interesting to me to observe them shaking their heads in affirmation when to my certain knowledge they knew less of the French tongue than they did of Choctaw. I, myself, nodded and smiled, although what the distinguished gentleman said conveyed to me no more information than a menu card in French, but I could not afford to allow the galleries to imagine that I was not at least High Lingo."\(^{16}\)

On 8 May the Vice President gave a brief address of welcome to the British War Mission and another on 31 May to the Italian delegation.\(^{17}\)

Thomas Riley Marshall was recognized as a first class public speaker. His introduction of the various war missions were models of the brief and beautiful, and befitted the times in which they were uttered. His gift of selecting the right illustration is seen in his words to the Belgian delegation invited to appear before the Senate in June 1917: "To me, in all profane history, there is no sadder, sweeter, sublimier character than Sidney Carton. Dreamer of dreams, he walked his lonely, only way. In all the history of nations there is no sadder, sweeter, sublimier story than the story of Belgium...." To an assembly of educated men in tune with the figurative language of the day, his words and his figures would be familiar. Sidney Carton, the lawyer in Charles Dickens' *Tale of Two
Cities, symbolized Belgium who in her love for humanity walked the Via Dolorosa, the "sorrowful way," to face execution by the Germans.\textsuperscript{18}

On 20 June the new Russian diplomatic mission called upon the highest officials of the Government, completing the protocol preceding formal conferences with the Americans, and within a week the Russian ambassador had spoken to the members of both Houses of Congress. The last group to face them was the Serbian delegation. Marshall was particularly impressed by the troubled history of this southeastern European people and by the sentiments of the delegation’s speaker, Dr. Milenko R. Vesnitch.\textsuperscript{19}

Most Americans had transformed themselves into a belligerent mentality by the time of the President’s announcement on 6 April 1917 and accepted that "a state of war exists between the United States and the Imperial German Government." The ladies of the Wilson Administration felt that their good deeds on behalf of the nation might help inspire American women. They quietly began a Simple Life Movement among themselves. They bought inexpensive clothing and simple food. Where possible, they prevented all kinds of waste. The idea was to conserve all resources to help those most in need and, it was to be hoped, hasten the end of the war.

Lois Kimsey Marshall was "right there" with the President's wife and cabinet women. They were sincere and they were serious. Mrs. Marshall was practicing her philosophy a year later when she and her husband were dinner guests of Mrs. George Vanderbilt. The Vice President's wife made no attempt to hide the fact that she was wearing a gown that dated from before the war's beginning. Her dress and demeanor prompted a society writer to comment on her "good taste, ...for everybody knows the
second lady of the land never looked better than this season, and is becomingly and
correctly dressed on every occasion.”

V

The pace of life quickened now that the United States was involved in a great war.
Citizens of the forty-eight states organized councils of defense to facilitate civilian
contributions to the war effort in manpower, production, and transportation. The
chairman of the Indiana State Council of Defense, Will Hays of Sullivan, was also the
state chairman of the G.O.P. When it was discovered that Hays was remaining at his
political post while acting as state defense council chairman, Marshall lambasted the little
man and charged that he was trying to capitalize as head of two organizations at the
expense of the nonpartisan Defense Council. The Vice President accused Hays of using
his council chairmanship to the benefit of his party activities. Will Hays ignored the
criticism. Hays was as honest as Marshall and just as much the expedient politician. He
would eventually become a national chairman of the Republican Party.

Meanwhile, Americans were enjoined to help the war effort in numerous ways,
one of the most important being the purchase of Liberty Bonds. At the beginning of
America’s involvement in the war, President Wilson appointed a Committee on Public
Information to oversee the Government’s propaganda activity. The Speakers' Bureau
was made a part of the Four-Minute Men Division. Arthur E. Bestor, director of the
Chautauqua Institution, developed an index of over 10,000 speakers with a select list of
300 of the better ones. The Vice President and the cabinet officers were regular reserves,
and their time was given to the war effort and to the various Liberty Loan drives. The
first war bond drive began a month after the United States entered the European conflict and lasted through that summer of 1917. The objective was to secure two billion dollars.

Americans' response in buying the bonds proved to be even greater than their typical turnout on election day. The masses as well as the millionaires subscribed for the bonds. Vice President Marshall firmly believed that the common people must be given every opportunity to buy the government bonds, since "it would be, in my opinion, a national misfortune if all this tax-free wealth represented by the Liberty Loan bond issue of $5,000,000,000 should pass into the possession of the rich and well-to-do of the nation, rather than in a large measure into the hands of the ordinary average Americans citizen."\(^{23}\)

The second Liberty Loan drive began on 1 October with the Government offering three billion dollars in governmental bonds at 4% interest. In support of the drive the Vice President held that "every man and woman in America who has been waving the flag" should put his money where his heart is and show whether it was "but as sounding brass and tinkling cymbal." The public response was encouraging. Governmental officials as well as private citizens and groups were indicating their interest in supporting the drives. Sarah Bernhardt, world renowned actress, was going to buy a Liberty Bond on stage some evening before the week had ended. Soldiers were giving part of their small portion to the campaign to raise funds for the American war effort.\(^{24}\)

The American military involvement began in the fall of 1917, as the first United States troops entered the trenches in France under French supervision. The people at home quickly adjusted to a wartime economy, and almost every American exerted himself a bit harder, at least psychologically, for the war effort. Economically the nation
was enjoying a surging prosperity, and the Liberty Loan drive for $3 billion, with interest
this time raised to 4.5%, took place in the spring of 1918. It was customary for the big
cities to experience the most flamboyant drives and to enjoy the best known orators and
entertainers from stage to screen. The motion picture cameras of the infant newsreel
companies preserved the silent but serious and splendid pictures of the time.

The Fourth Liberty Loan campaign opened in September 1918. This time the
Government was intent on raising twice as much money: $6 billion at 4.5% interest. In
Washington, D. C., Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo spoke publicly on why the people
should support the war effort, and Secretary of the Navy Daniels made a similar plea. At
the Loan drive in Washington on 21 September 1918, the Vice President contributed with
a speech, and the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Franklin D. Roosevelt, also lent his
presence. In Chicago President Wilson gave his advocacy to the drive for financial
support of the Allied cause. In New York City banners carried such slogans as "The 4th
Liberty Loan Must Be Made a Glorious Success", and motion picture cameramen filmed
the marchers in the cavalcade of freedom. Here and there a soldier or sailor carried a
placard reading, simply, "Lend."  

The Vice President opened the Fourth Liberty Loan Campaign in New York City.
The place of meeting was an open area, Madison Square, where thousands of New
Yorkers could witness the proceedings. Near the Altar of Liberty in the center of the
square stood American, British, and Belgian officers and notables. In his address
Marshall apologized for his earlier neutral stance during the years 1914 through 1916.
He did not envision during that period that "right was fighting with wrong," for what
God-fearing man or nation, he asked, could have been neutral with such knowledge? He
did not conceive that the adversary was "The Germanic people," only their Government!
"I thought it was just the rulers that were responsible," Marshall confessed, "but now I
know it was the system of statecraft and the philosophy of the entire people that brought
it on."26

In one of Marshall’s most stirring speeches on behalf of the war effort, uttered at
the time the American "doughboys" were fighting on the Continent, the Vice President
stood before his fellow Masons at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York and gave a
moral defense of American intervention: "To accomplish the result for which America is
fighting it is necessary to appeal to the conscience. Free thought must never be
hampered, but because a man thinks a thing to be true and has a right to alter his belief
under a democracy, he is not justified, in God, in Brotherhood, and in the Republic, in
voicing his sentiments under all circumstances." Marshall held that this was no time to
debate the merits of conscription: those who do not like it should remain silent and thus
not give aid and comfort to the enemy. We are in war, in a conflict between two
opposing philosophies of government: autocracy and democracy. With devotion to
Jeffersonian ideas and phrases he asked rhetorically, "What, therefore, is the lesson of the
hour to a body of men whose obligation is to the flag of their country?"

With a voice long grown accustomed to speaking audibly to large gatherings and
with an intuitive grasp of waiting just long enough for his hearers to become absorbed
with his oratorical style Marshall replied,

That lesson is that this war shall furnish a new definition
of patriotism. The word shall no longer mean the land
of man's birth or the land of his adoption, the language he
speaks, or the place where he loves to reside. It will
demand of every one who owes allegiance to any Prince or
potentate or autocratic power on earth that he renounce that
allegiance and renounce also every selfish aim and pursuit;
that he subordinate the material interests of this Government
to its ideals, that he take an oath of allegiance to an invisible Government which
believes, which teaches, which holds that
all men are born free and equal; that the Governments derive
their powers from the consent of the governed, and that none
is fit to rule save of the free and untrammeled consent of the
majority of those over whom he rules; that wealth is good,
honor better, and above all, democracy is best.

The ideas were as familiar as the Gettysburg Address and the Preamble to the
Constitution; the words struck home.

Marshall held before his audience a new challenge, couched in words that would
be taken to the heart then and lie dormant for use another time, a later age:

Forgetting blood and business, there are now, as always,
just two grades of citizens in the Republic--the man
who asks himself, "What can I do for my country?" and
the man who asks, "What can my country do for me?"
Indeed! Democrats, Republicans, and Socialists--these are subservient to Americans, who should give their loyalty to their country as should their chosen representatives to the President of the United States. "Is it not possible," he added, "to have until the conclusion of this war all hands in America lifted to the God of our Fathers--and all voices proclaiming "Woodrow Wilson, America, Democracy, for me." 27

"Woodrow Wilson, America, Democracy, for me!" Here was the wartime philosophy of Thomas R. Marshall. To the two thousand Presbyterians who heard him speak in February 1918 it became a theology. For the Vice President there was no conflict between United States involvement in war and the Christian faith, between Allied intent and Jesus' teaching. Liberty, he told the National Service Commission of his church, is not something to be handed down from one generation to the next without price or even struggle. Since the President had revealed that his solitary purpose was to win the war to the glory of God and humanity, Marshall proclaimed that he would stand behind the President and cry, "Go to it, Woodrow, go to it!"

What about the Scriptures which speak out for peace? Do they not proscribe man's inhumanity and violence? Marshall could not see this view: "I must express my opinion that this war is right, and that you are all wrong if you are not for it. I have read carefully the four gospels, and I don't find anything in them that I think can be taken as against this war. . . ." His last word to the churchmen was, "We are going to lick the Kaiser!"

The wartime psychology had encompassed the Vice President, and despite his love for liberty his fear of anarchy led him slowly--and for a time--into the spirit of intolerance toward dissenters and toward "hyphenated" Americans (for example,
German-Americans) suspected of disloyalty. He had gone the route from neutralist to nationalist.

VI

During the time the nation was at war, appeals were made to Vice President Marshall concerning young men from his home state who wanted to get into or out of the armed services. The Vice President's former pastor in Columbia City wanted to extend his ministry into the United States Army. Marshall asked Secretary of War Lindley Garrison to appoint Alexander D. Sutherland as a chaplain. Garrison replied that the Presbyterian minister would have to take an examination before he could be inducted as a chaplain. Some days later Marshall learned that Sutherland had failed to pass his examination. Immediately he called Garrison to find out how that could happen. The answer came:

"Listen to this!" the Secretary began to read, "Question: 'Where is the Trinity River?' Answer: 'Trinity River is where it always was, and if my regiment should ever reach its banks I would hold religious services with as much zeal and fervor as though I were on the banks of the Jordan!'"

"Well," Marshall warned, "you better appoint him or I will call for those questions and answers and we will see what the Congress thinks about examining a preacher on geography!"

Within a short time the minister was approved for induction. Marshall was greatly pleased. He wrote to Garrison that he "would not swap this appointment for any other within the gift of the President." Garrison passed on Marshall’s letter to the
President who read it with amusement. After the country had entered the war, Marshall kept open the line with the War Department with requests for chaplains' commissions and for investigations into alleged exclusion of clergy from military training camps.

Indiana men were grateful for the way the Vice President had intervened on their behalf during wartime. Frank McHale of Indianapolis recalled that when the United States entered the war he, like many young men, wanted to get into the air service. McHale had recently received his law degree from the University of Michigan when he was assigned to Washington as a commissioned officer to write contracts for the Signal Corps in connection with procuring material from manufacturers. However, McHale wanted to become a flyer and serve his country in that way. Having been a professional football player for the Detroit Heralds, he did not think that the people back home would understand "a big fellow" like him "fighting behind a desk in Washington, D. C. !" So, he went to the Vice President to see if he could get into the air service. Ushered into the inner office by Thistlethwaite, the burly McHale thanked the Vice President for the commission of First Lieutenant but he said that as a strong athlete he could not accept such a "powder puff job." Marshall laughed and then telephoned War Department Secretary Newton Baker (now successor to Garrison) to say that he had found a fellow who wanted to serve his country. The next day McHale found himself ordered to Ohio State University to study to be an aviator--his rank changed to buck private!

Parents were concerned also. Ralph Gates of Columbia City (later a governor of Indiana) recalled that his father took a train to Washington and had lunch with Marshall to talk about his son's military obligation. Gates remembered his father saying later that Marshall was not in favor of the war. Another Columbia City lad, George Myers, had his
University of Michigan education interrupted by his induction into the Army in 1918; he had only twelve semester hours to earn before his graduation. A letter from his mother to Marshall and a reply clarified his military responsibility and enabled him to finish school.

On one other occasion a young soldier got into trouble for leaving camp without permission (though he had tried to get it) to attend worship at church in a town near Camp Shelby, Mississippi. When he returned, the first sergeant met him and conflict ensued. Afterwards, he sent a wire to his father in Fort Wayne to get in touch with Marshall. Within an hour a telegram arrived at the camp headquarters, sent by the Vice President of the United States. The soldier was given one more opportunity to plead his case: his grievance was based upon religion reasons. He was dismissed to his tent and nothing was ever done about his Sunday morning absence without leave.32

Besides the President, Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels has the distinction of receiving the most letters from Marshall concerning patronage. Sometimes Daniels was asked to look into a case where a young man in question was in trouble. One such youth, a student at the Naval Academy at Annapolis, Maryland, had been recommended for dismissal because of "certain minor offenses." Marshall wished Daniels to "obtain the record of this young man and personally review the case and if not inconsistent with discipline and efficiency that you give him another opportunity to make good, surrounding the privileges with such conditions as will result in the enforcement of the rules of the institution." Another young man was charged with an offense of considerably greater seriousness. Daniels replied to Marshall's initial inquiry with the news that those officers who knew the youth considered him guilty as charged. Still, Marshall was assured, the matter would be examined thoroughly. A second letter from
Marshall to Daniels was written in longhand indicating the anxiety the Vice President felt in the situation:

> One of the things which has made me a strong partizan [sic] of your management of the Navy Department has been that you seem to combine mercy with justice. You have also seen how hopeless under the old system was the chance of a minor official once found guilty.

> Now I do not believe that Lieut. . . . was guilty under any known rules of law. I think his guilt so wholly improbable under the record of his life that you will feel like doing all you can to help him reinstate himself and give him another chance. We all need so many more chances, [why] not help give him just one?

Whether Daniels was successful in influencing the decision respecting the young lieutenant is not known.33

Josephus Daniels was a true gentleman of the South, having worked for the Wilson cause leading to the election of 1912 and having been a spokesman for reform via his Raleigh newspaper. He thought highly of Tom Marshall, calling him "one of the finest men God ever made." Such eulogiums, however, do not erase obstacles or frustrated plans. Daniels in the spring of 1917 had to say no to the Vice President's request that a proposed armor plant be built in Evansville, Indiana. Marshall reasoned that the Democrats "were hurt in the campaign by the charge that the administration has done too much for the South and it would be good for the party and the country to locate the plant at Evansville." A January 1919 letter from Daniels to Marshall about the building of the Charleston Navy Yard indicates that the Vice President importuned the Secretary of the Navy over a long period of time about this subject.34
Being a solidly loyal member of the Masonic Order, Vice President Marshall carried a request from Illinois Masons wishing to erect a building at the Great Lakes Naval Training Station to be used as "headquarters where members of the fraternity could register and hold social intercourse but that no lodge meetings or secret sessions of any kind would be held therein." Daniels replied politely but firmly that the policy of the Navy Department was to allow on Navy grounds no buildings or organizations such as the Masons, Odd Fellows, Knights of Pythas, Elks, and so on. Daniels was fearful lest his office be deluged with similar requests from untold numbers of organizations.35

To others Marshall revealed strong feelings when he could not obtain his goals. He communicated hostility against preferential treatment accorded friends of other Administration officials but not to his own. On one occasion Marshall wrote as a prominent member of the Masonic fraternity to Newton Baker. He knew that southern Masonic officers had received permission to go to Europe during the War to investigate what possible aid their organization could give to soldier-members. A similar request by Marshall for passports for northern Masons had not been acted upon. His words to Baker show him to have been a man who, upon occasion, could become very angry:

I am myself a thirty-third degree Mason of the Northern Jurisdiction. . . . I have frowned upon all this foolish talk about the South being in the saddle. I am perfectly willing that Southern Masons be treated as the War Department has treated them but I here and now enter my solemn protest against the partiality shown and respectfully request that the discrimination against Northern Masons
be removed. . . . I am making my appeal for the Northern Jurisdiction, an active member of the Supreme Council of which I am.

(The underlined words reflect Marshall’s midwestern sentiment that Wilson’s Administration was indeed under strong southern influence and took care of its own people.) In a 1937 interview with Charles Thomas the former War Secretary indicated that Marshall "never attempted to use pressure, as some persons would." He must have forgotten the above letter!36

Vice President Marshall had thus far proved to all in the Washington scene that he was a Wilson man through and through. Whatever disagreements or differences he had or felt in relation to any persons in the government were thrust out of sight in light of his higher loyalty. His words of support for the war effort were among the most colorful and most touching. His presence at functions of state lent credence to the idea that Wilson found Marshall's abilities and personality acceptable, even necessary. And his help of young men from back home and of his Masonic fraternity revealed that Thomas Marshall continued to honor his Midwestern origins.
May 1918 - November 1918

The United States was officially at war for more than twenty months, but those were intense months for Americans and for their government. Industrial output accelerated, business contracts with the military increased, men lined up to enlist in the service of their country, and women worked more and more in a variety of ways for the general war effort as well as for their own economic betterment. Social roles and perspectives were altering considerably.

I

Soon after her nation's entry into the European conflict in 1917, Lois Marshall became a volunteer social worker at a Diet Kitchen Welfare Center, a day-care agency in Washington. Working parents left their children at the Center during the day and came for them at the day's end. It was not long before she involved her husband with her daily concerns, especially one concern.

Lois had become deeply attached to a baby at the Welfare Center whose health was so fragile that she feared for his life unless he be given special attention. His twin sister was healthy, but both parents worked and were unable to provide a normal home life for the twins. The father was a church janitor and the mother a chambermaid. On an afternoon in May, the Vice President walked to the White House for a prearranged meeting with the President. There is no record of what the two men discussed, but the
context suggests that the conversation centered on a matter quite personal to the Vice President. Marshall wanted his "chief" to know what he and his wife were planning to do. They had no intention, at first, in adopting the child, but simply to provide him with a substitute mother for a time.¹

By mid-July Clarence Ignatius Morrison had entered the home and the life of a childless couple. It made no difference to the Marshall that their foster child was of Roman Catholic parents. That difference was completely irrelevant. Here was a listless baby that needed nursing back to health. Here were a man and a woman who needed a child. In time they called the little boy simply Morrison. A memorandum to the President from Tumulty suggested that a box of flowers be sent to Mrs. Marshall with a note that read: "With congratulations to the baby."²

As the Marshalls lived in a suite at the New Willard Hotel, the mother was given employment there in order to be near her child. Part of the apartment was re-arranged to provide for a play room, and a kitchenette was placed conveniently for the benefit of the baby. Not unexpectedly, the Marshalls came to adore the little boy and began to treat him as though he were their natural son. In the beginning Lois had spoken to her husband about the idea of having a child in their home--and held the baby in her arms as she broached the subject to him for the first time! Marshall's initial reaction was one of wariness: "With that brutality which marks the man, I had said to her that she might keep him, provided he did not squall under my feet. He grew out of his crib; but he never walked with as sure a certainty on the streets of Washington, as he walked into my heart. Beautiful as an angel; brilliant beyond his years; lovable from every standpoint, he came to be the sun and center of Mrs. Marshall's life and of mine. . . ."³
New fathers have concerns they never had before. Such was the case with Marshall. After twelve months of paternal experiences he thought he should see the President again about a personal matter. On second thought he chose to write him a letter to express better his concern. His wife's work with the Diet Kitchen had become a window, as it were, on the social conditions of Washington, D. C. Because the Nation's Capital was not a self-determining municipality and was under the authority of the Congress there was no easy way for the city to obtain funds to care for the needy in the way and to the extent that Marshall felt was needed. His letter to the President read in part:

Throughout America today, under the Children's Bureau, there is going forward the work of weighing and measuring and examining all children under six years of age. Statistics show that 300,000 of them die every year, and that, humanly speaking, with proper advice, attention and care, one-half of this number can be saved. This work is being done gratuitously all over the Republic and is a very serious strain upon charitably disposed people. . . .

Mrs. Marshall and her good women here in Washington are spending three hours a day three days of each week in the making of this health census under the auspices of the Washington Diet Kitchen. When this census is completed it will be about as valuable as a last year's bird's nest unless some plan is devised to follow it up to see that proper care and attention are given these children. It is doubtless true that throughout America where local self government still reigns, if it does anywhere, the duty is incumbent upon a locality to look after its children but in the City of Washington there is neither an autocracy nor a democracy. The District government can make no appropriation for the carrying on of this work without the consent of the Congress and the Congress is too much interested in the boll weevil and San Jose scale to appropriate for children. Nothing but your strong hand and forceful and emphatic approval of some appropriation to follow up this work will avail.

Have I put the subject so as to appeal to you? If so, will you touch the secret springs that will remedy this evil.

Very sincerely and cordially yours,
Wilson lost no time in taking action on the Vice President's letter. He replied in a note to Marshall that he would do his best to act upon the matter. To Albert Burleson he asked what House committee would be officially concerned about Marshall's question. Burleson made inquiries and learned that the District Appropriation Bill was pending before the Committee on the District of Columbia. He suggested that a paragraph be included in the bill asking for a sum of money to underwrite a bureau of infant hygiene in Washington. District Commissioner Louis Brownlow wrote to Burleson that he had talked with the Vice President and that an itemization of cost estimates had been made for the establishment of a new bureau in the District, operating under the Health Department. Eventually, Congressional support was forthcoming, and Marshall's dream for Washington's children became a reality.  

As their foster child grew (he was now called Morrison Marshall), he was taken by Marshalls on trips whenever possible. Lois found her vacations added enjoyment with her "practically adopted" little boy. A brief vacation at Petosky along the shore by Lake Michigan was a happy memory for the couple. They wanted a child of their own and here was their dream come true. Old enough almost to walk without aid the little child would toddle back and forth between them. "Where is Daddy?" was a question that revealed much about the man and the woman. "Throw me a kiss," she asked, and the boy opened his mouth, poked in his chubby little fist and "threw" to the woman a gesture of glee mixed with affection.

He looked the picture of health, but looks were deceiving. Several months later, when the Marshalls were away from the capitol, word reached them that their boy was
critically ill. Lois rushed back to Washington from New England where her husband had
gone to deliver an address. The daughter of the manager of the New Willard Hotel
recalled the tragic ending on a February night of 1920: "Mrs. Marshall, having no
experience as a mother, would frequently call on my mother for information and
assistance when their adopted child became sick, which he did very often. Once a call
came in the middle of the night. Mother hastened to the Marshalls' rooms but it was too
late. The child had died. . . ."5

Marshall never totally recovered from the loss of the boy: "I cannot even speak of
him for whom I grieve without a feeling that I ought not to do so. He was and is and ever
will be so sacred to me that I much doubt whether his blessed memory should be used
even for a holy purpose. For three years he spelled for me in every ripple of laughter and
his every lisping word God and democracy. . . . Happier far today are those whose
children yet linger with them. It is my day of memory. It is theirs of realization." The
grief was profound, and the sight of the playthings lying on the floor was more than they
could bear. They had to "get away from the toys." After their European trip in the
summer of 1922, Mrs. Marshall finally parted with several remaining items: a robe,
lullaby books, and little toy horses, giving them to the children of a friend.6

II

The memorandum lying on the President’s desk was dated 7 February 1918: "The
Vice-President asked whether he might see the President on Thursday, February 14."

Charles Swan was a young whiz at taking dictation from the President, and, after
checking with the President wrote “O.K. 4:30 C.S.S." on the memo and returned it to one
of Tumulty's assistants to reply to the Vice President. On the assigned day Marshall left his Senate building office for the White House and his late afternoon appointment.  

As he walked alone, he thought about what he was going to say and how he would phrase it. It seemed hardly a year since his campaigning for a second term and now the Indiana Democratic State Convention wanted him to make the keynote speech in June. These things take time to think out, especially during a time when the nation is at war. One just does not say the same kind of things in wartime as in peacetime.

In the presence before Wilson, Marshall got right to the point. What kind of a speech did the President want him to make before the State Convention in Indianapolis? Should it not be one that says, "The only question before the American people is winning the war and standing behind the President?" "Should I not propose," he asked Wilson, "that both Democrats and Republicans nominate men pledged to these two objects and let the people make a choice between them, promising that in the event the war closed prior to the expiration of their terms of office, they would resign and go back to the people on local issues?" Should I not "also suggest proposing to the Republican party to close up all political headquarters and to expend the money saved thereby in Red Cross and other war activities?"

The President's reply was unexpected: "No, it would not do. I expect to issue a call shortly before the election for a Democratic Congress, and I have no doubt that the people will give it to me because they have refused me nothing so far."

"Is it your desire for me to make an old-fashioned Democratic speech at the convention?"

"Yes."
"You are my commander-in-chief, and your orders will be obeyed."

If Marshall was resentful, he did not show it. Wilson's advice was not in tune with his own preference for a non-partisan appeal. Instead, the President urged a strong political fight to inspire American voters to bring in a Democratic Congress. In one scholar's words, "Here the two men had changed their usual roles; Marshall the politician wanted to put the 1918 elections above politics; Wilson the idealist was out for a partisan campaign and victory. . . . Marshall's approach might have averted the debacle that occurred in November and prevented the last half of Wilson’s second term from being a nightmare for the administration. . . ." The Indiana speaking engagement was four months away.

In the meantime another event took place that was to have political reverberations for the Democratic party. Senator Paul Husting of Wisconsin, a Democrat, had died from an accident while hunting, and election of his successor was due to be a fierce inter-party battle among Wisconsin Democrats, Republicans and Socialists. The Democratic nominee was Joseph E. Davies, a manager for Wilson during the 1912 campaign. His Republican opponent was Irvine L. Lenroot, and the Socialist candidate was Victor L. Berger, publisher of the Milwaukee Leader. Considerable attention was being given to the Wisconsin Senatorial race, as it would be regarded as a political barometer of public opinion on Wilson's war policies.

The President felt it necessary to send someone of national prominence to speak for the Democratic candidate, and that person was Vice President Marshall. Wilson's intention was politically respectable, but his chosen instrument would prove to be an
unwise choice. The day after Marshall's sixty-fourth birthday Wilson sent him a belated greeting:

I am ashamed of myself that I overlooked the fact that yesterday was your birthday. May I not congratulate you very sincerely? I hope that you feel that real affection with which you are regarded by all of us who really know you, and I want you to know that my own feeling for you constantly grows warmer and more intimate.

Wilson had something else on his mind:

I have no doubt that you have been following as I have, with a good deal of anxiety, the critical Senatorial contest in Wisconsin. The attention of the country will naturally be centered upon it because of the universal feeling against Senator La Follette and the question which will be in every patriotic man's mind whether Wisconsin is really loyal to the country in this time of crisis or not.

(Marshall also did not appreciate Senator Robert La Follette's pacifistic stand on the war at this time.) Wilson continued,

Personally, I do not doubt that the great body of the citizens of Wisconsin are thoroughly loyal, but there is some danger of the issues being obscured. The election of Mr.
Lenroot would, I am afraid, by no means demonstrate that loyalty, because his own record has been one of questionable support of the dignity and rights of the country on some test occasions. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance, I think, that we should secure the election of Davies, and I am wondering if you would not add to your many generous acts in such matters by going to there to make some speeches for him. It would greatly hearten everybody and I am sure it would be most effective.

There was another order Marshall could not refuse.10

On 26 March the Vice President presented the cause for the Democrats in the State of Wisconsin. His heart was not in his task. He felt that Wilson should have promoted a non-partisan campaign to enlist the unified support of all Americans at a time when the nation was at war. From such a position Marshall went the opposite way to please his "chief." He went too far. He began his speech with words that offended his hearers rather than flattered them. Before a vast audience of Americans of German descent he declared, "The world was amazed when German bayonets entered Belgium. America was aghast when German ballots entered Wisconsin." It was as if he had never learned one of the first rules of public speaking: empathize with your hearers. The speaker was careful to say that he did not accuse Republicans of being disloyal, but their strong partisanship at this time could not help but hinder the President's war efforts.

He simply did not choose the right words to persuade his listeners: "Your State of Wisconsin is under suspicion. . . . If the vote at the primary is based upon the charges and counter-charges which you have made, each against the other, you are about half for
America, half for the Kaiser, and all against Wilson." He likened many of them to northern Democrats during the Civil War who voted Republican rather than be thought traitorous. Their loyalty to the State must be over that to the Republican party. Marshall called Lenroot a German sympathizer, a pacifist, and a traitor to his country. He viewed the State of Wisconsin as containing a multitude of traitors, and pictured the Republican party as being in support of the Imperial German Government.\textsuperscript{11}

The speaker's words "hit home" and a record number of citizens in Wisconsin went to the polls on April 2. The result was heavily in favor of the Republican, Lenroot, who defeated the Democrat, Davies, by a 15,000 vote plurality, and the Socialist, Berger, by over 50,000 votes. The damage had been done. Democrat John W. Burke called Marshall’s speech "the biggest dam-fool thing in history" and felt that Marshall was to blame for the party's defeat in Wisconsin. One new Republican Senator headed for Washington, and this would make a difference later when the Senate voted on the issue of the peace treaty with Germany and the League of Nations.\textsuperscript{12}

One cannot help but feel that Marshall was disillusioned and emotionally drained by this experience. His heart had not been in the task assigned him by the President. As gifted as he was as a public speaker it is strange to consider that he would have intentionally sabotaged his fellow Democrat Joseph Davies who was in fact an old political acquaintance. This apparently erratic action of Marshall would not be the last.

III

By the time the Indiana Democratic State Convention assembled in June, the Vice President had completed the pendular swing from ultra-pacifism to extreme nationalism.
Marshall was kept active on the speaker's platform either as a partisan for the party or as a volunteer for the governmental Committee in Public Information. His loyalty to Wilson caused him to express ideas that he normally would not have accepted for his own, for example, his "intolerant partisanship" in the Wisconsin election. In a broader sense, however, Marshall had reached the same intolerant stand that many other Americans shared in response to the wartime demand for absolute loyalty.

In Indiana the Democratic party was no longer in power. At the convention hall in Indianapolis Marshall sat on the podium with ex-Governor Samuel M. Ralston. Ralston spoke boldly that the weighty times required an ignoring of the traditional two-terms and that President Wilson should be renominated in 1920. (Republicans would later use this statement as political fodder.) The Vice President followed Ralston's remarks by urging his fellow Democrats to support the Administration but not support even a Democrat who himself did not agree with Wilson's ideas and "who is not in favor of taking the German language out of the schools of Indiana and welding into a united people by the use of a common language all those who dwell within our borders." He referred to Will Hays, now the Republican National Committee Chairman, as "this young Lochinvar [who] ambled out of the West upon the G.O.P.--grand old palfrey--and with force of arms seized the Lady Theodora [Roosevelt] and carried her off to that medieval castle called the Republican Headquarters, where he introduced her as a Republican vestal virgin."

He continued his figure: "Lady Theodora, being left at home, concluded to take a hand in the war by writing letters in derogation and criticism of its management to a newspaper, which newspaper had as its general manager a man who was, at the
declaration of hostilities against the Imperial German Government, an alien enemy of the United States, and which newspaper had published the Rose Pastor Stokes letter and other seditious documents." (Stokes, an adamant advocate of American-styled communism, was sentenced on 1 June 1918 to ten years in the Missouri State Penitentiary for disloyal statements against the Government.) After his speech, he was asked to whom he made reference, and he said that he was referring to A. F. Seested of the Kansas City Star.13

The speech was spread all over the country by the next day. Tumulty wanted a copy of it, and Mark Thistlethwaite obliged. Seested in Kansas City, upon hearing of Marshall's remarks, promptly sent a telegram to the Vice President giving him the facts about his citizenship. (Seested was born in Denmark of parents who became Germans when their locale was incorporated into Germany. He subsequently came to the United States and became naturalized in 1916.) Marshall replied with a telegram wherein he claimed to Seested that he did not accuse him of disloyalty to America, only of "unjust criticism of the President's course." Marshall admitted that he had mentioned in his address that Seested had not been an American citizen of an eventual enemy nation.14

The New York Times was shocked that Marshall had called T. R. "Lady Theodora," regarding that as "a cheap witticism." Marshall, the Times held, had descended to mere demagogy when he attacked the patriotic Kansas City Star. Such behavior the editor did not think proper from a man who was "only one step removed from the Presidency." Ex-governor Ralston did even worse, it was believed, by talking about the 1920 election campaign, which talk did not serve to preserve unity among American citizens.15
Seested was more than shocked. He was afraid. The Sedition Act, only one month old, made criticism of the Government a crime, and who knew then how far freedom of the press would be allowed with such a law now in the land! By the end of the month socialist Eugene V. Debs had been arrested in Cleveland on the charge of interfering with the recruiting of volunteers for the United States Army. Two and a half months later he was sentenced to ten years in prison. After the war ostracism against allegedly disloyal Americans would continue. Socialist Victor Berger, who ran against Davies and Lenroot in Wisconsin, was indicted for conspiracy to violate the Espionage Act of 1917 and sentenced by Judge Kenesaw Landis to prison for twenty years. This occurred in February 1919, the year of the "Red Scare."

It was not long before the rumor mill in Washington began to grind out that Marshall had been muzzled. His speaking engagements tended to be limited to patriotic pronouncements before Red Cross workers and college students. Not that there was truth to the rumor: he was one of the most conscientious of public speakers on behalf of the war effort. Still, one may speculate that invitations to speak were becoming fewer with all the recent uproar about him from Wisconsin to Washington.

His job, he knew, was not the most exciting in the world. When not on assignment for Wilson or on a speaking engagement outside Washington, it was his role to return to his Senate chair to relieve the president pro tem. The Vice President after five years in office had grown accustomed to his role. Adjusting his horn-rimmed glasses and situating his posterior in his special chair at the same time, Marshall would pick up quickly the topic and tone of the debate on the floor, and prepare to moderate the occasional attacks between Senators with a Hoosier wit and drawl that on occasion...
hearts light upon hearing it: "The chair thinks it is about time to enforce the rule of two speeches in a day. We will never get through. The Chair has been here five years and nobody has ever been converted since he has been here."17

IV

The strain of work during these war years was telling. Treasury Secretary William McAdoo had given an extra effort in helping the cause of the Liberty Loan drives. Halfway through June 1918, he abruptly went West for a month to rest his throat. Marshall also felt the need to "get away" from Washington and go to Michigan for a vacation. Informing the President through his secretary, Marshall made plans to leave shortly. Wilson became concerned, however, that the Vice President might be needed in case of a tie vote during Senate debate on the women's suffrage amendment.

Neither Wilson nor Tumulty knew Marshall’s current feelings about voting rights for women. Lois Marshall was no suffragette and no public statement supporting women's rights outside the home was ever made by her husband. Wilson hoped that Marshall would not stand in the way of passage of the proposed suffrage amendment: To Tumulty he inquired by note,

Are you sure that the Vice President would vote for woman suffrage[?] They are planning, you know, to have the vote tomorrow. And the Vice President does not speak here of going away before next week. Supposing you say in reply to his note that the only thing I now see ahead of us about which I am exceedingly anxious is the suffrage amendment which I
earnestly desire to see passed, but that he will know whether his presence and cooperation will be needed or not.

The outcome of the suffrage bill was not evident. Two years earlier, during the 1916 presidential race, Marshall had written Wilson and advised him not to worry about the issue of woman suffrage. Yet, now in the summer of 1918 and with congressional elections on the horizon the temper of the nation may have changed in favor of woman suffrage. Wilson surely was sensitive to this shift and wanted to take advantage of it. The woman’s vote might make a considerable difference in election results.

Nevertheless, four months later, the resolution providing for a woman suffrage amendment was rejected by the Senate for a third time, and not until the next year would it be passed in both Houses and ratified by the states the following year to become the Nineteenth Amendment.

The Great War was nearly over when the French Government desired to show its appreciation to the United States Government for its great military and moral contribution in the war effort. Secretary of State Lansing had learned from the Vice President that the French wished to give to each House of Congress valuable vases which had been made in a province of France known for its pottery making. With the proper protocol arranged, the Senate prepared to accept the gift from the French Ambassador, Jules Jusserand.

Behind him and the Vice President in the Senate chambers were draped the French Tricolor and the Stars and Stripes. The two vases, measuring six feet in height, were taller than either Jusserand or Marshall. In bestowing the gift the Frenchman proclaimed that Germany would soon fall at the forceful hands of the Allies. In response, Marshall chose carefully his words, flowery but sincere:
I am not striving to weave a beautiful garment. I am only seeking to dress a great talk in the clothing of speech, however tawdry and misfit it may be. The truth is found in a story of Mahomet. His first wife, Kadijah, was a widow. But she made of the camel driver the founder and head of a great religion. Then she died, and in his old age the prophet married the young, charming, and beautiful Ayesha. Consistently with human nature, she would sit upon Mahomet's knee, pull his grey beard, and petulantly ask, 'Am I not a better wife than Kadijah?' Worn out at last, the prophet made answer, 'No, by Allah; there can be none better, for she believed in me when all men despised me.' Since far off 1776 we have grown rich and powerful and many seek our favors and many are our friends, but none can get closer to our hearts than France, for she believed in us when all men despised us.\textsuperscript{19}

Within two months the Great War had ended. France and her allies had been redeemed. The armistice agreement between the Allies and Germany was signed at five o'clock in the morning (Paris time) on 11 November 1918 in the Forest of Compiègne. Within six hours all fighting had ceased. That day President Wilson read the terms of armistice before a joint session of Congress and announced that the war was at an end. Over three hundred thousand American doughboys had suffered as casualties, and countless more European soldiers had expired on the battlefields. The shedding of blood was now past.\textsuperscript{20}
As the second session of the Sixty-fifth Congress came to a close, as was customary the Senate passed a resolution (S.R. 353) thanking the President of the Senate "for the dignified, impartial, and courteous manner in which he has presided over its deliberations during the present session." Marshall was now a six-year veteran. On his part, even though he did not have to say much of substance, he did. It was his way.

Senators of the United States, I thought that we were to wind up one session of the Senate without this usual, ordinary, gracious, but wholly perfunctory resolution on behalf of the presiding officer of the Senate. Nevertheless, as the years go by I find myself more and more under obligations to the Senators of the United States for the patience they exercise in the moments of irritation upon my part, for their generous judgment of my conduct, and for something that is far deeper to me than even the record of a presiding officer over the great and illustrious body -- the feeling which I have, and which, if I ought not to have it, I beg you will not take way from me, that regardless of politics and politicians, regardless of the ebb and flow of party sentiment and party ideas in American, up to this good hour I have had practically the unanimous individual and personal friendship of the Senators of the United States. For this I thank you. I hope that in the days to come I may be worthy of a continuance of that friendship.  

Within two weeks after speaking these words Marshall witnessed the beginnings of a battle in the Senate which would have international implications and would involve
him in a human drama with the President of the United States and mark his reputation for decades after his demise.
Presidential Stand-in

November 1918 - June 1919

As the Great War had ended for all practical purposes, so also had the invective of the Vice President. He was nearing sixty-five, certainly far from senility (a condition he never seems to have had) and yet needful of frequent rest. The President, two years younger, appeared outwardly to be running on endless energy. He had a vision: to see the United States in harmony with the other nations which by "covenant" would swear to work together to maintain peace and concord throughout the earth. The figure was biblical, right out of the Old Testament, referring to the contractual relationship between Israel and her God and between the Israelite tribes themselves. To insure the birth of this league of nations Wilson decided he must personally attend the Peace Conference in Paris. His decision "leaked" to the press before the President had a chance to inform the Congress in joint session on 2 December 1918.

I

Marshall was at the Copley-Plaza Hotel in Boston when a reporter telephoned him to ask his opinion regarding remarks made earlier that evening by George W. Wickersham, former Attorney General under Taft. In a speech to the Council on Foreign Relations in New York City, Wickersham had spoken about the supposed new status of the Vice President once the President went outside the country, in this case, to Europe. Wilson allegedly would not be able to function domestically as President, and his duties
would devolve to the second in command as directed by the United States Constitution. 
Confronted with this bold new thought, Marshall held his words momentarily until he 
could soberly assess Wickersham's viewpoint and give an answer expedient to the 
circumstances. Drawing upon his legal knowledge, he stated "definitely and positively" 
that he would not on his own "take over" the President's duties regardless of whether a 
legal question arose concerning his signing a legislative bill. He would not commit 

himself to answering what he would do if Congress resolved that he be "set in motion" as 
Acting President. He did commit himself that he "unquestionably would assume the 
Presidency of the United States [should] a court having jurisdiction" so direct him. In an 
interview to a newspaper reporter Marshall declared: "It is the duty of every American 
citizen to obey the judgments of courts, and I would obey them, not because I want to, 
but, as a law-abiding citizen, would feel compelled to do so. I hope the controversy will 
be stopped, as I have not the slightest desire nor intention on interfering with the 
President, unless I am forced to, and that will be of infinite regret to me."

The Vice President tried to be both honest and cautious. He did not want anyone-- 
Chief Executive or private citizen--to interpret his words as in any way being in 
opposition to President's Wilson's leaving the country for the Peace Conference, and he 
certainly did not wish people to think that he coveted the Presidency, a very delicate 
question. He believed that his relations with Wilson were "extremely warm and friendly 
and cordial" and he wanted them to stay that way. He had not been, he said, a part of any 
discussion debating or challenging the President's right to go abroad. If the President 
wanted to go, he should go.
Marshall concluded the interview by saying, "I am most reluctant to become involved in any academic discussion of the constitutional or other questions involved, because I am fearful that my participation in such a discussion might give the President the impression that I am in some way opposing his going. I am not. Furthermore, as I said, I have not studied these questions for the reason that I did not anticipate anything arising which would force them upon me."

The President's decision to leave for Europe caught Marshall by surprise. He had no idea that the absence of the President would call for his continued presence in Washington. He was preparing to cross the country on a speaking tour for the League to Enforce Peace with the blessing of William Howard Taft, the League president. This organization was supported by concerned Republicans and Democrats and in principle was akin to Wilson’s later idea of a League of Nations whose purpose was to facilitate international arbitration. Marshall told the New York Times about his proposed tour, which was planned before anything had been said about the President's departure, "thus disposing of Washington gossip to the effect that the journey had been devised purposely, to keep the Vice President away from the capital during Wilson's own absence."

Marshall still was going west unless something official kept him in Washington.1 The newspapers on 27 November carried the story that the President would sail on the George Washington for a month's stay in Europe before attending the opening of the Peace Conference. It seemed ironic that Wilson was to sail on an ex-German army transport ship to a series of meetings in which the German nation would suffer further expropriations. It was more ironic that his ship carried the name of the first President of
the United States who had been a strong advocate of non-involvement with European political affairs.

As soon as the public learned of President Wilson’s plan to leave the country, New York lawyers and Washington luminaries expressed their views and seemed happy to do so, there were so many quoted. Louis Marshall and Samuel Untermeyer saw no constitutional problems. Archibald Watson, also of New York, spoke with certainty, citing a 1790 law that placed the District of Columbia as the seat of the United States Government, effective December, 1800. Hence, concluded Watson, President Wilson ceases to be president once he lands on foreign shores. Of course, Watson never once considered Maryland or Virginia "foreign shores," but others did!²

Previous Presidents had been outside the continent, to say nothing of their being outside the District of Columbia. Both Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft functioned as President while visiting Panama. No one nor Congress had challenged them or any other President a propos of the 1790 law. Several members of Congress saw no problems at all in the President's absence from the country, since they believed him constitutionally able to pass or veto bills abroad. Meanwhile, Republicans in both the House and the Senate felt that the President could function as President anywhere in the world, but they agreed that Wilson was needed at home at this time.³

In Boston and away from the hub of controversy, Marshall was found by reporters and compelled to make some statement. He wanted to convey his pleasure in his present post, but the words he chose were flippant: "I've got the best job I ever had now; no responsibilities. Now, with the Vice Presidency there is nothing to worry about. If things go wrong, no one can blame you for it. You have no policies to shape, and precedent
saves you can't say anything. All I have to do is to vote, and I am not responsible to any one." A very simple "explanation" for the Vice Presidential office, except the complexities of his official relationships belied the simplicity he was trying to caricature. Privately Marshall was fuming. Wilson's plan to go to Europe had been made without any communication with his Vice President. How could Marshall know what would be a proper response to make to the press? Lois Marshall was sympathetic but tried to alleviate her husband’s anger by remarking how busy the President must have been in such a trying circumstance. Her words barely relieved his indignation.4

Woodrow Wilson was not so busy preparing for his trip abroad that he failed to notice the controversy drawing his Vice President into its vortex. Sometime during the day of 28 November Mark Thistlethwaite received a telephone call from the President. He wanted to see Marshall, but not at the White House. Thistlethwaite was to try to arrange a meeting between him and the Vice President at the latter's suite at the New Willard Hotel. That evening the two men met alone.

Ostensibly, Wilson asked Marshall to assume certain executive responsibilities during his absence, presiding at cabinet meetings, for example. Everything discussed by the President concerned specific responsibilities connected with the office. Marshall later related to Thistlethwaite that no mention was made regarding his exercise of executive prerogative nor of his word given in oath to Wilson that he would not do anything in an executive capacity without first obtaining Presidential approval. Despite the fact that plans had been made, Marshall’s speaking trip west and visit to Arizona were automatically canceled.5
What difference did it make to Wilson that his Vice President be in Washington if he, the President, were to be out of the country? A probable answer, according to Senator Ashurst, is that Wilson wanted "his successor in Washington should misfortune happen." A practical answer is that diplomatic affairs required the Vice President to remain in the Capitol as the President’s chief representative. In a few days the peace delegation from Japan would be stopping in Washington on his way to Paris, and there would be social contacts with certain diplomats stationed in Washington.

By 30 November when the official announcement was made that Wilson would lead his country's peace delegation to Paris, it was no longer news. Heated controversy centered around the members of Wilson's delegation, which did not include one Republican Senator. The White House made known that the Vice President had been asked to remain in Washington during the President's absence and "to remain here to receive the Japanese prince." One reporter blurted out to Marshall that the latter was staying in the capital, really, "to veto and sign bills."

"Oh no, nothing of the sort," Marshall cracked back, "I have already made my position plain. I am not going to be a Bolshevist President" (and take over the Government)!

Many were disturbed that the President saw fit to leave the country in order to be the leader of the United States delegation to the Paris Peace Conference. Colorado Senator Charles Thomas just knew that the President would be subjected to the blame or praise of every squabble at the Conference and be up against "the most experienced and practical politicians of diplomatic intrigue of his generation." Democratic Senator John Sharp Williams bemoaned, "Two months ago W. W. was the foremost character in the
world. He had reached a high pinnacle of human distinction. Today I doubt if he has twenty friends in Congress." On 3 December Senator Lawrence Sherman of Illinois expressed his displeasure at the President's being absent from the United States and introduced a resolution which held the Presidential office to be vacant. His words were interrupted repeatedly by Senator Williams who tried to explain the reasons for the President's leaving.  

In general, Democrats supported Wilson's proposed absence; Republicans did not. For one thing, the President had "stacked" the delegation so that only one member was Republican--and he in name only. No Republican Congressman would be present at Paris in any official capacity. Some felt that a bipartisan committee of Senators ought to go to the Peace Conference just to know about the development. Democratic Senator Gilbert Hitchcock, at this time Foreign Relations Committee chairman, had not been consulted by Wilson in regard to the trip to Europe, and thus Hitchcock supported Republican Senator Albert Cummins in his idea of the Senatorial delegation. Similar resolutions from the Senate and the House were submitted by Republicans to remove Woodrow Wilson from office and to place Thomas Marshall in the White House. Senator Sherman submitted to the Judiciary Committee his resolution to the effect that President Wilson's physical absence constituted "an inability to discharge the powers and duties of the President" and that these shall evolve immediately to the Vice President and "be accepted as the act of the President of the United States." Representative William A. Rodenberg of Illinois was less critical of Wilson, for his resolution would allow Wilson to resume the office of the President when he returned to the United States and to Washington, District of Columbia, the seat of the Government. House Republican floor
leader James R. Mann vocally opined that Wilson's efforts should not be "pin-pricked" while he was "abroad on so important a mission." 

Wilson left America for Europe one month before the Conference was to begin (18 January 1919), because he wanted first-hand contact with the scenes of Europe that revealed the effects of the war. "These visits, these regrettable and hysterical visits, convinced Woodrow Wilson that the peoples of Europe were with him heart and soul," remembered Harold Nicholson, a member of the British delegation at the Conference.

As President Wilson and Secretary of State Lansing were both members of the delegation, Vice President Marshall was the highest ranking member of the Government actually inside the United States during this period. (Wilson would be away until 24 February.)

Little notice was given by Americans to the Vice President's activities, because the eyes of the world were focused upon the Peace Conference. Marshall's first official act was to receive visitors from Japan. The Japanese delegation to the Paris Peace Conference took occasion to spend a short time in Washington for the benefit of its head, Prince Kigashi-Fushimi, who had never been to America. Marshall had a warm regard for Japan because of several pleasant contacts with Japanese. Upon arriving in Washington, Ambassador Viscount Sutemi Chinda called on the Vice President and reminded him of their acquaintance with each other during college days. Chinda had been a student at DePauw University not far from Wabash College in west central Indiana. Marshall was surprised to discover that China’s successor, Aimaro Sato, also had gone to DePauw and had known the Vice President as a student. He was pleased to
see again Admiral Baron Uriu, who had toasted the Vice President at the San Francisco Exposition. And, he was honored to meet a prince of the Japanese royal family.\textsuperscript{11}

In diplomatic ceremony before the delegation of Asians clothed in western dress, Marshall read his few remarks. While officially he represented the American President, the words he spoke portrayed his own philosophy of foreign relations. "We appreciate the distinguished courtesy which the Imperial Government of Japan has shown to us by this visit. In welcoming you we acknowledge that splendid part which you took in the winning of the war for civilization." Marshall perceived this idea to be novel. "You may think this a strange statement, but it expresses my view--that civilization does not depend upon race, religion, or culture, but rather upon that thoughtful consideration which every man and every nation ought to have for the rights of every other man and every other nation."\textsuperscript{12}

The doctrine of Jeffersonian democracy was here being enlarged to cover the earth's people! Here was no taint of racism which had filtered into the nation during the previous several decades and which was working against the Negro in the East and against the oriental in the West. The Vice President genuinely appreciated the action of Japan in exorcising the Germans from the northern Pacific and from the Shantung Peninsula of China. The Japanese notables present surely appreciated the Vice President’s sentiments. It would remain for them to obtain an education in Western tolerance later at Versailles. Following the ceremony, the Vice President and his wife hosted the delegation at a diplomatic breakfast at the Capitol.

At midday the Marshalls met for lunch with Navy Secretary Josephus Daniels and his wife. Coming at this particular time, a day before his first cabinet meeting, the
engagement gave Marshall opportunity to share with Daniels his own philosophy regarding a Vice President's attendance at cabinet meetings. Marshall, in turn, could learn from his friend about the procedures of the weekly meetings.\textsuperscript{14}

At the appointed time the department heads met in the Cabinet Room of the White House. Marshall took his place at the head of the long conference table, on each side of which four officers sat. The Vice President knew these men socially, but deep friendships had been made with only a few: Josephus Daniels, Franklin Lane (who was with Marshall on the 1915 trip to the West), and Newton Baker (an old political friend and fraternity brother). These eight or nine men were usually a sober sight, conducting business in accord with the needs of the hour and the whims of the President. Now Wilson was away. It remained to be seen how the cabinet would function.\textsuperscript{15}

Marshall read a statement at the beginning of the meeting. He did not wish the cabinet to misunderstand his purpose for being with them in the President's absence. Speaking slowly, he read, in part, "I am here and am acting in obedience to a request preferred by the President upon the eve of his departure and also at your request. But I am here informally and personally. I am not undertaking to exercise any official duty or function. I shall preside in an unofficial and informal way over your meeting out of deference to your desires and those of the President." His reading was soberly presented. The Vice President made his statement, he said, because he wanted no misinterpretation of his presence by either cabinet Democrat or Congressional Republican. (Wilson may have suggested Marshall's offering of a statement to offset Republican criticism of the President's leaving the country, a probable topic of discussion between the two men in the
New Willard suite on the eve of Wilson's departure.) When he finished speaking, his mood lightened. "He was bright and full of jest," Daniels recorded in his diary.16

This was the last cabinet meeting for Treasury Secretary William G. McAdoo, who had resigned to become Director-General of Railroads. Since Robert Lansing was in Paris, his Undersecretary, Frank L. Polk, sat in as Acting Secretary of State. Agriculture Secretary David Houston presented his report on the pricing of wheat, which prompted the Vice President to comment with regard to farmers, "They voted against us because they said we put the price of wheat too low and next year they will vote against us because we wasted public money." There was apparently a common feeling to support his contention. His first contact with the members in a cabinet meeting lasted one and a half hours. It had been enjoyable, an example of Wilsonian precedent-setting.17

Outside the White House, reporters gathered to learn how Marshall fared with this new experience. The Vice President became characteristically humorous before the newsmen. In his dry way he said he had been quite interested in the publicized legal opinions regarding his new stature, and to find out the truth he wrote a letter to Indiana for advice from his old friend, Constable Newt Plum. Plum (in reality a folksy cartoon character) "wrote back, 'The President by leaving the country loses his office but retains the salary.'" Marshall smiled and said that since he was not going to get the President’s salary he was not going to exert himself in the capacity. Nobody recorded the laughter that surely followed Marshall’s remark. Again, in a time when leaders were experiencing pressures and anxiety about the issues of the day, Tom Marshall’s Hoosier humor relieved the air and also communicated his own position that he was not about to “take over” the Presidency.18
The next week Marshall got to the cabinet meeting late. As he took his seat, he heard the executives discussing what should be done with industries which had benefited by governmental contracts during the war but which now faced economic crises because production had almost halted. Josephus Daniels proposed that the War Trade Board apply an embargo which, kept in effect, would allow the "infant industries" to sell their products and be saved from bankruptcy. "If not," he advanced, "Congress may impose heavy tariff duties and compel their aid and make it an entering wedge for a high protective tariff." Marshall perceived openly that the laboring men of the country would become unemployed and that businessmen were anxious that something be done to remedy the problem. Labor Secretary William Wilson was not alarmed. He had confidence that the businessmen could handle problems as they arose, including the prevention of labor troubles. Commerce Secretary William Redfield shared Wilson’s hopefulness, and took opportunity to read a letter from a man who was disturbed about the low supply of bristles at that time. Taking the ever-present cigar from his mouth, Marshall blurted out, "Tell him to shave and get his own raw material!" Very witty, thought Daniels.19

At the end of the first week in the new year, 1919, news came of the death of former President Theodore Roosevelt. Marshall, while Governor of Indiana and a national candidate prior to 1913, had fought Roosevelt's ideas and bombast with criticism and occasional curtness. His public response to Roosevelt's death was respectful but restrained: "I am not one of those who have no feeling of regret over the death of a man who occupied so large and prominent a place in the political affairs of American life as did the late President Roosevelt simply by reason of the fact that I did not agree with him
in his political views nor approve of his theories of statesmanship. The greatest safety to
the Republic arises from the sharp clashes of men whose ideas are as far apart as the
poles. This clashing of ideas enables the common people at large to pursue a middle
course. The late President undoubtedly will leave a permanent impression upon
American life. He was a born fighter. . . .”

Wilson in time learned of the death of his old political foe and promptly sent a
telegram to the Vice President, requesting him to act as his representative at the funeral.
Marshall had conflicting feelings about this request but presented the matter to the
cabinet at its 7 January meeting. Discussion focused on whether Marshall should go to
Roosevelt's funeral. The Vice President reminded his associates that it was to be a
private funeral with only those permitted who had been issued cards. He would be
butting in, he reasoned. Furthermore, Roosevelt's daughter, Alice Longworth, made it a
practice of snubbing Marshall and his wife whenever they chanced to meet. No, held
Marshall, he should not plan to attend the funeral. After more discussion the Cabinet
decided to contact Alice Longworth's husband Nicholas, then a Republican House
member from Ohio. Marshall retreated from his position and mumbled appreciation of
their confidence and support. And, since the President had asked him, he would go to
New York. He quietly insisted that Mrs. Marshall be permitted to accompany him as
they had been married for twenty-four years and virtually never been separated. With the
Cabinet promising him a private car on the train there was no further argument.

The reading public soon learned that Vice President Marshall would attend the
Roosevelt funeral as Wilson's personal representative along with other governmental and
military officials and with former members of Roosevelt's cabinet. The bereaved family,
in accord with the Colonel's wishes, originally planned a simple ceremony at Christ Episcopal Church in Oyster Bay, Long Island, with only relatives and close friends in attendance. Marshall telephoned the Roosevelts from Washington to arrange plans for him to attend. One of several close friends of the deceased President who were at the funeral was Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, whom Marshall respected but whom he would find to be a formidable political adversary to the Administration in the months ahead.

Marshall was still attending the weekly meetings of the cabinet when on 21 January a cable from Wilson was brought before that executive body. The President wanted to know their opinion of the prohibition order, as it was based on the need of the nation to conserve coal and food during wartime. Since the war was over and there was plenty of coal and food, Burleson argued that the order ought to be annulled. Marshall disagreed, and with him stood Glass, Gregory, and Daniels. The conclusion of the discussion culminated in the judgment that the President should let his order remain in effect so far as alcoholic beverages were concerned, "but that it should be annulled as to non-alcoholic drinks." At the day's end a private dinner was prepared at the home of California Senator and Mrs. James D. Phelan with the Daniels and the Marshalls in attendance. After dining the ladies repaired to their sitting room while the men smoked cigars and "talked about oil and how Great Britain was controlling all over the world." 

Vice President Marshall in time ceased to attend the cabinet meetings. He candidly admitted to his secretary, Mark Thistletonwaite, that the conference among the cabinet members could go on satisfactorily without his presence. Lois Marshall recalled that her husband was philosophically opposed to the idea of a Vice President, who is presiding officer of a bi-partisan legislative assembly, being privy to Administration
matters. She remembered his saying, "It would be very embarrassing at times to be in a confidential relationships to both the legislative and the executive branches." Marshall perceived that with the President absent the cabinet meetings were essentially conferences of executive department heads. He was not head of a department of the executive branch. As presiding officer of the United States Senate it was his constitutional responsibility to moderate the discussions and debates of that body. The American people placed him in that position and, being the man of principle that he was, he could not reconcile his presence nor his position with that chief administrative council. He could not feel productive since he was not in a position of power over Senators and thus had no group subservient to him to do his bidding or to carry out his policies. His was indeed a peculiar position.23

While Wilson was presenting his idea of the League of Nations “Covenant” to the Third Plenary Session of the Paris Peace Conference, Thomas Marshall began to enjoy at least some of the Presidential responsibilities. Secretary Daniels, present with Marshall at dinners with the ministers of the Netherlands and of Spain, wrote in his diary that the Vice President was not in sympathy with the behind-the-scenes maneuvering of Albert Burleson and Gilbert Hitchcock in getting Senators to support the President’s position with respect to the League and the treaty with Germany as a one-package consideration. On one occasion, Daniels noted, Marshall "rather talked against the League of Peace [by saying that] he had not made up his mind and that it ought to be discussed without the attempt to line up Senators as Burleson was trying to do." Others in the Administration were also concerned about the President's apparent obsession with the League idea.24
The American people were following the news reports on the Paris Peace Conference at the same time that 1,200 American “technical troops” were stationed in Archangel in northern Russia as part of an Allied Expeditionary force. Their mission was to support White Russians engaged in a fierce civil war with Red (Bolshevik) armies. Half of the United States Senate wanted the Americans returned home. Hence, on 14 February 1919 a motion to table such a resolution was presented before the Senate. Thirty-three Senators voted for; thirty-three voted against, and thirty did not vote. The Vice President broke the tie vote by favoring the tabling of the resolution. Whether the Americans would be brought home sooner rather than later would be irrelevant to the Soviets who saw foreign troops on their soil as a violation of their sovereignty and of their Revolution.25

III

Before any firm commitments had been made at the Conference in Paris, the President returned home, arriving in Boston on 24 February. Meeting Wilson at the ship was his secretary, Joseph Tumulty, along with many American notables, including the well-known actor, Leo Carrillo. Journalist Ray Stannard Baker was there, a member of the American staff, who would later write about Wilson's experience at the Peace Conference. At Washington a victory parade was held in honor of the returning President and of the Washington area "doughboys." In tune with the high spirit of the times Wilson and Marshall walked side by side as marchers in the parade, and after awhile Wilson
witnessed the rest of the parade from a reviewing box. The people were glad to see their
President, a renowned world figure, home again.\textsuperscript{26}

Woodrow Wilson tried to make the most of his time home, as he planned to leave
for Europe a second time, on 5 March. At a White House dinner for members of the
Senate and House committees on foreign relations he talked with them about the
proposed League. They listened respectfully, saying little at the time. Two days later,
Henry Cabot Lodge took the floor of the Senate and talked for over two hours against the
proposed Covenant. On 2 March a "round robin" message from thirty-nine Senators and
Senators-elect declared that discussion of the League question would be valid only after
peace is definitely established among the nations at the Peace Conference. The
quantitative strength of the "round robin" should have told Wilson something about the
strategy he must follow to achieve his end, but he did not listen. Speaking before an
audience of over 5,000 in the old Metropolitan Opera House at Broadway and Thirty-
ninth Street in New York, he in effect told the Senators who opposed him that they would
have to follow his direction.

The impact upon Capitol Hill was not surprising. If sadness overtook the
company on Inauguration Day, March 1917, two years later the tone was one of
bitterness mingled with helplessness. The Sixty-fifth Congress ended without passing the
General Deficiency bill which would have allowed the Government to pay large
expenses. Defeat of the bill was accomplished by the filibustering tactics of three
Senators: Sherman (Illinois), La Follette (Wisconsin), and France (Maryland), working
unceasingly for twenty-six hours. When noontime came, the President of the Senate
banged his gavel, saying, "Adjourned sine Deo" (without God), instead of the usual sine
died (indefinitely adjourned). Marshall was visibly agitated as were many Senators. The Senate was made impotent. Not only had the General Deficiency bill failed to pass but a host of other measures had been stillborn: appropriation bills for the army, the navy, for agriculture, for utilities and coal and oil lands, and so on. The most regrettable loss was the railroad appropriation which three out of four Republican Senators, along with Democrats, wanted passed. The Senate scene was a battlefield of emotions. Senator Martin of Virginia had wanted desperately to pass the bill. Senator Lodge seemed embarrassed at the tactics of his Republican colleagues. The President, about to leave the country, must have gritted his teeth when he said, "A group of men in the Senate have deliberately chosen to embarrass the Administration of the Government, to imperil the financial interests of the railway systems of the country, and to make arbitrary use of powers intended to be employed in the interest of the people." Before Wilson’s return to the United States four months later, the Senate would be in almost constant debate concerning the treaty with Germany.

During the spring of 1919 and prior to the convening of the Sixty-sixth Congress, speeches were made throughout the country for and against United States involvement in an international association where her independence of action might be compromised. In a debate at Witherspoon Hall in Philadelphia during this time Vice President Marshall and local lawyer G. W. Pepper spoke, respectively, for and against ratification of the Versailles Treaty. Seated beside each other during the dinner that preceded the speechmaking Marshall and Pepper engaged in conversation. Pepper later noted that Marshall said "many things wholly inconsistent with the speech he subsequently delivered. . . . Then he made an eloquent speech in support of the Covenant. As he came
back to his chair and sat down, just before I was called to my feet, he put his hand over his mouth and whispered to me, "I haven't read it [the Covenant], but we must stand by the Old Man [Wilson]." Pepper was amazed that the Vice President would support a document which he had not even taken the trouble to examine and that he would go so far as to deceive the public in defense of his President.  

The 1918 congressional elections had turned the tide of Democratic influence. The Sixty-sixth Senate now had forty-nine Republicans and forty-seven Democrats. The potential for surprises on Senate votes was great. As Senator Ashurst saw it, "If even one insurgent voted with the Democrats a tie would result, vis. 48-48; the Democratic Vice-President, Marshall, would gave the 'casting' vote and would thus have given control of the Senate to the Democrats." Therefore, proud men of the Republican side of the aisle had to suppress their differences among themselves to secure a voting strength of blended "insurgent" and "Old Guard" Republican votes. Senator Lodge was now chairman of the most important committee involved, the Foreign Relations Committee. With a bare majority Republicans were able to place men unfriendly to the League in the committee. Historian Thomas Bailey, writing on the League fight, concluded that this committee-packing "was a great advantage to the opponents of the treaty, for they could delay it in committee until a hostile public opinion could be aroused. . . ."  

On 23 May the peace treaty was debated for three hours in the Senate. The Senators had not yet received the text of the treaty, but this did not keep them silent as they talked of the League and whether or not the national government should become entwined with that alien association abroad. Republican Hiram Johnson of California felt that the Administration was trying to hide something. Democrat Gilbert Hitchcock, top
Administration man on the Foreign Relations Committee, denied that allegation. Senator Lodge countered that every shopkeeper in Germany was reading the treaty and yet the Senate had only a "worthless" official abstract.

The Republicans had drawn up their slate of Foreign Relations Committee officers now that they held the majority position in the Senate. Marshall took advantage of the continuing friction within the Republican camp between the Old Guard and the Progressives. He ruled that until the new committees were organized, the old ones would act with authority. Lodge objected to Marshall's ruling and tried to find some reasonable compromise with the Progressive leader, Senator Borah of Idaho. Five days later the Republicans succeeded in organizing their new committees.30

Before the Republicans began their opposition to Wilson’s League, Congress after forty years of effort finally passed the Constitutional amendment resolution advocating woman suffrage. Before ratification by the states would take place, the signing of the resolution by the Vice President occurred. Looking on at the signing were interested Senators and representatives of women's organizations, in particular the National American Woman Suffrage Association. State Governors reacted either favorably or unfavorably to calling special sessions to ratify the amendment quickly.31

On the day that a draft of the Peace Treaty appeared in the newspapers Senator Borah presented the draft on the floor of the Senate. The Republicans now had something with which to work. Meanwhile, in Paris the pragmatic diplomats with whom Woodrow Wilson had to deal demanded their way so much that only four out of Wilson's original "fourteen points" found their way into the Treaty of Versailles. On 28 June the
peace treaty with Germany was signed by her and by the Allied and Associated Powers.

Americans waited eagerly for the return of their President from that historic meeting.
**Heir Apparent**

**July 1919 - October 1919**

Ten days after the Allies' signing of the Treaty of Peace with Germany in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, Woodrow Wilson and his party arrived home aboard the U.S.S. George Washington. Thousands of Americans prepared to greet Wilson as he disembarked at Hoboken, New Jersey, at that time an important rail terminal and port of disembarkation on the Hudson River. The Navy had five dreadnoughts and forty destroyers in The Narrows nearby to initiate his grand welcome. Seaplanes and a blimp hovered overhead until he arrived safely on land. On the flagship Pennsylvania six miles offshore was the official welcoming committee, which included the Marshalls, cabinet members, and two of the Wilson daughters. As the Pennsylvania drew alongside the George Washington, the Vice President telegraphed greetings and congratulations from his ship. The message was amiable but wordy, flowery but not insincere.¹

Wilson's mood was lightened by the resounding reception he received. He had not been satisfied with the final terms of the Treaty of Peace. The French and the English had "doctored" it so that the Germans were made to feel that the judgment of the world was against them. Furthermore, the matter of reparations shattered the spirit of amity which Wilson hoped would develop from the Peace Conference. The one ideal he had striven for, the League of Nations, was adopted in principle by the Allies. It was now his goal to see that the United States Government, in particular the Senate, accepted that ideal along with the Treaty which the Germans had signed at Versailles on 28 June.
On 10 July 1919 Wilson submitted to the United States Senate for ratification the
Versailles Treaty with the League Covenant attached. Before the Senate's Committee on
Foreign Relations the President expressed himself candidly. He acknowledged that some
persons still entertained doubts about "the meaning and implication of certain articles of
the Covenant of the League of Nations." For Wilson, Article 10 of the Covenant was
"the very backbone of the whole covenant" by which means the United States was under
no legal obligation to come to the aid of a nation or nations threatened by an aggressor
nation unless it chose to do so. However, as he pointed out, the obligation was "a very
grave and solemn moral obligation. . . binding in conscience only, not in law."²

A month earlier Vice President Marshall in Philadelphia addressed a meeting of
the American Academy of Political and Social Science. He showed himself unreservedly
in favor of the League and held that there was nothing in the Covenant contrary to the
Constitution of the United States. He reprimanded those who opposed America's
involvement in the League: "It happens that a majority of those who are vehemently
attacking the proposed League of Peace are the authors of that course of conduct which
took the American people from their isolated position and set them down in the politics
of the world. When we accumulated Hawaii, Porto Rico and the Philippines, our
quarantine clause ceased to work." The speaker believed that the country was
ideologically in the European conflict before any official decision had been made to enter
it. The "soul of America" demanded, he said, that Americans help to make the world safe
for democracy. Now, the task was to make democracy safe for the world through the
League of Nations. A week after the President's return Marshall met with Wilson to go over the wording of the resolution accepting the treaty. Close consultation with his chief had apparently changed Marshall's view on the League in contrast to his oratorical side-stepping in the Witherspoon Hall debate with George Pepper the previous spring. The next two months would be taken up with hearings before the Committee on Foreign Relations prior to debate in the Senate Chamber on 10 September and following.3

The decision to take his case directly to the American people was made by Wilson in mid-July. He knew the people would support him even if the obstinate Republicans (especially Lodge) did not. Marshall was in close touch with the situation. In a letter to the President's secretary dated 26 July 1919 the Vice President sent resolutions from Senators favoring the League ("Two of the signers are Republicans"). Marshall was desirous of leaving town for a brief rest but had second thoughts even though Wilson saw no reason for him to remain in Washington. "... I think that unless sickness compels my leaving no opportunity for criticism should be offered by my going away," Marshall wrote in a second message to the White House. He remembered the controversy over Wilson's leaving Washington for Paris and he recognized that the center of national debate on the Treaty and the League of Nations was the Senate. For him to leave at a time that might become crucial would be poor judgment indeed.4

Senator Lodge a few days later expressed himself forcefully on the floor of the Senate. Article 10, he believed, could only involve the United States in situations which could prove embarrassing if not disastrous. What was needed were "reservations" to the proposed Covenant, amendments which would be acceptable not only to the United States Government but also to the Allied and Associated Powers. Another meeting was
subsequently arranged between the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the President for 19 August. At that time the Republicans "grilled" the President for three and a half hours. The experience only intensified the hostility between Wilson and Lodge. As John Morton Blum aptly phrased it, "A mutual, devouring animosity stunted in both men any propensity to search rationally for a compromise." They were both proud men. Wilson may have been President but Lodge was King of the Committee, and this dual monarchy could not long abide.⁵

The next day found Marshall writing a memorandum to Joseph Tumulty, the President’s personal secretary, reflecting the Vice President’s view of developing tensions on Capitol Hill: “The present condition of the Peace Treaty is lamentable. It accomplishes nothing to endeavor to diagnose the situation and determine whether it is political or patriotic. All patriotism ought to be political and all politics ought to be patriotic.” For Marshall the whole issue, because of its long-ranged significance for the nation, ought to be approached in a bipartisan manner, no more and no less.

Secretary of State Robert Lansing, who had experienced his own difficulties with the President at Paris, perceived the matter exactly: "While this quarrel is not new or sudden it has grown in virulence since the President's return from Paris until it has reached a state where there is a disposition to reject anything the President proposes, whether good or bad, and a determination on the part of the President to force the Senate to accept his measures whether they like them or not. . . ."⁶

Determined to take his cause to the people, the President left Washington on 3 September for a speaking tour to the Pacific coast and back. For three weeks he and his party journeyed over a thousand miles and visited over thirty cities, attempting to elicit
popular support for the Treaty of Peace with the Covenant of the League of Nations as an integral part. Meanwhile, the Republican "irreconcilables", Senators Hiram Johnson and William Borah, left for their own western tour, following Wilson’s entourage some distance away and speaking energetically against ratification of the treaty.

Away from the Capitol only a few days the President learned of the imminent return of the Commander of the American Expeditionary Forces, General John J. Pershing. A wire to the Vice President communicated Wilson’s desire that Marshall represent him at Pershing's reception in Washington on 12 September. The First Division came back to New York City on the 10th and enjoyed a festive parade down Fifth Avenue. In Washington "the fifth full general in the history of the country" was greeted as a hero in the eyes of the nation.7

Inside a large room in the Shoreham Hotel on the appointed day, this small, mustached man was extended official greetings by another small, mustached gentleman, the Vice President. The experience to Pershing -seemed in such contrast to the General's experiences of the recent past. He wanted nothing more at that moment than to be a boy again in his native Missouri. Now, he was Cincinnatus Redivivus, General Washington reincarnated. Marshall's words of appreciation conveyed the nation's admiration and adulation of this wartime leader.8

After his command performance with Pershing the Vice President, his wife, and their little ward, Morrison, went to Atlantic City for a short vacation, the first in many months. But, even there Marshall could not escape reporters. They wanted to know about the progress of the treaty debate in the Senate. His answer was clear: "I have no doubt the treaty with the League of Nations covenant will be ratified by the United States
Senate. The utmost changes possible are mild reservations embracing the President’s explanation of the treaty." The Senate had delayed long enough in taking positive action, he asserted, since opposition contentions had been unfounded. He alluded to the provision of self-determination for the smaller countries, and referred to appeals through him to the Senate from people of European lands. Marshall could not restrain his humor which the reporters by custom had come to look for in his remarks. One such appeal, he mentioned, was addressed to

Thomas R. Marshall, President of United States Senate, we rely on you for our freedom.

EGYPTIAN LADIES

The Vice President was frankly amused at the wording and the source of the appeal. He quipped, "It was a matter of regret that it was not within my province to comply with the appeal and thus go down in history as ‘Emancipator of the Harem.’"

Meanwhile, Wilson's nationwide tour to arouse public support was a futile quest since Republican votes controlled the Senate. News headlines hinted that the President was getting the public support he sought. In Pueblo, Colorado, on 25 September, Wilson spoke on behalf of his treaty and sent a message of appreciation to Arizona Senator Henry F. Ashurst who publicly defended the President's position. Other Democratic Senators followed Ashurst’s example.

II

The headlines for 26 September did not convey the true seriousness of Wilson’s sudden end of his tour. The President has suffered a "nervous breakdown," it was
reported. His tour had been canceled, and his train was speeding eastward to get him home for a rest. One reporter wrote in Kansas City, Missouri, that "the wonder is not that President Wilson has come to the end of his physical resources now, but that he did not come to the end of them long ago." It was expected by Washington Congressmen that the President would lead the fight for acceptance of the treaty by the Senate. No one yet expected matters to get worse. Not all the country's attention at this time was completely on the Senate or the treaty or even the President: the World's Series baseball championship games were about to begin between Chicago and Cincinnati!

The President experienced a second and more severe stroke on the second day in October. On that fateful day Edith Wilson discovered her husband lying on the bathroom floor, paralyzed with cuts over his temple and nose. She quickly summoned the President’s personal physician, Cary T. Grayson. No word was given until diagnoses could be obtained. The public was not told the exact circumstances, though the first medical bulletin issued by Dr. Grayson at ten o'clock that evening was foreboding:

The President is a very sick man.
His condition is less favorable today, and he has remained in bed throughout the day.

After a consultation with Dr. F. K. Dercum of Philadelphia, Drs. Sterling Ruffin, and E. R. Stitt of Washington, in which all agreed as to his condition, it was determined that absolute rest is essential for some time.

At 11 o'clock the next day the report read: "The President had a fairly good night, but his condition is not at all good this morning." Grayson had called in specialists to examine the patient and to corroborate his medical testimony. Dr. Dercum was a nerve specialist from Philadelphia, Dr. Ruffin was a Washington practitioner, and Dr. Stitt was attached to the Naval Medical Corps. Outside this intimate circle no one really knew the
President's condition. Irwin (Ike) Hoover, chief usher at the White House, noted every person who came to the Presidential mansion every day. His diary entries from 20 October to 31 December 1920 would read alike regarding the President’s condition: "all just the same."12

Others in Washington suspected that the illness was considerably more severe than Grayson had indicated. Senator Ashurst learned from Senator Lewis H. Ball of Delaware, himself a physician, that the President was seriously ill as a result of the strain of the past two years. Ashurst considered the implications of serious and continued illness of the President for the government and the nation. The Constitution dictated that should Wilson be unable to pursue his responsibilities as Chief Executive the position would devolve to Vice President Marshall. Both Cabinet members and Congressmen busily discussed the crisis of leadership. A letter from Senator Hitchcock to Bryan conveyed his fear of executive inattention or mismanagement of matters foreign and domestic. That weekend David Houston discussed Wilson’s incapacity with Newton Baker. Houston feared openly that the President had suffered "some sort of collapse." Baker looked very scared. From Tumulty the following day Houston learned that Wilson was paralyzed in his left limbs. Both men were anxious.

By the end of that week Wilson could hardly utter words, although he managed to recite in a whisper the limerick about the pelican, Grayson would later relate. At midday on Sunday, 5 October, Houston unexpectedly met the Vice President and his wife as they were dining at the Shoreham Hotel. Marshall, visibly disturbed, became vocal about not being told anything about Wilson’s health. Marshall was incensed at the "blackout" of news. His sense of inadequacy and his resentment at being left ignorant of information
from the White House frustrated his composure. He flared up at Houston who represented the Administration’s cover-up at that moment. He said he ought immediately to be informed, that it would be a tragedy for him to assume the duties of President at best, and that it would be equally a tragedy for the American people. He knew many men who knew more about the affairs of the government than he did, and it would be especially trying for him if he were to assume executive duties without warning. It seemed unreasonable, Marshall exclaimed, for the attending physicians to keep him—and all Americans—in the dark about the President. Houston told him nothing because of his pledge of secrecy to Tumulty. He promised Marshall nothing but the hope that he would learn more the next day.13

Everybody in the Capitol seemed on edge. The Senate continued its debate on the Versailles Treaty the next day, Monday. At one point in the debate on 6 October Senators Borah and Hitchcock got especially angry at each other. Without warning Marshall interrupted with the announcement that he had received a letter to be presented before the Senate. This statement caught the antagonists by surprise and stopped short the angry words on the floor. Borah and Hitchcock awaited the important communication. The Secretary of the Senate read aloud the letter from the father of a newborn boy. The father wanted one of the Senators to choose a name for his new son: "The man who will give the baby the biggest prize can have the name. . . . Mr. Marshall, see what you can do for me." The response by the Senators was uproarious laughter. The Vice President’s ploy worked. Passions had cooled for the moment.14
On the day that Wilson experienced his second stroke, a cerebral thrombosis, the King and Queen of the Belgians and their son set foot on American soil. The Vice President on behalf of the ailing President extended official greetings to the trio in Hoboken, the port of disembarkation. The Secretary of State, the Ambassador to Belgium, and military heads provided the receiving retinue. King Albert, a young-looking forty-four year-old man, about six feet three inches in height, presented an impressive appearance in his military uniform. His wife looked like a diminutive schoolgirl in her white serge suit and white turban covering her black hair. Behind the Queen on the gangplank walked her seventeen-year old son Leopold, not too sure of how he should behave in this large, unmonarchical environment.

Marshall, six to seven inches shorter than the King, offered official words of welcome. The King ceremoniously replied, but spoke so softly most did not hear him. After the brief exchange the notables got into waiting automobiles, the King and the Vice President in one, the Queen and Mrs. Marshall in another, and Secretary Lansing and Prince Leopold in a third.

The welcome of Vice President Marshall to King Albert and his family was joyously praised by newspapers around the country. The Montgomery (Alabama) Advertiser was extravagant in its esteem of the Vice President. It carried the full text of his welcoming speech and added a couple of paragraphs of evaluation, in effect, of praise. The Alabama editor was persuaded that Marshall was a better man than he had been given credit for being and that people who laughed at his humorous remarks had not bothered to consider that "there is something more to the Vice President." For him, "Mr. Marshall is full-grown Presidential timber, a sound, safe man in whose hands the helm of
State would be held steadily and safely should the misfortune of illness made it necessary for President Wilson to call the Vice President temporarily to the former's post." The editor's words seemed aimed to reassure his readers that all was not darkness during this period of Presidential disability. The governmental machinery would carry on until the President reassumed his official responsibilities.  

Marshall, however, continued to show the strain of not knowing Wilson’s true condition. In a letter to Lansing, following his contact with the Belgian monarch, he complained of not being accorded sufficient regard in this new "position":

Sir,

What becomes of me as vice President is very unimportant but, when I travel in the name of the President, I expect to be treated as the President would be treated.

In view of the experience I had when going to New York to represent the President in the welcome to King Albert, I desire to notify your Department that, if called upon to represent him again, a complete schedule of the way in which I am to be treated as representative must be furnished to me. This is official and not personal.

With consideration of the highest esteem,
Believe me to be,
Very respectfully yours,

An immediate reply to the Vice President came not only from the Secretary of State but also from Breckenridge Long, Third Undersecretary of State, who was in charge of arranging the official welcoming for the monarch. Long wrote Marshall on the very next day, attempting to apologize for any "inconvenience" or "unsatisfactory arrangement"
that have occurred to the Vice President during this trip to New York City. Lansing's letter was personal as well as official. He was "deeply mortified and distressed" about the situation and explained that he had been out of Washington at the time the arrangements had been made for Marshall to meet the monarchs. As Lansing tried to explain: “An official of this Government, second only to the President, upon such a mission should have a private car placed at his disposal. It would have been the proper thing to do consonant with your office and mission. That it was not done I greatly regret and would gladly make amends in any way that I can for what occurred.” He repeated that he was personally distressed and hoped that the Vice President would "forget the incident which will never be repeated." Still, Marshall’s ire had not died down. He felt it necessary to add one more word. He had been humiliated. His pride had been hurt. "I was not asking for a car but I was objecting to the Secretary of State arranging two seats for me [and my wife] and a drawing room for himself. As far as I am concerned, the incident is closed."17

His strong words to Lansing were not directed personally against the Secretary of State. Marshall could understand how bureaucratic bungling occurs. Frustration arose because in light of Wilson’s illness and isolation there simply was no one to whom he felt he could turn for advice. He had to “let off steam.” His wife and his pastor, Dr. Charles Wood, were doubtless aware of his quandary, but they could not give him the satisfaction he sought. He had to remain strong, be his own man.

Acting on behalf of the President, Marshall was expected to entertain official guests, but if he could not provide for the expenses of that entertainment from his governmental allotment he had to find other ways. Thomas Marshall was not a
spendthrift but he was thrifty. While not a man of great means, his salary provided him
and Lois with a comfortable standard of living, though they felt they could afford only a
hotel suite, not an entire house. They had lived at the Shoreham and now were at the
New Willard Hotel. Custom required him to host the official dinner for the King and
Queen of the Belgians. What he discovered was that custom did not allow the royal
family on such an occasion to enter "a public place of entertainment." Marshall's plan to
host them at a dining room at the Willard simply was not according to protocol. "I was at
my wits' end to know what to do," he recalled, "when, fortunately for me, one of the most
patriotic and charitably disposed women in all America came to my assistance." Mrs.
Thomas F. Walsh, widow of a Denver mining millionaire, was a close friend of Lois
Marshall. When Mrs. Walsh heard of the Vice President’s dilemma, she made her home
available. In his last years Marshall looked back on that experience as "perhaps the most
notable occasion ever had in Washington. The front doors were thrown open and all the
higher officials of every department were present. . . ." One lady of Washington’s high
society, Mrs. Henry Wilder Keyes, recorded for history her disdain for the Walshes’ taste
in interior decoration and felt embarrassment that the Vice President--heir apparent--"should have had no more suitable setting in which to proffer hospitality to visiting
royalty." King Albert and Queen Elizabeth did not appear to mind the decor. Their
genuine enjoyment of the Marshalls was reflected in the royal couple giving the
Marshalls personally autographed formal pictures of each of them.18

The banquet was a truly festive occasion. Together with the royal couple and
their son, Leopold, were leading members of the Belgian embassy and diplomatic
mission. American officials included the United States Ambassador to Belgium, Brand
Whitlock, State Department heads, military personnel, Chief Justice Edward White, cabinet members, and Senators Lodge and Hitchcock.  

There was one gentleman absent who would have been present most assuredly if President Wilson had been in good health, his executive secretary, Joseph P. Tumulty. But, he had not been invited. Perhaps he had been inadvertently overlooked. Perhaps he was one of several who had been refused an invitation because the number of Washington officials was too large for everyone to be present. Or, perhaps he was intentionally omitted from the guest list. If the latter was the case, by whom was he omitted? Tumulty was determined to find out, peeved by being ignored as much as Marshall had been offended by his humiliating experience during his welcome of the King and Queen at Hoboken. A letter to Mrs. Wilson's secretary, Edith Benham, conveyed Tumulty's mortification:

My dear Miss Benham:

    I hope I am not unduly sensitive, but I must talk to someone or I will explode. Will you please tell me if it is a fact that the White House prepared the list of guests invited by the Vice President to the dinner tonight in honor of the King and Queen of the Belgians. The Secretary of State has just informed me that the list was prepared at the White House.

    I have consulted Mr. Forster and he has informed me that it has been the immemorial practice that at these affairs the Secretary to the President should be included. The Secretary of State informed me that some of the names on the list had be dropped and that mine was among them.

    Dr. Grayson told me today that he and Mrs. Grayson had been invited and I am wondering whether the White House dropped my name from the list or whether it was the Vice President. I do not care a snap of my finger about this matter, but if I have no rights, at least I have some feelings that ought to be respected.

Sincerely yours,
Tumulty.

It is not known whether Tumulty ever learned who was responsible for refusing him entrance to the banquet. He considered that Marshall might have been the guilty party. His attitude toward the Vice President was not one of admiration (as reflected in his biography). Mrs. Wilson was a likely candidate for omitting his name since she had no special affection for her husband's secretary. Quite probably he was not invited because of space restrictions. He certainly took the matter personally. The strain of his dealing with the President's incapacity was making him unduly tense. Obviously, Marshall was not the only Washingtonian ill at ease in this crisis surrounding the President.

For the time being, Marshall absented himself from his duties with the Senators. Breckenridge Long recorded that Marshall told him being host to the King and Queen was responsibility enough without adding to it attendance at the Senate. "Too much Jekyll and Hyde for him," Long concluded. The burden does not seem to have been too great, though, for Marshall and his lady. The day after the banquet they and the royal couple took a cruise on the Presidential yacht, Mayflower, visiting places of historical interest and scenic beauty along the Potomac River and into the Chesapeake Bay. Being a substitute President certainly had its rewards.

The medical team of Grayson, Ruffin, and Stitt continued to issue bulletins on the President's health. Some two weeks after the President’s second stroke the judgment, so far as the public was to be allowed to know, was that Wilson was enjoying "a comfortable day." His improvement was being maintained and there was no change in the treatment being given him. "No new symptoms have developed," ran the latest bulletin on his health.
Since the near-fatal occurrence Edith Wilson remained close to the bedside of her stricken husband. Her social life had come to a virtual end. Only on special occasions was she to be found outside the White House. One such occasion was the funeral of Italian Ambassador de Cellare. Accompanied by her private secretary, Miss Benham, her mind was obviously not on the matter which brought her to the church. "She looked troubled," Daniels wore in his diary. The Marshalls were in attendance and sat in the front pew near ambassadors from Latin American countries. A funeral was not the time for conversation and the Marshalls chose not to approach Mrs. Wilson with anything but a nod of recognition.23

IV

A great drama was occurring behind the social scenes of official Washington, related to Wilson’s illness. Following the arrival of the Belgian King and Queen in early October, Lansing returned to Washington from Hoboken and promptly telephoned Dr. Grayson to ask about the President’s condition. The only answer he got was that his physical condition was "bad." On Friday morning, 3 October, Lansing met Tumulty shortly before noon. Tumulty was mute, though he implied by the use of his right hand on his left shoulder that Wilson was paralyzed on his left side. In a short while Grayson, upon Tumulty's invitation, met the two men in the Executive Office. The three men then went into the cabinet room and for almost one hour they considered what course of action should be taken should Wilson continue in his disabled state. Grayson shed no light medically, and Tumulty added nothing about the "illness." Lansing kept a journal of this experience: "We discussed the possible necessity of Vice President Marshall taking over
the executive authority temporarily in the absence of precedents as to what constituted
disability under the constitution. I remarked that of course in the event that Mr. Marshall
temporarily assumed the duties of President there ought to be no change in the officials
of the Government. At that Tumulty became excited and declared with much emphasis
that he would not remain a day in office in case Marshall had to act for he would not
serve under him.

On the following Monday, 6 October, the cabinet met together in the White
House. All were present and none questioned the "right of wisdom" of their assembling
without the presence of the head of state. At the beginning of that meeting the
President’s physician gave encouraging news which "seemed to indicate a speedy
recovery." This being the case, for Lansing had no reason to doubt the prognosis of a
professional, no attempt was made at this meeting to suggest Marshall's acting as
President, in the words of the Constitution. In a 1937 interview with Newton D. Baker
by Marshall’s biographer, Charles M. Thomas, the former Secretary of War revealed that
the Cabinet definitely “did not discuss the question of the devolution of the presidential
duties upon the Vice-President.” Josephus Daniels, however, in his diary entry of 6
October 1919, makes specific reference to the topic. Whom to believe? Daniels’
immediate journal entry must take precedence over the memory of Baker eighteen years
over time. At least one scholar, Arthur Walworth, has connected the Lansing-Tumulty-
Grayson conversation regarding Marshall with the cabinet meeting of 6 October. This
conjunction, however, is speculative and makes a confusing situation even moreso.

Joseph Tumulty's account, contained in his biography, Woodrow Wilson As I
Know Him (1921), agrees in substance with Lansing regarding the October 3rd meeting
(though he does not assign a date). Tumulty relates that Lansing "sought a private audience with me" in the White House cabinet room during the critical time of Wilson's illness. The Secretary of State had found Constitutional support for suggesting the President be replaced by the Vice President (Article II, Section 5). Tumulty "coldly turned" to Lansing and said, "Mr. Lansing, the Constitution is not a dead letter with the White House. I have read the Constitution and do not find myself in need of any tutoring at your hands of the provision you have just read." Just then, according to Tumulty, Grayson walked in. "And I am sure that Doctor Grayson will never certify to his disability. Will you, Grayson?" The startled doctor agreed. He had not confessed to Tumulty that he had earlier urged Wilson to resign but the President refused. With pressure from others he acquiesced to the inevitable. Again, this controversy was recorded by one man (Lansing) in his own memorandum shortly after the event and recreated by the other man (Tumulty) in his memoirs many months later.

Two years later Marshall was asked his opinion about Tumulty's account of his meeting with Lansing as printed in the 3 December 1921 issue of the New York Times. Marshall was at his vacation home in Scottsdale, Arizona, and the Times sent him a telegram to request his comment regarding Secretary Lansing's attempt to place Marshall in the President's Chair. Marshall's answer was short: "I have so far kept out of all this discussion and propose to continue. I have nothing to say." No one else cared to comment: neither Baker nor Burelson nor Daniels, and least of all Lansing. William C. Redfield, Secretary of Commerce at the time, held that he never knew of such an attempt to oust Wilson. That seemed to be all the light there was so far as the principals were concerned. The incident remained in the minds of many for a time. Shortly after
Lansing's resignation as Secretary of State in February 1920, Marshall dared to comment on it in his own humorous way:

A couple sitting immediately in front of us [on the train] had been reading the latest news from Washington and they were discussing it very earnestly. The man seemed to believe President Wilson had acted for the best, but his companion heatedly expressed the view that Secretary Lansing could have followed no other course than he had throughout.

“Why, what else could Mr. Lansing have done?” the woman asked with some asperity. “Here the President was sick. A lot of big questions had to be talked over and there was the Vice President, who doesn't amount to anything. The only thing Mr. Lansing could do, I tell you, was to call these Cabinet meetings, and I think he did the right thing.”

"There you have it in a nutshell," quipped Marshall, "The woman was right. I don’t amount to anything.”

Throughout October 1919 the Vice President was suspected from all sides: by those who felt he ought to step in to take the reins of government in his hands, and by those who feared that he would do so. That the possibility was ever present of Presidential succession occurred to him as early as 1912, when he first ran for the office of Vice President. In a letter to a man from Baltimore Marshall conveyed what he might do along with his view of government:

The thought suggested in your letter that Governor Wilson may die during his incumbency in office is too frightful for me to contemplate. This thought involves a calamity to the nation. I believe that Governor Wilson will be elected and that he will live to carry out the democratic platform and to advise the Congress of The United States from time to time as the Constitution authorizes him to do. If, unfortunately, I should succeed him, my conduct in the office of President would be the same as in the Governor's office.

Marshall went on in his letter to emphasize his view that it was the task of legislators to make the laws and of the executive to enforce those laws which are clearly constitutional.
He ended his letter by writing, "I have protested for four years against the usurpation of authority by executives and I shall continue to protest. . . ." With his view of government expressed so strongly it would be revealing to see whether Marshall would act in accord with his principles in event of Wilson's death or permanent incapacity.27

Within three days following the President's stroke Marshall had spoken anxiously with Secretary Houston. He had not been told anything about the President's condition and he was fearful lest he be thrust into that office. From a source close to the President the request was made that an individual incognito outside the White House communicate to the Vice President word of the potentially imminent death of President Wilson. The undercover procedure was employed with the view to preventing any official statement about Wilson's condition that might have grounds for evidence that the President was indeed disabled. Should such occur it would be easy for political opponents to maneuver Wilson out of the White House.28

Meanwhile, Mrs. Wilson, according to her biographer, Alden Hatch, had suggested to one of the attending physicians, Dr. Dercum, that perhaps her husband should resign for the sake of his health and that Marshall should succeed him. Allegedly, Dr. Dercum influenced the bereaved lady to persevere with the present situation since "to have Mr. Wilson resign would be a bad effect on the country and on our patient. He has staked his life and made his promise to the world to have the Treaty ratified. . . ."

Nevertheless, a decision was made to inform the Vice President of the real possibility that he might at any moment be called upon to assume the role of Chief Executive.

true condition as it existed within ten days following his second stroke. As the president's secretary he was in a position to know the White House reporters, and believed Essary to be trustworthy. Essary later revealed, "Many of us [White House reporters] were informed in strict confidence of every detail of the President's sickness. We knew that he had suffered a mild ‘stroke’ while on the train approaching Wichita, Kansas. We knew that he had suffered a still more alarming stroke a few days after he returned, and we knew that his physicians and his family feared that any moment he might be stricken a third time and that such a development in all probability would be fatal. This information, given to us in the most confidential manner, only increased our uneasiness." Obviously the Vice President of the United States had not even been given information on Wilson’s condition, known already to the press!

As Essary gave the news to Marshall in the latter's office, the Vice President sat dumbfounded. His head was bowed in contemplation of what had just been said to him. For a long time Essary waited for a response, a reply, anything. Receiving none, he started for the door. He did not realize that he was the first person who had given Marshall honest information on the President's condition. Some years later Marshall saw Essary and apologized, "I did not even have the courtesy to thank you for coming over and telling me. It was the first great shock of my life." Unhappily, it would not be the only one.29

Mark Thistlethwaite, discovering the truth, pressed Marshall to face the facts: Wilson might die at any moment and he would then become President. The secretary suggested that Marshall be prepared to announce his intent to carry on the policies of the late President, to which the Vice President strongly asserted that "he would change many
things." Thistlethwaite answered, "All right, change later, but first announce a continuation of the previous policies." Marshall refused to change his position. In his view "a Vice President might make a poor President, but would make a much poorer one if he attempted to subordinate his own mind and views to carry out the ideas of a dead man!"

The secretary continued to press Marshall. What if Congress declared the President to be incapable of continuing his duties? His stubborn superior retorted, "No, it would not be legal until the President signed it, or until it had a two-thirds vote, and a two-thirds vote is impossible." But what if the Supreme Court declared Wilson to be incapacitated? Marshall replied that that would not happen and therefore there was no point in considering the matter further. No, he would become President only if Congress, Mrs. Wilson, and Dr. Grayson were in common agreement. Marshall never believed that Wilson was mentally incompetent. Thistlethwaite remembered Marshall as saying, "I am not going to seize the place and then have Wilson--recovered--come around and say 'Get off, you usurper!'"

Washington was filled with rumor about what the Secretary of State and the Vice President might do at a critical moment of Wilson’s illness. Some people suspected that Marshall would move into the Presidency and Lansing into the number two spot. New Hampshire Senator George Moses wrote to a constituent that President Wilson was suffering from "a cerebral lesion" and that even if he survived he would have no effect on anything. Amid the many rumors going about Washington Senator Moses included that Colonel House was on his way to the White House to induce Wilson to abdicate in favor of the Vice President. Certain Republican Senators saw their chance to overthrow
Wilson and called on Marshall at his office to ask him if he would accept the presidency if the Senate declared the Presidential office vacant. Whereupon, Marshall got up from behind his desk, walked to the door opened it, and declared "Woodrow Wilson is the President of the United States and there is the door!" His visitors promptly departed.  

Marshall reminisced years later, "Those were not pleasant months for me. The standing joke of the country is that the only business of the Vice President is to ring the White House bell every morning and ask what is the state of the health of the President. If there were a soul so lost to humanity as to have desired his death, I was not that soul. I hoped that he might acquire his wonted health. I was afraid to ask about it, for fear some censorious soul should would accuse me of a longing for his place. I never wanted his shoes. Peace, friendship and good will have ever been more to me than place or pomp or power." 

Who was the "censorious soul" Marshall referred to? Perhaps he had no individual in mind. The "censorious soul" might have been Tumulty; no one knows. Tumulty opposed any effort to place Wilson outside of the Executive Office for no matter how short a time. He was suspicious of Marshall, even repelled by him. Just as Tumulty feared the "overthrow" of his "Governor," so he feared his own loss of position and prestige. His letter to Miss Benham regarding his being left out of the party assembled in honor of the Belgian monarchs reveals his considerable insecurity. Ira Smith has written that "Tumulty was as much cutoff from the President as any of us" as the weeks went into months during the illness. "I watched Tumulty grow more and more worried. He walked from office to office, picking up papers and putting them down again." "Ike" Hoover
confirms this gradual estrangement of the secretary: "Tumulty tried hard to get to the
President during all these months, but he was kept away."\(^{33}\)

Was there \textit{real} cause for fear by Tumulty that Marshall would seek to oust
Wilson? From Marshall's standpoint there was none. So many Washington people
talking about the President's alleged disabilities surely gave his secretary room for
wondering. Perhaps he heard that the Chief Justice would give the Vice President a writ
of mandamus just for the asking! It was only a rumor, it seems, but the rumor was
published in the \textit{Christian Science Monitor}.\(^{34}\)

Marshall was firm in his position of "wait-and-see." He would have willingly
become President, acting or actual, if he had been presented unassailable evidence that
Wilson was unable to be President. He never was given any real information, and so did
not act.
What historian Thomas A. Bailey has labeled "the American way of resolving deadlock by compromise" broke down with the Senate debates on the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations.¹ In the Nation's history often the spirit of compromise prevailed, as in the cases of the Constitution of 1787, of the development of a federal government during the Federalist-Republican era, of the acquisition of territory during the 1840's and, in some instances--but only for a time--of slavery in the territories. Compromises, "deals," were worked out during the period of Reconstruction following the Civil War and during the surge of growth near the end of the nineteenth century, particularly concerning relations between government and business. Politics itself has been called the art of compromise. Nevertheless, compromise did not prevent the Civil War, and compromise did not develop to allow the United States to become a member of the League of Nations.

I

The long debate was nearing its end by 21 October 1919. The Democrats supporting the Treaty found that in order to achieve their goal they would need to frame "reservations" of their own to counteract those of the Republican majority. The Democrats thus far had only forty-one votes against fifty-five of the opposition (forty-nine Republicans and six Democrats). Republican victory seemed inevitable. In an
address before the Indiana Democratic State convention meeting in October, the Hoosier Vice President exhorted, "Do you doubt that Republican success will be hailed at home and abroad as repudiation? Do you want the election returns celebrated in London and Paris, where Wilson is honored, or in Berlin and Vienna where he is hated?" The speech was decidedly partisan, designed to encourage support for the Democratic Party in Indiana as well as throughout the country.²

Yet, the lines were not drawn strictly in terms of the two parties. Some people had honest doubts about the treaty so far as the welfare of the United States was concerned. They did not want to compromise the sovereignty of their country. They wanted safeguards injected into the treaty. Some favored mild reservations; some favored strong reservations. Those who were the moderates wished to see the treaty passed in its basic form but with more specific statements which would protect American interests. In this group were a dozen Republicans whose partnership with the treaty proponents (Democrats) would have provided at least a comfortable majority of votes, though not the necessary two-thirds for ratification. Because Wilson did not compromise with them, they eventually moved toward the opposition position.³

Another faction was the "irreconcilables," those who were absolutely opposed to the League, including Senators Borah, Johnson, Knox, and Brandegee. These men held out for defeating the ratification completely. No reservations were acceptable to them. They held positions of influence by being on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Filibuster was their strategy, and their threat was to leave Lodge's reservationist position for the Democratic one which wanted to defeat the Massachusetts Senator's reservations.
Following two hours of debate on 6 November 1919, the Senate seemed ready to come to a vote on whether or not to ratify the treaty. Senator Lodge requested unanimous consent for voting, when Senator Jones of Washington suddenly interposed an objection, thus preventing a vote. He had in mind that other Senators, who had voted against amendments, be given a chance to vote for the changes in the proposed reservations. Senator Underwood charged that it was first necessary to act on the resolution of ratification before considering the reservations, which could then be considered amendments to the resolution of ratification. Underwood was hoping to get in Democratic reservations before the ratification resolution was voted on.

Presiding over the Senate Marshall ruled against Underwood's point of order, a decision not pleasing to the Democrats, for the Republican reservations were allowed to remain with the Committee of the Whole. In explanation of his ruling the Vice President began by calling the subject in question "the most important treaty that ever was presented to the Senate of the United States. It involves far reaching consequences to the people of this country and to the people of the world." For Marshall the issue was above partisan politics and he did not intend to obstruct ratification of the treaty itself, with or without reservations. He did not intend to allow the treaty to be hampered or "pigeon-holed" by narrow interpretation of Senate rules of debate. The Senate President believed that the (Republican) majority should have the right to present its reservations for interpretations and that the other (Democratic) members of the Senate should have equal right in rejecting such reservations and substituting their own for Senate consideration.

Marshall saw the situation to be critical. United States foreign affairs henceforth would be determined by the action of the Senators. By his judgment Underwood could
try to substitute his own reservations before any vote was reached. The Republicans, especially Lodge, made it clear that any such overt attempt by Marshall to give advantage to the Democrats would be overruled. That night some forty Senators gathered with Hitchcock, the leader of the Wilson force, to decide strategy to hold off an unfavorable vote by the Republicans.⁴

On 15 November spokesmen from both the minority and the majority indicated their expectation that "the treaty would be rejected on the final vote on the resolution of ratification." Underwood threatened that his forces would reject the treaty before they would vote for Lodge's reservations. The Massachusetts Senator countered that if such were the case, that would be the end of the treaty. Instead, Democrats hoped to pass through the set of even milder reservations and wanted Marshall to rule that such procedure was acceptable under parliamentary procedure. Lodge’s view still was unchanged. To prevent filibustering tactics the Senate voted to close off debate preparatory to voting on the treaty. With the cloture ruling the individual Senators would have to speak their mind within the one-hour limit allotted.

On Wednesday, 19 November, the Senate was ready to vote on the Lodge reservations. Many Senators had tried to have their reservations and amendments of the treaty read before the period of cloture but without success. With cloture in effect Marshall had to be the judge of whether remarks made by Senators on the floor were pertinent to the speaking time and whether interruptions by other Senators should be deducted from the time allotted to a speaker. During that week there was awkward and heated parliamentary procedure due to the ruling, though after a while the Senators adjusted to it.⁶
What was needed by Wilsonians was for the Lodge reservations to be defeated, followed by a ruling by Marshall that would enable a vote to be taken successfully to reconsider a second vote on the treaty either without the reservations or with the Hitchcock (Wilson) reservations. If the Democrats were able to get support from the "mild reservationists," a two-thirds majority would result in a Democratic victory. If not, a deadlock would result and public opinion would then force a compromise to be worked out. This was the Wilson strategy, but it was unrealistic. He had not sufficiently courted the moderates. Furthermore, the Vice President was simply not in a position to command the situation. No matter what ruling he gave, he could be overruled by a simple majority.7

For five and a half hours that November day the Senate engaged in heated debate. At one point Democratic Senator Pomerene perceived that the core of the debate was the acceptance or rejection of the President himself. "It is not the treaty that is being considered so much by some Senators," he spoke out, "as perhaps it is one of the draftsmen of that treaty." The motion to ratify the treaty with Lodge's reservations was defeated by 55 nays to 39 yeas, the majority vote coming from 42 Democrats and 13 irreconcilables.

Attempts were made to get an adjournment to prevent the irreconcilables from moving back to their own camp; they lost, 51 to 42. Marshall three times ruled to allow Hitchcock to move for a vote on the treaty with his reservations. Three times the President of the Senate was overruled. More motions were made, by Hitchcock and then by Lodge, but to no effect. Finally, Lodge permitted Underwood to move that the treaty be ratified without any reservation (what Wilson wanted in the first place). The result
was a defeat for the Democrats (save seven); 55 nays to 38 yeas. Thus, the treaty was not accepted with either the Lodge or the Hitchcock reservations. In fact, Hitchcock was never even given the chance to secure a vote on his package.  

To the Vice President’s mind "the long and weary months of discussion over the Treaty was simply a waste of raw material." No one's mind was changed. No influence of new information nor of public opinion nor of the possible effects of their action on the world itself made any difference. "It was pride of opinion, as I saw it," Marshall recollected. "There are those who have upbraided the President because he manifested no disposition to accept any reservations to the Treaty. On the other side of this question it may be stated that nobody knows whether he would have accepted them or not, because the Senate of the United States never got itself to the point of tendering a ratification with any reservations whatever." No one knows what would have happened had Wilson been faced with the decision to accept or to reject the Senate’s decision. There would be yet one more attempt to ratify the treaty, on 19 March 1920. For now, the first session of the Sixty-sixth congress had come to a close.  

II.  

With the President still incapacitated, Marshall continued to act as Wilson's personal representative on special occasions. On Armistice Day, 1919, the Prince of Wales, heir apparent to the British crown, entered Washington as a national guest. For weeks he had been discouraged from visiting the United States due to the President’s illness and so had been touring Canada. With report of improvement in Wilson's condition young Edward was able to fulfill his desire to visit America and to see the
President of the United States. The reception at Union Station near the Capitol was informal and warm with the Red Cross lasses eyeing the Prince and he noticing them.

In his first evening in Washington Edward was the guest of the Vice President in the frescoed dining room of wealthy Democrat Perry Belmont. Cabinet members and diplomats assembled around a horseshoe-shaped banquet table. With Mrs. Marshall unexpectedly ill, Mrs. Lansing, wife of the Secretary of State, stood in her place in the receiving line for the Prince. Over sixty guests were present, including this time the President’s chief secretary, Joseph Tumulty, and his wife. During the course of the evening Marshall spoke of his dual role to Perry Belmont in a manner characteristically humorous, but underneath psychologically self-deprecating: "Tonight I am the President of the United States; tomorrow I shall be the elevator boy."10

The Prince of Wales had no such reservations about himself. Everyone remarked during Edward's visit how well the young man conducted himself. Eleanor Roosevelt "marveled at the ways with which he conversed with older people. His usual neighbors at dinner were the Vice President's wife, Mrs. Marshall, and Mrs. Lansing, wife of the secretary of state. . . ." Marshall himself was "amazed at the restraint which these so-called blue bloods put upon their personal conduct." It required only a short time for the two men, generations apart, to win each other's respect. Careful not to give the impression of being a mere courtier, Marshall wanted at times to whisk the Prince away from favor-seeking individuals.11

Host to the young prince on a brief tour around the Washington area on another occasion, the older gentleman chanced to be wearing a massive gold watch chain with a beautiful charm attached. His Fort Wayne Lodge had given it to him years before in
honor of his being awarded the Masonic Thirty-third Degree. The Prince looked at it, looked away, and finally asked to examine it. Marshall thought to himself, "He expects me to give it to him!" Feeling that the Vice President should do whatever he could to make visiting royalty happy, he offered his gold chain to the Prince. Edward was delighted. He accepted it as a gift, not knowing the pain Marshall felt in parting with that treasured remembrance.

Not long afterward the two men toured the Capitol building. As the Vice President showed Edward his Senate office his little ward, Morrison, toddled in, looked up at the young prince and asked in a trusting voice, "Who are you?" Marshall was moved by that moment: "Then I knew that the faith and trust of childhood are as essential to democracy as they are to entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven. When all mysteries were solved, all doubts removed, then I knew that what we each should look for in each other...were friendship and good will....It glorified this heir to the throne of Great Britain; it raised to kingship this little child from a humble American home." The man could not help and did not apologize for his sentimentality. It was of less importance that Edward was someday to become King of England than that his own cherished lad had become so important to him and not long after to die prematurely.  

III

With the din of battle behind him Marshall left the Capitol for speechmaking in various parts of the country. It was at Atlanta, Georgia, on a beautiful Sunday afternoon, 24 November 1919, that a cruel hoax was played upon the man and upon all gathered to hear him that day. The host of the Vice President on that occasion was a local civic
fraternity, the Loyal Order of Moose. The rest of the world was far away to the minds of the Moose of Atlanta. They did not know about the agitated Japanese inhabitants on the Chinese peninsula of Shantung nor about the adventurous exploits of the Italian poet Gabriele d'Annunzio along the Dalmatian coast nor about the tens of thousands of Jews recently murdered in the Ukraine nor that the young Prince of Wales was leaving for home after a happy visit to the New World. They did know that their President was very ill. The only news about his condition was contained in daily bulletins issued by his physician.

The auditorium was filled with an expectant audience as the Vice President stood before them. Committed to stirring up the vitals of a listless society in danger from materialism and anarchism, Marshall held before them the giant figures of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln--figures from the past, not dead but alive! Not like many men walking this very moment the streets of Atlanta, walking dead men.

While he was speaking to them, the telephone rang in the auditorium office. The party wanted to speak to the Vice President. But, the reply came, he was on the podium, addressing the audience. "Well, I guess he'll come now," said the unidentified voice. "President Wilson had just died in Washington and Mr. Marshall is wanted at once on the long distance."

The tragic news was taken to the podium. Marshall was interrupted with the whisper that Wilson was dead. In prayerful reflex he bowed his head for a moment. The audience was told the news, stunned into silence. The Vice President raised his voice with strain, "I cannot bear the great burdens of our beloved chieftain unless I receive the assistance of everybody in this country." The audience was moved: men bowed their
heads; some women cried audibly. The organist commenced playing the familiar hymn, "Nearer, My God, to Thee."

The speech was only half-finished. Marshall left the podium to call The Associated Press. No, the President was not dead. Marshall called the White House; trouble with the connection frustrated his efforts. And there he stood. The President was not dead, but for a few minutes Thomas Riley Marshall was President of The United States, at least to those people in the auditorium and to himself. The unknown caller was not identified, not even with the $100 reward offered by the Governor of Georgia.13

IV

The nearness of 1920, an election year, brought forth rumors concerning political offices and aspiring candidates. Unacquainted with the American scene, Paris newspapers learned from a supposedly well informed source of an alleged coup de theatre about to take place in Washington: the President was shortly to take a month's "vacation," and the Vice President would become Acting President during that time. The French viewed Marshall as decidedly pro-French: "His coming into power should reduce the resistance of all those Senators whose opposition to the treaty is based on personal grounds." Marshall's assumption of Presidential power was seen as only a temporary matter. His intimacy with the French Ambassador to the United States, Jules Jusserand, and his past statements regarding the protecting of French interests vis-a-vis German were good news to those across the Atlantic who wanted to see the United States in the League.14
In America some Democrats believed that Wilson and Marshall ought to be given the opportunity to choose a third term in office. Close friends of Marshall held that he was not intending to run as Vice President again, though as an Indiana Democrat he might run for the United States Senate. To find the truth of the matter the New York Times sent a reporter to Indianapolis where Marshall and his family had gone for the Christmas holidays. The Vice President was interviewed and left no doubt as to how he was feeling at that time: "I saw in the New York Times the other day that I might become a candidate for Senator. I am not running for the Senate. Under no circumstances will I be a candidate for the Senate. I am fed up on the United States Senate." The reporter then asked him about the Presidency. He answered firmly, "I am not a candidate for any office and do not propose to enter any primary for the Presidency, but nobody knows, least of all myself, what course of conduct would be pursued in the improbable event of factional fights and inability in the Democratic national convention to make a nomination among the candidates which would receive the wholehearted support of the party."

Marshall appeared to leave open the question of whether he would be open as a draft choice by his party at a critical point in the convention. "For fifteen minutes at Atlanta I thought I was President of the United States. That fifteen minutes taught me that no man ought to seek the office, and that no man ought to take a nomination for it except at the imperative will of his party associates." He concluded, "It is a long time between now and next November. The road is rocky, and many an apple cart will be in the ditch before that time." Since he had not seen Wilson since his seizure three months before, Marshall really did not know whether Wilson would recover completely and run
for a third term. For him the truly frustrating fact was that Wilson was not running the
government well!\textsuperscript{15}

Other Washington personalities were also persuaded that Wilson’s absence from
the administration of the government had not done the nation much good. Just before
Christmas, 1919, Thomas W. Gregory, now no longer Attorney-General, had confided his vexation to Colonel House, in the latter’s words, “the fact that Marshall was not made acting President when Wilson first fell ill,” since the President could no longer perform his duties. Similarly, foreign governments were uneasy in dealing with an administration whose leader was unavailable, at the very best, and unhelpful, at the very worst, in coordinating efforts among friendly nations to advance the cause of international peace, given the contentious debates in the United States Senate. Sir William Tyrrell of the British Foreign Office shared with House his government’s (unofficial) “indignation” at the state of affairs and went on to relate that Vice President Marshall had told him that he had not been able to see Wilson for two months. At the same time, Marshall added, there are “people [who] had access to him who should be properly in jail.” House wrote in his diary on 22 December 1919, “This is a strong statement and I wondered if Tyrrell repeated it accurately. Marshall expressed himself as being thoroughly tired of the delay in ratifying the Treaty and spoke with emphasis when he declared it would certainly be ratified within the next thirty days; that if there was an attempt to hinder it he, Marshall, would break his silence and make a public statement.”\textsuperscript{16}

Secretary Lansing was nearing the end of his tenure. He had conducted cabinet meetings periodically as second-in-command, as he felt that the business of government needed to go on by the assembling of the executive heads even without the presence of
the Chief Executive. This view became a bone of contention with the President. Wilson had been unhappy ever since he learned of Lansing's true opinion of the League. The Secretary of State felt that too much attention had been given by Wilson to the League, and at Paris Lansing made the mistake of sharing his view with William C. Bullitt, a young member of the American delegation's staff who later resigned out of disgust and disagreement with Wilson. The previous September Bullitt revealed to the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate that Lansing also had forecast that the Treaty would not pass because of its implications for American sovereignty.\textsuperscript{17}

On the seventh of February, 1920, Lansing received a letter from the President in which Wilson expressed his disapproval of the cabinet meeting without his summons. Consequently, Lansing set about to relay the communication to the various cabinet members, "and in compliance with the intimation contained in the letter there will be no meetings in the future unless summoned by the President himself." By then Lansing had made the decision to resign: "Thank God I shall soon be a free man!"\textsuperscript{18}

On 13 February President Wilson had a White House conference with the House Labor Committee to discuss, no doubt, the current labor problems. This is the first recorded date in "Ike" Hoover's notebook of the President's having an appointed meeting since the time of his attack. The day had another significance for Robert Lansing: "Friday, the 13th! This is my lucky day for I am free from the intolerable situation in which I have been so long. . . . The President's irritation and jealousy, which are so manifest in his letters, make me wonder as to whether he is mentally normal. His complaints are so childish and his tone so peevish that it is hard to believe that his malady has not affected [his] mind. . . ."
Public reaction measured little. Private remarks by cabinet members were guarded. Senator Thomas J. Walsh of Montana wrote to his Governor, S. V. Stewart, that Wilson probably knew his cabinet was meeting or that from time to time some of them came together and so "share in the offense, if offense it was. It is rather humorous that Redfield, who is out, that Lane who is going out, publicly assume their just share of the responsibility, while the other fellows all keep very still." Herbert Hoover, former United States Food Administrator with the Wilson Administration, regretted Lansing's fate, for he had "high esteem" for him, whereas for Wilson, Hoover believed such "action was that of a very sick man."

For Lansing, elated by his "freedom," the past twelve months had been "a year of disappointment." It was that for others also: for Wilson, whose League had not seen life in the Senate; for Marshall, whose situation while not tragic still was emotionally burdensome with adversaries in both the legislative and executive branches; for the cabinet members, whose lack of leadership left them without executive direction; and for the American people, who were adjusting precariously to a postwar economy and to a new era in American life fraught with insecurity and intolerance.
One last attempt was to be made in the Senate to ratify the peace treaty with Germany along with a document which contained provisions for a League of Nations that would include the United States. At the Capitol building reporters, waiting in the corridors to interview Senators, spied the Vice President. His gray eyes blinked and his voice seemed tired as he murmured, "Boys, why don't you just take your files on this treaty debate and print them over again." One newsman, writing of the encounter, depicted Marshall with the words, "And he passed, shaking his head mournfully." Reporters sensed that Marshall no longer had any fight in him to press Wilson's position upon the Senate. Certain Senators heard him say that he was disaffected by the strategy urged by the President.¹

On 19 March 1920 the Versailles Treaty failed to be approved. The vote for ratification simply did not have support of two-thirds of the Senators: 49 yeas to 35 nays. At the time of the vote there were 49 Republicans and 47 Democrats. Historian Thomas A. Bailey, following D. F. Fleming before him, once speculated that if Henry Ford of Michigan had beaten Truman Newberry in the 1918 race for the Senate, there would have been an equal number of Senators from the two parties. "The Vice President, a Democrat, would have cast his vote with the Democrats, the Foreign Relations Committee would have contained a majority of Democrats and would have had a Democratic chairman." The Michigan race was noted because although Newberry won,
he was later convicted of having borrowed too much money for his campaigning and for being unable to repay his creditors. He was subsequently pressured by public opinion into leaving his Senatorial post even though he had been freed on a legal technicality. In Bailey's words, "By such small margins is the course of history changed." Be this as it may, votes did not follow along strict party lines, as most Democratic Senators discovered.

Marshall was by now in favor of America's involvement in the League of Nations. When the Democratic National Committee developed its platform the following summer at its convention in San Francisco, he wanted a plank included about the League. The crux of the question for him was this: Should the League covenant be accepted with or without reservations or should it be altogether rejected? To a reporter, he expressed, "The Democratic Party declares for the covenant without reservations. It accepts this ga[u]ge of battle. It pledges the people to ratify the covenant, and it further pledges the people that, should the workings of the League deprive the American people of any of their constitutional guarantees, it will insist upon the amendment of the covenant so as to safeguard their rights or to a withdrawal from the League." The core position was definitely Wilsonian, but the reservation was Marshall's as a result of his exposure to the views expressed in the Senate debates by the partisan reservationists. He never wanted America to enter into an unending alliance with European nations. In this respect he entertained the caution of a Lodge. Yet for the time being, during this period of transition from war to peace, he felt that the United States should join with other peoples to advance peace throughout Europe and the rest of the world. The United States was still technically at war with Germany.
The annual Democratic Jackson Day Banquet occurred in January of another Presidential election year. The candidates were present in person or by proxy. No decision had been made to identify the front-runners. It was too early for that. Marshall was more interested in what the Democratic Party would stand for than what candidates were to be offered to the American people. In a lengthy letter to his old friend from Fort Wayne, E. G. Hoffman of the Democratic National Committee, Marshall requested that he be selected as a delegate-at-large to the 1920 San Francisco Convention. The basic issue of the Convention Marshall saw in terms of "how shall the Democratic party propose to rehabilitate the political system of America if entrusted with powers." The Vice President wrote, "The only sure foundation for a stable republic must rest upon the Jeffersonian doctrine of equal and exact justice to all men and special privileges to none. In no other way can the individual exercise his inalienable right to life, to liberty and to the pursuit of happiness." The letter was a careful exposition of his belief in the prerogative responsibility of the individual states to administer self-government. He had not changed his view since before his days as a state governor that the legislative branch was particularly responsible to its citizens while the executive branch was the legislature's arm of administration. A New York Times editorial was supportive of Marshall whom it called "a man of the prairies who imbibed early the principles of Jefferson and Jackson and has never forgotten them." The writer did not interpret Marshall's message as platitudinous polysyllables designed to impress: "If there is a public man in the United States whose word will be taken when he says he stands for
these things, it is Thomas R. Marshall. . . . Nobody has yet appeared as well qualified as the Vice President to state in plausible terms the longing of a great many American citizens to get back to where they used to be." The praise of the Times was quite in contrast to earlier editorial excoriation.4

Marshall's name was offered for the Democratic Presidential preference ballot in Indiana. He denied to reporters that he was a candidate for the Presidency. His concern was to return his party's loyalty to "old representative democracy" from the "new socialistic democracy" he saw in current vogue. He was not a candidate for President in Indiana, and he explained that his being on the ballot there was to prevent someone from getting Indiana's thirty votes by default. The name of William G. McAdoo had been placed on the Indiana ballot, and quickly thereafter the Vice President's name was inserted.5

By mid-May McAdoo was estimated by many to be the most favored candidate. Attorney General Mitchell Palmer was not liked by labor, which did favor McAdoo for his blessings while he was Director-General of Railroads during the War. Governor James Cox of Ohio was being given support by the machine bosses, including Tammany's Charles Murphy and Indiana's Thomas Taggart, and by William F. McCombs who had directed Wilson's campaign efforts in the 1912 campaign. A New York Times article had this comment: "With McAdoo foremost in the Democratic race and Cox being discussed as a strong contender, little is heard of other Presidential aspirants in the Democratic Party. At the same time significance is attached to the fact that, in Washington at least, there is an undercurrent of sentiment favoring Vice President Marshall." John Sharp Williams of Mississippi was asked what he thought of the Vice
President as a nominee, and he replied that Marshall would be a satisfactory choice. As he indicated in a letter to Marshall, it would be better for the Party if delegates went to the Convention uninstructed.6

Marshall gave the keynote speech at the Indiana Democratic Convention on 20 May. His partisan oration reflected his views as Senate President when he sat, day after day, listening to the Senators debate whether or not to ratify the treaty of peace with Germany. He declared that the Republican-controlled Congress had done next to nothing for the past twelve months besides debate the treaty in the Senate: “It has put in twelve months of searching investigations of the most minute character and at great expense to show that the victory which we won was really a defeat.” He went on to say that individual Democrats did not have to be of one spirit toward Wilson's view of the Treaty. Wilson had made clear his opposition to any view which diluted his own version of the peace treaty with reservations. In contrast, Marshall encouraged Democrats who opposed the Wilson version to state candidly and without fear their viewpoints.7

He seemed tired in his adulation of the Wilson Administration. Claude Bowers who sat next to him on the podium remembered: "It was common knowledge that Marshall felt he had not been accorded proper recognition by the President. I am sure there was some justification for his resentment. While we were engaged in a great war he had not been invited to sit in the meetings of the Cabinet, and he felt he did not enjoy the intimacy with the President to which his position entitled him." It is true that prior to Wilson’s illness Marshall had not been privy to the President’s policy-making. From the very beginning of their association in Washington there was friendly correspondence, not many meetings together, and a bevy of progressive legislation to enact. But, later, the
War and after that the Paris meetings occupied the President's every waking moment. It took two strokes and seclusion of Wilson before Marshall began to assume presidential tasks, however minimal in significance. If we take Marshall at his word in terms of the many times he spoke about his presence at Cabinet meetings, he believed that the President of the Senate should not be privy to the conversations of both Congress and the Administration.

After the Vice President had given his speech to the Indiana delegates, Bowers arose to speak. Marshall as the temporary chairman had just given Democratic views on national issues. It was now Bowers' turn as permanent chairman of the convention to speak on state issues. Unbeknown to the delegates Bowers' real task was "to speak almost exclusively on national issues, covering what Marshall had left out." The state Democratic leadership earlier determined that the former Indiana governor was no enthusiast for either Wilson or his League of Nations. Whatever Marshall was to say at the Convention, it needed a firm follow-up and Bowers was the man to do it. He recalled years later, "The Marshall speech was rather coldly received, and mine met with the general approval of the crowd. We got a tremendous lot of applause. One time I looked around and saw Marshall clapping his hands, too. I felt sneaky because I was afraid he'd think it was intended as an answer to him." Bowers went on to speak warmly of Wilson and the League of Nations. When he sat down at the conclusion of his speech, Bowers recalled that "Marshall placed his hand on my knee and said, 'Claude, I've tried to help the President, but he wouldn't let me.' To my embarrassment, I realized that he knew my speech was intended to put in what he had left out, but if he felt any resentment he never showed it and our friendship continued until his death.... Had Wilson retired when
incapacitated by illness, Marshall would have become President; I believe Wilson's failure to step down rankled in the breast of the Vice President." Perhaps Bowers' judgment has truth in it, but Marshall's statements indicate that he never wanted to be President. He certainly never exerted effort toward that end. But, one is left with the lingering thought that if the right combination of factors had presented themselves to the Vice President, he would have agreed to become Woodrow Wilson’s successor. The legend persisted among older Indianans who remembered the times that Marshall was resentful occasionally toward the White House.8

From April through June, a nationwide poll showed McAdoo to be the leading contender for the Democratic nomination. The Republicans were having a closer race with Leonard Wood, Hiram Johnson, and Herbert Hoover leading the field. (Harding was far down the list.) President Wilson had not said that he was not interested in running again, and so his popularity was second only to McAdoo's. James Cox, the eventual winner, had only a third as many poll votes as did McAdoo three weeks before the Convention began. As a potential candidate Marshall was not out of the picture, but he hardly figured to achieve much strength. The machine bosses were pondering whether Marshall was worth the fight it would take to make him the Democratic candidate for President. If the platform came close to Marshall's political philosophy, there was a chance, they reasoned, that the Vice President could win. Still, McAdoo and Cox were leading the pack in the minds of many. But, to leave no doubt as to what the President thought about Marshall at this juncture Wilson sent a telegram to Homer Cummings on 12 June with the order to block the Vice President from “having anything to do with the framing of the platform.”9 If there were ever any doubt as to the relations between
Wilson and Marshall, at this juncture the relationship had been rent. The only question is whether Marshall was aware of it.

When the Republican National Convention in Chicago concluded on 12 June, it had chosen Senator Warren G. Harding of Ohio as its standard bearer. Democrats were still divided, and the winner was not going to be an obvious one. Marshall, newly arrived in San Francisco, made it clear that he was not a Presidential candidate and was about to retire from politics. He expressed the view that Wilson did not want to run for a third term, though he could be elected if he wished to run. About Harding he said, "The Republicans are not so well pleased now as they were on Saturday night. Personally I have high regard for Senator Harding. I would do anything for him except vote for him." About himself he said, "I am an old man who has torn his hair for Bryan, slaved for Parker and done his hardest for Wilson, and I am about ready to retire from politics."

There was no reason to doubt the sincerity of his words.10

The morning papers for 19 June carried surprising political news. William G. McAdoo, ahead for weeks in the Democratic popularity contests, declared his refusal to run for President. He had supposedly never allowed himself to seek the nomination, and now he was flatly refusing to let his name be entered into the convention. Wilson had not declared himself a candidate either, but the convention was going to be a Woodrow Wilson convention at least so far as the platform was concerned.

Democrats were becoming more hopeful for various reasons. They thought they could best Harding, and the bosses were not unhappy to hear about McAdoo's decision. They felt that they could "muzzle" Bryan, if they had to, to prevent his extreme endorsement of the prohibition amendment. As Taggart sipped on his mint julep (non-
alcoholic, of course), he expressed to reporters his hope that he might be a United States Senator again as he was in 1916. When informed about McAdoo, he calmly stated, "You can say for me that means Mr. Marshall will be the next President."

Taggart, while disappointed in his failure to be re-elected to the Senate, was still the careful politician. He was wary of Marshall, one suspects, who weeks earlier complimented him in a backhanded way. Said the Vice President, "I think Tom Taggart made a good, clean competent senator. He is a businessman and believes in business methods and if we had had him here [in the Senate] during the war he would have done a great deal to see that things were run on a business basis. He likes to boss the name candidates, and all that, but he is not a candidate for office for the money he will get out of it. I can say that without hesitation. As far as politics goes, we have never played the same game and I have never followed his leadership. I do not believe in the kind of politics he believes in."¹¹

Despite the polls taken weeks before the Convention, it was anybody's guess who would end up the winner. Colby, Cox, Davis, Marshall, and Wilson were names bandied about. Wilson himself had done nothing to take his name out on consideration. McAdoo had known this, and he did not want to run against his father-in-law.

Taggart kept consistent with his story of support for Marshall, the choice of Indiana's delegates. In Chicago on his way to the West Coast, the Hoosier Democrat held that the liquor question was not a political issue, that Vice President Marshall would gain votes from the South especially, that if he still refused to run Indiana would split for Cox and Palmer, and that the League of Nations would be favored by the Convention.
Arriving in San Francisco, Senator Carter Glass of Virginia had his pocket filled with Wilson's rough draft of a platform for the Democratic Convention. He noted that McAdoo would probably end up with the nomination despite his earlier withdrawal of his name from consideration. Other party leaders felt that McAdoo was popular enough to be a winner. Senator Saulsbury of Delaware openly declared, "Delaware is for Marshall. Many Democrats in the country believe that the time has come for the party to have as a standard bearer a sane, conservative man who represents old-time Democratic policies. Such is Vice President Marshall. I think that the radical movement which swept the country during the war and for some time afterwards has subsided. The country needs in the executive office a man who will bring us back to first principles."

The unanswered question at the convention was "What does the President want to do?" Is he a candidate? Why hasn't he committed himself? How much influence does he really have over the convention delegates? Older campaigners liked neither the possibility of a third term nor the presence of "the Wilson regime" any longer than necessary. They believed the President to be too ill to run as a candidate. They wanted a man they could count on as a good party man, one who would give due "recognition to those who have borne the brunt of battle for democracy through weary years." Rumor had it that Wilson favored John W. Davis of West Virginia, the American Ambassador to Great Britain. Also, the convention was seen as taking on a conservative hue, reflective of disaffection with the sporadic radicalism within the country. For this reason Thomas Marshall or Champ Clark were relevant nominees in case of a deadlock.12

After a pre-convention rest in Del Monte, California, Marshall moved into the city of San Francisco to begin his strategy of harmonizing the party faithful. One of the
delegates invited him to "get away from it all," under a beautiful oak with no telephone, telegram, or letter in sight. "Why threaten a Vice President like that?" quipped the little man. "Why not take him to some place where he might get at least a letter from some one, sometime?" He did not get serious when a reporter asked him the old, familiar question: "I haven't the remotest idea of being renominated. I’ve been in Washington eight years. I've seen the wheels go round and met the great and the near great. Now that is about over and I have no expectation; there isn't a man on earth who can say I ever even intimated to him I wanted to be nominated for President." He still would not say what he would do if the Convention nominated him. "Any man can say what I have been, or I am, but God alone can say what I will be. . . ."

"I have been a good long time in politics, ever since I was twenty-one," he emphasized. "No, ever since I was eighteen, for it was then I rode a big black stallion at the head of a torchlight procession in '72, when Tom Hendricks was running for Governor. . . . I have always found the very worst of Democracy better than the best of Republicanism. I have served under every kind of leader and remained loyal to the party on the theory that I was not going to leave my father's house just because my father happened to be insane. I have been told that it is safer to be regular than right and that in the long run if you stay home and if you have any influence and are right you can do something toward getting your party right. I have believed that is better than running away from your father's house armed with a box of matches and seeking whom you may destroy."13

The Democratic Convention in San Francisco lasted officially from 18 June to 5 July. Lois Marshall, told that her husband might become nominated if the deadlock
continued, replied, "He doesn't want it, but I can tell you that the party hasn't anyone as good a vote-getter as its Vice President." She may have been right; she never got the chance to find out, though at the time the Vice President’s name was frequently mentioned.\textsuperscript{14}

The first ballot had been taken on the day before Independence Day. Three days later balloting was still going on. Dark horse "booms" never occurred. It required forty-four ballots for the Democrats to decide on James Cox. (Bryan, still the active politician, went into despair with his party going for a "wet" candidate.) Franklin Roosevelt of New York, the former Assistant Secretary of the Navy, joined Cox as the Vice Presidential candidate for the Democrats. Candidates and convention delegates endorsed the League of Nations, and then they all dispersed to the far corners of the country.

2 November was Election Day. Cox seemed confident; Harding complacent. The next day the Republican Senator from Ohio found himself elected President of the United States. Only the southern half of the nation had voted Democratic, and that did not amount to many electoral votes.

An era was fast fading. Two days after the election Woodrow Wilson moved his wheel chair to the east portico of the White House to let the demonstrators for the League of Nations see him from their position on the lawn outside. A reporter noted, "Looking old and worn and showing plainly the ravages of his illness, the President made a pathetic figure. He lifted his hat and his lips parted as if to smile, but his face seemed tense with emotion." Bryan, older but still able, had a point of view about Wilson that he shared with the press. For him the situation was no longer the President’s:
"The Lord hath given.
The Lord hath taken.
Blessed be the name of the Lord."

Mr. Wilson, Bryan suggested, ought to resign and let Marshall become President, a reward he deserves. Then, in December when Congress meets he should appoint Mr. Harding Secretary of State, himself resign, and let the Republican plan for world peace begin sooner than in March 1921.15

Marshall did not feel the same way as Bryan. His judgment was that "The country will live to regret what it has done in the recent election. It is the greatest injustice of a century, and will bring one of the world’s greatest figures to an untimely grave." What a word on Wilson!16

II

The year 1920 was practically the end of Marshall's political career. Because he was the Vice President and because he was a potential candidate for the Presidency, he continued to be a favorite among organizations seeking notable and capable speakers. His words were weighty for those who thought like him, but they were getting shopworn in an age which was to experience great social innovation and material prosperity. With the blessing of the Republican Governor of Connecticut, the Vice President--on the fateful day of his little boy's demise--spoke before the New Haven Chamber of Commerce on "Reconstruction Policies." At this time he expressed the view that persons
of like interests join together for common goals and seek the support of the State toward achievement of those ends. Such an organization of like-minded men (businessmen, lawyers, unionists) has certain rights, for example, the right of redress of grievances. But, when the organization seeks its rights exclusive of other organizations, it has gone beyond the arena of societal concern. "Where are the men who used to believe...who used to think...?" He characteristically went "back," back to some distant past which must have been, which he remembered as a boy or as a young scholar at Wabash reading his Bancroft and Burke. Yet, it was a "back" that never really existed in the way he imagined it in his mind. The nation never stopped developing, never stopped challenging, never stopped anywhere.17

His national political position earned him a marble immortality. The sculptor, Moses Weiner, a Russian immigrant, had completed the bust of the Vice President which was on exhibit at the Corcoran Art Gallery in Washington before finally reposing in the main hall adjoining the Senate Chamber. In his memoirs Marshall could not restrain a humorous jibe: "There is, in the Senate wing of the Capitol, a bust of each of the vice-presidents of the United States. Why they have been erected there is not for me to say. I have always felt, however, that it was a sort of promise from each one to the American people that this was the last bust on which he should ever go."18

Periodically Marshall would say something that "rubbed" some people the wrong way. Even at this time he aroused the ire of Frank Noyes, President of the Associated Press. Exactly seven years after his bout with the New York Times concerning the predatory predisposition of many businessmen, Marshall told the nation's reporters at the Waldorf (same place!) in New York that he was for free press and for free speech, but
those who were not and who abuse those rights ought to be legally punished. He enjoined the newspaper editors to print good news, "the things that are helpful," instead of emphasizing the crime news. The Vice President viewed the function of the American press as not only being news gathering but also being "the sounding of a clarion call for every man to stand by the Constitution and the maintenance of the principles upon which the Republic was founded."

As if to answer the allegation of the Vice President, Noyes followed with the view that the purpose of newsmen is to "give adequate and truthful record of the day's world happenings free from bias and from opinion or propaganda." Against critics and reactionaries, he held, the press should exercise "good-natured tolerance."

Not unexpectedly, an editorial appeared in the New York Times which politely reprimanded Marshall who, however, did make "a speech full of sound doctrine and good advice." The words had a familiar ring: "When he discusses the conduct of newspapers, however, he falls into several too common mistakes, and not only tells the editors to do what they shouldn't, but also not to do what they should. And, apparently, either he does not read the newspapers as carefully as he should or else he reads the wrong ones." The point was made that the Vice President seemed not to have considered newspaper publicity about crime not only news to the citizenry but a deterrent to the criminal.19

Wall Street's Finance and Commerce came out in favor of the Vice President's criticism of the American press and offered that the New York Times' defense was weak. The Times editorial agreed that "the papers give too much space to crimes and divorce suits." But, the businessman's bulletin believed, the deeper issue concerns to what extent, if any, "regrettable" matters should be presented. Ignoring crimes would not eliminate
them and certainly ignoring them would be ignorance leading to false security. "Who most fears publicity?" The answer is, the man who has something to hide. Sacco and Vanzetti may have, if they were actually guilty of murder and of anarchistic intentions when arrested the following month in Braintree, Massachusetts. The evidence that convicted them the next year was flimsy, but their political ideology was not respectable, and these may have determined their guilt. In an article published in 1922, Marshall mentioned the case of Sacco and Vanzetti. He did not criticize them, but he lambasted the "radicals" who advocated "lawlessness, anarchy, and class-hatred."²⁰

III

When Marshall learned that Calvin Coolidge, Governor of Massachusetts, had been elected as the new Vice President, he sent off a wire that said, "Please accept my sincere sympathy." The Vice President was not above joking about his office. It is the mark of a mature man who can see himself, his office, and his relations with others in a realistic light. Marshall did and in the humorous manner that was a part of him.

The Vice Presidency had been a "joke" since the days of the first one, John Adams, when some Virginian said under his breath that Adams ought to called "His Superfluous Excellency"! (The label was made in light of the title which was applied to President Washington for a time: His Excellency.) Closer to Marshall's time was the comparatively colorless Charles W. Fairbanks. He presented a picture of a prude in a silk hat, of an immobile face with formal whiskers, and of a teetotaler who got embroiled in a
controversy with his (Methodist) church for the "buttermilk cocktails" he served to Theodore Roosevelt.  

The nation's Vice Presidents have held rather enigmatic positions because of their dual role in government: one foot in the executive branch and the other in the legislative. Marshall's very real endeavor to be as useful as he could be in both branches proved at times quite frustrating. His official life was not betrayed or revealed by the humorous remarks he habitually made, such as: "I am myself a man of leisure--for that the American people are to blame. They put me in the one constitutional office erected to leisure and dedicated to laziness." To a friend who asked him what his responsibilities in office were, he replied, "I have my breakfast, put on my frock coat and plug hat, call on the White House and ask how the President is (they say he's fine), and I go back home, take off my clothes, and have the rest of the day to myself!"  

His own humor aside, Marshall did take the Vice Presidency seriously. Hearing that the new President planned to have his Vice President attend cabinet meetings, Marshall felt this action would be unwise and would mitigate against favorable relations with the Senate. Coolidge would be subject to suspicion and deviousness by the Senators who would not make his job an easy one.  

His final days in office were comparatively easy. The storms of the past were over; the Wilson Administration was on its way out. The words were sweet between himself and Josephus Daniels. Marshall hoped that Daniels would visit him later in Indianapolis, and Daniels extended a similar invitation to the Vice President: "You will always find the latch-string on the outside and the best jowl and greens and buttermilk Raleigh can offer when you will do us the honor to come to see us."
An admiring Senate presented him with a two-foot-high loving cup. Smaller gifts included a gold cigar holder, "enough fine Havana cigars to last him a month or more," and a silver case for his glasses. As spokesman for the Senate, Henry Cabot Lodge remarked, "I desire to assure you--and I know I speak in behalf of all Senators--that we all feel deeply our sense of your unfailing kindness to each one of us and the thoroughly human way in which you have always dealt with us." The minority leader, Senator Underwood, emphasized the symbolism of the gift the Senators wished for him, "a reminder always of the love, friendship, and confidence of all the men who have served with you during this great era and during your incumbency as Vice President of the United States."

His eyes watered as it came his turn to speak. The lines on his face were more pronounced, and his bearing seemed burdened. He tried hard to begin his words:

"Senators, I can hardly be expected to voice the emotions of this moment. I do not forget the day I came to you when, as a tumultuous Indiana politician, I looked askance upon the Senate of the United States, and when, I fear, the Senate of the United States wondered what the American people meant in such a choice as they had made.

"This has been a great school for me, a school of my old age. It has taught me that there is not a man in this body who is not a double man, a man who has a brain that he devotes exclusively to the determination of the great problems which from time to time confront the deliberations of this body. But underneath that man of brain there is another man, the man of heart. And I have found in the eight years of deliberation with the United States Senate that the heart is wiser than the intellect and works with swifter hands and surer feet toward wise conclusions."
"Others may have what they will, but for me--may I call you brethren?--I shall not forget your generosity, your patience, your overlooking of the faults and foibles of a too often ill-tempered man. I shall not forget the friendly handshakes or the generous elbow-touch of humanity. I shall go remembering all these generous years and be content with the thought that if I cannot have greatness I can yet retain friendship.

"Senators, as all evil comes to an end, so all good times cease. Ours has ended. May the man who takes my place learn to know that beneath the bitterness of partisan controversy in the United States Senate there is a warm, human, loving heart that seeks, after all, only friendship and good-will. I thank you."

Their President sat down. Everyone to a man arose from his seat, "and the demonstration started."24

IV

The scene in the House of Representatives on 4 March 1921 was reminiscent of eight years before when a new administration was about to be inaugurated. Whether President Wilson would be present was not known. The galleries were filling with spectators. The announcement by the Sergeant-at-Arms that the Vice President-elect had entered caused a hush as Coolidge and Marshall walked side by side down the aisle. Warren Harding following behind and alone indicated that Wilson was not to be present at the inauguration of the new Vice President.

Before administering the oath of office to Coolidge, Marshall spoke a few last words to the Congress: "While the old order endures let representatives represent the old ideals: Let it be understood that they are not mere bellboys subject to calls for legislative cracked ice every time the victims of a debauch of greed, gambling or improvidence feel
the fever of frenzied need." A female observer in the gallery, Frances Keyes, was impressed: "I listened with a sense of bewilderment as Mr. Marshall, the retiring Vice President, involuntarily 'stole the show' from Mr. Coolidge, the incoming Vice President, by making one of the most moving speeches ever delivered in Washington. . . ."25

The next day Marshall cleared out his belongings and mementos of office. The last day's mail included a handwritten letter from a man who had played a leading role in defeating the entry of his country into the League of Nations, William Borah, one of the irreconcilables. Borah had entered the Senate in 1907 and would remain there until 1940. He was of a different party from Marshall and of a different political persuasion regarding the place of the United States in world affairs. He was also what Marshall would call "a man of heart." Borah admitted that he had not met a man for whom he had any "greater regard and warmer friendship" and that others, some even whom he did not know, shared his judgment. He repeated his earlier word to the Vice President that his farewell address was "noble." He hated to see him leave.26

It was an admiring letter. It was also sad. The good times had ended. Friends were parting. That very morning Champ Clark's funeral had been held in the hall of the House of Representatives. Marshall was still strong of body for a man of sixty-seven years, a man far stronger than Woodrow Wilson whom illness and circumstances prevented from experiencing the kind words from men who sat on both sides of the aisle in the Capitol.

"The Little White House," or Wardman Park Inn in Washington where the Marshalls once lived for a summertime, was taken over by the Calvin Coolidges. Mrs. Marshall was regarded warmly by her friends who were convinced that Mrs. Coolidge
"could never take her place in our affections." Lois Marshall was revered and would be remembered as the first president of the Ladies of the Senate, organized in 1917.27

Reporters would miss the amiable Vice President from Indiana. Claude Bowers' estimate was that Marshall "had something of the eternal boy in him which reminded me of Barrie's Sentimental Tommy and Peter Pan." In his own quiet way and in his fondness for stories Marshall was friendly with the newsmen, and if he did not have an item of news he would tell them a funny story. This characteristic had made a problem for him. His close friends resented that "downtown" they (the Administration) referred to him as a "funny guy." Charles Albert, originally from Richmond, Indiana, was the New York World's Senate reporter for many years. In conversation one day with John C. Mellett, also a Hoosier reporter with The World, Albert said, "John, Tom Marshall is the smartest, ablest man that Indiana has sent to Washington, in ANY capacity. It is a dirty shame that downtown don't make use of what he's got--which is a damsite more than any of the so-called big boys have got!" Mellet many years later reflected, "Throughout his eight years as Vice President Mr. Marshall bore himself with a sort of quizzical dignity and seemed to be touched not at all by the slights from downtown where his fellow-Democrats foregathered to politick! And I agreed then, and still do agree, with the dictum of old Charles Albert!"28

William G. McAdoo was one of the "downtown" group who huddled close to Woodrow Wilson, even to becoming one of his sons-in-law. McAdoo perceived the outgoing Vice President truly if not completely. Marshall was "one of the picturesque characters in Washington." McAdoo imagined Marshall "sitting with a swarm of cronies in a country grocery-store telling stories." He did do those kinds of things and enjoyed
them tremendously, whether in Columbia City, Indiana; Scottsdale, Arizona; or at the corner barbershop in Washington D. C.²⁹

There was no question but that Tom Marshall wanted to put Washington and Wilson behind him. He had more life to live and more time to be his own man. In a last letter to Daniels he revealed, "I am glad to get out of this life for I so love peace that very frequently I do not fight for my own convictions as I should. And yet, as the days have gone by, I am more and more impressed that good things must come from the individual and not from the state."³⁰
Elder Statesman
1921-1925

Faced with finding a new income and perhaps a new career Marshall considered his available options. He could return to his hometown of Columbia City and become a country lawyer again. He could work in Indianapolis as an organizational executive, for the Indiana state capital would be receptive to having an ex-Vice President in its midst. Mark Thistlethwaite suggested to Marshall that he use his considerable talent to write magazine and newspaper articles. A dollar a word for a one-thousand word essay appealed to the thrifty Marshall. After all, he had not fared poorly as a public lecturer while in Washington and, whenever out of town, he had come to know the cunning ways of the Chautauqua circuit. As William Jennings Bryan had been his mentor in the public speaking business, so Marshall had given advice to Josephus Daniels on how to deal with lecture agents regarding compensation of services. But, writing for a living--that had real possibilities.1

The realistic style of the post-bellum generation of American writers, which included the then unsung Theodore Dreiser of Terre Haute, was beginning to capture the emotions and imaginations of an America accustomed to flowery oratory and richly embellished literature. With his own considerable attachment to Victorian vision and verbiage Marshall was subtly influenced by his Indiana writer friends Meredith Nicholson, Booth Tarkington, and James Whitcomb Riley who by their example had achieved increasing recognition for their talents.2
Marshall's reputation as a governor and a Vice President caused the American public to be attentive to his words. His concerns awakened in many a nostalgia for what they wanted to recover from their past. Between 1908 - 1921, his written articles appeared in such popular magazines as The Atlantic Monthly, Forum, Hearst's International, The Independent, and Woman's Home Companion, and in the more professional and prestigious American Law Review and Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, to say nothing of numerous college and university publications which contained his addresses given at convocations and commencements.

I

While he looked forward to creative and reasonably lucrative activities in the post-political period of his life, he exercised caution as to his involvement. At age 67 he was no spry senior citizen, but he was also not ready to retire.

With the Republicans in office again, following an eight-year interlude, it seemed to them appropriate that America should honor the greatest of Republican Presidents, Abraham Lincoln. Accordingly, a commission was created and funds approved for planning a statue or a building to honor the Civil War leader. Like Marshall, Lincoln had enjoyed his boyhood in Indiana, and from his own youth Marshall could vaguely remember that he once sat upon the great man's lap during a senatorial debate in Illinois, but that was a long time ago, 1858.

Harding was in office barely three weeks before he communicated to his former Senate friend that he wished him to be included on the Lincoln Memorial Commission.
In response Marshall wanted to know whether there would be many meetings to attend and whether compensation for travel would be provided. Harding answered that "the meetings of the Commission are very few and there is nothing to indicate that the attendance in compulsory." Compensation for travel would come out of the building fund. The ex-Vice President did not jump at the offer, apparently, but after two months of consideration agreed to become a commission member "in place of Champ Clark, deceased." One year later the joint work of sculptor Daniel Chester French and architect Henry Bacon was dedicated by a grateful government, to use Marshall's words. American adulation of Abraham Lincoln bordered on the religious. Indeed, the building itself was modeled on the Greek temple style and an inscription over French's artistry revealed the religious feelings of a people toward a "man who not only knew himself, but knew America." Marshall was pleased to have had a part in the completion of the Lincoln Memorial despite his early reservations.

Harding must have been pleased also, for he asked Marshall to consider a second assignment. The business orientation of the Republican Administration provided support for American economic development which had been stimulated by wartime profits. Industries, nevertheless, had to adjust their momentum to a postwar economy. Production decreased for a time and therefore wages were reduced. By the spring of 1922, coal miners from Pennsylvania to Illinois and southward went out on strike, some engaging in riots. A special committee was appointed by President Harding with the objective to study production and labor relations in the coal mining industry. With John Hayes Hammond, a respected mining engineer, as chairman, Harding asked Marshall if he would lend his name and talent to the fact-finding coal commission. Marshall again
inquired about the compensation afforded commission members. Harding assured him that "members of the Commission could work at the same pay" accorded members of Congress. He ended by saying, "I really think you will find it an interesting work, and that it will afford you an opportunity for a very genuine service to the country." While by this time, the fall of 1922, Marshall has moved back to Indianapolis, he agreed to commit his energies to investigating the coal industry. The commission would have a capable staff of civil servants to assist in the study.

Publicity on the appointments of the commission members focused national attention upon the problems of the coal miners as well as on the industrial magnates. The commission investigated alleged infractions of civil rights of the miners and the royalty scale appropriated by mine owners. Marshall was quoted as saying, "Owners of some of the anthracite deposits are taking a royalty from coal mined on their estates as high as they jolly well please." He looked to legislation that would curb the mercenary appetites of the mining magnates. With other commission members and staff he journeyed to Birmingham, Alabama, to make an intensive inspection of the mines and methods used to extract the coal. Their study was completed in the summer of 1923, at the time of the death of Warren Harding. Marshall's efforts were consequently recognized by the new President, Calvin Coolidge.4

II

For three full years following his public career the former Vice President wrote a column for the Washington Star, along with articles now and then in other newspapers
and magazines. (Mark Thistlethwaite, his secretary through the years of Marshall’s governorship and vice-presidency, returned to his first love, news reporting, and was hired by the Washington bureau of the Indianapolis News.) Time marches on, and the concerns of Thomas Riley Marshall were current with the passage of time. There was no gag over his mouth to prevent his revealing news and views from the recent Wilson era, and people read his words with hopes of finding something exciting about the previous Administration.

One hundred forty articles appeared in the Washington Star for thirty-four months following Marshall's departure from the Senate. They contained his observations and opinions on current events, allusions to his Hoosier background, anecdotes from his days as state governor and as Vice President, and axioms on life in America. He took full advantage of his new role to speak his mind about the society and the world in which he lived. He was an elder statesman, a man who had served his President loyally, a person who had been privileged to meet and befriend some of the great personalities of his public years.

Marshall continued to uphold the image and ideals of former President Woodrow Wilson, at least in public. One instance was Wilson's early refusal to enter his country into conflict with another power on the grounds that America was too proud to fight. Marshall esteemed Wilson to have been "as valiant as the most warlike man in America. He was well within the line that separates the gentleman from the bully when he held that a proud and self-reliant man may well be content to suffer even an intended insult rather than to lower himself to the level of the man that offers it." Still Marshall was fearful that a consistent position of pacifism would lead a nation into military impotence. He warned
that "there is danger of our passing the point of being too proud to fight and of declaring we will not fight. . .". While these words applied to international relations, they could just as well be descriptive of Marshall's conflict between what he felt to be right and his devotion and obedience to his President.

A friend once asked him, "What is your appraisal of Wilson?" After a protracted pause, Marshall admitted, "No human being ever lived with a higher aspiration for humanity, but he has lived a life so sheltered that he cannot believe that a man in a public office could be dishonest. At a cabinet meeting once someone said, 'Mr. President, there's graft in the aircraft division!' Wilson replied, 'That is impossible!' Marshall concluded, "If Wilson had tried as many cases in justices court as I have and heard witnesses lie like horse thieves under oath, he would have known better!"

An idealist might find it hard to see Wilson as a strong intellect and at the same time a poor judge regarding human beings. Robert Lansing was less kind than Marshall concerning Wilson's judgment of others, particularly lawyers, who constituted most of Wilson's cabinet positions. In his private journal Lansing reflected, "As I see it, President Wilson's dislike for lawyers as advisers was due to the fact that they examined a matter critically and in detail. He did not seek their advice as to the soundness of his judgment, but only as to what could be urged in support of it. The consequence was that Mr. Wilson avoided lawyers who did not consider him to be a sacred oracle, a fountain of absolute wisdom. As for lawyers of the other sort he had a profound contempt apparently considering them intellectually defective or dishonest. . ." Wilson, however, could conceal feelings of affection or contempt in a communication even as he was adept at adoring or damning a person, be he lawyer or layman.
Marshall had known the three “progressive” Presidents, Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson. There were qualities in these men which he admired, but saw them to be no better than the plain American. They were, after all, human. By this same token he was not comfortable with the way Americans regarded their President. They were overawed by him. To Marshall, they seemed to be content to allow him to dictate policy which was not his prerogative to do. There was balance intended among the three branches of government. Because of this the President's "will is not to be impressed upon the American people.” He is responsible to see that the minority are treated as justly as the majority. That is his job.7

Soon after Warren G. Harding became President, Marshall wrote on the traditional American dread of absolutism. He saw irony in "the great delight that the American people take every four years in electing a limited monarch." After the Republican victory in November of 1920, instead of the newspapers printing comments on the Republican party platform, they insisted upon printing "statements in flaming headlines of what President Harding proposed to do." The newspapers and the people, both, focused on the Chief Executive, observed Marshall. Presidents would usurp and Senates would "oligarch" just as long as the people allowed them to do so: "Whether the world has been made safe for democracy or not will depend pretty much upon whether people in it desire to be democrats."8

With regard to the Congress Marshall attributed both favorable and unfavorable characteristics. With tongue-in-cheek he marveled, "One of life's little mysteries to me is why the people permit the wise and good to stay at home to loaf on the public square, whittling a pine knot and cursing their government, and then by deliberate choice send
their knaves and fools to Washington." Marshall did believe that in the main Congressmen were honest, that they all sought justice, but one would hardly suspect this, he mused, to hear the electorate.9

Being a lawyer, Marshall was knowledgeable about Constitutional law. He defended the Supreme Court against Congressmen who would seek to weaken its traditional role. At times the Court would declare certain pieces of Congressional legislation to be unconstitutional. The fault lay, Marshall believed, with the Congress and not with the Court. Congressmen needed to spend more time observing the oath they took to support and defend the Constitution, instead of seeking to alter it or to frustrate it. Let the Congressmen take the time and trouble, he admonished, to learn whether Constitutional questions were involved before they act so quickly to pass legislation. If they wanted the Constitution changed, then they must work in concert with the states.10

The Senate of the United States Marshall esteemed to be composed of men of good and practical intent who listened with care to the diverse voices of their constituents. In his news articles he observed that "changing conditions at home change mental attitudes in Washington." As he saw it, "The science of government often seems to be the art of satisfying the people." Marshall remembered that when he first became President of the Senate there were still "a few gentlemen of the old school who were deeply impressed with the dignity and responsibility of their high office." None of them attacked the honor either of the State of the Union or of a fellow Senator's motives; it was a thing unheard of.11

Upon occasion some Senators desired to amend the rules of procedure in order to cut off debate upon a particularly controversial subject. Usually it was the majority
group who wished to end debate and thus insure a speedy vote in their favor. One example was the filibustering of Secretary McAdoo's shipping bill. Marshall reflected that the public’s interest was not adversely affected by filibustering. In fact, he reflected, "I can think of no instance in which the people were injured by the failure to enact legislation because of filibustering tactics. . . . It is the stuff that slips through Congress easily that rises up thereafter to vex the state—the stuff complacently consented to. Filibusters, taking them by and large, have not wrought injury to the people." Where the public could be hurt, he informed, was in the executive sessions of the Senate, for there plays the egoism of men, publicly displayed for all to see. Such happened with the debate on the Versailles Treaty. As a result, any real discussion was frustrated, any modification of that treaty failed to emerge, and any chance for the United States to become an active member of the League of Nations was denied existence.12

The memoirs of Marshall contain numerous anecdotes and character descriptions of the Senators whom he came to know. Of the some 160 who sat in the Upper House between 1913 and 1921, seventy Senators are mentioned in his Recollections. Typically, he said nice things about those men. Paragraphs on two senators whom Marshall did not respect were not included in the final copy. Marshall had no desire to touch upon or dwell upon controversial situations in his book. His foreward reveals, “This book is not intended to turn the tides of history nor to change the opinion of men as to the great things which took place when I was in public life.” Perhaps he thought that if one were all that interested he could go to the Congressional Record to read the deliberations and draw his own conclusions. Since he was a Democrat, it is not surprising that more
Democrats are discussed, but many Republican Senators were friends of the Democratic Vice President.

Despite the efforts of the Wilson Administration to involve the country in a league of nations and despite the efforts of opposition forces to prevent America from compromising its sovereignty in the name of "peace," nations in the postwar world were apprehensive lest another great conflagration develop and consume the peace so recently achieved. A resolution by Senator Borah in December, 1920, that Congress call an international conference on disarmament, found Congressional acceptance by the end of June the next year. Though Harding wanted time to develop as strong a navy as possible, he acceded to Congress's wish. On 11 August 1921 through its State Department the United States formally invited major and minor powers to Washington to discuss limitations of military arms which had been produced in such abundance in the recent war and to consider potential problems in the Pacific area. The Washington Conference took place between 12 November and 6 February 1922.

Following the decision of Congress for such talks, Marshall reminded his newspaper readers that such a commission had been envisioned in the Covenant of the League of Nations. That the call for a conference had now gone out was "a strong and very potent argument for the adoption of the covenant." He was in sympathy with the proposed conference. Along with many people he worried about the potential dangers of the recently renewed Anglo-Japanese treaty which theoretically opened the possibility for war between Great Britain and the United States. He regretted the outcome of the debate on the Versailles Treaty in the Senate and also the provisions of the treaty itself as it left the hands of the delegates at the Peace Conference. He did not want unhappy
consequences for the disarmament conference. Just as Wilson had desired "open covenants openly arrived at," the first of his famous Fourteen Points regarding the postwar peace conference, so Marshall hoped there would be no under-the-table dealings at Washington among the delegates. He was not optimistic, but he was hopeful.  

The former Vice President could not help but compare the earlier conference at Paris with that at Washington. For Marshall, Wilson's "solemn referendum"--the issue of the election of 1920, whereby the people were to indicate their support or not of the League of Nations by voting for the Democrats--was "an unfortunate experiment." Marshall held that although the record shows that by their support of the Republicans the American people rejected the Covenant, he did not believe that the electorate really seriously considered the question. He wrote, "I am now no more convinced than I was before the election that there was any danger to the American people in our joining the League and I am just as convinced that our entrance would have been good in the cause of peace." The people must stand behind President Harding, he advised, even though they did not stand behind President Wilson. If the conference in Washington should fail, heaven forbid, "then America should turn to the league."  

While the disarmament conference was taking place, Marshall thought about past remedies prescribed for the ills of mankind. He remembered the social Darwinist view of the strongest nations surviving. Wars had been caused by national pride, he added, but no one had ever found a remedy for conflicting nationalism. Nations must recognize their differences and their ethnocentrisms, he emphasized, and thus be willing to work together in spite of them. Marshall was pleased that there seemed to be more tolerance of racial differences than in times past, and felt certain that world opinion would force
government to hinder "any government that might attempt to plunge the world in the woes of armed conflict." The time had come for the United States to be sincerely concerned and involved for the peace of the world and no longer to be isolated from the world. This viewpoint was contrary to the Republicans, for they officially condoned an isolationist position for the United States. By now there were no strong Democratic or Republican progressive leaders to attract a following sufficient to overcome the isolationist intransigence. Informing the American people about the new postwar world seemed to Marshall a worthy calling.15

III

In May, 1922, the Marshalls sailed with friends to England. From there they were to travel between London and Edinburgh, thence to Paris, to Lausanne, Switzerland, for an international conference of Freemasons, thence to Rome, and then northward to Germany to see the Passion Play at Oberammergau in Bavaria. By the end of July they would return to Washington.16

Upon arrival at London a luncheon was given in Marshall's honor by the English-Speaking Union, an Anglo-American organization of private citizens. The former Vice President offered that he was standing before them as a private citizen and not as a representative of the United States Government. The central concern of the group was peace, and he indicated that "he would follow any man anywhere, in any country, who stood for arbitration rather than for armed conflict. (Cheers.)" The American visitor knew his audience was probably concerned that his Government was not officially represented at the League of Nations meeting in Genoa. There were political and
economic reasons for American non-involvement. Marshall offered a further reason: "The religious reason for not going to Genoa or the Hague was that there were so many people in America who were opposed to having anything to do with a Government which had overthrown God, destroyed the home, and paralyzed the individual." Russia, everyone knew, was not invited to the arms conference in Washington because the United States had refused to recognize that country after the Bolshevik Revolution.17

Traveling through London Marshall was impressed by the industriousness of the urban workers. Too often attention has been given to the “great men”, he subsequently penned, and too little written on the need for common people to aspire to duties well done. Paraphrasing John Ruskin, nineteenth century English social reformer, he noted, "The lives which should be written for the benefit of future generation are not necessarily those of the great men who loomed large in the public affairs of any time, but, rather, the lives of inconspicuous persons who do the world’s work—without the doing of which all would revert again to chaos and black night."18

In visiting Scotland he saw its people to be struggling economically like the rest of the postwar world. The laboring women, for instance, were quite opposed to the unions with the result that there was in Scotland "an inability or unwillingness to work, which is delaying rehabilitation of the business life of the country." He felt that there was a need for genuine religious sentiment for settling the problems of society and of the world, as the history of Scotland had heretofore revealed. His own Scots Presbyterian heritage appeared to influence Marshall to make increasingly theological interpretations of events.19

Before the trip across the Channel to the Continent Thomas and Lois Marshall in
London
drove through Petticoat lane on the edge of White Chapel, and I became greatly interested in the people who thronged
it. . . . It was an enlarged edition of New York's East side. As I emerged from Petticoat lane, I found myself wondering
whether it did not contain the virus of bolshevism. . . .

Passing on, I came to the Guildhall. It happened to be the day
before Empire day, which is the anniversary of Queen Victoria's
birthday. As I entered, a rehearsal was being had of a pageant by
selected scholars. . . .

These two scenes, these two peoples, in one city were so unlike each other. The King he
compared to the President of the United States. The American people apparently
regarded their President similarly. He visited the House of Lords and witnessed the
ceremony surrounding the introduction of a newly created peer. He compared this
ceremony "with the simple induction of a United States senator into office." The contrast
of simplicity with ritual ornamentation in government and in religion between his country
and Great Britain became a vivid memory to him as he wrote home to America.20

In Lausanne, Switzerland, Marshall penned a glowing image of a multi-ethnic
republic: "Happy is that people whose past is secure, whose present is safe and whose
future is hopeful." While touring the Swiss country side he found no evidence of decay
in "this oldest of modern democracies," anticipating the words of Oswald Spangler
published the next year as The Decline of the West. He had only praise for the Swiss:
"Recalling the usual fate of nations, one is amazed to find a people as devoted to their
government and as loyal to its principles and as zealous for liberty as was William Tell
himself. . . . This is the one land where the will of the individual is carefully trained."21
In Rome the Marshalls were received by King Victor Emmanuel. Reflections of the occasion were predictive of the dark future that lay ahead for that ancient land. Marshall wrote,

I have seen Italy's king, with his shrewd, hawklike face, speaking perfect English and manifestly deeply interested in the welfare of his people. I met some of the young fascisti and learned the motive of their seemingly lawless conduct. They might well be called the Ku Klux Klan of Italy, if they only wore the bizarre disguise. They are young men who have left the army, the sons of tradesmen and others of like social position. They hold that murder and rapine for political purposes should be met by murder and rapine until the lawless grow weary of their conduct. This band of young outlaws has influenced the political institutions of Italy, as statistics will show. . . .

At one time Italy had been allied with enemies of the United States, and yet Italy withdrew from her triple alliance as she saw Germany become an aggressor nation. Such sacrifice as Italy did make in the Great War ought to be grounds, Marshall was persuaded, for a deeper friendship between the United States and Roma immortalis. Mussolini, however, had other plans with his Fasci del Combattimento.  

The Austrian postwar condition appeared hopeless. She had been stripped of the glory of her past by the treaty of St. Germain. Austria was left, in the words of British diplomat Harold Nicholson, "a pathetic relic." Her large German-speaking population was practically all that existed of the once multinational entity that had been the Dual Monarchy. Marshall felt that a cruel vengeance had been taken on the Austrian people, but he offered no solution to her crisis. 

A great delight of the American couple was viewing the world-famous Passion Play at Oberammergau in Bavaria, Germany. For nearly three hundred years that small
village had produced once every ten years a moving theatrical portrayal of the last week of the life of Christ. Tourists heard that the townspeople had made their own covenant to produce that play "in response to a miraculous deliverance from a plague against which they prayed," and their descendants had been faithful to their oath. One other notable was in attendance, and Marshall barely mentioned him: "Gen. the Count von Ludendorff." One of the top military leaders of Imperial Germany, Erich von Ludendorff left his fatherland in disgrace at the conclusion of the War but returned to engage in extremist activities, ultimately to align himself with Hitler's abortive coup in November 1923.24

The visit of the Marshalls was no different from most tours that Americans were making on the continent after the war. The difference was in the man, who he was, what he had been through by virtue of his office, and what he was interpreting to the people at home. His opinion of Germany was one of academic respect. His contact with Count Johann von Bernstorff, German Ambassador to the United States, prior to that nation's entry into war and his subsequent recall, was friendly enough. Marshall saw through the diplomatic facade a man who was trained to believe without question that his country was right whether he knew the truth or not. One year before, the Vice President had written on the French indecision on the fate of Wilhelm Hohenzollern, ex-Kaiser of Germany. He believed that the German emperor should have been brought to trial. In words reminiscent of the moral dilemma surrounding Andersonville and later Nuremberg and My Lai, Marshall wrote boldly, "How can it be argued that I should be responsible if I kill my neighbor, but that I should go scot free if I kill a million men?"25
Even before he left the United States for Europe, Marshall perceived that the French people were fearful lest Germany rearm and that Germany was afraid that France might invade her once British and American troops were withdrawn from the Rhine. France, he had come to believe, assented to the Versailles Treaty because of a promise of military assistance made by the United States and Great Britain in event of danger from the Germans—a new triple alliance, which might have the effect of the Monroe Doctrine and preserve peace in Europe.26

The elder statesman, in Germany, could see the consequences of a nation disrupted by devastation. Its people felt dispossessed by what had transpired within the last five years, and some there were who were exerting every effort to help their people understand why life had become so sour. One passage from his remembrance of Germany is noteworthy:

I had just finished reading . . . when the gentleman who was acting as my interpreter came in and informed me that he had been listening to an impassioned German orator addressing an audience of several thousand persons, all of whom, he said, cheered his statements to the echo. And this is what they applauded as he was epitomized by my interpreter: That the terms of the treaty of peace were an outrage and a disgrace to modern civilization; that no people had ever been so maligned, abused, misrepresented and lied about as had the German people with reference to the inception of the great war; that history had been falsified and that a deliberate and perhaps a successful attempt had been made to prejudice the world against the Germans; that they had always desired peace; that they had entertained no enmity nor ill will against any nation on earth; that France and Belgium had deliberately begun the war; that France had sent her army in Belgium and the Belgians and the French had entered German territory from Aix before the German government made any move toward war; that the war had been one of self-defense, and finally, that right-thinking men ought now to demand that the indemnity be reduced to such terms as would not permanently impoverish the German people.
When he first heard the summary of the German's speech to the crowds, Marshall did not think that the audience would take the demagogue seriously. He discovered in fact that the people were listening and were agreeing, and he concluded that until such time as Germany agrees that she was in fact the aggressor and was responsible for the war, there was no justification for reducing her indemnity to the Allies.27

This extremely vivid picture that Marshall sketched of the thinking of some Germans--and the speech of one man--is remarkable in light of the oratory that carried the themes of the National Socialist Party throughout the 1920's. As it turned out, the Germans were not far from the Nazis in their desperation, their disillusionment, and their determination to fight some day to regain what they believed was rightfully theirs.

Not all Germans felt the way those did who cheered the excited speaker. On another day outside his hotel veranda Marshall watched a German peace march go by. He wondered at its effectiveness, for he knew that vast armies were being maintained throughout Europe, that Italy was still eyeing the Fiume, and Yugoslavia was not far from her reach. Being victors, Italy and France appeared to him to be snobbish to other nations. "The flames of war have not been extinguished in Europe," he perceived, for the "danger of conflict still exists."28

In addition to strife and stress in these countries Russia seemed poised at a crossroads. In conversation with Russian refugees and other eastern Europeans Marshall was convinced that the vast majority of Russians were not Bolsheviks, and he looked for the day when democracy would work itself into that country through the efforts of some strong leader who would have the good of the people at heart: "The voice of such a man has not yet been heard. God may raise up a man. The bolsheviki government is
wobbling, and somewhere, surely, there is either a Napoleon or a Washington for Russia. May heaven give to the kind-hearted people, so long the friends of America, a Washington." Events would show that a Napoleon had even then raised his head; Europe had not yet heard of Joseph Stalin.29

IV

Upon his return to America Thomas Marshall continued writing his observations on the men and movements of his age, castigating those he saw as corrupt and praising what he deemed to be still worthy to emulate. He was against those who sought to inflict their way and achieve their prosperity at the expense of other men. He had no use for demagogues (unionist Bill Haywood and socialist Eugene V. Debs) and he despised intimidating associations (the Ku Klux Klan and the White Cappers of Indiana). Yet, he was willing to give any man a chance to prove himself worthy of respect for himself or for his ideas (the programs of the Harding Administration). He did not condemn men because they had money (John D. Rockefeller and Henry Ford) or because they had no money and no position (the immigrant and the Negro). He did not believe in the efficacy of an equal distribution of wealth as did the Bolsheviks. He sincerely believed that the situation of unequally distributed wealth in the United States was eminently better than the "fixed wealth" idea espoused by Russia.30
It is understandable if some people called Marshall old-fashioned, because he continually stressed the necessity for Americans to "get back" to the principles on which their country was founded. The issue is a moot question. Progress--or whatever name one gives it--insures that the present is qualitatively different from the past. His position was that "Progress, however much to be desired, is not always wholly good. I would not condemn it for that, but I would like to modify some of the methods that go with it, and substitute humanism for much of its science."  

The man was intellectually thoughtful, however much one may differ with his insight or even his hindsight. He spoke against inconsistent thoughts and uncritical faith in science, religion, or politics He knew the men of his day did not possess absolute knowledge or wisdom, and he never claimed to. "Not only are the bitter and the sweet strangely intermingled," he once wrote, "but the good and evil are so interwoven that modern life is not an easy thing to lead. We are living in a grand and awful age."  

he pondered this thought and looked back on his boyhood following "the war between the states," a simpler day. He considered the course his life had taken: he had followed neither his mother's wish for his life's vocation (a clergyman) nor his father's (a physician). He became a lawyer, though he was never exactly certain why; perhaps it was a compromise with his parents.  

The last twenty-five years of his life (he died in 1925) saw great theological rumblings caused by developments in the scientific study of the Bible and by the turbulence of warring nations which similarly shook the theologians. William Jennings Bryan put his reputation on the line in the Scopes trial of 1925, and his personal esteem along with his fundamentalistic religion suffered immeasurably. Marshall never took on
the forces of liberalism as did Bryan. This was not his way. In one of his last articles he
spoke of his faith in this way:

I am myself an old-fashioned orthodox Presbyterian. There is not a thing in the Bible that I cannot and do not believe. My conception of God is that of a being omnipotent and omniscient. Therefore there is no fairy tale which He might not have made a reality. I fix no limitation upon the power of God. But if one desires to worship a smaller being, I know no reason for a quarrel upon the subject. If he is casting out devils in His name it is none of my business to forbid him. I have no fear that the church will permanently suffer from any real or apparent scientific research. A falsehood may be successfully left to die from its own inherent weakness; a truth cannot be destroyed or concealed by the mere mumbling of a creed. . . . Danger to the church lies not in scientific research, but in social uplift. It is when the church shall forbid men to cast out devils in His name and drives them to the point of casting them out by education, by health, sanitation and social agencies that its influence is likely to be weakened.33

Marshall never saw Christianity as failing as a cure to the world's ills. The reasons were far too complex for such a simple criticism. Still, he recognized that Christians sometimes got in the way of their faith. Regarding the Christianizing of the Orient, he wrote, "The orient is to be converted to the truths of the Christian religion when the men who say they believe in it get out of the orient and stay out." His tolerance of people with different beliefs and customs (combined with his anti-imperialist sentiment) was exemplified in many ways. In late 1923, Tsao Kum acceded to the Presidency of the Republic of China. A copy acceptance speech was sent to Marshall by a friend in China. After studying the speech, he reacted, "I am convinced from my reading of the address that America may well look even to those countries generally thought to be most backward in civilization for ideas." This openness to the wisdom of non-Western culture was not common in Marshall’s day.34
The death of Woodrow Wilson in February, 1924, removed any Democratic talk about the former President running again. His former Vice President was not beyond consideration, but there were very few who thought of him as viable Presidential timber. On 14 March he had become seventy years old, and the office which had "killed" both Wilson and Harding would have no mercy for Marshall.

Wilson's papers were being collected from all who had had personal and professional relations with him. Edith Bolling Wilson was sending requests for material to the officials of the two Wilson administrations. Marshall contributed nothing new to Mrs. Wilson's search, though the correspondence and business between him and Wilson found its way into the Library of Congress. Marshall himself enjoyed a considerable correspondence, but it was slight in comparison with the vast Wilson correspondence. The Vice President's last letters were from such public figures as Calvin Coolidge, Elihu Root, Helen Keller, Evangeline Booth, French Ambassador Jules Jusserand, and Robert Lansing.

Nine months before he died, Marshall entered the law firm of Merle Walker and John E. Hollett of Indianapolis. His association with the firm was minimal, though he was still active and informed about the Washington scene. Therein lay his value as a legal counselor. Other business ventures were considered by him, but he was too old for younger, more enterprising men.35

For nearly ten years he had been planning in his mind a book of anecdotes and opinions and character sketches, all drawn from his memory ("recollections" he called them) concerning his entire life. Marshall had told Eleanor Roosevelt as long ago as
1915, on a trip west to San Francisco, that he was planning a book. He even knew how its introduction would read:

That the tired businessman, the unsuccessful golfer,
and the lonely husband whose wife is out reforming the world
may find therein a half hour's surcease from sorrow.

When the Recollections (or "Hoosier Salad", the subtitle) was published in the latter part of the year in which Tom Marshall died, the public eagerly searched it to find anything new that had relevance to the Wilson years. The readers were disappointed in this regard, for Marshall never intended his book to be an expose of intrigue and conflicts. The old man simply wanted to share some of his happy and memorable moments: as a boy in Indiana, a lawyer in the courtroom, a governor in the state house, and, finally, an observer in the capitol of the United States.

No one ever regarded the Recollections as great literature or even as particularly helpful memoirs. Both man and manuscript were regarded alike: commonplace yet admittedly attractive. This man who followed in the footsteps of "great" men, governors who became Vice Presidents, never received the judgment of greatness except by those who knew and loved him.

Lois Marshall, the one who was closest and most dear to her husband, was with him when he died, on a Sunday morning in Washington D. C. A strong bout with the flu had weakened his heart but not his spiritual devotion. Just before he died he read to her from the New Testament (Mark, chapter 4):
And if a kingdom be divided against itself, that kingdom cannot stand. And if a house be divided against itself, that house will not be able to stand.

Sixty-seven years to the day earlier Abraham Lincoln had quoted from this same source, at Springfield, Illinois, on 1 June 1858.

Many adoring words were spoken about the man from Indiana, words from the lips of those who knew him barely but dearly and of those who knew him well but distantly. His widow confided to her pastor, "The spiritual food I received from you the almost ten years I was [in Washington] should have prepared me for anything. I realize too more and more each day what [a] wonderful thing it was to live with a man of true Christian Faith." To an Indianapolis citizen Marshall was one of the unique ones: "Just think of it," he recalled about their encounter, "He a great man and Vice President of the United States, and I just Charley the streetcar conductor, and he treated me as though I were an equal."36

A New York Post editorial appeared the day after Marshall died. It said, in part, "Thomas Riley Marshall belonged to the old America." That judgment was only partially correct. In so far as Marshall liked to "look back" to the time when Jeffersonian Democracy was highly valued, he was old-fashioned, for the nation's ways and values had changed significantly since the death of Jefferson in 1826. Nevertheless, Thomas R. Marshall's spirit belongs to the America of the present also. His sense of fair-play and faimmindedness; his sense of justice and loyalty; his acceptance of people--as long as they were sincere; his rejection of intimidation, whether it be imperialism, Bolshevism, or "special privilege": all of these are still valued by an America which once-in-awhile
remembers the cigar quip but cannot remember who said it or what it means, and by a young America which has trouble knowing about Woodrow Wilson, let alone his Vice President.
NOTES

CHAPTER ONE

“The Boy Tommy”


3Woodson S. Marshall memoir relates that his “mother, Elizabeth Craven, was born in Green County, Pennsylvania, on May 20, 1799.” A listing of the daughters and sons of Riley and Elizabeth appears in a family Bible presented to the ninth child, Ezra,
by his parents at Stanton, Kansas (1 October 1857), so Jessie Woodward, daughter of Ezra; letter, Jane Beard, Cedar Falls, IA, to the writer, 5 April 1973.

4TRM, Recollections, 55.

5The Woodson S. Marshall memoir supplies details of Riley’s life and career in Indiana. See TRM’s extensive reminiscences in an interview with James B. Morrow, “Thomas R. Marshall Gives His Views on What the Democrats Should Do,” Indianapolis Sunday Star, 23 January 1910. TRM’s father, Daniel M. Marshall, was born 5 March 1823. Charles M. Thomas notes that Dr. Marshall and his bride took up housekeeping in 1848; Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall, Hoosier Statesman (Oxford OH: The Mississippi Valley Press, 1939), 12. However, the Robert F. Lancaster scrapbooks on TRM (Whitley County Historical Society, Columbia City (IN) indicate they were married on 6 November 1849. Rush Medical College (today Rush University) was chartered in 1838 and its classes began in 1843. The Chicago fire of 1871 destroyed the medical college building and most of its records. Curiously, an “Address Book of the Alumni of Rush Medical College” which lists the graduates from 1844 through 1913 does not list a Daniel M. Marshall. He is not listed in the “Catalogue of Students” of the Fifth Annual Catalogue of Rush Medical College for 1847-8. His consistent use of the M.D. after his name and his reputation support that he did receive institutional training. Letters, Chicago Historical Society (3 March 1973), and the University of Chicago, Office of the Registrar, 6 April 1973. See below, chapter two, footnote 2.

mentions Martha’s aunt, Phebe C. Patterson, as a grand-niece of Charles Carroll (1737-1832), Maryland revolutionary patriot of Irish Catholic ancestry and a signer of the Declaration of Independence.


8The Marshall brothers’ store, located at Main and Neil Streets in Champaign, was advertised weekly in the Central Illinois Gazette from 10 March 1858 to 1 December 1858; letter, Illinois Historical Survey, University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana, 20 March 1973.

9In his Recollections, 52, TRM wrote, “In an address made at Freeport some years since, I ventured to tell this story, and an elderly gentleman from the audience came to me at the close of my talk, said he was present at the joint discussion, and remembered there was a little boy who sat on Lincoln’s lap and on Douglas’ lap while the discussion was going on.”

10TRM, Recollections, 58. John Brown’s face and reputation must have burned themselves onto the boy’s memory as he in maturity found the imagery of “the poet’s eye, in a fine frenzy rolling” appropriate to the incident from childhood. The quotation is from Shakespear’s A Midsummer Night’s Dream, Ac 5, Sc 1.

12 Duff Green was a common name for persons of Irish descent. The best known person with this name was a journalist, politician, and presidential emissary (1791-1875). TRM confused Duff Green, one-time resident of Vicksburg, with Martin E. Green of Lewis County who was killed by a Union sharpshooter during the siege of Vicksburg on 27 June 1863. James S. Green is better known for his experience in Congress and as a foe of Senators Thomas Hart Benton and Stephen A. Douglas. See Lewis, Clark, Knox and Scotland Counties, Missouri (1887): 86, 750-51. Letter, Louelle H. Felt, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, 2 March 1973.

13 TRM, Recollections, 61-64; Morrow, “Thomas R. Marshall Gives His Views” (1910). Pierceton was a new village, not many years old, and named after Democratic President Franklin Pierce (1853-1857); see Ronald L. Baker and Marvin Carmony, Indiana Place Names (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1975), 129.

14 An essay written by TRM when governor of Indiana throws some light on Riley’s wife Elizabeth, who may have survived her husband and lived a few years longer with her son, Daniel or Woodson. He remembered “a sweet faced old lady” recount her early life as a pioneer in Indiana. His memory of her riding horseback “with a baby boy in her arms from Old Virginia to the wilds of Indiana” is at variance with the reminiscences of his uncle, Woodson, who wrote: “My mother, Elizabeth Cravens, was born in Green County, Pennsylvania, on May 20, 1799. Subsequently her family moved to Highland County, Ohio, and where she and my father were married in 1818.” On


17TRM, Recollections, 70.

18The envelope is addressed to Miss Lizzie Marshall, LaGrange, Missouri, postmarked 17 March 1863; TRM Papers, Box 1868-1925, Indiana State Library, Indianapolis. I am strongly in the debt of Peter T. Harstad and Ray Boomhower of the Indiana Historical Society for help in “translating” the nine-year-old’s handwriting.

19Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall, 13; TRM Papers, Box 1868-1884, Indiana State Library.

20TRM, Recollections, 79-95, contains his impression of his college days. Noteworthy among Marshall’s achievements was his election to the national scholastic honorary fraternity, Phi Beta Kappa; Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall, 14-17. A report card, a 1873 class history, and the 35th Commencement Programme of Wabash College are in the Marshall Papers, Indiana State Library. See James I. Osborne and Theodore G. Gronert, Wabash College: The First Hundred Years, 1832-1932 (Crawfordsville, IN: Banta Publishing Co., 1932), chapter viii; 302.

21TRM, Recollections, 85; Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall, 17.

22TRM, Recollections, 93-95.
23 TRM, Recollections, 89-91.

24 Three years following his graduation from Wabash, 1876, Marshall was awarded an honorary master’s degree by his alma mater for his success as a young lawyer. In 1904 he was elected to the College’s board of trustees. Classmates’ esteem of Marshall is conveyed in the Wabash College Record-Bulletin issue which appeared following his death in 1925.

CHAPTER TWO

“The Honorable Thomas Riley”


2Robert F. Lancaster Scrapbooks, Vol. 1 (Whitley County Historical Society, Columbia City IN), indicates that TRM was boarded for a time in Warsaw, where his uncle, Woodson (aged 34), was practicing law. The first professional advertisement of Dr. Daniel Marshall appeared in the 12 August 1874 issue of the Columbia City Post. Of the nine other physicians, five recorded medical degrees, including Daniel. On Columbia City in 1875 see “A Visit to Columbia City: What It Has and What It Needs,” Whitley County Commercial (5 August 1875).


5Mark Thistlethwaite Scrapbooks, TRM Papers, Indiana State Library.

6TRM, *Recollections*, 100.


8McNagny married Effie Wunderlich, the county assessor’s daughter, Columbia City *Post*, 27 October 1880.


10The above two cases are discussed in the James D. Adams Papers, originally located in the law office of Phil McNagny, Jr., of Gates, Gates and McNagny, Columbia City, Indiana.

11Newspapers covered the case throughout the year, 1884, until Butler was hanged on 10 October; “County’s Only Legal Hanging An October Event 82 Years Ago,” *Whitley County Historical Society Bulletin* (October, 1966): 4-5. Interview with Judge Rob. R. McNagny, Columbia City, 15 October 1967.

13 TRM, Recollections, 24.

14 Columbia City Post, 31 May 1876; 14 August and 18 September 1890; 22 January 1892; 19 July 1895.


16 Letter, Bernice Carver, Columbia City, to the writer, 7 February 1974. The Marshall-Casner letters are located in the Whitley County Historical Museum, Columbia City. Their dates are 27 October, 13 December, and 29 December, 1881.

17 Interview, Rob. McNagny, Columbia City, 15 October 1967.


19 Quoted in Columbia City Post, 8 January 1958. On Abbie Thorn see newsclipping, “Wabash County Mourns,” in scrapbook in TRM Papers, Indiana State Library. On his mother see his Recollections, 21-22, though he wrote little about his relationship with her. In 1911, while Governor, he wrote a poetic paean about Martha Marshall, entitled, “Do You Believe in Santa Claus?”; essay shared by Mildred Dole McKillen (Angola IN), third cousin of Lois Kimsey Marshall, in a letter to the writer, 8 October 1968.

Letter, Ina Craig Emerson, Angola IN, to the writer, 12 September 1972.


CHAPTER THREE Favorite Son


Columbia City Post, 12 April 1876.

Columbia City Post, 26 July 1876.
4Eli Brown editorialized in support of the young lawyer; Columbia City Post, 9 June 1880.

5See Columbia City Post, 23 and 30 June 1880, on the Fourth of July celebrations.

6Columbia City Post, 7 May 1884.

7Columbia City Post, 25 June 1884. The Democratic Presidents referred to were James K. Polk, Franklin Pierce, and James Buchanan.

8Columbia City Post, 16 April 1884. Hendricks’ form letter to party organizers is in the TRM Papers, Indiana State Library. The rooster, not the donkey, was the Democratic mascot nationally at this time.


11TRM, Recollections, 147.

that Marshall once confessed, “I have never desired public office, but if I had an ambition to hold office it would be to be Governor of Indiana.” Speech delivered at Thomas R. Marshall banquet, 14 March 1940; copy in the Peabody Library, Columbia City.


16Columbia City Post, 8 January 1908.

17Columbia City Post, 12 and 19 February 1908. Philip R. VanderMeer has observed that politics was undergoing change in this era. Parades and festivities were less important to victory than organized campaigning; The Hoosier Politician: Officeholding and Political Culture in Indiana, 1896-1920 (Urbana IL: University of Illinois Press, 1985), 45-46.

18Fadely is silent on the Fogarty-Taggart battle within a battle; Fadely, Thomas Taggart, 115-16. See Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall, 12; Russel B. Nye, Midwestern Progressive Politics: A Historical Study of Its Origins and Development, 1870-1958 (East Lansing MI: Michigan State University, 1959), chapter III.
CHAPTER FOUR

A “Wet” Democrat

1 The train ride to Columbia City from Indianapolis is described in the James D. Adams Papers, Gates, Gates & McNagny law firm, Columbia City Indiana.

2 Columbia City Post, 6 April 1908.

3 James D. Adams remembered the sentiments of Marshall and recorded them in his unpublished memoirs.
4Edgar Strouse, private interview, 4 October 1967, Columbia City; Columbia City Post, 6 April 1908.

5Columbia City Post, 2 and 9 May 1908.


10Interview with Leigh Hunt, Columbia City, August, 1972.

11Columbia City Post, 8 July 1908.

CHAPTER FIVE

“Governor Marshall”

1Mark Sullivan, Our Times: 1900-1925 (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1926-1935), 6 volumes; undated news editorial (1911), Mark Thistlethwaite scrapbook, TRM Papers, Indiana State Library, Indianapolis.

2News article (1909), Mark Thistlethwaite scrapbook, TRM Papers; Whitley County Commercial-Mail, 2 January 1959.


6TRM, Recollections, 175; Indianapolis Star, 12 January 1909.

7Indiana House Journal [Sess. 1909], 89-99; TRM, Recollections, 195.


9Fred A. Sims, quoted in the Columbia City Post, 14 March 1938; Rollo E. Mosher, “Tom Marshall’s Term as Governor” (M. A. thesis, Indiana University, 1932), 74.

10Columbia City Post, 2 December 1908.

11Interview with Harold C. Feightner, Indianapolis, 13 October 1967. Feightner was a newspaperman intimate with the inner workings of the Marshall Administration. He began his career as a reporter in Huntington, Indiana, then as a city editor for the Indiana Times in Indianapolis and a reporter subsequently for the Democratic Indianapolis News. His last position was as an executive for the Indiana Liquor Board, and he provided needed perspective to the writer on the wet-dry fight of the 1908 campaign; see his unpublished manuscript, “Politics, Prohibition, and Repeal in Indiana” (Indianapolis, 1965), Indiana State Library.

12Fred Fisher, “A Secret Story of Love and Politics as revealed in Governor Marshall’s Family Album,” Indianapolis Star, 15 September 1912. In an earlier interview, Marshall himself admitted, “I have the most vicious temper of any man in the
United States. . . . During my youth, language, as I then used it, got me into considerable trouble,” but he learned with difficulty to bridle his tendency to curse; James B. Morrow, “Thomas R. Marshall Gives His View on What the Democrats Should Do,” Indianapolis Sunday Star, 23 January 1910.


14Letter, Al Bloemker, Indianapolis Motor Speedway, Speedway, Indiana, 2 March 1973. The first 500-mile race occurred in 1911 (during Marshall’s governorship) with Ray Haroun winning in a six-cylinder Marmon Wasp at an average speed of 74.5 mph; Al Bloemker, 500 Miles To Go (New York: Coward-McCann, 1966).


16Interview with Leigh Hunt, Columbia City, August 1972.


18Indianapolis News, 2 April 1910. The account about Lamb’s preeminence in developing the plan is from Bowers’ reminiscences, above, 30-32.

19Letter, TRM to Taggart, 8 April 1910, TRM Papers, Indiana State Library.


CHAPTER SIX Gamblers, Workers, and the New Moses


3 Interview with Gertrude McHugh, Indianapolis, 13 October 1967. For seven months and sixteen days during 1912, Miss McHugh was employed as a stenographer for approximately $80 per week, a figure not out of line with other state-employed stenographers; Box 76, Governors Archives, Indiana State Library. See Charles M. Thomas, *Thomas Riley Marshall, Hoosier Statesman* (Oxford OH: The Mississippi Valley Press, 1939), 59-60.

4 Letter, Martin J. Smith to TRM, 16 September 1911, Box 75, Governors Archives, Indiana State Library. Numerous letters to Governor Marshall from citizens
and prosecuting attorneys about the crime in their communities are in Boxes 74-75, Governors Archives.


6TRM, Recollections, 204.

7TRM, Recollections, 185-86.


11Indianapolis News, 14 February 1911; Boomhower, Dunn, 81.

Constitution’ of 1911” (M. A. thesis, Indiana University, 1958), 88; Boomhower, Dunn, 92-94.


14 TRM, Recollections, 214-15; Boomhower, Dunn, 94-96.

CHAPTER SEVEN “A David Among the Goliaths”

1 Indianapolis News, 11 January 1910; Indianapolis Star, 11 February 1910. The Democrats nationally had not been successful for a number of years. The N.D.L.C. was organized following the failure of the 1908 campaigners to have a supportive, grassroots organization like its predecessor, the National Organization of Clubs in the 1904 campaign.


3 Indianapolis Star, 14 April 1910.

4 Indianapolis Star, 19 June 1910. See letter, TRM to J. F. Collen, Pittsburgh, Kansas, 11 May 1910, TRM Papers, Indiana State Library. Life under the editorship of John Ames Mitchell enjoyed a healthy longevity as a weekly that attempted to appeal to a growing, educated America. Its terminal dates were January 1883 to November 1936, and was followed by another magazine of the same name published by Henry Luce; Frank L. Mott, A History of American Magazines, 5 volumes (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938-1968).

6 Quoted in the Indianapolis News, 14 November 1910.

7 Indianapolis News, 14 November 1910.

8 Indianapolis News, 27 February, 1911.

9 Indianapolis News, 31 March 1911.


11 Gary (IN) Daily Tribune, 13 April 1911.


13 Letter, WW to Mrs. Mary Allen Hulbert Peck, 16 April 1911, WP 22:571.


15 Letter, TRM to John B. Stoll, 28 April 1911; TRM to John W. Kern, 24 May 1911, TRM Papers, Indiana State Library.
Letter, TRM to T. J. Appleyard, Tallahassee, Florida, 18 September 1911, TRM Papers, Indiana State Library.

Letter, TRM to Elisha V. Long, East Las Vegas, New Mexico, 11 September 1911, TRM Papers, Indiana State Library.

Gary Daily Tribune, 28 November 1911.


Indianapolis News, 21 March 1912.


Alton Parker was the 1904 national Democratic candidate for President but lost to incumbent Republican Theodore Roosevelt. For Marshall’s reason in declining Bryan’s support see below, [ ]. Bryan’s opposition to Marshall at the Convention is explained in his letter to Wilson, 22 July 1912, WP 24:565; Koenig, Bryan, 483.
CHAPTER EIGHT

“The ‘Real General,’ Tom Taggart”


2 The “houn’ dawg” song was recalled to the writer by a friend of TRM, Edgar Strouse of Columbia City, who was an unofficial observer at the convention; interview, 4 October 1967.

3 Actually Herschel Johnson was not chosen at the 1860 Convention. Benjamin Fitzpatrick of Alabama was the delegates’ choice, but he was not present at the convention and when informed of his nomination he refused it. The Democratic National Committee then selected Johnson. See Betty Dix Greeman, “The Democratic Convention of 1860: Prelude to Secession,” Maryland Historical Magazine, 67 (Fall, 1972): 225-53.


5 Interview with Rex Potterf, Fort Wayne, Indiana, 26 October 1967. Potterf developed an extensive bibliography of newspaper articles and references on the career of Governor Marshall. The principal published study on Thomas Taggart is that of James Philip Fadely, Thomas Taggart: Public Servant, Political Boss, 1856-1929 (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1997). A noteworthy historical source here is the unpublished...
biography of Taggart by A. C. Sallee who was secretary of the Indiana Democratic State Central Committee for a number of years. The work was entitled “T. T. The Mastermind that Wrought Brilliant and Bewildering Achievements in Political Legerdemain”, Thomas Taggart Papers, Indiana State Library.


7Official Report [1912], 169-72. Others apparently felt the same way about Indiana’s crucial position. In the 1920s Mark Sullivan wrote, “The typical American of 1900 possibly had more points of identity with the typical inhabitant of an Indiana community than with most other persons in other backgrounds. . . . Politically the average Indianan and his Ohio neighbor determined the occupant of the White House for nearly half of all the years from the Civil War to 1925. . . . In politics the representativeness of the Indiana voter. . . . was universally recognized and won for him something close to omnipotence, for his ideas, his prejudices, and his economic interests were universally considered and generally deferred to.” See his Our Times, Vol. I: The Turn of the Century (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1928), 3-4.


11Official Report [1912], 277.


13Thomas, *Thomas Riley Marshall*, 112. Paolo Coletta records that the “bellboy” was none other than Bryan’s brother, Charles; *William Jennings Bryan*, II:71.


Official Report [1912], 383; Indianapolis Times, 3 July 1912.


Official Report [1912], 392.


Letters, TRM to WW, Sea Girt, New Jersey, 30 July 1912, Miscellaneous Papers File (letter #28335); WW to TRM, Indianapolis, 5 August 1912, Wilson Papers,
Box 58, and TRM to WW, 14 August 1912, Wilson Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

25Indianapolis News, 7 August 1912.

26Official Report [1912], 396-97.

27Official Report [1912], 402; Link, Wilson, I:471.


30To anticipate, the 1916 Vice Presidential nomination would again go to Marshall and the ceremony would again be in Indianapolis. In 1916, also, Charles Warren Fairbanks of Indiana would be the Republican Vice Presidential candidate, and Frank Hanly–Marshall’s Republican predecessor in the Indiana Governor’s seat–would be the Presidential candidate on the Prohibition ticket. As if to spread the laurels among Hoosier politicians, Eugene V. Debs of Terre Haute did not run for President for the Socialist party in 1916, but did so in 1900, 1904, 1908, 1912, and 1920. Bryan never caught up with Debs’ record of attempts. See Indianapolis News, 20 August 1912.

31Official Report [1912], 419. See the notification photograph opposite page 160 in TRM, Recollections.

32Official Report [1912], 428-32.
CHAPTER NINE  “A Much Better Man”


4Letter, WW to Albert S. Burleson, New York City, 22 August 1912, Burleson Papers, Volume 5, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.


7Indianapolis News, 27 August 1912; New York Sun, 27 August 1912.

9New York American, 17 September 1912. Marshall was using the magazines to spread his views during this period, e.g., his article on “The Automatic Citizen” pled for Americans to look within themselves even as they demanded moral and legal responsibility from their legislators; The Atlantic Monthly (September, 1912): 295-301.


12New York Herald, 5 October 1912; New York World, 5 October 1912.


15New York Herald, 23 October 1912. On examples of midwestern nativism see Columbia City Post, 8 April and 22 December 1875. See TRM, “Regards the Ku Klux Klan as Creature of False Fear,” Washington Star, 23 October 1921.


17TRM to WW, 15 November 1912, WP 25:521; Ray S. Baker, Woodrow Wilson, III, 410.
CHAPTER TEN

Entering Four Years of Silence

18Indianapolis News, 22 July 1912.

19William Fosdick Chamberlin, The History of Phi Gamma Delta (Washington, D. C., Published by The Fraternity, 1926), 162-64. On Fairbanks see Herbert J. Rissler, “Charles Warren Fairbanks: Conservative Hoosier” (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1961). Eight years later, 1920, Calvin Coolidge would join the ranks of Vice Presidents who had been members of Phi Gamma Delta while in college. Regarding TRM’s novel esteem of his home state, he wrote, “Yes, the old state, as the days have come and gone, has struck a right good average. It has perhaps had no towering mountain peaks, but it has surely furnished as many first-grade second-class men in every department of life as any state in the Union”; TRM, Recollections of Thomas R. Marshall: Vice-President and Hoosier Philosopher, A Hoosier Salad (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1925), 39-44.

1New York Times, 28 February 1913. By tradition, according to the Chevy Chase Country Club, Presidents and Vice Presidents automatically became honorary members. Wilson, however, had other priorities and refused to join.

calibre man.” The Trenton meeting seems to have laid the ground for a positive working relationship between the two men but Marshall would not be privy to much of Wilson’s decision-making.


4Writing in 1931, Linnaeus N. Hines believed that “perhaps no man in the whole list of chief executives was more active or more interested” in public school education than was Governor Marshall; “A History of the Indiana State Board of Education,” Indiana Magazine of History, XXVII (March, 1931): 23-39. Nevertheless, Marshall favored the private liberal arts college over the state university; Charles M. Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall: Hoosier Statesman (Oxford OH: The Mississippi Valley Press, 1939), 102-06; see also TRM, Box 74, Governors Archives, Indiana State Library.


NY: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1931), 437-59, discussing Wilson’s reasoning, or lack of it, regarding his choice of cabinet members.


8After the Inaugural Programme and Report, New York Times, 4 March 1913, and 5 March 1913.

9Marshall’s inaugural address is found in the Congressional Record, 63rd Congress, 1st session, 4 March 1913, 1-2.


13“Ike” Hoover diary, Edith Bolling Wilson Papers, Box 57, Library of Congress. Information on the social and business engagements of the Marshalls when at the White House is taken from the record book of Irwin Hoover who was the chief usher, a curious cognomen for one whose duty it was to note literally the comings and goings of everyone in the White House every day, including the official family. Elizabeth Jaffray, Secrets of the White House (New York: Cosmopolitan Book Corporation, 1927), 38.

14New York Times, 23 March 1913, picture section.

15New York Times, 8 and 10 April 1913.
CHAPTER ELEVEN  

The Vice President is at it again!


263rd Congress, 1st session, 7 April 1913, Congressional Record, 58-60.


6TRM, *Recollections*, 245.

7*New York Times*, 24 March 1913; and editorial, 25 March 1913.

8*New York Herald*, 13 April 1913.


11*New York Sun*, 21 April 1913.

12*New York Times*, 17 April 1913; 18 April 1913.

13George Harvey, “Thomas Riley Marshall,” *North American Review* (October, 1916): 620-21; the speech of 8 May 1913 was printed three years later to coincide with

14“The Vice President’s New Freedom,” Literary Digest (3 May 1913): 995. The New York Sun for 10 June 1913, prominently displayed a large cartoon of “Tom-in-the-box” with the box lettered “Prudent Silence.” The progressive Outlook was supportive: “The Vice President and Social Unrest,” (3 May 1913): 8-9.

15Quoted in The Literary Digest (3 May 1913): 996.

16The New York Evening Post, 17 April 1913; the Charleston editorial was quoted by the Indianapolis News, 21 April 1913.


20Letters, TRM to WW, 20 March 1913; TRM to WW, 2 August 1913; and WW to TRM, 4 August 1913, Wilson Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.


25TRM, Recollections, 249-50.

CHAPTER TWELVE Cave of the Four Winds


3Letters, WW to TRM, 10 March 1914 and 14 March 1914, Wilson Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress; WW to TRM 18 April 1914, WP 29:461.

4See Alexander L. George and Juliette L. George, Woodrow Wilson and Colonel House: A Personality Study (New York: Dover Publications, 1964), 151, in which President Wilson is viewed as one who must dominate others in order to “counter his own low self-estimate,” a dubious supposition.

5New York Times, 15 March 1914. Letter, TRM to George W. Myers of Columbia City, Indiana, 11 March 1914. Myers was editor of the high school yearbook.
August 1914.


14New York Times, 10, 11, and 12 October 1914, cover this comedy of errors. The writer has not located any extensive film footage on Thomas R. Marshall except what is preserved in the National Archives film library.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN  

Before the Storm


2Letter, William Phillips to WW, 5 March 1915, Wilson Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress; letter, Franklin D. Roosevelt to Commandant, Navy Yard, Mare Island, California, 15 March 1915, Navy Correspondence #3768-455 1/2, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; see also Roosevelt to Flag Officer, Colorado, San Diego, California, 15 March 1915, Navy Department Correspondence #3768-455½, National Archives.
3Letters, TRM to WW, 7 March 1915; WW to TRM, 8 March 1915; WW to TRM, 19 March 1915, Wilson Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.


5Chester Rowell, Fresno progressive and member of the California State Exposition Commission, together with Senator Phelan and Governor Hiram Johnson are the only persons here meriting attention by George E. Mowry in his book The California Progressives (1951). The publisher William R. Hearst receives little attention because he was not seen as being “progressive.” There were even strained relations politically between Hearst and the Wilson Administration. Marshall seemed oblivious of this, but he may have been exercising caution.


7The primary source utilized here is the five-volume work of Frank Morton Todd, The Story of the Exposition... (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1921). The group is mentioned in volume IV, 27; Todd, The Story of the Exposition, V, 66-67.

8TRM, Recollections of Thomas R. Marshall, Vice-President and Hoosier Philosopher: A Hoosier Salad (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1925), 250-53. Marshall had developed a great respect for the Japanese nation based upon both
diplomatic leaders and students he had met over the years since his days at Wabash
College in Indiana.

9 The well-intentioned words of the Vice President, despite his personal feelings, could hardly have impressed Admiral Uriu in light of the racism of the Californians, progressives included, whose Alien Land Bill of 1913 excluded Japanese immigrants as land owners in that state.

10 Todd, The Story of the Exposition, IV, opposite page 42.


12 Todd, The Story of the Exposition, IV, 34. On 6 April 1914 a treaty with Colombia, expressing the United States’ “sincere regret” over the incident, was signed, but not until 20 April 1921 did the Senate give its consent to a $25 million reparation, payable to Colombia.

13 Todd, The Story of the Exposition, IV, 34.

Written by Franklin D. Roosevelt, 18 February 1941; F.D.R.: His Personal Letters, Vol. II, 1928-1945, edited by Elliott Roosevelt (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearch, 1950), 1123-25; see Carroll Kilpatrick, ed., Roosevelt and Daniels, A Friendship in Politics (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1952), 118-19, FDR to Daniels, 26 July 1932. Eleanor Roosevelt noted that the officers aboard ship were quite disturbed that the Vice President would shake hands with enlisted men and at mealtime would sit wherever he pleased on board ship; Eleanor Roosevelt, This is My Story (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1937), 222. The correct name of the San Diego exposition was the Panama-California International Exposition; Todd, The Story of the Exposition, I, 64, and Eugen Newhaus, The San Diego Garden Fair (San Francisco: Paul Elder and Company Publishers, 1916).


23New York Times, 11 May 1915; Arthur S. Link, Woodrow Wilson and the
165; Link, Wilson, III, 383-84.


26Telegram, TRM to Lansing, 24 July 1915, Diplomatic Correspondence,
Department of State, #F.W. 763.72/1940, National Archives.


28New York Times, 12 February 1916. For a contemporary perspective see
George S. Vierick, Spreading Germs of Hate, introduction by Edward M. House (New

remarks about Marshall’s sense of beauty are reminiscent of the Vice President’s remark
on the sunset scene as recorded by Eleanor Roosevelt on the trip to the exposition in San
Francisco.

30Letter, WW to TRM, 15 October 1915, Wilson Papers, Letterbook 25,
Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

31Letter, TRM to Mrs. Norman Galt, 15 November 1915, Edith Bolling Wilson
Papers, Library of Congress. Mention of the gift was made in the New York Times, 18
November 1915.

(Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1939), 92; WP 36:240n2.
33New York Times, 13 October 1915; TRM, Recollections, 73-78.

34New York Times, 14 October 1915.

35George F. Sparks, ed., A Many-Colored Toga: The Diary of Henry Fountain


37New York Times, 14 October 1915; Charles M. Thomas, Thomas Riley
Marshall: Hoosier Statesman (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1939), 160; and
William Gibbs McAdoo, Crowded Years: The Reminiscences of William G. McAdoo,

38Clifton J. Phillips, Indiana in Transition: The Emergence of An Industrial
Historical Bureau & Indiana Historical Society, 1968), 121-25. On Taggart’s career as
United States Senator, see James Philip Fadely, Thomas Taggart: Public Servant,
Political Boss, 1856-1929 (Indianapolis IN: Indiana Historical Society, 1997), 145-159.

39Letter, Otto Carmichael to J. P. Tumulty, 16 May 1916, Joseph P. Tumulty
Papers, Box 11, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

40Letters, WW to TRM, 10 February 1916, Wilson Papers, Letterbook 27, 262;
WW to TRM, 13 March 1916, Wilson Papers, Letterbook 28, 157, Manuscripts Division,
Library of Congress. Correspondence between Marshall and Daniels includes Daniels to
TRM, 14 April 1916; TRM to Daniels, 15 April 1916; and Daniels to TRM, 19 April
1916, Josephus Daniels Papers, Box 42, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.
CHAPTER FOURTEEN

“Tis Enough ‘Twill Serve”


41New York Times, 10 February 1916; 6 March 1916; and 26 April 1916.


9Official Report of the Proceedings of the Democratic National Convention, compiled by J. Bruce Kremer (St. Louis, 1916), 100-07. Aside from the President’s personal endorsement of Marshall, the twentieth century precedent of a Vice President running for a second consecutive term had been set by Marshall’s predecessor, James Sherman, chosen by the Republicans in 1908 and in 1912. Actually, Charles W. Fairbanks was also running for a second though unsecutive term, having been Theodore Roosevelt’s Vice President, 1905-1909.


13 *New York Times*, 1 August 1916. Thomas Taggart had been appointed by Indiana Governor Samuel Ralston to fill the unexpired term of the recently deceased Senator, Benjamin Shively, on 20 March; James Philip Fadely, *Thomas Taggart: Public Servant, Political Boss, 1856-1929* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1997), 142.


22 *New York Times*, 14 October 1916. Hughes, of course, was never asked to be a counselor to the President, and, as has been noted, Wilson made his own decisions and often in terms of what he thought was the proper approach. He was the President and his was the responsibility, but he did not relish taking counsel except from his most intimate friends, such as Col. House.


25Link, Wilson, V, 122.

26New York Times, 28 October 1916; and , editorial, 30 October 1916.


31Telegram, TRM to WW, 9 November 1916; WP 38:625; New York Times, 10 November 1916. The quotation is from Romeo and Juliet, Act 3, Scene 1.


33New York Post, 27 November 1916.
CHAPTER FIFTEEN  “Go to it, Woodrow, go to it!”


2 Ashurst diary, 51-52. Wilson was smarting from the verbal thrusts of Senator Lodge who was not only a Republican opponent but also an interventionist regarding the European conflict. /// {date? Ashurst diary, 51-52}


6 64th Cong. 2d sess., 3 March 1917, Congressional Record, 4869.

7 New York Times, 6 March 1917.

New York Times, 6 March 1917.


“Memorandum of the Cabinet Meeting, 2:30-5 P.M. Tuesday, March 20, 1917,” Robert Lansing Diary, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress; Link, Wilson, V, 401-08.


E. David Cronon, ed., The Cabinet Diaries of Josephus Daniels (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1963), 142 (hereafter referred to as Daniels’ diary); letter, Daniels to TRM, 27 April 1917, Daniels Papers, Box 42, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.


65th Cong., 1st sess., 8 May 1917, Congressional Record, 1942-43, and 31 May 1917, 3096.

65th Cong., 1st sess., June 22, 1917, Congressional Record, 4058-59; Keith S. Montgomery, “A Rhetorical Analysis of the Forensic and Occasional Speaking of


25National Archives motion picture #111 H-1133 (2 reels), Fourth Liberty Loan Drive, September, 1918 (Signal Corps).


27New York Times, 18 September 1917. The speech was published as Address of the Vice President of the United States, Delivered at a Meeting of the Supreme Council of Scottish Rite Masons for the Northern Jurisdiction of the United States, Held in New York City, on September 17, 1917 (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1917). The words of Marshall were echoed by President John F. Kennedy in his
inauguration speech in 1961, where he proclaimed, “And so, my fellow Americans, ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country. . . .”

Kennedy (or his speechwriter) may have had access to this war speech of Vice President Marshall, but it must be acknowledged that Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., in an address dated 30 May 1884, before members of the Grand Army of the Republic, expressed his appreciation of his nation in these words:

For, stripped of the temporary associations which give rise to it, it is now the moment when by common consent we pause to become conscious of our national life and to rejoice in it, to recall what our country has done for each of us, and to ask ourselves what we can do for our country in return. Bartlett’s Famous Quotations (14th ed.), 1073.


30 Letters, TRM to WW, 20 September 1918; Benedict Crowell to TRM, 1 October 1918; Crowell to WW, 1 October 1918, Wilson Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. Marshall also wrote on behalf of Dr. Louis P. Cain to Josephus Daniels for a chaplain’s commission to the Navy Department; letter, TRM to Daniels, 14 December 1918, Josephus Daniels Papers, Box 42, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

Interviews with Ralph F. Gates, Columbia City, Indiana, 15 October 1967; George W. Myers, Fort Wayne, Indiana, 15 October 1967; and William Geake, Jr., Fort Wayne, Indiana, 10 November 1967, concerning his brother, George.

Letter, TRM to Daniels, 7 February 1914, Josephus Daniels Papers, Box 42, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. Letters, TRM to Daniels, July, 1916; Daniels to TRM, 13 July 1916, Daniels Papers.

New York Times, 2 March 1914; Josephus Daniels diary, 5 April 1917. See Daniels’ diary entry of 10 April 1917, regarding Evansville as site for the plant. See Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall, 201. Letter, Daniels to TRM, 22 January 1919, Daniels Papers, Box 42.

Marshall-Daniels correspondence, 3, 9, 10 and 16 September 1918, Daniels Papers, Box 42.


CHAPTER SIXTEEN “Your orders will be obeyed.”

Memorandum to Wilson, 12 July 1917, Wilson Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.


Letter, TRM to WW, 7 May 191[8], WP 47:547-48. Letters, WW to Burleson, 8 May 1918, WP 47:596; WW to TRM, 8 May 1918, WP 47:560; Burleson to Wilson, 10 May 1918, WP 47:596{ ? }; Louis Brownlow to Burlerson, 10 May 1918, Wilson Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

6 Marshall, “Tomorrow, Day of Childhood, Should be Day of Consecration,” Washington Star, 24 December 1922. Interview with Mrs. Eleanor King Lennox, Indianapolis, 9 November 1967. Mrs. Lennox’s father, Dr. William F. King of Columbia City, had been a close friend of Marshall who encouraged him to move to the state capital’s Board of Health in 1911. Following the boy’s death, letters of condolence were sent to the bereaved couple, and resolutions by Louis Fairfield of Marshall’s home district were passed by the House expressing its sympathy; 66th Cong., 2d sess., 26 February 1920, Congressional Record, 3543.

7 Noted by Baker, Woodrow Wilson, VII, 544, probably from Ike Hoover’s diary which recorded names of persons visiting the White House.


On Rose Pastor Stokes, an adamant advocate of American communism, sentenced on 1 June 1918 to ten years in the Missouri State Penitentiary for seditious statements, see Bulletin #49 of the Tamiment Library, New York University Libraries (March 1974), pp. 4-5.


65th Cong. 2d sess., 24 September 1918, Congressional Record, 10702; New York Times, 25 September 1918. Related correspondence includes letters from TRM to WW, 7 September 1918, and WW to TRM, September 11, 1918, Wilson Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN  

Presidential Stand-in


5 Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall, 221.

6 Ashurst diary, 90. {date?}

7 New York Times, 30 November 1918.

8 Sewell Thomas, Silhouettes of Charles S. Thomas: Colorado Governor and United States Senator (Caldwell, IA: Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1959), 197; Ashurst diary, 90-91; George C. Osborn, John Sharp Williams: Planter-statesman of the Deep South (Gloucester MA: P. Smith, 1964), 340. {Ahurst diary----date?}


11 TRM, Recollections of Thomas R. Marshall, Vice-President and Hoosier Philosopher: A Hoosier Salad (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1925), 250-
is not only an appreciation of the Japanese but also an *apologia* for a separate-but-equal status for Japan in her relations with all nations of the world, including the United States whose “yellow peril criers” disgusted him.


13 This display of openness and acceptance of the Japanese by the American Vice President was later annulled by the painful decision of Wilson in Paris over the question of including “racial equality” in the League Covenant and over the question of whether Japan should get as booty the Shantung Peninsula (which belonged to China); see Harold Nicolson, *Peacemaking 1919*, 144-47.

14 Memorandum, Daniels to TRM, 7 December 1918, Josephus Daniels Papers, Box 42, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

15 A picture was taken subsequently of the Cabinet with Vice President Marshall seated at the head (13 February 1919). A similar picture is the sole photograph in the Thomas biography of Marshall (opposite title page). It shows Marshall on the end and to his left, clockwise, Carter N. Glass (Treasury), Thomas H. Gregory (Attorney General), Josephus Daniels (Navy), David F. Houston (Agriculture), Frank L. Polk (Acting Secretary of State), Newton D. Baker (War), Albert S. Burleson (Postmaster General), William B. Wilson (Labor), and William C. Redfield (Commerce).

16 The statement is found in the Wilson Papers and was recorded in the *New York Times*, 11 December 1918; Daniels diary, 10 December 1918.

17 Daniels diary, 10 December 1918; Ashurst diary, 91. {date?}

18 *New York Sun*, 10 December 1918. Letter, Newton D. Baker to WW, 1 January 1919, WP 53:583-84. In her otherwise admirable study Professor Ruth Silva reveals her
incognizance of the Kin Hubbard cartoon ("Abe Martin") by stating, "Plum was probably correct in saying that Wilson ‘retains the salary.’" See Silva, Presidential Succession (Ann Arbor MI: University of Michigan Press, 1951), 97n47.

19 Daniels diary, 17 December 1918; see Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall, 222. Sometimes Daniels would note a line about the Vice President’s contribution: "Marshall very witty" (31 December 1918).

20 New York Times, 7 January 1919. One biographer carried this brief word by Marshall upon learning of Roosevelt’s demise: "Death had to take him sleeping, for if Roosevelt had been awake, there would have been a fight." William Roscoe Thayer, Theodore Roosevelt, An Intimate Biography (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1919), 450.

21 Cablegram, WW to TRM, [6] January 1919, Wilson Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress; Daniels diary, 7 January 1919. The cabinet members regarded the closeness of Thomas Marshall and his wife curious, their never having been separated overnight for some two dozen years.

22 Daniels diary, 21 January 1919.

23 Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall, 222-23.

24 Daniels diary, 20 and 22 February 1919; Arthur Walworth, Woodrow Wilson, II (Boston MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1965), 275. By this time Attorney General Gregory resigned to go to Paris and was succeeded by A. Mitchell Palmer on 5 March.


CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

Heir Apparent


7. Telegram, WW to TRM, 8 September 1919, WP63:117.
8Marshall’s Words of Welcome to General John J. Pershing, manuscript, TRM Papers, Indiana State Library; New York Times, 13 September 1919. (At this same time in Boston, Massachusetts, Governor Calvin Coolidge was deriding the striking police as deserters, an act that would gain him national fame.)

9New York Times, 21 September 1919.

10New York Times, 26 September 1919.


16 Montgomery, AL, Advertiser, 8 October 1919, newscutting, TRM Papers, Indiana State Library.

17 Letters, TRM to Lansing, 7 October 1919; Breckenridge Long to Lansing, October 7, 1919; Lansing to TRM, 7 October 1919; TRM to Lansing, 9 October 1919, Robert Lansing Papers, Vol. 47, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.


19 Officials of the U. S. Govt. accompanying the Royal Belgian Party, mimeographed sheet, TRM Papers, Indiana State Library.

20 Letter, Tumulty to Edith Benham, 28 October 1919, Joseph P. Tumulty Papers, Box 14, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. In his diary Senator Ashurst recorded that “the company was strictly official such as would have been invited to the White House had President and Mrs. Wilson entertained their majesties”; Ashurst diary, 29 October 1919.

22 Bulletins for 18 October 1919, as recorded in the New York Times the following day.

23 Daniels diary, 24 October 1919. For a fanciful reconstruction of the crisis see George S. Viereck, “When a Woman Was President of the United States,” Liberty (20 February 1932) issue in the revived Liberty (Summer, 1972), 37-50.

24 Lansing desk diary, 3 October 1919, WP 63:547-48; Lansing Memorandum to Josephus Daniels, 21 February 1924, Lansing Papers, Vol. 61, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress; Arthur Walworth, Woodrow Wilson, II [2nd ed., rev.] (Boston MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1965), 377. In a 1937 interview by Charles Thomas with Newton D. Baker, the former Secretary of War revealed that the cabinet definitely “did not discuss the question of the devolution of the presidential duties upon the Vice-President”; Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall, 225. Josephus Daniels, however, in his diary entry of 6 October 1919, makes specific references to the topic; WP 63:555.

25 Joseph Patrick Tumulty, Woodrow Wilson As I Know Him (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1921), 442-44. Edith B. Wilson’s My Memoirs was appearing serially in the Saturday Evening Post when Lois Marshall revealed to a reporter an alleged discrepancy in the former First Lady’s book. Mrs. Wilson had related that Dr. Francis X. Dercum of Philadelphia had advised against Mr. Wilson’s relinquishing the Presidency. Lois Marshall held that Dr. Grayson related to her that he had urged Wilson to resign. The President refused to do so. Mrs. Marshall confessed, “I heard from his
own lips the incident in which he advised the President to resign. I have never told it.”


30 Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall, 226-27. Letters bearing Wilson’s signature and handwriting dating from March and April, 1920, show the President to have possessed less than normal vigor but a clear mind and legible but larger script, e.g., Wilson to Burleson, 25 March 1920, Albert B. Burleson Papers, Vol. 25, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.


32 TRM, Recollections, 368. See also Henry L Stoddard, As I Knew Them: Presidents and Politics from Grant to Coolidge (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1927), 541, 547.


CHAPTER NINETEEN “A Year of Disappointment”


Ashurst diary, 21 October 1919; Washington Post, 24 October 1919.


For the cloture rule on the peace treaty, Rule XXII, see the Congressional Record, 66th Cong., 1st sess., 19 November 1919, 8554-55. The first page of the Wednesday session contains the Lodge reservations which alone were considered by the


866th Cong., 1st sess., 19 November 1919, *Congressional Record*, 8767-8803. The outcome in retrospect should have been obvious to all of the Senators, and Wilson should have known what would happen. Thomas A. Bailey fantasized what might have happened to the treaty had Wilson died in Pueblo and Marshall succeeded him as President. The Republican Senators would have been “shamed” into a compromise with an accommodating Marshall and the treaty would have been approved “with a few relatively minor reservations.” Bailey, *Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal*, 137.


12 Interview with Rex Potterf, Fort Wayne, Indiana, 26 October 1967; TRM, Recollections, 380.


16 House Diary, 22 December 1919, WP 64:217.


CHAPTER TWENTY

A Reward He Deserves


7Marshall keynote speech at the Indiana Democratic Convention, manuscript dated 20 May 1920, TRM Papers, Indiana State Library; New York Evening Post, 21 May 1920.


9New York Times, 13 June 1920; letter, WW to Homer Cummings, 12 June 1920, WP 65:393.


21Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall, 240; TRM, Recollections, 229; Helen Ruth Rosenberg, “The Vice-Presidency of the United States” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, 1930), 221n3.

23 Letter, Daniels to TRM, 3 January 1921, Josephus Daniels Papers, Box 42, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.


26 Letter, William E. Borah to TRM, 5 March 1921, TRM Papers, Indiana State Library.


28 Bowers, My Life, 93; interview with John C. Mellett, Indianapolis, IN, 19 October 1967, and letter to the writer, 6 October 1967.


30 Letter, TRM to Daniels, 29 December 1920, Josephus Daniels Papers, Box 42, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE        Elder Statesman


5TRM, “Fears Lest Hatred of War May Make U. S. Impotent for Defense,” Washington Star, 4 March 1923; Speech of James D. Adams before the Whitley County


12TRM, “Demand for Cloture Is As Old As the Senate Itself,” Washington Star, 11 February 1923.


16 TRM Papers, Indiana State Library, contain numerous letters from diplomats concerning preparations for this two-month tour of Europe. French, English, and Belgian ambassadors and friends were especially helpful. The Whitley County Historical Museum, Columbia City, Indiana, contains numerous letters from Lois Marshall to her mother regarding the pleasures and travails of ocean travel between the United States and Europe; letter from Ruth Kirk, Director, to the writer, 22 December 1997.

17 The Times (London), 24 May 1922.


Washington Star, dateline 8 July 1922. Oswald Spengler (1880-1936) published in 1923 as *Der Untergang des Abendlandes*, later translated as *The Decline of the West*. Concerned for the destiny of the world and of Western man’s ability to live his life most realistically, Spengler fell out with the Nazis, who did not fit his view of those reconstructing the world.


The new alliance refers to the Treaty of Guarantee of 1919, acted upon by France and England but not by the United States.


recently tended to assume that all wisdom flowed from the West,” The Nature of the Non-Western World (New York: Mentor Books, 1963), 24.

35 Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall, 253-54.


A final footnote: while everyone has heard of Fairbanks, Alaska (named in memory of Theodore Roosevelt’s Vice President, Charles W. Fairbanks of Indiana), perhaps no one today knows about Marshall, Alaska, named in honor of Woodrow Wilson’s Vice President; see John E. Brown, “Marshall, Alaska, Yukon Settlement Named for Thomas R.,” Whitley County Historical Society Bulletin (April 1970): 9-10. Gold was discovered there on Wilson Creek, 15 July 1913, and a placer mining camp was established near the Yukon River, first called Fortuna Ledge [1915], then Marshall Landing or Marshall--unsung but at one time in history very precious.
# INTERVIEWEES

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<td>McNagny, Rob. C.</td>
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<td>Strouse, Edgar</td>
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CORRESPONDENTS

Arnold, Paul F., attorney, Evansville IN  8/29/68
Barnhart, Dean L., son of congressman Henry A. Barnhart, Indianapolis IN 10/31/67
Bayh, Birch, U. S. Senate, Washington, D.C.  3/25/68; 12/3/70
Beard, Jane [Mrs. Marshall R.], family, Cedar Falls, IA  5/5/73
Bettman, Otto L., archivist, New York NY  8/12/68
Bloemker, Al, Indianapolis Motor Speedway Corporation  3/2/73
Bridges, Roger O., Illinois State Historical Library  2/16/73
Bohn, Frank E., Freemason, Fort Wayne IN  10/29/67; 11/10/67
Carver, Bernice, local historian, Columbia City IN 2/5/75
Chamberlin, Wesley, San Francisco State College, San Francisco CA  4/7/68
Comfort, Elizabeth, State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia MO  5/10/73
Copeland, Margaret, Smith Memorial Library, Chautauqua NY  4/24/68
Deal, Mrs. Fred G., family friend, LaGrange IN 8/27/68; 9/17/68; 9/28/68; 12/1/67
Elman, Edna M., family friend, Lansing IL  1/6/68; 1/29/68; 4/20/68
Emerson, Lucy, family friend, Angola IN 9/12/72; 5/27/73
Felt, Louelle H., Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis MO  3/2/73; 4/7/73
Feerick, John D., writer, New York NY  4/7/68
Feightner, Harold C., librarian, Indianapolis IN  9/26/67
Ferrell, Robert H., historian, Indiana University, Bloomington IN  1/4/71; 1/14/71; 2/9/71
Frankenstein, Alfred V., art critic, San Francisco CA  4/7/68
Freed, Mrs. Liegh, local historian, Wabash IN  8/1/75
Gaskill, David H., Culver Military Academy, Culver IN 12/30/68
Gates, Ralph F., lawyer, Columbia City IN  10/15/67
Geake, William J., Freemason, Fort Wayne IN  11/10/67
Gillette, George W., librarian, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia PA  1/5/68
Gorrell, E.C., newspaper editor, Winimac IN  10/20/67
Harstad, Peter T., historian, Indiana Historical Society 12/10/97
Hayden, Carl, U. S. Senate, Washington, D.C.  112/1/67
Heck, Frank, historian, Centre College, Danville KY  9/28/67
Hudson, Mrs. Robert, family friend, Goshen IN 11/10/67
Jacobsen, Steve, VISTA, Marshall AK  5/10/68; pm4/8/68
Kimsey, Susan B., student, Principia College, Elsah IL  1/15/68
Kimsey, Morton E., brother of Lois Marshall, Scottsdale AZ  pm1/5/68; pm5/8/68
Kimsey, William L., son of Morton, Culver City PA  1/5/70
Kirk, Ruth, curator, Whitley County Historical Museum, Columbia City IN  12/22/97
Knorr, Lois, family friend, Columbia OH  5/29/68
Lancaster, Robert F., family friend, So. Whitley IN 11/20/67; 11/24/67; 4/2/70; 8/1/75
Lawrence, David, White House reporter, Washington, D.C.  11/1/67; 2/9/70
Lippman, Walter, White House reporter, New York NY 10/13/67
Lennox, Eleanor King, family friend, Indianapolis IN  11/2/67
Link, Arthur S., historian, Princeton University, Princeton NJ  9/3/70; 3/9/71; 8/9/75
Logan, Sr. Eugenia, archivist, St. Mary of the Woods IN  10/8/68
McHale, Frank, Indiana State Democratic chair, Indianapolis IN 10/30/67; 11/9/67
McHugh, Gertrude F., Thomas Taggart’s secretary, Indianapolis IN 10/13/67
McKillan, Mildred Dole, family, Angola IN 10/8/68
Macdonald, Frances B., librarian, Indiana State Library, Indianapolis IN 9/11/67
Marshall, J. Richard, distant relative, Muncie IN 9/20/68; 5/8/70; 3/14/73
Maxwell, Stanley F., Supreme Council Scottish Rite, Boston MA 11/27/67
Meitzler, Edwin, local historian, Columbia City IN 5/9/75
Mellett, John C., White House reporter, Indianapolis IN 10/6/67; 10/19/67
Myers, George W., family friend, Fort Wayne IN 11/22/68
Nicholson, Meredith, Jr., family friend, Indianapolis IN 10/3/67
Nottingham, Phyllis, librarian, Alaska Historical Library, Juneau AK 8/30/68
Page, Mrs. Thisbe, family, Dayton OH 3/1/73; 4/10/73
Paulison, Arthur M., Freemason, Fort Wayne IN 11/13/67; 11/30/67
Potterf, Rex, librarian, Fort Wayne IN 10/26/67
Raber, Gail, family friend, Columbia City IN 10/15/67
Riedel, Richard L, U.S. Senate page, Centreville VA 4/25/68
Scouffas, Cheryl, Illinois Historical Survey, Urbana IL 3/20/73
Shumaker, Arthur W., writer, DePauw University, Greencastle IN 2/14/68
Smith, Dwight L., Freemason, Indianapolis IN 11/22/67
Sterling, Kier B., historian, U.S. Army Ordinance, Richmond VA 3/12/91
Strouse, Edgar and Mary, family friends, Columbia City IN 10/14/67; 10/23/67
Thomas, Charles M., Marshall biographer, Montgomery AL 10/9/67; 2/13/70; 8/5/75
Trice, J. Mark, U.S. Senate page, Washington, D.C. 4/22/68
Valeo, Francis R., Secretary of the U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. 3/7/68
Waldman, Neil, CBS News Film Library, New York NY 3/26/68
Weis, Carl A., Moose Supreme Secretary, Mooseheart IL 3/27/68
Williams, Irving G., historian, St. John’s University, Jamaica NY 1/29/69; 2/3/69
ESSAY ON SOURCES

What follows is an introduction to the general reader of the principal sources used together with some additional works on the topics and various periods covered for the years 1854 to 1925. The writer has endeavored to avoid repeating sources except where it was felt to be helpful. Not all of the sources mentioned in the notes are listed below.

Manuscripts

The collected papers of Thomas R. Marshall reside in the Indiana State Library, Indianapolis. Some two thousand letters, speeches, and mementos, including scrapbooks and items assembled by his secretary, Mark Thistlethwaite, are located in the Indiana Division, while correspondence and documents relating to the governorship of Marshall are in the Indiana Governor Archives. Correspondence between Marshall and Woodrow Wilson is preserved in the latter’s papers in the Library of Congress, where also may be found letters and notes from and to Marshall from Wilson cabinet members, some of which are in the papers of Newton D. Baker, William Jennings Bryan, Albert S. Burleson, Josephus Daniels, Robert S. Lansing, and William G. McAdoo, and from Wilson’s chief secretary, Joseph P. Tumulty.

The National Archives contains only a few messages by or about Vice President Marshall in State Department and Navy Department files, but there are numerous U. S. Army Signal Corps photographs as well as several motion picture newsreels from governmental and commercial sources (listed in the notes to each chapter, where applicable).
Newspapers

Newspaper reports and editorials provide a surprising quantity of material covering his career as lawyer through the governorship and the vice presidency. Those providing the most pertinent coverage were the Columbia City Post and the Whitley County Commercial, 1874-1908, the Indianapolis News and the Indianapolis Star, 1908-1912, and the New York Times and the Washington Star, 1912-1925. I am indebted to the New York Public Library for the use of microfilm of the Wilson-Marshall Scrapbooks (54 unpublished volumes of news clippings from New York City newspapers) covering the years 1912-1921.

Selected Published Addresses and Articles of Thomas R. Marshall


Address of the Vice President of the United States, delivered at a meeting of the Supreme Council of Scottish Rite Masons for the Northern Jurisdiction of the United States, held in New York City, on September 17, 1917. . . . Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1917.


Articles (140) in the Washington Star, 1921-1923. [not enumerated]


Commencement Address at the Forty-ninth Annual Commencement. Purdue University Bulletin, XXIII (1923).


“My Life on Main Street.” Hearst’s International (December, 1921): 17, 73.


BOOK ONE

MIDWESTERN ORIGINS

CHAPTER ONE

The Marshall Papers (Indiana State Library, Indianapolis) contain little material from his boyhood days, mostly essays from his high school and his college years. His alma mater, Wabash College, has some articles and clippings about him as student and as trustee, but they are few and of limited value. Material relating to his years in college is found in James I. Osborne and Theodore G. Gronert, *Wabash College: The First Hundred Years, 1832-1932* (Crawfordsville, IN, 1932), chapter viii. Marshall was an early member of a college social fraternity whose ranks included other well-known contemporaries; William F. Chamberlain, *The History of Phi Gamma Delta*, 5 vols. (Washington, D. C., 1926).

CHAPTER TWO


No correspondence between Thomas and Lois Kimsey Marshall has been uncovered by the writer, which is not surprising given their never having been separated but once or twice during their married years. Newspaper accounts and interviews in Columbia City and in Indianapolis have been supplemented by recollections of friends and relatives of Mrs. Marshall. The Whitley County Historical Society Bulletin, published bimonthly, typically features local articles on the personalities and culture of the area, and several were written about Marshall, especially by Ralph F. Gates of Columbia City, himself a former Indiana governor (1945-1949), who was an ardent admirer of Marshall.

CHAPTER THREE

The important period nationally between Reconstruction and the Progressive Era is the focus of John A. Garraty, The New Commonwealth, 1877-1890 (New York, 1968), to which follows the decade of the 1890’s as examined by Harold U. Faulkner, Politics, Reform and Expansion (New York, 1959). While respectable studies, Garraty virtually skips over the Midwest, and Faulkner sidesteps Indiana in his discussion.

For coverage of local politics during the period 1876 to 1908 the Columbia City *Post* was the voice of the Democratic party, the stronger of the two parties, while the *Whitley County Commercial* provided a Republican perspective. A Democratic state history is John B. Stoll, *History of the Indiana Democracy, 1816-1916* (Indianapolis, 1917). Republican activity is described in Russell M. Seeds, *History of the Republican Party of Indiana* (Indianapolis, 1899), and in Frank Munger’s 1955 Harvard dissertation, “Two-Party Politics in the State of Indiana,” though his treatment is lean on the early years. John Braeman supplies this gap in his *Albert J. Beveridge, American Nationalist* (Chicago, 1971).

On Marshall’s law partner, William F. McNagny, the main sources are the local newspapers and personal interviews with his son, the late Judge Rob. R. McNagny, and his grandson, Phil. McNagny, Esq., of Columbia City. No formal study has been made of William who himself had a distinguished civic career, including a term as United States Congressman, 1893-1895.

While not emphasized in the present study, Marshall was an earnest and active Freemason during his years in northeastern Indiana. His activities with this civic fraternity were periodically cited by the local papers, and the offices and awards he received are preserved in the Marshall Papers, File 3 (1889-1898), Indiana State Library.
CHAPTER FOUR


The personal papers and autobiographies of politicians and reporters involved with Indiana issues include the Albert J. Beveridge Papers, Library of Congress. Beveridge was prominent nationally while Marshall was still practicing law in Indiana. Of a different political party within the same state Beveridge eulogized Marshall as an important American and a personal friend, but they were not intimates. The Samuel M. Ralston Papers, Lilly Library, Indiana University, show a closer friendship between the two gubernatorial aspirants who eventually achieved their goals largely due to Indianapolis party boss Thomas Taggart, whose papers in Indiana State Library are frightfully meager. No published study of Taggart existed prior to the recent competent work of James Philip Fadely, *Thomas Taggart: Public Servant, Political Boss 1856-1929* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1997) with the exception of the private biography written by Taggart’s secretary, A. C. Sallee, “T.T. The Mastermind that Wrought Brilliant and Bewildering Achievements in Political Legerdemain” (in the Taggart Papers). The latter biography is a scissors-and-paste composition which contains
no footnotes or other critical apparatus and gives no credit to portions which are verbatim extracts from other works.


For anecdotes of Marshall’s legal and political career see his Recollections, chapter VIII-XII, and the papers of James D. Adams, Whitley County lawyer and judge who was an admirer of Marshall, formerly in the possession of the Gates, Gates & McNagny law firm, Columbia City, Indiana.


The speeches of Thomas Marshall are preserved in part in the Marshall Papers, Indiana State Library, and in published sources such as newspapers, Democratic Party convention reports, and university commencement and alumni magazines. A valuable

Harold Feightner’s unpublished Politics, Prohibition, and Repeal in Indiana (c. 1966) in the Indiana State Library narrates the growing confrontation between advocates of county option and local option. Ernest A. Cherrington’s Anti-Saloon League Year Book 1910 (Westerville, Ohio), and the Year Books for 1911 and 1912 communicate the increasingly successful war being waged by prohibitionists.

BOOK TWO

JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRAT

CHAPTERS FIVE AND SIX

Much of the material in the Marshall Papers is relevant to the gubernatorial years 1909-1913, as is the correspondence in the Indiana Governors Archives, Boxes 72 through 76, Indiana State Library. The Indiana legislature’s deliberations are contained in the House Journal and the Senate Journal, and the acts passed are in the Laws of the State of Indiana (1909-1912).

Charles M. Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall (chapter 5) provides an outline of the key issues and crises facing Marshall while Governor of Indiana. Marshall’s Recollections (chapters XIII-XV) communicates his political philosophy and practices. A fresh new perspective is that of Ray E. Boomhower, Jacob Piatt Dunn, Jr.: A Life in
History and Politics, 1855-1924 (Indianapolis, 1997), in particular, chapter 5, in which the author credits Dunn with having been the draftsman of the “Marshall Constitution.”

The Republican-oriented Indianapolis Star and the Democratic organ, the Indianapolis News, closely observed the state’s government and governor during this period. John B. Stoll, History of the Indiana Democracy, 1816-1917 (Indianapolis, 1917) and Rollo E. Mosher’s master’s thesis, “Tom Marshall’s Term as Governor” (Indiana University, 1932) are helpful early interpretations of his four-year term. Another specialized study is Betty Lou Thralls Randall, “The ‘Marshall Constitution’ of 1911” (master’s thesis, Indiana University, 1958) which traces the background and political controversy surrounding Marshall’s attempt to secure an up-to-date instrument for state management. A contemporary history of Indiana is Logan Esarey, History of Indiana from Its Exploration to 1922 (3rd ed., 2 vols., Ft. Wayne, IN, 1924), redeveloped by John D. Barnhart and Donald F. Carmony in their four-volume work, Indiana: From Frontier to Industrial Commonwealth (New York, 1954).

Political progressivism is exemplified through the public career of the Indiana Republican, Albert J. Beveridge, American Nationalist, the title of a study of this United States Senator by John Braeman (Chicago, 1971), based upon his 1960 Johns Hopkins dissertation. A different breed of Indiana Republican was Theodore Roosevelt’s Vice President, Charles W. Fairbanks, about whom Herbert Rissler wrote a dissertation, “Charles Warren Fairbanks: Conservative Hoosier” (Indiana University, 1961), based upon Fairbanks’ papers situated in the Lilly Library of Indiana University. Marshall’s moderate progressivism fell between the ideologies of Beveridge and Fairbanks, but would now be considered as conservative. The Democratic successor to Governor

CHAPTER SEVEN

Marshall’s Recollections contains no word on his 1910-1912 presidential aspirations. A brief discussion is in Charles M. Thomas’ Thomas Riley Marshall, chapter VI, with regard to the Baltimore Convention in 1912. The best Indiana accounts are from the Indianapolis newspapers, especially the News and the Star, though other Indiana papers are helpful, e.g., the Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette and the Gary Evening Post and Daily Tribune. See the Notes to chapter seven for letters from Marshall that reveal his fatalistic approach to even a political campaign.

On Democratic ascendancy at this time see Arthur S. Link’s Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era, 1910-1917 (New York, 1954). A more developed treatment of the emerging political career of Wilson is Link’s first of five volumes, Wilson: Road to the White House (Princeton, 1947). While Wilson published no autobiography, his considerable personal correspondence is most revealing in The Papers of Woodrow Wilson, 69 volumes (Princeton, 1966-94), edited by Link and others. It is to be noted that of the numerous letters and memoranda between Wilson and Marshall quite a few were not included in the published Wilson Papers. Reminiscences of the Democratic


CHAPTER EIGHT

work of Arthur S. Link, Wilson: Road to the White House (Princeton, 1947). Charles Thomas’ interpretation in Thomas Riley Marshall, chapter VI, is based upon his interviews with Taggart’s personal secretary, Gertrude McHugh, with Marshall’s secretary, Mark Thistlethwaite, and with Democratic convention delegates.

Bryan’s personality which was still persuasive is discussed in the life history written by Paolo E. Coletta, William Jennings Bryan, 2 vols. (Lincoln, NE, 1969). A description of the convention fight which focused upon Bryan’s efforts to produce a progressive presidential nominee is Louis W. Koenig, Bryan: A Political Biography of William Jennings Bryan (New York, 1971), though no mention is made of Bryan’s conversation with McCombs, Wilson’s wearied manager. The erratic but supportive McCombs wrote his own account of the Wilson campaign; William Frank McCombs, Making Woodrow Wilson President (New York, 1921), which words were followed by the adulatory biography by Maurice F. Lyon, William F. McCombs, the President Maker (Cincinnati, OH, 1922). The architect of the Wilson campaign was actually William Gibbs McAdoo, Crowded Years (Boston, 1931).

BOOK THREE
LOYAL SUBJECT

CHAPTERS NINE AND TEN

New York City newspapers commenced their attention on Marshall as a national Democratic candidate, namely, the American, Herald, Press, Sun, Times, and Tribune, and especially the New York World, the chief supporter of the Wilson candidacy.

The Wilson-Marshall exchange of letters began as a result of their election by the Democratic Convention. The correspondence is in the Wilson Papers, Library of Congress, but there is virtually nothing from Wilson to Marshall in the latter’s papers in the Indiana State Library. Initial research for the present study was conducted just as the first volumes of The Papers of Woodrow Wilson were being published, and references to the Wilson Papers are largely based upon the writer’s work at the Library of Congress, Manuscripts Division, though where possible the published letters are identified by their place in the appropriate volume of The Papers.

Marshall’s brief words on his introduction to Washington society and senators are in his Recollections, chapter XVI. Observations and reactions to the colorful new Vice President were recorded in the memoirs of Cabinet officers, for example, Secretary of

The recorded words of Marshall as President of the Senate begin with the *Congressional Record*, 63rd Congress, 1st session, 4 March 1913, 1-2.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Marshall’s views on the duties and alleged insignificance of the Vice Presidency are conveyed in his *Recollections*, chapter XVII, followed in chapter XVIII by his observations of the issues and debates which faced the Sixty-third Congress. Charles M. Thomas’ usually helpful description of Marshall’s career contains only three chapters out of eleven on his vice presidential years, and the treatment of the legislation is mixed chronologically. His sources were mostly reminiscences of Indiana friends of Marshall, though a few were press personnel (James D. Preston, Louis Ludlow, and J. Fred Essary). Young, promising journalists such as David Lawrence and Walter Lippman followed instead the career of President Wilson, the White House “beat.”

News, the New York World, and, with reservations, the progressive periodical, The Outlook.

CHAPTER TWELVE

Marshall’s positive views on patronage derived from his approval of the Jacksonian spoils system, and his documented efforts are in letters to Wilson, to Secretary of State William J. Bryan, to Secretary of State Robert Lansing, to Secretary of War Lindley M. Garrison, to Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels, and to Secretary of War Newton D. Baker. His efforts seemed extreme to William G. McAdoo, Crowded Years (Boston, 1931).

On Marshall’s moderating of the Senate during heated debates perspective is provided by Franklin L Burdette, Filibustering in the Senate (Princeton, 1940), and by Charles M. Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall, chapter VII (New York, 1945). Many books have been written on the Versailles treaty debate, noted in the chapter nineteen endnotes.

The “five-cent cigar” anecdote which provided Marshall with a curious immortality is explained differently by The Pathfinder: America’s Oldest News-weekly (April 18, 1942): 1; Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall (Oxford OH, 1939); Garnett L. Eskew, Willard’s of Washington: The Epic of a Capital Caravansary (New York, 1954); and Fred C. Kelly, The Life and Times of Kin Hubbard, Creator of Abe Martin (New York, 1952). Negative evaluations are in John M. Blum, Joe Tumulty and the Wilson Era (Boston, 1951), and Gene Smith, When the Cheering Stopped: The Last Years of Woodrow Wilson (New York, 1962). It hardly needs to be said that the writers were
influenced by their sources (for example, Tumulty) and by their own predisposition regarding Marshall with little concern for understanding him as a person.

BOOK FOUR
DISILLUSIONED DISCIPLE

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

International trade fairs and expositions were common in Europe and the United States as technology and the arts increased in the latter nineteenth century and into the opening years of the twentieth century. The principal source for the San Francisco Exposition is the five-volume work of Frank Morton Todd, The Story of the Exposition: Being the Official History of the International Celebration Held at San Francisco in 1915 to Commemorate the Discovery of the Pacific Ocean and the Construction of the Panama Canal (New York, 1921). (Today there is also a web site on this subject on the Internet.)

Focusing upon the aesthetic contributions of nations participating and on the architecture is Eugen Neuhaus, The Art of the Exposition, 3rd ed. rev. (San Francisco, 1915), who also published a description of the Panama-California International Exposition as The San Diego Garden Fair: Personal Impressions of the Architecture, Color Scheme & Other
Aesthetic Aspects of the Panama California International Exposition (San Francisco, 1916).


Franklin Roosevelt’s personal impressions are conveyed in F.D.R.: His Personal Letters, Vol. II, 1928-1945, edited by Elliott Roosevelt (New York, 1950), as are those of Eleanor Roosevelt, This is My Story (New York, 1937). Roosevelt, then Assistant Secretary of the Navy, provided instructions to the naval officials stationed at Mare Island, California, contained in Navy Department Correspondence #3768-4551/2, National Archives.

Developments on the war in Europe and Administration reactions were covered by the New York newspapers, collected by the New York Public Library as the Wilson-Marshall Scrapbooks (54 vols.), unpublished and now microfilmed in seven reels. The times are closely examined by Arthur S. Link, Wilson: Confusions and Crises 1915-1916 (Princeton, 1964).

CHAPTER FOURTEEN


Wilson Era (Austin, TX, 1973). The broader history is given by Arthur S. Link, Wilson: Campaign for Progressivism and Peace 1916-1917 (Princeton, 1965). Newton Baker’s view of his position at the time was conveyed in personal remarks to Charles M. Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall, chapter X.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

The Sixty-fourth Congress, Second Session, recorded the inauguration of Wilson and Marshall in the Congressional Record, 3 March 1917, 4869, which was covered by reporters for the New York Times and other publications in the following days.

Cabinet members’ published observations on their experiences and on the cabinet deliberations during the war years were comparatively few, surprisingly, though several did publish on their respective departmental administrations. For our purposes the pertinent volumes include E. David Cronon, ed., The Cabinet Diaries of Josephus Daniels, 1913-1921 (Lincoln, NE, 1963); Josephus Daniels, The Wilson Era, 2 vols. (Chapel Hill, NC, 1944-1945); David F. Houston, Eight Years with Wilson’s Cabinet, 1913-1920: with a Personal Estimate of the President, 2 vols. (Garden City, NY, 1926); Robert Lansing, War Memoirs of Robert Lansing, Secretary of State (Indianapolis, 1935); William Gibbs McAdoo, Crowded Years: The Reminiscences of William McAdoo (Boston, 1931); and William C. Redfield, With Congress and Cabinet (New York, 1924). The personal papers and diaries of the cabinet members are primary source materials and many are referred to in this biography.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN


Charles M. Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall, chapter VIII, apparently interspersed interviews with newspaper reports to write on “the War Years.” Marshall’s Recollections, chapters XXVII-XXIX, include his reaction to the progress of the war effort by the President and by Americans. Reporters’ views of Wilson’s Vice President are contained in editorials and articles, for example, Ralph Block, “How to be Vice President,” New York Tribune, 24 May 1918, and John Temple Graves, “Marshall Sees Menace in Roosevelt,” New York American, 20 June 1918. On Americans’ growing fear of a Bolshevik revolution from within, which Marshall shared, a helpful analysis is

BOOK FIVE

BETRAYAL AND SURVIVAL

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

On the success of the suffragettes with passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, a respectable history is that of Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle: The Women’s Rights Movement in the United States* (New York, 1958). James Watson was involved as chairman of the Senate Suffrage Committee, which supported the proposed amendment which Marshall eventually signed on Wilson’s behalf.

The potential problems created by President Wilson’s absence from the country are analyzed in Ruth C. Silva, *Presidential Succession* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1951). Vice-Presidential studies noted previously will be helpful here.

**CHAPTER EIGHTEEN**


Marshall’s personal words on Wilson’s health are in his Recollections, p. 368, but his reactions upon learning of the President’s strokes are vivid in David F. Houston, Eight Years with Wilson’s Cabinet, vol. II, in Josephus Daniels’ diary, and in Henry F. Ashurst’s diary. Baltimore Sun reporter J. Fred Essary first broke the news to Marshall, who was not privy to Wilson’s physical condition. Probably the most influential popular interpretation was given by George S. Viereck, “When a Woman Was President of the United States,” Liberty, February 20, 1932 (reprinted in Liberty [Summer, 1972]: 37-50).

Wilson’s second wife, Edith B. Wilson, My Memoir (Indianapolis, 1939), gave her reasons for secrecy in favor of keeping her husband alive and away from undue stress. Her biography was adulatory and uncritical: Alden Hatch, Edith Bolling Wilson: First Lady Extraordinary (New York, 1961). Recent historical studies include John Morton Blum, Joe Tumulty and the Wilson Era (Boston, 1951), which is hostile to Marshall, and Gene Smith, When the Cheering Stopped: The Last Years of Woodrow Wilson (New York, 1964), which virtually ignored the plight of the Vice President. A sympathetic consideration was given Marshall by Birch Bayh, One Heartbeat Away: Presidential Disability and Succession (Indianapolis, 1968). Bayh, United States Senator from

administrative secretary, advanced his interpretation of events surrounding Wilson’s incapacities in Woodrow Wilson As I Know Him (Garden City, NY, 1921), which is in conflict with the interpretation of Secretary of State Robert Lansing as revealed in his papers in the Library of Congress. Reporters had their own views based upon limited information, for example, Charles Grasty, “Strain of Years Tells on Wilson,” New York Times, 26 September 1919, and J. Frederick Essary, Covering Washington (Boston, 1927).

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Indiana, was chairman of the Senate’s subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments, which produced the 25th Amendment on presidential disability and succession.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

Debates on the treaty with Germany and on whether the United States should join the League of Nations are reproduced in the Congressional Records, November, 1919, and following. Newspaper coverage followed. Vice President Marshall’s words were few but emotion-laden (Recollections, chapter XXIX), and little more than description is provided by Charles M. Thomas’ 1939 biography, Thomas Riley Marshall, chapter IX. A narrative of the debates with little interpretation is provided by Alan Cranston, The Killing of the Peace (New York, 1945).

Marshall’s estimates of his Senate colleagues occupy six chapters in his Recollections, XXI-XXVI, and his activities while substitute President are noted in chapters XXVIII-XXX.

A volume in which Arthur S. Link has provided a reconstruction of Wilson’s entire life is Woodrow Wilson: A Brief Biography (Cleveland, OH, 1963), and the reader is referred to the Papers of Woodrow Wilson (Princeton, 1966-94). An engaging small volume on Wilson’s contributions is Woodrow Wilson: A Profile, edited by Arthur S. Link (New York, 1968). Thomas A. Bailey’s Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal (New York, 1945) is an absorbing description of the crisis concerning the debates, though Bailey is mistaken in his view that Marshall had agreed to follow Wilson in his resignation plan.
Numerous studies in political science have appeared over the past thirty years concerning the office of the Vice Presidency. With the passage of time since the Wilson Era few of these studies shed any light on Vice President Marshall’s situation. A most impressive essay is that of Allan P. Sindler, *Unchosen Presidents: The Vice-President and Other Frustrations of Presidential Succession* (Berkeley, CA, 1976). He examines what are feasible alternatives to choosing the successor to the President besides the present Constitutional provisions. Most studies focus upon issues and personalities of the latter twentieth century, for example, Joel K. Goldstein, *The Modern American Vice Presidency: The Transformation of a Political Institution* (Princeton, 1982); Paul C. Light, *Vice-Presidential Power: Advice and Influence in the White House* Baltimore, 1984); Marie D. Natoli, *American Prince, American Pauper: The Contemporary Vice Presidency in Perspective* (Westport CN, 1985); Michael Nelson, ed., *A Heartbeat Away: Report of the Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on the Vice Presidency* (New York, 1988); and, Timothy Walch, ed., *At the President’s Side: The Vice Presidency in the Twentieth Century* (Columbia MO, 1997) with an essay by John Milton Cooper, Jr., on Vice Presidents during the Progressive Era. The older book by Edgar Wiggins Waugh, *Second Consul: The Vice Presidency, Our Greatest Political Problem* (Indianapolis, 1956), contains a pertinent chapter on the early Vice Presidents of this century with perception and not a little wisdom to match.

CHAPTER TWENTY

On the national party conventions of 1920, the main historical study is Wesley M. Bagby, *The Road to Normalcy: The Presidential Campaign and Election of 1920*


The efforts of Thomas Taggart at the San Francisco Convention are chronicled in the Indianapolis *News* (Democratic) and the Indianapolis *Star* (Republican). James Fadely’s recent biography sheds helpful light on Taggart’s importance as an “organization man” in this period of time: *Thomas Taggart: Public Servant, Political Boss, 1856-1929* (Indianapolis, 1997). *The New York Times* and the *New York World*
provide reportings of interviews with Marshall and other prominent Democrats in attendance in the Washington scene.

POSTSCRIPT

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE


Thomas Marshall knew the men who were presidents of the period. Harding, a former member of the Senate, is the center of a controversial biography by Francis Russell, *The Shadow of Blooming Grove: Warren G. Harding in His Times* (New York, 1968) and a later study by Randolph C. Downes, *The Rise of Warren Gamaliel Harding* (Columbus, OH, 1970). Coolidge, one-time governor like Marshall, and then a Vice President, is brought up-to-date by Donald R. McCoy, *Calvin Coolidge: The Quiet President* (New York, 1967) and by Thomas B. Silver, *Coolidge and the Historians* (Durham, NC, 1982).
The *Recollections of Thomas R. Marshall* (Indianapolis, 1925) ends abruptly after commentary on the visit of the young Prince of Wales in November, 1919. An ending was obviously tacked onto the chapter, concluding the manuscript as a whole. Thus, we are led to depend upon Marshall’s 140 articles written between 1921 and 1923 for his views of matters past and current.

Eulogies on Marshall (d. 1 June 1925) are found in the Thistlethwaite Scrapbooks, TRM Papers, Indiana State Library. Memorabilia have been assembled in the Marshall residence in Columbia City, Indiana, which is now the Whitley County Historical Society Museum.