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➤➤ AN AMUSING new fortune-telling book is *My Heavens!*, which contains simple instructions for charting the horoscope of your friends, and rules for interpreting them. We discovered that, with the sun in Capricorn at the time of our birth, we "are not naturally gay and carefree, and the atmosphere surrounding us should be as cheerful as possible." We intend to take this up with the Editor, suggesting that he move us to a large sunny office, and perhaps install a radio and an electric refrigerator. Since the sun was in Aquarius at the time of his birth, he "has a natural love of his fellow man, regardless of class or station in life," and we are therefore confident that he will have it done. Our horoscope casts a doubt here, though, for being a child of the goat, we "are apt to be misunderstood." We have noticed that—particularly in our little jokes. However—"we are generally in control of ourself." That, we think, is true. We seldom lose control except when reading Arthur Brisbane or listening to Graham MacNamee.

➤➤ HAVING in the past often suffered from egg-beater's cramp, we hail with cries of joy a new and improved ball-bearing egg-beater which whirls easily and smoothly, and which doesn't stick so hard at the top of the swing that you have to put your foot on it to get it started again.

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# T. R. and the Bosses

(Continued from Page 307)

African proverb: 'Speak softly and carry a big stick, you will go far.'

Three possible paths to the presidential nomination in 1904 opened before Roosevelt while he was governor of New York. One was to seek reelection. The second was to achieve appointment as Secretary of War under McKinley. The third, and in Roosevelt's mind the least promising, was the vice presidential nomination.

Public comment on Roosevelt's presidential aspirations started in March, 1899, to the annoyance of the party leaders pledged to a renomination for McKinley. Mr. Depew said in May that the President was certain to be named and that Roosevelt did not want the vice presidency. He would continue as governor of New York for two more years, "but look out for him in 1904 . . . there will be a regular Roosevelt deluge." Depew did not hint that Platt might refuse to tolerate another term at Albany for Roosevelt.

Roosevelt did not deceive himself about 1900. He told Lodge in April, 1899, that McKinley would be chosen. In June, however, he attended a Rough Rider reunion in New Mexico and was astonished at the throngs which greeted him "exactly as if I had been a presidential candidate." Mark Hanna, a little worried, said that Roosevelt had made a fine governor, "but he is working too hard . . . he is too ambitious." The National Chairman, hoping that this might put an end to the presidential talk, said that the governor of New York deserved another term.

Roosevelt had enough consideration for McKinley to issue a statement when he returned from the West. He was not a candidate for President, he said. Every one he had seen on his trip was behind McKinley; his renomination was assured. This relieved the tension at the White House, but it was bad political strategy for Roosevelt to withdraw. He might have had any post he desired had he refrained from speaking out. As it was, he soon found himself being maneuvered toward the vice presidency.

In July, 1899, Lodge analyzed possible programs which would bring victory in 1904. Two years more as governor had much to be said for it, the flaw being that the term would end in 1902 with the national convention still two years off. The ideal solution, Lodge felt, was for Roosevelt to become Secretary of War, where "your services will make you President without serious opposition." But this hope vanished when

McKinley, who had finally nerved himself to request Alger's resignation, appointed Elihu Root. The third possibility was the vice presidency. Lodge did not agree that this was a blind alley: "I have thought it over a great deal and I am sure I am right."

Roosevelt was puzzled. He had preferred the War Department. He recognized the disadvantages in another term as governor. He replied that he was aware that his hold on the voters was "entirely ephemeral" and could hardly last until 1904. He was inclined, although his wife disagreed, to share Lodge's belief that the vice presidency offered the best chance. A fourth possibility arose during the winter of 1899-1900. Lodge asked the President whether Roosevelt might not be appointed Civil Governor of the Philippine Islands. But McKinley answered, diplomatically, that it would not be wise to have Roosevelt in a non-military post while Aguinaldo remained uncaptured.

THE winter was one of indecision. The death of Vice-President Hobart in November, 1899, increased the demand that Roosevelt add his popular strength to the national ticket. On January 27, 1900, Lodge remarked with faint asperity that it was time for him to make up his mind. By February Platt was joining in the chorus, and Roosevelt, suspicious that he was being placed on the political shelf by his enemies in New York, started to back away. "I would greatly rather be anything, say a professor of history . . ." he told Platt. At about the same time he protested that his finances would not permit acceptance. Besides, he added with honesty, it would be "too harrowing" to preside at senatorial debates and be foreclosed from retorting when foolish ideas were advanced.

Roosevelt thereupon announced that he would not accept the nomination if it was offered. His statement of February 6, 1900, was as conclusive as such a statement could be, although he later denied that he had closed the door. ". . . It is proper for me to state definitely that under no circumstances could I or would I," he said, "accept the nomination for the vice presidency . . . My duty is here in the state whose people chose me to be governor."

"I am happy to state," he added, "that Senator Platt cordially acquiesces in my views in the matter."

If Roosevelt really believed that Platt agreed, he was mistaken. Lem Quigg,



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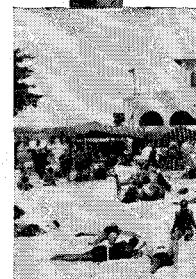


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who often thought aloud for the boss, said on the same day that nation-wide sentiment would make it impossible for Roosevelt to decline. He was blandly certain that Platt wanted to retain the governor, but Roosevelt would be called to higher things despite the desires of the organization. During the fortnight which followed, Roosevelt continued his demand for a renomination and learned that this was improbable. Discouragement overcame him again. He told his sister that "Cabot . . . the dear old goose" actually regarded him as a presidential possibility. Alas, he knew better.

AS THE national convention, due to open in Philadelphia on June 19, approached, Roosevelt's resolution faltered. If you go as a delegate, Lodge warned, you will be nominated. "I would be looked upon as a coward if I didn't go," Roosevelt answered, and permitted himself to be chosen as a delegate-at-large. "By the way," he wrote on April 23, 1900, "I did *not* say that I would not under any circumstances accept the vice presidency." His preference was still to be governor of New York for the next two years, but he was also afraid that he might be retired to private life. His friends, meanwhile, saw him being forced into an office which meant the end of presidential dreams; no vice president had ever been elected to the presidency.

The Republican National Convention of 1900 had been called to order at 12:30 o'clock with the usual formalities. Then, "just a little late," as Mark Hanna was thumping for order, a burly figure strode down the aisle toward the New York delegation. He was wearing the wide-brimmed black hat which had attracted attention during his campaign for governor. Its similarity to the campaign hat of a Rough Rider was obvious and Wayne MacVeagh, who had been Attorney-General under Garfield, looked at it with amusement.

"Gentlemen," he whispered to his neighbors, "that's an Acceptance Hat."

He did not even remove his hat during the long two minutes while he made his way toward his seat. He froze into military immobility, the hat against his heart, as the band struck up the national anthem. But on the platform a smile on the round face of Mark Hanna faded. A strange clairvoyance, a foreboding, apparently worried the national chairman at Philadelphia.

Roosevelt's perplexities were unending. Would Boss Platt, at the last moment, push forward Odell and deny him even the vice presidency? Would he then be denied a second term as governor? There were indications that

some such plot was in the air. Before the delegation left New York, Odell had intimated that he would not refuse to run with McKinley. On reaching Philadelphia, Platt denied any intention of pushing Roosevelt against his will; Odell would "fill the place to a dot." On the other hand, from Western delegations knowing nothing of the conspiracies behind the scenes, came demands that Roosevelt bow to the will of the people and accept the nomination. Under the strain, Roosevelt was ferocious in private—" . . . Really, I was never easy to force"—and cautious in public.

The phrases which marked another declination were: "I appreciate all this



### Through a Glass Darkly

*From the Trend of the Week in the Outlook of November 7, 1951*

Major and Mrs. Cholmondeley Tubbs, of Hillsdale, N. J., proudly showed reporters a personal letter just received from King Edward VIII of England congratulating them on their silver wedding celebrated last week. Their seven sons, Edward, Albert, Christian, George, Andrew, Patrick and David, were named after the former Prince of Wales, who was a companion in arms in 1914-18 of Major Tubbs.

It was revealed this week that the heretofore anonymous donor of \$7,000,000 to the Art Institute of Chicago was Herman T. Oppen, the aged philanthropist, whose fortune was founded in 1930 when he was president of the Oppen Red Ink Manufacturing & Sales Corporation.

An amendment to the Pure Foods Act, sponsored by the Restaurant and Hotel Managers' Association, will be offered in the next session of Congress making it a misdemeanor to describe as a "cocktail" any appetizer with less than a 10 per cent alcoholic content.



to the full . . . , "I understand the high honor and dignity of the office . . . an office so high and so honorable . . . well worthy the ambition of any man in the United States." Roosevelt felt, however, that his "best usefulness to the public and to the party" lay in his renomination as governor. He asked that "every friend of mine in the convention respect my wish and judgment in this matter." "Sunny Jim" Sherman, who was one day to accept a vice presidential nomination himself, and Lucius N. Littauer, a New York delegate, chuckled as they read this, the utterance of a practical politician.

"It's a cinch," said Sherman. "All we have to do is go ahead and nominate him."

Roosevelt was nominated for the vice presidency, against his faltering will, because Matt Quay nursed a grudge against Mark Hanna. Quay detested

Hanna because the Ohio senator had, in 1899, blocked his admission to the Senate. He waited anxiously for revenge, and his chance came when he perceived Mark Hanna's alarm over Roosevelt. The attack was launched on June 20, the second day of the convention. Quay must have been quietly amused when he arose from the Pennsylvania delegation to suggest an amendment to the rules. He proposed that state representation at national conventions be based on the size of the Republican vote in the latest election. This was an ancient proposal, never taken seriously, which would have stripped Southern Republican leaders of their power. It would have eliminated the Negro delegates who adorn every Republican gathering. It was a step toward honesty in politics, a consummation in which Quay was wholly uninterested. His purpose was not misinterpreted. This was a blow at Mark Hanna, who controlled the Southern delegates. The excitement was intense as the clerk read Quay's motion. Southern leaders climbed to their chairs and shrieked for recognition. Then the Pennsylvania boss suggested that discussion be delayed for a day or two.

HANNA knew that it was the end. He was already irritated by McKinley's refusal to interfere in the contest for vice-president. When the convention recessed, the delegates from the South flocked to the headquarters of the National Chairman to ask what the amendment meant. They said, as Hanna knew they would, that Quay had promised to withdraw it if they swung their support to Roosevelt. Hanna could do nothing except bluster and surrender.

"Don't any of you realize," he demanded, his forebodings returning in full force, "that there's only one life between this madman and the White House?" Platt and Quay were idiots, he said. Roosevelt could do no comparable harm as governor of New York. That evening, however, the National Chairman called in the correspondents and told them that Roosevelt would be nominated. Next morning, June 21, Quay abandoned his momentary advocacy of honesty and withdrew his resolution.

Nothing marred the harmony of the day. McKinley was unanimously nominated; with Roosevelt making one of the seconding speeches. This was followed immediately by the nomination for vice president.

Mark Hanna, making the best of a defeat which had been a blow to his prestige, informed Roosevelt that the main burden of the campaign would fall

on his shoulders. The President would make an address or two from his home at Canton. The arduous work of crusading in doubtful states would be done by the candidate for vice president. Roosevelt assured the National Chairman that he was "as strong as a Bull Moose and you can use me up to the limit." He felt distaste, however, for appearing as "a second-class Bryan," and he doubted the wisdom of too many speeches.

In July, 1900, he told Spring-Rice of his anxiety to "prevent the throwing over of this government by Bryan and his followers." A month later he was frightened by his belief that on the side of Bryan had gathered "... all the lunatics, all the idiots, all the knaves, all the cowards, and all the honest people who are slow-witted." Roosevelt apparently feared that this constituted a majority of his fellow citizens. A Messianic urge again gripped him and gave him strength to indulge in one of the most vigorous campaigns in the annals of presidential circuses. On one tour, alone, toward the end of the drive, he visited twenty-four states and made 673 speeches in 567 towns and cities. He travelled 21,209 miles and 3,000,000 people saw and heard him.

A GOOD deal of doubt existed as to the "paramount issue" of the campaign. To Mark Hanna it was the "Full Dinner Pail." To Bryan it was imperialism and legislation against the trusts. To the die-hards among the silver enthusiasts of the West it was the bondage of a gold currency. To Roosevelt the paramount issue was the depravity of those who disagreed with the Republican Administration. The vice presidential nominee's party shared his apprehensions over the outcome. Senator Hanna was constantly insisting that danger lay in over-confidence and pointed to "general apathy" in the East. Roosevelt was afraid that the voters were "busy and prosperous" and so would not perceive the danger. On the other hand, the prosperity so proudly claimed was more apparent than real.

The exertion of this campaign proved too much for the constitution of even a Bull Moose, and by the middle of October Roosevelt was complaining that his voice was giving out, that he felt like "a football man who has gone stale." There were other irritations. He was criticized for neglecting his duties as governor of New York.

The reward of his zeal was victory on November 6. The McKinley-Roosevelt ticket received 292 electoral votes to 155 for Bryan. The plurality was 849,000, the largest since 1872.

Roosevelt found it difficult to be too

elated over the result. Cynicism was a mental vice which he deplored, and which rarely overcame him, but there is a trace of it in a letter to Root in December. He was inviting the Secretary of War to attend a dinner in honor of J. P. Morgan:

... I hope you can come to my dinner to J. Pierpont Morgan. You see, it represents an effort on my part to become a conservative man in touch with the influential classes and I think I deserve encouragement. Hitherto I have given dinners only to professional politicians or more or less wild-eyed radicals. Now I am at work endeavoring to assume the vice-presidential pose ....

The Senate was in session from March 5, 1901, to March 9, to pass upon presidential appointments and this, although a debate or two on other matters took place, was the only official business. Vice President Roosevelt had absorbed a little parliamentary law in the New York legislature, but he was nervous about his ability as presiding officer of this august assemblage. For several days prior to assuming his new duties he pored over back files of the *Congressional Record*, and on March 4 a clerk was at his side to prompt him. On one of the first motions, Roosevelt revealed his innate belief that Democrats were fundamentally obstructionists. "All in favor will say Aye," he called, bowing in the direction of the Republican members. Then, while the Senate chuckled audibly, he turned toward the Democrats: "All those opposed say No," he added.

Fortunately, when the Senate convened again, Roosevelt was President of the United States. Even the kindly Depew felt that he lacked the necessary "impartiality, equable temper, and knowledge of parliamentary law."

The summer of 1901 was rather dull, the principal diversion being a trip to Colorado in August on which the cheers for Roosevelt were encouraging. In May he attended the opening of the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo, New York, and spoke on the probable blessings of the new century. President McKinley, who was to visit the Exposition in September, sent a message expressing his hope for its success.

"May there be no cloud," he telegraphed, "on this grand festival of peace and commerce."

On September 6, in the Temple of Music where this message had been read, McKinley was shot twice by Leon Czolgosz, an anarchist. He died in Buffalo in the early morning of September 14.

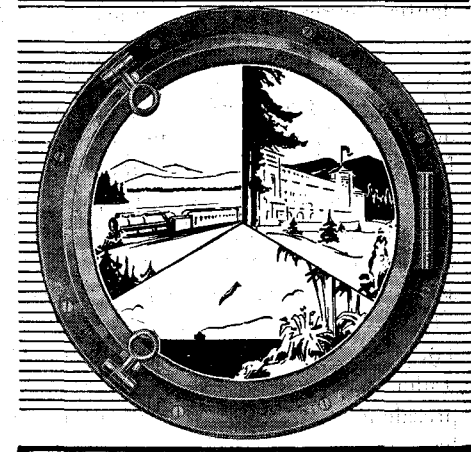
Roosevelt, on September 6, was attending an outing of the Vermont Fish and Game League on the Isle La Motte in Lake Champlain. The shock of the

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For the best Remarkable Remarks contributed by Outlook readers the Outlook will award weekly prizes of \$5 for the one judged best, and \$2 each for as many more as may be adjudged worthy of inclusion in the column.

Entries for each week's contest close at 12 o'clock noon on the Monday of the week preceding date of publication.

All Remarkable Remarks must be direct quotations and must be accompanied by evidence of their source. If the Remarkable Remark selected by any contributor has appeared in the press, it must be accompanied by clipped evidence, showing the author of the remark and the name and date of the publication in which it appeared. If the Remarkable Remark has appeared in a book, the title of the book and the name of its author, together with the number of the page upon which the Remarkable Remark is to be found, must be submitted.

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In case two or more contributors submit the same Remarkable Remark which is judged worthy of any prize, the contributor whose Remarkable Remark is accompanied by the best—briefest and wittiest—explanatory sentence will be awarded the prize.

The editors of the Outlook are the sole judges of the contest and are ineligible to compete. All contributions should be sent to the Remarkable Remarks Editor.

news must have swept aside consideration of its momentous meaning to his own career. On the trip across the lake to the train someone was so *gauche* as to remark that he might, at any moment, become President of the United States. Roosevelt rebuked this with the answer that everyone would think only of the stricken Chief Executive. The single letter which has survived shows that Roosevelt was really grief-stricken. He had forgotten the days when he had referred to McKinley in terms of contempt and had charged him with having a chocolate éclair for a backbone.

McKinley, who had been taken to a private home, had rallied after the first day and optimistic reports were issued by the surgeons on September 9. On the following day the vice president left Buffalo as an assurance to the nation that the danger had passed. He was to join his family in a remote part of the Adirondack Mountains near Mount Tahawus. Before leaving, however, Roosevelt left his itinerary with Ansley Wilcox, at whose residence he had been staying in Buffalo.

Some time after midnight on the morning of Friday, September 13, Mr. Wilcox was awakened by a messenger. The President was worse, much worse, he was told. Roosevelt must be sum-

moned immediately. Within two hours a courier had started from Albany, but when he arrived at the Tahawus Club he found that Roosevelt had left to spend the day mountain climbing. It was late that afternoon before the vice president began his descent and met a guide who had started up with telegrams. Then came a wild ride of fifty miles on a buckboard to the nearest railroad station, where another special train waited. All of that day, as the messages to Roosevelt must have made clear, there had been no hope that McKinley could live. At 2:15 o'clock on Saturday morning, September 14, 1901, while his hack careened on toward the mountain railroad station, Roosevelt became President of the United States. He boarded the train at dawn, learning that the President was dead.

HE REACHED Buffalo at 1:30 o'clock. The next afternoon and was driven to the house where McKinley's body lay. Again, he was deeply affected by the tragedy. An hour and a half later the oath of office was administered at the Wilcox home. The house had been dismantled for the summer and in the library, where the small group gathered, the chairs were still covered with draperies. Except for Secretary of State

Hay and Secretary of the Treasury Gage, all the members of McKinley's Cabinet were present. Secretary of War Root addressed the new President and asked that the oath of office be taken at once.

Roosevelt's face was nearly expressionless. His eyes were fixed straight ahead. He bowed to the Secretary of War and spoke in the crisp, staccato sentences which already were so familiar.

"I am at one mind with the members of the Cabinet," he said. "I will show the people at once that the administration of the Government will not falter in spite of the terrible blow . . . I wish to say that it shall be my aim to continue, absolutely unbroken, the policy of President McKinley for the peace, the prosperity, and the honor of our beloved country."

In his vigorous handling of the anthracite coal strike, as revealed next week, Roosevelt was prepared to have the army operate the mines, as described in the next installment. T. R. is revealed in one of his most tempestuous times in the White House, always carrying the "big stick" but not always speaking softly