

ROOSEVELT'S PLACE IN HISTORY

IS HE A GREAT MAN OR A SHAM? IS HE A HERO OR A HUMBUG? OPINION OF STATESMEN, EDITORS, AMERICAN COLLEGE PRESIDENTS AND PROFESSORS OF HISTORY

IS THEODORE ROOSEVELT a great man or a sham? Is he a hero or a humbug? These are the questions submitted to the readers of The Sunday Oregonian for their answer.

There is a cloud of witnesses to either characterization. Mr. James Bryce has praised him as the greatest President since Washington. Mr. Edward Harriman has denounced him as the most dangerous man that ever occupied the Presidential chair. Between these two extremes all sorts of intermediate shades of opinion have been expressed by friends and foes.

What verbal compromise, if any, would succinctly sum up his virtues and his failings?

Mr. Roosevelt's three most characteristic sayings are "the strenuous life," "the square deal" and the "big stick." His admirers hold that he has embodied all three before the world. Are they right or wrong?

Concerning his strenuous life there can be no question. He is the most active, the most energetic, the most forceful of all our present-day statesmen. But are his activities always directed into proper channels? Is his energy utilized or wasted? Is his force always or usually exerted on the right side?

Has he given a square deal to his foes as well as to his friends, given it alike to the business man, the politician, the private individual, the general public?

Has he wielded the big stick to the benefit of the countries and the peoples under our patronage?

Of his personal popularity there can be no more doubt than of his strenuousness. But is the good feeling which he creates born of unqualified admiration and respect?

Or is there a burlesque side to his character which appeals gratefully to our sense of humor? In other words, is the Nation's darling a spoiled child?

Or is he a massive, many armed, full grown man who imposes himself upon us by sheer force of his intellect, his virtues and his dominating personality?

OPINIONS OF CRITICS

THE greatest President since Washington.—James Bryce.

Theodore Roosevelt has borne himself well in the Presidential chair. He has done his duty as he saw it, fearlessly, wisely and impartially. In so doing he has offended many millionaires, a legion of snobs and a multitude of fools.—Boston Pilot.

I have seen two tremendous works of nature. One is Niagara Falls and the other is the President of the United States, and I am not sure which is the more wonderful.—John Morley.

Take Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Rhodes, Lord Charles Hersford and John Burns. Boli them down until you get the residuum essence into an American Dutchman, and you have something like the new President of the United States.—English Review of Reviews.

The American President is by far the most interesting personage in all the world of the present day.—Berlin Deutsche Tages Zeitung.

The President has not, since he has been in the Whitehouse, established for himself a reputation for accuracy, and this fact will put the public on guard against a too precipitate condemnation of those whom he accuses.—Baltimore Sun.

At this moment President Roosevelt is probably the most interesting political figure in the world.—London Spectator (1902).

He is the true statesman of the 20th century, and as such deserves well of his country and of all parts of the globe.—Baron D'Estournelles de Constant.

Here is a President acting as a benevolent despot, waiving the laws of the United States as it suits him and when it suits him. Could personal rule, executive usurpation and the utmost possibilities of corrupt and irresponsible dictatorship further go?—Albany Argus.

It is impossible to avoid the suspicion that in respect of certain peculiarities of temper and language the President is treated as more or less of a joke, shall we say, a laughing stock? In Washington.—Milwaukee Sentinel.

President Roosevelt, in hunting through various American jungles, has struck his game. But the public likes him because he is not afraid of the biggest of them and because he holds his duty to the people paramount.—Troy Times.

The country has seen Presidents, many of them, who have been out of sympathy with the policies of their Congresses, but we doubt whether the country has ever seen a President, who, like Mr. Roosevelt, has made himself so offensive to his legislative bodies. It is a pity.—New Haven Journal-Courier.

That Theodore Roosevelt has abused his office; that his natural qualities have led to the most alarming and lamentable consequences; that his unbridled lust of self-aggrandizement and love of publicity threaten the stability, if not the very existence, of the political structure in which he holds office—all these facts do not justify or excuse the Congress of the United States in adding its efforts to his to humiliate the Nation. Roosevelt, without its aid, has done all that is necessary to de-

From College Presidents and Professors of History.

DAVID STARR JORDAN, president of the Leland Stanford, Jr., University—"Roosevelt will have a very high place in American history, first, from his strenuous efforts for the conservation of our domain and its forests, its animals and its products; second, from the high moral standards he has inculcated and carried into practice; third, because he has been personally immune to all questions of fear and favor; fourth, he has actually done things and set a high standard of activity for others; fifth, he has made mistakes—plenty of them—and corrected most of them, while other men would have been hesitating for fear of being misunderstood. His influence on posterity will be large and clearly marked. He is a man who sees our political and social life in times of action, and he has done just as much as many could to set us to thinking right as a Nation, and to think right is to act right. Roosevelt is certainly one of the great men of our time."

Benjamin Ide Wheeler, president of the University of California—"You ask whether Theodore Roosevelt is really a great President? The range of his intelligence and of his intelligent interests certainly surpasses that of any of his predecessors. His mind is quick, acquisitive, singularly retentive and accurate. As an intellectual force he ranks alone with Jefferson. In the application of moral discriminations to public life and the inspiration of moral enthusiasm regarding public duty he may well prove to be the greatest preacher and doer of political righteousness that America has ever had. National irrigation, the Panama Canal, the husbanding of National resources, the Russian-Japanese peace, all are aggressive works that look towards greatness, while the setting of Government regulation to block the path of Government ownership and the advancement of his party into a foreground where it could combat social revolution have made him in the larger perspective the great conservative force of his day. In a measure that is really great he loves his country and is not afraid."

Professor Henry Wade Rogers, dean of the law department of Yale University—"It is usually exceedingly difficult to undertake to predict at the time of a statesman's retirement from office just what estimate history will ultimately place upon his services. The opinion entertained of Mr. Cleveland by his opponents at the time of his death was quite different from that which was entertained by them when he left the White House. The judgment placed on Andrew Johnson now is not at all that of the majority of the people at the time of his retirement. The fact that a man is exceedingly popular with the people when he leaves the Presidency cannot be accepted as any certain guaranty that history will assign him any very high place among statesmen. That is as true as the fact that a man's popularity at the time he leaves the Presidency is no guaranty that history will not assign him a very high place and regard him as a really great one."

"Of one thing I think we can be assured. History will, in my opinion, regard Mr. Roosevelt as the most lawless President we have ever had in the United States. He has had apparently very little respect for any authority except his own. That is a very grave defect of character in any public official, and especially in a President. His criticism of the courts has been frequent and shocking, and he has been apparently entirely oblivious to the fact that the judiciary constitutes a co-ordinate department of the government, and as such not within his province. To undermine the confidence of the people in the judiciary is one of the most dangerous and reprehensible things a public man can do, and again and again he has assailed the judiciary, and without reason. He deserves, and in my opinion will receive, the severe censure of history for his lawlessness and his lack of respect for the courts of this country. While he is deserving credit for some things, I think that when history carefully sums up the results of his administration it will not give him a place among the really great Presidents of the United States. That he is a remarkable man is not to be denied. We have had no President like him, and probably will not have for a hundred years to come."

James Walter Crook, professor of political economy, Amherst College—"I am inclined to think that Roosevelt's place in history is that of being one of the reconstructors of our American democracy. In the system of competition in business the Anglo-Saxons are allowed more freedom than is best, and Roosevelt's function has been to call attention to the social interests. It sometimes has been forgotten. Postterity will forget his weaknesses,



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which perhaps are connected with imprudence. It will forgetfulward action in the interests of the whole people and accord him a place among the larger-minded men of the republic. I do not mean by this that he will be looked upon as greater than Washington or Lincoln, but that he will take rank with any of the others.

George Harris, D. D., president of Amherst College—"I am an admirer of him—and if I were going to answer either of these questions I would wish to do the subject full justice. Both are questions that would entail considerable thought. The President is a great executive. There can be no doubt of that. I look upon myself as being enthusiastic concerning what he has accomplished. His place in history—well, it will be a high one, I am sure. How will posterity view him? Of that I cannot say. I believe posterity will do him full justice at least."

Thomas Nixon Carver, Ph. D., LL. D., professor of political economy of Harvard University—"I should regard President Roosevelt as the noblest President we have ever had. I am somewhat different from others in my ideas regarding just what place in history he will hold. In fact, I don't think that I would be able to answer that question at all. I will say that I think him to be one of the greatest Presidents. I do not, however, think him the greatest—no, he is not that. To my mind he will be given in posterity something about the same plane as Andrew Jackson. Jackson and Roosevelt are somewhat similar. Beyond what I have said I do not think I could make any further prophecy."

Professor H. J. Ford, of the politics department of Princeton—"Roosevelt did a great deal to facilitate the development of the Presidential office as the chief representative of the people. He did not initiate the conception of the Presidency as a representative institution. That was a question at issue between the Whigs and the Democrats, and President Polk was the first ex-

ecutive to distinctly announce a doctrine that the President represented the Nation as a whole and is the only branch of the Government that does. Congress represents localities and special interests.

"President Roosevelt has done more to give beneficial power to this doctrine than any of his predecessors, however. His administration will undoubtedly be accredited with great constitutional importance and will shine in history as the most powerful movement ever made up to his time to infuse a democratic character into the conduct of government and to bring the course of legislation under the control of public opinion. Although it is hard to predict what place posterity will assign him, there is no doubt in my mind that the President is a great man in every sense of the word. His rudeness of speech and action are characteristic of great men, and one might almost say that they are a necessary contingent upon greatness in the field of politics. The petty, spiteful actions of the Congress, whose successors have in reality no longer entitled to office, are more than reprehensible, and merely the mean, narrow revenge of a body whose corruption has been revealed."

Frederick Lincoln Thompson, professor of history at Amherst—"I cannot answer either of the questions. The fact is I try to teach my students history and never attempt to indulge in prophecy. Therefore I hesitate, in fact will not attempt to place Mr. Roosevelt in history or venture an opinion as to how he may be regarded in future years."

R. H. McElroy, professor of history in Princeton—"There is no denying the foremost rank that Roosevelt's administration will attain in history, but whether this is due to the President's personal ability or merely to force of circumstances and to the excellence of his advisers—Secretaries Hay and Root—is a question in my mind. We are not in a position at present to censure Roosevelt. It will probably be many years before the public will be in possession of the true facts of the case in

the recent unpleasantness, and not until then can he be assigned to his proper place in history. His administration is conspicuous because of the number of affairs of world-wide interest and importance that have been consummated in the last seven years, but any prophecy as to the enduring greatness of Roosevelt the man is likely to be contradicted by the verdict of the next generation. Too many men conspicuous in their time have been relegated to oblivion in 40 or 50 years for me to venture a prediction as to Roosevelt's lasting greatness."

W. M. Daniels, professor of political Economy of Princeton—"Roosevelt will probably be known best in American history as one who manifested the powers and activities of the Presidential office, perhaps as one who began what seems to be a salutary movement in the direction of organizing the political chaos which our irresponsible system of dark-lantern legislation has created in state and Nation. Perhaps next in importance is his inauguration of an economic policy which has brought large corporate interests to feel themselves subject to the law of the land. For these reforms an important place in history is assured him."

Chancellor Avery, of the University of Nebraska—"I believe that in the future history of our country President Roosevelt's administration will be regarded as one of the most notable of the administrations not connected with any great crisis. His name will be associated with the successful beginning of the great work at Panama, the peace of Portsmouth, the passage of a National pure food law, the reclamation of the arid West and a general awakening in the country for civic righteousness. His successful efforts to promote efficiency in the Army and Navy will receive honorable mention, and his forcefulness of character and honesty of purpose will be universally conceded."

"It will be noted, however, that in his efforts to accomplish what he regarded as necessary for the public welfare he did not always show the consideration due to the collateral branches of the

Federal Government, and that he left the legacy of expensive methods in the administration of government to embarrass his successors. It will be regretted that he did not at times show a calmer judgment in dealing with individuals. Like the present German Emperor, he will be remembered in history as one of the striking figures of our time."

Dr. Paul R. Van Dyke, professor of history in Princeton—"No man's place in history can be estimated until a sufficient time has elapsed to give perspective."

W. G. L. Taylor, professor of political economy and commerce, University of Nebraska—"Roosevelt is not only a great man, but the greatest President of the United States since Washington. A great man is not necessarily one of intellectual genius, but he must possess transcendent capacity, including in that term the power to influence men. For 20 years he has engaged the attention and influenced the action of the American people with ever growing effect. "During the latter part of that time he has had as a political opponent W. J. Bryan, the greatest popular orator the world has yet seen. Roosevelt has substituted honesty for dishonesty in politics, direction for indirection in diplomacy. He has curbed the trusts and reassured business; he has actually accomplished more than ever before in the way of raising the general moral tone."

"He has disappointed all the prophets of evil; he has not involved us in war, but given us a voice among nations. He has earned the ill will of Colonel Harvey and of all those who tire of hearing Aristides called 'The Just.' A slender, delicate boy, his doctrine of energy has shown that a will unhampered by squeamishness and fear can make the mind and body strong and rule a nation."

Professor Irving Fisher, of Yale—"I believe that President Roosevelt will go down in history as one of our great Presidents. Undoubtedly he has his faults, and they are uppermost in the minds of a great many people, and undoubtedly he has made mistakes which he probably will be the first to recognize. But one of the very reasons I admire him is because he is not deterred from going ahead because of the mistakes he may make. This is a time when rapid action is needed and a policy of overcautious dealing is apt to do more permanent damage than has been Rooseveltian policy, which has been more or less justly accused of being hasty."

"It seems to me that the harm President Roosevelt may have done is very much less than that which he has been accused of doing. For instance, the panic of last year was fastened on Mr. Roosevelt by many persons who do not understand the financial and monetary causes which made it inevitable sooner or later. "We all ought to admire President Roosevelt for the possession of those simple and yet rare qualities of courage and integrity of purpose. These alone atone for a multitude of sins. The ordinary politician is timid and inclined to be more or less warped and controlled by selfish and underground influences."

"The reason Mr. Roosevelt appeals so to the average American is his immense vitality and his willingness and eagerness to do his work in plain sight. He has grasped and has utilized perhaps more than any previous President the immense power of an aroused public opinion. He has been criticized for doing things with so loud a noise, but usually that is the only way—especially in politics—to do things effectively. For instance, he could not have cleaned up the slaughterhouse at Chicago in the quiet way which many people believe he should have tried. Instead he brought the packinghouse firms to terms by touching them in their one vulnerable point, the public demand for their product. In no other way could the danger to the public from diseased meats have been so effectively lessened."

"The chief service that Mr. Roosevelt has performed has been to arouse the public conscience. Nobody could pretend that he has settled the evils of monopoly, of which he has made so much in his administration, and I do not think that his methods of legal regulation are apt to prove of real value, while they have in them the danger of power to do a good deal of evil with the good. The chief evil of special interests and special favors which Mr. Roosevelt has complained in regard to the trusts, is far more conspicuous and far more remediable in the case of the tariff. Under guise of the theory of protection the tariff has been used as a means of giving special favors or of obtaining special privileges. If the same aroused sense of justice and fair dealing can be applied by Mr. Roosevelt to the trust question we may possibly obtain in the end some permanent relief from political domination of special interests."

Perhaps a public question in Mr. Roosevelt's administration has been the currency question. Nothing has been done to simplify and strengthen our anomalous and complicated currency system,

for instance by the elimination of the greenback, the reduction in the quantity and convertibility into gold of the silver dollar, the creation of an elastic bank currency and the divorce of bank notes from the Government debt. At present we cannot pay the National debt without abolition of bank notes. But the worst evil of our currency system is one which all gold-using nations are having, and this is the depreciation of the monetary standard which was at the bottom of our panic and will have in the next 10 years more effect in perverting the distribution of wealth than all the trusts or than any other one cause. Those nearest to Mr. Roosevelt recognize his greatness. He gives many handles for criticism, but he is unwilling to run away from criticism when he has a purpose to carry out.

Personally I have taken great satisfaction in that Mr. Roosevelt has taken up the public health movement. This is really a part, as he said in his speech last May at the White House, of the conservation of the National efficiency, the other part being the conservation of the National resources. He has prepared the ground for Mr. Taft to create in the Department of the Interior, by reconstructing it, a great and efficient department of education, through which hundreds of thousands of needless deaths and great waste of human productivity can be avoided. Mr. Garfield has himself recommended in his reports the elimination of the bureau in that department which do not belong there and the inclusion of others that do belong there.

Professor Jeremiah W. Jenks, professor of political economy at Cornell University—"It is never safe to predict a man's place in history, but there can be little question among American statesmen that President Roosevelt will be a high one. He came to the Presidency at a time ripe for a leader of the people. He has understood their feelings, their aspirations, their prejudices even better than others, and in consequence he has been able to advance reform movements. He has contributed more than any other man to the moral awakening of the American people in method of international politics. Even in international politics, with the able assistance of Secretaries Hay and Root, he has made this moral influence felt. This moral uplift given by the first citizen of the republic to his fellow citizens, especially to young men, is a greater social and political service than any specific political act, but his policies will also prove fruitful. The control of corporations, the establishment of future peace by arbitration treaties, as well as by a strong navy, the uplift of the farming population, the conservation of our National resources, the advancement of the civil service, the promotion of young energetic men on merit, are all policies that make for good to posterity."

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The Life of Roosevelt Recorded in Paragraphs.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT was born in New York City, October 27, 1858, the second son of Theodore Roosevelt, Sr., a merchant and philanthropist.

He prepared for college under a tutor and was graduated from Harvard College in 1880. In the same year he married and made a trip to Europe.

In 1881 he published his first book, "The Naval War of 1812," which was well received.

Meanwhile he was studying law, but he abandoned it for politics, and in the Autumn of 1881 he was elected to the New York Legislature as a Republican and a champion of civil service reform, serving continuously until 1884.

In the session of 1882 he was Republican candidate for the Speakership against a Democratic majority, and in the session of 1883 he was elected chairman of the special committee which investigated abuses in the municipal administration of New York.

In 1884 he attended the National Republican Convention at Chicago as chairman of the New York delegation. He supported Senator Edmunds for the Presidential nomination, but when Blaine was nominated entered actively in the campaign in his behalf.

For two years (1884-86) he lived on a ranch he had purchased in North Dakota, studying the people and hunting. In 1885 he published "Hunting Trips of a Ranchman."

In 1886 he ran for Mayor of New York as an independent Republican, but was defeated by the Democratic candidate, Abram S. Hewitt.

In May, 1889, President Harrison appointed him a member of the United States Civil Service Commission. After making a record for strenuous devotion to the principles to which he had early pledged himself, he resigned April 6, 1897, to become Assistant Secretary of the Navy.

On the declaration of war with Spain he left the Navy Department to organize with Dr. Leonard Wood, an Army surgeon, the First United States Volunteer Cavalry, popularly known as Roosevelt's Rough Riders. Dr. Wood became Colonel and Mr. Roosevelt Lieutenant Colonel. For gallantry in the action at Las Guasimas the latter was promoted to Colonel.

In November, 1898, he was elected Governor of the State of New York by a plurality of 18,979. He instituted an investigation into alleged frauds in the state canal system and favored the settlement of the Ford franchise law, providing for the taxation of corporations.

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