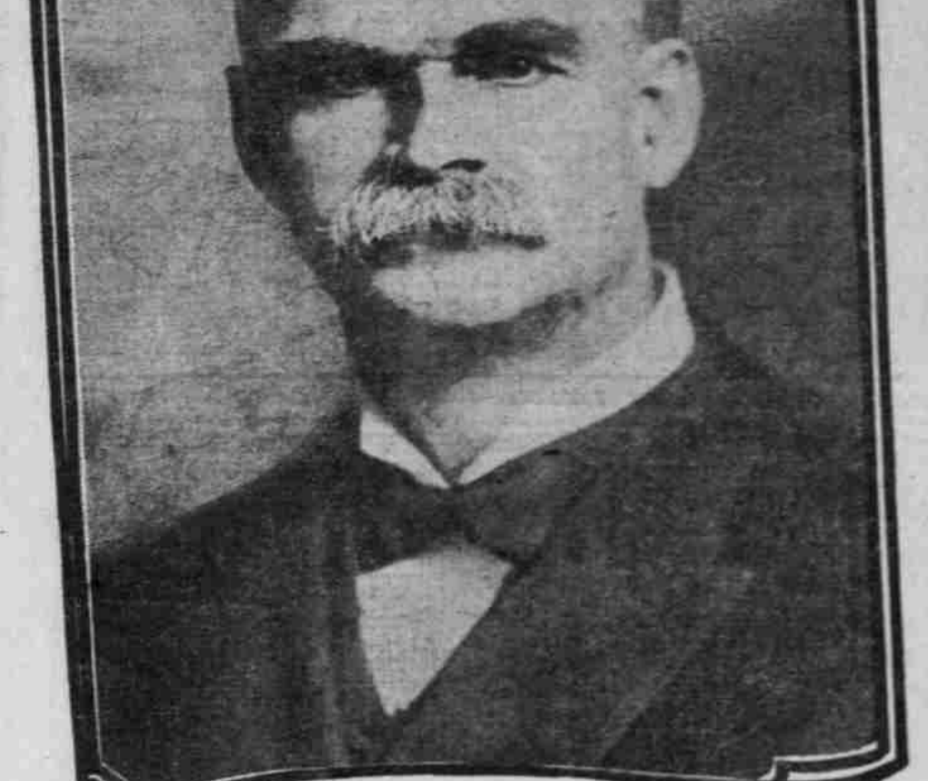
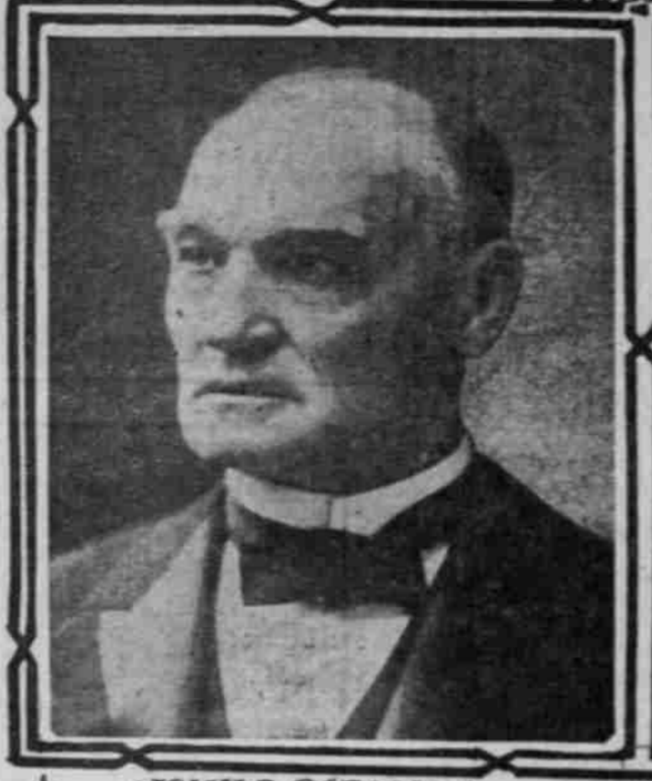


# CONGRESS A CAREER OR AN INCIDENT?

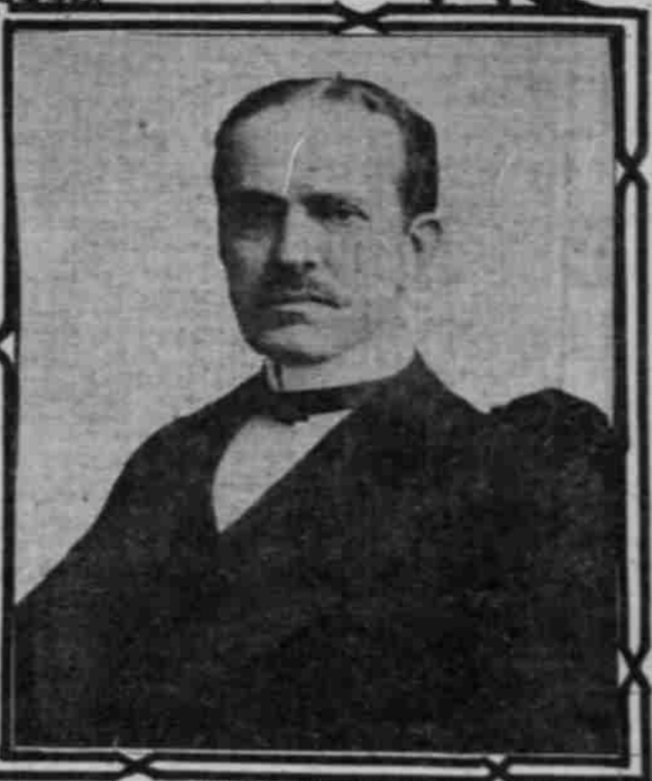
## TWO OR THREE TERMS IS LONG ENOUGH FOR ANY YOUNG MAN TO STAY: OPINION OF MEN OF NATIONAL FAME



CHARLES E. LITTLEFIELD, WINDS UP HIS CAREER IN CIVIL LIFE AS GREATER THAN ALL THE GLORY HE RECEIVED IN PUBLIC LIFE.



JOHN G. CARLISLE



PHILIP HENRY DUGRO WHO QUITS CONGRESS TO BECOME A WRITER



U. S. SENATOR FRANK B. BRANDEGEE WHO WAS ON THE POINT OF LEAVING PUBLIC LIFE WHEN DEATH ELIMINATED HIM TO THE SENATE

EVERY American boy learns while he is still in the primary school that some day he may be President of the United States, and may, when he becomes a man, be sent to Congress.

All this is great sentiment for a great democracy, but it is undoubtedly the experience of most young men who have been elected to Congress that service in the House of Representatives for a longer period than two terms at the most involves great risk for any young man who contemplates a career which will bring him some reputation and sufficient earnings properly to care for himself and his family when he has reached middle life or old age. And undoubtedly those young members of Congress who have been persuaded from time to time that their part for them was to abandon political ambition after having served a term or two were influenced in that decision by anecdotes told to them of the distress, the poverty, the disappointment which came at the end of long careers in Congress or in public life to men who had gained National political reputation.

President McKinley used earnestly to advise young men who had been elected to Congress not to serve longer than two terms, and he was able to relate the sad experiences of many men of brilliant intellectual powers who had gained great prominence in Congress, but whose political reverses came or old age had impaired their usefulness, found themselves in actual distress.

Samuel J. Randall, for several terms Speaker of the lower house of Congress, and in 1841 carried by a considerable number of his party for the Presidential nomination, after a service of nearly 20 years, was so poor that it was deemed advisable by his friends to make up for him a purse wherefrom an income, sufficiently modest to support his family, could be secured.

John A. Blaine, one of the managers of high repute, one of the managers of the impeachment proceedings against President Johnson, and afterward Minister to Japan, served so long in Congress that when old age came he found himself without worldly possessions, and the last years of his life were passed in pecuniary distress.

Charles A. Russell, who began his life as a newspaper writer, after his graduation from Yale, and became a manufacturer of woolen goods, was elected to Congress while still a young man from one of the Connecticut districts. He gained distinction there and was elected to remain in public life, and that, too, a time when he had yielded his seat in the lower house and received himself to his mills, he must surely have gained a comfortable support, and might have secured a fortune. But his triumphs in the House, where he became an influential member of the ways and means committee, involved disaster to his manufacturing interests, so that when he died some two years ago it was discovered that he practically was penniless, and a private subscription was necessary to relieve the immediate wants of his family.

**Senate Like unto the House.**

It is more or less of a melancholy fact that the Senate, in the matter of keeping its members from acquiring a competence for old age, is like unto the House.

No member of the Senate within the memory of the present generation gained a finer repute than was that consequent upon the service of Francis Marion Cockrell, who was Senator from Missouri for 20 years. And the more exacting the service given by the Senator, who always was watchful lest there be extravagance or impropriety in appropriations or claims, the less time he had for attention to his private affairs. It was presumed that he would remain a member of the Senate for life, but for reason of an unlooked for political change in the State of Missouri he was defeated for reelection, and then the question, embarrassing and anxious for him, was raised: "What shall I do for my support and for my family?"

The Senator could not take up the practice of law with any hope of success; his years were too many to make it worth while for him to spend any time building up a practice. There were no business openings available for him, and but for the recognition of his public services which President Roosevelt gave it is probable that he would have found himself in serious financial difficulties. When President Roosevelt appointed him member of the Interstate Commerce Commission there was a common understanding that while the appointment was justified by reason of Senator Cockrell's ability, yet he was picked out for the place chiefly because it was deemed proper to provide for him in his old age, his long service in Congress having made it well-nigh impossible for him properly to accumulate a competency in civil life.

Two other impressive illustrations of

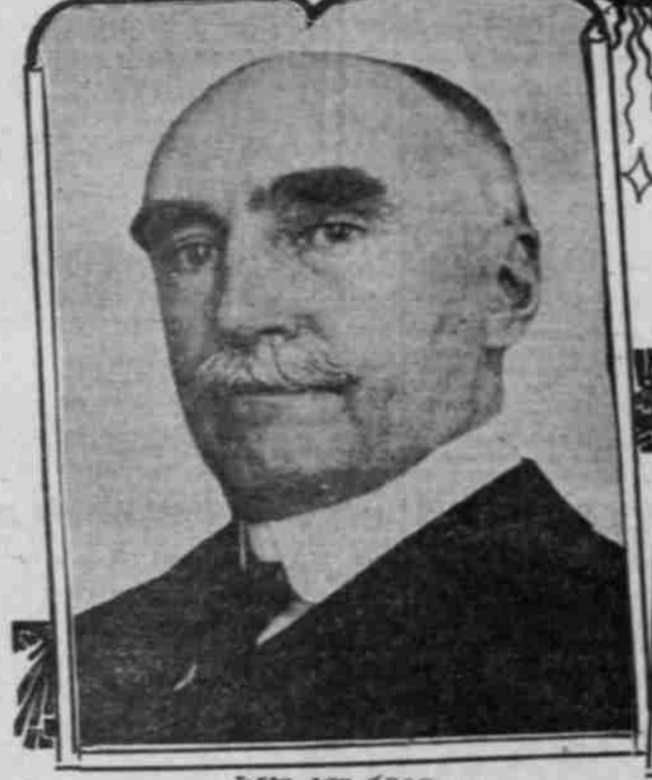
the danger of serving too long in Congress in either branch, so far as acquiring a competency or the securing of good professional practice is concerned, are discovered in the careers of James G. Blaine and George Frisbie Hoar.

As every follower of the "Plumed Knight" can know, Blaine was a member of Congress for 20 years, serving both in the House of Representatives and the Senate. He was gifted with intellectual powers which undoubtedly would have brought him great successes had he entered business life at one time it was seriously proposed to urge upon him the acceptance of a proprietary interest in and the editorship of one of the more important newspapers of the metropolis. But Mr. Blaine was averse to leaving the political field, and so when he retired from President Arthur's Cabinet the only money he had laid aside was that which he had been fortunate enough to secure in certain real estate investments in Washington.

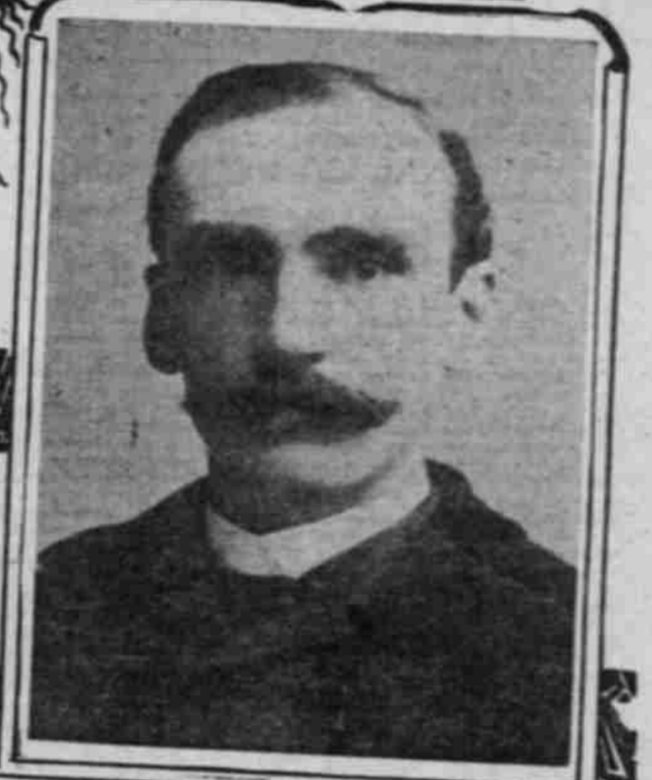
Doubtless because he realized that this small fortune was not sufficient to enable him to live in the manner he desired and leave anything over for the rainy day, he set about collecting data for a history of his 20 years' service in Congress, but not until he was seen day after day busy amid the alcoves of the old Congressional Library, whether he went to collect much of his data, did he confess that he contemplated writing such a history.

This work was in progress at the time of his campaign for the Presidency in 1884. On the morning after the election, when it was announced that Grover Cleveland had defeated him, Mr. Blaine took up his pen and completed this work. According to the understanding at the time, it yielded him a little more than \$200,000, and that constituted the chief part of his estate. But for it Mr. Blaine, notwithstanding his pre-eminent influence in his own party, would have retired from public life a comparatively poor man.

Senator Hoar served as a member of the lower house eight years and as a member of the Senate 23 years, a grand total of 31 years of patriotic labor. It was said by so distinguished a lawyer as Sidney Webster that if George Frisbie Hoar had remained in practice, he probably would have ranked with his cousin, William M. Evarts, and would have been universally recognized as the leader of the New England bar. Instead, however, of devoting himself to a professional career, Mr. Hoar gave the best of his powers and years to his country; and, though he had a small fortune when he entered Congress, he nevertheless was dependent upon his



JAMES F. SMITH, FORMER CONGRESSMAN AND A WELL-KNOWN SECRETARY OF THE NAVY. AT HIS DEATH HE WAS LEAVING A LARGE ESTATE.



SAMUEL J. RANDALL, FORMER SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. HE WAS SO POOR AT THE END OF HIS SERVICE THAT HE WAS ADVISED TO TAKE UP A PURSE FOR HIS SUPPORT.

form he came to the conclusion that Congress for a young man unless he possessed the peculiar and distinctive gifts for the kind of public life which service in the lower house of Congress required. He qualified this opinion by saying that for a young man representing one of the new districts of the United States in the remote West or some parts of the South, long continued service in Congress might be an acceptable career. But this could not be true of a young man representing any district in the more populous parts of the country.

The young New Yorker, therefore, determined to put behind him any temptation for continued service in the lower house of Congress. He returned to New York City and before he was 20 years old might have been nominated for Mayor with the certainty of election had not his friends advised him that a permanent and highly dignified and influential career was possible for Augustus Brandegee, through acceptance of a nomination as Justice of the Supreme Court. Nominated and elected, and having long served upon the bench, Mr. Dugro transferred to the Senate to serve the unexpired term of Senator O. H. Platt. In all probability, but for this transfer, Senator Brandegee, at the expiration of his second term, would have quit Congress on the advice of his venerable father, now in the 80s, who was persuaded by his own experience that it is a mistake for a young man to serve longer than two terms in the lower house of Congress.

Augustus Brandegee, the father, was elected a member of Congress when only a little past 20. He went to the lower house with a brilliant reputation as an orator, possessing both natural and acquired gifts. He was a member of that Congress in which Roscoe Conkling served his second term as Representative, and it was of Mr. Conkling's speech, saying that Brandegee possessed as high gifts as an orator as any member of that body.

In the middle of Mr. Brandegee's second term it was impressed upon him by information that came to him of the poverty of one who long had served in Congress, and who had returned to private life through one of the whirlwind changes of fortune that are a grave danger for a young man in the temptation to make a prolonged career in

Congress. This led him to determine that at the end of his second term he would return to his professional practice and devote himself to securing an income and a competence for his old age as a practicing lawyer.

In this determination he was justified. Political honors came to him; he was elected Mayor of his native city of New London; he was a delegate to political conventions and he represented the United States at an important conference at Sherbrooke, Canada, where he made a brilliant address which became traditional throughout Canada. Moreover, he amassed a competence in the practice of the law and always felt that had he yielded to the temptation to serve a third term in the lower house of Congress, his career would have been marred, at least as far as gaining professional success and pecuniary independence was concerned.

**Examples of Littlefield and Black.**

In recent years no young man has entered Congress bringing with him a more brilliant reputation for the higher intellectual gifts and finer powers of oratory than Charles E. Littlefield. He was elected from the State of Maine during the unexpired term of Nelson Dingee, and he was sufficient to concentrate National attention upon Mr. Littlefield, but it ailed in his mind that his career in Congress justified his reputation and he became one of the prominent members of the House.

But of a sudden Mr. Littlefield determined to quit Congress and abandon politics. He was in his fourth full term when there came to him a full realization of the fact that for a man without fortune, with his family dependent upon him for support, and with a professional reputation to make, it is a great mistake to remain in Congress longer than two terms. He immediately resigned, sought and obtained admittance to the bar of New York State, and he has since been able to secure a larger income than the aggregate salaries he had received in all his public services, including his term of four years as Attorney-General of the State of Maine.

It is the opinion of those who know him that he did not give up public life a day too soon.

When he was elected to Congress from New York, Francis B. Black had gained what promised to be a remunerative legal practice as a lawyer in New York City. He was elected to the first session of Congress to which he was elected was not ended before Mr. Black perceived that there would be great risk to his professional advancement if he were tempted to remain in Congress for a longer period than a second term, and he decided that he would guard himself against this danger by refusing a second nomination in case one were offered him.

Of a sudden, however, and by reason of a peculiar political complication, he was nominated for Governor of New York just about the time of the termination of his term in Congress. He had been elected, but his success in the practice of law since his retirement from public life has been so great as fully to justify his belief that he would have made a grievous mistake had he been overcome by ambition to serve continuously in the lower house of Congress.

Two other prominent men who say this same danger and avoided it, and who are now extremely successful in private life, are John S. Wise and that William McAdoo who was Assistant Secretary of the Navy under Cleveland and later Police Commissioner of New York City. Mr. Wise, who was one of the youngest members of the Confederate army, decided to put aside Congressional ambition even while he was serving his first term. Mr. McAdoo was elected four times to Congress, always has been of the opinion that, from the standpoint of success in private life, he would have been much wiser had he declined reelection after the expiration of his second term.

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Very young people and very old people are abused as much for getting married at a widow.

salary first as a Representative and then as a Senator, for his daily bread. So necessary, indeed, was his salary for his daily support that the Senator was not able to gratify his ambition of many years' standing to take a considerable European tour until within two or three years before his death. At that time a proposition was made to him that he should write his reminiscences of public men and events, the offer was accompanied with a stipulation for money payment which the Senator regarded as an amazingly handsome remuneration. In fact, it represented the largest return for a single undertaking that he ever had received, and the willingness with which he accepted the proposition only emphasized the fact that, after brilliant service of more than 20 years in Congress, this statesman was reloaded at the prospect of being able to secure a little extra money against the appearance of the rainy day. And with a part of the proceeds of his pen he at last was able to take his long-dreamed-of European trip.

**Hard to Begin All Over Again.**

The post-Congress careers of two famous Speakers of the House—Thomas B. Reed and John G. Carlisle—illustrate only too well the difficulties that lie in the path of the man who, after long service in Congress, re-enters private life either through business or a profession.

Mr. Carlisle was a member of the lower house of Congress for 12 years, and for half of these years he was its Speaker. He was Senator from Kentucky for three years, resigning from that exalted office to become Secretary of the Treasury in President Cleveland's second administration. His public life as Representative, Senator and Secretary lasted for 20 years, and he was 60 years old when he was compelled to resume the practice of law his first love, in order that he might live.

In the advice of friends, Mr. Carlisle opened a law office in New York, but he speedily discovered that, notwithstanding his wide reputation as a lawyer in the metropolis, this retainer was building up a law practice that would have been the case had he hung out his shingle in New York while still a young man, or after serving a term or two in Congress. He found, too, that his National political reputation was of no very great service to him in securing a clientele, and his first year's retainer came to him nearly four years after he had begun the practice of law in the metropolis. This retainer was connected with the question which Mr. Carlisle brought before the Supreme Court involving determination of the citizenship of the people of Porto Rico under the United States flag, and when it was learned that Mr. Carlisle had been retained in this case an ex-Attorney-General of the United States said to the writer:

"I am very glad and all of Mr. Carlisle's friends are rejoiced that this litigation at last gives him an opportunity of gaining in New York a profitable law practice."

And it also was said that had Mr.

**GOVERNOR OF PHILIPPINES SAILS FOR UNITED STATES.**

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 22.—(Special.)—James F. Smith, Governor of the Philippines, has just sailed from Manila, on his way to Washington. His coming for a conference with the Secretary of War and the President, and it is the belief in Washington that he will not return to Manila, but will be succeeded by Cameron Forbes, who is Acting Governor in his absence. Governor Smith was a member of the volunteer force which made part of the expedition to the Philippines. He says a good deal of fighting there. He has been Governor since September, 1906.

of candidates for Congress was looked upon as a mere perfunctory honor. It was offered to several citizens, and declined, and then, with some sense of humor, the convention named as its candidate a young man who would be just of age to qualify when the votes were counted, and was elected—George A. Post. There came of a sudden a cyclonic factional disturbance which completely demoralized the dominant party and was followed by the nomination of a candidate by each of the factions. As one result, when the votes were counted an election night it was discovered that the Republican candidate, George A. Post, had been elected.

When Mr. Post appeared before General Keifer, who had been chosen Speaker of that House of Representatives, to take the oath, as a youthful member upon the floor of the House, he looked like an excellent opening had been offered him in the metropolis, and he was expected by his friends and foes alike that Mr. Reed's reputation and universal acknowledgment ability would attract to him a large and profitable clientele.

It is true that there was considerable demand for Mr. Reed's services, and his success as a lawyer in New York City could be termed good. Nevertheless, it did not meet his own expectations of those of his friends, and he is reported to have said that it would have been much better for him from the viewpoint of success in civil life, had he retired from Congress 10 years earlier.

**Boy Representative's Civil Success.**

Thus the question: "Is Congress a career or an incident for a young man?" is partly answered. But what about the chances of entering Congress in early life and remaining in that post until higher success comes? McKinley and General Garfield are conspicuous exceptions of Representatives so favored. On the other hand, there are many cases telling of successes which followed the putting aside of the temptation to remain in Congress after service of one or two terms in that body.

Some time in the month of April there appeared before a committee of the House of Representatives Joseph H. Choate and George A. Post. Their purpose was to make argument in opposition to certain proposed legislation relating to metropolitan rapid transit and other railway regulations. Of course Mr. Choate needed no introduction. On the other hand, George A. Post was unknown excepting that he had been identified as the organizer of the National Railway Men's Business Association. He appeared before the committee not as a paid lobbyist, but as the representative of this association. He spoke with a plain, businesslike directness and practical every-day manner of appealing by argument to a company of listeners. And so there were inquiries for further information respecting this man.

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of candidates for Congress was looked upon as a mere perfunctory honor. It was offered to several citizens, and declined, and then, with some sense of humor, the convention named as its candidate a young man who would be just of age to qualify when the votes were counted, and was elected—George A. Post. There came of a sudden a cyclonic factional disturbance which completely demoralized the dominant party and was followed by the nomination of a candidate by each of the factions. As one result, when the votes were counted an election night it was discovered that the Republican candidate, George A. Post, had been elected.

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