

WHAT COMES OF THE EX-GOVERNORS?

BY E. P. EDWARDS.

A STUDY of Congress plainly indicates that American politics has a sort of civil service of its own which promotes a good public official from one position to another. Like the small boy in school the favored politician must submit himself to more or less frequent examination at the hands of a recommending official. It happens, in his case, to be the electorate. Occasionally some one reaches the top of the political heap without going through the preliminary stages of political service promotion. But upstairs in politics do not usually last long and, on the whole, the general rule prevails. There is hardly a man in either house of Congress today who has not served his constituency in some political capacity before coming to Washington to which he had to be elected by popular vote. Even the humblest has been a police magistrate or a member of a city council. Perhaps two-thirds of them have been prosecuting attorneys and others have been judges of the Supreme Court of a state. It is conservative to say that fully one-half of Congress has had legislative experience before service in the capitol of the United States and included in that number are several Presidents of State Senates and Speakers of State Houses of Representatives. There are also several State Treasurers, Secretaries of State and Attorneys General. Least, but not least, there are 27 ex-Governors in Congress, of whom one was a territorial Governor and one a military Governor in the far off Philippines. Of this number only two are members of the House, while 25 sit in the Senate, and it is only necessary to tell of their names to make it plain that the Senate of a hundred ex-Governors form a powerful national legislative group: Johnstone, Alabama; J. P. Clarke and Jeff Davis, Arkansas; George C. Perkins, California; Morgan G. Bulkeley, Connecticut; Shelby M. Cullom, Illinois; Albert B. Cummins, Iowa; William O. Bradley, Kentucky; Thomas R. Hamer, Louisiana; John W. Smith, Maryland; W. Murray Crane, Massachusetts; Knute Nelson, Minnesota; William J. Stone, Missouri; George E. Chamberlain, Oregon; George P. Wetmore, Rhode Island; Benjamin R. Tillman, South Carolina; C. C. Ransom, North Dakota; James R. Frazier and Robert L. Taylor, Tennessee; Charles A. Culberson, Texas; William P. Dillingham and Carroll S. Page, Vermont; Robert M. La Follette, Wisconsin; and Francis E. Warren, who was territorial Governor of Wyoming. The two ex-Governors in the House are Edwin C. Burleigh of Maine, and Thomas R. Hamer of Idaho, who was Military Governor of the Island of Cebu in the Philippines.

Oldest ex-Governor in Congress.

Senator Shelby M. Cullom, of Illinois, is not only the oldest ex-Governor in Congress, but is one of the most interesting figures in public life today. He was elected City Attorney of Springfield, the capital of Illinois, in 1855, and has been in public life practically ever since. The fact that Senator Cullom was Governor of Illinois from 1877 to 1883, making him the oldest ex-Governor in Congress, was a circumstance arising out of the demand of the people of Springfield that he re-enter public life following his declination to stay in Congress in 1891.

When it comes to doing over her face, let the business girl bear in mind that to go every day to the barber and have her hair cut and combed with a comb and brush is not to reveal her secret. Since it is not the fashion to be so, it is an exaggeration to say that she suggests ill health, rouge is permissible; but it must be put on in the daintiest way not to be suspected of the merest dust should be employed if a girl wants to preserve the impression of good sense and modesty.

By reason of his residence in Springfield, Senator Cullom early in life became an intimate acquaintance of men destined to enter the ship of state of the nation. He practiced law both with and against Abraham Lincoln, John A. Logan and other leading legal lights of the Illinois clan, and he was an intimate friend of the family from which sprung the late John Hay, Secretary of State. When he returned from Congress in 1873, which office he had deliberately sought as his own ambition—his neighbors selected him to run for the legislature, because the fight being made to move the state capital from Springfield. Mr. Cullom had twice before been in the Legislature and had once been Speaker of the House. He was again elected Speaker upon his return and Springfield remained the capital of the state.

As a result of his efficiency as a legislator he was nominated for Governor in 1876, to be confronted by a Democratic candidate named Stearns, who ran on a double-barreled platform in favor of greenbacks and, as the Senator puts it, "a lot of other humbug." He was elected by only 6800 majority in a red-hot campaign. In 1880 he defeated ex-Senator Lyman Trumbull, who ran against him after 18 years of distinguished service in the Senate. The business administration of Governor Cullom, which had much to do with taxation matters and had paid off the state debt, defeated Trumbull by 40,000 votes.

In 1882, while Senator Cullom was still in the Governor's chair, the Republican Legislature was called upon to elect a successor to United States Senator David Davis, who was rated as an independent of Democratic proclivities. After a heated debate over the legality of electing a sitting Governor to the Senate, in which Cullom was the present minister to China, proved one of the most able of the younger exponents of the state constitution in the Legislature, Governor Cullom was elected a Senator and has held that office ever since. With the retirement of Senators Aldrich and Hale on March 4 next, he will stand second to Senator Frye of Maine in point of longevity of service in the Senate.

Great Senate Story Teller.

Senator William O. Bradley of Kentucky was the first Republican Governor of that state after the Civil war. He was elected in 1865, after having received 195 votes for Vice-President in the Republican convention of 1888, and after having been defeated for Governor the previous year by less than 17,000 votes. He was four times the Republican candidate for Senator from that state, and finally Kentucky concluded that the only way to take him out of the senatorial race was to elect him to the Senate, which it did in 1908. After hanging around on the edge of a victory for many years, Mr. Bradley slid into the governor's chair because the Democratic party of the state split up in its allegiance to Cleveland and his gold standard proclivities and to Brand and others who wanted free silver.

As a stump speaker, Mr. Bradley is almost without a peer in the country. His forte in speaking to the natives, and in this respect he excels, in result at least, Associate Justice John M. Harlan of the United States Supreme court, who preceded him in getting the Republican nomination for every office worth having in the state prior to his elevation to the bench in 1877. Today Mr. Bradley is one of the best word tellers in the Senate; he writes poetry

for pleasure, and his literary ambition is to write a great lecture which he would entitle "The World's Inspired Documents—the Bible, Magna Charta and the Declaration of Independence."

Senator Bradley is no howling beauty, but he ran across one man in his career from whom he took all medals in a beauty contest. That man was John K. Hendrick, of Paducah, who was Attorney-General in the Bradley administration in Kentucky. Governor Bradley and Attorney-General Hendrick had a habit of playing practical jokes on each other whenever opportunity offered. Consequently, when Attorney-General came into the Governor's office one day and begged the Governor to pardon him for a man he had just killed, Mr. Bradley was not quite so badly surprised as he was expected to be.

"I am willing to give you a pardon, but first tell me what you killed him for," said Governor Bradley.

"Well, I just met a friend of mine on the street who said to me, 'Good morning, Governor,'" replied Attorney-General Hendrick.

"I will pardon you all right," responded Governor Bradley, "but I want to say to you that if you had not killed him I would go out and kill him myself."

Just after the famous Goebel election in Kentucky, Governor Bradley heard that the mountaineers of Eastern Kentucky were coming to Frankfort to kill Senator Goebel. He went to Caleb Powers and told him what he had heard and asked him if the report were true. Powers denied it.

"If I thought there was any truth to this report," Governor Bradley is quoted as having said, "I would go to the mountains and stay with Goebel, live in the same room with him, and do all in my power to prevent him being shot."

A few days later Goebel went to Frankfort and was shot, presumably from an office in the suite occupied by the Secretary of State. No man regretted his death more than Governor Bradley, although Goebel was of opposite political faith and was contesting the election with a Republican whom Governor Bradley had helped to elect.

It has been said that Senator Bradley will take into his bosom a political opponent who fights him openly, but hates through all time him who attempts to undermine him in an underhanded way. He is an extremely direct man, and for that reason has his own troubles with both Presidents Roosevelt and Taft. On one occasion, when a political enemy from Kentucky came to Washington and asked to see the Senator, he was told over the telephone: "I do not like you and I do not want to see you." Whereupon the telephone receiver at the Senator's end was hung up and the conversation ended.

It will be recalled that Mr. Bradley was elected Senator by a deadlocked Legislature with the aid of four Democratic members from Louisville. While it has been charged that the liquor interest materially helped him to the Senate, the fact remains that Senator Bradley was personally far more popular than any of his Democratic opponents. Incidentally, he was the chief counsel for the United States in the Star Route cases, and he alone possesses certain information with respect to those cases which will not be made public until his death, if then.

Multi-Millionaire Humorist and Optimist.

Senator W. Murray Crane, of Massachusetts, the Governor of that state for three terms, beginning in 1900, in the Governor's chair he made a record as an independent man. He seemed to be able to force his way through the intuition of a woman, and his "gum shoe" methods in handling the Legislature enabled him to put through more compromises than any other Governor of the state in recent years. When Senator George F. Hoar died, in 1904, he was appointed to the Senate by Governor Bates, and elected by the Legislature the following year to fill out Senator Hoar's unexpired term, and was re-elected in 1907 for six years.

Senator Crane brought his "gum shoe" qualities with him to Washington. His activities in this line led Senator Tillman to dub him "Aldrich's errand boy." The fact remains, however,

that Senator Crane, like the Alaskan politician, always has "one ear frozen to the ground." He possesses the confidence of all his colleagues in the Senate and is a sort of walking poll book on any bit of legislation pending in that body. He is unostentatious and unassuming, despite his great wealth which is estimated to be less than \$25,000,000, possesses a fine sense of humor and an optimism which was not even dulled by the experience of the so-called "tailor" who fought the nomination of President Taft in the last Republican national convention. Senator Crane was the hub of this opposition.

As a public speaker Senator Crane is something of a joke. With him, however, it is a most serious matter. He is as nervous and fussy about a speech as an old maid, always makes his speeches as brief as possible and writes and re-writes them in the hope that each process of revision will reduce the aggregate by at least one more word. As a baseball "fan" he has no peer in the country. He has a private diamond of his own at Dalton, Mass., pays all the expenses of the team, including salaries, and leads the rooting on the side lines.

Senator Crane has always possessed the confidence of both President Roosevelt and President Taft. The former tried to make him Secretary of the Treasury, while Lyman J. Gage resigned. After Mr. Crane came to the Senate, President Roosevelt referred to his ability as a compromiser as follows:

"There is just one thing I have against Crane—he will compromise on principle—I will not."

Former Governor From Louisiana.

Senator Murphy J. Foster, of Louisiana, rode into the governorship of Louisiana in 1892 on the downfall of the Louisiana lottery, against which he had fought as a member of the Legislature for several years. It has been said of him that he is a typical "pussy-foot in politics, but when opposed will fight like a wildcat." In the Senate he has followed the line of the least resistance until he has run into a stone wall, after which he has lived up to the reputation above accorded him by the survival of the old machine politician of the South, a man of keen foresight and of excellent education.

Incidentally, the Louisiana lottery, which he assisted to put out of business, followed him to Washington. A couple of years ago it was discovered that the Honduras lottery, backed by the sons of John A. Morris, for whom the Morris race track was named, was none other than the Louisiana lottery transferred to Central America. The Morris boys were arrested by the Government for their participation in the concern and were assessed an enormous fine. It fell to Senator Foster to head a delegation to the Department



CONGRESSMAN EDWIN C. BURLEIGH, ONE OF THE EX-GOVERNORS IN THE HOUSE.

of Justice to plead their cause. Veterans around the department bear witness to the fact that no more vigorous presentation has ever been made than the speech Senator Foster delivered on that occasion.

"Reactionary of Reactionaries."

Senator Morgan G. Bulkeley was Governor of Connecticut from 1889 until 1893, being perhaps the only Governor of any state who was ever elected to serve one term, but who in reality served two. Incidentally, in the first instance, it was his brother who had been lieutenant-governor of the state, but through the influence of the friends of the late Senator Edward W. Carmack, the National administration is taking an interest in the fight. It is said, for the purpose of collecting the Republican and Independent Democratic strength in the interest of Secretary of War Jacob N. Dickinson, who has some senatorial aspirations.

"Progressive ex-Governors."

An interesting group of former Governors is found among the younger members of the Senate, several of whom now belong to that faction of the Republican party known as the "progressives." The best-known of the group is, of course, Senator La Follette, of Wisconsin, who can point back to his gubernatorial service with pride, owing to the fact that

second term as Governor of Tennessee, having been made the successor of the late Senator William Bates in 1905, as a Governor, Senator Frazier was noted for his advocacy of good schools and elaborate internal improvements. He was especially strong in the Legislature in session when Senator Bates died, and the result was his promotion to the Senate through the influence of some of the most prominent members of the Legislature, among whom were John I. Cox, President of the Senate, who wanted to be Governor of the state, and Ernest Rice, who wanted to be President of the Senate, vice Cox. This combination representing all the forces of the state put through the triple promotion and everybody was satisfied. Senator Frazier is a candidate for re-election this year and has to face the tremendous factional contest in his own party over the issue of prohibition, one faction being led by Governor Patterson and another composed of the friends of the late Senator Edward W. Carmack. The National administration is taking an interest in the fight. It is said, for the purpose of collecting the Republican and Independent Democratic strength in the interest of Secretary of War Jacob N. Dickinson, who has some senatorial aspirations.

"Humorous Side of Dueling."

A LONG and interesting chapter might be written on the humor of duels which never came off, or which in some way fell short of deserving the name.

In one case a few years ago in Paris, the particular home and haven of the habitual duelist, met his first place. A peaceable-looking gentleman was walking down one of the boulevards with a lady on his arm, when out of a cafe sprang a man who dealt him a violent kick. The victim turned only to meet the horrified apologies of the aggressor, who begged to assure him that it was wholly a mistake in identity, and instead of insisting that the aggressor was a madman, he answered with much warmth, but admirable self-control: "I cannot, sir, accept your expression of regret as sufficient. Your accident has caused me a mistake, as you say, but acquaintances of mine may have witnessed it, and will go away and spread the news that I have been kicked by a man who dealt me a violent kick. 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