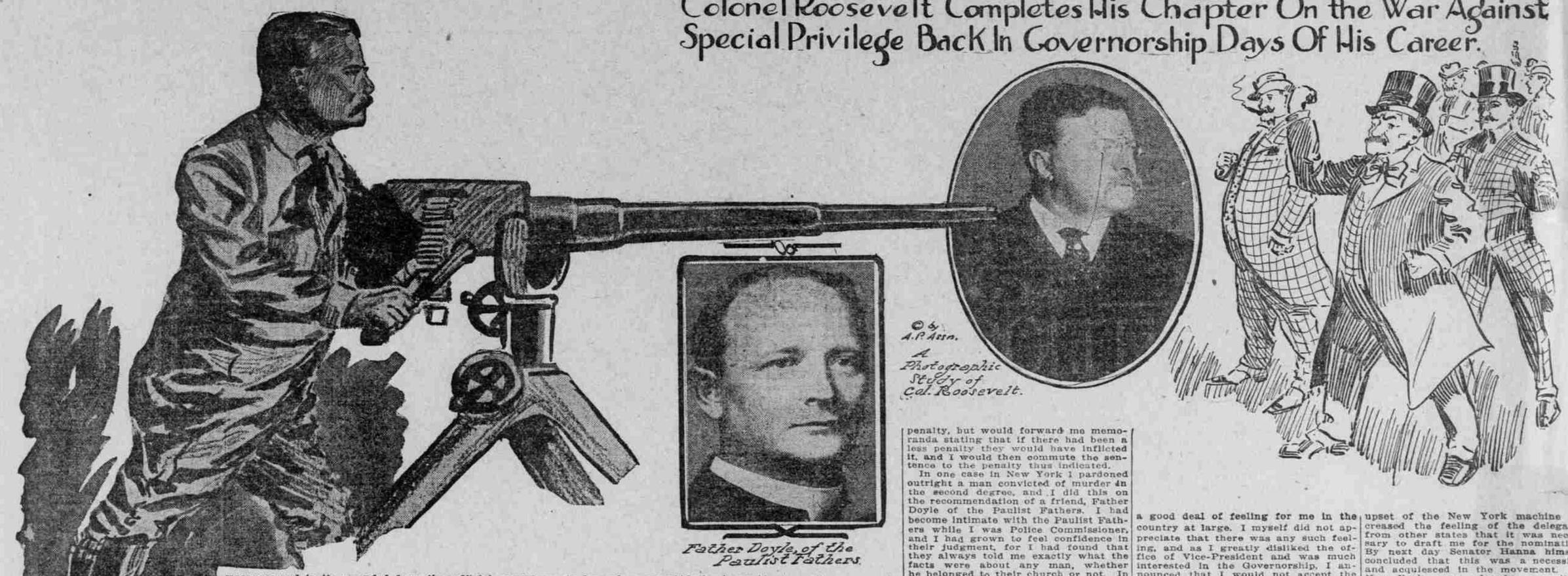
IN THE ARENA with NEW YORK'S POLITICAL BOSSES

Colonel Roosevelt Completes His Chapter On the War Against Special Privilege Back In Governorship Days Of His Career.



Father Doyle, of the Paulist Fathers.

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A Photographic Study of Col. Roosevelt.

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I HAD made up my mind that if I could get a show in the Legislature the franchise tax bill would pass, because the people had become interested and the Representatives would scarcely dare to vote the wrong way. Accordingly, on April 27, 1899, I sent a special message to the assembly, certifying that the emergency demanded the immediate passage of the bill. The machine leaders were bitterly angry, and the Speaker actually tore up the message without reading it to the assembly. That night they were busy trying to arrange some device for the defeat of the bill—which was not difficult, as the session was about to close. At 7 the next morning I was informed of what had occurred. At 8 I was in the Capitol at the Executive Chamber, and sent in another special message, which opened as follows: "I learn that the emergency message which I sent last evening to the assembly on behalf of the franchise tax bill has not been read. I therefore send hereby another message on the subject. I need not impress upon the assembly the need of passing this bill at once." I sent this message to the assembly by my secretary, William J. Youngs, afterward United States District Attorney of Kings, with an intimation that if this were not promptly read I should come up in person and read it. Then, as so often happens, the opposition collapsed and the bill went through both houses with a rush. I had in the House stanch friends, such as Regis Post and Alford Cooley—men of character and courage, who would have fought to a finish had the need arisen.

Efforts to Nullify the Bill.

My troubles were not at and end, however. The bill put the taxation in the hands of the local county boards, and as the railways sometimes passed through several different counties, this was inadvisable. It was the end of the session, and the Legislature adjourned. The corporations affected, through various counsel and the different party leaders of both organizations, urged me not to sign the bill, laying especial stress on this feature and asking that I wait until the following year, when a good measure could be put through with this obnoxious feature struck out. I had 30 days under the law in which to sign the bill. If I did not sign it by the end of that time it would not become a law. I answered my political and corporation friends by telling them that I agreed with them that this feature was wrong, but that I would rather have the bill with this feature than not have it at all, and that I was not willing to trust to what might be done a year later. Therefore I explained I would reconvene the Legislature in special session and if the legislators chose to amend the bill by placing the power of taxation in the state instead of in the county or municipality I would be glad, but that if they failed to amend it, or amended it improperly, I would sign the original bill and let it become law as it was.

When the representatives of Mr. Platt and of the corporations affected found they could do no better, they assented to this proposition. Efforts were tentatively made to outwit me by inserting amendments that would nullify the effect of the law, or by withdrawing the law when the Legislature convened; which would at once have deprived me of the whip hand. On May 12 I wrote Senator Platt, outlining the amendments I desired, and said: "Of course it must be understood that I will sign the present bill if the proposed bill containing the changes outlined above fails to pass." On May 18 I notified the Senate leader, John Raines, by telegram: "Legislature has no power to withdraw the Ford bill. If attempt is made to do so, I will sign the bill at once." On the same day, by telegram, I wired Mr. Odell concerning the bill the leaders were preparing: "Some provisions of bill very objectionable. I am at work on bill to show you tomorrow. The bill must not contain greater changes than those outlined in my message." My wishes were heeded, and when I had reconvened the Legislature it amended the bill as I outlined in my message; and in its amended form the bill became law.

There promptly followed something which afforded an index of the good faith of the corporations that had been protesting to me. As soon as the change for which they had begged was inserted in the law, and the law was signed, they turned round and refused to pay the taxes; and in the lawsuit that followed they claimed that the law was unconstitutional, because it contained the very clause which they had so clamorously demanded. Senator David B. Hill had appeared before me on behalf of the corporations to argue for the change; and he then appeared before the courts to make the argument on the other side. The suit was carried through to the Supreme Court of the United States, which declared the law constitutional during the time that I was President.

The Refusing of Pardons.

One of the painful duties of the chief executive in states like New York, as well as in the Nation, is the refusing of pardons. Yet I can imagine nothing more necessary from the standpoint of good citizenship than the ability to steel one's heart in this matter of granting pardons. The pressure is always greatest in two classes of cases; first, that where capital punishment is inflicted; second, that where the man is prominent socially and in the business world, and where in consequence his crime is apt to have been one concerned in some way with finance.

As regards capital cases, the trouble is that emotional men and women always see only the individual whose fate is up at the moment, and neither his victim nor the many millions of unknown individuals who would in the long run be harmed by what they ask. Moreover, almost any criminal, however brutal, has usually some person, often a person whom he has greatly wronged, who will plead for him. If the mother is alive she will always come, and she cannot help feeling that the case in which she is so concerned is peculiar, that in this case a pardon should be granted. It was really heartrending to have to see the kinsfolk and friends of murderers who were condemned to death, and among the very rare occasions when anything governmental or official caused me to lose sleep were the times when I had to listen to some poor mother making a plea for a criminal so wicked, so utterly brutal and depraved that it would have been a crime on my part to remit his punishment.

Asking Leniency for Scoundrels.

On the other hand, there were certain crimes concerning which requests for leniency merely made me angry. Such crimes were, for instance, rape, or the circulation of indecent literature, or anything connected with what would now be called the "white slave" traffic, or wife murder, or gross cruelty to women and children, or seduction and abandonment, or the action of some man in getting a girl whom he had seduced to commit abortion. I am speaking in each instance of cases that actually came before me, either while I was Governor or while I was President. In an astonishing number of these cases men of high standing signed petitions or wrote letters asking me to show leniency to the criminal. In two or three of the cases—one where some young roughs had committed rape on a helpless immigrant girl, and another in which a physician of wealth and high standing had seduced a girl and then induced her to commit abortion—I rather lost my temper, and wrote to the individuals who had asked for the pardon, saying that I extremely regretted that it was not in my power to increase the sentence. I then let the facts be made public, for I thought that my petitioners deserved public censure. Whether they received this public censure or not I did not know, but that my action made them very angry I do know, and their anger gave me real satisfaction. The list of these petitioners was a fairly long one, and included two United States Senators, a Governor of a state, two judges, an editor and some eminent lawyers and business men.

Defaulters and Bank Robbers.

In the class of cases where the offense was one involving the misuse of large sums of money the reason for the pressure was different. Cases of this kind more frequently came before me when I was President, but they also came before me when I was Governor, chiefly in the cases of County Treasurers who had embezzled funds. A big bank president, a railway magnate, an official connected with some big corporation, or a Government official in a responsible fiduciary position, necessarily belongs among the men who have succeeded in life. This means that his family are living in comfort, and perhaps luxury and refinement, and that his sons and daughters have been well educated. In such a case the misdeed of the father comes as a crushing disaster to the wife and children, and the people of the community, however bitter originally against the man, grow to feel the most intense sympathy for the bowed-down women and children who suffer for the man's fault. It is a dreadful thing in life that so much of atonement for wrong-doing is vicarious. If it were possible in such a case to think only of the banker's or County Treasurer's wife and children, any man would pardon the offender at once. Unfortunately, it is not right to think only of the women and children. The very fact that in cases of this class there is certain to be pressure from high sources, pressure sometimes by men who have been beneficially, even though remotely, interested in the man's criminality, no less than pressure because of honest sympathy with the wife and children, makes it necessary that the good public servant shall, no matter how deep his sympathy and regret, steel his heart and do his duty by refusing to let the wrong-doer out. My experience of the way in which pardons are often granted is one of the reasons why I do not believe that life imprisonment for murder and rape is a proper substitute for the death penalty. The average term of so-called life imprisonment in this country is only about 14 years.

Of course there were cases as to which I either commuted sentences or pardoned offenders with very real pleasure. For instance, when President, I frequently commuted sentences for horse-stealing in the Indian Territory because the penalty for stealing a horse was disproportionate to the penalty for many other crimes, and the offense was usually committed by some ignorant young fellow who found a half-wild horse, and really did not commit anything like as serious an offense as the penalty indicated. The judges would be obliged to give the minimum penalty, but would forward me memoranda stating that if there had been a less penalty they would have inflicted it, and I would then commute the sentence to the penalty thus indicated.

In one case in New York I pardoned outright a man convicted of murder in the second degree, and I did this on the recommendation of a friend, Father Doyle of the Paulist Fathers. I had become intimate with the Paulist Fathers while I was Police Commissioner, and I had grown to feel confidence in their judgment, for I had found that they always told me exactly what the facts were about any man, whether he belonged to their church or not. In this case the convicted man was a strongly-built respectable old Irishman employed as a watchman around some big cattle-killing establishments. The young roughs of the neighborhood, which was then of a rather lawless type, used to try to destroy the property of the companies. In a conflict with a watchman a member of one of the gangs was slain. The watchman was acquitted, but the neighborhood was much wrought up over the acquittal. Shortly afterwards a gang of the same roughs attacked another watchman, the old Irishman in question, and finally, to save his own life, he was obliged in self-defense to kill one of his assailants. The feeling in the community, however, was strongly against him, and some of the men high up in the corporation became frightened and thought that it would be better to throw over the watchman. He was convicted. Father Doyle came to me, told me that he knew the man well, that he was one of the best members of his church, admirable in every way, that he had simply been forced to fight for his life while loyally doing his duty, and that the conviction represented the triumph of the tough element of the district and the abandonment of this man, by those who should havestood by him, under the influence of an unworthy fear. I looked into the case, came to the conclusion that Father Doyle was right, and gave the man a full pardon before he had served 30 days.

The Vice-Presidency.

The various clashes between myself and the machine, my triumph in them, and the fact that the people were getting more and more interested and aroused, brought on a curious situation in the Republican National convention at Philadelphia in June, 1900. Senator Platt and the New York machine leaders had become very anxious to get me out of the Governorship, chiefly because of the hostility of the big corporation men towards me; but they had also become convinced that there was such popular feeling on my behalf that it would be difficult to refuse me a renomination if I demanded it. They accordingly decided to push me for Vice-President, taking advantage of the fact that there was at that time a good deal of feeling for me in the country at large. I myself did not appreciate that there was any such feeling, and as I greatly disliked the office of Vice-President and was much interested in the Governorship, I announced that I would not accept the Vice-Presidency. I was one of the delegates to Philadelphia. On reaching there I found that the situation was complicated. Senator Hanna appeared on the surface to have control of the convention. He was anxious that I should not be nominated as Vice-President. Senator Platt was anxious that I should be nominated as Vice-President, in order to get me out of the New York Governorship. Each took a position opposite to that of the other, but each at that time cordially sympathized with the other's feelings about me—it was the manifestations and not the feelings that differed. My supporters in New York State did not wish me nominated for Vice-President, because they wished me to continue as Governor; but in every other state all the people who admired me were bound that I should be nominated as Vice-President. These people were almost all desirous of seeing Mr. McKinley renominated as President, but they became angry at Senator Hanna's opposition to me as Vice-President. He in turn suddenly became aware that if he persisted he might find that in their anger these men would oppose Mr. McKinley's renomination, and although they could not have prevented the nomination, such opposition would have been a serious blow in the campaign which was to follow. Senator Hanna, therefore, began to waver.

Meanwhile a meeting of the New York delegation was called. Most of the delegates were under the control of Senator Platt. The Senator notified me that if I refused to accept the nomination for Vice-President I would be beaten for the nomination for Governor. I answered that I would accept the challenge, that we would have a straight-out fight on the proposition and that I would begin it at once by telling the assembled delegates of the threat, and giving fair warning that I intended to get it. This brought Senator Platt to terms. The effort to instruct the New York delegation for me was abandoned, and Lieutenant-Governor Woodruff was presented for nomination in my place.

I supposed that this closed the incident, and that no further effort would be made to nominate me for the Vice-Presidency. On the contrary, the effect was directly the reverse. The upset of the New York machine increased the feeling of the delegates from other states that it was necessary to draft me for the nomination. By next day Senator Hanna himself concluded that this was a necessity, and acquiesced in the movement. As New York was already committed against me, and as I was not willing that there should be any chance of supposing that the New Yorkers had nominated me to get rid of me, the result was that I was nominated and seconded from outside states. No other candidate was placed in the field.

Election Fraud and Chief Devery.

By this time the Legislature had adjourned, and most of my work as Governor of New York was over. One unexpected bit of business arose, however. It was the year of the Presidential campaign. Tammany, which had been lukewarm about Bryan in 1896, cordially supported him in 1900; and when Tammany heartily supports a candidate it is well for the opposing candidate to keep a sharp lookout for election frauds. The city government was in the hands of Tammany; but I had power to remove the Mayor, the Sheriff and the District Attorney for malfeasance or misfeasance in office. Such power had not been exercised by any previous Governor, as far as I knew; but it existed, and if the misfeasance or malfeasance warranted it, and if the Governor possessed the requisite determination, the power could be, and ought to be, exercised.

By an act of the Legislature a State Bureau of Elections had been created in New York City, and a Superintendent of Elections appointed by the Governor. The chief of the State Bureau of Elections was John McCullagh, formerly in the police department when I was police commissioner. The Chief of Police for the city was William F. Devery, one of the Tammany leaders, who represented in the police department all that I had warred against while commissioner. On November 4 Devery directed his subordinates in the police department to disregard the orders which McCullagh had given to his deputies, orders which were essential if we were to secure an honest election in the city. I had just returned from a Western campaign trip and was at Sagamore Hill. I had no direct power over Devery; but the Mayor had; and I had power over the Mayor. Accordingly I at once wrote to the Mayor of New York, to the Sheriff of New York and to the District Attorney of New York County the following letters:

State of New York, Oyster Bay, November 5, 1900—To the Mayor of the City of New York.—Sir: My attention has been called to the official order issued by Chief of Police Devery, in which he directs his subordinates to disregard the chief of the State Election Bureau, John McCullagh, and his deputies. Unless you have already taken steps to secure the recall of this order, it is necessary for me to point out that I shall be obliged to hold you responsible as the head of the city government for the action of the Chief of Police, if it should result in any breach of the peace and intimidation or any crime whatever against the election laws. The state and city authorities should work together. I will not fail to call to summary account either state or city authority in the event of either being guilty of intimidation or connivance at fraud or of failure to protect every legal voter in his rights. I therefore hereby notify you that in the event of any wrong-doing following upon the failure immediately to recall Chief Devery's order, or upon any action or inaction on the part of Chief Devery, I must necessarily call you to account. Yours, etc.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

State of New York, Oyster Bay, Nov. 5, 1900—To the Sheriff of the County of New York—Sir: My attention has been called to the official order issued by Chief of Police Devery, in which he directs his subordinates to disregard the chief of the state election bureau, John McCullagh, and his deputies.

It is your duty to assist in the orderly enforcement of the law, and I shall hold you strictly responsible for any breach of the public peace within your county, or for any failure on your part to do your full duty in connection with the election tomorrow. Yours truly,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

State of New York, Oyster Bay, Nov. 5, 1900.—To the District Attorney of the County of New York—Sir: My attention has been called to the official order issued by Chief of Police Devery, in which he directs his subordinates to disregard the chief of the state election bureau, John McCullagh, and his deputies.

In view of this order I call your attention to the fact that it is your duty to assist in the orderly enforcement of the law, and there must be no failure on your part to do your full duty in the matter. Yours truly,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Those letters had the desired effect. The Mayor promptly required Chief Devery to rescind the obnoxious order, which was as promptly done. The Sheriff also took prompt action. The District Attorney refused to heed my letter, and assumed an attitude of defiance, and I removed him from office. On election day there was no clash between the city and state authorities; the election was orderly and honest.

(The next installment of Mr. Roosevelt's "Chapters of a Possible Autobiography" is entitled "Outdoors and Indoors." It will appear in The Sunday Oregonian November 10.

HUMBLE IMMIGRANTS WHO HAVE BECOME AMERICAN KINGS

(Continued From Page 4.)

devoted all his attention to merchandising. Today he is perhaps the largest authority on cooking. Most of the French chefs who are installed in the big hotels of America were placed there through his influence. He never has lost his French viewpoint. When he had a restaurant he lived over his establishment. When he built a great warehouse he followed the same rule and had his living quarters upstairs. He has made a lot of money in real estate. Years ago he made up his mind that there was one spot in New York where a man could not make a mistake in buying property.

That was in the section between Thirty-fourth and Forty-second streets and Fourth and Seventh avenues. He put his surplus money into buildings in that part of the city and today it is the richest district in Manhattan. Weber is the leading spirit of one of the quaintest organizations in America—the Thursday Club.

Its members are the leading French chefs of New York. Once a week the club has a luncheon. When a member fails to win the approval of the critical persons who are at table he is desolated. When he gets the applause of the fellow members and a vote of thanks he feels that he has achieved the highest honor attainable in his profession. Some of the chefs plan their luncheons a year ahead and give to them an amount of thought far greater than to the most important banquet they ever are called on to prepare. Micheal Idvorsky Pupin is the king of the telephone. He gets his middle name from the town in Hungary where he was born. He is a Serb. His parents were peasants. He came to America as a stowaway. He didn't have a dollar when he landed. He worked as a farmhand down in Maryland or Delaware. When he had learned a little of the English language he returned to New York, and did all sorts of odd jobs. He worked in a factory and as rubber in a Turkish bath. While he worked in the factory he attended night school. He saved a little money and went to Columbia University.

He not only worked his way through the university but while a pupil there he earned $3000 tutoring American youths. He had a great talent for electricity. When he finished his course at Columbia he was made a teacher there. He specialized on telephony and has invented some of the most important devices for the improvement of that great branch of communication. He devised the Pupin coil by which telephony over long distances has been made possible. For this invention he got $400,000 cash from the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. He is a great business man and has made corporations pay handsomely for his inventions. He is the leading Serb in America and raised most of the money that was collected in America to finance the Serbs in their war with the Turks. He's at work now at ocean telephony, and expects to make it possible for the voice to carry across the Atlantic. One of the big halls at Columbia is given over to him for his work. He is recognized today as one of the great scientists of the world. Whenever he feels fagged and in need of recreation he goes to a country estate he has in Connecticut and tills the soil as his father did before him.

United States Senator Knute Nelson is a prince of politics. He was only 6 years old when he came to America from Norway. He says humorously that he is descendant from a long line of Norwegian pirates. He had a very hard time as a boy, his mother being widowed. He worked on a farm in Wisconsin and got his schooling as best he could. He went into the army and at the close of the war studied law. He and John C. Spooner were partners. He was in the Wisconsin Legislature twice, in the Minnesota Legislature three times, a member of the House of Representatives three times, Governor of Minnesota twice, and has been a United States Senator from Minnesota for 18 years. He is the great Norseman of America.

Henry T. Oxnard is one of America's sugar kings. He is from Marseilles, France. He was only a youngster when he came to America. To him more than any other one man is due the development of the beet sugar industry in America. Today he is the president of the American Beet Sugar Company and also president of the American Beet Sugar Association, which comprises all the beet sugar factories in the United States. He has cut quite a figure in American racing circles, having owned a large number of thoroughbreds, which were contenders on the great tracks of the East in the days when racing was in better odor than it is now.

Andrew Carnegie, steel king, came here from Scotland as an immigrant. Most persons know his story. He worked as a messenger boy for $3 a week in a telegraph office. He became a telegraph operator and drifted into the steel business. When he sold out the Carnegie Company to the United States Steel Corporation he got $250,000,000. There are half a dozen kings in Europe whose combined fortunes do not equal this amount.

The lemon king of America is Simone Salita. He is from Palermo, Sicily. He had very little money when he landed in New York. He has built up a tremendous business and now handles nearly one-fourth of all the lemons imported into the United States and one-fourth of all the grapes imported into the United States.

Joseph Di Gorgio is the banana king of America. He is only 33 years old. He came here an immigrant lad and worked for $5 a week on pier 20, North River. Today he owns 20 steamships engaged in bringing bananas from Central America and the West Indies to the United States. He gives 100,000 tons of freight a year to the American railroads.

Henry Siegel, dry goods prince, came to America from Germany when he was 15 years old. The first work he got was as shop boy in a Washington store. It was four years before he rose to the dignity of earning $15 a week. He became a salesman and after a while went into business with two of his brothers in a little store in Parkersburg, Pa. In 1876 he moved to Chicago and became a manufacturer of cloaks. It was there he met Frank Cooper and went into partnership with him. Their start was very modest. What Henry Siegel has grown to be in the dry goods trade of Chicago, New York and Boston is pretty well known.

Four men met at dinner in a new York hotel the other night. They were Carl Laemmle, one of the big men of the motion picture business; Julius Hilder, who has been a big figure as an importer of notions and fancy goods; Julius Glugman, a Fifth avenue furrier, and Leo Hirschfield, vice-president of a great candy corporation. Twenty-nine years ago the four of them were companions in the steerage of the steamship Neckar, immigrants on their way to America. Today they are millionaires. Each found fortune in the land of promise.

It looks from all this as if the immigrant boy, with the spur of poverty, does better in America than the native born with all his natural advantages.

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No Woman Able to Catch Him

"MARRY and die young. Keep your eyes off woman and live to be 107," is the warning to youth hurled forth by Daniel Turner, veteran of the Civil War, who resides in Santa Monica, Cal., and takes a turn at the woodpile occasionally to prove it.

Daniel is proud of the fact that no husband hunter ever got the marital hook within anywhere like lookable distance of him. Not that damsels of varying ages haven't set thir caps for Uncle Daniel within the memory of his joyful youth, prime of middle age and centenarian existence. He's boastful of the fact that a few dozen of them wanted him from time to time, but prouder still that they couldn't get him.

"My life was never blighted by sickness and worry, because I was never married," says Uncle Dan. "Married men die younger than bachelors.

"Married Men Die Younger Than Bachelors," Says Uncle Dan.

Scenic Walk Near Oregon City.

When Portland people want a change of scene they need but go to Oregon City, where there is a varied attraction of river, mountain and wooded scenery. Nature has worked many wonders about Oregon City and little work was necessary to bring these wonder works into ready use.

Rustic walks have been constructed along the almost perpendicular sides of the rocky bluffs that rise sheer above the town, almost from the edge of the Willamette. At the base of these bluffs the business portion of the city nestles comfortably. Steps have been constructed leading from the city to the table land above, from which a wonderful panorama of sparkling river, wooded valley and distant hills spreads before the eye of the visitor.

Her Unselfish Husband.

Puck.

Henry Yallerby—Aftah we's married we'll hab chicken foh dinnah every day, honey.

Melinda Johnson—Oh, yo' deary! But I wouldn't ask yo' to run no sech risks foh mah sake!

Earning His Pay.

London Tatler.

Sportsman (who has missed everything he has fired at)—Did I hit him?

Keeper (anxious to please)—Not 'xactly 'it 'im, sir; I can't say that. But, my word! I never see a rabbit wuss scared.

Ears Are the Secret of Seasickness

IF YOU are planning an ocean trip and want to be perfectly sure that you are gaing to escape the torments of ocean roughness, it is plain from modern discoveries that you will have to pay attention to your ears. For they are the whole trouble, according to Dr. Norman Bennett, who believes that seasickness is caused by a fluid called "endolymph," which is found in the canals connected with the human ear.

These canals Dr. Bennett describes as "human spirit levels," and the motion of a ship causes the fluid to be thrown violently against the sides of the canals, which have inner linings richly supplied with nerves in direct communication with the brain and the stomach.

It is therefore natural that the pitching and the rolling of the boat double the effect of sickness. The rolling motion of the boat usually has not the same bad effect that pitching has, for pitching affects the vertical canals connected with the ear, while rolling only affects the horizontal canal, there being two vertical ones to every horizontal one.