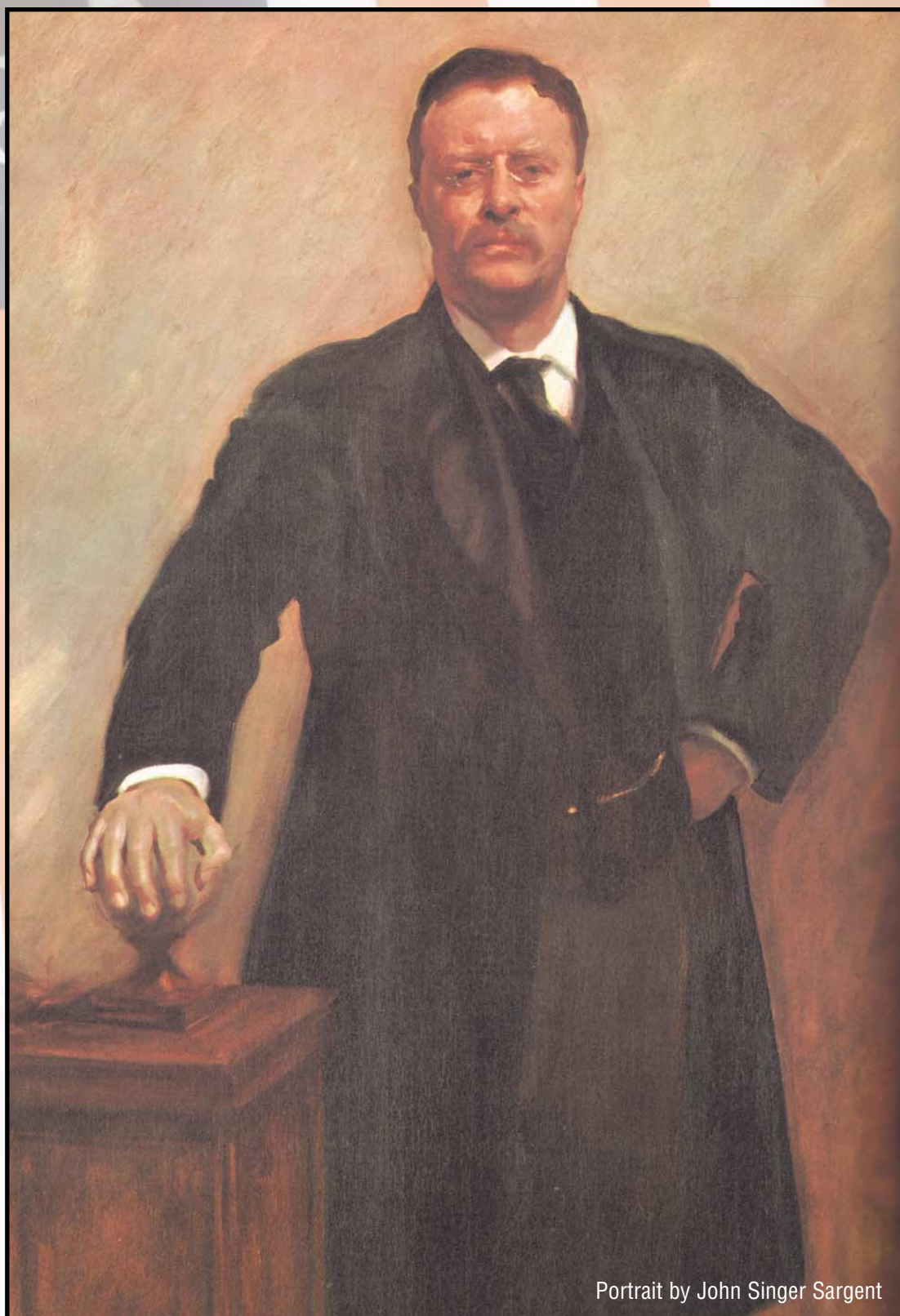
A Witness in the White House



Portrait by John Singer Sargent

Selections Taken from the Writings and Speeches of Theodore Roosevelt – America's Twenty-Sixth President

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A WITNESS IN THE WHITE HOUSE

By Buddy Dano

Introduction

As we enter our third century as free people, it is very timely for us to focus our attention on a period of our history when the Commander-in-Chief, the President of the United States, manifested in his office the principles of true Americanism.

There have been many books written about Theodore Roosevelt, probably more so than any other President, and yet in our education today it seems that he is the forgotten man of history. It is becoming more and more difficult to find anything written about him and what he has accomplished for the American people and just what kind of a leader he was.

The following is a list of books that were written about him. You will be able to see from the various titles, the vain effort to fully encompass him as an embodiment of truth.

"Roosevelt's Rough Riders"
"The Impressions of Theodore Roosevelt"
"Theodore Roosevelt – The Strenuous Life"
"Theodore Roosevelt – The Naturalist"
"Theodore Roosevelt – The Citizen"
"Roosevelt – The Story of a Friendship"
"From the Ranch to the White House"
"The Free Citizen"
"When Teddy Swings His Stick"
"The Americanism of Theodore Roosevelt"
"Colonel Roosevelt – Private Citizen"
"T.R."

and many other books, including many that he himself wrote about our American history and the history of other countries.

President Theodore Roosevelt held more public offices than any other President and spent himself in all of them. The offices that he held included Assemblyman, Police Commissioner, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Colonel in the Rough Riders, Governor, Vice President, and finally President.

It seems that it was almost necessary to have so many books written about him in order to cover all the services he performed for our Country. So, we dedicate this book to the young people in America who have never had the privilege of being exposed to the Statesmanship of our twenty-sixth President, Theodore Roosevelt.

His basic philosophy can best be summed up by a particular quote he frequently used:

"It is not the critic who counts, not the man who points out how the strong man stumbled, or where the doer of deeds could have done them better. The credit belongs to the man who strives valiantly, who errs, comes short again and again, who knows the great enthusiasm, the great devotions; who spends himself in a worthy cause, who, at the best, knows in the end the triumph of high achievement, and who at the worst, if he fails, at least fails while daring greatly, so that his place shall never be with those timid souls who know neither victory nor defeat."

What interested me most about Theodore Roosevelt was his applied Christianity. This was brought out in a book written by his sister that included a letter from her brother that stated this principle quite clearly. The letter was dated November 12, 1914 after election day, and Theodore Roosevelt wrote her and stated the following:

"Did you see my quotation from 2 Timothy chapter four, verses three and four?" "It covers the whole situation."

The verses referred to are as follows:

"For the time will come when they will not endure sound Doctrine, but after their own lusts shall they heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears. And they shall turn away their ears from the Truth, and shall be turned into fables."

His sister upon reading that letter stated: "That was not unusual, for he was apt to sum up a situation in some pregnant verse from the Bible."

I have taken portions of messages, letters, and comments from various books written about Theodore Roosevelt to encourage others to the effectiveness of applied Christianity.

The White House, America's Executive Mansion, was the first building constructed in the Nation's Capital. Its cornerstone was laid October 13, 1792. The size of the architect's plans drew criticism from Congress whereupon President Washington advised the architect to reduce the size of the plans.

President John Adams and his wife, Abigail, became the first occupants. At the west end of the first floor is the State dining room. Its former paneling of dark oak has been painted white. There is a great chandelier hanging over the ceiling. A portrait of Abraham Lincoln is over the mantle piece. Cut into the marble facing of the fireplace is the famous inscription authored by John Adams, the first President to occupy the White House, which says:

"I pray Heaven to bestow the best of blessings on this White House and on all that shall hereafter inhabit it. May none but honest and wise men ever rule under this roof."

Theodore Roosevelt was an answer to that prayer because he truly was *"A Witness in the White House."*

Chapter One

Theodore Roosevelt and the Bible

"Only be thou strong and very courageous, that thou mayest observe to do according to all the law which Moses, My servant, commanded thee; turn not from it to the right hand or to the left, that thou mayest prosper withersoever thou goest," Joshua 1:7.

President Theodore Roosevelt addressed the Pacific Theological Seminary in the spring of 1911. This particular Seminary was founded by Edwin T. Earl who provided a lectureship in 1901 for the purpose, as stated in the articles of the foundation, "to aid in securing at the University of California the presentation of Christian Truth by bringing to Berkeley, year by year, eminent Christian scholars and thinkers to speak upon themes calculated to illustrate and disseminate Christian thought, and minister to Christian life." The uncommon public interest that this series of lectures aroused, and the attendance of many thousands who daily crowded the Greek Theatre to hear them, emphasized to the lectureship committee the desirability of yielding to a wide-spread demand for their publication.

Since Mr. Roosevelt did not have a manuscript, arrangements were made for an accurate stenographic report, which was afterward submitted to him for revision. Their fine ethical purpose justifies the hope that they may continue to stimulate good citizenship in wider circles than those that care within reach of the speaker's voice. So wrote William Frederic Bade, September 1911, Pacific Theological Seminary, Berkeley, California.

Mr. Roosevelt started by saying, "I have come here today, in the course of lectures upon applied ethics, upon the realization of ideals, to speak of the 'Book' to which our people owe infinitely the greater part of their store of ethics, infinitely the greater part of their knowledge of how to apply that store to the needs of our everyday life.

"There have been many collections of the Sacred Books, the Sacred Writings of the Old and New Testament, many collections of note. Upon an occasion such as this, we, who think most of all of the King James Version of the Bible, should be first to acknowledge our obligation to many of the other versions. To the earliest of the great versions, the Vulgate of St. Jerome, a very great version, a version that played an incalculable part in the development of Western Europe. This version placed the Bible into the common language of Western Europe, the language known to every man who pretended to any degree of learning, Latin, and therefore gave the Bible to the peoples of the West at a time when the old classic civilizations of Greece and Rome had first crumbled to rottenness and had then been overwhelmed by the Barbarian Sea.

"In the wreck of the Old World, Christianity was all that the survivors had to cling to, and the Latin version of the Bible put it at their disposal.

"Other versions of the Bible followed from time to time, and gradually men began to put them into the vernaculars of the different countries. Wycliff's Bible is one version to which we must feel under deep obligation. But the great debt of the English-speaking peoples everywhere is to the translation of the Bible that we all know, I trust I can say, all here know in our own homes, the Bible as it was put forth in English three centuries ago.

"No other book of any kind ever written in English, perhaps no other book ever written in any other tongue has ever so affected the whole life of a people as this authorized version of the Scriptures has affected the life of the English-speaking peoples.

"I enter a most earnest plea that in our hurried and rather bustling life of today, we do not lose the hold that our forefathers had on the Bible. I wish to see Bible Study as much a matter of course in the secular College as in the Seminary. No educated man can afford to be ignorant of the Bible, and no uneducated man can afford to be ignorant of the Bible.

"Occasional critics, taking sections of the Old Testament, are able to point out that the teachings are not in accordance with our own convictions and views of morality. They ignore the prime truth that these deeds recorded in the Old Testament are not in accordance with our theories of morality because of the very fact that these theories are based upon the New Testament. The New Testament represents not only in one sense the fulfillment of the Old, but in another sense the substitution of the New Testament for the Old in certain vital points of ethics.

"If critics of this kind would study the morality inculcated by the Old Testament among the Chosen People, and compare it, not with the morality of today, not with the morality created by the New Testament, but with the morality of the surrounding nations of antiquity, who had no Bible, they would appreciate the enormous advances that the Old Testament, even in its most primitive form, worked for the Jewish people. The Old Testament did not carry Israel as far as the New Testament has carried us; but it advanced Israel far beyond the point any neighboring nation had then reached.

"In studying the writings of the average critic who has assailed the Bible, the most salient point is usually his peculiar shallowness in failing to understand, not merely the lofty ethical teachings of the Bible as we now know it, but the elemental fact that even the most primitive ethical system taught in the primitive portions of the Bible, the earliest of the Sacred Writings, marks a giant stride in moral advance when compared with the contemporary ethical conceptions of the other people of the day.

"Moreover, I appeal for a study of the Bible on many different accounts, even aside from its ethical and moral teachings, even aside from the fact that all serious people, all men who think deeply, even among non-Christians, have come to agree that the Life of Christ, as set forth in the four Gospels, represents an infinitely higher and purer morality than is preached in any other book of the world. Aside from this, I ask that the Bible be studied for the sake of the breadth it must give to every man who studies it. I cannot understand the mental attitude of those who would put the Bible to one side as not being a Book of interest to grown men. What could interest men who find the Bible dull? The Sunday Newspaper?

"Think of the difference there must be in the mental make-up of the man whose chief reading includes the one, as compared with the man whose chief reading is represented by the other. The vulgarity, the shallowness, the inability to keep the mind fixed on any serious subject, which is implied in the mind of the man who cannot read the Bible and yet can take pleasure in reading only literature of the type of the colored supplement of the Sunday paper.

"Now I am not speaking against the colored supplement of any paper in its place, but as a substitute for serious reading of the Great Book, it represents a type of mind which it is gross flattery merely to call shallow.

"I do not ask you to accept the word of those who preach the Bible as an inspired Book. I make my appeal not only to professing Christians, I make it to every man who seeks after a high and useful life; to every man who seeks the inspiration of religion, or who endeavors to make his life conform to a high ethical standard; to every man who, be he Jew or Gentile, whatever his form of religious belief, whatever creed he may profess, faces life with the real desire not only to get out of it what is best, but to do his part in everything that tells for the ennobling and uplifting of humanity.

"I am making a plea, not only for the training of the mind, but for the moral and spiritual training of the home and the Church. The moral and spiritual training that has always been found in, and has ever accompanied the study of the Book which is in almost every civilized tongue, and in many uncivilized, can be described as 'The Book,' with the certainty of having the description understood by all who listen.

"A year and a quarter ago I was passing on foot through the native Kingdom of Uganda, in Central Africa. Uganda is the most highly developed of the pure Negro states in Africa. It is the state which has given the richest return for the missionary labor. I was interested to to find that in their victorious fight against, in the first place, heathendom, and, in the second place, Moslemism, the native Christians belonging to the several different sects, both Catholics and Protestants, had taken as their symbol 'The Book,' sinking all minor differences among themselves, and

coming together on the common ground of their common belief in 'The Book,' that was the most precious gift the white man had brought to them.

"It is of that Book, and as testimony to its incalculable influence for good from the educational and the moral standpoint, that the great scientist Huxley wrote the following words:

'Consider the great historical fact that for three centuries this Book has been woven into the life of all that is noblest and best in English history; that it has become the National epic of Britain; that it is written in the noblest and purest English and abounds in exquisite beauties of mere literary form; and, finally, that it forbids the veriest hind, who never left his village, to be ignorant of the existence of other countries and other civilizations of a great past stretching back to the furthest limits of the oldest nations in the world. By the study of what other book could children be so much humanized and made to feel that each figure in that vast historical procession fills, like themselves, but a momentary space in the interval between the eternities?

'I ask your attention to this when I plead for the training of children in the Bible. I am quoting not a professed Christian, but a scientific man whose scientific judgment is thus expressed as to the value of Biblical training for the young.'

"And again listen to what Huxley says as to the bearing of the Bible upon those who study the ills of our time with the hope of eventually remedying them:

'The Bible has been the Magna Carta of the poor and of the oppressed. Down to modern times, no state has had a constitution in which the interests of the people are so largely taken into account, in which the duties so much more than the privileges of rulers are insisted upon, as that drawn up for Israel in Deuteronomy and in Leviticus; nowhere is the fundamental truth that the welfare of the state in the long run depends upon the righteousness of the citizen so strongly laid down, the Bible is the most democratic Book in the World.'

"This is the judgment of Huxley, one of the greatest scientific thinkers of the last century.

"I ask you to train children in the Bible. Never commit the awful error of training the child by making him learn verses of the Bible as punishment. I remember once calling upon a very good woman and finding one of her small sons, with a face of black injury, studying the Bible, and this very good woman said to me with pride:

'Johnny has been bad, and he is learning a Chapter of Isaiah by heart.'

"I could not refrain from saying, 'My dear Madam, how can you do such a dreadful thing as to make the unfortunate Johnny associate for the rest of his life the noble and beautiful poetry and prophecy of Isaiah with an excessively disagreeable task? You are committing a greater wrong against him than any he has himself committed.' 'Punish the children in any other way that is necessary, but do not make them look upon the Bible with suspicion and dislike as an instrument of torture, so that they feel that it is a pain to have to read it, instead of, as it ought to be, a privilege and pleasure to read it.'

"In reading the Bible and the beautiful Bible stories that have delighted children for so many generations, my own personal preference is to read them from the Bible and not as explained even in otherwise perfectly nice little books.

"Read these majestic and simple stories with whatever explanation is necessary to make the child understand the words; and then the story he will understand without difficulty. Of course, we must not forget to give whatever explanation is necessary to enable the child to understand the words. I think every father and mother comes to realize how queerly the little brains will accept new words at times.

"I remember an incident of the kind in connection with a clergyman to whose Church I went to when a very small boy. It was a big Presbyterian Church in Madison Square, New York; any New Yorker of my age who happens to be present here will probably recollect the Church. We had a clergyman, one of the finest men that I had ever met, one of the very rare men to whom it would be no misuse of the words to describe as saintly.

"He was very food of one of his little grandsons. This little grandson showed an entire willingness to come to Church and to Sunday School when there were plenty of people present; but it was discovered that he was reluctant to go anywhere near Church when there were not people there. As often happens with a child, every mother knows how difficult it often is to find out just what the little mind is thinking, his parents could not find out for some time what was the matter with the little boy or what he was afraid of in the Church.

"Finally, Doctor Adams, the clergyman, started town to the Church and asked his little grandson to come with him. After a little hesitation, the small boy said yes, if his grandfather were coming, he would go.

"They got inside the Church and walked down the aisle, their footsteps echoing in the empty Church. The little fellow alongside his grandfather, looking with half-frightened eagerness on every side.

Soon he said, 'Grandfather, where is the zeal?' The grandfather, much puzzled, responded, 'Where is the what?' 'Where is the zeal?' repeated the little boy. The grandfather said, 'I don't know what you mean; what are you talking about?' 'Why grandfather, don't you know? "The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up?"'

"Now that little fellow had been rendered profoundly uncomfortable and very suspicious of the Church because he had read this verse, had accepted it in literal fashion, and concluded there was some kind of fearful beast dwelling in the Church, as to which it behooved him to be on his guard.

"It would be a great misfortune for our people if they ever lost the Bible as one of their habitual standards and guises in morality. In addressing this body, which must contain representatives of many different creeds, I ask you men and women to treat the Bible in the only way in which it can be treated if benefit is to be obtained from it, and that is, as a Guide to conduct.

"I make no pretense to speak to you on dogmatic theology. There are probably scores of different views of dogma here represented, there are scores of different ways leading toward the same goal; but there is one test which we have a right to apply to the professors of all the creeds, the test of conduct. More and more, people who possess either a religious belief or aspiration after religious belief are growing to demand conduct as the ultimate test of the worth of the belief.

"I hope that after what I have said, no man can suspect me of failure to rightly estimate the enormous influence that study of the Bible should have on our lives. But I would rather not see a man study it at all, than have him read it as a fetish on Sunday and disregard its teachings on all other days of the week, because if we think the conduct of the man who disregards its teachings on week days is evil, it is still worse if that conduct is tainted with the mean vice of hypocrisy.

"The measure of our respect for and belief in the man or woman who does try to shape their lives by the highest ethical standards inculcated in the Scriptures must in large part be also the measure of our contempt for those who ostentatiously read the Bible and then disregard its teachings in their dealings with their fellow men.

"I do not like the thief, big or little; I do not like him in business and I do not like him in politics; but I dislike him most when, to shield himself from the effects of his wrong-doing, he claims that, after all, he is a religious man. He is not a religious man, save in the sense that the Pharisee was a religious man in the time of the Saviour.

"The man who advances the fact that he goes to Church and reads the Bible as an offset to the fact that he has acted like a scoundrel in his public life or private relations, only writes his own condemnation in larger letters than before.

"And so a man or woman who reads and quotes the Bible as a warrant and an excuse for hardheartedness and uncharitableness and lack of mercy to friend or neighbor is reading and quoting the Bible to his or her own damage, perhaps to his or her own destruction.

"Let the man who goes to Church, who reads the Bible, feel that it is peculiarly incumbent upon him so to lead his life in the face of be world that no discredit shall attach to the Book in accordance with which he asserts that he leads his own life.

"Sometimes I have seen, all of you have seen, the appeal made to stand by a man who has done evil on the ground that he is a pillar of the Church. Such a man is a rotten pillar of any Church. And the professors of any creed, the men belonging to any Church, should be more jealous than any outsider in holding such a man to account, in demanding that his practice shall square with the high profession of belief.

"Such a man sins not only against the moral law, sins not only against the community as a whole, but sins, above all against his own Church. He sins against all who profess religion, against all who belong to Churches, because he by his life gives point to the sneer of the cynic who disbelieves in all application of Christian ethics to life, and who tries to make the ordinary man distrust Church people as hypocrites.

"Whenever any Church member is guilty of business dishonesty or political dishonesty or offenses against the moral law in any way, those who are members of Churches should feel a far greater regret and disappointment than those who are not members. They cannot afford to let the outsider, even for a moment, think that they accept Church going and Bible reading as substitutes for, instead of incitements toward, leading a higher and better and more useful life. We must strive, each of us so, to conduct our own lives as to be, to a certain extent at least, our brother's keeper.

"We must show that we actually do take into our own souls the teachings that we read, that we apply to ourselves the Gospel teaching that a 'Corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruit,' and that the sound tree must prove its soundness by the fruit is brings forth: that we apply to ourselves the teachings of the Epistle wherein we are warned, 'To be doers of the Word and not hearers only.'

"I have asked you to read the Bible for the beautiful English and for the history it teaches, as well as for the grasp it gives you upon the proper purpose of mankind. Of course, if you read it only for aesthetic purposes, if you read it without thought of following its ethical teachings, then you are apt to do little good to your fellow men; if you regard this reading simply as an outward token of Sunday respectability, small will be the good that you yourself get from it.

"Our success in striving to help our fellow men, and therefore to help ourselves, depends largely upon our success as we strive, with whatever shortcoming, with whatever failures, to lead our lives in accordance with the great ethical principles laid down in the life of Christ, and in the New Testament writings which seek to expound and apply His Teachings.

Now, in addition to this particular speech given by Theodore Roosevelt, there were many other occasions in his life that indicate to us how much he personally studied and applied the Word of God to his life.

One day when he was in a little Lutheran Church at Sioux Falls, he listened to a most interesting and most stimulating sermon, which he said struck him particularly because of the translation of the word which, he was ashamed to say, he had always before mistranslated.

He said, "It was on the old text of Faith, Hope, and Charity. The sermon was delivered in German, and the word that the preacher used for 'Charity' was not charity, but 'Love,' preaching that the greatest of all the forces with which we deal for betterment is love.

"Looking it up," he said, "I found, of course, what I ought to have known, but did not, that the Greek word which we have translated into the word 'Charity' at present in a sense which does not make it correspond entirely to the word used in the original Greek.

"And," Roosevelt said, "this Lutheran preacher developed in a very striking, but very happy fashion the absolute need of Love in the broadest sense of the word, in order to make mankind ever approximately perfect.

"We need two qualities, the quality of many shapes, which rests upon courage, upon bodily mental strength, upon will, upon daring, upon resolution, the quality which makes a man work, and then we need the quality of which the preacher spoke when he spoke of Love as being the great factor, the ultimate factor, in bringing about the kind of human fellowship which will even approximately enable us to come up towards the standard which I think all of us, with many shortcomings, strive.

"Work and Love, using each in its broadest sense. Work: the quality which makes a man ashamed not to be able to pull his own weight, not to be able to do for himself as well as for others without being be holden to any one for what he is doing.

"No man is happy if he does not work. Of all the miserable creatures, the idler, in whatever rank of society, is in the long run the most miserable.

"If a man is utterly selfish, if utterly disregardful of the rights of others, if he has no ideals, if he works simply for the sake of ministering to his own base passions, if he works simply to gratify himself, small is his good in the community. I think even then he is probably better off than if he is an idler, but he is of no real use unless together with the quality which enables him to work, he has the quality which enables him to love his fellows, to work with them, and for them, and for the common good of all."

Faith was a vital part of Theodore Roosevelt's being. Even as a young man, he would lay about the woods resting during hunting trips, and he would

talk about the Lord and related subjects in a perfectly natural way. On one occasion he said, regarding the Bible, the following:

"There is no patent recipe for getting good citizenship. You get it by applying the old, old rules of decent conduct, the rules in accordance with which decent men have had to shape their lives from the beginning, the fundamental precepts put forth in the Bible and embodied consciously or unconsciously in the code of morals of every great and successful nation from antiquity to modern times."

And he continued, "There is small need to devise new rules of moral conduct. The need comes, first, in applying those we have to concrete cases, and second; in acting upon them when thus applied.

"The first is important, the second is even more important, and as long as the moral rule is limited to the abstract, or applied only to issues and persons that are dead, it is objectionable to nobody and is utterly useless to everybody. Friction and usefulness appear simultaneously with the effort to apply the rule in specific and living relations.

"You are not going to make any new commandments at this stage which will supply the place of the old ones. The truths that were true at the foot of Mt. Sinai are true now.

"No man is a good citizen unless he so acts, as to show that he actually uses the Word of God and translates the Bible into his life conduct, in the ordinary affairs of every day life.

"The teachings of the Bible are so interwoven and entwined with our civic and social life that it would be literally, I don't mean figuratively, I mean literally impossible for us to figure to ourselves what that life would be if these teachings were removed.

"We would lose almost all the standards by which we now judge both public and private morals, all the standards, towards which we, with more or less resolution, strive to raise ourselves.

"Almost every man who has, by his own life work, added to the sum of human achievement of which the race is proud, of which our people are proud, has based his life work largely upon the teachings of the Bible. Sometimes it was done unconsciously, more often consciously, and among the very greatest men, a disproportionately large number have been diligent and close students of the Bible at first hand.

"The men who predominated in, and shaped the actions of the American Constitutional Convention, were resolute to free themselves from the tyranny of man, but they had not unlearned the reverence felt by their fathers for their father's God.

"They were sincerely religious. The advanced friends of freedom abroad scoffed at religion, but to the founders of our Constitution, when matters were at a deadlock and the outcome looked almost hopeless, it seemed a most fit and proper thing that one of the chief of their number should purpose to invoke to aid them, a Wisdom greater than the wisdom of human beings.

When Theodore Roosevelt was a young Governor deeply absorbed in the many reforms which he had inaugurated in the Empire State, was not willing to be buried in Washington as the Vice President of the United States, as he felt he would be. As the time drew near for the Republican Convention in June, 1900, more and more weight was thrown in the balance to persuade him to accept the nomination.

His sister frequently said that one of the most endearing characteristics of her brother was his desire to have her share in all of his interests, in his glory, or in his disappointments, and so, when the Convention at Philadelphia met, and as contending forces struggled around him, he telegraphed her and her husband, who were then at their country home in New Jersey, and begged them to come to Philadelphia and be near him during the fray. Needless to say, they hurried to his side.

His sister said that she would always remember that at the Hotel in Philadelphia, how hot those June days were, and how noisy and crowded the corridors of the hotel were when they arrived. Blaring bands and marching delegations seemed to render the hot air even more stifling, and she asked at once to be shown to the room where Governor Roosevelt was.

A messenger was sent with her, and up in the elevator and through circuitous passages they went, to a corner room overlooking a square.

They knocked, but there was no answer, and she softly opened the door, and there sat her brother, Theodore, at a distant window with a huge volume upon his knees. The soft air was blowing in the window, his back was turned to the door, and he was as absolutely detached as if Vice-Presidential nominations, political warfare, illicit and corrupt methods

of all kinds in public life were things not known to his philosophy.

She tiptoed up behind him and leaned over his shoulder, and saw that the great volume spread before him was *"The History of Josephus."*

She could not but laugh aloud, for it seemed too quaint to think that he, the center of all political animosity, should be quietly apart, **perfectly absorbed in the history of the Jews of a long past day.**

As she laughed, he turned and jumped to his feet, and in a moment Josephus was as much a thing of the past as he actually was, and Theodore Roosevelt, the loving brother, the humorous philosopher, the acute politician, was once more in the saddle.

His interest in the Word of God, and application thereof, was many sided. It provided for him the ability to meet emergencies in the best possible fashion.

While he was Police Commissioner of New York City, an Anti-Semitic preacher from Berlin, Rector Ahlwardt, came over to New York to preach a crusade against the Jews.

Many of the New York Jews were much excited and asked him to prevent him from speaking and not to give him police protection. This, he told them, was impossible: and if possible, would have been undesirable because it would have made him a martyr. The proper thing to do was to make the preacher ridiculous. So accordingly, he detailed to his protection a Jewish sergeant and a score or two of Jewish policemen.

He made his harangue against the Jews under the active protection of some 40 policemen, every one of them a Jew. It was the most effective possible answer; and incidentally, "it was an object lesson to our people, whose greatest need is to learn that there must be no division by class hatred, whether his hatred be that of creed against creed, nationality against nationality, section against section, or men of one social or industrial condition against men of another social and industrial condition."

"We must ever judge each individual on his own conduct and merits, and not on his membership in any class, whether that class be based on theological, social, or industrial conditions."

Chapter Two

Theodore Roosevelt – A Doer of the Word

"But be ye doers of the Word, and not hearers only, deceiving your own selves," James 1:22.

Jacob Riis, one of Theodore Roosevelt's closest friends for years in police work in New York, when asked about Roosevelt's creed, said: "Mr. Roosevelt's creed? You can find it in a speech he made to the Bible Society a year ago." And then he quoted parts of the speech.

"If we read the Book aright," he said, "we read a Book that teaches us to go forth and do the work of the Lord in the world as we find it, to try to make things better in the world, even if only a little better, because we lived in it. That kind of work can not be done except by a man who is neither a weakling nor a coward, by a man who, in the fullest sense of the word, is a true Christian, like Greatheart Bunyan's hero."

"'Better faithful than famous,' used to be one of Roosevelt's characteristic sayings," wrote Jacob Riis in his life with the former President. He concluded, "It has been his rule of all his life."

When our troops made ready to sail across the seas, the New York Bible Society distributed among them little pocket Testaments, and they asked Roosevelt to write a message that would go with each Testament. He wrote the following:

"The teachings of the New Testament are foreshadowed in Micah's verse: 'What more doth the Lord require of thee than to do justice, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?'"

And then he made application of that verse by saying the following:

"Do justice and therefore fight valiantly against the armies of Germany and Turkey, for these nations in this crisis stand for the reign of Moloch and Beelzebub on this Earth.

"Love mercy; treat prisoners well. Succour the wounded. Treat every woman as if she were your sister; care for little children and be tender with the old and the helpless.

"Walk humbly, you will do so if you study the life and teachings of the Saviour.

"May the God of Justice and Mercy have you in his keeping."

Theodore Roosevelt believed that the most perfect machinery of Government would not keep us as a nation from destruction if there is not within us a soul. **He said that no abounding material prosperity will avail us if our spiritual senses atrophy.** The foes of our own household shall surely prevail against us unless there be in our people, an inner life which finds its outward expression in a morality not very widely different from that preached by the Seers and the Prophets of Judea when the grandeur that was Greece and the glory that was Rome still lay in the future.

In his farewell address to his countrymen, Washington said, "Morality is a necessary spring of popular government and let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained

without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education of minds of peculiar structure, reason, and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle."

When Oven Wister, a friend of Theodore Roosevelt, meditated upon an important confession and finally put the matter to Mr. Roosevelt, he exclaimed, "Never indulge yourself on the sinner's stool. If you did any harm, that won't undo it. You will merely rake it up. The sinner's stool is often the only available publicity spot for the otherwise wholly-obscure egotist."

Following that day, Owen Wister said the following to Mrs. Roosevelt, "If they treated Theodore as they deal with certain composite substances in chemistry, and put him in a crucible, and melted him down until nothing of him remained at the bottom of the crucible but his ultimate, central indestructible stuff, it's not a statesman that you would find or a hunter or a historian, or a naturalist. They would find a preacher militant." Mrs. Roosevelt agreed.

At Elkhorn Ranch, the long silences and stretches of solitude had much to do with the mental growth of Theodore Roosevelt as a young man. There he read and wrote and thought deeply. His old guide, Bill Sewall, was asked not long after, about his opinion of Roosevelt as a religious man. And his answer was as follows:

"I think he read the Bible a great deal. I never saw him in formal prayers, but, as prayer is the desire of the heart, I think he prayed without ceasing, for the desire of his heart was always to do right."

Roosevelt said that he always had a horror of words that are not translated into deeds, or speech that does not result in action. In other words, he believed in realizable ideals and in realizing them; in preaching what would be practicable and then practicing it.

He put the same idea in somewhat different words in a speech in that very campaign of 1916 when he said, "Of course, the vital thing for the nation to remember is that while dreaming and talking both have their uses, these uses must chiefly exist in seeing the dream realized and the talking turned into action. Ideals that are so lofty as always to be unrealizable have a place, sometimes an exceedingly important place, in the history of mankind, if the attempt, at least partially, to realize them is made; but, in the long run, what most helps forward the common run of humanity in this work-a-day world is the possession of realizable ideals and sincere attempt to realize them."

"The supreme test of a preacher is, and always will be, the power of the Gospel which he expounds to guide his own actions. In other words, does he practice what he preaches?"

There is logically or illogically, justice in the popular conviction that there is something the matter with adjurations which totally fail to determine the acts of the man who utters them. Roosevelt revealed in his life how he himself practiced the strenuous, the virtuous, the patriotic life in pursuit of realizable ideals, which he preached.

"Be ye doers of the Word, and not hearers only," was his favorite text. He could afford to preach it boldly and without shame.

"Success," he said, "does not lie entirely in the hands of any one of us. From the day the Tower of Siloam fell, misfortune has fallen sometimes upon the just as well as the unjust. We sometimes see the good man, the honest man, the strong man, broken down by forces over which he had no control. If the Hand of the Lord is heavy upon us, the strength and wisdom of man shall avail nothing.

"But, as a rule, in the long run, each of us comes pretty near to getting what he deserves. Each of us, can, as a rule (there are, of course, exceptions), finally achieve the success worth having. The success of having played his part honestly and manfully; of having lived so as to feel at the end, he has done his duty, of having tried to make a better place to live in, rather than worse, because he lived, of having 'been a doer of the Word and not a hearer only,' still less a mere critic of the doer.

"Every man has it in him, unless fate is indeed hard upon him, to win out that measure of success if he will honestly try.

"No people on Earth have more cause to be thankful than ours, and this is said reverently, in no spirit of boastfulness in our own strength, but with gratitude to the 'Giver of Good' who has blessed us with the conditions which have enabled us to achieve a large measure of well-being and of happiness. To

us, a people, it has been granted to lay the foundation of our national life, in a new continent. We are the heirs of the ages, and yet we have had to pay few of the penalties which in old countries are exacted by the dead hand of bygone civilization. We have not been obliged to fight for our existence against any alien race; and yet our life has called for the vigor and effort without which the manlier and hardier virtues wither away.

"Under such conditions it would be our own fault if we failed; and the success which we confidently believe the future will bring, should cause in us no feeling of vainglory, but rather a deep and abiding realization of all which life has offered us; a full acknowledgment of the responsibility which is ours, and a fixed determination to show that under a free government a mighty people can thrive best, alike as regards the things of the body and the things of the soul.

"Much has been given to us, and much will rightfully be expected of us. We have duties to others and duties to ourselves. And we shirk neither. We have become a great nation, forced by the fact of its greatness into relations with other nations of the Earth, and we must behave as beseems a people with such responsibilities.

"Toward all nations, large and small, our attitude must be one of cordial and sincere friendship. We must show not only in words, but in our deeds, that we are earnestly desirous of securing their good will by acting toward them in a spirit of just and generous recognition of all their rights, but justice and generosity in a nation, as in an individual, count most when shown not by the weak but by the strong.

"While ever careful to refrain ourselves from wronging others, we must be no less insistent that we are not wronged ourselves. We wish it because we think it is right and not because we are afraid. No weak nation that acts manfully and justly, should ever have cause to fear us, and no strong power should ever be able to single us out as a subject for insolent aggression. Our relations among ourselves are more important than our relations with other powers of the world. Such growth in wealth, in population, and in power as this nation has seen during the century and a quarter of its national life is inevitably accompanied by a like growth in problems which are ever before every nation that rises to greatness.

"Power means both responsibility and danger. Our forefathers faced certain perils which we have outgrown. We now face other perils – the very existence of which it was impossible that they should foresee. Modern life is both complex and intense, and the tremendous changes wrought by the extraordinary development of the last half century are felt in every fibre of our social and political being.

"Upon the success of our experiment much depends. Not only as regards our own welfare, but as regards the welfare of mankind. If we fail, the cause of Free Government, free self-government throughout the world, will rock to its foundations, and therefore our responsibility is heavy, to ourselves, to the world as it is today, and to the generations yet unborn.

"Unless democracy is based on the principles of service by everybody who claims the enjoyment of any right, it is not true democracy at all. The man who refused to render, or is ashamed to render, the necessary service, is not fit to live in a democracy. And the man who demands from another a service which he himself would esteem it dishonorable or unbecoming to render is to that extent not a true democrat.

"No man has a right to demand a service which he doesn't regard as honorable to render, nor has he a right to demand it unless he pays for it in some way. The payment to include respect for the man who renders it. Democracy must mean mutuality of service rendered, and of respect for the service rendered.

"A leading Russian Revolutionist, an opponent of the Bolshevik, came to this country from Vladivostock. He traveled the Siberian railway. The porter on his train refused to get him hot water or to black his boots; stating with the true Bolshevistic logic, that Democracy meant that nobody must do anything for any one else and that anyhow his union would turn him out if he rendered such service.

"Now, this Bolsheviki porter was foolish with a folly that can only be induced by prolonged and excessive indulgence in Bolshevism or some American analogue, but the root trouble in producing this folly was the fact that under the old system, the men whose boots the porter blacked looked down on him for blackening them.

"Now, are we entirely free from this attitude in America? Until we are, we may well make up our minds, that to just that extent we are providing for

the growth of Bolshevism here. No man has a right to ask or accept any service, unless under changed conditions he would feel that he could keep his entire self-respect while rendering it. Service which carries with it the slightest implication of social abasement should not be rendered."

For a number of years, Theodore Roosevelt lived on a ranch in the old-time cattle country. He also visited at the house of a backwoods lumberjack friend from time to time. In both places, he lived under the old-style American conditions. All of them worked and their social distinctions were based entirely on individual worth. But they accepted, as a matter of course, that the difference in degree of service rendered ought to at least roughly correspond to the difference in reward. Each of them did most of the purely personal things for himself. But no one thought of any necessary work as degrading.

Roosevelt recalls that once when there was a lull in the outdoor work, he endeavored to be useful in and around the house. He fed the pigs, and on an idle morning he blackened all the boots. Ordinarily the boots did not need blackening, most of them were not of that kind. On this occasion he started and with an enthusiasm that outran his judgment, he blackened the dress boots of every one, of both sexes.

He coated them with a thick, dull paste, and only a few of them became shiny, and the paste came off freely on whatever it touched. As a result, he lost, temporarily, not merely the respect, but even the affection of all the other inmates of the house.

However, he did not lose caste because he had blackened the boots. He lost caste because he had blackened them badly. But he was allowed to continue feeding the pigs, and he quoted: "The pigs were not so particular as the humans."

Now there is no more reason for refusing to bring hot water, blacken boots, serve a dinner, make up a bed, or wash clothes – Roosevelt stated that he had cooked and washed clothes often, but he said, "neither wisely nor well" – than for refusing to shoe a horse, run a motor, brake a train, sell carpets, manage a bank, or run a farm.

"A few centuries back, men of good lineage felt that they lost caste if they were in trade or finance. In some countries they feel so today. In most civilized lands, however, the feeling has disappeared, and it never occurs to any one to look down on any one else because he sells things.

"Just the same feeling should obtain, and as we grow more civilized, we will feel that way about all other kinds of service. This applies to domestic service. It is as entirely right to employ housemaids, cooks, and gardeners as to employ lawyers, bankers, businessmen or cashiers, factory hands, and stenographers. But only on condition that we show the same respect to the individuals in one case as in these other cases. All relations between employer and employee should be based on mutuality of respect and consideration; arrogance met by insolence, or an alternation of arrogance and insolence, offers but a poor substitute.

"Isaiah, the Seer, the man of vision, condemned Ritual and Formalism, and exalted conduct, when he thundered," said Roosevelt, 'Hear the Word of the Lord. To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto Me? I delight not in the blood of bullocks, your appointed feasts My soul hateth, cease to do evil, learn to do well, seek justice, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead the widows.'

"Amos, no son of a Prophet," said Roosevelt, "but a laboring man, a herdsman, and a gatherer of sycamore fruit said: 'Hear ye the Word, I despise your feast days, I will not accept your burnt offerings, but let judgment run down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream; hate the evil, and love the good, and establish judgment in the gate.'

"What is this," he continued, "but the insistence on the great law of service. In peace and in war we must spend and be spent, in the endless battle for right against wrong; deeds not words alone shall save us.

"By their fruits ye shall know them, is a teaching," Roosevelt said, "of the Sermon on the Mount, and James," he continued, "spurning the unctuous professions of righteousness by those who do not make good what they preach, by those who profess a faith which is dead, which was never alive, because it bears no fruit in works, sums up the matter by insisting that we must be 'Doers and not hearers only,' because, 'Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep oneself unspotted from the world'."

Roosevelt said that he did not know how philosophers will ultimately define religion, but he

said, "From Micah to James it has been defined as service to one's fellow man rendered by the following great rule of justice, mercy, wisdom, and righteousness."

"The test," he said, "of our worth is the service we render. Sacrifice, yes, as an incident of service, but let us think only of the service, not of the sacrifice. There never yet was a service worth rendering that did not entail sacrifice; and no man renders the highest service if he thinks overmuch of sacrifice.

"Let us pay with our bodies for our soul's desire."

Theodore Roosevelt stated that his whole concern at that time was practically the same concern as that of Amos, and Micah and Isaiah which they had for Jerusalem nearly 3,000 years ago. In those days, he said, "A prophet was very apt to get himself stoned. Nowadays he merely excites the ire of the persons who would otherwise read the magazines or newspapers in which his prophecies appear, but he hasn't any business to damage his newspaper or magazine.

"I am not sure that the Prophet business can be combined with keeping up circulation, and moreover, I know when a man with strong feelings and intense convictions reaches a certain age, he is apt to get a cat-a-cornered as regards the surrounding world and therefore his usefulness ceases.

"I am quite prepared to feel, now that I am 60 years of age, that it would be to the interest of everybody that I should cease being a Prophet and become the far pleasanter and more innocuous person, a Sage.

"But as long as I am in the Prophet business, I wish to Prophesy."

In conclusion, Roosevelt illustrated what he meant by "being a doer of the Word and not a hearer only."

"Now friends, this is rather elementary. The Word of Command, you understand is a 'platitude.' Every adjuration to men in a great crisis to bear themselves well is such a 'platitude,' but it is a mighty useful platitude to translate into action. It is rather elementary, but after all, it gives the exact analogue to what I mean should be our attitude in civil life.

"The Preacher, whether he is in the pulpit or whether he is a lay preacher, whether he is a professor, an adviser, or a lecturer, the preacher is really trying to give the Word of Command, the Word of direction and encouragement to the men whom he is addressing. And if he gives the Word simply to get for himself a sense of intellectual satisfaction at having given it, and if his hearers listen to it only as they would to any other form of entertainment, then it is not worthwhile for him to have spoken and it is not worth while for them to have listened.

"The only value in a speech comes from there being the effort made with measurable success to translate the Words into deeds. Of course, the man who preaches decency and straight dealing occupies a peculiarly contemptible position if he does not try, himself, to practice what he preaches; and, on the other hand, the men who listen to him, you here, should realize that if they treat listening to a lecture about their duties as a substitute for performing their duties, they would better have stayed at home. The value of what is said arises solely from the effort measurably to realize it in action.

"We are the fellow countrymen of Washington and Lincoln, of Lighthorse Harry Lee and his great son, of Paul Revere, and these men were of diverse ancestry, their forefathers came from England, or Ireland, or Scotland, or Holland, or France, or Spain.

"But they were American, and nothing else; and if we are really to be loyal to their spirit, we, in our day, must be Americans, and nothing else.

"And above all, we must be Americans and only Americans, in the face of any and every foreign foe.

"We are also, and just as much, the fellow countrymen of Muhlenberg and Custer. There is no more typically American figure in the Revolutionary War than that of Muhlenberg, the American of pure German blood and the Pastor of a Lutheran Church at the outbreak of the Revolution. On the Sunday after the call of arms came, he mounted his pulpit, he admonished his flock that there was a time for prayer and a time for battle, and that the time for battle had come. Casting aside his frock, he appeared in the uniform of a Colonel of the Continental Army, and on many a stricken field he proved his valor and devotion.

"He proved his Americanism by his deeds.

"His undivided loyalty was given to one flag, to our flag."

Chapter Three

Theodore Roosevelt and the Local Church

"Not forsaking the assembling of ourselves together," Hebrews 10:25.

During one Easter vacation Theodore Roosevelt wrote the following to his father. "I spent today, Sunday, with the Welds and went to their Church, where, although it was a Unitarian Church, I heard a really good sermon about the 'Attributes of a Christian.'

Roosevelt had a clear view of the importance of the Local Church in the community and he wrote that in the pioneer days of the West, they found it an unfailing rule that after a community had existed for a certain length of time, either a Church was built or else the community began to go downhill. In these old communities of the eastern states, he said, which have gone backward, it is noticeable that the retrogression has been both marked and accentuated by a rapid decline in Church membership and work. The two facts being so interrelated that each stands to the other party as a cause and partly as an effect."

After viewing the self-indulgent Sunday in contradiction to the Church-going Sunday he wrote the following:

"I doubt whether the frank protest of nothing but amusement has really brought as much happiness as if it had been alloyed with and supplemented by some minimum meeting of obligation toward others.

"Therefore on Sunday go to Church. Yea, I know the excuses; I know that one can worship the Creator and dedicate oneself to God living in a grove of trees or by a running brook or in one's own house just as well as in a Church, but I also know that as a matter of cold fact, the average man does not thus worship or thus dedicate himself. If he stays away from Church, he does not spend his time in good works or in lofty meditation.

"He may hear a good sermon at Church, from a man who, with his good wife, are engaged all the week long in a series of wearing and humdrum and important tasks for making hard lives a little easier, and both this man and his wife are, in the vast majority of cases, showing much self-denial and doing much for humble folks of whom few others think, and they are keeping up a brave show on narrow means.

"Besides, even if he does not hear a good sermon, the probabilities are that he will listen to and take part in reading some beautiful passages from the Bible, and if he is not familiar with the Bible, he has suffered a loss which he had better make all possible haste to correct.

"He will meet and speak to good, quiet neighbors. If he doesn't think about himself too much, he will benefit himself very much, especially as he begins to think chiefly of others.

"I advocate a man joining a Church work for the sake of 'showing his faith by his works'.

"Micah's insistence upon love and mercy, and doing justice and walking humbly with the Lord's will, should suffice if lived up to. Let the man not think overmuch of saving his own soul. Let him try in good earnestness to look after his neighbor both in soul and in body, remembering always that he had better leave his neighbor alone rather than show arrogance and lack of tactfulness in the effort to help him.

"The Church, on the other hand, must fit itself for the practical betterment of mankind if it is to attract and retain the fidelity of the men best worth holding and using. The man who does not in some way, active or not, connect himself with some active

working Church, misses many opportunities for helping his neighbors and therefore, incidentally, for helping himself."

In an address at the old Historical Church of Johnstown in Pennsylvania, Roosevelt made a great plea for the Church of the new democracy, and laid stress upon the fact that unless individuals can honestly believe in their hearts that their country would be better off without any Churches, these same individuals must acknowledge the fact that it is their duty to uphold, by their presence in them, the Churches which they know to be indispensable to the vigor and stability of the nation.

He said that a giant work looms up before the Churches in this country, and it is the work which the Churches must do. "Our civilization," he said, "has progressed in many ways for the right, in some ways it has gone wrong. The tremendous sweep of our industrial development has already brought us face-to-face on this continent with many a problem which has puzzled for generations the wisest people of the old world. With that growth in the complexity of our civilization, of our industrialism, has grown an increase in the effective power alike of the forces that tell for good and of the forces that tell for evil.

"The forces that tell for evil, as our great cities grow, become more concentrated, more menacing to the community, and if the community is to go forward and not back, they must be met and overcome by forces for good that have grown in corresponding degree. More and more in the future, our Churches must realize that we have a right to expect that they shall take the lead in shaping those forces for good.

"I am not going to verge on the domain of Theology, and still less dogma. I do not think that at present time there will be any dissent from the proposition that after all in this work-a-day world, we must largely judge men by their fruits, that we can not accept a long succession of thistle crops as indicating fig trees; that we have a right to look to the Churches for setting the highest possible standard of conduct and service, public and private, for the whole land; that the Church must make itself felt by finding its expression through the life work of its members; not merely on Sunday, but on week days, not merely within these walls, but at home and in business.

"We have a right," he continued, "to expect that you will show your faith by your works; that the people who have the inestimable advantage of the Church life and the home life should be made to remember that as much has been given them, much will be expected of them; that they must lead upright lives themselves and be living forces in the war for decency among their surroundings; that we have a right to expect of you and those like you that you shall not merely speak for righteousness, but do righteousness in your own homes and in the world at large."

Dr. James H. Ludlow was the Pastor of the Church of St. Nicholas in New York when the Roosevelt family went there to worship. He told how Theodore Roosevelt, the boy, interested him by his quick-minded attention and his power of observation. So conspicuous was this faculty, that when some one asked Dr. Ludlow, in what part of the body the mind was located, he replied, "In Theodore Roosevelt, it is right back of the eyeballs."

One Sunday, Dr. Ludlow said the following, "I imagined that Theodore was paying more attention to the flowers that stood upon the altar than to the sermon. He was intense for knowledge, and I think he was botanizing those flowers more carefully than he was analyzing the sermon." But his mind did not fail to take in the message of the Preacher, for Dr. Ludlow told of the result. "I remember well when Theodore came to me as a 16-year-old boy. It was in my study 44 years ago."

"Doctor, I'm thoroughly convinced that your Doctrines are true and I feel that I ought to say so," he said to me. "May I come to your Church?"

"And it was here," said Dr. Ludlow, "that I knew the boy, and he was a boy to the end. His was a loving, boyish heart, swelling with tenderness for humanity. And it is his message of boyhood that I would give you, simply, it was this:

"If you believe a thing is good or true, if you see a duty, do it."

Roosevelt stated, "that in this actual world, a Churchless community, a community where men have abandoned and scoffed at or ignored their religiousness, it is a community on the rapid down grade. It is true that occasional individuals or families may have nothing to do with Church or with religious practices and observances, and yet maintain the highest standard of refined ethical obligation.

"But this does not affect the case in the world as it now is, and more than the fact, that exceptional men and women under exceptional conditions have disregarded the marriage ties without moral harm to themselves, interferes with the larger fact that such disregard, if at all common, means that the complete moral disintegration of the body politic.

"For all those whose lives are led on a plane above the grimmest and barest struggle for existence, Church attendance and Church work of some kind, means both the cultivation of the habit of feeling some responsibility for others and the sense of braced moral strength which prevents a relaxation of one's own fibre.

"The great exhorter or preacher, the priest or clergyman or rabbi, the cardinal or bishop or revivalists or salvation army commander, may, by sheer fervor and intensity, and by kindling some flame of the spirit which mystics have long known to be real and which scientists now admit to be real, rouse numbed conscience to life and free seared souls from sin; and then the roused conscience and the freed soul will teach the bodice in which they dwell to practice the great law of service.

"But such stormy awakening of the spirit, though often of high usefulness, loses all savor unless, in the times of calm which follow the storm, the work-a-day body makes good in its round of life and labor the promise given by the spirit in its hour of stress.

"Far more often," Roosevelt continued, "the betterment must come through work which does not depend on the gift of tongues; that is, through consistently persistent labor conducted with wary wisdom no less than with broad humility. This may take the old form of individual service to the individual; or visiting and comforting the widow and the fatherless and the sore-stricken, or personal sympathy and personal aid.

"It may take the form of organized philanthropy. A form not merely beneficial but absolutely essential where a dense population increases the mess of suffering and also the mess of imposture and of that weakness of will which, if permitted, becomes parasitic helplessness, but a form which needs incessant supervision lest it lose all vitality and become empty and stereotyped so as finally to amount to little except a method of giving salaries to those administering the charity.

"Under the tense activity of modern social and industrial conditions, the Church, if it is to give real leadership, must grapple zealously, fearlessly, and cool-headedly with the problems of social and industrial justice.

"Unless it is a poor man's Church, it is not a Christian Church at all in any real sense. The rich man needs it, Heaven knows, and is needed by it, but, unless in the Church he can work with all his toiling brothers for a common end, for their mutual benefit, and for the benefit of those without its walls, the Church has come short of its mission and its possibilities."

President Theodore Roosevelt manifested his Christianity all during his public and private life. This is illustrated clearly when he first came to Washington as he said the following:

"When I first came to Washington I did not know there was any Dutch Reformed Church there, and went with my wife to the Episcopal Church. But, on becoming President, I learned that there was a little obscure red brick building tucked away on the back of a lot, and I immediately selected that as my Church.

"It is a Church of the plain people. There are persons of means and culture among them, but most of them are common people, to whom I am partial. If there is any place on Earth where earthly distinctions vanish, it is in the Church, in the presence of God. The nearer the people get to the heart of Christ, the nearer they get to each other, irrespective of earthly conditions."

After a brief pause, the President said, "I am engaged in one of the greatest moral conflicts of the age; that of colossal lawless corporations against the government. The oppression of lawless wealth, and the purchase of lawmakers by it, have wrecked most of the empires of the past, if not resisted and defeated will ruin our Republic. As Executive of this Nation, I am determined that no man or set of men shall defy the law of the land. The rich and powerful must obey the law as well as the poor and feeble, not any better nor any worse. But just the same, just the same," with great emphasis. Then more quietly, he went on.

"After a week of perplexing problems and in heated contests it does so rest my soul to come into the House of the Lord and worship, and to sing and

to mean it, the "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty," and to know that He is my Father, and takes me up into His life and plans, and to commune personally with Christ. I am sure, I get a wisdom not my own, and a superhuman strength, for fighting the moral evils I am called to confront."

"Sunday School," which Roosevelt mentions and to which he gave himself very faithfully, "proved a big test of character, for it was a great temptation," he said, "to go over to the other fellow's house on Sunday afternoons where open house was kept by friends of his, and it was very hard either to refuse their invitation from the beginning or to leave the merry parties early Sunday morning and return to Cambridge and to be at his post to teach unruly little people of the slums of Cambridge."

So deeply however, had the first Theodore Roosevelt impressed his son with the necessity of giving himself and the attainment with which his superior advantages had endowed him to those less fortunate than he, that all through the first three years of college life he only failed to appear at his Sunday School class twice, and then he arranged to have his class taken by a friend. Truly, "when he put his hand to the plough, he never turned back."

So, other things than games and exercise attracted Roosevelt's attention while at Harvard. His father had been active in the work of public aid, and he died while the boy was at college, and young Roosevelt sought to walk in his footsteps.

He became secretary of Prison Reform Association and acted on several committees. In addition he became a teacher in a Sunday School.

His family faith was the Dutch Reformed, but he found no church of that denomination at Cambridge, and drifted into a Mission School of the high Church of Episcopalian faith. He did not stay there long. One day a boy came to his class with a black eye. He acknowledged that he got it in a fight, and that, too, on Sunday.

The teacher questioned him sternly, and the fact came out that Jim, the other boy, had sat beside the lad's sister and had pinched her all through the school hour. A fight followed, in which Jim was soundly punched, the avenger of his sister coming out with a black eye. "You did right," was Roosevelt's verdict, and he gave the young champion a dollar, and this pleased the class highly. It appealed to them as justice. But when it got out among the school officers, they were scandalized. Roosevelt was already a black sheep among them in other ways, in that he did not observe the formalities of the high church service as they thought he should.

They asked if he had any objection to them. "None, in the world, but I am Dutch Reformed." And this did not help matters and in the end, Roosevelt left this field of labor and entered a Congregational Sunday School nearby, where he taught during the remainder of his college term.

In addressing the American Tract Society in Washington, D.C., March 12, 1905, he stated that "One of the best things done by that Society, and by kindred religious and benevolent societies, was the supply in our American life today of the proper ideals."

He went on to say, "that it is a good thing to have had the extraordinary material prosperity that had followed so largely on the extraordinary scientific discoveries, if we use this material prosperity aright.

"It is not a good thing, it is a bad thing," he went on, "if we treat it as the be-all and end-all of our life. **If we make it the only ideal before this nation; if we permit the people of this republic to get before their minds the view that material well-being carried to an ever higher degree is the one and only thing to be striven for, we are laying up for ourselves not merely trouble, but ruin."**

He stated that, "Wonderful changes had come in the last half century, the railway, the telegram, the telephone, steam, electricity, all the marvelous mechanical inventions of these last five decades, have changed much in the world itself. But after all, in glorying over and wondering at this extraordinary development, I think that we sometimes forget that, compared to the deeper things, it is indeed only superficial in its effect.

"The qualities that count most in man and woman now are the qualities that counted most 2,000 years ago. And as a nation we shall achieve success or merit failure accordingly as we do or do not display these qualities.

"The gun changes, the ship changes, but the qualities needed in the man behind the gun, in the man who handles the ship, are just the same as they ever were.

"So it is in our whole material civilization today, the railroad and the telegraph, all these wonderful inventions, produce new problems, confer new benefits, and bring about new changes. Cities are built up to enormous size, and, of course, with the upbuilding of the cities comes the growth of the terrible problems which confront all of us who have to do with city life.

"Outward circumstances change. But the spirit necessary to meet the new dangers, the spirit necessary to ensure the triumph that we must and shall win, is the same now that it has always been.

"This is the spirit which lies behind this society, all kindred societies, and we owe to this society all the help we can afford to give, for it is giving to our people a service, beyond price, a service of love, a service which no money could buy."

Roosevelt wrote about the "Spiritual Structure," and he said, "It is, of course, unnecessary to say that the things of the body must be cared for, that the first duty of any man, especially of the man who has others dependent upon him, is to take care of them, and to take care of himself.

"Nobody can help others if he begins by being a burden upon others. Each man must be able to pull his own weight, to carry his own weight, and therefore, each man must show the capacity to earn for himself and his family, enough to secure a certain amount of material well-being. That must be the foundation. But on that foundation must be built as a **'superstructure – the spiritual life'**."

Theodore Roosevelt wrote his sister June 16, 1881 from Paris in connection with his artistic wanderings in the Louver. He said, "I have not admired any of the French painters much excepting Greuze. Rueben's, 'Three Wives' are reproduced in about 50 different ways, which I think are a mistake. No painter can make the same face serve for Venus, the Virgin, and a Flemish Lady."

Again in August 24, from Brussels, he wrote: "I know nothing at all, in reality, of art, I regret to say, but I do know what pictures I like. And I am not at all fond of Ruebens. He is mentally a fleshy, sensuous painter, and yet his most famous pictures are those relating to the Divinity. Above all, he fails in his female figures. Rueben's woman are handsome animals except his pictures of rich Flemish housewives, but they are either ludicrous or ugly when meant to represent either the Virgin or a Saint.

"I think they are not much better as heathen goddesses. I do not like a chubby Minerva, a corpulent Venus, or a Diana who is so fat that I know she could never overtake a cow, let alone a deer. Rembrandt is by all odds my favorite.

"Perhaps the pictures I really get most enjoyment out of are the landscapes, the homely little Dutch and Flemish interiors, the faithful representations of how the people of those times lived and made merry and died, which are given by Jan Steen, Van Ostade, Teniers, and Ruysdael. They bring out the life of that period in a way no written history could do, and interest me far more than pictures of Saints and Madonnas. I suppose this sounds heretical but it is true.

"This time," he said, "I have really tried to like the holy pictures but I cannot; even the Italian masters seem to me to represent good men and insipid, good women, but rarely anything saintly or Divine. The only pictures I have seen with these attributes are Gustav Doree's. He alone represents Christ so that your pity is lost in intense admiration and reverence."

All these criticisms by Roosevelt were as a young man of 23, and they have their value because they show so distinctly the character of the young man himself. You can see the interest which he takes in his human-kind as represented by certain types of Dutch pictures, and also his love for Spiritual beauty, when not belittled by insipidity.

Perhaps the last sentence of this letter is most characteristic of all of his own vital spirit. **"He does not wish to pity Christ, and he almost insists that pity must be lost in admiration and reverence."**

Pity always seemed to Theodore Roosevelt an undesirable quality. Tenderest sympathy he gave and craved, but never pity.

There was joy and humor in their Christianity that displayed itself from time to time. On the 27th day of October, Theodore Roosevelt celebrated his 60th birthday in the quiet portal of his beloved home. And as usual, his sister sent him her yearly message in which she always told him what the day meant to her, the day when into this world, this confused, strange world that we human beings find so difficult to understand, there came his clarifying

spirit, his magnetic personality, his great heart, ready always to help the weak and lift the unfortunate who were trying to lift themselves.

She used to tell him that as long as he lived, no matter what her personal sorrows were, life would retain not only happiness, but also glamour for her.

In answer to her birthday letter, an answer written on his very birthday in his own handwriting, he sent her the following message. Intimate as it is, she gave it in full, for in these few short lines there seems to breathe the whole spirit of her brother, the unswerving affection, the immediate response to her affection, and the wish to encourage her to face sorrows that were hard to bear by reminding her of the rare joys which she had tasted. The manner in which he joined his own sorrows and joys to hers, the sweet compliment of the words which infer that for him she still had youthfulness, and at the end, the type of humor which brought always a savor into his own life and into the lives of others whom he closely touched, all were part of that spirit.

The letter:

Sagamore Hill, October 27, 1918

Darling …

"It was dear of you to remember my birthday. Darling, after all, you and I have known long years of happiness, and you are as young as I am old."

Ever yours,

Methusaleh's Understudy

Another occasion of such humor was the fact that his children had pets of their own. "Among them guinea pigs were the stand-bys, their highly emotional nature fits them for companionship with adoring but over-enthusiastic young masters and mistresses.

Then there were flying squirrels, and kangaroo rats, gentle and trustful, and a badger whose temper was short but whose nature was fundamentally friendly. The badger's name was Josiah; the particular little boy whose property he was used to carry him about, clasped firmly around what would have been his waist if he had had any. Inasmuch as when on the ground the badger would play energetic games of tag with the little boy and nip his bare legs, "I suggested," said Roosevelt, "that it would be uncommonly disagreeable if he took advantage of being held in the little boy's arms to bite his face; but this suggestion was repelled with scorn as an unworthy assault on the 'character of Josiah'."

"He bites sometimes, but he never bites faces," said the little boy.

"We also had a young black bear whom the children christened Jonathan Edwards, partly out of compliment to their mother, who was descended from the great Puritan divine, and partly because the bear possessed a temper in which gloom and strength were combined in what the children regarded as 'Calvanistic proportions'."

Chapter Four

Theodore Roosevelt and Assassinations of Presidents

"None of these things move me, neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my course with joy," Acts 20:24.

No man ever enjoyed life more keenly, nor gave more to it and got more from it than Theodore Roosevelt. Many times he testified to his relish of the strenuous efforts and battles in which he engaged. He wanted to live because he wanted to work. But he always faced the possibility of death with a fearless and cheerful spirit.

His narrow escape when a trolley car crashed with his automobile in 1902, when one of his companions was killed, so unnerved a member of Congress who was in the party, that when they had retired from the crowd and were alone, he exclaimed fervently, "Thank God, you escaped."

The President replied simply, "I thank God that I escaped death. I want to live and go on with my work, but I do not think I fear death. I know that I do not fear death as much as I do that I may make some mistake affecting the welfare of this country."

In comparison with the utmost service to his country; dangers, buffetings, reproaches, fightings, and death itself were as nothing, and he might have said, with Paul, "None of these things move me, neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my course."

Roosevelt desired with all his soul to give his personal service to his country on the fighting line in France. If his request had been permitted to raise a volunteer division, he would have loyally placed himself under the direction of some West Point superior, and played his subordinate part faithfully and well.

In private conversation in Brooklyn, soon after this country entered the war, he expressed the belief that one of the best things that could happen to the United States, in stirring the war spirit, would be to have an "Ex-President shot at the front, in France."

This was not merely to make an impression on the listener, said the *Brooklyn Eagle*, whose editor tells the incident, on the contrary, the idea was that if he got to the front, he intended to plunge headlong into danger to court a death. **He was eager to fight for his country, and he was ready to make any personal sacrifice, no matter how great, if it should stimulate her in the venture upon which he had embarked.**

He would have given himself, as he had given his son, not merely yielding to the pressure of circumstances, but eagerly, joyfully, because he believed that no man, physically able, could serve his ideals so well behind the lines as in the forefront of battle.

His one regret, as he himself expressed it, was that he had not been allowed to take his place beside his boys. His life was not laid on the altar of service in France; but he spent himself, and was spent, in unceasing service at home to rouse the nation to the fullest recognition of its high duty, and the utmost exertion of its great power to win a complete victory.

Later came the dramatic moment in Milwaukee when he received in his breast, the bullet of a would-be assassin. He protected the man, believing him to be insane, from the angry mob who would have gladly torn him limb from limb, and then proceeded, though bleeding from an open wound, to make what he fully believed would probably be the

"last speech" that he would ever make in this world.

The doctors could not influence him to give up the speech, for he said, "that should it prove to be my last, it is all the more important that I should make it, but …" Thank Heaven, it was not his last.

During his convalescence in the hospital in Chicago, he sent his sister one of his sympathetic letters about another recently published poem, and also replied to a letter from Sir George Trevelyan as follows:

"I must say I have never understood public men who get nervous about assassination. For the last 11 years I have, of course, thoroughly understood that I might at any time be shot, and probably would be shot sometime. I think I have come off uncommonly well. What I cannot understand is any serious-minded public man not being so absorbed in the great, vital questions with which he has to deal, as to exclude thoughts of assassination. I don't think this is a matter of courage at all, I think it is a question of the major interest driving out the minor interest."
"Exactly as with the Army, a private may have qualms, not so a General. He is responsible for more than his personal safety. It is not a question of courage, it is a question of perspective, of proper proportion."

Nothing has ever been more in keeping with the actions of Theodore Roosevelt than the above sentence.

"It is a question of the major interest driving out the minor interest."

With him all through his life, the sense of the proportion was a prominent part of his make-up. The "Major Interest" always drove out the minor interest, and so strong was his sense of responsibility, so absorbed was he in the great affairs of his country, that the thought of possible assassination never entered his valiant breast.

The greatest moment of all that inspiring period of his life came in late October, at the end of the campaign, when Theodore Roosevelt, the bullet still in his breast, but miraculously restored to health and strength, came to the city of his birth to make the final speech of the Progressive campaign at Madison Square Garden.

Not only was the spirit of the crusade higher than ever, but the danger so lately experienced by their leader had given to his followers, exaltation never surpassed at any time in our political history.

"How it swayed and swung ... how it throbbed with life and elevation, how imbued it was with an earnest party ambition, and yet, with a deep and genuine religious fervor. Had I lived my whole life only for those 15 minutes during which I marched toward the Garden already full to overflowing with my brother's adoring followers, I should have been content to do so. We could hardly get into the building, and indeed had to climb up the fire escape, which we were only allowed to do after making it well known that I was the sister of the 'Colonel'.

"There was never but one 'Colonel' in American History.

"The whole meeting was one of an ineffable and intense emotional quality. We could hear the singing and the cheers of the thousands outside on the street, as inside my brother came forward to the platform, and the vast audience rose to its feet to acclaim its hero.

"Such moments do not often occur in a lifetime, and when they do, they leave in their wake a wonderful sense of what the highest type of religion should mean, a religion selfless as the Christ-like faith upon which all true religion is founded."

A friendship had existed of close intimacy between Mr. Roosevelt and the famous African Hunter, the Pathbreaker, Frederick Courtenay Selous, D.S.O., Captain of the 25th Royal Fusiliers, who was killed in action January 4, 1917.

When President Roosevelt planned his long hunting trip in Africa in 1908, he wrote to "Selous" asking his advice and help. The assistance he thus received was a very large factor in the success of the trip.

For several years, an interesting correspondence was maintained between these two kindred spirits, and the letters were of the real heart-to-heart character which makes charming reading. Many of them have been published in the *"Life of Selous"* by J. G. Milais; Longsmans, Green and Company.

Here is one extract from a letter written by Mr. Roosevelt in reply to one from Mr. Selous expressing concern when the President was attacked and wounded by the would-be assassin in Milwaukee in 1912.

"My dear Selous, I could not help being a little amused by your statement that my 'magnificent behaviour,' splendid pluck, and great constitutional strength have made a great impression. Come, come, old elephant hunter and lion hunter, down at the bottom of your heart you must have a better perspective of my behaviour after being shot.

"Modern civilization, indeed, I suppose all civilization is rather soft, and I suppose the average political orator, or indeed the average professional man, especially if elderly, is much overcome by being shot or meeting with some other similar accident, and feels sorry for himself and thinks he has met with an unparalleled misfortune; but the average soldier or sailor or fireman or policeman, and, of course, the average hunter of dangerous game, would treat both my accident and my behaviour after the accident as entirely matter of course.

"It was nothing like as nerve-shattering as your experience with the elephant that nearly got you, or as your experience with more than one lion and more than one buffalo. The injury itself was not as serious as your injury the time the old four-bore gun was loaded twice by mistake; and as other injuries you received in the hunting field."

In February 1878 Theodore Roosevelt's father died, and Theodore's world collapsed. He was so grieved that he could not read the newspaper articles extolling the elder Roosevelt's philanthropic virtues, and later returning to Harvard after the funeral, he expressed a view that had not appeared in print.

"My father," he told his friends and classmate, Robert Bacon, "enjoyed life more than any other man I ever knew." "Part of me, the best part, is gone forever."

And incapable of dwelling indefinitely on the past, he wrote to his mother, and said, " With the help of my God, I will try to lead such a life as he would have wished."

Another tragedy came in his life while he was holding office as Vice President. President Wm. McKinley was assassinated and died Saturday, September 14, 1901.

So we have an unparalleled situation where the President of the United States, Wm. McKinley, was assassinated and the next President who came to that office primarily through the death of Wm. McKinley, was also the object of an attempted assassination.

We had at that time, two men in office, one the President of the United States, and the other, the Vice President of the United States, both with the same principles found only in Christianity.

In the last period of consciousness, which ended at eight o'clock, President McKinley's lips were seen to be moving. The surgeon bent over him to hear his words. He chanted the first lines of his favorite hymn, *"Nearer, My God, to Thee."*

A little later on he spoke again and Dr. Mann wrote the words down at his bedside, and the last conscious utterance of William McKinley was. "Good-bye, Good-bye, it is God's way. His will be done."

On the following Thursday, services were held in the Methodist Church of which President McKinley had long been a member. That same day, services were held in Churches in every city of the union, memorial services for a great and good man and a loved President.

In that afternoon, all that remained of William McKinley was deposited in the vault at Westlawn Cemetery, near to the graves of his two children.

Only two weeks had elapsed since the President, in full health and happiness, and with the star of his fame shining brighter than ever before, had left Canton for his visit to Buffalo where he was assassinated.

Rev. Dr. Bristol, The Washington Pastor of the late President, said the following:

"The civilized world mourns with our own country, the untimely death of President McKinley,

and echoes the words of the bereaved widow, the country cannot spare him.

"But throughout Christendom there has mingled with the profoundest grief a sweet consolation and spiritual satisfaction inspired by his pure life and exalted character by his triumphant victory over the terrors of death through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ.

"Once more has it been illustrated in his Christian virtues, and exultingly add his name to the immortal heroes, saints, and martyrs who have fought the good fight, who have kept the faith, and who have left the world the rich heritage of a new ideal, and the undying testimony of the saving, sanctifying power of the Gospel.

"In all the deepest meaning of the word, William McKinley was a man of God. He enjoyed the personal, conscious experience of salvation. From childhood, his was a life of faith and prayer. Christianity to him was a Divine reality. Jesus Christ was not only his Ideal, 'The Chief among ten thousand,' but his living, individual Saviour.

"From a Godly Methodist mother, he had learned the way of life, and from his youth up was ever under the control of a clean quick, authoritative conscience, the voice of the Holy Spirit within him."

Early in his life he became a devout student of the Bible and was a successful teacher. To him, what the Bible said, God said. Interested as he was always in every phase of thought, in literature, politics, economics, and education, when he attended Church, he was eager to hear the Word, no other theme was a substitute for the Gospel to his heart.

When he was assured by his Pastor that he would not be embarrassed by "Pulpit Politics," he said, "I hope not," with a kindly smile of satisfaction. "I have politics enough during the week. What I need, when I go to Church, is Christ, and Him crucified."

The sermons most highly commended by him, whosoever may have preached them, were spiritual, heart-feeding sermons on Christian experience, the Love of God and man, the Holy Spirit, peace, brotherhood, providence, the beauty of holiness, and the sublime self-sacrifice of Jesus Christ.

He was a member and trustee of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Canton, Ohio; which he always spoke of as his religious home, a place very dear to his heart. When he experienced Christianity and joined the Church, he entered upon the active duties of the Christian life becoming a Sunday School teacher and superintendent. Always fond of children, Mr. McKinley was most successful in his Sunday School work, and it is safe to say that many of the young people under him became members of the Church through his ministrations.

He was greatly interested in revivals, and attended them even when the duties of his official life were most pressing. His faith never seems to have wavered, and his belief in the Father-Love of God abided to the last.

Devoted to his wife, there was a time when during a grievous spell of illness, her life was despaired of by all around him, but he never lost hope, or doubted that God would spare her life. So from these minute and pathetic details of his private life to all the hurrying, and unfolding events of the history with which he was identified, he believed in a ruling and overruling Providence.

During the days of the Spanish-American War, **the concern of this great Christian, praying, God-trusting President was, not to know what were politicians' thoughts, but to know what God and the people thought.**

He believed God was with the people. And if he waited, it was only to be sure of the Providential Indications. When he believed that he knew the will of God, he never hesitated. If he was slow to resort to sword, it was because he loved peace, but, when, in the Providence of God, war was inevitable, he was swift as an eagle.

On the possession of the Philippines, President McKinley explained his decision in regard to the Philippines in the following manner:

"I walked the floor of the White House night after night until midnight, and I am not ashamed to tell you gentlemen, that I went down on my knees and prayed to God Almighty for light and guidance more than one night. And one night late it came to me this way, I don't know how it was, but it came.

"One, that we could not give them back to Spain. That would be cowardly and dishonorable.

"Two, that we could not turn them over to Germany or France, our commercial rivals in the Orient. That would be bad business and discreditable.

"Three, that we could not leave them to themselves, they were unfit for self-government, and

they would soon have anarchy and misrule over there, worse, than Spain was.

"So, consequently, there was nothing left for us to do but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift, and civilize and Christianize them, and by God's Grace do the very best we could by them, as our fellow men for whom Christ died. And then I went to bed and went to sleep, and slept soundly."

Not only in the state papers, proclamations, and public addresses, but much more in private conversation, did he show that he possessed the magnificent faith of our fathers. He not only dared to follow where Providence seemed to lead, but, having followed, he dared humbly, and yet bravely, to throw the responsibility upon Providence and then give God the Glory for all our victories and successes.

Speaking of his frequent references to Providence in his speeches and proclamations, and of the criticisms which his political opponents jestingly made upon them, he said, "They may sneer at the idea of Providence controlling the events of history if they will, but no man who doubts there is a Providence controlling the events of history will ever sit here," and he tapped the table to indicate that such a man would never be trusted by the people, or elected to the Presidency.

So, in the last moments of his life, and in the triumphs of that calm and peaceful death, this faith in Providence rose to the sublime, "Good-bye, all, Good-bye, it is God's way, His will be done."

His love of the sweet hymns of his Christian faith, hymns of his home and his Church, inspired the last words that fell from his straining lips. Among his favorite hymns were:

"Jesus, Lover of My Soul," "There's A Wideness in God's Mercy," "Like the Wideness of the Sea," "How Firm a Foundation," "Ye Saints of the Lord," and "It Came Upon the Midnight Clear." And finally, "Nearer, My God to Thee, Nearer to Thee, E'en Though it be a Cross."

These words are the words he murmured, saying, "This is my constant Prayer," when God's finger touched him, and he slept.

With these eloquent words being spoken and being in the mind of the sorrowing clergyman who penned them, there in the darkness of a prison cell lay the man who had done the terrible deed, and who on October 29, was to die for it, unrepentant to the last, refusing the consolation of Christianity, and going to judgment exulting in what he had done.

But now, "The Fierce Light That Beats About a Throne," was now leveled upon the man who had had the reins of government thrust in his hands.

He had been made President, he had taken oath of office in the Wilcox House, that man, President Theodore Roosevelt.

One of the greatest pictures of Romans 8:28 that ever happened in the United States of America. *"For we know that all things work together for good, to them that love the Lord, to them who are the called according to His purpose."*

Chapter Five

Theodore Roosevelt and the Valley of the Shadow of Death

"Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for Thou art with me," Psalm 23:4.

The family of the first Theodore Roosevelt seemed hardly able to face the blank that life meant when he left them. But they also felt that the man who had preached always that "one must live for the living," would have wished, "his own to follow out his ideal of life, and so each of them took up, as bravely as they could, their special duties and felt that our close family ties must be made stronger rather than weaker by the loss that we had sustained."

Teddy wrote the following to his sister at his father's death. "Even now that our father has been taken away, it is such a great pleasure to look forward to a visit home, and indeed, he has only gone before, and oh, what living and loving memories he has left behind him. I can feel his presence sometimes when I am sitting alone in the evening, I have not felt nearly as sad as I expected to feel, although, of course, there are, every now and then, very bitter moments. I am going to bring home some of his sweet letters to show you. I shall always keep them, if merely as talisman against evil."

She remarked that when her brother spoke of keeping her father's letters as a "talisman against evil," he not only expressed the feeling of desire to keep near him always the actual letters written by her father, but far more the spirit with which these letters are permeated.

Years close afterward, when the college boy of 1878 was entering his duties as President of the United States, he told his sister frequently that he never took any serious step or made any vital decisions for his country without thinking first what position his father would have taken on the question.

The day that he moved into the White House happened to be September 22, the day of his father's birth, and when his sister dined with him that night in the White House for the first time, they all mentioned this fact and felt that it was a good "omen," for the future, and Theodore said that every time he dated a letter that day, he felt with a glow the tender memory of the realization that it was his father's birthday, and this, his father's blessing seemed specially to follow him on that first day when he made his home in the beautiful old white mansion which stands in the heart of America for all that America means to her sons and daughters.

Late in August of the year 1893 Theodore Roosevelt's sister wrote about how he had come to her after her brother Elliott's death. He went to her, she said, and they did together the things always so hard to do connected with the death of those you love and he wrote her afterwards about it and said:

"The sadness had been tempered by something very sweet when I think of the way I was with you, my own darling sister."

The quality of sharing, which, was one of the most marked attributes, she said, never showed more unselfishly than in times of sorrow. Almost immediately after the above letter, he enclosed a clipping from the newspaper of Abington, about Elliott, who had lived there for some time in connection with property of her husband in Virginia Mountains.

"No one, not even my brother, Theodore himself, was ever loved by those with whom he came in

contact more than was the 'Ellie' of the early days on 20th street, and later wherever he went, he found rare, and devoted friendship," *The Virginian*, the name of the Abington paper said.

The New York papers announced the death of Mr. Elliott Roosevelt and said, "This gentleman had been a member of this community for the past two years, and although his stay was so brief, it was long enough for him to make his impression as a whole-souled, genial gentleman, courteous and kind at all times, with an ever-ready cheer for the enterprising or help to the weak. His name was a by-word among the needy, and his charities were always as abundant as they were unostentatious. He was public spirited and generous. This much we can truthfully say, his influence and his aid will be missed, and more frequently than is generally known among those to whom it was a boon."

When the great sorrow of his own life, the death of his splendid boy, came in July 1918, although he never put aside the sympathy of others, indeed, he gladly welcomed it, and gladly even would talk with those in his innermost circle, of the youngest he loved so well.

But morbid craving could not bring back his child, morbid craving could hurt his own potential power for good. "The grief," he said, "must be met with high head and squared shoulders, and the work still to do must be done."

As his sister entered into Theodore Roosevelt's sick room, she said, "All this was in my mind, and controlling myself to all outward appearances, I put my ear close to his lips. And these were the words that he said to her, words which he fully believed would be the last he could ever say to her.

"Thank God, she said, that he did speak to me many times again, as she had 11 months more of close and intimate communion, but at this very moment he was facing "the Valley of the Shadow."

As she leaned over him, in a hoarse whisper he said, "I am so glad that it is not one of my boys who is dying here, for they can die for their country."

Though Colonel Roosevelt was not allowed to go to war himself with a division of volunteers which he had recruited among his admirers, his four sons, one of whom gave his life, and a son-in-law, Dr. Richard Derby, represented him. Two of his sons were wounded, but all distinguished themselves.

Quentin was killed in an air battle on the western front, his machine was shot down by a German aviator, experienced and skilled, with a record of 32 planes downed to his credit. Young Roosevelt, though skilled, was inexperienced, his adversary said afterward when he and his brother officers had buried and marked his grave. The victor paid tribute to him in saying, "that he had fought courageously and gallantly."

Colonel Roosevelt wished that his son's body remain in the soil that he sought to free. "Let the tree lie where it falls," he said when asked if Quentin's body would be brought home.

Archie and Theodore, Jr., were cited for bravery in action and Kermit distinguished himself while fighting with the British forces in Mesopotamia, and at his request, when the United States entered the war, Kermit was transferred to our Army.

In the fighting before Toul, Archie was wounded. He so distinguished himself that General Pershing personally recommended him for promotion to Captaincy, which he subsequently got, and he was cited for gallantry in action, too. He was a second Lieutenant when he went into action. While leading his men, he was hit by shrapnel that injured both a leg and an arm. He was taken to Parish Hospital, and, while there, learned that he had been awarded the French War Cross.

Theodore Jr., was wounded while he and his detachment were wiping out machine gun nests near Plerisy, in the Soissons sector, in July. Shrapnel was embedded in Major Roosevelt's knee, but he would not allow himself to be moved until the nests were cleaned out. He was taken to a hospital back of the lines and then transferred to a Paris hospital, where an operation was performed. He afterward was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel and was cited for gallantry. His wife, one of the few who managed to get to their husbands fighting in France, reached him there. She was engaged in war work, and during the same month, July, Quentin was killed.

When the American started preparing for the war, Kermit and his wife had just returned from Argentina, where he had gone to help establish a branch of the National City Bank. He immediately enlisted in the Officers Training Camp at Plattsburg. While there, he was offered a commission with the British forces. He accepted and later was cited in British dispatches, but when the American Army

crossed the ocean, he had himself transferred to fight under his own flag.

Archie abandoned his business in a carpet factory in Connecticut, where Theodore Jr. had started his career several years previously and also went to Plattsburg. Archie won a Second Lieutenancy. Both Archie and Theodore Jr. were among the first to go to France. Theodore, Jr. was prospering in the oil well business when he abandoned it for his country.

Theodore Roosevelt, who was refused any personal participation in The Great War, was called by former Justice of the Supreme Court, Charles E. Hughes, "The Greatest Hero of the War."

The following tributes to his noble share in America's greatest task are just a few from the thousands that were uttered after his death. They are quoted here as a necessary part of the record of Mr. Roosevelt's greatest service to his country.

Ex-Justice Charles E. Hughes, speaking before the Republican Club in New York said, "The greatest desire of his life was denied the 'Colonel' when he was prevented from going to the front and actually taking part in the struggle. We can but faintly imagine the measure of disappointment, but we may conjecture that it had no small share in hastening the final breakdown. His country at war, and Roosevelt at home. That was the cruelest blow that fate could deal him. But if he could not fight for liberty and humanity on the Western front, he could fight with pen and voice at home. There was not a moment lost. With increasing vigor he demanded adequate forces, adequate equipment, speed, and efficiency.

"His lash knew no mercy, but it was a necessary lash.

"And as we know, it was just in time. How late we should have been had it not been for Roosevelt, God only knows.

"But who can doubt the value of the service of that insistent demand in making it possible that we should arrive at the front in force in time to make the last great German drive a failure?

"He quickened the national consciousness, he developed the sense of unity, and when the country awoke, he was the natural leader of an aroused America. His priceless service at home made all the world his debtor.

"His soul revolted at the wrongs of Belgium and he poured out his scorn upon the neutrality which ignored the call of humanity and sacrificed the self-respect of the American Republic. When the Lusitania was sunk in May 1915, and Colonel Roosevelt demanded action with immediate decision and vigor, he was right, and had his voice prevailed and had the country earlier shaken off its lethargy, millions of lives and countless treasure might have been spared.

"Of inestimable value to his country had been his service in office. Now, a private citizen, he was to perform an even greater service. To a hesitant Administration and of a people lulled into a false security and lending ear to an unworthy pacifism, he preached the gospel of preparedness. Throughout the country, this courageous apostle of right thinking, having no credentials but those of his own conscience and Patriotism, and by his pitiless invective, he literally compelled actions. Back of all that was done was the pressure of the demand of Roosevelt."

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, in his eulogy at the National Memorial Service of the United States Government in Washington said:

"He would have had us protest and take action at the very beginning, in 1914, when Belgium was invaded. He would have had to go to war when the murders of the Luistania were perpetrated. He tried to stir the soul and arouse the spirit of the American people, and despite every obstacle, he did awaken them, so that when the hour came in April, 1917, a large proportion of the American people were even then ready in spirit and in hope.

"How telling his work had been was proved by the confession of his country's enemies, for when he died, the only discordant note, the only harsh words, came from the German press. Germany knew whose voice it was that had more powerfully than any other called Americans to battle in behalf of freedom and civilization.

"Because he was not permitted to go to Europe at the head of a body of soldiers," said, Mr. Lodge, "Colonel Roosevelt was denied the reward which he would have ranked above all others, the great prize of death in battle.

"But he was a Patriot in every fiber of his being, and personal disappointment in no manner slackened or cooled his zeal. Everything that he could do to forward the war, to quicken preparation, to stimulate Patriotism, to urge on efficient action, was done.

"Day and night, in season and out of season, he never ceased his labors. Although prevented from going to France himself, he gave to the great conflict that which was far dearer to him than his own life. I cannot say that he sent his four sons, because they all went at once, as every one knew that their father's sons would go. Two have been badly wounded, one was killed. He met the blow with the most splendid and unflinching courage."

Rev. William T. Manning, Rector of Trinity Church, New York, speaking under the auspices of the American Defense Society said:

"The name of Theodore will stand forever associated with the entrance of America into the World War. It was his voice far more than any other which aroused the soul of our country and brought us to ourselves before it was too late. It was his fearless witness which compelled our people to see the truth and to meet their responsibility.

"In the day when America stood neutral before the greatest moral crisis in history, when the pacifist spirit was dominant, when the soul of our nation seemed to be dulled and deadened, when men in highest places were saying that this was Europe's war, that its issues did not concern us, that the war spirit among us was being fomented by the munitions makers, Theodore Roosevelt's voice sounded the call to honor and to duty. His strong championship of right urged us to the course which, after two and a half years of hesitation, we took at last.

"It was he who led in the demand that there should be no terms with Germany but unconditional surrender. And when the fighting was ended, it was his voice which was again lifted up for a just and righteous settlement and against a soft immoral peace.

"No one of open mind will question the great part played by Theodore Roosevelt in the world battle for righteousness and freedom. His unmatched service during this period will stand clear in the pages of history.

"It was his fervent desire to have part in the struggle at the front. This opportunity was denied him, but he gave that which was dearer to him that his own life. He sent four sons into the fighting line, all to prove themselves worthy of him and of their country, one of them never to return.

"His unceasing labors during the war and the shock of his son Quentin's death no doubt hastened his end. His loss to the country is an irreparable one.

His son Quentin's death was much more of a blow to him than most of even his intimate friends realized, though it could not be said that he had ever thought all of his sons would return to him.

"I pray to God," he once said to a writer, "that He will, in His mercy, send them back to me safe and sound, but in my heart I know it is almost too much for me to hope for. I know what modern war is, and I know my boys. I know they will do their part. That means danger. It is not a pleasant thought for a father who knows what modern war is, and the fearful things a high explosive shell will do, to think of his boys being exposed to them, to think perhaps that at the moment they may be lying mutilated in 'No Man's Land.'

"No, it is not pleasant, and yet there are curs," (this was at the time a Southwestern editor had asserted the Roosevelt boys, through influence, had secured a safe berth) "who dare say that my boys, every one of them in combat corps, had shirked their duty with the aid of supposed influence."

Again, as he was recovering from a very serious illness in Roosevelt Hospital, a caller, congratulating him on his recovery, said that his friends had been worried. "Well," said he, "I was not worried about myself. I was not thinking of myself. I was thinking of my four boys. I tell you I am almighty proud of my boys," and, after a momentary pause, "just as proud of my two fine girls."

Within the month, Colonel Roosevelt received the bitterest blow of his life, the news of the death of his son, Quentin. The first hint of this affliction came in a censored dispatch telling a New York newspaper to watch Oyster Bay, "for news of ..." This was submitted to Colonel Roosevelt, who decided by the following process of elimination that Quentin had at least been injured.

"It can not be Ted and it can not be Archie," said he, "for both are recovering from wounds. It is not Kermit, for he is not in the danger zone at just this moment. So, it must be Quentin, however, we must say nothing of this to his mother tonight."

The next day the censor released the news that Quentin was dead. The Colonel, hard hit, in a public statement expressed the pleasure of Mrs. Roosevelt

and himself that the boy had had his chance to do his bit. On the following day, with the characteristic Roosevelt explanation that it was a matter of duty, he went to the Republican State Convention in Saratoga to try and heal party differences.

If however, the Colonel did not show his grief, it was not because he did not feel grief. His closest intimates said he grieved in solitude while maintaining a smiling face in public. When he spoke of the boys, more especially to the soldiers who visited him from a nearby camp on Saturday, it never was with regret for Quentin, only pleasure that his boys had done well. His grief was sacred to himself.

Late one evening when Theodore Roosevelt did not seem quite so well and Mrs. Roosevelt sent for the doctor, who, after testing him in various ways, pronounced his condition as very satisfactory. Relieved in mind, Mrs. Roosevelt, left him in the charge of his faithful attendant, James Amos, and shortly after she went out, he turned to James and said, "Put out the light."

Once again his devoted wife came to his bedside, thinking she heard him stir, but found him sleeping peacefully. At four o'clock James detected a change in his breathing, and realizing that all was not well, called the trained nurse.

In a few moments, as Senator Lodge said later in his great oration on his friend before the Joint Houses of Congress in Washington, "Valiant-for-Truth passed over, and all the trumpets sounded for him on the other side."

That Sunday evening, just before Theodore Roosevelt told his faithful servant to "Put out the light," there was a meeting held in New York under the auspices of the American Defense Society, at which he had hoped to be present. Not able to be there in person, he sent them a letter, and at the moment that he, at his beloved home on the hill, closed his eyes for the last time, his faithful followers listened to his ringing exhortation that there should be "no sagging back in Americanism."

As a youth, 23 years of age, an assemblyman at Albany who had come to his native city to make his maiden address on that theme near to his heart, and the man, whose life-work, replete with Patriotism was drawing to a close, sent the same fervent message in his last hours to his fellow countrymen.

All his life long he had been for those fellow countrymen **"the Patriotic Sentinel,"** pacing the parapet and always unafraid. This is a quote taken from Senator Warren G. Harding's address on Theodore Roosevelt before the Senate and House of Ohio, late in January 1919.

That afternoon Mrs. Roosevelt and Mrs. Corrine Robinson walked far and fast along the shore and through the woodlands he had loved, and on their return in the waning winter twilight, they suddenly became conscious that airplanes were flying low around the house.

In a tone of deep emotion Mrs. Roosevelt said, "They must be planes from the camp where Quentin trained. They have been sent as a guard of honor for his father."

"That night," wrote Mrs. Corrine Robinson, "I stood alone in the room where my brother lay, and these lines came to me, I called them 'Sagamore,' that old Indian word for which my brother cared so much. It means Chief or Chieftain, and Sagamore Hill, 'The Chieftain's Hill'."

At Sagamore the Chief lies low
Above the hill in circled row
The whirring airplanes dip and fly,
A guard of honor from the sky.
Eagles to guard eagle, Woe
Is on the world. The people go
With listless footstep, blind and slow
For one is dead, who shall not die.
At Sagamore

Oh! Land he loved, at last you know
The son who served you well below,
The prophet voice, the visioned eye
Hold him in ardent memory,
For one is gone... who shall not go.
From Sagamore

His last book, *"The Great Adventure,"* was published by Scribners in November, 1918, just as the victory was won. His "Foreword," was signed and dated November 6th, five days before the Armistice,

and exactly two months before his own "final promotion." This book is startlingly appropriate as his last published volume. The first chapter, "The Great Adventure," reads almost like a conscious farewell. A few of its sentences are quoted as a fitting epitaph to the noble-hearted author of them:

"Only those who are fit to live who do not fear to die; and none are fit to die who have shrunk from the joy of life and the duty of life. Both life and death are parts of the same 'Great Adventure.' Never yet was unworthy adventure unworthily carried through by the man who puts his personal safety first. Never yet was a country worth dying for, unless its sons and daughters thought of life not as something concerned only with the selfish advance of the individual, but as a link in the great chain of creation and causation, so that each person is seen in his true relations as an essential part of the whole, whose life must be made to the larger and continuing life of the whole."

"With all my heart I believe in the joy of living; but those who achieve it do not seek it as an end in itself, but as a seized and prized incident of hard work, well done and danger never wantonly courted, but never shirked when duty commands that they be faced.

"Woe to those who invite a sterile death; a death not for them only, but for the race; the death which is insured by a life of sterile selfishness. But honor, highest honor, to those who fearlessly face death for a good cause; no life is so honorable or so fruitful as such a death. **Unless men are willing to fight and die for great ideals, including love of country, ideals will vanish, and the world will become one huge sty of materialism. And unless the women of ideals bring forth the men who are ready thus to live and die, the world of the future will be filled by the spawn of the unfit.**

"In America today all our people are summoned to serve and sacrifice. Pride is the portion only of those who know bitter sorrow or the foreboding of bitter sorrow. But all of us who give service, and stand ready for sacrifices are the 'torch bearers.'

"We run with the torches until we fall, content if we can then pass them to the hands of other runners."

A WITNESS IN THE WHITE HOUSE

Chapter Six

Roosevelt and the Challenge of His Witness

"Wherefore seeing we also are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset us, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us," Hebrews 12:1.

How strongly Theodore Roosevelt's stalwart Americanism was impressed upon the thought and temper of the people was strikingly evidenced by the thousands of editorial and personal attributes which dwelt on that one theme after his death.

"One word was repeated from sea to sea," said the *Literary Digest* in its summary of these attributes. It was the simple word, but eloquent word, **'American'."**

Colonel Roosevelt himself recognized and was proud of the way in which so many American racial stocks had grown, "into a tree of sturdy individuality," the *Troy Times* noted. And the *Chicago News* put it very aptly when it attributed to him, "The Culture of the East, the Breeziness and Independence of the Great West, and the Chivalry and Warmth of the South."

The tributes brought by his death from political friend and foe, from old neighbors of Oyster Bay, and the rulers of every civilized land, showed that if public opinion were to write his epitaph, it would be **"Theodore Roosevelt, American."**

"His intense Americanism," the *Utica Observer* declares, "was the great guiding, moving, pulsating, overwhelming principle of life." The *Kansas City Star,* whose contributing editor he was at the time of his death called him, "The Embodiment of Our Nation."

"At the height of his career," said the *Boston Globe,* "he personified America. He was more typically American than any other who ever lived in America," according to the *Indianapolis Times.*

"In every corner of the Earth," declared the *New York Evening World,* "the name of Roosevelt was known and admired as standing for all that is most forceful, compelling, and at the same time fascinating in the American Character.

"He was the greatest American of his day," was asserted by scores of editors and public men as soon as the news of his death was learned, and not only the greatest, but "the most typical," the "most representative American."

The *Louisville Journal-Courier* called him, "the great composite American of his day and generation." "Then, in his mental qualities, he was essentially American," it seemed to the *Philadelphia Public Ledger,* "and his restless energy, his keen zest of living, his courage, his audacity, his democratic habits, his ready sympathy for every class, the mixture in him of the practical and the ideal, all these things were characteristic of the soil from which he sprang."

England and France looked upon Colonel Roosevelt as summing up in his own personality the best characteristic of the American people. It seemed to the *Manchester Guardian* of England, that in Theodore Roosevelt was "expressed what the Americans regard as the western spirit and the epoch in which the west came into his own." "He brought into the world of politics something of the air of the great prairies."

"It seems significant," said the *New York Times* in view of the emphasis upon Colonel Roosevelt's Americanism, "that his last speech, his last public message, to his fellow countrymen would have reiterated his doctrine of Absolute Undivided Americanism." "A statement which was read at a meeting held by the American Defense Society, the night

before the Colonel died, declared against efforts to segregate immigrants and keep them separate from the rest of America, and hence prevent them from doing their full part as Americans."

The same newspaper went on to quote the Colonel by saying, "There can be no divided allegiance here. **Any man who says he is an American, plus something else also, isn't an American at all.** We have room for but one flag, and this excludes the Red flag, which symbolizes all wars against liberty and civilization; just as much as it excludes any foreign flag or a nation to which we were hostile.

"We have room for but one language here, and that is the English language, for we intend to see that the crucible turns our people out as Americans, of American nationality, and not dwellers in a polyglot boarding house, and **we have room but for one soul loyalty,** and that is loyalty to the American people."

"It was by upholding the Torch of Americanism in such messages as this during the last three years that Colonel Roosevelt did his greatest service to his country," in the opinion of the *New York Evening Sun,* the *Syracuse Post-Standard,* the *Washington Herald,* and the *Providence Journal.* And the latter held that "he was never more cherished by the people of the United States than in those closing days, never more confidently looked to for wise counsel."

The *Washington Herald* stated, "that our war machine only began to function effectively after the Colonel had proclaimed its weaknesses."

The *Philadelphia North American,* which had been a thorough going Roosevelt paper from the early day of his career declared that, "America's service and triumph in the Great War were the product of the will, the passionate conviction, and the devoted services of Theodore Roosevelt, private citizen, more than of any other force."

And the paper continued, "for many months, his was the only potent voice raised in this country in behalf of violated law and humanity.

"Against the current of a misdirected public opinion, in the face of traducing criticism and an official enmity that was little short of malignant, he championed the imperiled cause of democracy and preached a flaming crusade of America's duty. Despite adverse teachings backed by authority during two and a half years, the truths he proclaimed found steadily growing response. It was his stimulating leadership that awoke the conscience and rallied the spirit of American people, until they literally forced the abandonment of a vacillating, self-seeking policy, and turned the mighty energies of the nation into the channel of honor and obligation."

"Mr. Roosevelt's great public service," the *New York World* was convinced was rendered when, as President, "he set out to demonstrate that the government of the United States was more powerful than any aggregation of capital or than all the aggregations of capital that were united by a common interest to exploit the country."

The *World Newspaper,* probably the most consistent and bitter political foe of Mr. Roosevelt among American newspapers, stated this:

"The United States was probably never nearer to a social revolution than it was when Mr. Roosevelt came to the Presidency. While it is true that he never succeeded in solving the trust problem in either his first or his second term, by his procedure in the Northern Securities case, he succeeded in demonstrating that the country had laws under which the multiplication of trusts could be curbed, that the highest court of the nation would sustain these laws, and that the government of the United States was not at the mercy of Wall Street and organized capital. This having been demonstrated, the trust question came to answer itself under the steady pressure of public opinion."

"It was during Roosevelt's Administration," declares another Democratic paper, the *Richmond Times-Dispatch,* "that there was laid the solid foundation for the structure of social and economical progress whose towering height is now a beacon to all other nations."

"As President," declares the *Boston Christian Science Monitor,* "Mr. Roosevelt literally tore out by the roots the tradition that money-getting was the chief end of the American citizen and that the way in which money was obtained was a condition secondary to the possession of it."

"Whatever shocks Roosevelt gave capital more than a decade ago, there can now," says a representative of the financial interest of the *Boston News Bureau,* "be a frank acknowledgement that the very intensity of those blasts, whatever the concrete wisdom of policy attempted in correction, served to aid the sooner coming of a higher corporate code than once prevailed."

The *New York Times*, which was far from being a radical newspaper, admits that when Mr. Roosevelt came into power many possessors of great wealth used their power without regard for the interests of the people and "were too much given to the practice of influencing legislation for the furtherance of their own plans." "President Roosevelt's great achievement was that 'he changed the mental attitude of the people and brought big business itself to repentance and to the ways of righteousness'," said that same newspaper.

"President Roosevelt led the country into the consideration of human rights and interests," is the way the *Philadelphia Press* put it.

"Colonel Roosevelt," declared the *New York Tribune*, "laid the foundation of the new order of larger democracy, and the common virtues which he preached so strenuously of fairness, honesty, sincerity, were the ones which were most sadly lacking in our political practice."

"His fine achievement," said the *New York Sun*, "was that he did change the attitude of government toward property and gave the Republic a new ideal of the duties and responsibilities of citizenship."

"But not even in Mr. Roosevelt's career explains the secret of his hold on his fellowman. What was the secret of this?" asked the *Boston Herald*, and it answered, "he was a man's man, a hero's hero, and an American's American."

"The most important part of his equipment," said the *Rochester Post Express*, "was his normal force and dauntlessness."

"Seldom in the history of the world," said the *New York Evening World*, "has been seen a more marvelous individual embodiment of mental, moral, and physical force, which was so inspiring that few, when under the spell, asked more than to feel the stimulating dynamic effects of it."

Dr. Frank Crane declared in one of his syndicated newspaper articles that, "No man has ever been more a part of every man in the United States than Theodore Roosevelt. His chief characteristic was courage, and since that quality is a little spark of God, we respect it." And continued Dr. Crane, "He was a friend conceived of as a friend in a passionate and personal way as no other statesman of American history except Lincoln."

"On the Sunday following Mr. Roosevelt's death there was scarcely a Church in all New York," said the *Times*, "in which the Pastor did not take occasion to pay tribute to Theodore Roosevelt and to point out the spiritual lessons of his life."

The following is a brief quotation from one of these by Rev. Dr. William T. Manning of Old Trinity Church.

"The outstanding note of his life was his love of right and his fearless courage in upholding it. He never hesitated to take his open stand or flinched from saying what he believed needed to be said. He sometimes aroused strong and even fierce opposition, but in the end he was admired, loved, and trusted even by the most of those who disagreed with him. To our human eyes it seems as though he could not be spared, but his work was finished and it was done faithfully and well. "May God give him peace and blessing in the other life where he now is, and may God give to many of our men and women the strong moral purpose, the deep love of country, and the fearless courage to uphold the right which He gave to Theodore Roosevelt."

"As a private citizen," the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* said, "he is an example, and an astonishing phenomenon. A private citizen is seen to be of more interest to the world than any ruler of any great nation. His mere opinion on present American affairs is held of more importance than anything that may happen in America."

In the *American Magazine* Ray Stannard Baker was writing, and he said, "Even before Mr. Roosevelt emerged from the jungle, five thousand miles distant, in the heart of Africa, without knowledge of what was going on here at home, without having uttered so much as a word of advice or command for over a year, Roosevelt is today the predominant factor in American politics."

"Still again," said Walter Wellman, writing from Europe to the American *Review of Reviews*, of the result of his own close personal observation, said, "We are even prepared to believe that which is told us by so many of the diplomatists, officials, journalists, officers, and other men of information we

meet and converse with, namely, that Theodore Roosevelt is not only the foremost citizen of our own country, but the most famous of living men. They tell us, and seemingly with candor and truth, that not the King of England, nor the Czar of Russia, not the Emperor of Germany, nor any other sovereign or personage could attract half the attention that is showered upon this private citizen of the United States."

Finally, with the most specific conclusion, the *Parks Temps,* after noting that Mr. Roosevelt's reception in France and elsewhere in Europe was really unparalleled in history said: "We are accustomed to formal visits of Kings and Presidents, but Roosevelt is no longer President. **It is the man, therefore, not the office, which is being honored."**

Even when receptions and welcomings are over, one thing of real importance was unchanged. As Andrew Carnegie said, "Strip him of all external dignities and there still remains the man, in full possession of marvelous powers, high ideals, sleepless activity, and boundless popularity."

Theodore Roosevelt in reply said the following: "To tell the truth, I like to believe that, but by what I have accomplished, without great gifts, I may be a source of encouragement to American boys."

After he had gone from us, his most hostile political foes acknowledged that his belief in that particular had been fully justified, as when the *Evening World* of New York said, "To help it to the kind of strong, adventurous American manhood that has indeed made the nation truly great as never before among nations, American youth has had no more forceful teacher and example than Theodore Roosevelt."

Mr. Roosevelt at another time explained in the following the very simple matter of the secret of success, disclaiming any particular endowment of genius:

"It has always seemed to me that in life there are two ways of achieving what is commonly called greatness. One is to do that which can be done by the man of exceptional and extraordinary abilities. Of course, this means that only one man can do it, and it is a very rare kind of success or greatness. The other is to do that which many men could do, but which as a matter of fact, none of them actually does. This is the ordinary greatness. Nobody but one of the world's rare geniuses could have written the Gettysburg speech, or the second inaugural, or met as Lincoln did the awful crises of the Civil War.

"But most of us can do the ordinary things which, however, most of us do not do. Any hardy, healthy man, fond of outdoor life, but not in the least an athlete, could lead the life I have led if he chose, and by choosing, I of course mean choosing to exercise requisite industry, judgment, and foresight, none of a very marked type."

Almost immediately before election day, at which many well-known speakers were to make their plea for the election of Theodore Roosevelt, and at which, also, that most brilliant speaker and charming man, Mr. Joseph H. Choate, was to bring the evening to a climax, the great boss of Tammany Hall, Richard Croker, forsook his usual methods of strict silence, and began to be loquacious.

Croker, when running a candidate, was always very careful indeed to keep the mystery of the Wigwam (Tammany) wrapped closely about him, but as the fight waxed hot and heavy, he lost his control and said many a foolish thing, and the Republican papers jubilantly announced that when Croker began to talk, it meant that he knew that his cause was lost.

At the meeting at Chickering Hall, when Mr. Choate rose to make the final speech of the evening, he said:

"Ladies and gentlemen, it is late, you have heard many speakers and I shall be brief. All that I wish to do is recall to your minds a certain Bible Story of Balaam and his ass, and you may not have the incident clear in your memory."

And here the learned speaker paused and his audience concentrated their attention upon, somewhat puzzled as to what he was about to say. He continued, "You may remember that Balaam was riding upon the ass through a dark forest, and that suddenly the ass stopped, and even more suddenly the ass spoke."

Mr. Choate paused again, and the audience suddenly rippled out with mirth and realization that the "ass" who spoke had a distinct reference to the utterances of Croker. As the laughter grew louder, Mr. Choate's serious full tone of dramatic power said: "Ladies and Gentlemen, you have perhaps forgotten why the ass spoke. The reason that he did so

was because directly in his path, in shining garments, stood a Young Man with a flaming sword in His hand."

As one man the audience rose to its feet. Simultaneously, a great cheer rose to the lips of every one present, for the figure of speech had done its work, and each person in the house visualized the figure of Theodore Roosevelt, ardent and young, courageous and honest, truly a "young man with a flaming sword in his hand."

Lord Morely is reported to have said, after his visit to the United States, when asked what he thought most interesting in our country. He said, "There are two great things in the United States, one is Niagara, and the other is Theodore Roosevelt."

When Theodore Roosevelt's sister thought of her brother that last night, the words of Lord Morely came back to her, and she said, "It seemed as if, for once, the two great things were combined in one."

Mr. Thomas A. Edison wrote the following of Theodore Roosevelt:

"My Dear Sir:
"Answering your question as to my view of Colonel Roosevelt for our next President, I would say that I believe he is absolutely the only man that should be considered at this crucial period. He has more statesmanship, a better grasp of the most important needs of this country and greater executive ability to handle the big, international problems that will arise at the close of the war than all the other proposed candidates together.
"His energy, capacity, and vast experience in large affairs of state and nation for many years, together with his great patriotism, and his intense Americanism, and his great knowledge in all lines of human endeavor, make him decidedly the most striking figure in American life."

An article called *"Ah! Teddy Dear,"* written by Julian Mason, the gifted son of one who had been a hospitable host of Theodore Roosevelt when, as a young man, he wrote *"The Winning of the West,"* which appeared in the *Chicago Evening Post,* June 1916, as follows:

"Before you came, all in politics was set and regular.
Those who were ordained to rule over us did with gravity with which stupid grown-ups so oft repress the child.
No one ever talked to us as you did.
They called us 'voters' or 'constituents' or such big names as these.
They never took us by the hand and laughed and played with us as you did.
They never understood us.
They could preach Sunday School and arithmetic.
But the Good Lord never gave it to them to speak to the heart.
And then you came.

"Dancing down the road you came with life and love and courage and fun sticking out all over you.
How we loved you at first sight. And how you loved us.
Friends we were, though you were in the White House and we were making mud pies.
Friends we were together with nothing to come between us. Your love would let no harm come near us and we knew it. With your courage you fought for us.

"With your life and your fun you took us out of the drab grind.
You gave us new words, delightful words, to play with, and jokes, delightful jokes, to make us laugh.
How we wanted you back when you went away.
But they stole our right from us and they wouldn't let you come back.
So we followed you.
Four million of us, in a fight, the like of which we never knew.
Joy and religion were in it in equal measure.
Hymns and cleanness and color and battle all were jumbled in it.
The good of it is set forever into the life of the Nation."

"Ah! Teddy Dear."

Chapter Seven

Theodore Roosevelt – A Sharer of Enthusiasms

"Rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that weep," Romans 12:15.

Roosevelt was interested in others, and he had the capacity to share the enthusiasm of others, as this above verse declares. While Theodore Roosevelt was President of the United States, his sister visited him more frequently than usual and she enjoyed the special ceremonies, such as the diplomatic dinners, judicial receptions, etc. She said that she used to station herself near the President when he was receiving the long line of eager fellow citizens, and watch his method of welcoming the guests.

"Almost always," she said, "he would have some special word for each, and although the long line would not be held back, he was so rapid in speech that the individual welcome would hardly take a moment, still almost every person who passed him would have had that extraordinary sense that he or she was personally recognized.

"It was either a reference to the splendid old veteran father of one, or some devoted sacrifice on the part of the mother of another, or a deed of valour of the person himself, or a merry reminiscence of hunting, or Rough Rider Warfare; but with each and every person who passed in what seemed occasionally an interminable line, there was immediately established a personal sense of relationship. Perhaps, that was, of all my brother's attributes, the most endearing, namely, that power of injecting himself into the life of the other person and of making that other person realize that he was not just an indifferent lump of humanity, but a living and breathing individual coming in contact with another individual even more vividly alive."

Mr. Eugene Thwing wrote in his book about the *"Life and Meaning of Theodore Roosevelt"* in 1919, the following:

> *"Quite differently from the accustomed formality of Presidential interviews, Mr. Roosevelt's way of meeting visitors at the White House came, at first, with the surprise and tingle of an electric shock."*

Mr. George William Douglas tells of a man who was present one day in 1901 when Mr. Roosevelt had been President about two months. This man describes the scene in a most lively manner. Every phase of humanity was gathered in the waiting room, when the President bounded into the roam unannounced, and seized the hand of the first person he saw.

"Glad to see you," he exclaimed as he grasped the hand of the visitor. And there was an emphasis on the 'you' which startled the visitor with its ring of candor. But scarcely had he recovered from his astonishment sufficiently to begin his speech, before the President had darted halfway across the circle, leaving outstretched hands tingling with the rush of blood caused by the firm Presidential grasp, and startled ears trying to realize that into them had been hurled the assurance that he was glad to see them.

And when the President was not "Glad to see you," he was "Delighted to see you," our informant assures us. Statesmen, office-seekers, giggling brides, hunters, notoriety-seekers, stately ladies, capitalists, laborers, Democrats, Republicans, Populists, all got the same greeting, the same nervous but firm handshake, the same glitter of the eye. And then away darted this bundle of nerves and steel.

"In three or four minutes he had squeezed 20 or more hands, and the second crowd of the day was disposed of. With the next crowd there came striding in a handsome rosy-checked lad, gaily dressed in a Military uniform that was decorated with all the distinguishing colors of the various arms of the Army and insignia of the various grades of the Navy. Into a large upholstered chair this youth plumped his roly-poly form near the door leading to the President's office. The crowd thickened so fast that the doorkeeper refused to let any more people in till the congestion in the room was relieved.

Again the President rushed into the room, bumped into the youth in the chair, "Ah! So this is Master ..., is it?" Mr. Roosevelt inquired as he seized the right hand of the lad. "Well, I received your telegram from Baltimore last night telling me that you would call on me today. I am delighted to see you, sir, delighted to see you."

"Mr. President," the boy began, in a determined effort to deliver his carefully prepared speech, "I am traveling ..." "Yes, Yes," interrupted the President. "I know you are, and I am glad to see you. Mr. Cortelyou will look after you."

As the President was surrounded by the eddying crowd, the brave little boy, 12 years old, continued his speech thus:

"I am a traveling salesman for a typewriter company. My father was a miner in Pennsylvania, and when he died a few months ago, he left my mother and a large family of children, but no property. I am making a living for the family, and I have brought you as a "Thanksgiving" present – one of my typewriters. Accept it, Mr. President, and make my mother's heart glad. All our family thinks you are the greatest man that was ever President of the United States."

There was a kind, gentle, fatherly tone in the President's voice as he held both the hands of this courageous American fighting in his own way, and spoke some encouraging words.

"God Bless You," said the President a little while later, as he encountered the lad in another part of the room, and a merry-faced old lady who was waiting her turn to greet the President wiped the tears from her eyes that came unbidden as she heard the benediction.

In March of 1908, in the midst of harassing controversies and Presidential difficulties of all kinds, he took the time and interest to write concerning a young friend of his daughters who had come into an unfortunate trouble.

The letter is full of a certain quality, which his daughter called, "A Righteous Ruthlessness," which was a special characteristic of Theodore Roosevelt. The letter went as follows:

"I hate to think of her suffering, but the only thing for her to do now is to treat the past as the past, the event as finished and out of her life. To dwell on it, and above all to keep talking about it with any one, would be both weak and morbid. She should try not to think of it. This she cannot wholly avoid, but she can avoid speaking of it.

"She should show a brave and cheerful front to the world, whatever she feels, and henceforth she should never speak one word of the matter to anyone. In the long future, when the memory is too dead to throw, she may, if she wishes, speak of it once more, but if she is wise and brave, she will not speak of it now."

"Of all the qualities," she said, "this one never failed him. It was," as she said, "a righteous ruthlessness."

Roosevelt believed and stated that the thing that injured any one's possibility for service in any way must be cut out or burnt out. When the great sorrow of his life, the death of his boy, came in July 1918, although he never put aside the sympathy of others, indeed, he gladly welcomed it, and gladly even would talk with those in his innermost circle of the youngest he loved so well. Still, as a rule, his, attitude was similar to that taken in the above letter.

"Morbid craving would not bring back his child. Morbid craving would hurt his own potential for good. The grief must be met with high head and squared shoulders, and the work still to do must be done."

He had achieved his ambition to follow those adventurers as a mighty hunter in Africa; he had achieved many other ambitions. But none was more

intense with him than the desire to put the so-called "River of Doubt" on the map of the world.

With Kermit as his companion, he described his father's desperate illness, and his heroic and unflinching courage, when, with a temperature of 105°F, he struggled on through the mazes of the jungle, weak and weary, unselfishly begging his companions to leave him to die, for he felt that his condition endangered the possibility of their escape alive from their difficulties.

As in Africa, so in South America, his tireless energy, even when weakened by illness, never failed to accomplish his purpose, and not only did he put the "River of Doubt" on the map, but that river from that time forth was called, "Rio Theodore," after Theodore Roosevelt, the Explorer.

But during those sufferings, exhausting weeks he never once failed to keep his promise to his publishers, and to write, on the spot, the incidents of each day's adventure. Such perseverance, such persistence are really superhuman, but perhaps it is also true that, the human being must eventually pay the price of what the superman achieves.

The day before the convention was to take place, the terrible news came that Quentin was killed. Of course, there was a forlorn hope that this information might not be true. That the gallant boy might perhaps have reached the earth alive and might already be a prisoner in a German camp, but there seemed but little doubt of the truth of the terrible fact. Theodore Roosevelt's sister wrote the following:

"My heart was unspeakably sore and heavy at the thought of the terrible sorrow that had come to my sister-in-law and my brother, and I shrank from asking any question concerning any matter except the sad news of the death of Quentin, or imminent danger to him. My brother himself came to the telephone, the sound of his voice was as if steel had entered into the tone."

"As years before," wrote his sister, "he had written me from South Africa in my own great sorrow. He had 'grasped the nettle.' I asked him whether he would like me to come down at once to Oyster Bay and his answer was almost harsh in its rapidity.

"Of course not, I will meet you in Saratoga as arranged. It is more than ever my duty to be there. You can come down to New York after the Convention."

And she said that, "the very tone of his voice made her realize the agony of his heart, but duty was paramount, the affairs of State, the affairs of the Nation, needed his counsel, needed his self-control."

"His boy paid the final price of duty, and was he, the father who had taught the boy the ideal of service and sacrifice, to shrink in cowardly fashion at the crucial moment?"

In the latter part of a letter to her, he referred to her own great loss of her youngest son who was only 20 years of age, and said the following:

"Your burden was even harder to bear than ours, for Stewart's life was even shorter than Quentin's and he had less chance to give shape to what there was in him, but, after all, when the young die at the crest of their life, in their golden morning; the degrees of difference are merely degrees in bitterness; and yet, there is nothing more cowardly than to be beaten down by sorrow which nothing we can do will change."

The sentence of this brave letter in which Theodore Roosevelt speaks of being "cowardly to be beaten down which nothing we can do can change," is typical of the attitude that he had preserved through his whole life.

"Theodore Roosevelt was a great sharer and a great lover, but above all else, he was essentially the courageous man who faced squarely whatever came, and by so facing, conquered."

He fully understood the passages in the Bible which state that we are to *"Forget those things which are behind, and reach forth unto those things which are before,"* Philippians 3:13.

And the comfort of the Scripture that says, *"But I would not have you to be ignorant brethren, concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not, even as others which have no hope,"* 1 Thessalonians 4:13.

Chapter Eight

Theodore Roosevelt and Righteousness

"Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people," Proverbs 14:34.

Theodore Roosevelt met and overcame countless obstacles and enemies, and he didn't do it with mere physical, mental, or human prowess. The strength of Truth was the secret to Roosevelt's great and growing power. His fellow Americans long acknowledged it, and the people of foreign nations did homage to it. The Truth was that **"righteousness exalteth a nation, and righteousness exalteth a man."**

In all his dealings with individuals, with classes, with nations, Roosevelt's one test was this: "Is the right to prevail?" "Are the great laws of righteousness to be fulfilled? Where parties, or persons, or policies conflict, **the choice must ever be in favor of righteousness."**

"Do foes threaten? Is popularity or place at stake?" "We scorn the man who would not stand for justice, though the whole world come in arms against him."

"Truth and Righteousness," said Roosevelt, "are of no value whatever to the world until they are embodied in a personality, and there is only one Source of Truth and Righteousness. Except as they flow from Almighty God Himself they do not exist. No man can possibly stand for Truth and Righteousness or employ their power, unless he is in direct relationship with the Divine Source. The wireless connection must be established with God at one end and man at the other. Then the man can exclaim boldly and truly with Paul, *'I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me'."*

"Does that sound like too much of a sermon?" Roosevelt said, **"Tell me, if you can, how to approach the mighty theme of Truth and Righteousness with God left out?"**

Roosevelt grew to be a giant in the world for no other reason than he linked himself with gigantic forces. He put Spiritualities above materialities and did much to save the soul of America.

Roosevelt stated that, "Official dignities and authority, political or personal popularity, athletic or mental cleverness are all trivial and transient, nothing that is external has any real power or permanence. The Spirit within is the invincible force which determines whether a man shall be a creature of destiny or the creator of destiny."

This is the meaning which Roosevelt's personality and career must have for us. We can waste our lives in ceaseless hustle for the external rewards in the gift of man and we shall never gain much or hold it long. Or, we may choose that Partnership with the Unseen and Mighty realities through which we shall grow strong, great, and useful in and to the world.

Then, as Roosevelt did, we shall prove that the power exercised is not the power of an office, but the power of an individual man. Theodore Roosevelt could not fail. He had that in himself which made him independent of circumstances or of fortune. "A laborer together with God," can never be without a job or fail to draw his sure wages.

Roosevelt is gone, but America need not be left without his successor, for he had little or nothing that others may not have.

"Fear God, and take your own part." That was one of Roosevelt's favorite expressions. He said, "'Fear God' in the true sense of the word, means love God, respect God, honor God, and all of this can only be done by loving our neighbor, treating him justly and mercifully, and in all ways endeavor-

ing to protect him from injustice and cruelty; thus obeying, as far as our human frailty will permit, the great immutable law of righteousness.

"We fear God when we do justice and demand justice for the man within our borders. We are false to the teachings of righteousness if we do not do such justice and demand such justice. We must do it to the weak and we must do it to the strong. We do not fear God if we show mean envy and hatred of those who are better off than we are; and still less do we fear God if we show a base arrogance towards selfish lack of consideration for those who are less well off. We must apply the same standard of conduct alike to men and women, to rich men and to poor men, to employer and employee.

"Outside of our own borders, we must treat other nations as we would wish to be treated in return, judging each in any given crisis as we ourselves ought to be judged, that is, by our conduct in that crisis. If they do ill, we show that we fear God when we sternly bear testimony against them and oppose them in any way and to whatever extent the needs require. If they do well, we must not wrong them ourselves.

"Finally, if we are really devoted to a lofty ideal, we must, in so far as our strength permits, aid them if they are wronged by others. When we sit idly by while Belgium is being overwhelmed, and rolling up our eyes and prattle with unctuous self-righteousness about the 'duty of neutrality,' we show that we do not really fear God; on the contrary, we show an odious fear of the devil, and a mean readiness to serve him.

"But in addition to fearing God, it is necessary that we should be able and ready to take our own part. **The man who cannot take his own part is a nuisance in the community, a source of weakness, and encouragement to wrong-doers, and an added burden to the men who wish to do what is right.** If he cannot take his own part, then somebody has to take it for him; and this means that his weakness and cowardice and inefficiency places an added burden on some other man and makes that other man's strength by just so much of less avail to the community as a whole.

"No man can take the part of any one else unless he is able to take his own part. This is just as true of nations as of men. A nation that cannot take its own part, is at times almost as fertile a source of mischief in the world at large as in the nation which does wrong to others, for its very existence puts a premium on wrongdoing.

"Therefore, a nation must fit itself to defend its honor and interest against outside aggression, and this necessarily means that **in a free democracy every man fit for citizenship must be trained so that he can do his full duty to the nation in war no less than in peace.**

"Unless we are thorough-going Americans and unless our Patriotism is part of the very fiber of our being, we can neither serve God nor take our own part."

"If the people have not vision, they shall surely perish. **No man has a right to live who has not in his soul the power to die nobly for a great cause.** Let abhorrence be for those who wage wanton or wicked wars, who with ruthless violence oppress the upright and the unoffending. Pay all honor to the preachers of peace who put Righteousness above peace. But shame on the creatures who would teach our people that it is anything but base to be unready and unable to defend right, even at need by the sternest of all tests, the test of righteous war, war waged by a high-couraged people with souls attuned to the demands of the lofty ideal.

"Peace is not the end. Righteousness is the end."

"When the Saviour saw the money changers in the temple, He broke the peace by driving them out. At that moment, peace could have been obtained readily enough by the simple process of keeping quiet in the presence of wrong. But instead of preserving peace at the expense of Righteousness, the Saviour armed Himself with a scourge of cords and drove the money changers from the temple.

"Righteousness is the end, and peace a means to the end, and sometimes it is not peace, but war which is the proper means to achieve the end. Righteousness should breed valour and strength. When it does breed them, it is triumphant, and when triumphant, it necessarily brings peace.

"But peace does not necessarily bring righteousness."

"The effective workers for the peace of Righteousness were men like Stein, Cavour, and Lincoln; that is, men who dreamed great dreams, but who were also preeminently men of action, who stood for the right, and who knew that the right would fail unless might was put behind it.

"The Prophets of Pacifism have had nothing whatever in common with these great men; and whenever they have preached mere pacifisms, whenever they have failed to put righteousness first and to advocate peace as the handmaiden of righteousness, they have done evil and not good.

"These persons really believed that it was possible to achieve the 'Millennium' by means that would not have been very effective in preserving peace among the active boys of a large Sunday School, let alone grown-up men in the world as it actually is.

"We must bear in mind that the great end in view is Righteousness, justice as between man and man, nation and nation, the chance to lead our lives on a somewhat higher level, with a broader spirit of brotherly good will one for another,

"Peace is generally good in itself, but it is never the highest good unless it comes as the handmaid of righteousness."

"And it becomes a very evil thing if it serves merely as a mask for cowardice and sloth, or as an instrument to further the ends of despotism or anarchy. The leaders of the Red Terror prattled of peace while they steeped their hands in the blood of the innocent; and many a tyrant has called it peace when he has scourged honest protest into silence.

"Traps have been set for more than one of us, and if we walked into these traps, our public careers would have ended, at least so far as following them under the conditions which alone make it worth while to be in the public life at all. A man can, of course, hold public office, and many a man does hold public office, and lead a public career of a sort, even if there are other men who possess secrets about him which he cannot afford to have divulged.

"But no man can lead a public career worth leading, no man can act with rugged independence in serious crises, nor strike at great abuses, nor afford to make powerful and unscrupulous foes, if he is himself vulnerable in his private character. Nor will clean conduct by itself enable a man to render good service. I have always been fond of Josh Billing's remark that, 'It is easier to be a harmless dove than a wise serpent'.

"There are plenty of decent legislators, and plenty of able legislators; but the blamelessness and the fighting edge are not always combined. Both qualities are necessary for the man who is to wage battle against the powers that prey. He must be clean of life, so that he can laugh when his public or his private record is searched; and yet being clean of life will not avail him if he is either foolish or timid. He must walk warily and fearlessly, and while he should never brawl if he can avoid it, he must be ready to hit hard if the need arises.

"Let him remember, by the way, that the unforgivable crime is soft hitting. Do not hit at all if you can avoid it, **but never hit softly."**

In 1917, Colonel Roosevelt requested the House of Representatives to return the $40,000 Nobel Peace Prize voted him after the Portsmouth Treaty ending the Russo-Japanese War. Roosevelt never touched this money, but had given it to the House of Representatives to found an industrial fund. This, however, never had been done. He asked the return of the money that it might be devoted to the war work.

In one of his addresses he said, **"Pacifism and unpreparedness never kept a nation out of war. They invite war, and insure that if war comes, it shall be costly, long drawn out and bloody."**

Before the Nobel Peace Prize Committee, at Christiania, Norway, he outlined plans for, "Great Advance in the Cause of International Peace." Surely this strong and militant leader of men, this master of irresistible forces, this intrepid warrior and hunter who feared no enemy, man or beast, this human "dreadnought," standing forth before the world as an Apostle of Peace, was an impressive spectacle.

Eight years previously, in an address at a banquet of the Chamber of Commerce of New York City, he said: "The voice of the weakling or the craven, counts for nothing when he clamors for peace, but the voice of the just man armed is potent." And this is why he wanted his country to be armed.

Yet, here again, he applied the same final test as in all other matters of personal or national conduct.

"War is a dreadful thing, and unjust war is a crime against humanity. But it is such a crime because it is unjust, not because it is war. The choice must ever be in favor of Righteousness, and this whether the alternative be peace or war. The question must not be merely; 'Is it Peace or is it to be War?' The question must be: Is the right to prevail? Are the great laws of Righteousness once more to be fulfilled? And the answer from a strong virile people must be 'YES, whatever the cost'."

"In Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* you may recall the description of the man with the "Muck Rake," the man who could look no way but downward, with the muck rake in his hand; who was offered a Celestial Crown for his muck rake; but who would neither look up nor regard the Crown he was offered, but continued to rake to himself the filth of the floor."

"In *Pilgrim's Progress*, the man with the muck rake is set forth as the example of him whose vision is fixed on **carnal things instead of spiritual things.** Yet, he also typifies the man who in this life consistently refuses to see aught that is lofty, and fixes his eyes with solemn intentness only on that which is vile and debasing. Now it is very necessary that we should not flinch from seeing what is vile and debasing. There is filth on the floor, and it must be scraped up with the muck rake, and there are times and places where this service is the most needed of all the services that can be performed. But the man who never does anything else, who never thinks or speaks or writes, save of his feats with the muck rake, speedily becomes, not a help to society, not an incitement to good, but one of the most potent forces for evil.

"There are in the body politic, economic, and social, many and grave evils, and there is urgent necessity for the sternest war upon them. There should be relentless exposure of an attack upon every evil man whether politician or business man, every evil practice, whether in politics, in business, or in social life.

"I hail as a benefactor every writer or speaker, every man who, on the platform, or in book, magazine, or newspaper, with merciless severity makes such attack, provided always that he in his turn remembers that the attack is of use only if it is absolutely truthful.

"The liar is no whit better than the thief, and if his mendacity takes the form of slander, he may be worse than most thieves. It puts a premium upon knavery untruthfully to attack an honest man, or even with hysterical exaggeration to assail a bad man with untruth. **An epidemic of indiscriminate assault upon character does no good, but very great harm.** The soul of every scoundrel is gladdened whenever an honest man is assailed, or even when a scoundrel is untruthfully assailed.

"Now it is very easy to twist out of shape what I have just said, easy to affect to misunderstand it, and, it is slurred over in repetition, not difficult really to misunderstand it. **Some persons are sincerely incapable of understanding that to denounce mud slinging does not mean the endorsement of whitewashing,** and both the interested individuals who need whitewashing, and those others who practice mud slinging like to encourage such confusion of ideas.

"One of the chief counts against those who make indiscriminate assault on men in business or men in public life, is that they invite a reaction which is sure to tell powerfully in favor of the unscrupulous scoundrel who really ought to be attacked, who ought to be exposed, who ought, if possible, to be put in the penitentiary. If Aristides is praised over much as just, people get tired of hearing it; and over-censure of the unjust finally and for similar reasons results in their favor.

"The men with the muck rake are often indispensable to the well-being of society, but only if they know when to stop raking the muck, and to look upward to the Celestial Crown above them, to the Crown of the worthy endeavor.

"There are beautiful things above and around them; and if they gradually grow to feel that the whole world is nothing but **muck**, their power of usefulness is gone. **If the whole picture is painted black, there remains no hue whereby to single out the rascals for distinction from their fellows. Such painting finally induces a kind of "Moral Color-Blindness," and people affected by it come to the conclusion that no man is really black, and no man is really white, but they are all gray.**

"In other words, they neither believe the truth of the attack, nor in the honesty of the man who is attacked; they grow as suspicious of the accusation as of the offense; it becomes well-nigh hopeless to stir them to wrath against wrong-doing or to enthusiasm for what is right; and such a mental attitude in the public gives hope to every knave, and is the despair of honest men.

"To assail the great and admitted evils of our political and industrial life with such crude and sweeping generalizations as to include decent men in the general commendation means the searing of the public conscience. There results a general attitude of cynical belief in and indifference to public corruption or else of a distrustful inability to discriminate between good and bad. Either attitude is fraught with untold damage to the country as a

whole. **The fool who has not sense to discriminate between what is good and what is bad is well-nigh as dangerous as the man who does discriminate and yet chooses the bad.**

"There is nothing more distressing to every good Patriot, to every good American, than the hard, scoffing spirit which treats the allegation of dishonesty in a public man as cause for laughter. Such laughter is worse than the crackling of thorns under a pot, for it denotes not merely the vacant mind, but the heart in which high emotions have been choked before they could grow to fruition.

"There is an amount of good in the world, and there never was a time when loftier and more disinterested work for the betterment of mankind was being done than now. The forces that tend for evil are great and terrible, but the forces of truth and love and courage and honesty and generosity and sympathy are also stronger than ever before.

"It is foolish and timid, no less than a wicked thing to blink at the fact that the forces of evil are strong, but it is even worse to fail to take into account that the strength of the forces that tell for good. **Hysterical sensationalism is the very poorest weapon wherewith to fight for lasting righteousness.** The men who with stern sobriety and truth assail the many evils of our time, whether in the public press, or in the magazines, or in books, are the leaders of the allies of all engaged in the work for social and political betterment. But if they give good reason for distrust of what they say, if they chill the ardor of those who demand truth as a primary virtue, they thereby betray the good cause, and play into the hands of the very men against whom they nominally are at war.

The most stirring and compact statement which Roosevelt made, perhaps, is the address on "Citizenship in a Republic," delivered April 23, 1910, at the Sorbonne University in Paris. In this address Mr. Roosevelt pleaded strongly and eloquently for those personal "qualities which make for efficiency," and also for those "which direct the efficiency into channels for the public good."

He pleaded for the moral sense, for the gifts of sympathy with plain people and of devotion to great ideals for the "great solid qualities, self-restraint, self-mastery, common sense, the power of accepting individual responsibility, and yet of acting in conjunction with others, courage and resolution, the qualities of masterful people."

He demanded also the "common-place everyday qualities and virtues, the will and the power to work, to fight at need, and to have plenty of healthy children." He declared that the "homely virtues of the household, the ordinary work-a-day virtues which make a woman a good housewife and house mother, which make a man a hard worker, a good husband and father, a good soldier at need, stand at the bottom of character," and, "in the last analysis, free institutions rest upon the character of citizenship."

A loftier note was sounded in the assertion that, "There is little use for being those timid souls who know nothing of the great and generous emotions, of the high pride, the stern belief, the lofty enthusiasm of the men who quell the storm and ride the thunder. Well for these men if they succeed; well also, though not so well, if they fail, given only that they have nobly ventured and have put forth all their heart and strength."

In another time, putting the same vigorous truth in other words, he declared that, "In the unending strife for civic betterment, small is the use of those people who mean well but who mean well feebly. The man who counts is the man who is decent and who makes himself felt as a force for decency, for cleanliness, for civic righteousness. He must have several qualities, first and foremost, of course, **he must be honest, he must have the root of right thinking in him.** That is not enough, in the next place **he must have courage,** the timid man counts but little in the rough business of trying to do the world's work well. And finally, in addition to being honest and brave, **he must have common sense.** If he does not have it, no matter what other qualities he may have, he will find himself at the mercy of those who without possessing his desire to do right, know only well how to make the wrong effective."

Roosevelt in a letter to his sister said, "Next Monday I go back to Washington, and for the 13 months following, there will be mighty little let up to the strain, but I enjoy it to the full. What the outcome will be as far as I am personally concerned, I do not know. It looks as if I would be renominated; whether I shall be re-elected, I haven't the slightest idea. I know there is bitter opposition to me from many sources. Whether I shall have enough support to overcome this opposition, I cannot tell. I suppose few Presidents can form the slightest idea whether their policies have met with approval or not.

"But as far as I can see, these policies have been right, and I hope that time will justify them. If it doesn't, then I must abide the fall of the dice, and that is all there is to it."

The letter is very characteristic of his attitude. Strain, yes; but equally, "I have enjoyed it to the full." And equally also he was willing to abide the "fall of the dice," having done what he believed to have been the right thing for the country.

On October 18, 1904, again in a letter to his sister, he stated the following: "Of course, I am excited about the election, but there really isn't much I can do about it, and I confine myself chiefly to the regular Presidential work. Nobody can tell anything about the outcome. At the present time, it looks rather favorable to me."

And again on October 25, he wrote: "As for the result, The Lord only knows what it will be. Appearances look favorable, but I have a mind steeled for any outcome."

In spite of the "mind steeled for any outcome," the one great ambition of Theodore Roosevelt's life was to be chosen President on his own merits by the people of the United States. He longed for the seal of approval on the devoted service which he had rendered to his country, and one of his sister's clearest memories is her conversation with him on Election Day, 1904, when on his way back from voting in Oyster Bay, she met him at Newark, N.J., and went with him as far as Philadelphia. In his private drawing room on the car, he opened his heart to her, and told her that he had never wanted anything in life quite as much as the outward visible sign of his country's approval of what he had done during the last three and a half years.

"His temperament was such that he wished no favor which he had not himself won."

Chapter Nine

Theodore Roosevelt and Peace

"Because, even because they have seduced My people, saying, Peace; and there was no Peace; and one built up a wall, and, lo, others daubed it with untempered mortar," Ezekiel 13:10.

In September 1918, Theodore Roosevelt made an address on Lafayette Day, part of which ran as follows:

"Lafayette Day commemorates the service rendered to America in the Revolution by France. I wish to insist with all possible emphasis that in the present war, France, England, and Italy and the other allies have rendered us similar services.

"It is sometimes announced that part of the Peace Agreement must be a League of Nations which will avert all war for the future and put a stop to the need of this nation preparing its own strength for its own defense. In deciding upon a proposal of this nature, it behooves our people to remember that competitive rhetoric is a poor substitute for the habit of resolutely looking facts in the face.

"Patriotism stands in national matters as love of family does in private life. Nationalism corresponds to the love a man bears for his wife and children. Internationalism corresponds to the feeling he has for his neighbors generally. The sound nationalism is the only type of really helpful internationalism, precisely as in private relations, it is the man who is the most devoted to his own wife and children who is apt in the long run to be the most satisfactory neighbor.

"The professional pacifist and the professional internationalist are equally undesirable citizens.

"The American pacifist has in the actual fact shown himself to be the ally of the German militarist. We Americans should abhor all wrong-doing to other nations. We ought always to act fairly and generously by other nations, but, we must remember that **our first duty is to be loyal and patriotic citizens of our own nation.**

"Any such League of Nations, would have to depend for its success upon the adhesion of nine other nations which are actually or potentially the most powerful military nations; and these nine nations include Germany, Austria, Turkey, and Russia. The first three have recently and repeatedly violated and are now actively and continuously violating not only every treaty, but every rule of civilized warfare and of international good faith. During the last year, Russia, under the dominance of the Bolshevist, has betrayed her Allies, has become the tool of the German autocracy, and has shown such utter disregard of her national honor and plighted word and her international duties that she is now in external affairs the passive tool and ally of her brutal conqueror, Germany.

"What earthly use it is to pretend that the safety of the world would be secure by a League in which these four nations would be among the nine leading partners? Long years must pass before we can again trust in promises these four nations make. Therefore, unless our folly is such that it will not depart from us until we are brayed in a mortar, let us remember that any such treaty will be worthless unless our own prepared strength renders it unsafe to break it.

"Let us support any reasonable plan whether in the form of a League of Nations or in any other shape which bids fair to lessen the probable number of future wars and to limit their scope, but let us laugh at all or any assertions that any such plan will guarantee peace and safety to the foolish, weak, or

timid characters who have not the will and the power to prepare for their own defense.

"Support any such plan which is honest and reasonable, but support it as a condition to and never a substitute for the policy of preparedness and for preparing our own strength for our own defense."

In another speech at about the same time, he said, in characteristic fashion: "I frequently meet one of these nice gentry in whom softness of heart has spread to the head who says, 'How can we guarantee that everybody will love one another at the end of the war?'

"The first step," said Roosevelt, "in guaranteeing it, is to knock out Germany."

In an open letter to his intimate friend Senator Henry Cabot Lodge he said, "Let us, amongst other things, dictate peace by the hammering of guns, and not talk about peace to the accompaniment of the clicking of typewriters."

"Would it not be well, to begin with the League which we actually have in existence, the League of Allies, who have fought through this War? Let us at the peace table see that real justice is done among these Allies, and that while the sternest repatriation is demanded from our foes for such horrors as those committed in Belgium, Northern France, Armenia, and the sinking of the Lusitania, nothing should be done in the spirit of mere vengeance. Then let us agree to extend the privileges of the League as rapidly as their conduct warrants it to the other nations, doubtless discriminating between those who would have a guiding part in the League and the weak nations to a guiding voice in the councils. Finally make it perfectly clear that we do not intend to take a position of an international meddlesome matty.

"I believe that such an effort made moderately and sanely, but sincerely and with utter scorn for words that are not made good by deeds, will be productive of real and lasting international good.

"In 1876 Charles Dickens wrote the following about the United States. He said, "In these times in which I write, America is honorably remarkable for the protection of its subjects wherever they may travel with a dignity and a determination which is a model for England."

"At that time Ulysses Grant was the President of the United States, and like Washington and Lincoln and Andrew Jackson, he was an American who was not too proud to fight."

Roosevelt said, "We see in our country today our own Ambassador being killed on foreign shores, and those of us who are still faithful to the old American tradition, cannot but feel bitter shame for the contrast between the conditions Charles Dickens thus described and the conditions at this present moment. The problem is that the professional pacifist agitators have constantly placed peace ahead of Righteousness, and have refused to look facts in the face if they thought the facts were unpleasant.

"It is as foolish to ignore common sense in this matter as in any other matter, and it is evil to exalt peace at the expense of morality as it is to exalt War at the expense of morality. The great service that Lincoln rendered to the cause of permanent peace and to the greatest cause of justice and righteousness was rendered by him when with unshaken firmness, he accepted four years of grinding warfare rather than yield to the professional pacifists of his day called "The Copperheads."

"Washington's greatest service to peace was rendered by similar action on his part. And it has to be remembered that never in history have two men rendered greater service to the only kind of peace worth having for honorable men and women than was rendered by these two heroes who did not shrink from Righteous War.

"Moreover, it should always be remembered that in these matters, the weak cannot be helped by the weak, that the brutal wrongdoer cannot be checked by the coward or by the fat, boastful, soft creature who does not take the trouble to make himself fit to enforce his words or his deeds. Preparedness means forethought, effort, trouble, labor.

"Therefore, soft men, selfish, indolent men, men absorbed in money-getting and the great mass of well-meaning men who shrink from performing the new duties created by new deeds, eagerly welcome a political leader who will comfort them and relieve their secret sense of shame, by using high sounding names to describe their shortcomings.

"A adroit politician can unquestionably gain many votes in such fashion, if he exalts unpreparedness as a duty, if he praises peace and advocates neutrality, as both in themselves are moral, even though peace and neutrality may be conditioned on

the failure to do our duty either to others or ourselves. **Such a politician, if he excels in the use of high-sounding words, may win votes and gain office by thus pandering to men who wish to hear their selfishness, their short-sightedness, or their timidity exalted into virtues, but he is sapping the moral vitality of the people he misleads.**

"It has been an evil thing that this nation has been strutting as the champion of peace and holding conferences to denounce war and praising its wealthy citizens for founding Peace Leagues, and has contended itself with futile activities and has not dared to strike a blow, has not dared to say a word for Righteousness in the concrete, while wrong has been at least temporarily triumphant during the history of these unprepared United States of America. It is even a worse thing that during this time, we have wholly failed to prepare to defend our own homes from disaster.

"We, the people of the United States, cannot escape blame for ourselves by putting it upon our public servants. Unquestionably the Administration has been guilty of culpable indifference to the honor and the interest of the Nation during this time, but it has been guilty in this fashion precisely because it could count upon popular support, and therefore, the ultimate blame rests on the people, that is, on us. **It may well be that political gain will come to politicians who appeal to what is selfish and timid in the hearts of our people, and who comfort soft self-indulgence by praising it as virtuous.**

"The most depressing feature of the present situation is that of a great majority of the American people strongly approve of the policy of the President Wilson and other apostles of Buchanism. Everyone is so satisfied with his money-making and comforts, and theatres, and his automobile, that there is horror at the thought of death and of need and hunger and fatigue.

"There is a self-righteous disposition to regard heroism as wickedness, and to consider all soldiers as wicked and immoral.

"'Peace with Honor,' is on the lips of many when the brutal alternatives are, 'War with Honor,' or 'Peace with Everlasting Shame and Dishonor.'

"The Administration is thoroughly terrorized by the enemy. The people of this section are for peace-at-any-price. This may be the general sentiment of the American people, and if so, then those who pander it will profit politically. But they will win profit for themselves by helping to debase their fellow countrymen.

"When War breaks out, it is simply inexcusable for this people not at once to begin the work of preparation. If we had done so, we would not have been able to make our national voice effectively in helping to bring about peace with justice, and no other peace ought to be allowed. But one thing has been done by those in power to make us ready, 'Ehelred the Unready.'

"There is one great issue on which the fight is to be made if the highest service is to be rendered the American people. That issue is that the American people must find its own soul. **National honor is a Spiritual thing, that cannot be haggled over in terms of dollars. We must stand not only for America First, but for America First, last, and all the time and without any second.**

"We can be true to mankind at large only if we are true to ourselves. If we are false to ourselves, we shall be false to everything else. We have a lofty ideal to serve and a great mission to accomplish for the cause of Freedom and genuine democracy, and of Justice and fair dealing throughout the world.

"If we are weak and slothful and absorbed in mere money-getting or vapid excitement, we can neither serve these causes nor any others. We must stand for National issues, for National discipline, and for Preparedness, Military, Social, and Industrial, in order to keep the Soul of the Nation.

"We stand for Peace, but only for the Peace that comes as a right to the just man armed, and not for the Peace which the coward purchases by abject submission to wrong. **The Peace of cowardice leads in the end to war after a record of shame**."

Even the Democratic Newspaper, the *New York Times*, spoke about the time of Colonel Roosevelt's capacity to rouse a True Patriotism. It said, "The passion of his Americanism, his unerring instinct for the jugular vein, make him, in a good cause, an unrivaled compeller of men." The *New York Times* ended by saying, "He has had his fill of glories, his name is known about the world, by preparing America against war, to unite America in Patriotism, there are no nobler laurels."

The disappointment of Moses not having appropriated the Grace of God by use of the faith-promis-

es of the Word of God, was denied entering into the land, and someone wrote:

"Who would not be
A baffled Moses with eyes to see
The far fruition of the Promised Land."

Such was the case of Theodore Roosevelt because never before in his varied career had he felt such a sense of loneliness, because many of his nearest and dearest friends were not in sympathy with some of his beliefs in 1912. Truly Theodore Roosevelt was one of those rare situations like Moses which can only be called, **"the Great Denial."**

His sister wrote that she could not forget the great meeting at Carnegie Hall, when he proclaimed, **"the faith that was in him,"** for he was like an inspired Crusader that night when he cast away the notes from which he had occasionally been reading and made the magnificent message in which he proclaimed the fact that his doctrine was, **"spend and be spent."** And that no man worthy the name of man would not be willing to be an instrument for the success of his ideals, "a broken instrument if need be."

He returned after that thrilling speech to his sister's house, and they sat a long while talking about the serious step he had taken and the possibilities the future held for him. His sister wrote the following:

"I felt that there was a sense of dedication about him as I believed the martyrs of old must have felt."

"Nothing is truer," she said, "than that a really great man cannot be defeated. He can lose official position, he can see the office which he craved because of its potential power for right passing into the hands of another; but in the higher sense of the word, **he cannot be defeated if his object has been righteousness, if his inner vision has been the true betterment of his country."**

And so, during the years that followed 1912, Theodore Roosevelt, although holding no official position, became more than ever a leader of a great portion of the people of America.

Loyal as he was, he felt that having (as he phrased it) **"led a vast army into the wilderness,"** he must stand by them through thick and thin."

Truly, A Witness in the White House.

Chapter Ten

Theodore Roosevelt and Amnesty

" ... and he that hath no sword let him sell his garment, and buy one," Luke 22:36.

"We have heard much," Roosevelt said, "of the conscientious objectors to military service. The outcry being the loudest among those objectors who are not conscientious at all, but who are the paid or unpaid agents of the German government.

"It is certain that only a small fraction of the men who call themselves conscientious objectors in this matter are actuated in any sense by conscience. The bulk are slackers, pure and simple, or else traitorous pro-Germans. Some are actuated by lazy desire to avoid any duty that interferes with their ease and enjoyment. Some by the evil desire to damage the United States and help Germany. Some by sheer, simple, physical timidity. In the aggregate, the men of this type constitute the great majority of the men who claim to be conscientious objectors, and this fact must be remembered in endeavoring to deal with the class.

In some of our big cities, since the war began, men have formed vegetarian societies, claiming to be exempt from service on the ground that they object to killing not merely men, but chickens. **Others among the leading Apostles of Applied Pacifism are not timid men, on the contrary, but brutal, violent men, who are perfectly willing to fight, but only for themselves and not for the nation.**

"These rough-neck pacifists have always been the potent allies of the parlor, or milk-and-water pacifists, although they stand at the opposite end of the development scale. The Parlor Pacifists, the white-handed or sissy-type pacifists, represent decadence; represent the rotting out of the virile virtues among people who typify the unlovely senile side of civilization.

"The rough-neck pacifist, on the contrary, is a mere belated savage, who had not been educated to the virtues of National Patriotism and of willingness to fight for the National Flag and National Ideal. The savage is a turbulent person anxious to brawl and to fight for his personal advantage, but too short-sighted and selfish to be willing to fight for the common good. In the New York draft riots during the Civil War, the disturbance was at the outset fostered by the parlor pacifists who were shrieking for peace-at-any-price and for the immediate stopping of the war; but it speedily passed under the management of the rough-neck pacifist mob who killed hundreds of innocent people; they were perfectly willing to risk life and to take it to gratify their private passions; all they objected to was risking their lives for the well-being and preservation of the nation.

"There remains the pacifist, the conscientious objector, who really does conscientiously object to war and who is sincere about it. As regards these men, we must discriminate sharply between the men deeply opposed to war so long as it is possible honorably to avoid it, who are ardent lovers of peace, but who put righteousness above peace, and the other men, who, however sincerely, put peace above righteousness, and thereby serve the Devil against the Lord.

"The first attitude, is that of great numbers of the Society of Friends, who in this war, behave as so very many of the Friends did in the Civil War; as that great English Quaker Statesman, John Bright, lover of freedom and righteousness, behaved in the Civil War.

"I wish all good American peace lovers would read the address delivered by Professor Albert C. Thatcher of Swarthmore, and signed by some scores of the Society of Friends. He shows that in the Civil War it is probable that their branch of the Society of

Friends furnished more soldiers in response to Lincoln's call than any other denomination.

"Liberty was part of their religion. They not only fought, but they insisted that the war should go on, at whatever cost, until it was crowned by complete victory.

"John Bright said, in speaking of the pacifists who in time of the Civil War wanted peace without victory, 'I want no end of the war and no compromise, and no re-union, till the Negro is made free beyond all chance of failure.'

He was for peace, but he was not for peace-at-any-price of slavery. In the same way now, the best and most high-minded Friends and lovers of peace in this country are for peace, but only as the result of complete overthrow of the barbarous Prussian militarism which now is Germany, and the existence of which is a perpetual menace to our own country and to all mankind. The Friends and Peace Lovers of this type are among the very best citizens of this country. They abhor war; but there are things they abhor even more. Every good citizen will support them in their opposition to wanton and unjust war, to any war entered in to save from the sternest sense of duty.

"The Peace People of the directly opposite type include the men who conscientiously object to all participation in any war however brutal the opponents, and however vital triumph may be to us and to mankind. These persons are entitled to precisely the respect we give any other persons whose conscience makes them do what is bad. We have had in this country some conscientious polygamists. We now have some conscientious objectors to taking part in this war, where both are equally conscientious, the former one, on the whole, not as bad citizens as the latter. Of course, if these conscientious objectors are sincere, they decline in private life to oppose violence or brutality or to take advantage of the courage and strength of those who do oppose violence and brutality.

"If these men are sincere, they will refuse to interfere, for moral suasion is not interference, with a white slaver who runs off with one of their daughters or a blackhander who kidnaps and tortures a little child or a ruffian who slaps the wife or mother of one of them in the face. They are utterly insincere unless they decline to take advantage of the Police Protection from burglary or highway robbery.

"Of course, if such a man is really conscientious, he cannot profit or allow his family to profit in any way by the safety secured to him and them by others, by soldiers in time of war, by judges and policemen in time of peace, for the receiver is as bad as the thief.

"I hold that such an attitude is infamous, and it is just as infamous to refuse to serve the country in arms during this war. If a man's conscience bids him so to act, then his conscience is a fit subject for the student of morbid pathology.

"If a man does not wish to take a life, but does wish to serve his county, let him serve or board a mine-sweeper or in some other position where the danger is to his own life and not the life of anyone else.

"But, if he will take no useful and efficient part in helping in this war, in running his share of the common risk, and doing his part of the common duty, then treat him as having forfeited his right to vote.

"He has no right to help render at the polls any decision which in the long run can only be made good in the face of brutal and hostile men by the ability and willingness of good citizens to back right with might.

"The case has been admirably put by the Methodist Bishop R. J. Cooke, of Helena, Montana. He points out that the vast majority of these conscientious objectors do not object to receiving the benefits from the sufferings, hardships, and deaths of other men; they only object to doing anything in return. Such a conscientious objector gives no service in return for the value he receives. He claims citizenship, but will not perform the duty of a citizen.

"Now, he has no moral right to take such a two-fold position. If, *'Any man will not work neither shall he eat.'* **If his conscience forbids him to work, do not violate his conscience, but refuse to feed him at the expense of somebody with a healthy conscience which does not forbid work.**

"Service to the nation in war stands precisely on a footing with any other service. If a man will not perform it, let him lose all the benefits of war, and therefore let him lose the political rights which a free country can keep only if its free citizens are willing to fight for them.

"Respect the conscientious objector's opinions, but let him abide by the full consequences of his

opinions. Universal suffrage can be justified only if it rests on universal service. We stand against all privilege not based on full performance of duty; and there is no more contemptible form of privilege than the privilege of existing in smug, self-righteous, peaceful safety because other, braver, more self-sacrificing men give up safety and go to war to preserve the nation.

"If any man is too conscientious to fight, then the rest of us ought to be too conscientious to let him vote in a democratic land which can permanently exist only if the average man is willing in the last resort to fight for it, and die for it.

"A man has no right to the things that do not belong to him. And this country does not belong to the men who will not defend her. The man who will not defend this country has no business to vote in this country. Extreme Quakers take this position. They refuse to vote or pay taxes, in addition to refusing to fight. Such men are unwise, but consistent. But nothing can be said for the Pacifist who wishes to vote, but refuses to fight.

"Monsignor Cassidy of St. Mary's Cathedral, Fall River, Mass., in an address to the body of Massachusetts troops who were about to leave for war said:

"The future would, be filled with shame and ignominy if we had been led by those who would have peace-at-any-price; we would have been a **'soulless nation,'** and shame and reproach and everlasting infamy would have been the profit of our peace. But the Nation did not sell its soul for peace. In the Spirit of '76 we fight for peace, that justice may prevail, that frightfulness and inhumanity may not possess the Earth."

"There," said Theodore Roosevelt, "spoke a True American, a fit Interpreter of the Soul of America."

Chapter Eleven

Theodore Roosevelt and Women's Lib

"Her children arise up and call her blessed, her husband also, and he praiseth her. Many daughters have gotten riches, but thou excellest them all," Proverbs 31:28, 29.

"The nation is in a bad way if there is no real home, if the family is not of the right kind; if the man is not a good husband and father, if he is brutal or cowardly or selfish, if the woman has lost her sense of duty, if she is sunk in vapid self-indulgence or has let her nature be twisted so that she prefers sterile pseudo-intellectuality to that great and beautiful development of character which comes only to those whose lives know the fullness of duty alone, or effort made and self-sacrifice undergone.

"In the last analysis, the welfare of the State depends absolutely upon whether or not the average family, the average man and woman and their children, represent the kind of citizenship fit for the foundation of a great nation; and if we fail to appreciate this, we fail to appreciate the root morality upon which all healthy civilization is based.

"There are certain old truths which will be true as long as this world endures, and which no amount of progress can alter. One of these is the truth that the primary duty of the husband is to be the homemaker, the bread-winner for his wife and children, and that the primary duty of the woman is to be the "helpmeet," the housewife, and mother.

"The woman should have ample educational advantages; but save in exceptional cases, the man must be, and she need not be, and generally ought not to be, trained for a lifelong career as the family breadwinner; and, therefore, after a certain point, the training of the two must normally be different because the duties of the two are normally different. **This does not mean inequality of function, but it does mean that normally there must be dissimilarity of function. On the whole, I think the duty of the woman the more important, the more difficult, and the more honorable of the two;** on the whole, I respect the woman who does her duty even more than I respect the man who does his.

"No ordinary work done by a man is either as hard or as responsible as the work of a woman who is bringing up a family of small children; for upon her time and strength demands are made not only every hour of the day, but often every hour of the night. She may have to get up night after night to take care of a sick child, and yet must by day continue to do all her household duties as well; and if the family means are scant, she must usually enjoy even her rare holidays taking her whole brood of children with her. **The birth pangs make all men the debtors of all women.** Above all, our sympathy and regard are due to the struggling wives among those whom Abraham Lincoln called the plain people, and whom he so loved and trusted; for the lives of these women are often led on the lonely heights of quiet, self-sacrificing heroism.

"Just as the happiest and most honorable and most useful task that can be set any man is to earn enough to support his wife and family, for the bringing up and startling in life of his children, so the most important, **the most honorable and desirable task which can be set any woman is to be a good and wise mother in a home marked by self-respect and mutual forebearance, by willingness to perform duty, and by refusal to sink into self-indulgence or avoid that which entails effort and self-sacrifice.** Of course, there are exceptional men and exceptional women who can do and ought to do much more than this, who can lead and ought to lead great careers of outside usefulness in addition to ... not as substitute for ... their home work; but I

am not speaking of exceptions; I am speaking of the primary duties, I am speaking of the average citizens, the average men and women who make up the Nation.

"Inasmuch as I am speaking to an assemblage of mothers, I shall not have nothing whatsoever to say in praise of any easy life. Yours is the work which is never ended. No mother has an easy time, and most mothers have very hard times; and yet what true mother would barter her experience of joy and sorrow in exchange for a life of cold selfishness, which insists upon perpetual amusement and the avoidance of care, and which often finds its fit dwelling-place in some flat designed to furnish with the least possible expenditure of effort the maximum of comfort and luxury, but in which there is literally no place for children?

"The woman who is a good wife, a good mother, is entitled to our respect as is no one else; but she is entitled to it only because, and so long as, she is worthy of it. **Effort and self-sacrifice are the law of worthy life for the man as for the woman;** though neither the effort nor the self-sacrifice may be the same for the one as for the other. I do not in the least believe in the patient Griselda-type of woman, in the woman who submits to gross and long-continued ill-treatment, any more than I believe in a man who tamely submits to wrongful aggression. **No wrong doing is so abhorrent as wrong doing by a man toward the wife and the children who should arouse every tender feeling in his nature.** Selfishness toward them, lack of tenderness toward them, lack of consideration for them, above all brutality in any form toward them, should arouse the heartiest scorn and indignation in every upright soul.

"I believe in the woman's keeping her self-respect just as I believe in the man's doing so. I believe in her rights just as much as I believe in the man's, and indeed a little more; and I regard marriage as a partnership in which each partner is in honor bound to think of the rights of the other as well as of his or her own. But I think that the duties are even more important than the rights; and in the long run I think that the reward is ampler and greater for duty well done than for the insistence upon individual rights, necessary though this, too, must often be. Your duty is hard, your responsibility great; but greatest of all is your reward. I do not pity you in the least. On the contrary, I feel respect and admiration for you.

"The woman's task is not easy, no task worth doing is easy, but in doing it, and when she has done it, there shall come to her the highest and holiest joy known to mankind; and having done it, she shall have the reward prophesied in Scripture; for 'Her husband and her children, yes, and all people who realize that her work lies at the foundation of all national happiness and greatness, shall rise up and call her blessed'."

This address was given by Theodore Roosevelt before the National Congress of Mothers, Washington, D.C., March 13, 1905.

"To all who have known really happy family lives, that is to all who have known or have witnessed the greatest happiness which there can be on this Earth, it is hardly necessary to say that the highest ideal of the family is attainable only where the father and mother stand to each other as lovers and friends, with equal rights. In these homes the children are bound to father and mother by ties of love, respect, and obedience, which are simply strengthened by the fact that they are treated as reasonable beings with rights of their own, and that the rule of the household is changed to suit the changing years, as childhood passes into manhood and womanhood. In such a home the family is not weakened, it is strengthened. This is no unattainable ideal. Every one knows hundreds of homes where it is more or less perfectly realized, and it is an ideal incomparably higher than the ideal of the beneficent autocrat which it has so largely supplanted."

The above statement was taken from *"American Ideals,"* Copyright in 1897, G.P. Putnam Sons, New York and London publishers.

"We all of us know the type of man, frequently found at crossroad groceries, who in his abundant leisure is able to explain precisely how humanity should be benefited and the nation run, while he himself exists at all only because his wife takes in washing. We also know the man who in public life is filled with the loftiest aspirations; but whose fam-

ily unites in breathing a sigh of relief whenever he is absent from the house.

"Of course there is now and then a man who in some given crisis plays the hero although on other occasions he plays the brute. There are such cases, but it is a mighty unsafe thing to proceed upon the assumption that because a man is ordinarily a brute, he will therefore be a hero in a crisis.

"Disregarding the exceptions, and speaking normally, no man can be of any service to the State, no man can amount to anything from the standpoint of usefulness to the community at large, unless first and foremost he is a decent man in the close relations of life. **No community can afford to think for one moment that great public service, that great material achievement, that ability shown in no matter how many different directions, will atone for the lack of a sound family life.**

"Multiplication of divorces means that there is something rotten in the community, that there is some principle of evil at work which must be counteracted and overcome or widespread disaster will follow.

"In the same way, if the man preaches and practices a different code of morality for himself than that which he demands that his wife shall practice, then no profession on his part of devotion to civic ideals will in the least avail to alter the fact that he is fundamentally a bad citizen.

"I do not believe in weakness. **I believe in a man's being a man;** and for that very reason I abhor the creature who uses the expression that 'a man must be a man,' in order to excuse his being a vile and vicious man."

"Never yet was a country worth living in unless its sons and daughters were of that stern stuff which bade them die for it at need; and never yet was a country worth dying for unless its sons and daughters thought of life not as something concerned only with the selfish evanescence of the individual, but as a link in the great chain of creation and causation, so that each person is seen in his true relations as an essential part of the whole, whose life must be made to serve the larger and continuing life of the whole.

"Therefore it is that the man and woman, who in peacetime fear or ignore the primary and vital duties and the high happiness of family life, who dare not beget and bear and rear the life that is to last when they are in their graves, have broken the chain of creation, and have shown that they are unfit for companionship with the souls ready for the Great Adventure.

"The wife of a fighting soldier at the front recently wrote as follows to the mother of a gallant boy, who at the front had fought in high air like an eagle, and, like an eagle, fighting had died:"

"I write these few lines, not of condolence for who would dare to pity you? But of deepest sympathy to you, and yours as you stand in the shadow which is the earthly side of those clouds of glory in which your son's life has just passed. Many will envy you that when the call to service came you were not found among the paupers to whom no gift of life worth offering had been entrusted. They are the ones to be pitied, not we whose dearest are jeopardizing their lives unto death in the high places of the field. I hope my two sons will live as worthily and die as greatly as yours."

"There," said Roosevelt, "spoke one dauntless soul to another. America is safe while her daughters are of this kind; for their lovers and their sons cannot fail, as long as beside the hearthstones stand such wives and mothers. We have many, many such women; and their men are like unto them.

"No nation can be great unless its sons and daughters have in them the quality to rise level to the needs of heroic days; and yet such spirit will, in the long run, avail nothing unless in the years of peace the average man and average woman of the duty-performing type realize that the highest of all duties, the one essential duty, is the duty of perpetuating the family life, based on the mutual love and respect of the one man and the one woman, and on their purpose to rear the healthy and fine-souled children whose coming into life means that the family, and therefore the nation, shall continue in life and shall not end in a sterile death.

"Alone of all human beings the good and wise mother stands on a plane of equal honor with the bravest soldier; for she has gladly gone down to the brink of the chasm of darkness to bring back the children in whose hands rests the future of the years. But the mother, and far more the father, who

flinch from the vital task, earn the scorn visited on the soldier who flinches in battle. And the nation should by action mark its attitude alike toward the fighter in war and toward the child-bearer in peace and war.

"The vital need of the nation is that its men and women of the future shall be the sons and daughters of the soldiers of the present. Excuse no man from going to war because he is married; but put all unmarried men above a fixed age at the hardest and most dangerous tasks; and provide amply for the children of soldiers, so as to give their wives the assurance of material safety.

"In such a matter one can only speak in general terms. At this moment there are hundreds of thousands of gallant men eating out their hearts because the privilege of facing death in battle is denied them. So there are innumerable women and men whose undeserved misfortune it is that they have no children or but one child.

"In America today all our people are summoned to serve and sacrifice. Pride is the portion only of those who know bitter sorrow or the foreboding of bitter sorrow. But all of us who give service, and stand ready for sacrifice, are the torchbearers. We run with the torches until we fall, content if we can then pass them to the hands of other runners. The torches whose flames are brightest are borne by the gallant men at the front, and by the gallant women whose husbands and lovers, whose sons and brothers are at the front.

"These men are high of soul, as they face their fate on the shell-shattered earth, or in the skies above, or in the waters beneath; and no less high of soul are the women with torn hearts and shining eyes; the girls whose boy lovers have been struck down in their golden morning, and the mothers and wives to whom word has been brought that henceforth they must walk in the shadow.

"These are the torchbearers, these are they who have dared the Great Adventure."

"The early pioneers of our country were backwoods people and their society was simple, and the duties and rights of each member of the family were plain and clear. The man was the armed protector and provider, and the breadwinner. The woman was the housewife and child-bearer. They married young and their families were large, for they were strong and healthy, and their success in life depended on their own stout arms and willing hearts. There was everywhere great equality of conditions.

"The first lesson the backwoodsmen learnt was the necessity of self-help, the next, that such a community could only thrive if all joined in helping one another.

"There was not much schooling, and few boys or girls learnt much more than reading, writing, and ciphering up to the rule at three. And each family did everything that could be done for itself. The father and sons worked with axe, hoe, and sickle. Almost every house contained a loom, and almost every woman was a weaver. The man tanned the buckskin, the woman was the tailor and shoemaker, and made the deerskin sifters to be used instead of bolting cloths.

"The life of the backwoodsmen was one long struggle – the forest had to be felled, droughts, deep snows, cloudbursts, forest fires, and all the other dangers of a wilderness life faced. Swarms of deer flies, mosquitoes, and these rendered life a torment in the weeks of hot weather. Rattlesnakes and copperheads were very plentiful, and constantly sources of danger and death. Wolves and bears were incessant and inveterate foes of the livestock, and the cougar or panther occasionally attacked man as well. More terrible still, the wolves sometimes went mad, and the men who then encountered them were almost certain to be bitten and to die of hydrophobia.

"Every true backwoodsman was a hunter. The hunter's ordinary game was the deer, and after that the bear, the elk was already growing uncommon. No form of labor is harder than the chase, and none is so fascinating nor so excellent as a training school for war.

"The successful hunter of necessity possessed skill in hiding and in creeping noiselessly upon the wary quarry, as well, as in imitating the notes and calls of the different beasts and birds, skill in the use of the rifle and in throwing the tomahawk he already had; and he perforce acquired keenness of eye, thorough acquaintance with woodcraft, and the power of standing the severest strains of fatigue, hardship, and exposure. He lived out in the woods for many months with no food but meat, and no shelter whatever, unless he made a lean-to of brush or crawled into a hollow sycamore.

"Such training stood the frontier folks in good stead when they were pitted against the Indians;

without it they could not even have held their own, and the white advance would have been absolutely chocked. Our frontiers were pushed westward by the warlike skill and adventurous personal prowess of the individual settlers; regular armies by themselves could not have done it. For one square mile the regular armies added to our domain, the settlers added ten, a hundred would probably be nearer the truth.

"A race of peaceful unwarlike farmers would have been helpless before such foes as the red Indians, and no auxiliary military force would have protected them or enabled them to move westward. Colonists from the old world, no matter how thrifty, steady-going, and industrious, could not hold their own on the frontier; they had to settle where they were protected from the Indians by a living barrier of bold self-reliant American borderers. The West would never have been settled save for the fierce courage and the eager desire to brave danger so characteristic of stalwart backwoodsmen.

"These armed hunters, woodchoppers, and farmers were their own soldiers. They built and manned their own forts; they did their own fighting under their own commanders. There were no regular regiments of troops along the frontier. In the event of an Indian inroad, each borderer had to defend himself until there was time for them all to gather together to repel or avenge it.

"Every man was accustomed to the use of arms from his childhood: when a boy was 12 years old, he was given a rifle and made a fort-soldier, with a loophole where he was to stand if the station was attacked. The war was never ending, for even the times of so-called peace were broken by forays and murders, a man might grow from babyhood to middle age on the border, and yet never remember a year in which some one of his neighbors did not fall a victim to the Indians.

"There was everywhere a rude military organization, which included all the able-bodied men of the community. Every settlement had its colonels and captains; but these officers, both in training and in the authority they exercised, correspond much more nearly to Indian chiefs than to the regular army men whose titles they bore.

"There was no compulsion to perform military duties beyond dread of being disgraced in the eyes of the neighbors, and there was no pecuniary reward for performing them: nevertheless the moral sentiment of a backwoods community was too robust to tolerate habitual remissness in military affairs, and the coward and laggard were treated with utter scorn and were generally in the end either laughed out, or 'hated out,' of the neighborhood, or else got rid of in a still more summary manner. Among a people naturally brave and reckless, this public opinion acted fairly effectively, and there was generally but little shrinking from military service.

"The frontier, in spite of the outward uniformity of means and manners, is preeminently the place of sharp contrasts. The two extremes of society, the strongest, best, and most adventurous, and the weakest, most shiftless, and vicious, are those which seem naturally to drift to the border.

"In the backwoods the lawless led lives of abandoned wickedness; they hated good for good's sake, and did their utmost to destroy it. Where the bad element was large, gangs of horse thieves, highwaymen, and other criminals often united with uncontrollable young men of vicious tastes who were given to gambling, fighting, and the like.

"They then formed secret organizations, often of great extent and with wide ramifications; and if they could control a community, they established a reign of terror, driving out both ministers and magistrates, and killing without scruple those who interfered with them.

"The good men in such a case banded themselves together as regulators and put down the wicked with ruthless severity, by the exercise of lynch law, shooting and banging the worst off-hand. Jails were scarce in the wilderness, and often were entirely wanting in a district, which, indeed, was quite likely to lack legal officers also. If punishment was inflicted at all, it was apt to be severe, and took the form of death or whipping.

"An impromptu jury of neighbors decided with a rough-and-ready sense of fair play and justice what punishment the crime demanded; and then saw to the execution of their own decree. Whipping was the usual reward of theft. Occasionally torture was resorted to, but not often; but to their honor be it said, the backwoodsmen were horrified at the treatment accorded both to black slaves and to white convict servants in the lowlands.

"They were superstitious, of course, believing in witchcraft, and signs and omens; and it may be noted that their superstition shoved a singular mix-

ture of old-world survivals and of practices borrowed from the savages, or evolved by the very force of their strange surroundings.

"At the bottom they were deeply religious in their tendencies; and although ministers and meeting houses were rare, yet the backwoods cabins often contained Bibles, and the mothers used to instill into the minds of their children reverence for Sunday, while many even of the hunters refused to hunt on that day.

"Those of them who knew the right honestly tried to live up to it, in spite of the manifold temptations to backsliding offered by their lives of hard and fierce contention. But Calvinism, though more congenial to them than Episcopacy, and infinitely more so than Catholicism, was too cold for the fierce hearts of the borderers; they were not stirred to depths of their natures till other creeds, and above all, Methodism, worked their way to the wilderness.

"Thus the backwoodsmen lived on the clearing they had hewed out of the everlasting forest; a grim, stern people, strong and simple, powerful for good and evil, swayed by gust of stormy passions, the love of freedom rooted in their very heart's core. Their lives were harsh and narrow, they gained their bread by their blood and sweat, in the unending struggle with the wild ruggedness of nature. They suffered terrible injuries at the hands of the red men, and on their foes they waged a terrible warfare in return. They were relentless, revengeful, suspicious, knowing neither ruth nor pity; they were also upright, resolute, fearless, loyal to their friends, and they were of all men the best fitted to conquer the wilderness and hold it against all comers."

Chapter Twelve

Theodore Roosevelt and Capital Punishment

"For he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid, for he beareth not the sword in vain: for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil," Romans 13:4.

At a reception in New York given to the envoys of the Russian Republic, Theodore Roosevelt made a speech of welcome to them. In the course of the speech, he spoke of the severe condemnation of the recent riots in East St. Louis, where a white mob had murdered and maimed, or otherwise maltreated, hundreds of negroes and had burned or otherwise destroyed their property. Mr. Gompers, the head of the Federation of Labor, in his speech, spoke in extenuation of what had been done, so far as the white workingmen were concerned. And as soon as he was through, Mr. Roosevelt spoke briefly and his remarks went like this:

"I demand that the Government representatives put down violence with ruthless resolution, whether it be of white against black or black against white. Before we can help others in drawing *'the beam from their eyes let us draw out the beam that is in our own eyes.'* The most dangerous form of sentimental debauch is to give expression to good wishes in behalf of virtue somewhere else when you do not dare to enforce decency in your own province.

"Justice is not merely words. It is to be translated into living acts, and how can we praise the people of Russia if we by explanation, silence, or evasion apologize for murdering the helpless. In the past I have listened to the same form of excuse from the Russian autocracy for the 'Programs' inflicted on the Jews. Shall we by silence acquiesce in this amazing apology for the murder of men, women, and children in our own country?

"Never will I sit motionless while directly or indirectly apology is made for murder of the helpless."

Mr. Gompers in his speech had alluded to a telegram from the Illinois State Federation of Labor. Subsequently the secretary of the Federation sent Roosevelt a letter which he answered as follows:

"Mr. Dear Sir: *July 17, 1917*

"I thank you for your courteous letter enclosing the report of the Committee on Labor of the Illinois State Council of Defense, concerning the race riots at East St. Louis. They had nothing to do with any commission or alleged commission of rape or any other crime. Aside from race antipathy, the report seems to show that the riots were due to economic conditions. I was not informed, in any way, as to these economic conditions which it is alleged led up to the riot, until after Mr. Gomper's speech on July 6th.

"When on that evening I made my first remarks on the riot, I supposed the underlying cause to be racial, and in my remarks I made no allusion whatever to organized labor, or indeed to labor at all, in connection with the riots. It was Mr. Gompers' speech which first gave me clearly to understand that the fundamental cause was alleged to be economic, and that organized labor regarded itself as especially concerned with the riots.

"Then my attention was called to the newspapers of July 4th, which carried an alleged statement by Mr. Michael Whalen, President of the Central Trades and Labor Councils of East St. Louis. If this statement is correctly reported, Mr. Whalen said, "The chief objection to the negroes is that they would not unionize, and would not strike."

"I hold with the utmost intensity of conviction, that it is absolutely impossible for us to succeed along the lines of an orderly democracy, a democracy which shall be industrial as well as political, unless we treat repression of crime, including the crimes of violence, and the insistence on justice obtained through the enforcement of law, as prime necessities. I, of course, refuse, under any conditions, to accept the fact that certain persons decline 'to unionize and strike' as warranting their murder, or as warranting any kind of violence against them. But I go much further than this. I will aid in every way in my power to secure by governmental as well as private action, the remedying of all the wrongs of labor, and in so acting I shall pay no heed to any capitalistic opposition.

"But I refuse to treat any industrial condition as warranting riot and murder; and I condemn all persons, whether representatives of organized labor or not, who attempt to palliate or excuse such crimes, or who fail to condemn them in clear-cut and unequivocal fashion.

"I heartily believe in organized labor, just as, and even more than, I believe in organized capital; I am very proud of being an honorary member of one labor organization; but I will no more condone crime or violence by a labor organization or by workingmen than I will condone crime or wrong-doing by a corporation or by capitalists. A square deal for every man! That is the only safe motto for the United States.

"This is a democracy, a government by the people, and the people have supreme power if they choose to exercise it. The people can get justice peaceably, if they really desire it; and if they do not desire it enough to show the wisdom, patience, and cool-headed determination necessary in order to get it peaceably, through the orderly process of law, then they haven't the slightest excuse for trying to get it by riot and murder.

"All the governmental authorities concerned in the East St. Louis situation should have taken notice of that situation in advance, and should take notice of it now. The National Government, and all local governmental authorities in places where such a situation is likely to arise, should take notice now, and act now. **Nine-tenths of wisdom is being wise in time.** If there has been improper solicitation of negroes to come to East St. Louis, or improper housing and working conditions among them after they have come, or an improperly low wage-scale, or if anything else improper has been done by the capitalists, and employers, so that injustice has been done the workingmen, then it was the bounden duty, and is now the bounden duty, of the Government authorities to remedy the wrong and see justice done the workingmen.

"But the first consideration is to stop, and to punish, lawless and murderous violence. Lawless **violence inevitably breeds lawless violence in return,** and the first duty of the Government is relentlessly to put a stop to violence and then to deal firmly and wisely with all the conditions that led up to the violence. **If black men are lawlessly and brutally murdered, in the end the effect is to produce lawlessness among brutal blacks.**

"Recently the I. W. W. has been guilty of all kinds of misconduct, and has been acting as in effect a potent ally of Germany, with whom we are now at war; and finally their lawlessness produced an explosion of counter-lawlessness. Of course, the government should repress both kinds of lawlessness. It should prevent all lawless excesses against the I. W. W. and it should also act on the theory that these excesses are fundamentally due to the previous failure of the government to deal in drastic fashion and with all necessary severity with the turbulent, lawless, murderous, and treasonable practices which have been so common among the I. W. W. and kindred organizations. And then it should deal in thoroughgoing fashion with the social and industrial conditions which have produced such results. We Americans must hold the scales even.

"A few years ago certain negro troops shot up a Texas town, and the other members of their companies shielded them from punishment. The government proceeded to the limit of its power against them all, and dismissed them from the army; not because they were black men who had committed a crime against white men, but because they had acted criminally; and justice should be invoked against wrongdoers without regard to the color of their skin, just as it should be invoked against wrong-doers without regard as to whether they are rich or poor, whether they are employers or employees, whether they are capitalists and heads of corporations who commit crimes of cunning and arrogance and greed, or wage workers and members of labor organizations who commit crimes of violence and envy and greed."

Mr. Roosevelt received an abusive letter from an organization styling itself, "The Industrial Council of Kansas City," and claimed that he was affiliated with the Federation of Labor, which stated that he had accused organized labor of being responsible for the outrages at East St. Louis. Roosevelt stated that he had not made such an accusation until the fact that there was at least a measure of truth in the accusation set forth in the speech by the special representative of organized labor at the meeting at which he spoke and by the telegram quoted in that speech.

Roosevelt said, "Whenever I have power, I will protect the white man against the black wrong-doer, and the black man against the white wrong-doer; I will as far as I have power secure justice for the laboring man who is wronged by the man of property, and for every man, whether he has property or not, if he is menaced by lawless violence; and when I haven't the power, I will at least raise my voice in protest, if there is the least chance of that protest doing good.

"We are at this moment at war with a most formidable and ruthless enemy. We are fighting for our own dearest rights; we are also fighting for the rights of all self-respecting and civilized nations to liberty and self-government. We have demanded that the negro submit to the draft and do his share of the fighting exactly as the white man does. Surely when such is the case, we should give him the same protection by the law, that we give to the white man. All of us who are fit to fight are to serve as soldiers, shoulder to shoulder, whether we are farmers or townsfolk, whether we are workingmen or professional men, men who employ others or men who are employed by others.

"We fight for the same country, we are loyal to the same flag, we are all alike eager to pay with our bodies in order to serve the high ideals which those who founded and preserved this nation believed it our mission to uphold throughout the world. Surely in such case it is our duty to treat all our fellow countrymen, rich or poor, black or white, with justice and mercy and, so far as may be, in a spirit of brotherly kindness.

"The victims of the mob in East St. Louis were very humble people. They were slain and their little belongings destroyed. In speaking of the draft riots in New York during the Civil War, Lincoln, addressing a Workingmens' Association, singled out as the saddest feature of the riots the killing of 'some working people by other working people.'

"We have recently entered into a war, primarily it is true to secure our own national honor and vital interest, but also with the hope of bringing a little nearer to all the world the day when everywhere the humble and the mighty shall respect one anothers' rights and dwell together in the peace of justice.

"Surely, when we thus go to war against tyranny and brutality and oppression, our own hands must be clean of innocent blood. We hope to advance throughout the world the peace of righteousness and brotherhood, surely we can best do so when we insist upon this peace of righteousness and brotherhood within our own borders.

"In securing such a peace, the first essential is to guarantee to every man the most elementary of rights, the right to his own life.

"Murder is not debatable.

"Sincerely yours,"

(Signed) Theodore Roosevelt

Mr. Victor A. Olander, Sec'y-Treas.,
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