BOOK FOUR

DISILLUSIONED DISCIPLE
By the time the 1916 presidential election year arrived, Thomas Marshall would have successfully represented Woodrow Wilson at an international exposition, shown his consistent loyalty to the Administration, and proven himself to be a good party man. Still, he did not please everybody, and when the Democratic National Convention opened in St. Louis another man might be found to replace Marshall as a new Vice Presidential nominee for Wilson's second-term race. Politicians were watching him even a year before the Convention date.

It was a curious anomaly that the Panama-Pacific International Exposition was going ahead on schedule in San Francisco. During the very time that a bitter war was raging in Europe, a multitude of nations would join in sponsoring buildings and exhibitions at an international trade fair. In September of 1914, Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan declared that the Fair would be held on schedule and was pleased that not one of the forty-one nations had withdrawn its entry on account of the war. Six months later President Wilson, due to an increasingly critical international situation, appointed the Vice President to represent him at the Exposition on the West Coast.¹
Plans for the Marshall entourage to the West Coast were made by William Phillips, Third Assistant Secretary of State, and Franklin D. Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy. Both men would accompany the Vice President and his wife on the trip. Roosevelt sent communications ahead to California, informing the naval officials there of the proper procedures to follow when the Vice President's party arrived and departed their presence. He directed that a special flag be used, newly designed, exclusively for the Vice President.

NIGHT LETTER
NAVY DEPARTMENT
BUREAU OF NAVIGATION
WASHINGTON
NIS

Commandant
Navy Yard
Mare Island, Calif.

Vice President visiting vessels or naval stations officially shall be saluted both upon arrival and departure. His flag is similar to Presidents except field is white. Seventeen guns is the salute prescribed for Assistant Secretary Navy also four ruffles instead of three. Inform Training Station.

ROOSEVELT
acting

Away from Washington to make speeches in Cleveland and Indianapolis, Marshall wrote to Wilson the day following news accounts of his substitution for the President at the Exposition. He did not want Wilson to misunderstand his "seeming lack of courtesy in failing to call" before he left for Cleveland. He worried aloud that Wilson would think him responsible for the "leak" to the press concerning his going to San
Francisco. To the President he penned, "If you will kindly write me here what you want me to do, I will comply to the best of my ability." Wilson in response had no suggestion to make. He was only too glad he had Marshall to handle that time-consuming task. As the Vice President and his wife joined the government officials in Chicago, a second letter came from Wilson, more personable than the first: "You may be sure that I did not at all misunderstand your going away without first seeing me. Indeed, I somehow feel that you and I instinctively understand one another and certainly nothing that you do would convey a wrong impression to me of your feeling or intention." If there remained any question of tension, it was removed by this letter.³

On the train moving westward were several officials directly interested in the international exposition. Senator James D. Phelan and Interior Secretary Franklin K. Lane, both of California, wanted to be present in San Francisco for the occasion. Eleanor Roosevelt was delighted to be able to accompany her husband in the Vice Presidential entourage. She had met the Marshalls but hardly to any personal extent. The several days' journey gave her the opportunity to become better acquainted, which she awaited with "trepidation." Marshall she found to be "a silent gentleman." In her autobiography Eleanor wrote with acute perception, "When he did not know a thing he said so. When he did not like a thing he said so, and usually had some amusing remark to make." She recalled that as they crossed the Great Salt Lake, viewing it from the train's rear platform, everyone was awed by the natural beauty of the landscape. Marshall took his cigar out of his mouth and pronounced in his occasional teasing manner, "I never did like scenery," and popped the cigar back in to continue smoking. "I discovered that he had a fund of dry humor and there was no pretentiousness about him," she observed.⁴
For two months the battleship Oregon lay fixed near San Francisco awaiting units of the Atlantic Fleet, in particular the Colorado, the flagship of the Commander, Rear Admiral Howard. It arrived on the 18th of March. On the next day the cruisers Maryland and New Orleans came near; the gunboat Annapolis, three submarines and their monitor Cheyenne, and two divisions of torpedo boats, each with a distinctive name, all made their appearance in San Francisco Bay.

The California welcoming party met the visitors and drove them to the Ferry Building downtown, thence to the Embarcadero, where a mounted band played "On the Banks of the Wabash" for the former Indiana Governor. Several streets were blocked off downtown as the entourage concluded their junket to the Fairmount Hotel. The ceremonial festivities were to last one week with a considerable agenda planned for each day.5

On the day of arrival newspaper publisher William Randolph Hearst and his wife Phoebe hosted the Vice Presidential party with a dinner and dance at the St. Francis Hotel. Marshall had known the wealthy newspaperman by reputation, but there is no indication that he had met him before this occasion. During 1912, Hearst sent an automobile, the Pathfinder, across the country in an effort to show America its need for new highways across the continent. Governor Marshall was one of those governors who supported the idea. Two and three years later, peace meetings, organized by Hearst to be held in large cities, included such speakers as Vice President Marshall and "Judge" Elbert Gary of the Steel Trust. In 1918, Hearst would launch "a movement for rebuilding and rehabilitating the ruined villages of France" to which Marshall would give his moral support.6 Following a day's relaxation at the Saratoga country estate of Senator
James D. Phelan, the group motored to the Exposition grounds situated along the bay coastline at the northeastern edge of the city. The sight which they were about to behold was unlike anything they had ever seen. The Vice President and his party discovered a spot on the face of the earth that looked like the City of Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow architecturally, containing congresses, conferences, and conventions where religion and learning (emphasized in the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893) would be "pragmatized" by the intellectual mood of the day. Educators ("pedagogists") would gather to consider just what the value of education really was. Nobody seemed satisfied with what had been done in the past. Historians would hear such learned presentations as "The Conflict of European Nations in the Pacific" and "The American Inter-oceanic Canal." Social scientists of the American Association for the Advancement of Science met as an organization for the first time on the West Coast and idealized "our knowledge" as the leaven of their civilization.  

A reception in honor of the presidential emissaries took place in the California Building. Representatives of participating foreign nations having exhibits at the Exposition were present, and toasts were offered. Admiral Baron Uriu of Japan proposed the toast to the Vice President. In attendance at the luncheon were several well-known American dignitaries, including California Governor Hiram Johnson; Charles W. Fairbanks, former Vice President; Charles C. Moore, President of the Exposition; and James Rolph, Jr., Mayor of San Francisco.  

The honored visitor from the East spoke a few words of welcome on behalf of the President and the nation:
Shall I say welcome? Is it necessary? In a way, perhaps; but, my friends, you have but come into your brother's house. You are here on a friendly mission. There is nothing like looking a man in the eye, and clasping his hand to know him. You may know that prejudices exist, but the gladness of my greeting today would be clothed in sackcloth and ashes if every Commissioner here, after he has met us to know us, could not go back to his own people knowing that he had been in a friendly land. I ask you, in the name of my chief, to uphold his hand in this, the crucial hour of the world's history, and help make swords into plowshares and spears into knitting needles. I greet you in the hope that here shall be cemented such ties of amity and concord as the world has never known before.

And then, as Shakespeare's Portia spoke to Antonio, Marshall ended, "Sirs, you are very welcome to our house. This must appear in other ways than words."

A dinner and Grand Ball that evening were given by the Exposition commission to honor the esteemed guests. The interior of the large California Building was decorated with red, white, and blue banners draped along archways that stood parallel along the length of the exhibition hall. At one point the crowd separated to provide a passage through which the Marshalls could walk to their place of honor. For Lois Marshall the experience of walking beside her husband, carrying a lavish bouquet of native California flowers, would be one she would never forget.

The arrangements committee let the Vice President spend his spare time as he chose, since his big day would be on Wednesday when he would dedicate the Exposition in the name of the President of the United States. Therefore, on Tuesday all he had to do was to be driven to Berkeley (decades before the Oakland-San Francisco bay bridge was
built) to deliver the Charter Day address at the University of California, and see Secretary Lane receive his honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. Following a reception by the Native Sons and Daughters, the Vice Presidential party entertained themselves with a walk through the Zone, the amusement area at the Exposition, which contemporary architectural historian Eugen Newhaus described as a “harmony of ugliness which is carried through this [riotous] melee of flimsiness and sham!” Architectural beauty was in the eye of the beholder.

The Day of Dedication arrived. Three thousand military men paraded past the reviewing stand by the Tower of Jewels, one of the wonders of the Fair. The President of the Exposition acknowledged the cooperative efforts that had made the moment possible. Senator Phelan followed with a few words, as did State Commissioner Chester H. Rowell on behalf of Governor Hiram Johnson. The people had come by the thousands to hear the President's Man. It was a solemn moment, one can only imagine, to judge by the contributions of photographers, reporters, and records of the event.

The short, gray-haired man stood on a podium decked with American flags unfurled by brisk winds. There was as yet no public address system, and surely all the people positioned far behind the seating sections in the promenade could not hear him. Marshall asked them for their charity as he sought to fulfill his responsibility on behalf of the President of the United States. The message of the Vice President expressed the high hopes of civilized man for peace on earth. He held up the artful wonders of the buildings roundabout the audience. He spoke of the dream-come-true of the pioneers and pathfinders who dreamed of uniting both coasts by a waterway. He referred to the Panama Canal, newly constructed, which the Exposition sought to call to the attention of
the world (and which the Californians hoped would bring more people and more commerce to the West Coast).

The man who represented the nation's Chief Executive showed conviction and courage when he included sentiments on a subject that was for him a soiled mark on the garment of his country: "I am quite sure that I am but one of a countless throng in the Republic who regret that this altruistic work has a real or seeming defect in the charge of an injustice done a sister republic to the South [Colombia]." The audience was vaguely aware that a dozen years earlier in Panama, a province of New Granada [Colombia], a successful revolution had occurred which had tacit approval from the United States Government already making arrangements to send army engineers to direct the building of a canal between the two oceans. 12

It has not been our mission [Marshall continued] to impress our laws, our customs, and our civilization upon alien races. We have learned that while the code of ethics, morals, and religion consists of the 'thou shalt nots' of life, the few have feasted while the many grew faint. We have learned that it is not possible to force mankind to think as we think or do as we do. We strive only to hold the mirror up to nature. We believe that the whole world moves toward a far-off divine event and that our mission in that movement is to promote peace and good will. And we think the days here spent by those of other lands will greatly aid in that good work. . . .

The Vice-President spoke with forcefulness, using simple words in grander ways than they were accustomed to being used. He concluded: "Here men of every age and every clime behold the noonday of the world's accomplishment, the crystallization of the
dreams and thought of genius and talent. May we not hope that here a thought-dawn will be born that shall not cease to broaden until, at its meridian height, all men around the world are one?\textsuperscript{13}

Who knows what went on in the mind of Franklin Delano Roosevelt as he sat on the front row a few feet away? Perhaps he could not envision his own future in Marshall's glowing words. Perhaps a rendezvous with destiny was too far into that future.

Marshall’s speech produced a strange response. There was applause, but it was restrained, hushed, "like applause in church, that indicates a feeling almost too deep for audible expression." One eyewitness reporter wrote that Marshall spoke "with an almost inspired tongue. Neither Woodrow Wilson or any other man could have made on this day at the Exposition a greater speech than that of the second officer who represented the American government. History, prophecy, humanity, civilization, sentiment, idealism, imagination, and logic all held place in the great heart and mind of this great American on this great occasion."\textsuperscript{14}

With his responsibilities at the Exposition ended and before leaving San Francisco Marshall was honored with a brief naval ceremony on the flagship cruiser, \textit{San Diego}. The Vice President's flag, newly designed by the young Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Franklin Roosevelt, added to the honor of the occasion. Its field of white with the President's eagle and stars in the center was unfurled for all to see when the Vice President went on board ship.

Unexpectedly, a calamity was about to occur. No one had instructed Marshall on how to board a Navy ship. Amidst the honor of the occasion there was also formal
tradition, certain acts being done in certain ways. Roosevelt, when President himself years later, reminisced to a Navy man about the events that followed that particular day. Ready to board ship Marshall "appeared to the gangway--silk hat, frock coat, cigar in his mouth, gloves in his left hand, and cane in his right hand, and stepped over the rail to the grating. At that moment, the Boatswain's pipe was heard and the four ruffles were played. Everybody, including the eight sideboys--four on each side of the Vice President--was at salute. The Star Spangled Banner began and the Vice President realized his predicament. There was a moment of hesitation but he then transferred the cane from right to left, took the cigar from his mouth, and with a good deal of difficulty got his hat off. At the end of the National Anthem he started to put his hat on again, when the first gun went off. The whole works went two feet in the air! When the hat, cigar, gloves and cane were back in position, the Vice President, receiving no coaching from his Naval Aide, stepped down from the deck and extended his hand to the first sideboy on the right. The poor boy did the correct things, grinned broadly, took his hand down from salute and shook hands warmly with the Vice President. By that time, the Admiral and I had sprinted across the deck and rescued the Vice President. It certainly was not the latter's fault. He had never done it before and if anyone was to blame, it was the Aide who failed to tell him what to do. Three or four days later," Roosevelt concluded, "we were all inspecting the San Diego Exposition and went into the auditorium to see pictures of ourselves at the San Francisco Fair. The poor Vice President was sitting next to me and when the moving pictures--then in an early stage of development--showed the whole scene on the armored cruiser, he turned to me and said: 'My God, if I looked like that I will never go on board another ship as long as I live!'"
Although Thomas Marshall was not the originator of the proverb, "He that is born to be hanged shall never be drowned," the fatalism that he expressed so strongly to Taggart's young secretary years before stayed with him and was reinforced by circumstances. During the first six months of 1915 he was threatened with crank messages. As he was of "a more or less fatalistic temperament" he did not notify the Secret Service regarding the letters: he simply threw them away. To him the writers of the notes were demented from worry over the war in Europe. One letter had been signed by an "Adam" who informed Marshall that he had "permission to declare war and lift the weight from Congress and the President's shoulders."

The message that really made the difference in Marshall was a bomb which exploded in the Senate building on 3 July demolishing his desk and a door. His fatalism blossomed forth: "If I am to be killed by an anarchist, I don't believe all the Secret Service men in the country, if they were notified of the threat, could prevent it." Marshall may have had in mind President William McKinley who at the moment of his assassination was surrounded by Secret Service men. The bomb was not meant for Marshall specifically. It had been placed in the Senate reception room by a man who subsequently went to the Long Island estate of J. Pierpont Morgan to persuade the rich banker to stop exporting munitions to the European belligerents. Morgan resisted his attacker but suffered two bullet wounds in the groin, painful but not serious. The intruder was captured, and the newspapers were quick to pick up the news that he was a former
teacher of German at Cornell University. Marshall had not known the bomber, but at the time he surely felt that his life had been endangered for all the crank letters he received. 

As early as 1910, while governor, Marshall admitted to an Indianapolis reporter, "I am a fatalist. . . . What is to be will be, and staying awake won't change it." This belief in the inevitability of events determined by forces outside human capacity to control was accepted unquestioningly, and Marshall believed himself and all mankind to be so influenced. The judgment affected his motivation in running for public office, though he did exert effort to win when persuaded that he was "the people's choice." This philosophic determinism did not affect another belief in social progress, however, for he felt that legislation could affect society in such a way that unhealthy conditions could be partially eradicated. Nor did his fatalism affect his political ideology: it changed as international conditions altered to induce United States' involvement in a potentially global war. By the middle of the autumn in 1915 the Vice President had shifted his ideological position from an "ultra" pacifism to one that included a "reasonable preparedness." 

One of the tragic realities of war is that it affects the lives of countless innocents. Such was the case when on 7 May 1915, the British Cunard liner, Lusitania, was sunk by a German submarine. Nearly 1200 lives were lost, including 124 Americans. Ironically this incident occurred on the very day that King George mentioned its possibility to Colonel Edward House, at that moment Wilson's personal representative who was seeking ways to achieve a peaceful resolution of the war. With the two countries at war with each other, England's Lusitania seemed fair prey to the German U-boat. But, to a people who had no official role in the conflict, according to Arthur Link, Wilson's
principal biographer, "the sinking of the Lusitania had a more jolting effect upon American opinion than any other single event of the World War." From the first news of the tragedy the Wilson Administration had urged calm. The New York Times four days after the event had the headlines:

PRESIDENT SAYS OUR EXAMPLE MUST BE THAT OF PEACE; GERMANY REGRETS OUR LOSS, BUT BLAMES ENGLAND; LUSITANIA VERDICT CHARGES THE KAISER WITH MURDER.

Some days after the tragedy Marshall was in Tupelo, Mississippi, giving a speech on "National Tendencies," and urged caution on the crisis before the nation. He pleaded for the pacifistic position until evidence changed the mind of the President: "I trust my chieftain at Washington and not until he says 'strike' will I speak in favor of war. The trouble with our civilization, especially North and Western States, is in not trying to follow the steps of "The Prince of Peace,' instead of scheming to avoid the law of the land and crying for war when war may not be the thing."  

Once more a hornets' nest of controversy became stirred up by Marshall's public remarks. The New York Times, which had lambasted him for his remarks on predatory wealth in 1913 and on Carnegie's "unfortunate" gifts of libraries, strove again to purge the State of Indiana of this "mediocre man" who ought to keep quiet when he has nothing to say. Indiana ought to produce a Vice President who "will have sense enough not to embarrass the President by utterances at odds with his settled policy, and who will not
spatter flippant epigrams on an international tragedy." The Times editor simply did not agree with Marshall that a non-Englishman was his own responsibility on the liner of a nation at war. A newspaper reader wrote to the editor and in defense of the Vice President questioned why men with unpopular opinions should not be given a hearing by "big-hearted America." The mood of the times was changing, however, and with America drawing closer to an official position respecting the conflict, free speech would be an ideal seldom practiced. Even Thomas Marshall would be found wanting in this regard. 21

Woodrow Wilson's Vice President was angry. From Indianapolis he hurriedly sent a handwritten letter to the President's secretary, Joseph Tumulty:

My dear Tumulty,

I have been very much annoyed to see certain papers quoting me as not with the President on the war situation. I do not believe that he believes this. Still I want to tell you that everywhere I was I urged everyone to trust him & pledged myself to await his decision. These papers mix some comments on peace made before the Lusitania incident with that incident. But nobody who heard me doubts my loyalty & faith. Please tell him so, for I can't keep pace with ignorant reporters or vicious editors . . . .

Ever yours
/s/ Thos. R. Marshall 22

The times were changing too rapidly even for Wilson to respond responsibly. He knew Marshall was loyal. War was not the answer, but neither was permissiveness toward Germany. Some people perceived that Germany was heading to a point where militarism would take over. Perhaps she had reached this point! In Philadelphia three
days after the Lusitania tragedy the President said that "there is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight." Torn between two views, soft and hard, toward diplomatic relations with Germany, Wilson sent a tactful but forceful note to the German Imperial Foreign Office. In it he requested that Germany recognize that the United States would support any of its citizens who wished to travel on the high seas and that she would not accept as an excuse a warning given prior to a sinking.23

The American President's note was sent to the Germans on 13 May and a reply was received on 28 May. The German Foreign Office realized that Wilson's message was not a threat, for Germany had already expressed its regret that non-belligerent lives were lost on the Lusitania. It remained to be proved to her that the luxury liner had not been carrying contraband and Canadian troops to the front, including ammunition (which exploded and caused the ship to sink so quickly). On 9 June Wilson sent a second note to Germany, following his own sense of proportion in the matter and guided by Robert Lansing of the State Department. Secretary of State Bryan found it impossible to persuade Wilson to take a comparable approach with England in order to keep neutral in fact as well as in word. The President was persuaded that a message to Britain was irrelevant since the issue was German submarine warfare against non-belligerents.

Wilson felt that he had to make his position clear to the Germans, despite Bryan's clear call to avoid any act that might be interpreted by the Germans as unfriendly. As Secretary, Bryan would have to sign the note that Wilson decided upon. This he could not do in good conscience. It was the end of his career as Secretary of State.

During this time the President had constant recourse for counsel with his intimate friend, Col. Edward M. House, a wealthy Texan turned unofficial diplomat whenever
Wilson so chose to use him. In his diary following a meeting of the two men House reflected upon the preeminent importance of Woodrow Wilson to the problems in Europe. As far as House was concerned, he felt that “Woodrow Wilson today is the greatest asset the world has.” When he asked Wilson how Marshall might handle the presidency should Wilson die unexpectedly, Wilson responded, “The situation would hold him down and sit on his neck.”

Meanwhile, the Vice President's pacifism, so ardently expressed earlier, began to dry as he thought he better understood the high ideals Wilson was seeking to maintain. It was Marshall’s position that an American placed himself in a dangerous position when he chose to sail on a belligerent ship. He saw Wilson's position as one which asserted official United States responsibility for its citizens regardless of the poor judgment of the citizens who chose to board such a ship. The Vice President's word to the public was this: "Let us sympathize as we please with theories and nations, but let us act as Americans, who are citizens of a united country, and who forget their birthplace when they assume their duties to the Republic, and enter into the enjoyment of its blessings."  

The Germans replied to Wilson's second Lusitania letter four weeks later. There was an acknowledgment of the traditionally good relations between the two countries. The German letter reviewed the quarrels it had with the British violations and established concessions it was willing to make to the United States. When the note was published in America, public opinion seemed to support a position of conciliation with Germany. The President felt obliged to continue the "conversation" with a third, and hopefully final, note. The third note was firm, perhaps too firm, in its demand for recognition of neutral rights on the high seas in time of war and for belligerent responsibility in recognizing
those rights. Following this last note numerous telegrams from American citizens were
sent to Washington expressing pride and encouragement. One such telegram to Lansing
came from the Vice President:

NOTE
CONGRATULATIONS. YOU HAVE SAID IT. FOLLOW WITH
TO ENGLAND DEFINING THE AMERICAN IDEA AND WE ARE
IMPREGNABLE. 26

Diplomatic negotiations between the United States and Germany were absorbing
the former's attention while relations with Britain were being strained by default. The
crisis developed when Britain threatened to declare cotton contraband, which caused
southern cotton growers to deluge Congress with their anxious rage. A secret agreement
between the two governments, whereby "the British government would buy enough
cotton to stabilize the price at ten cents a pound," resolved the disagreement. 27 In time
the United States became Britain's most promising supplier of goods; the Government
allowed New York bankers to float a loan enabling the British to borrow money to buy
their necessities.

On 4 February 1916, Lansing received what proved to be the last German
memorandum, replying to Wilson's third Lusitania note of 21 July 1915. Much water had
gone under the bridge since the year before. The German Government expressed regret at
the loss of American lives and offered to pay an indemnity. Germany did not pledge to
withhold her submarines from the Atlantic, however. Desirous of reassuring the German
people of the good will of the Americans, the semi-official German news agency, the
Wolff Bureau, set out to obtain peaceful statements from persons within the United States
Government. Among the officials interviewed were the Vice President, the chairmen of the foreign relations committees of the House and of the Senate, respectively, and the Secretary of State. Asked for his view of the situation, Marshall offered that the American Department of State was only trying "to uphold the recognized principles of international law and maintain them impartially against all belligerents. We do not want to humiliate Germany. Nothing is further from our thoughts. We do not want war: we want peace, but peace with honor, and all that our Administration is trying to accomplish is an amicable settlement, honorable to both sides." Senator Hoke Smith of Georgia added the hope that when the war ends, a way will be found to insure that only on vessels of war will "death dealing ammunition" be permitted. The issue had not been settled, really, and would not be until war had destroyed Imperial Germany. 28

The public, the press, and the people of Washington wondered about how the President was handling the pressures of his office. Speaking before the Gridiron Club of Washington, Wilson waxed philosophical about the problems confronting the presidency. He held that the United States was founded not upon the principle of expediency but upon that of human liberty. He remembered an idea that the Vice President had just expressed in his remarks before Wilson stood behind the podium. The Vice President, Wilson said, "complained that he found men who, when their attention was called to the signs of spring, did not see the blue heaven, did not see the movement of the free clouds, did not think of the great spaces of the quiet continent, but thought only of some immediate and pressing piece of business." Emphasizing what Marshall had expressed, Wilson added, "It seems to me that if you do not think of the things that lie beyond and away from and disconnected from this scene, in which we attempt to think and conclude, you will
inevitably be led astray." Indeed, there are other important aspects of life besides politics and diplomacy.

III

During the crisis months of 1915 Woodrow Wilson had developed another interest besides affairs of state. He had come to love a lady who had entered his life, a friend of his cousin, Helen Bones. Ellen Wilson had died in August 1914, and eight months later Edith Bolling Galt, a widow of a Washington jeweler, met Wilson at the White House for the first time. Six months went by and they became engaged to be married. The alleged suddenness of Wilson's decision to remarry caught the country by surprise. The Marshalls learned of the engagement while vacationing in Arizona, and wired the President their wish for his happiness. A week after his engagement Wilson wrote his colleague: "Of course I know that you and Mrs. Marshall are always thoughtful of my welfare and happiness and I thank you with all my heart for your thought of me at the present time."  

When it was learned that the marriage would take place in December, the Vice President took it upon himself to share some personal thoughts with the bride-to-be. The act in itself was very natural for such a well-meaning, unpretentious soul as Thomas Riley Marshall. On his official stationery and with pen in hand he wrote the following:

My dear Mrs. Galt,

Now that you are about to become the Mistress of the White House, you will, I am sure, pardon the seeming unwarranted intimate tone of this letter. Out here upon the desert, Mrs. Marshall and I
have heard of your happiness and that of the President. As we start back home we have wondered how best we could remember you upon your approaching marriage. We know that the gods, big and little, will lay at your feet the finer products of civilization. And so we thought and hoped something typical of the West might not be inappropriate. We have succeeded in procuring a blanket, woven of native wool, by an Indian woman for a Navajo chief. We send it to you as a sample of America's earliest "infant industry," hoping that what was intended to adorn the shoulders of an alleged noble red man, may be worthy to be trodden underfoot by the great White Chief, whom democrats love and loyal Americans.

Believe that back of it there is the sincerest good wishes of Mrs. Marshall and myself.

Faithfully Yours and His,
/s/ Thos. R. Marshall

Mrs. Norman Galt
Washington, D.C.

The wedding of Thomas Woodrow Wilson to Edith Bolling Galt took place on 18 December 1915, in her home with an Episcopal priest and a Presbyterian minister officiating in the private service. Upon return from their wedding trip the new Mrs. Wilson began an exciting new existence. "On January 11th came the first state dinner to the Cabinet," she wrote in her diary; "then on January 14th the Vice-President and Mrs. Marshall gave a dinner for us at the Willard Hotel. It was a lovely affair."

IV

A rumor began to circulate at this time to the effect that Wilson did not wish Thomas Marshall to be his running mate in the 1916 election campaign. Marshall told reporters that he did not believe President Wilson had said such a thing. One news dispatch had quoted an unnamed source that the Democrats would be "unlucky to run the
same team twice." The source held that the President has turned cool to the Presiding Officer of the Senate for the latter's refusal of support for several Administration measures, notably the Rivers and Harbors Bill. (Marshall had felt that the Senators were too absorbed with providing for their own state's needs without considering also a common or federal approach for the sake of the total transportation requirements of the country.) He refused to believe that he and Wilson were separating, since he himself had consistently supported the President for renomination in 1916, and "there has never been a suggestion that I was not heartily in favor of his policies."33

In Washington, Tumulty denied the allegation that Wilson had said that he did not want Marshall as Vice President for a second term. Democratic leaders noted Marshall's consistent loyalty to the policies of the Administration and emphasized that the President desired the Democratic Convention, not himself, to decide who the Vice Presidential candidate would be. The significance of the controversy that was developing was obvious: some Democrats were looking for a new Vice Presidential candidate.34

In mid-October, 1915, Arizona Senator Henry F. Ashurst overheard that a plot had been devised to remove Marshall from consideration for the Vice Presidency after his term was over. Ashurst, young and enthusiastic, dashed over to the White House to confront the President about the rumor and to secure his verbal and public support of Marshall. In response, the President countered, "I have a very high regard for Vice-President Marshall and I wish you would tell him so." The younger man could see that Wilson's response was not the answer to his question. Again, Ashurst asked Wilson for his permission to quote him as saying that he was for Mr. Marshall's renomination.
"Thereupon he gurgled out, 'Why! Yes!' Hearing this answer, which he strained so much to get, Ashurst politely left and promptly wired Marshall in Scottsdale, Arizona.

Marshall's reply to the senator was prompt:

I thank you for your telegram and kind letter, as much as for their contents. It pays a man for the little humiliations of life, to have such staunch friends as you and others are.

You saw, of course, that I said I did not believe it. Whenever it is shown that I would be a burden to the President I would voluntarily withdraw, but I do not think I deserve to be kicked by men who lost their states while we carried Indiana.35

Someone, inimical to Marshall, sent out the word, "If he will be good at the coming session of Congress the matter will be dropped." Who that someone was could have been one of two dozen Democratic Senators most of whom were from the South. Or, it could have been some "northern" Senator, to judge from Marshall's letter to Ashurst whose state had turned to be the Republican camp in the 1914 elections. By this time it was known that Senator James Hamilton Lewis of Chicago was interested in the Vice Presidential nomination. There was no outward indication that he and Marshall were enemies, though Lewis could have been part of any conspiracy to oust Marshall.36

Commenting on the brouhaha, a New York Times editor agreed that Marshall had frustrated Democratic attempts during the last congressional session to force cloture, and because the Vice President followed his own mind on the ruling of parliamentary questions, he supposedly prevented passage of the Ship Purchase Bill. "If this story is true," the editor added, "one thing is true. Mr. Marshall cannot yield to blackmail without forfeiting his own respect and that of his fellow-citizens. He can better afford to lose the
Vice Presidency honorably than to win it at the cost of honor. There can be no doubt which course he will choose. Even those who have been most impatient with his loquacity, his lack of wisdom, and his blunt sense of proportion gladly admit his impeccable honesty, an honesty which is not limited to dollars and cents, but is an intellectual honesty as well. . . .” The editor cast the antagonists of the Vice President in a dark and evil light for having tried to pass an act the people did not want and for trying to intimidate Marshall in order to get their way. 37

On 7 March 1916 Indiana became the first state to vote in the Presidential primaries. Wilson was the Democratic candidate, and since the Republicans had not yet chosen a national figure to oppose him, Charles W. Fairbank’s name was entered into the Republican Presidential slot. The only name listed for the Vice Presidency was that of Thomas R. Marshall. The Senatorial race in Indiana would be of symbolic interest nationally. Incumbents John Worth Kern and Thomas Taggart were running for reelection against Republicans James E. Watson and Harry S. New. Taggart had been a United States Senator for only a few months, having been appointed to fill the unexpired term of Benjamin Shively who died in office. Being in the Senate was a lifelong dream come true for Taggart who wanted desperately to win. What was of more importance nationally in the campaign was whether the Democrats could return a sizable number of their own people to both Houses of Congress and thus provide the President (in all likelihood Wilson) with a strong government. 38

Otto Carmichael was one of those Democrats well acquainted with Indiana politics. In a letter to "Jo" Tumulty in May, Carmichael speculated that the nearly two hundred thousand German-Americans in the state would vote against Wilson for his
recent actions regarding Germany. They would be more likely to vote for Charles Evans Hughes. Furthermore, Hoosiers would probably vote for the Republican candidate for Governor, James P. Goodrich, because the Democratic Party had lost the confidence of the people: taxes were high, certain public institutions mismanaged, and ballot boxes tampered with by Democratic ballot thieves (who eventually went to the penitentiary).

Carmichael went on to say that Harry New would probably beat Kern in the Senatorial race and Thomas Taggart would not have an easy time against James Watson. As for the Vice President: "Marshall is another weak place for the Democrats. He not only is weak in Indiana, but will be a primary weakness all over the country." 39

Marshall was not one to be counted out, as Carmichael so believed. Wilson's occasional but warm letters to his Vice President were meant to persuade him that he was still a part of the team. Another Administration man, Josephus Daniels, felt that while Marshall would have good appeal to the southern voter, he ought to be used in the campaign where states were "in doubt." 40

The Vice President's name was on the ballot in several states. In February it appeared on the Oregon Democratic primary ballot. The Oregon Jackson Club noted that Marshall had given his approval to be on that state's ballot and would "gladly accept if the Democrats wish[ed] to renominate him," according to Mark Thistlethwaite. The Ohio Presidential preference primary, was held in April and revealed the voters' preference for the Republican Presidential candidate, Senator Theodore E. Burton, over Wilson by a ratio of two to one. Midwestern Democrats, including those in the Buckeye State, were unsure of Wilson's leading the nation at a time when the world seemed to be headed toward a general conflagration. In this same primary Ohio Democrats voted "four or five
to one" for Marshall for Vice President over the Republican candidate, reflecting continuing confidence in the Midwesterner who ranked next to Wilson on the ticket.⁴¹
The years 1915-1916 encompassed America's growing involvement in the European conflict. The public mood was for preparedness and yet for non-intervention. In recognizing this paradox Wilson felt confident in the course he was pursuing. Congressmen's minds were on the campaigning that was necessary to get re-elected in 1916. First, important issues before Congress needed attention.

On 15 March 1915, the President appealed to Congress to repeal the Panama toll exemption. Interest centered in the debate in the House of Representatives. Thetus W. Sims of Tennessee introduced a bill that would repeal the exemption. Some Democrats were against this repeal. Had not their 1912 Baltimore Convention supported American coastwise shipping and exemption of tolls through the Panama Canal? Wilson, conversely, was fearful of the international repercussion and of the (correct) charge that the present policy was a deliberate infringement of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty with Great Britain (1901). He therefore directed Administration leaders, including the Vice President, to bring pressure upon "wavering Democratic representatives."¹ The pressure was not sufficient, as it turned out, to repeal the exemption. Like the President, Marshall was disappointed with the outcome since he firmly believed in a policy of free and equal commerce for all nations. The issue would arise again in 1920, but the Republican-
controlled Senate would vote again to exempt American coastwise shipping from the
payment of tolls.

Another plank of the 1912 Democratic platform was in support of an imminent
and complete independence of the Philippine Islands from the United States. The issue
was brought forth in the House through a bill sponsored by William A. Jones of Virginia
to the effect that once an all-Filipino government had been established and operated for
approximately eight years, independence would be granted that government by the
United States. This bill received considerable opposition from different interests
throughout the country. A revision was then offered by Jones with Administration
approval, namely, the Filipinos would have virtual control of their own government
"subject to the vote of the Governor General" (an appointee of the President of the United
States). In this way Filipinos would gain needed experience until such time as
independence was granted. Senator Clarke of Arkansas submitted an amendment to the
Jones bill to provide for complete American withdrawal and Philippine independence
within two to four years after the Islands' legislature became established. Other powers
would respect the independence for at least five years after American withdrawal or the
United States would guarantee Philippine security.

The Senate debated a long time on the bill. The vote was taken on the Clarke
amendment; the votes tied. As President of the Senate, Marshall now had the opportunity
to vote his preference, so he voted that "the Filipino people should go free," but not only
because Wilson favored their independence. In Marshall's words, "My vote was cast in
accordance with what I believed to be the historic policy of the Republic: namely, to stay
at home and mind our own business. I saw the complications arising every day over the
situation created by the war in Europe and of our relations thereto, and I was eager, whether or not it was a good thing for the Filipino, to get rid of those island possessions, in the hope that we might maintain our neutrality." His vote brought the count to forty-two to forty-one in favor of the Clarke amendment. After further debate, wherein Roman Catholic representatives in the House chose to reject the Jones bill with the Clarke amendment, the bill eventually was passed and later signed by Wilson. The Philippines was one step closer to independence.²

Since 1916 was an election year, it was conceivably the last year of the Wilson Administration. If there were to be a re-election of Democrats in November, there would need to be some tangible accomplishments to point to by the Democratic-controlled Congress and by the Administration. At this time the Democratic majority in both Houses exerted strenuous efforts to enact both social and economic legislation, laws designed to improve living and working conditions of various groups of citizens: workers, farmers, federal employees, and children. Between July and September there were enacted into law, in particular: the Federal Highway Act (11 July), which authorized federal aid to states in the building of rural post roads; the Federal Farm Loan Act (17 July), which was analogous to the Federal Reserve Act in that the country was divided into twelve districts each with a farm loan bank and all under a farm loan board; the Keating-Owen Child Labor Act (1 September), which prohibited interstate commerce of the products of child laborers under 14 years of age; the Adamson Eight-hour Day Act (3 September), which pertained especially to trainmen on interstate railways; and, the Workmen's Compensation Act (7 September), providing disability insurance for federal employees. Considered in terms of the total legislative enactments to date of the Wilson
Administration, in one scholar's words, "the fact was the Democratic Congressional majority had, by the fall of 1916, enacted almost every important plank in the Progressive [Party] platform of 1912."³

II

By mid-May, 1916, there was still a question as to whether Wilson truly wanted Thomas Riley Marshall as his November running-mate. Among the problems domestic and foreign discussed in private between Wilson and his friend, Colonel House, were the fall elections. And, should Marshall be side-tracked? How about Newton Baker, the Secretary of War, being the Vice Presidential nominee? No, held Wilson. Baker was too good a man to be sacrificed on the altar of the Vice Presidency.[!] House disagreed. He offered to Wilson the idea that “[no] man was too good to be considered for Vice President of the United States...if the right man took it, a man who had his [Wilson’s] confidence as Baker has, a new office could be created out of it. He might become Vice President in fact as well as in name, and be a co-worker and co-helper of the President.” Wilson thought this idea had merit, but it would take more than four years to educate the American people to thinking of their Vice President in such a grandiose way.⁴ Of course, this very reasoning connoted Wilson’s early disillusionment with his current Vice President, Thomas R. Marshall.

After the meeting with House, Wilson received a letter from New Jersey Governor James F. Fielder, asking whether the President had any views to share on the subject of the Vice Presidential nomination. Fielder was anticipating the upcoming Democratic Convention in St. Louis. Tumulty, Wilson’s executive secretary, acting as
intermediary, wrote back to Fielder in Wilson’s words, “I do not feel that I have any right to suggest anything on this head. The attitude of Mr. Marshall towards the administration has been loyal and generous in the extreme. He has given me every reason to admire and trust him.” Perhaps Wilson’s conversations earlier with Senator Ashurst and Colonel House were having some influence on the President’s thinking. Still, there were others who favored Baker, including Norman Hapgood, a Progressive who had been drawn to Wilson earlier. As he wrote Wilson in mid-June, “I am much worried over Marshall, and think the Indiana situation much exaggerated.” Perhaps the state of Indiana was not as important politically to the Democrats as its reputation seemed to offer. In early June the Progressive Party convened in Chicago and nominated Theodore Roosevelt of New York for President and John M. Parker of Louisiana for Vice President. In a surprise move Roosevelt withdrew his name in favor of Charles Evans Hughes and the Republican Party. His unexpected action broke the back of the Progressive Party which he had so energetically supported four years earlier. At the same time the Republican National Convention convened, also in Chicago. Only one ballot was needed to choose Charles Evans Hughes of New York, the distinguished Supreme Court Justice who had stepped down for the Republican cause to be Presidential nominee, and Charles Warren Fairbanks of Indiana for Vice President. Toward the end of the month the Prohibition party met in convention at St. Paul, Minnesota, and selected as its presidential candidate a former Indiana governor, J. Frank Hanly, and his running-mate Ira D. Landrith of Massachusetts. It seemed to be a heyday for Hoosier candidates.

Marshall was not at the St. Louis Convention but in Indianapolis with his wife who was under her physician’s care following an operation the previous November. It
was there that he learned of his nomination at the 1912 Convention; he decided that the Hoosier capital was a good place to rest and wait for the news from St. Louis.

It was just as well that he was away from the din of battle. At the Convention party treasurer Henry Morgenthau of New York announced his opposition to Marshall on the grounds that the ticket would be weak, and he called for Newton D. Baker of Ohio, currently Secretary of War, to be a nominee. (Baker sent word immediately that he was not in the race.) Reporters told Morgenthau that they learned New York broker Jacob Schiff had sent to Morgenthau a letter suggesting that Marshall not be renominated. Morgenthau confessed that he agreed with Schiff. Other Democrats might be good prospects: Roger Sullivan of Illinois, Governor Major of Missouri, and other favorite sons.6

Opposition to Marshall never became powerful. Since Senator Henry Ashurst had gotten Wilson's permission to quote the President regarding his choice of Marshall as running-mate and since Governor Fielder as New Jersey delegate chairman had learned that Wilson was not displeased with Marshall, there seemed to be no reason for getting someone to oppose Marshall with the complications that such a "boom" might entail. Indeed, Wilson somehow let it be known on or before the thirteenth of June that he wanted Marshall. Morgenthau withdrew his opposition. Jacob Schiff had no comment.7

Curiously, one man wanted Marshall but did not want Wilson! That man was William F. McCombs, who was Wilson's campaign manager for the 1912 campaign but had since parted company with the President. McCombs hoped that something might be done to find an alternative to Wilson during the 1916 Convention. Barring this, McCombs reasoned that it would be better to retain Marshall as running-mate in order to
have someone of reasonableness as a potential, succeeding President. In McCombs' words: "In my mind, at that very time, Marshall was superior to Wilson. If there were to be any succession by fate, we could not go very far wrong with Marshall."\textsuperscript{8}

The Democratic National Convention lasted only three days. Woodrow Wilson received, except for the contrariness of an Illinois delegate, the acclamation of the Convention and its support as candidate for the Presidency a second time. After the concise nomination of Marshall by John W. Kern, the delegates at St. Louis gave the Vice President a total vote of confidence.\textsuperscript{9}

It was after midnight, the morning of 15 June when the Democrats nominated Marshall. Later that day the Vice Presidential nominee was obviously pleased but kept his enthusiasm in perspective. Marshall, consistently the loyalist, told reporters, "The reason I was not excited about the Vice Presidential nomination is that our cause stands or falls with the President, and the only thing for a Vice President to do is to support this cause. I wanted the convention to pick the man who could best do the work." That same morning he wired Wilson:

\begin{quote}
IN THE FIGHT THAT YOU ARE TO WIN I AM ALWAYS YOURS TO COMMAND.
\end{quote}

Wilson replied that he looked forward to being with him in another political campaign

"and also, I hope and believe, in another four years of the administration of the Government."\textsuperscript{10}
At the Convention and following action on Wilson and Marshall, the platform committee approved planks for foreign policy, the tariff, and the preparedness issue. They were still thinking about women's equal suffrage, about "Americanism," and about the Mexican situation. The time came for the platform to be read, and the delegates listened attentively. One sentence stirred them to high fervor: "In particular, we commend to the American people the splendid diplomatic victories of our great President, who has preserved the vital interests of our Government and its citizens, and kept us out of war." There lay the sentiment of the populace regarding the crisis in Europe! The Democrats and other Americans by this time did not want to be actually involved in the fighting abroad, howsoever much they were repelled by the submarine warfare of the Germans. That Wilson had kept America out of war came to be the slogan that strongly influenced Americans to vote him back into office the following November.\textsuperscript{11}

Again a recipient of his party's second highest honor, Marshall in a moment of glory was not a man to forget the encouragement and support of friends. To Robert Lansing, for almost a year now Bryan's successor as Secretary of State, Marshall wrote a note of appreciation for his telegram of congratulations. The relationship of Lansing and Marshall was then little more than a formal, professional one. Later, they would find their temperaments compatible, their philosophies similar, and their fates respecting Woodrow Wilson nearly alike. Marshall did not forget, either, the consistent support he received from the Indianapolis News, especially through its editor, Louis Howland. A commendatory letter from Howland brought a warm reply from the ex-Governor of Indiana in which he saw himself as not counting greatness among his portion but, what is
more important, truth and honesty: "My sole thought has been to try to be right and to be sure to be honest."¹²

III

The election campaign of 1916 was unique in American political history in that national candidates from one state, Indiana, were so prominent: Republican Charles Warren Fairbanks, Democrat Thomas Riley Marshall, and Prohibitionist J. Frank Hanly. Though a Presidential candidate for every election but one from 1900 to 1920, Socialist Eugene V. Debs of Indiana was not running during this 1916 campaign. The race would be fought decisively between the Republican and Democratic Party candidates. The third-parties--Socialist, Prohibitionist, and Socialist-Labor--were running candidates not with the expectation of winning but to affect a tangible indicator of their political and ideological popularity. In light of the subsequent passage of the Eighteenth Amendment, the influence of the Prohibition Party would not be ignored as an example of what an ideology-turned-political party can do.

The Senate race in Indiana was important nationally, as mentioned earlier. Against incumbents John Kern and Thomas Taggart were Republicans James Watson and Harry New. Politicians figured that whichever party won those two particular Senate positions, because of the close party balance, that party would control Senate voting. A New York Times editor viewed the circumstances this way:

If Watson and New are elected, the Republicans expect to tie that body, now Democratic. If Kern and Taggart are elected,
the Democrats will still control it and be able to bid defiance to a Republican President or make life easy for a Democratic one. . .

and if a Watson-New victory in Indiana ties the Senate, an Indiana Vice President will give the casting vote and make glorious the policies of a New Jersey President or bring down to defeat the policies of a New York President, as the case may be. The limelight falls on the banks of the Wabash, far away. No wonder the chest of Indiana swells. . . .

Time would tell.

The Democratic front-runners conferred by correspondence about what they were going to say in their acceptance speeches. At Shadow Lawn, Wilson's summer home at Long Branch on the New Jersey coast, the President worked on his draft. Political friends offered advice about what he should say, and the President was gracious toward their desire to help. A letter from the Vice President arrived in which Marshall in part advised Wilson not to worry about the eventual vote concerning woman suffrage:

If all the women who don't want the ballot in the equal suffrage States will vote for you, you can carry them. I know. I've campaigned there twice.

To Marshall the President penned,
I sincerely value your letter of August second. Your first suggestion is one I intend to act upon. I do not know whether I can get down my speech of acceptance to quite as strait limits as you suggest, but I am going to make it just as short and pointed as possible. Your point about that is absolutely well taken. And I don't mean to worry about the woman suffrage question. I have too much confidence in the good sense and public spirit of the women of the country to believe they will act as unjustly as some of their number are predicting.\textsuperscript{14}

Col. Edward House, ever the vigilant servant of the President, felt that he had to express his concern about the Vice President’s purported tendency to speak out on issues about which he had little knowledge, at least as far as House was concerned. In an letter to Wilson, penned 8 August 1916, House feared aloud that we will be ruined if he makes some speeches as he did after the election four years ago. Marshall has plenty of ability, a great deal of humor and is an effective speaker, but he sometimes goes pretty far afield and is a dangerous speaker for this reason. Can you not confer with him concerning the best way to coordinate your speeches? It would make us all very unhappy if we awoke some morning and found that Marshall had put his foot in it.

In like manner, Patrick Quinn, a Rhode Island member of the Democratic National Committee, saw an advanced copy of a speech of Marshall’s and in a friendly letter to Tumulty cited a passage which, as it stood, "might furnish the basis for some miserable
so-called Irish or Catholic publication that is seeking an excuse for supporting the Republican ticket." (Tumulty, a Catholic, might be receptive to the intentions of Quinn who himself was probably of the same faith.) The bothersome words of Marshall appeared in Quinn's letter (with the questionable portion in italics):

But, those who criticize, say the President is an infirm American.

Now it so happens in this country not . . . birth nor religion, but loyalty to America constitutes the American. Any blood and any faith and any party that assaults an American President because he chooses to ignore blood and church and party in the cause of peace would suffer less by committing hara-kiri.

Quinn's concern, though he agreed with the statement, was that people might interpret Marshall to be referring to Irish-Americans and Catholics, "because certain Irishmen criticized him for his stand in Mexican affairs." The President was apprised of Quinn's letter by Tumulty but did nothing about it.15

In his acceptance speech on 14 September Marshall reminded his hearers with colorful allusions that it was disenchanted Republicans who formed their own Progressive Party: "This movement was organized with as much enthusiasm as any of the Crusades and its campaign was waged along camp-meeting methods. Ignorantly, it trusted its fortunes to a leader who promised that he would lead at Armageddon but who, alas! deserted at Bull Moose Run. . . . The real issue of this campaign," Marshall went on to say, was the central concern of every American citizen, father, mother, wife, and
sweetheart, namely, "Can the President of the United States continue to so patently manage our international affairs as to maintain honorable peace?" Or, did Americans wish to place their faith in a candidate and in a party which would plunge this nation into war? Marshall hit hard at the slogans of the Republicans, "Firm Americanism" and "American Honor." The spunky Democrat attempted to persuade his people that it was Woodrow Wilson's achievement that he had preserved American from plunging into war: "Parties come and go. Socrates . . . Savonarola . . . Lincoln . . . Woodrow Wilson who had not walked where the path had led, but who has walked where there was no path and who has left a trail." Marshall was shifting into campaign gear. He noted that Hughes thus far had been carrying on a "low key" approach designed to appeal to progressive Republicans, but his speeches were only mirrors of Senate Republican orations. Marshall should have known, for he heard so many of them.16

The Maine elections in mid-September, the first in the nation, did not go as the Democrats hoped they would, though to the professional politicians it was no surprise that a traditional Republican state produced a Republican victory. In Joplin, Missouri, on 12 September where the Vice President was aiding Democrats in the Missouri campaign, Marshall tried to minimize the significance of his opponents' victory. Not so with the Speaker of the House, Missourian Champ Clark, who said simply, "We got beaten good and plenty."17

Pre-occupied with problems concerning Germany and Mexico, the President did not campaign vigorously. At Shadow Lawn, Wilson established in this speechmaking the theme of American neutrality. Between September and election day in November he gave few addresses. His running mate, meanwhile, concentrated his initial itinerary in
the Midwest: Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, and Kentucky. In October, Marshall spoke at Kansas City, Atlantic City, and Newark, and subsequently made speeches in Connecticut and Pennsylvania. In Connecticut Marshall was asked to comment upon Hughes' alleged alliance with the "hyphenates," persons whose loyalty was influenced by their "dual" citizenship, German-Americans and Irish-Americans, for example. He answered that "any party or any candidate hooked up with anybody except a pure American citizen will get the worst of it. I have been in politics for many years in Indiana, and my experience has shown that . . . every attempt to connect church or race or blood has been fatal to that candidate. The great body of Americans believe in nothing higher than in an allegiance to America." Not surprisingly, he was repeating himself.

For the sake of the Republican cause Charles Evans Hughes campaigned across the country, coast to coast, finding it hard to fight the Wilson Democrats because of his own moderate progressivism. On 3 September the President signed the Adamson Bill, which provided for an eight-hour day and time and a half for overtime for workers on interstate railways. The bill was timely, for its signing halted a threatened Labor Day strike by the railroad brotherhoods. Here was an issue Hughes could use against the Democrats, for he saw the event as one in which the President of the United States had been pressured into signing a bill and getting votes for doing so!

Hughes had spoken in Richmond, Indiana, just the night before the Vice President addressed a crowd of fellow Hoosiers. Eight years before, Marshall had made his keynote speech in Richmond, beginning his race for the governor's office against James Watson. Now, the place was the same but the issue was different. In response to Hughes' attack Marshall defended the passage of the Eight-hour Law but stated that his
law was not germane to the "paramount issue" in the current campaign, namely, "whether the President of the United States can continue so to handle our foreign relations as to keep our country at peace with honor." 20

The Vice President did not like talking about the Adamson Bill. In fact, the Vice President did not like the Adamson bill. Keeping Wilson informed as to his progress, Marshall wrote just before speaking in Richmond,

I am saying nothing upon the 8-hour law other than to make fun of it as an issue until the Republican candidates for President, Senators and Representatives will join in a written statement to the American people that they will repeal the law if elected. I hope to keep away entirely from it, but this is the best I can do--to deny that any body can make an issue by mere criticism. If you want me to accept it as an issue, please let me know and I will then take it up in detail before many audiences.

Am not scared yet though Brother Hughes is blushing for his country all over Indiana. He says so. Nobody has seen the blush.

Not many days later Wilson answered from Shadow Lawn:

Thank you very much for your letter about Mr. Hughes in Indiana. I think you are taking the right attitude toward the so-called issue he is making on the 8-hour day. For a little while I feel that in some quarters he is making some
impression, but it will prove to be a broken reed in this hand, as everything else has.\textsuperscript{21}

Later in Kansas City, Missouri, the Vice President mildly rebuked Hughes for stating what he would have done had he been in Wilson's shoes. Marshall asserted that as an Associate Justice, Hughes should have been patriotic enough to advise the President out of his fund of knowledge on international law regarding the sinking of the \textit{Lusitania}.\textsuperscript{22} Marshall also assailed Theodore Roosevelt for his reversion to the Republican Party. He issued no statements on primary campaign questions, but instead challenged the Republicans to come up with real goals other than their evident desire to get back into power. He reminded his Atlantic City audience on 20 October that he had never been anti-business, only that he had supported the equality of labor with business: "The laboring man must be treated as a human being."\textsuperscript{23}

In Newark, New Jersey, Marshall rode with state Democratic officials in a mile-long Saturday night parade that included railroad trainmen whose banners showed support for the eight-hour law. With such a show of support for the law the Vice President felt that he must comment upon the subject. In his address that evening in the civic auditorium he told 2,000 persons that managers could get more out of their employees by putting "the spirit of love into service." It works at home, he said; it can work on the job!\textsuperscript{24}

Wilson had fewer speaking days but he crowded several appointments in the days he was away from White House business. The Mexican situation was going out of control with Pancho Villa causing trepidation among the Mexican and American
diplomats gathered together to settle the disputes between the two countries. The President was under pressure to be all things to all people and also to have the right answers and to do the right things.25

One of the best workers for the Wilson cause was the Republican candidate himself. He was not ideologically distant from Wilson, he was not a cynical or abrasive man, and he was not an experienced politician. Charles Evans Hughes made errors that offended many Republicans, including his snubbing of the Governor of California, Hiram Johnson, which act was critically damaging to the election results. He often spoke of what he would do if he were in the executive chair. Marshall retaliated: "He doesn't know what he would have done. He only thinks he knows. I think if I had been in the Garden of Eden I would not have eaten the apple. But I don't know--I never met the charming soubrette Eve. I might have eaten two apples." The Vice President referred to the Adamson eight-hour law and felt the need to defend it: "Solomon worked his men eight hours a day in building the Temple, and Solomon was a pretty wise man for his generation."

The crowds laughed at Marshall's calling Eve a "soubrette" (flirt) and may have felt the Adamson law to have divine approval since Solomon followed the eight-hour day. However, Solomon ignored management ethics by employing slaves to do his work. And, enjoined an editor, Eve was never called "dainty," never pretended to be "coy," and yet "she produced colossal effects without the aid of elaborate scenery or costume, and she accepted and carried the heaviest responsibilities. 'Soubrette,' indeed! Mr. Marshall should learn the language of the stage before he uses it!"
Marshall went on to talk of two parties in America: the Democrats and the aristocrats, referring to the latter as those "who think God had a special little clay bank from which he made them." To those who wanted to fight in the European conflict he mentioned recruiting offices for them in London, Paris, and Berlin. "America is the last hope of civilization. If we get into the war, nineteen centuries of civilization go tumbling."26 At a Democratic rally in Philadelphia on 1 November Marshall repeated his charge against the United States Steel Corporation for influencing President Roosevelt to allow it to obtain the Tennessee Iron and Coal Company, despite an obvious violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, and against the "wool interests" forcing through a tariff law during the Taft Administration days. Marshall felt that the railroad workers were therefore justified in "going to Washington and chokin' a little justice out of the railroads."

The headquarters of the United States Steel Corporation were located in Gary, Indiana. The head of that corporation was "Judge" Elbert Gary about whom Marshall would write nothing in his Recollections. However, he did express his "irritation" with the unruliness of the inhabitants of Gary, Indiana, until he was "set straight" by personal contact with the people as their governor and learned that they as workers were being exploited by the steel company in town. Thus, his attitude of sympathy toward steel workers, railway workers, and the like.27

IV

While Marshall was stump-speaking throughout the East, political forecasters saw Hughes and Wilson neck-and-neck with either candidate as a viable winner. The
prospect that Hughes might win frightened Colonel House, Wilson's close advisor.

Hughes, if elected, would not become President until the first week in March, and there would be a lame-duck government operating the foreign relations of the United States for three to four months before that time. House cautiously suggested to Wilson that should Hughes win, the President should ask the Vice President and the Secretary of State to resign, appoint Hughes Secretary of State and then resign himself, leaving Hughes to become interim President, to succeed himself in March, 1917.

It was a bold idea and, considering the crisis quality of the period, a not impractical one. But, all this was contingent upon one man: "The course I have in mind is dependent upon the consent and cooperation of the Vice President. . . ." the President wrote to Lansing. Ray Stannard Baker, whom Edith Wilson selected to piece together the first great biography of her husband, concluded that since Wilson was re-elected and Hughes was not, no necessity arose to include Marshall in House's plan. 28

Marshall, consulted by Wilson, did not agree to the plan. Since the election turned out to be in favor of the Democrats, the plan was irrelevant and no mention was ever made by Wilson about Marshall's refusal to resign. J. C. Sanders of Columbia City, a close friend of Marshall, mentioned to Charles Thomas in 1937 that Marshall told him, years after his second term as Vice President, that at one time President Wilson had asked him to resign. Sanders was then an old man and "thought it was at the time of the opposition to the league." For Wilson to have made such a request at that period, however, would have been politically inexpedient. Furthermore, his close advisers and actors in that drama were Senators who were more free to act than was Marshall as Senate president. The more logical situation for Wilson to have asked Marshall to resign
was the one prior to the 1916 election. Wilson was not asking Marshall to resign, point-blank, but only if the Republican candidates won the election, that is Hughes and Fairbanks. As the old friend of Vice President Marshall remembered, "The one thing certain was that he had refused to resign. Marshall emphatically explained to his friend that the people had elected him for a four-year term and he had intended to serve out the entire term." No other period of time would have been more relevant for such an encounter.29

The November election returns showed that Wilson received over nine million votes, besting Hughes' total of eight and a half million. The margin was not really great, but it was an expression of the majority of Americans. However, both New Jersey and Indiana, the home states of the Democratic candidates, repudiated their "sons" by voting for Hughes and Fairbanks and the Republican Party.

Indiana Republican candidates won down the line. Hughes and Fairbanks, though losing nationally, won in Indiana by a vote of 341,005 to 334,063, over the Wilson-Marshall ticket. Incumbent Senator Kern lost to Republican Harry S. New, and Republican James Watson beat incumbent Thomas Taggart. The Republican candidate for Governor, James P. Goodrich, earned enough votes to join the victors' circle. Only four Democrats from Indiana remained in the House of Representatives. Republicans were on the move.30

Shakespeare had words for the results, and Marshall used them in his congratulatory telegram to the President:
'TIS NOT SO DEEP AS A WELL
NOR SO WIDE AS A CHURCHDOOR:
BUT 'TIS ENOUGH 'TWILL SERVE.

MRS. MARSHALL JOINS ME IN HEARTFELT
CONGRATULATIONS TO MRS. WILSON AND
YOURSELF.31

The President himself was warmed by the good wishes of Marshall and so many others. Marshall was hardly involved emotionally in the political strife of Hoosier politics. His focus was national.

Finally, two old political foes but personal friends exchanged greetings and good wishes. The defeated Fairbanks congratulated the Vice President in a proper and concise manner, ending, "My very best wishes go with you always." Marshall responded by thanking him and added, "As a partisan it is worth much to know that we have won. As a man it is worth more to know that the years of personal friendship have not ended with this campaign, and to feel that there are left a few men at least who may differ in politics and yet wish each other well. I rejoice to believe that you always have been of that chosen few. Long life and serene content for you."32

Thomas R. Marshall had made a name for himself by the results of the 1916 election. He was the first Vice President to be re-elected since the days when John C. Calhoun served under both John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson (1825-1833), and
he would be the first Vice President since Daniel Tompkins (1817-1825) to serve two full terms. Asked by a reporter whether he had aspirations toward higher office, Marshall held that his present position was sufficiently satisfying: "I think that a man who is running along a bithulythic road in a flivver and having a pretty good time, would be an awful fool to start out through a swamp in the hope of finding something better. I'm having a pretty good time right now. I enjoy my peace of mind. I haven't heard any voice of the people calling me, and I am not going to delude myself into a belief that there is an irresistible demand for my services after March 4, 1921." A lot would happen before then. 33
Wilson’s struggles for peace, preparedness, and progressivism seemed to be rewarded by the close of 1916. The 1916 elections kept Wilson and Marshall in office. Though there was a handful more of Republicans in the House than Democrats (217 to 213), there was in the Senate a Democratic plurality of twelve (a loss of four from 1914). The pre-election prediction that whichever party won the two Indiana Senatorial seats would control the Senate did not prove valid. The Democrats lost both Indiana Senate seats and still controlled the Senate, at least until the next elections in 1918. In the main, the labor vote, the women’s vote, and the Socialist vote went to Wilson along with the votes of reformists and peace proponents.¹

The battles of the year had produced bitter feelings among some partisans, and the battles going on across the sea would prove even more destructive of human harmony in the months ahead. In mid-December Thomas and Lois Marshall entertained an intimate group of Senators and their wives in honor of President and Mrs. Wilson. The President was in good spirits that evening until someone mentioned Senator Lodge’s name. Wilson, agitated, "announced that he could not shake hands with Senator Cabot Lodge," a foreboding situation. He was smarting from the verbal thrusts of Lodge whose
views on intervention in European affairs conflicted with his own. Still, he managed to keep his stronger feelings within himself.\textsuperscript{2}

The Vice President, however, was perceiving Wilson’s pique from a different perspective. He internalized the President’s visible discomfort to apply possibly to something he himself had said. The next day he wrote a quick note to Wilson to secure himself onto the President’s good side:

Dear Mr. President,

I trust you did not glean from the table talk with Mrs. Marshall last evening \textsuperscript{12 December 1916} that I was dissatisfied with the conduct of the National Committee touching money matters or vouching for the truth of statements made to me. I simply repeated various reasons given to me as to why we lost Indiana.

So far I can not tell to my own satisfaction. I am suspending judgment....

Two days later Wilson responded by note to assure him that nothing that Mrs. Marshall had said had caused him to “draw any wrong inferences” from the Indiana voting.\textsuperscript{3}

II

On the same day as the Marshalls’ dinner William Jennings Bryan sent a letter to Count Johann von Bernstorff, Imperial German Ambassador to the United States. No longer Secretary of State due to disagreement with Wilson over the Lusitania issue, Bryan remained committed to searching out peaceful solutions to the widening gulf between his country and Germany. German Chancellor Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg wanted
diplomacy to keep the United States out of the war. Neither he nor Bryan nor Bernstorff foresaw the imminent rupture that was about to take place between the two countries. The German military chiefs accelerated the intervention of America into the war by their bellicose behavior toward Bethmann and their successful persuasion of the Kaiser to the plan of unrestricted submarine warfare. Admiral von Holtzendorff tried to reason with the German military staff that defeat was inevitable unless a quickened attack upon ships within the British perimeter was made soon. Field Marshal von Hindenburg agreed that Germany needed "the most ruthless and energetic action" to end the war as quickly as possible.  

On Monday morning, 22 January 1917, a letter arrived at the Vice President's office from the White House. The President had formulated some important thoughts regarding foreign affairs and wished to be allowed time that afternoon to deliver his ideas personally in the Senate chamber. Only Senator William J. Stone, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, knew of the President's intent; Wilson had asked him to confer with Marshall about the unusual visit. The President had been working on the speech for most of two weeks and had shown it to his confidant, Colonel House, to Robert Lansing, Bryan's successor in the State Department, and to Senator Stone. Wilson was excited about the possibility that "peace without victory" could be achieved. With confident expectation he had the message sent by code to major American embassies throughout Europe so that they would know his sentiments at the moment he stood before the Senate. He did not know, nonetheless, that the Kaiser had already decided to resume use of German submarines throughout British waters and the Atlantic area.
The President's speech conveyed hope that the United States could have a role in bringing peace to the world and that the nations of the world would thereafter respect each other despite their size, large or small. The words were uttered; the message was given.

Reactions varied. Democratic Senator John Shafroth of Colorado labelled it the greatest message of the century. Senator Stone called it "a great state paper." Senator Williams of Mississippi named it "an epoch-making state paper." Senator Bankhead of Alabama held it to have been a "fine literary effort." Senator Tillman crowned the address as "the most startling and the noblest utterance that has fallen from human lips since the Declaration of Independence." Republicans wisely chose to ponder its implications before committing themselves to a judgment. Most Congressmen, judging from their applause and their comments, were behind Wilson and would support him should war erupt with Germany. They did not want war, but German diplomacy and military policy were making a return to normal relations practically impossible. It was now for the German Government to decide about its future with the United States.\(^5\)

Not everyone in the country supported President Wilson's viewpoint. The Emergency Peace Federation began to organize peaceful resistance against the United States Government's entering into war solely on the basis of Congressional fiat. Over one and a half thousand telegrams were sent to labor groups across the country, and news releases of proposed peace meetings were given to the press. House speaker Clark and Senate President Marshall both received communications requesting enactment of a war referendum law.
On 1 March the secret Zimmerman telegram was published for all the world to note. It urged a Mexican alliance with Germany against the United States as a potential enemy. Before this news was made known, President Wilson asked Congress for legislation authorizing the arming of merchant ships. Two days later, 28 February, the Armed Merchant Ship bill was introduced. Debate on the bill was stimulated by the Senators' knowledge of the Zimmerman telegram. On the floor of the Senate were heard impassioned speeches for or against the position of armed neutrality on the high seas. Most Senators seemed to be for the measure, willing to risk war with Germany. Four midwestern Senators proceeded to filibuster on Saturday, 4 March, and into the next day in an effort to block decisive action on the bill. The President was furious, but there was nothing he could do about the matter for the moment. There was another inauguration to attend.6

III

The mood of the crowd was sober if not somber. Edith Wilson remained at the side of her husband during the entire period; she was not smiling. "The inauguration was not a festival," wrote a New York Times reporter; "it was a momentary interlude in a grave business, and it must be got over with as briefly and simply as possible."7

The gaiety of the Senate ceremonies in March 1913 had no echo in the proceedings of March 1917. The forms and functions of the inaugural ceremonies were the same but the stillness and the starch were disconcerting. Thomas Riley Marshall took his oath; he said, "I do," but he did not stop there. His own sense of the urgency and the crisis quality of the moment caused him to respond, "I do, so help me God, in whom I
believe." His inaugural address followed. All Americans must stand behind the American President, he advised, "and those who will not drop their disorganizing and disintegrating fights for clan interests at the water's edge must be made to drop them by public opinion." The Times editor commented that Marshall's words had "a sense and sanity that are urgently needed."8

The White House front lawn had been prepared for the inaugural ceremonies. The March wind was chilling while the sun gave little relief on this late wintry day. Marshall stood dutifully behind Chief Justice Edward White as the latter administered the oath to Woodrow Wilson for a second time. After lunch the two executives and their wives and others close to the President went to the reviewing stand to watch the inauguration day parade. One man wrote, "It was the plainest, simplest, briefest inauguration in the history of half a century at least, and yet perhaps there has been no inauguration so full of meaning."9

That evening, while the Wilsons and Colonel House somberly watched the inaugural fireworks from the second-story window of the oval sitting room, Vice President Marshall and his wife hosted a "dancing party" at the New Willard Hotel for some five hundred Culver Military Academy cadets from Indiana who as before had been their escort in the inaugural parade. For so many young men of high school age young ladies were sought from the numerous private girls' schools in the Washington area. Culver Cadet Superintendent and Mrs. Gignilliat remained near the Marshalls to enjoy their company and to keep an eye on the youth.10
The times were tense. Tempers became short, and intemperance gradually took control. Marshall noticed what was happening. To his Washington pastor, Reverend Charles Wood, he wrote:

My dear Doctor,

Let me thank you for your kind note. It is good to have such friends as you to cheer a man's heart by saying a kind word however undeserved it may be; for believe me, there is no trouble in finding those who will criticize. . . .

News of the Russian Revolution reached Washington as the Czar abdicated and the Provisional Government took the reins of authority on the following day. Wilson met with his cabinet on 20 March. The officials were of one mind: war with Germany is inevitable! The Cabinet believed that the Prussian belligerence had to be stopped for the sake of humanity. Their common voice served to convince Wilson more firmly that the United States had no other viable alternative at this late date than to meet the threat of the Kaiser head on. The next day the President called a special session of Congress for 1 April to consider "grave questions of national policy."

When they assembled in the House on that day, Wilson asked Congress for a declaration of war against Germany. "The world must be made safe for democracy," he admonished. The Germans were seen to be the aggressors, while the Allies, especially Britain and France and Russia were making a last-ditch stand for democracy. The Senate promptly passed the war resolution by a vote of 82 to 6, and on 6 April the House followed suit with a vote of 373 to 50. President Wilson in due time received the Joint Resolution of the Sixty-fifth Congress on which were inscribed in ink the names of

The three months following saw contingents of war missions heading toward Washington, D.C. Along with diplomatic conferences, scheduled social gatherings gave American officials and Washington society opportunity to meet their new allies. At a dinner honoring the British delegates in which the President's cousin and wife were the solitary ladies present, Edith Wilson was seated between Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour and Vice President Marshall. The contrasting personalities and decorum of the two males made an impression on her. On her right was Lord Balfour with his characteristic English charm and handsome features, while on her left sat Marshall, sometimes quiet and sometimes vocal, "saying all the things you hoped he hadn't." With her formal demeanor she was obviously embarrassed by his folksiness and familiarity in the presence of distinguished leadership. 13

Within a few days the French War Commission arrived in Washington, headed by Rene Viviani, a former vice-premier and Minister of Justice in the Briand cabinet, and Marshal Joseph Joffre, head of the French military forces. On 27 April Administration and other government officials dined as guests at the French Embassy. After dinner Viviani addressed the Americans (in French), followed by remarks by the Vice President. An ailing throat did not hinder the effect of Marshall's words on the persons assembled at the Embassy. 14 Complimentary letters were subsequently exchanged between Marshal Joffre and the Vice President, and it became Marshall's pleasant duty to welcome the French Mission in the Senate chamber on the first of May. 15
Monsieur Viviani, Marshal Joffre, and Ambassador Jules Jusserand arrived at the Vice President's room near the Senate chamber just before 12:30 p.m. Upon learning of their presence Marshall gave word for Senators Hitchcock and Lodge to usher them into the Senate chamber. The act was not without precedent, for in 1822 the Marquis de LaFayette had been received by Congress as guest of the nation. Now the United States would be able to repay a debt to France made at the time of the American Revolution and go to her side as an ally in time of war.

The Senators' applause in honor of the Frenchman lasted several minutes. Viviani gave his speech in French and was understood by only a few Senators, notably Lewis (Illinois), La Follett (Wisconsin), and Broussard (Louisiana). Marshall later confessed in naked honesty that he had little understanding of what Viviani was saying: "It was quite interesting to me to observe them shaking their heads in affirmation when to my certain knowledge they knew less of the French tongue than they did of Choctaw. I, myself, nodded and smiled, although what the distinguished gentleman said conveyed to me no more information than a menu card in French, but I could not afford to allow the galleries to imagine that I was not at least High Lingo." 16

On 8 May the Vice President gave a brief address of welcome to the British War Mission and another on 31 May to the Italian delegation. 17

Thomas Riley Marshall was recognized as a first class public speaker. His introduction of the various war missions were models of the brief and beautiful, and befitted the times in which they were uttered. His gift of selecting the right illustration is seen in his words to the Belgian delegation invited to appear before the Senate in June 1917: "To me, in all profane history, there is no sadder, sweeter, sublimer character than
Sidney Carton. Dreamer of dreams, he walked his lonely, only way. In all the history of nations there is no sadder, sweeter, sublimer story than the story of Belgium...." To an assembly of educated men in tune with the figurative language of the day, his words and figures would be familiar. Sidney Carton, the lawyer in Charles Dickens' Tale of Two Cities, symbolized Belgium who in her love for humanity walked the Via Dolorosa, the "sorrowful way," to face execution by the Germans.18

On 20 June the new Russian diplomatic mission called upon the highest officials of the Government, completing the protocol preceding formal conferences with the Americans, and within a week the Russian ambassador had spoken to the members of both Houses of Congress. The last group to face them was the Serbian delegation. Marshall was particularly impressed by the troubled history of this southeastern European people and by the sentiments of the delegation's speaker, Dr. Milenko R. Vesnitch.19

Most Americans had transformed themselves into a belligerent mentality by the time of the President's announcement on 6 April 1917 and accepted that "a state of war exists between the United States and the Imperial German Government." The ladies of the Wilson Administration felt that their good deeds on behalf of the nation might help inspire American women. They quietly began a Simple Life Movement among themselves. They bought inexpensive clothing and simple food. Where possible, they prevented all kinds of waste. The idea was to conserve all resources to help those most in need and, it was to be hoped, hasten the end of the war.

Lois Kimsey Marshall was "right there" with the President's wife and cabinet women. They were sincere and they were serious. Mrs. Marshall was practicing her philosophy a year later when she and her husband were dinner guests of Mrs. George
Vanderbilt. The Vice President's wife made no attempt to hide the fact that she was wearing a gown that dated from before the war's beginning. Her dress and demeanor prompted a society writer to comment on her "good taste, ...for everybody knows the second lady of the land never looked better than this season, and is becomingly and correctly dressed on every occasion."20

V

The pace of life quickened now that the United States was involved in a great war. Citizens of the forty-eight states organized councils of defense to facilitate civilian contributions to the war effort in manpower, production, and transportation. The chairman of the Indiana State Council of Defense, Will Hays of Sullivan, was also the state chairman of the G.O.P. When it was discovered that Hays was remaining at his political post while acting as state defense council chairman, Marshall lambasted the little man and charged that he was trying to capitalize as head of two organizations at the expense of the nonpartisan Defense Council. The Vice President accused Hays of using his council chairmanship to the benefit of his party activities. Will Hays ignored the criticism. Hays was as honest as Marshall and just as much the expedient politician. He would eventually become a national chairman of the Republican Party.21

Meanwhile, Americans were enjoined to help the war effort in numerous ways, one of the most important being the purchase of Liberty Bonds. At the beginning of America’s involvement in the war, President Wilson appointed a Committee on Public Information to oversee the Government’s propaganda activity. The Speakers' Bureau was made a part of the Four-Minute Men Division. Arthur E. Bestor, director of the
Chautauqua Institution, developed an index of over 10,000 speakers with a select list of 300 of the better ones. The Vice President and the cabinet officers were regular reserves, and their time was given to the war effort and to the various Liberty Loan drives. The first war bond drive began a month after the United States entered the European conflict and lasted through that summer of 1917. The objective was to secure two billion dollars.

Americans' response in buying the bonds proved to be even greater than their typical turnout on election day. The masses as well as the millionaires subscribed for the bonds. Vice President Marshall firmly believed that the common people must be given every opportunity to buy the government bonds, since "it would be, in my opinion, a national misfortune if all this tax-free wealth represented by the Liberty Loan bond issue of $5,000,000,000 should pass into the possession of the rich and well-to-do of the nation, rather than in a large measure into the hands of the ordinary average Americans citizen." The second Liberty Loan drive began on 1 October with the Government offering three billion dollars in governmental bonds at 4% interest. In support of the drive the Vice President held that "every man and woman in America who has been waving the flag" should put his money where his heart is and show whether it was "but as sounding brass and tinkling cymbal." The public response was encouraging. Governmental officials as well as private citizens and groups were indicating their interest in supporting the drives. Sarah Bernhardt, world renowned actress, was going to buy a Liberty Bond on stage some evening before the week had ended. Soldiers were giving part of their small portion to the campaign to raise funds for the American war effort.
The American military involvement began in the fall of 1917, as the first United States troops entered the trenches in France under French supervision. The people at home quickly adjusted to a wartime economy, and almost every American exerted himself a bit harder, at least psychologically, for the war effort. Economically the nation was enjoying a surging prosperity, and the Liberty Loan drive for $3 billion, with interest this time raised to 4.5%, took place in the spring of 1918. It was customary for the big cities to experience the most flamboyant drives and to enjoy the best known orators and entertainers from stage to screen. The motion picture cameras of the infant newsreel companies preserved the silent but serious and splendid pictures of the time.

The Fourth Liberty Loan campaign opened in September 1918. This time the Government was intent on raising twice as much money: $6 billion at 4.5% interest. In Washington, D.C., Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo spoke publicly on why the people should support the war effort, and Secretary of the Navy Daniels made a similar plea. At the Loan drive in Washington on 21 September 1918, the Vice President contributed with a speech, and the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Franklin D. Roosevelt, also lent his presence. In Chicago President Wilson gave his advocacy to the drive for financial support of the Allied cause. In New York City banners carried such slogans as "The 4th Liberty Loan Must Be Made a Glorious Success", and motion picture cameramen filmed the marchers in the cavalcade of freedom. Here and there a soldier or sailor carried a placard reading, simply, "Lend."25

The Vice President opened the Fourth Liberty Loan Campaign in New York City. The place of meeting was an open area, Madison Square, where thousands of New Yorkers could witness the proceedings. Near the Altar of Liberty in the center of the
square stood American, British, and Belgian officers and notables. In his address
Marshall apologized for his earlier neutral stance during the years 1914 through 1916. He did
not envision during that period that "right was fighting with wrong," for what God­
fearing man or nation, he asked, could have been neutral with such knowledge? He did
not conceive that the adversary was "The Germanic people," only their Government! "I
thought it was just the rulers that were responsible," Marshall confessed, "but now I know
it was the system of statecraft and the philosophy of the entire people that brought it
on."26

In one of Marshall’s most stirring speeches on behalf of the war effort, uttered at
the time the American "doughboys" were fighting on the Continent, the Vice President
stood before his fellow Masons at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York and gave a
moral defense of American intervention: "To accomplish the result for which America is
fighting it is necessary to appeal to the conscience. Free thought must never be
hampered, but because a man thinks a thing to be true and has a right to alter his belief
under a democracy, he is not justified, in God, in Brotherhood, and in the Republic, in
voicing his sentiments under all circumstances." Marshall held that this was no time to
debate the merits of conscription: those who do not like it should remain silent and thus
not give aid and comfort to the enemy. We are in war, in a conflict between two
opposing philosophies of government: autocracy and democracy. With devotion to
Jeffersonian ideas and phrases he asked rhetorically, "What, therefore, is the lesson of the
hour to a body of men whose obligation is to the flag of their country?"
With a voice long grown accustomed to speaking audibly to large gatherings and
with an intuitive grasp of waiting just long enough for his hearers to become absorbed
with his oratorical style Marshall replied,

That lesson is that this war shall furnish a new definition
of patriotism. The word shall no longer mean the land
of man's birth or the land of his adoption, the language he
speaks, or the place where he loves to reside. It will
demand of every one who owes allegiance to any Prince or
potentate or autocratic power on earth that he renounce that
allegiance and renounce also every selfish aim and pursuit;
that he subordinate the material interests of this Government
to its ideals, that he take an oath of allegiance to an invisible
Government which believes, which teaches, which holds that
all men are born free and equal; that the Governments derive
their powers from the consent of the governed, and that none
is fit to rule save of the free and untrammeled consent of the
majority of those over whom he rules; that wealth is good,
honor better, and above all, democracy is best.

The ideas were as familiar as the Gettysburg Address and the Preamble to the
Constitution; the words struck home.

Marshall held before his audience a new challenge, couched in words that would
be taken to the heart then and lie dormant for use another time, a later age:
Forgetting blood and business, there are now, as always, 
just two grades of citizens in the Republic--the man 
who asks himself, "What can I do for my country?" and 
the man who asks, "What can my country do for me?"

Indeed! Democrats, Republicans, and Socialists--these are subservient to Americans, 
who should give their loyalty to their country as should their chosen representatives to the 
President of the United States. "Is it not possible," he added, "to have until the 
conclusion of this war all hands in America lifted to the God of our Fathers--and all 
voices proclaiming "Woodrow Wilson, America, Democracy, for me." 27

"Woodrow Wilson, America, Democracy, for me!" Here was the wartime 
philosophy of Thomas R. Marshall. To the two thousand Presbyterians who heard him 
speak in February 1918 it became a theology. For the Vice President there was no 
conflict between United States involvement in war and the Christian faith, between Allied 
intent and Jesus' teaching. Liberty, he told the National Service Commission of his 
church, is not something to be handed down from one generation to the next without price 
or even struggle. Since the President had revealed that his solitary purpose was to win the 
war to the glory of God and humanity, Marshall proclaimed that he would stand behind 
the President and cry, "Go to it, Woodrow, go to it!"

What about the Scriptures which speak out for peace? Do they not proscribe 
man's inhumanity and violence? Marshall could not see this view: "I must express my
opinion that this war is right, and that you are all wrong if you are not for it. I have read carefully the four gospels, and I don't find anything in them that I think can be taken as against this war. . . ." His last word to the churchmen was, "We are going to lick the Kaiser!"

The wartime psychology had encompassed the Vice President, and despite his love for liberty his fear of anarchy led him slowly--and for a time--into the spirit of intolerance toward dissenters and toward "hyphenated" Americans (for example, German-Americans) suspected of disloyalty. He had gone the route from neutralist to nationalist.

VI

During the time the nation was at war, appeals were made to Vice President Marshall concerning young men from his home state who wanted to get into or out of the armed services. The Vice President's former pastor in Columbia City wanted to extend his ministry into the United States Army. Marshall asked Secretary of War Lindley Garrison to appoint Alexander D. Sutherland as a chaplain. Garrison replied that the Presbyterian minister would have to take an examination before he could be inducted as a chaplain. Some days later Marshall learned that Sutherland had failed to pass his examination. Immediately he called Garrison to find out how that could happen. The answer came:

"Listen to this!" the Secretary began to read, "Question: 'Where is the Trinity River?' Answer: 'Trinity River is where it always was, and if my regiment should ever
reach its banks I would hold religious services with as much zeal and fervor as though I were on the banks of the Jordan!"

"Well," Marshall warned, "you better appoint him or I will call for those questions and answers and we will see what the Congress thinks about examining a preacher on geography!"

Within a short time the minister was approved for induction. Marshall was greatly pleased. He wrote to Garrison that he "would not swap this appointment for any other within the gift of the President." Garrison passed on Marshall’s letter to the President who read it with amusement. After the country had entered the war, Marshall kept open the line with the War Department with requests for chaplains’ commissions and for investigations into alleged exclusion of clergy from military training camps.

Indiana men were grateful for the way the Vice President had intervened on their behalf during wartime. Frank McHale of Indianapolis recalled that when the United States entered the war he, like many young men, wanted to get into the air service. McHale had recently received his law degree from the University of Michigan when he was assigned to Washington as a commissioned officer to write contracts for the Signal Corps in connection with procuring material from manufacturers. However, McHale wanted to become a flyer and serve his country in that way. Having been a professional football player for the Detroit Heralds, he did not think that the people back home would understand "a big fellow" like him "fighting behind a desk in Washington, D. C. !" So, he went to the Vice President to see if he could get into the air service. Ushered into the inner office by Thistlethwaite, the burly McHale thanked the Vice President for the commission of First Lieutenant but he said that as a strong athlete he could not accept
such a "powder puff job." Marshall laughed and then telephoned War Department Secretary Newton Baker (now successor to Garrison) to say that he had found a fellow who wanted to serve his country. The next day McHale found himself ordered to Ohio State University to study to be an aviator--his rank changed to buck private!31

Parents were concerned also. Ralph Gates of Columbia City (later a governor of Indiana) recalled that his father took a train to Washington and had lunch with Marshall to talk about his son's military obligation. Gates remembered his father saying later that Marshall was not in favor of the war. Another Columbia City lad, George Myers, had his University of Michigan education interrupted by his induction into the Army in 1918; he had only twelve semester hours to earn before his graduation. A letter from his mother to Marshall and a reply clarified his military responsibility and enabled him to finish school. On one other occasion a young soldier got into trouble for leaving camp without permission (though he had tried to get it) to attend worship at church in a town near Camp Shelby, Mississippi. When he returned, the first sergeant met him and conflict ensued. Afterwards, he sent a wire to his father in Fort Wayne to get in touch with Marshall. Within an hour a telegram arrived at the camp headquarters, sent by the Vice President of the United States. The soldier was given one more opportunity to plead his case: his grievance was based upon religion reasons. He was dismissed to his tent and nothing was ever done about his Sunday morning absence without leave.32

Besides the President, Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels has the distinction of receiving the most letters from Marshall concerning patronage. Sometimes Daniels was asked to look into a case where a young man in question was in trouble. One such youth, a student at the Naval Academy at Annapolis, Maryland, had been recommended
for dismissal because of "certain minor offenses." Marshall wished Daniels to "obtain the
record of this young man and personally review the case and if not inconsistent with
discipline and efficiency that you give him another opportunity to make good,
surrounding the privileges with such conditions as will result in the enforcement of the
rules of the institution." Another young man was charged with an offense of considerably
greater seriousness. Daniels replied to Marshall's initial inquiry with the news that those
officers who knew the youth considered him guilty as charged. Still, Marshall was
assured, the matter would be examined thoroughly. A second letter from Marshall to
Daniels was written in longhand indicating the anxiety the Vice President felt in the
situation:

One of the things which has made me a strong partizan [sic] of your management of the Navy Department has been that you seem
to combine mercy with justice. You have also seen how hopeless under the old system was the chance of a minor official once found
guilty.

Now I do not believe that Lieut. . . . was guilty under any known rules of law. I think his guilt so wholly improbable under
the record of his life that you will feel like doing all you can to help him reinstate himself and give him another chance. We all need so
many more chances, [why] not help give him just one?

Whether Daniels was successful in influencing the decision respecting the young
lieutenant is not known.33

Josephus Daniels was a true gentleman of the South, having worked for the
Wilson cause leading to the election of 1912 and having been a spokesman for reform via
his Raleigh newspaper. He thought highly of Tom Marshall, calling him "one of the
finest men God ever made." Such eulogiums, however, do not erase obstacles or frustrated plans. Daniels in the spring of 1917 had to say no to the Vice President's request that a proposed armor plant be built in Evansville, Indiana. Marshall reasoned that the Democrats "were hurt in the campaign by the charge that the administration has done too much for the South and it would be good for the party and the country to locate the plant at Evansville." A January 1919 letter from Daniels to Marshall about the building of the Charleston Navy Yard indicates that the Vice President importuned the Secretary of the Navy over a long period of time about this subject.34

Being a solidly loyal member of the Masonic Order, Vice President Marshall carried a request from Illinois Masons wishing to erect a building at the Great Lakes Naval Training Station to be used as "headquarters where members of the fraternity could register and hold social intercourse but that no lodge meetings or secret sessions of any kind would be held therein." Daniels replied politely but firmly that the policy of the Navy Department was to allow on Navy grounds no buildings or organizations such as the Masons, Odd Fellows, Knights of Pythas, Elks, and so on. Daniels was fearful lest his office be deluged with similar requests from untold numbers of organizations.35

To others Marshall revealed strong feelings when he could not obtain his goals. He communicated hostility against preferential treatment accorded friends of other Administration officials but not to his own. On one occasion Marshall wrote as a prominent member of the Masonic fraternity to Newton Baker. He knew that southern Masonic officers had received permission to go to Europe during the War to investigate what possible aid their organization could give to soldier-members. A similar request by
Marshall for passports for northern Masons had not been acted upon. His words to Baker show him to have been a man who, upon occasion, could become very angry:

I am myself a thirty-third degree Mason of the Northern Jurisdiction. . . . I have frowned upon all this foolish talk about the South being in the saddle. I am perfectly willing that Southern Masons be treated as the War Department has treated them but I here and now enter my solemn protest against the partiality shown and respectfully request that the discrimination against Northern Masons be removed. . . . I am making my appeal for the Northern Jurisdiction, an active member of the Supreme Council of which I am.

(The underlined words reflect Marshall’s midwestern sentiment that Wilson’s Administration was indeed under strong southern influence and took care of its own people.) In a 1937 interview with Charles Thomas the former War Secretary indicated that Marshall "never attempted to use pressure, as some persons would." He must have forgotten the above letter! 36

Vice President Marshall had thus far proved to all in the Washington scene that he was a Wilson man through and through. Whatever disagreements or differences he had or felt in relation to any persons in the government were thrust out of sight in light of his higher loyalty. His words of support for the war effort were among the most colorful and most touching. His presence at functions of state lent credence to the idea that Wilson found Marshall's abilities and personality acceptable, even necessary. And his help of
young men from back home and of his Masonic fraternity revealed that Thomas Marshall continued to honor his Midwestern origins.
“Your orders will be obeyed!”

May 1918 - November 1918

The United States was officially at war for more than twenty months, but those were intense months for Americans and for their government. Industrial output accelerated, business contracts with the military increased, men lined up to enlist in the service of their country, and women worked more and more in a variety of ways for the general war effort as well as for their own economic betterment. Social roles and perspectives were altering considerably.

I

Soon after her nation's entry into the European conflict in 1917, Lois Marshall became a volunteer social worker at a Diet Kitchen Welfare Center, a day-care agency in Washington. Working parents left their children at the Center during the day and came for them at the day's end. It was not long before she involved her husband with her daily concerns, especially one concern.

Lois had become deeply attached to a baby at the Welfare Center whose health was so fragile that she feared for his life unless he be given special attention. His twin sister was healthy, but both parents worked and were unable to provide a normal home life for the twins. The father was a church janitor and the mother a chambermaid. On an afternoon in May, the Vice President walked to the White House for a prearranged meeting with the President. There is no record of what the two men discussed, but the
context suggests that the conversation centered on a matter quite personal to the Vice President. Marshall wanted his "chief" to know what he and his wife were planning to do. They had no intention, at first, in adopting the child, but simply to provide him with a substitute mother for a time.¹

By mid-July Clarence Ignatius Morrison had entered the home and the life of a childless couple. It made no difference to the Marshall that their foster child was of Roman Catholic parents. That difference was completely irrelevant. Here was a listless baby that needed nursing back to health. Here were a man and a woman who needed a child. In time they called the little boy simply Morrison. A memorandum to the President from Tumulty suggested that a box of flowers be sent to Mrs. Marshall with a note that read: "With congratulations to the baby."²

As the Marshalls lived in a suite at the New Willard Hotel, the mother was given employment there in order to be near her child. Part of the apartment was re-arranged to provide for a play room, and a kitchenette was placed conveniently for the benefit of the baby. Not unexpectedly, the Marshalls came to adore the little boy and began to treat him as though he were their natural son. In the beginning Lois had spoken to her husband about the idea of having a child in their home--and held the baby in her arms as she broached the subject to him for the first time! Marshall's initial reaction was one of wariness: "With that brutality which marks the man, I had said to her that she might keep him, provided he did not squall under my feet. He grew out of his crib; but he never walked with as sure a certainty on the streets of Washington, as he walked into my heart. Beautiful as an angel; brilliant beyond his years; lovable from every standpoint, he came to be the sun and center of Mrs. Marshall's life and of mine. . . ."³
New fathers have concerns they never had before. Such was the case with Marshall. After twelve months of paternal experiences he thought he should see the President again about a personal matter. On second thought he chose to write him a letter to express better his concern. His wife's work with the Diet Kitchen had become a window, as it were, on the social conditions of Washington, D. C. Because the Nation's Capital was not a self-determining municipality and was under the authority of the Congress there was no easy way for the city to obtain funds to care for the needy in the way and to the extent that Marshall felt was needed. His letter to the President read in part:

Throughout America today, under the Children's Bureau, there is going forward the work of weighing and measuring and examining all children under six years of age. Statistics show that 300,000 of them die every year, and that, humanly speaking, with proper advice, attention and care, one-half of this number can be saved. This work is being done gratuitously all over the Republic and is a very serious strain upon charitably disposed people.

Mrs. Marshall and her good women here in Washington are spending three hours a day three days of each week in the making of this health census under the auspices of the Washington Diet Kitchen. When this census is completed it will be about as valuable as a last year's bird's nest unless some plan is devised to follow it up to see that proper care and attention are given these children. It is doubtless true that throughout America where local self government still reigns, if it does anywhere, the duty is incumbent upon a locality to look after its children but in the City of Washington there is neither an autocracy nor a democracy. The District government can make no appropriation for the carrying on of this work without the consent of the Congress and the Congress is too much interested in the boll weevil and San Jose scale to appropriate for children. Nothing but your strong hand and forceful and emphatic approval of some appropriation to follow up this work will avail.

Have I put the subject so as to appeal to you? If so, will you touch the secret springs that will remedy this evil.
Very sincerely and cordially yours,

Wilson lost no time in taking action on the Vice President's letter. He replied in a note to Marshall that he would do his best to act upon the matter. To Albert Burleson he asked what House committee would be officially concerned about Marshall's question. Burleson made inquiries and learned that the District Appropriation Bill was pending before the Committee on the District of Columbia. He suggested that a paragraph be included in the bill asking for a sum of money to underwrite a bureau of infant hygiene in Washington. District Commissioner Louis Brownlow wrote to Burleson that he had talked with the Vice President and that an itemization of cost estimates had been made for the establishment of a new bureau in the District, operating under the Health Department. Eventually, Congressional support was forthcoming, and Marshall's dream for Washington's children became a reality.4

As their foster child grew (he was now called Morrison Marshall), he was taken by Marshalls on trips whenever possible. Lois found her vacations added enjoyment with her "practically adopted" little boy. A brief vacation at Petosky along the shore by Lake Michigan was a happy memory for the couple. They wanted a child of their own and here was their dream come true. Old enough almost to walk without aid the little child would toddle back and forth between them. "Where is Daddy?" was a question that revealed much about the man and the woman. "Throw me a kiss," she asked, and the boy opened his mouth, poked in his chubby little fist and "threw" to the woman a gesture of glee mixed with affection.
He looked the picture of health, but looks were deceiving. Several months later, when the Marshalls were away from the capitol, word reached them that their boy was critically ill. Lois rushed back to Washington from New England where her husband had gone to deliver an address. The daughter of the manager of the New Willard Hotel recalled the tragic ending on a February night of 1920: "Mrs. Marshall, having no experience as a mother, would frequently call on my mother for information and assistance when their adopted child became sick, which he did very often. Once a call came in the middle of the night. Mother hastened to the Marshalls' rooms but it was too late. The child had died..."5

Marshall never totally recovered from the loss of the boy: "I cannot even speak of him for whom I grieve without a feeling that I ought not to do so. He was and is and ever will be so sacred to me that I much doubt whether his blessed memory should be used even for a holy purpose. For three years he spelled for me in every ripple of laughter and his every lisping word God and democracy... Happier far today are those whose children yet linger with them. It is my day of memory. It is theirs of realization." The grief was profound, and the sight of the playthings lying on the floor was more than they could bear. They had to "get away from the toys." After their European trip in the summer of 1922, Mrs. Marshall finally parted with several remaining items: a robe, lullaby books, and little toy horses, giving them to the children of a friend.6

II

The memorandum lying on the President's desk was dated 7 February 1918: "The Vice-President asked whether he might see the President on Thursday, February 14."
Charles Swan was a young whiz at taking dictation from the President, and, after checking with the President wrote "O.K. 4:30 C.S.S." on the memo and returned it to one of Tumulty's assistants to reply to the Vice President. On the assigned day Marshall left his Senate building office for the White House and his late afternoon appointment.⁷

As he walked alone, he thought about what he was going to say and how he would phrase it. It seemed hardly a year since his campaigning for a second term and now the Indiana Democratic State Convention wanted him to make the keynote speech in June. These things take time to think out, especially during a time when the nation is at war. One just does not say the same kind of things in wartime as in peacetime.

In the presence before Wilson, Marshall got right to the point. What kind of a speech did the President want him to make before the State Convention in Indianapolis? Should it not be one that says, "The only question before the American people is winning the war and standing behind the President?" "Should I not propose," he asked Wilson, "that both Democrats and Republicans nominate men pledged to these two objects and let the people make a choice between them, promising that in the event the war closed prior to the expiration of their terms of office, they would resign and go back to the people on local issues?" Should I not "also suggest proposing to the Republican party to close up all political headquarters and to expend the money saved thereby in Red Cross and other war activities?"

The President's reply was unexpected: "No, it would not do. I expect to issue a call shortly before the election for a Democratic Congress, and I have no doubt that the people will give it to me because they have refused me nothing so far."
"Is it your desire for me to make an old-fashioned Democratic speech at the convention?"

"Yes."

"You are my commander-in-chief, and your orders will be obeyed."\(^8\)

If Marshall was resentful, he did not show it. Wilson's advice was not in tune with his own preference for a non-partisan appeal. Instead, the President urged a strong political fight to inspire American voters to bring in a Democratic Congress. In one scholar's words, "Here the two men had changed their usual roles; Marshall the politician wanted to put the 1918 elections above politics; Wilson the idealist was out for a partisan campaign and victory. . . . Marshall's approach might have averted the debacle that occurred in November and prevented the last half of Wilson's second term from being a nightmare for the administration. . . ."\(^9\) The Indiana speaking engagement was four months away.

In the meantime another event took place that was to have political reverberations for the Democratic party. Senator Paul Husting of Wisconsin, a Democrat, had died from an accident while hunting, and election of his successor was due to be a fierce inter-party battle among Wisconsin Democrats, Republicans and Socialists. The Democratic nominee was Joseph E. Davies, a manager for Wilson during the 1912 campaign. His Republican opponent was Irvine L. Lenroot, and the Socialist candidate was Victor L. Berger, publisher of the Milwaukee Leader. Considerable attention was being given to the Wisconsin Senatorial race, as it would be regarded as a political barometer of public opinion on Wilson's war policies.
The President felt it necessary to send someone of national prominence to speak for the Democratic candidate, and that person was Vice President Marshall. Wilson's intention was politically respectable, but his chosen instrument would prove to be an unwise choice. The day after Marshall's sixty-fourth birthday Wilson sent him a belated greeting:

I am ashamed of myself that I overlooked the fact that yesterday was your birthday. May I not congratulate you very sincerely? I hope that you feel that real affection with which you are regarded by all of us who really know you, and I want you to know that my own feeling for you constantly grows warmer and more intimate.

Wilson had something else on his mind:

I have no doubt that you have been following as I have, with a good deal of anxiety, the critical Senatorial contest in Wisconsin. The attention of the country will naturally be centered upon it because of the universal feeling against Senator La Follette and the question which will be in every patriotic man's mind whether Wisconsin is really loyal to the country in this time of crisis or not.

(Marshall also did not appreciate Senator Robert La Follette's pacifistic stand on the war at this time.) Wilson continued,
Personally, I do not doubt that the great body of the citizens of Wisconsin are thoroughly loyal, but there is some danger of the issues being obscured. The election of Mr. Lenroot would, I am afraid, by no means demonstrate that loyalty, because his own record has been one of questionable support of the dignity and rights of the country on some test occasions. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance, I think, that we should secure the election of Davies, and I am wondering if you would not add to your many generous acts in such matters by going to there to make some speeches for him. It would greatly hearten everybody and I am sure it would be most effective.

There was another order Marshall could not refuse. On 26 March the Vice President presented the cause for the Democrats in the State of Wisconsin. His heart was not in his task. He felt that Wilson should have promoted a non-partisan campaign to enlist the unified support of all Americans at a time when the nation was at war. From such a position Marshall went the opposite way to please his "chief." He went too far. He began his speech with words that offended his hearers rather than flattered them. Before a vast audience of Americans of German descent he declared, "The world was amazed when German bayonets entered Belgium. America was aghast when German ballots entered Wisconsin." It was as if he had never learned one of the first rules of public speaking: empathize with your hearers. The
speaker was careful to say that he did not accuse Republicans of being disloyal, but their strong partisanship at this time could not help but hinder the President's war efforts.

He simply did not choose the right words to persuade his listeners: "Your State of Wisconsin is under suspicion. . . . If the vote at the primary is based upon the charges and counter-charges which you have made, each against the other, you are about half for America, half for the Kaiser, and all against Wilson." He likened many of them to northern Democrats during the Civil War who voted Republican rather than be thought traitorous. Their loyalty to the State must be over that to the Republican party. Marshall called Lenroot a German sympathizer, a pacifist, and a traitor to his country. He viewed the State of Wisconsin as containing a multitude of traitors, and pictured the Republican party as being in support of the Imperial German Government.11

The speaker's words "hit home" and a record number of citizens in Wisconsin went to the polls on April 2. The result was heavily in favor of the Republican, Lenroot, who defeated the Democrat, Davies, by a 15,000 vote plurality, and the Socialist, Berger, by over 50,000 votes. The damage had been done. Democrat John W. Burke called Marshall's speech "the biggest dam-fool thing in history" and felt that Marshall was to blame for the party's defeat in Wisconsin. One new Republican Senator headed for Washington, and this would make a difference later when the Senate voted on the issue of the peace treaty with Germany and the League of Nations.12

One cannot help but feel that Marshall was disillusioned and emotionally drained by this experience. His heart had not been in the task assigned him by the President. As gifted as he was as a public speaker it is strange to consider that he would have
intentionally sabotaged his fellow Democrat Joseph Davies who was in fact an old political acquaintance. This apparently erratic action of Marshall would not be the last.

III

By the time the Indiana Democratic State Convention assembled in June, the Vice President had completed the pendular swing from ultra-pacifism to extreme nationalism. Marshall was kept active on the speaker's platform either as a partisan for the party or as a volunteer for the governmental Committee in Public Information. His loyalty to Wilson caused him to express ideas that he normally would not have accepted for his own, for example, his "intolerant partisanship" in the Wisconsin election. In a broader sense, however, Marshall had reached the same intolerant stand that many other Americans shared in response to the wartime demand for absolute loyalty.

In Indiana the Democratic party was no longer in power. At the convention hall in Indianapolis Marshall sat on the podium with ex-Governor Samuel M. Ralston. Ralston spoke boldly that the weighty times required an ignoring of the traditional two-terms and that President Wilson should be renominated in 1920. (Republicans would later use this statement as political fodder.) The Vice President followed Ralston's remarks by urging his fellow Democrats to support the Administration but not support even a Democrat who himself did not agree with Wilson's ideas and "who is not in favor of taking the German language out of the schools of Indiana and welding into a united people by the use of a common language all those who dwell within our borders." He referred to Will Hays, now the Republican National Committee Chairman, as "this young Lochinvar [who] ambled out of the West upon the G.O.P.--grand old palfrey--and with
force of arms seized the Lady Theodora [Roosevelt] and carried her off to that medieval


castle called the Republican Headquarters, where he introduced her as a Republican


vestal virgin."

He continued his figure: "Lady Theodora, being left at home, concluded to take a


hand in the war by writing letters in derogation and criticism of its management to a


newspaper, which newspaper had as its general manager a man who was, at the


declaration of hostilities against the Imperial German Government, an alien enemy of the


United States, and which newspaper had published the Rose Pastor Stokes letter and other


seditionous documents." (Stokes, an adamant advocate of American-styled communism,


was sentenced on 1 June 1918 to ten years in the Missouri State Penitentiary for disloyal


statements against the Government.) After his speech, he was asked to whom he made


reference, and he said that he was referring to A. F. Seested of the Kansas City Star. 13


The speech was spread all over the country by the next day. Tumulty wanted a


copy of it, and Mark Thistlethwaite obliged. Seested in Kansas City, upon hearing of


Marshall's remarks, promptly sent a telegram to the Vice President giving him the facts


about his citizenship. (Seested was born in Denmark of parents who became Germans


when their locale was incorporated into Germany. He subsequently came to the United


States and became naturalized in 1916.) Marshall replied with a telegram wherein he


claimed to Seested that he did not accuse him of disloyalty to America, only of "unjust


criticism of the President's course." Marshall admitted that he had mentioned in his


address that Seested had not been an American citizen of an eventual enemy nation. 14


The New York Times was shocked that Marshall had called T. R. "Lady


Theodora," regarding that as "a cheap witticism." Marshall, the Times held, had
descended to mere demagogy when he attacked the patriotic Kansas City Star. Such behavior the editor did not think proper from a man who was "only one step removed from the Presidency." Ex-governor Ralston did even worse, it was believed, by talking about the 1920 election campaign, which talk did not serve to preserve unity among American citizens.  

Seested was more than shocked. He was afraid. The Sedition Act, only one month old, made criticism of the Government a crime, and who knew then how far freedom of the press would be allowed with such a law now in the land! By the end of the month socialist Eugene V. Debs had been arrested in Cleveland on the charge of interfering with the recruiting of volunteers for the United States Army. Two and a half months later he was sentenced to ten years in prison. After the war ostracism against allegedly disloyal Americans would continue. Socialist Victor Berger, who ran against Davies and Lenroot in Wisconsin, was indicted for conspiracy to violate the Espionage Act of 1917 and sentenced by Judge Kenesaw Landis to prison for twenty years. This occurred in February 1919, the year of the "Red Scare."  

It was not long before the rumor mill in Washington began to grind out that Marshall had been muzzled. His speaking engagements tended to be limited to patriotic pronouncements before Red Cross workers and college students. Not that there was truth to the rumor: he was one of the most conscientious of public speakers on behalf of the war effort. Still, one may speculate that invitations to speak were becoming fewer with all the recent uproar about him from Wisconsin to Washington.

His job, he knew, was not the most exciting in the world. When not on assignment for Wilson or on a speaking engagement outside Washington, it was his role
to return to his Senate chair to relieve the president pro tem. The Vice President after five years in office had grown accustomed to his role. Adjusting his horn-rimmed glasses and situating his posterior in his special chair at the same time, Marshall would pick up quickly the topic and tone of the debate on the floor, and prepare to moderate the occasional attacks between Senators with a Hoosier wit and drawl that on occasion made hearts light upon hearing it: "The chair thinks it is about time to enforce the rule of two speeches in a day. We will never get through. The Chair has been here five years and nobody has ever been converted since he has been here."¹⁷

IV

The strain of work during these war years was telling. Treasury Secretary William McAdoo had given an extra effort in helping the cause of the Liberty Loan drives. Halfway through June 1918, he abruptly went West for a month to rest his throat. Marshall also felt the need to "get away" from Washington and go to Michigan for a vacation. Informing the President through his secretary, Marshall made plans to leave shortly. Wilson became concerned, however, that the Vice President might be needed in case of a tie vote during Senate debate on the women's suffrage amendment.

Neither Wilson nor Tumulty knew Marshall's current feelings about voting rights for women. Lois Marshall was no suffragette and no public statement supporting women's rights outside the home was ever made by her husband. Wilson hoped that Marshall would not stand in the way of passage of the proposed suffrage amendment: To Tumulty he inquired by note,

Are you sure that the Vice President would vote for
woman suffrage[?] They are planning, you know, to have the
vote tomorrow. And the Vice President does not speak here
of going away before next week. Supposing you say in reply
to his note that the only thing I now see ahead of us about which
I am exceedingly anxious is the suffrage amendment which I
earnestly desire to see passed, but that he will know whether his
presence and cooperation will be needed or not.

The outcome of the suffrage bill was not evident. Two years earlier, during the 1916
presidential race, Marshall had written Wilson and advised him not to worry about the
issue of woman suffrage. Yet, now in the summer of 1918 and with congressional
elections on the horizon the temper of the nation may have changed in favor of woman
suffrage. Wilson surely was sensitive to this shift and wanted to take advantage of it.
The woman’s vote might make a considerable difference in election results.
Nevertheless, four months later, the resolution providing for a woman suffrage
amendment was rejected by the Senate for a third time, and not until the next year would
it be passed in both Houses and ratified by the states the following year to become the
Nineteenth Amendment.¹⁸

The Great War was nearly over when the French Government desired to show its
appreciation to the United States Government for its great military and moral contribution
in the war effort. Secretary of State Lansing had learned from the Vice President that the
French wished to give to each House of Congress valuable vases which had been made in
a province of France known for its pottery making. With the proper protocol arranged, the Senate prepared to accept the gift from the French Ambassador, Jules Jusserand.

Behind him and the Vice President in the Senate chambers were draped the French Tricolor and the Stars and Stripes. The two vases, measuring six feet in height, were taller than either Jusserand or Marshall. In bestowing the gift the Frenchman proclaimed that Germany would soon fall at the forceful hands of the Allies. In response, Marshall chose carefully his words, flowery but sincere:

I am not striving to weave a beautiful garment. I am only seeking to dress a great talk in the clothing of speech, however tawdry and misfit it may be. The truth is found in a story of Mahomet. His first wife, Kadijah, was a widow. But she made of the camel driver the founder and head of a great religion. Then she died, and in his old age the prophet married the young, charming, and beautiful Ayesha. Consistently with human nature, she would sit upon Mahomet's knee, pull his grey beard, and petulantly ask, 'Am I not a better wife than Kadijah?' Worn out at last, the prophet made answer, 'No, by Allah; there can be none better, for she believed in me when all men despised me.' Since far off 1776 we have grown rich and powerful and many seek our favors and many are our friends, but none can get closer to our hearts than France, for she believed in us when all men despised us.19

Within two months the Great War had ended. France and her allies had been redeemed.

The armistice agreement between the Allies and Germany was signed at five o'clock in the morning (Paris time) on 11 November 1918 in the Forest of Compiegne.
Within six hours all fighting had ceased. That day President Wilson read the terms of armistice before a joint session of Congress and announced that the war was at an end. Over three hundred thousand American doughboys had suffered as casualties, and countless more European soldiers had expired on the battlefields. The shedding of blood was now past.  

As the second session of the Sixty-fifth Congress came to a close, as was customary the Senate passed a resolution (S.R. 353) thanking the President of the Senate "for the dignified, impartial, and courteous manner in which he has presided over its deliberations during the present session." Marshall was now a six-year veteran. On his part, even though he did not have to say much of substance, he did. It was his way.

Senators of the United States, I thought that we were to wind up one session of the Senate without this usual, ordinary, gracious, but wholly perfunctory resolution on behalf of the presiding officer of the Senate. Nevertheless, as the years go by I find myself more and more under obligations to the Senators of the United States for the patience they exercise in the moments of irritation upon my part, for their generous judgment of my conduct, and for something that is far deeper to me than even the record of a presiding officer over the great and illustrious body -- the feeling which I have, and which, if I ought not to have it, I beg you will not take way from me, that regardless of politics and politicians, regardless of the ebb and flow of party sentiment and party ideas in American, up to this good hour I have had practically the unanimous individual and personal
friendship of the Senators of the United States. For this I thank you. I hope that in the days to come I may be worthy of a continuance of that friendship. 21

Within two weeks after speaking these words Marshall witnessed the beginnings of a battle in the Senate which would have international implications and would involve him in a human drama with the President of the United States and mark his reputation for decades after his demise.