BOOK THREE

LOYAL SUBJECT
As soon as the Baltimore Convention was over, the national campaign was "off and running." Marshall found the experience both exhilarating and trying.

Magazine and newspaper writers took fresh looks at the governor from the "doubtful state" of Indiana. They noted Marshall's record in Indianapolis, his political views, education, and family life, and they compared his background with that of Wilson. Cartoonists were also interested, though they saw Marshall as little more than Wilson's running mate. C. J. Budd of Harper's Weekly drew a caricature of the little man with the big mustache, with his feet in the air and his hands hanging onto the Democratic donkey being led by Wilson. In the same magazine writer Charles Johnston disclosed "a talk with Governor Marshall" in which the Vice Presidential aspirant related his administration's accomplishments. He shared his views on prisoner rehabilitation, favored regulation of "big business" (but did not like that "condemning" adjective), communicated his pessimism about America's future (paternalistic despotism or socialism may result from "the present tendency of things"), and announced that the "protective tariff is the source of much of the evil of our present state. . . . I believe in tariff for revenue only."

Marshall's underlying conservatism showed itself in his business remarks. Change had to be slow. He believed in the recently instituted income tax, but feared the federal government might exaggerate its own administrative role over that more properly
assumed by the states. He interspersed his remarks with talk of the new spirit, the true
spirit, the spirit of kindness, of fairness, and of brotherliness in an age of reform. Such
sentiment seems strange in light of other, pessimistic political remarks. One statement he
made which he contradicted the next year was that "our big men, our great public donors,
are the men that are doing most to create the desire for betterment." Later he would be
criticizing communities for their willing dependence on the beneficence of men like
Andrew Carnegie.¹

The question arose of Marshall's progressivism. A reporter for Current Literature
sought to clarify his political ideology and decided that Wilson's running mate was a
"progressive" in that he had supported a state income tax, favored the direct popular
election of Senators, and guided passage of an employers' liability bill, a corrupt practices
law, and a law requiring disclosure of campaign contributions.

But Marshall was not all progressive: he was weak on the initiative, referendum
and recall, did not believe in "pure democracy," and despised Theodore Roosevelt's New
Nationalism which he saw as "federal autocracy." Marshall advocated a proper balance
of authority and responsibility among the three branches of government. He opposed the
recall of judges, and did not admire the current presidential primary which he saw as
enabling mainly rich men or machine candidates to run for that office, a sentiment
powerfully felt nearly a century later. There must have been doubt in some people's
minds about Marshall's political temperament compared with that of the Midwest in
general. His old friend, John Worth Kern, expressed concern to Wilson even before 20
August, the day of the notification ceremony that "Governor Marshall seems to have
conceived a great dislike to the word ‘Progressive.’ I hope he will not make that dislike manifest in his speech of acceptance, for it would be well nigh fatal.”

Bit by bit the puzzle of the Vice Presidential nominee was being put together. One more reporter went away from the Governor's office with several pages of information and pictures. Thomas Shipp sat with the Governor long enough to ascertain his physical stature, his preference of sports, and his choice of relaxing reading: "light books -- detective stories and thrilling adventures -- books which [the reporter added] Dr. Woodrow Wilson would undoubtedly condemn as very trashy." Years later, Wilson is said to have remarked to a friend, "There are blessed intervals when I forget by one means or another that I am President of the United States. One means by which I forget is to get a rattling good detective story. . . ." Perhaps Marshall and Wilson did possess some characteristics, ideas, and skills in common which would make them a workable combination.

Following the notification ceremonies Democratic strategists headed by Albert S. Burleson planned to send Wilson and Marshall on campaign speaking tours across the country. The South was not in doubt, and so Wilson's itinerary was to cover the midwestern states. Marshall was assigned to go to locales distant from Wilson's stops. When one man was in the Midwest, the other would be on the East Coast. Both were to work in two grand phases, centering in the eastern and western sections of the country.

Burleson wanted a great deal out of the man from Indiana, and Wilson sensed that perhaps Governor Marshall ought to be allowed some freedom of movement. He advised
Burleson by letter that "it would be wiser not to have a fixed itinerary for him but to leave the matter open so that he can fill appointments to speak on special occasions when the necessity arises for him to do so." Burleson surely knew, however, that Marshall was a proven hand to the rigors of political stump-speaking. His real concern would be focused on the Wilson tour.  

President Taft had privately decided that his popularity was at such a low point that no effort would make any difference on election day. Almost the only effort he made was to deliver his acceptance speech as Republican standard-bearer.

Roosevelt, having formed the Bull Moose Party, was not as pessimistic since he thought he had a chance, though not a big chance. In a letter written just before Wilson’s victory at Baltimore, Roosevelt confided to William Dudley Foulke, "In strict confidence, my feeling is that the Democrats will probably win if they nominate a progressive. But of course there is no use of my getting into a fight in a halfhearted fashion and I could not expect Republicans to follow me out if they were merely to endorse the Democratic Convention. So I hoisted the flag and win or fall under it. . . ." But, a month later, even before he was nominated, he had little hope of winning: "For your private information I will say again that I think it probable at present that Wilson will win. There are plenty of well-meaning progressives who do not think deeply or fundamentally who will go to him. . . ."  

Wilson warmed slowly to speechmaking. Mid-August found him before the people of New Jersey, decrying boss rule of state politics. During the first half of September he spoke before groups in New York clarifying his position with regard to the
Murphy-Tammany Hall machine Democrats. On 15 September, when he left New York City, he would travel and speak as far west as Sioux Falls and as far east as Boston.

By this time Wilson had secured the loyalty and assistance of the famed lawyer, Louis D. Brandeis, who would provide him with harmonious ideas about human rights, regulated competition, and "industrial freedom." Brandeis hoped that the Democratic Party could achieve the social goals he had been dedicated to achieve. Writing his fellow-Progressive Gifford Pinchot, Brandeis was convinced that Democratic progressivism had proven itself strong enough "to secure Wilson’s nomination with a much better man for Vice President than the Democrats have had for many years, and a reasonably good platform." Rich words of praise, indeed, from a man Wilson regarded as an intellectual “heavy” on the Democratic team.

Marshall's two-phased campaign was to begin in the extreme northeastern United States, continue to the West Coast, and swing back to Indiana. His contribution would be in stirring enthusiasm for the ticket and encouraging voter support for Congressional candidates. On the road he labored to persuade his hearers of the evils of business trusts with their lobbies in the legislatures of the land. At Portland, Maine, the first stop, the Indiana Governor began batting barbs at ex-President Roosevelt: "Does anyone doubt that for seven and one-half years the leader of the Progressive party was in power in this country? Can anyone put his finger upon a single effort made by him to curb the monopolistic tendency which was then rampant? Does anyone believe that his new platform, which stands both for socialism and for a system of licensing and curbing, is anything more than a bid for votes?" The Progressive candidate was Marshall’s whipping
boy. "It is not the business of government to form a partnership with anyone unless it forms a partnership with all," the Governor claimed before a capacity audience of 4,500. 

In Gardiner the next afternoon Marshall foresaw "a peaceable or forcible revolution" in human affairs. "The people," he said, "will not permit a few to make peace or war, famine or plenty. Such conduct is breeding socialists like rabbits in a warren." In Augusta that evening he talked of conflicting interests and philosophies, and again lambasted Roosevelt: "When he began his career as a trust buster there were only 149 trusts, with four billions of capital. At the end of his career there were more than ten thousand with more than thirty-one billions of capital!" At Bangor and Lewiston the Democratic candidate continued against the trusts and the tariff and the increasingly prevalent lobbies in Washington. He challenged his hearers to consider that the perpetrators are not many citizens but "a little coterie" of men who exist only by deceiving the public. Marshall felt he was succeeding in his efforts and wrote Wilson that "things are in great shape in Maine." 

After going back to Indiana to take care of state business, he resumed his campaign trail to Missouri. In Kansas City with his staff, he learned he was to give five speeches. His caustic response to his political managers, hardly a piece of finesse, was carried by all the newspapers: "This rear-end platform business never got a man anywhere. I've got little enough to say, but I must have time to say it. . . . I'll carry out your programme, gentlemen, but it's a 'tomfool' business. I'll be the Tom and they'll be the fools!" 

The oratory had to go on, nevertheless. It was a game even if Marshall detested games. Identifying with his audience, he spoke of social ills created by advocates of the
protective tariff, of the small earning power of workers, and of the indescribably poor housing of working citizens. Marshall attacked the conditions of women who earned only a dollar a day in the Auburn, New York, plant of George W. Perkins' International Harvester Company. (For this remark he was subsequently called a liar by Perkins.) In Springfield, Illinois, he swiped at the Republican regime in Maine for its alleged favoritism to the Bangor & Aroostock Railroad (yet said not a word about this subject to his Maine audiences). 10

Wilson and Marshall touched base with one another in Iowa, and then Wilson headed for Minneapolis while Marshall stopped off at his childhood home in Missouri.

A week's respite from battle was the Indiana politician's reward for the three weeks of party service, and then he headed again for New England. The Supreme Council of the Scottish Rite Masons gave a banquet in Boston which both Marshall and Taft attended, and they shook hands before dining, old acquaintances still friends. At Norwich, Connecticut, he reached an uncharacteristic low in his speechmaking by describing Roosevelt's attitude as "that of a man without whom civilization cannot longer survive." In New York City next day he compared Roosevelt to a rejected wife: "Roosevelt divorced the Republican party on the grounds of non-support. I am not interested in the amount of alimony or what the Harvester Trust pays him." 11

By this time the fifty-eight-year-old Marshall was feeling the strain. A few days earlier, a small boy had thrown a stone which struck him near the eye. His hand was sore, having been hit in a friendly game by a softball thrown by "Charley" Fairbanks in Indianapolis. "It hurts like a toothache!" he exclaimed to reporters. His nerves were becoming frayed. Preparing to speak at the Tariff Chamber of Horrors (as it was called)
at Union Square in New York City, Marshall was suddenly "assaulted" by a bevy of exploding flashlight powder. The experience scared both him and the audience until they recognized news cameras as being the source of the smoke. En route from New York to Harrisburg Marshall again struck out at Roosevelt. The New York World labeled his Harrisburg speech as "Colonel the Victim of Autointoxication," wherein the Democrat alleged that Roosevelt was having a political love affair with himself. 12

Marshall did not like the stress of speaking and did not like being manipulated by the campaign tour committee. In New York he learned that a tour of western states was being planned. From Indianapolis his secretary sent a letter to Burleson which objected to arrangements made without the Governor's knowledge or consent. Thistlethwaite charged that undue pressure was being exerted to influence Marshall "to do things contrary to his conscience and his judgment," particularly to accept campaign money and to ride on trains financed by supporters. The Governor's man informed Burleson that on the western tour Marshall not only would ride on public trains but would pay expenses of himself, his wife, and a political assistant. "The Governor is absolutely in earnest," Thistlethwaite emphasized, "in insisting that the use of money in politics is the bane of our system of government and is determined that no one shall pay his expenses thereby absolutely eliminating any possibility of an investigation such as now is being conducted in the City of Washington." This extreme rectitude of the candidate was not artificial.

When campaigning for the governorship in 1908, Marshall asked Thistlethwaite, then a journalist for the Indianapolis News, to find out who was paying for his train entourage. The information uncovered was that certain brewers were covering expenses. Marshall
refused, thereupon, to ride on a special train and ultimately paid for every cent of his campaigning costs.\textsuperscript{13}

Despite the convictions he held, he was now involved in a national campaign which he did not direct and could not control. He went on the western tour on the train as planned. From 16 October to 2 November he addressed audiences at Grand Island, Nebraska; Greeley, Colorado; and Cheyenne, Wyoming. At Sacramento on 22 October he was wished success by Grove Johnson, father and staunch opponent of California Governor Hiram Johnson, vice-presidential candidate of the Progressive Party. In California, Marshall attacked the state law which allegedly forbade Republicans from voting for Taft. In San Francisco as candidate for a national office, he also acted as governor by dedicating Indiana's site for a state building for the Panama-Pacific International Exposition scheduled for 1915.

While in San Francisco he spoke on a subject of peculiar concern to the people of the west coast: Asiatic immigrants and the racial issue. Newspaper captions later read: "Marshall for Exclusion" and "Exclude Asiatics, Says Mr. Marshall." Some interpreted that the Governor shared the local racism, particularly from his public statements: "I am unalterably opposed to the granting of citizenship to any race of aliens which by habit and by nature is absolutely unfitted to amalgamate with the American people." Yet, years later, after retirement from national office, he penned: "When I think of Americans I do not think of men of English blood, but of men of whatever blood, who have the mind to believe in our institutions, the conscience to uphold them and the will to defend them." This may well have been the meaning behind his words at Sam Francisco. He did not
believe the United States should support any immigrant or naturalized citizen who could not abide the laws of the land, even if he disbelieved them.

In his hometown of Columbia City Marshall could point to a Japanese friend, Shinzo Ohki, who lived his mature years as a participating citizen, a foreigner who had successfully amalgamated to the midwestern scene. Columbia City itself at the turn of the century was an ethnic salad bowl of the "old" immigration, Europeans and their descendants who had entered the Old Northwest from western and central Europe. They were another world culturally from the people who were filtering into Gary, Hammond, and Chicago in the decades following the Civil War. Historians label these the "new" immigration: people from southern and eastern Europe. It was not uncommon to find in the Columbia City papers nativist anecdotes about Jews and Negroes, stories borrowed from other newspapers and written in dialect, typically at the expense of these groups. Marshall was known to be friendly to all sorts and stations of people. With his paternal origins in colonial Virginia it is not surprising to see that he had paternalistic attitudes toward blacks, for example. Still, he could have views of Orientals that were distinct from those toward American Negroes.15

A second case of misunderstanding of the Hoosier Governor's words came from The Outlook. With Lyman Abbott as editor-in-chief and Theodore Roosevelt as contributing editor, its political opinion was basically practical: it admired agreements between political parties when they were "progressive." It quoted Marshall as having said that it is the American people who rule, for they "can have just the kind of government they want." The Outlook's cautious response was that "Governor Marshall does not take too much stock in the opinion of Progressives that the people do not rule as they should."
Even so, Marshall was realistic enough to see that people rule through their representatives who, if crooked, are the people’s choice until voted out or thrown out of office.\textsuperscript{16}

II

At last the day of voting came, and to the surprise of no one President Taft failed of reelection, former President Roosevelt failed (of reelection, his opponents were saying), and Professor Wilson and running mate Governor Marshall succeeded. According to the ground rules of American politics, congratulations were in order, and Marshall sent a brief telegram from Indiana to New Jersey:

\begin{center}
I SALUTE YOU MY CHIEFTAIN IN ALL LOVE AND LOYALTY.
\end{center}

Wilson responded in a typical note, doubtless typed on his small portable and taken down to the Shadow Lawn telegraph station for sending:

\begin{center}
WARMEST THANKS FOR YOUR GENEROUS TELEGRAM. YOUR PART IN THE CAMPAIGN WAS A SOURCE OF GREAT STRENGTH AND STIMULATION. NOW FOR THE DEEP PLEASURE OF CLOSE ASSOCIATION IN A GREAT WORK OF NATIONAL SERVICE.\textsuperscript{17}
\end{center}

Lois Kimsey Marshall scarcely believed she would ever get out of Indiana, but now she was ready and eager to support her husband in whatever new way she could. Interviewed by a female reporter shortly after the victory, Mrs. Marshall was not hesitant in giving tidbits from her past, especially her interest in politics which, she said, grew out
of her family life and marriage. She had been brought up a Republican but was now a Democrat. She had been a Campbellite; she was now a Presbyterian. Tom Marshall had made the difference. As his wife she staved to accompany him on campaign tours to "save him the little annoyances and irritation. I go to make the way smooth. . . . I've always wanted to go to Washington. I used to wish Mr. Marshall would accept the nomination for Congress—you know he could have it. And then I thought he might someday be a senator. I thought I should love the life in Washington. But when he was elected governor and came to Indianapolis, I knew that was out of the question. And I gave up all thought of Washington. I never dreamed of this. . . ."18

These sentiments became a piece of campaign lore, although perhaps an unwitting piece, for Mrs. Marshall was only saying what countless political wives had said before, and would say in later years. She meant it, as did many of her predecessors and successors. The political leaders of other lands, observing what American women have said of American politics, doubtless have wondered about the solemnity and the devotion of political wives where the requirements of American political life were concerned. Mrs. Marshall stood in the grand tradition.

One of the last social gatherings Marshall attended in Indianapolis before he and his wife left for Washington was a post-Christmas holiday banquet at the Claypool Hotel. The Phi Gamma Delta college fraternity was having its 64th Ekklesia, or annual meeting, and the two most illustrious "Phi Gams" were present: Vice President-elect Thomas R. Marshall (Wabash '73) and former Vice President Charles W. Fairbanks (Ohio Wesleyan '72). One other notable brother from Ohio was present to enjoy food and fellowship:
Newton D. Baker, mayor of Cleveland (Johns Hopkins '92), who would become a Wilson cabinet member.

Fairbanks was right at home among the group. He was never one to sit along the sidelines. As usual, he who liked Fairbanks typically said good things about him, and vice-versa. (Certain newspaper reporters of the period had a somewhat different impression of the frigid Fairbanks, however, and compared the two Hoosier Vice Presidents after Marshall's term had become history.) Among his fraternity brothers Fairbanks reminisced: "Years are not measured by the calendar but by the heart. The first ekklesia I attended was in 1872, here in Indianapolis, and it was here that I first met Tom Marshall, now at my left, then an undergraduate at Wabash. I've always thought a lot of him. If Tom would only change his politics he would be perfection...."

The Phi Gam reunion was festive in spirit. Marshall arose to respond to Fairbanks and to the others present. He looked about the audience, seated before long tables and empty dessert plates, noted the ages represented there, and began with a story of a man who had two sons. One chose to go to sea; the other entered politics. The former drowned; the latter became Vice President. "The poor father died of a broken heart -- he never heard from either one afterward!"

His words were filled with praise for Indiana and for the fraternity: "The center of literature, politics, the automobile industry, and Phi Gamma Delta fraternity, [Indiana] has also produced more first-class second-class men than any state in the Union." It was difficult for Brother Marshall to be serious, though he did have a sober word for his youthful hearers: "The great things of the fraternity are not the outward trappings, the pomp or the ceremony; its greatness lies in the men who make up the fraternity. I envy
you, young men, only your youth, and that because of the boundless possibilities which lie before the young men of today. The future of American Institutions rests upon the shoulders of the college-bred men of America. I have no doubt or fear of the future of Phi Gamma Delta. I learned four years ago, and again last year, to know the loyalty of Phi Gamma Deltas, to know what the fraternity will do for a man, and I thank God, Fairbanks, for one thing, and that is that you weren't running against me!"19

What man there could have realized the irony of fate when, four years later (1916), Fairbanks and Marshall would oppose each other for the Vice Presidency.
Entering Four Years of Silence

March 1913 - February 1914

One war was over, but a new battle had just begun. Like a college freshman beginning his four-year course of study, Thomas Marshall was to find his first year as Vice President the most trying if not the most difficult. He and Lois were faced with the normal family problems in moving from one section of the country to another. Both of them would have to prove themselves anew as they had done in the transition from Columbia City to Indianapolis in 1909, leaving their home state to live in the nation’s capital for at least four years. During January they visited Lois' parents in Arizona and rested their bodies and spirits. Marshall's responsibilities with the office of governor of Indiana now lay in the past. Sam Ralston now had that job.

During a stopover in Philadelphia on their way to see President-elect Wilson, Lois Marshall answered a reporter's obvious question: "Of course I'm glad of the honor which has come to my husband, and I'm looking forward to life in Washington with pleasure, but we will live in the simplest manner possible, as we must meet all our expenses with the Vice President’s salary." Asked her position on the issue of woman suffrage, she responded that she would not oppose the voting right, if women ever obtained it, "but women have yet to bring about dress reforms and settle the domestic problem before they endeavor to handle man's affairs." And, yes, she was perfectly delighted at her husband's acceptance into the Chevy Chase (Maryland) Club.
Before the new administrative term took effect on 4 March, Wilson invited Marshall to meet with him in Trenton. Bryan had quietly advised Wilson to cultivate closer relations with the Vice President-elect and suggested a pre-inauguration conference at the New Jersey state capital. Marshall wired Wilson from Arizona in late January that as he was exhausted he was not in a hurry to move to Washington. When finally they did come together one month later, the two men talked for several hours about the plans and problems they expected to confront, including the selection of a cabinet. The meeting between a President-elect and his Vice President-elect was regarded as unprecedented by the New York Times: talking so long--four hours--and so early, a week before the inauguration. After Marshall left their meeting, Wilson spoke to newsmen and paid his political colleague tribute, saying that the two men had known each other for a long time and were in basic harmony on administration matters. In Wilson's view Vice Presidents in the past were inactive simply because "they did not have the calibre . . . . Marshall has it."2

Woodrow Wilson and Thomas Marshall had noteworthy similarities. Both men were products of a rural society--Wilson in Augusta, Georgia, and Marshall in Pierceton, Indiana. Both were students of private, church-related colleges, Davidson and Wabash, respectively. Both men enjoyed being in debating societies, reading books, and dealing with ideas and issues. The profession of law was common to Wilson and Marshall but with this difference, a very real one: Wilson attended one year of law school at the University of Virginia, studied at home for another year and a half (due to illness which prevented regular school attendance), and then opened a law office in Atlanta. Marshall did not attend law school but studied as an apprentice for a year and a half before being
admitted to the bar. By the time Wilson began his practice Marshall had been active in law for six years. Wilson either did not have the stamina for private practice that Marshall did or he did not have the opportunities or legal suits which went toward building a career in law. Wilson’s interests were not with the legal concerns and entanglements of common people as were those of Thomas Marshall. Wilson once wrote a friend: "The philosophical study of the law--which must be a pleasure to any thoughtful man--is a very different matter from its scheming and haggling practice." On his part Marshall respected the practice of the law because he felt close to the people for whom the law was made. He was realistic about the law, at the same time, because he saw it as "merely the organized enforced moral sentiment of the people."  

Marshall possessed a sincere interest in education and in the development of the common school and had stood many times before student audiences as commencement speaker, but he was not an educator. Whereas Marshall developed his reputation as a lawyer and politician, Woodrow Wilson's forte--substantiated by a doctoral degree from the Johns Hopkins University and by several books--was within the environment of higher education. With teaching positions at Bryn Mawr, Wesleyan, and Princeton (where he eventually became president) Wilson found his way in life as a scholar-writer and eventually as a public leader.  

Both Wilson and Marshall were governors of their respective states. They lived at a time when sentiments were strong for reform in many arenas of societal activity. Their state legislatures' enactments reflected the desire to improve society. They were both Democrats in the first instance because their fathers were Democrats and in the
second because the Democratic Party was not aligned with the business trusts and special interests that were such bug-a-boos to Populists and Progressives alike.

Finally, Wilson and Marshall were of the same religious heritage, Calvinistic Presbyterians and ordained elders in sister denominations. William Jennings Bryan, the third man of the triumvirate coming into power as Secretary of State, in March of 1913, was also a churchman. Their Church was proud and a little embarrassed that the three leading offices of the nation were to be held by elders of the Presbyterian Church:

This unusual and interesting historical fact is of no civil advantage to the Presbyterian church, nor does this Church desire it to be so. If anything, it is embarrassing to her, because she is so decided against any appearance of the union of Church and State, that she might be a little sensitive, lest anything should occur that would give any reason for criticism. . . . Presbyterians may, with the consent of all good men and all Christians, rejoice in the fact that this Church produces such men in such numbers....

Wilson and Marshall were of the same cloth, religiously, but they were not of the same temperament. Their difference lay in the position each came to assume, one, a President of the United States, the other, a devout subject.
As the Vice President-elect and his wife disembarked from the train at Union Station in Washington, a small crowd of Congressmen and newsmen was there to receive them. The conference which Marshall earlier had with Wilson prompted all sorts of rumors and headlines. The New York World countered with "One Man Knows Wilson's Cabinet, That's Marshall." Democratic Senators were not only happy to see their new Senate President but also anxious to learn what names were on the list of new cabinet members. Marshall was mum. The newspapers would have plenty of material for their readers in the days following the announcement of the new governmental heads. Not one of the ten men, accomplished in their respective fields, was as old as the President-elect (56); half were southerners; and, none would be a close confidant to Wilson during the most critical times.6

Already many thousand of citizens had arrived in Washington for the inauguration. Military uniforms abounded, the retinue of state governors. "Big hat boys" from the South could be easily spotted. It was a New Year's Eve atmosphere throughout the first week in March. Outside the Shoreham Hotel to which the Marshalls had just moved, Indiana Democrats sang sleep-impairing renditions of "On the Banks of the Wabash."7

The fourth day of March was beautiful for an inauguration. At 9:30 a.m. the President-to-be left the Shoreham Hotel for his new residence, escorted by the Essex Troop at Newark. The Black Horse Troop of impressive young cadets from Culver Military Academy of Indiana formed on Pennsylvania Avenue west of Jackson Place as the Vice President-elect and his wife proceeded to the White house. At the Capitol huge numbers awaited the arrival of the President and his Democratic successor. It took an
hour for Taft, Wilson, and Marshall to go by carriage from the White House to the Senate Chamber for the swearing-in ceremonies.

As they headed slowly toward Capitol Hill, crowds of people, mostly women, entered the Senate galleries and filled the available seats. Here and there sat men amidst bantering and bedecked ladies. "A black-coated man among them looked like a piece of chocolate tied to an illuminated Christmas tree," noted one eyewitness. Down below, business as usual was being conducted by the reading clerk—all waiting until the time of the inauguration of a new Vice President and the oath-taking by new United States Senators. Congressmen looked up toward the front gallery where Mrs. Wilson and her three daughters had just taken their seats. Next to them were Army and Navy White House aides assigned for the occasion. Down the way on the second row sat Marshall's youthful wife, Lois, with close friends seated near Hoosier politicians Thomas Taggart and John E. Lamb. Nearby sat a tall, broad-shouldered priest, Father Ellinger from Marshall's hometown, Columbia City. The gallery of sixty seats was filled to capacity.

As the inauguration ceremony began, senators crowded together on the Republican side of the chamber, leaving the Democratic side vacant for the House members attending. From the back of the chambers strode in the well known former House Speaker, Joseph G. Cannon, whose nearly forty-year term of service had come to a temporary end. Ambassadors, ministers of state, and other diplomatic officers entered, at the head of which were Jules Jusserand of France, "dean of the diplomats," James Bryce of Great Britain, and Count Johann von Bernstorff of Germany. Next came black-robed Chief Justice Edward D. White and his associate justices, ushered to chairs placed ahead of the front desks. The Sergeant-at-Arms moved to the center aisle and proclaimed: "The
Vice President of the United States." Down the aisle walked Thomas Riley Marshall wearing the traditional black frock coat and flanked by two Senators and a guard. After shaking hands with President pro tempore Gallinger, he sat on the latter's right, folded his arms and looked straight ahead.

In a moment the arrival of the President was announced. Down to the front walked Taft and Wilson to their seats. The presiding officer then proceeded to administer the oath of office to the new Vice President. Taft's Vice President, James S. Sherman, had died unexpectedly during the recent campaign in 1912, and therefore the oath was not administered by the outgoing Vice President. Guided by slips of paper held in his hand, Marshall took the oath. The only words heard by the assembly were "God helping me, I will." Words of farewell and gratitude were expressed by the retiring Gallinger, whereupon he handed his gavel to the new Presiding Officer. "The Senate will be in order," charged Marshall. He was not ready to use his gavel. "Let us reverently attend while the chaplain invokes the blessing of our God and Father upon us."

Following the invocation, Marshall arose to speak. His voice was clear and forceful as he proceeded to deliver his inaugural address from typed half-sheets. Midway through his speech he realized that that was the time to end speaking—but he wasn't to the end of his speech. Abruptly, he commenced reading faster until he finished his message. The fledgling Vice President then turned to the final business of giving the oath of office to the new Senators."

Marshall's address was generally well received. It contained wisdom and the touch of humor that were to characterize the pronouncements of the man for the next four years. A sense of humility combined with certainty of purpose guided Marshall's remarks
to his new colleagues. It was to them he spoke, taking opportunity at this time to declare
the hope "before he [speaking of himself] enters upon a four years' silence that all our
diplomacy may spell peace with all peoples, justice for all Governments, and
righteousness the world around." It was a line he might have taken from the writings of
the Hebrew prophets, reminding his people's representatives that the Senate is not a
perfect body but rather "the guardian of the people's honor," and on that honor are the
people of the United States to be judged. If America makes a mistake, he admonished, let
it be honorable to admit it and to make due reparation. Better to lose face than to lose
faith.\textsuperscript{10}

Subsequent reactions to his words were spirited. David Houston, new Secretary
of Agriculture, noted that Marshall "caused the dignity of the Senate to crack a little by
comparing it to a bridle with blinders." Texas Congressman James Slayden described his
speech as being in ragtime with metaphors from the livery stable"; his wife did not know
whether to take Marshall seriously or humorously. A New York Times editor took
delight in writing, "There was something very refreshing in the spectacle of the Vice
President on the eve of 'four years of silence,' addressing the Senate as Mr. Marshall did
on Tuesday. The form of address was novel and naive; there were metaphors verging on
the grotesque, and there were touches of sentiment on the one hand and whimsical,
almost boyish, humor on the other that must have tickled the jaded ears of the older
Senators and suggested ventures of their own to the new ones. . . ."\textsuperscript{11}

The next day, Marshall received well-wishers at his new office, a single room
adjacent to the Senate chamber. The location of the Senate's presiding officer was so
planned, supposedly, that his office would be accessible to those persons having business
with the Vice President. Marshall was shocked upon first sight of his chamber. The room was so small "that to survive it is necessary to keep the door open in order to obtain the necessary cubic feet of air." Anyone walking along the hall could glance in to find the man at his desk. The tourists especially were irksome. "I don't see that this room differs much from a monkey cage," he griped, "except that the visitors do not offer me any peanuts." Furthermore, his official car was not yet in service; it had not been used by Vice President Sherman since the preceding summer. "I had two big baskets of mail at my hotel," Marshall told reporters, "but I did not know whether or not it was good form for the Vice President to carry his correspondence in a bushel basket on a street car, so I left it."

Congressman and Mrs. Slayden, being proper Texans, called on the Marshalls at the Shoreham Hotel. Marshall sent word for them to "come straight up" to his suite. Almost there, the veteran Washington couple found "the little V. P. standing ruefully before his door feeling in all his pockets for the key." Mrs. Slayden remembered him as being unpretentious, "but his interests seem bounded by Indiana. I spoke of his being related to the Chief Justice Marshall's family, and he said, 'Yes, but my family moved west in 1819, and I guess it's about rubbed off.'" Mrs. Slayden noted to herself, "I didn't guess, I knew it!"12

The following Monday Lois Marshall joined wives of cabinet members in the White House library with Mrs. Ellen Wilson as their hostess. After dinner the ladies accompanied the First Lady downtown to the Belasco Theatre, where Lois saw her first Washington play, "Buntie Pulls the Strings." The new President's wife made her feel at ease. Neither had been a "big city" sophisticate, and Mrs. Wilson was, in fact, "calm and
sweet." Lois did not return to the President's home until the Administration wives were again invited, once in October and again in November, due to Mrs. Wilson's heavy social commitments. A Christmas dinner at the White House was the Wilsons' treat for Vice President and Mrs. Marshall, cabinet members and other Washington notables.13

The Wilsons and the Marshalls both made a practice of attending Sunday worship services. On the first Sunday of the new administration the fashionable New York Avenue Presbyterian Church was crowded with people trying hard to see the President and his family. Among these pushing their way into the church were the Vice President and his wife whom few recognized. The Wilsons and their daughters ultimately chose to worship at the Central Presbyterian Church, "far from Washington's social centre." It took Washingtonians a short while to learn which executive went to which church, for in a short time the Marshalls had decided to affiliate with the Covenant Presbyterian Church with which they felt more comfortable. Throughout their years in Washington Wilson and Marshall would be reasonably faithful attendees at Sunday services.14

Amidst the sober matters of administering federal government there were hours given to relaxation and recreation. The new administrators enjoyed the social as well as the serious moments. Besides banquets and ballets there were sports. And wherever the notables went, there went reporters, writing down and remembering what they saw and what they heard. One never knew but what some world-shaking bit of information might fall into their hands, like a golf ball into the cup.

To a group of newsmen Marshall quipped, "On Saturday I played eighteen holes. I had not taken any exercise for some time. I had played nine holes a few times in Arizona. Well, Saturday, I struck at the ball with all my might two hundred times. I sent
it into the woods, into the water and every place that it should not go. That night I was so
tired I did not eat a bit of dinner. I am not over it yet. I am through with golf." Besides
playing golf in the suburbs, Washington officials watched baseball. The Vice President
loved the game and appreciated an engraved annual pass given him by B. B. Johnson,
president of the American League. He wrote Johnson of his admiration for "the great
American sport," declaring, "The dirt accumulated upon the baseball diamond is clean. A
Democrat can say that for all the other diamonds in America."15

Marshall's first year in office was possibly his most difficult year in terms of
adjusting to new situation, new regulations, and new personalities. Though he said things
that aroused the ire of certain newspapermen and magazine writers, he found a receptive
mind in President Wilson whose burdens surely required light moments.

On one occasion the Vice President, in an outwardly serious way and upon
official stationery, wrote to Wilson the following note:

THE VICE-PRESIDENT'S CHAMBER
WASHINGTON

My dear Mr. President,

I enclose [for] you a Korean paper containing your inaugural
and my talk. I find mine correct. If you are not satisfied address the
Editor.

Faithfully yours,
/s/ Thos. R. Marshall

Attached was The Christian News, a weekly publication of the Presbyterian Church of
Korea, published in Korean. The President replied accordingly:

Dear Mr. Vice President:

Thank you very much for giving me an opportunity to see how my
inaugural looks in Korean: I note one or two typographical errors, but as long as
the paper has been circulated, I do not believe I shall go to the trouble of asking the editor to make the corrections.

Cordially yours,
/s/ Woodrow Wilson

Hon. Thomas R. Marshall
The Vice President

II

As residents of Washington, D.C., Thomas and Lois found their social life stimulating if not always significant. They were not social butterflies; they had too few financial resources even if they had been so inclined. Marshall continually felt an economic pinch in a city which expected him to wine and dine with the best. He had been given an allowance by the Government, which provided for some entertaining on his part as the Vice President, and he was given an automobile and chauffeur to use whenever necessary. Both he and his wife took time periodically to leave the city for rides out of town or for visiting friends on the weekend. The Oldsmobile limousine was a far cry from the streetcar Marshall used to ride to the State House in Indianapolis.

The Marshalls' social life was temperate in keeping with their lifestyle. Tom Marshall's thin, high-pitched voice, his medium stature, his slight limp, and ever-present cane, upon first glance did not produce a countenance designed to impress the stranger. The humble Hoosier was friendly but not overly so, with a tendency to remain subdued around persons he knew only slightly. Lois was of a lighter vein, and she entered into the Washington social circles with ease.

The first Christmas season arrived with time for thinking of matters other than affairs of state. To his "Chief" Marshall sent a second book, entitled Back Country Folks, for which Wilson acknowledged appreciation. With his own money the Vice President
provided a Christmas Eve dinner for the Senate pages, an innovation for the Wilson Administration. The boys (between 12 and 16 years of age), customarily dressed in their daily garb of white blouse shirts and knee breeches, were clothed in their best for this occasion. They never forgot the generosity of their host.18

The Christmas recess allowed the Marshalls to return to Indianapolis. It was pleasant to see familiar places again, such as the seasonally decorated Soldiers and Sailors Monument with the statuary on its sides surrounded by fountains, the hub of a circle that was the center of the city's downtown area. The snow seemed whiter and the weather colder than that of Washington but without the bitter winds. Automobiles were honking and hurrying, making their appearance in greater numbers, but they were still oddities in Indiana.

The former governor was visited by old friends and reporters who asked about his new experiences in the Senate and about current legislation before the Congress. He ventured an opinion that "there was no need for any anti-trust legislation at present, in view of the enactment of the tariff and currency acts," but his timing was poor. President Wilson was planning to carry forward his program of anti-trust legislation and made his intentions known to Eastern reporters. After this news had reached Indianapolis, Marshall vowed to himself that from then on he would speak "no more against the announced plans of the party's chosen leader." He managed to keep his vow.19

In mid-January the Marshalls gave a reception for President and Mrs. Wilson at the Shoreham Hotel. Lois enjoyed entertaining and being entertained in Washington society circuit. Appearing older than her forty-two years because of her clothing style,
she was excited with a new mode of existence. For her it was a busy and gay time, that first year in Washington.

In the twilight of his life Marshall reflected upon his social life during the Wilson years: "I have an idea that what success I had in getting along in the social life of Washington was due to the fact that heaven had given me a nimble tongue; that I could phrase a compliment and tell a story out of the book of my life, which had not been read by the people of that city....[My] social life was altogether delightful and wholly charming. Whether it was real regard--and that I am pleased to believe it to have been--or whether it was mere courtesy, at no time was I ever the recipient of a frowning face, never did I have a cold shoulder turned to me, nor the slightest suggestion that Hoosier manners did not appeal to that which was best and cultured in the social life of the city." While he saw himself as a product of the Midwest, Marshall was self-radiant and at ease among the social set in Washington. He had reason to be confident. He was in the prime of his mental powers. And he had a lovely, outgoing young woman for his wife.
“The Vice President is at it again!”

April 1913 - March 1915

Mid-America to the United States Capitol seemed a long way to Tom Marshall. The new Vice President began to feel that perhaps America had made a mistake in placing him among "the company of the wise men of the land." The truth was that he was awed: "I was quite uncertain as to whether a man from Main Street could dwell in harmony with these gentlemen who possessed all the wit and wisdom of the land, and with the women who had all its beauty and culture. It was quite natural, therefore, in such an attitude of mind that I should have got off with the wrong foot in the Senate of the United States."

His sole responsibility as Senate President was to maintain proper parliamentary procedure during Senate debates and discussions. One or more experienced clerks was usually at hand to inform him. There was no one to guide him, however, when a veteran Senator decided to throw "precedence to the four winds of the world" or when the Senators decided to reverse a ruling they had once agreed to. There was even the disconcerting act of a Senator speaking on a subject about which there was no apparent significance or relevance. Such experiences seemed almost planned in order to upset the President of the Senate! How he reacted, he realized early, would affect his relations with the Senators and, more importantly, relations between the Senate and the Wilson Administration. He had confidence in himself, and so he acted as he always had, in his words, with "good humor and a spirit of fairness."\(^1\)
In addition to the adjustment to living in a new city and working at a new job—
how else can the presidency of the Senate be described?—Marshall had to contend with a
new force in his life: the American press, friendly when wanting news stories but
unfriendly if challenged by ideas that stab at its philosophic base, Marshall was harmless
enough when doing what he was paid to do at the Capitol, but he ventured to speak his
convictions in public places and within a month or two after coming into office became
embroiled in conspicuous controversy.

I

At his inauguration President Wilson said he would call a special session of
Congress to deal with the critical issue of the protective tariff and to eliminate as much as
possible the high tariff rates that had become so detrimental to the American people but
beneficial to privileged industries. According to Wilson, these rates had caused an
unnecessary rise in the cost of living. With the Democrats in the majority in both Houses
their lower tariff bill was expected to emerge unscathed. What was unexpected was the
new President's intent to visit the Congress personally to share his views on the tariff. No
President since John Adams had done so, influenced by the example of Adam's successor,
Thomas Jefferson, who chose to have others read his messages to Congress.

The Senators' reactions to Wilson's proposed visit differed irrespective of party.
Mississippi Democrat John Sharp Williams felt that such a proposal smacked of
monarchism. Henry Cabot Lodge, Sr., was pleased that Wilson planned to speak to both
Houses. As the Massachusetts Republican reflected on "the old Federalist arguments
about the dignity and the impressiveness of the President personally appearing before
Congress," Senator Lodge offered that Congress should be given the opportunity, when the President was done speaking, to discuss, even to criticize his message on the House floor.² As he anticipated the upcoming tariff debate, Marshall became fearful lest the Senators' refuse to give unanimous consent to allow Wilson to appear before them. Rather than submit a request for Senate approval, the Vice President boldly declared it "a question of high privilege on which unanimous consent was not required." Despite Republican grumblings the matter was settled. On 8 April Marshall took his seat next to Speaker Champ Clark in the House of Representatives and listened to the President of the United States give his first message to the Congress.³

One month later the Underwood tariff bill, advocating downward revision of rates, passed in the House, and with direction from Senator Furnifold Simmons, North Carolina Democrat, it passed in the Senate. The Vice President himself supported the bill: "I am and always have been a 'tariff for revenue only' Democrat," explained Marshall to the press. "I shall never admit the justice of taxing all the people for the benefit of some of them." He felt strongly about this issue. In a speech given the previous January he proclaimed, "The tariff has corrupted this country more than anything else. It has corrupted good men and made bad men worse. I don't care how good a man is. If you give him a tariff favor at the expense of his neighbor, you weaken his moral fibre. In a little while he can see no wrong in buying a franchise from a City Council!"

During the heated presidential election campaign the previous year Marshall preached his gospel of the revenue tariff wherever he went. In Augusta, Maine, he had advocated "an ultra-free-trade policy." He wondered whether certain southern sugar growers might bolt the party and head for Roosevelt's Progressive camp. Following
passage of the Underwood-Simmons tariff bill in September, 1913, Marshall sent a popular limerick to the President, who had a fondness for that kind of verse. The poem read:

Oh, a wonderful bird is the pelican!
His beak will hold more than his belican.
    He can hold in his beak
    Enough for a week –
I don’t understand how the helican.

At the bottom of his note Marshall penned, "Respectfully dedicated to the Louisiana Sugar Planters." The limerick had a special message of its own. Louisiana, nicknamed "the Pelican State," was a leading continental producer of sugar cane, and sugar planters, typically Democrats, were fiercely against sugar being on the free list. As matters developed, the Louisiana Democrats did not revolt. The Underwood-Simmons tariff act was still protectionist in principle though with its schedules ten percent lower than those in the Payne-Aldrich Tariff under Taft; the important difference was that one hundred new items were added to the free list. While not changing his basic position as he listened to senatorial speeches pro and con, Marshall perceived long after the new tariff bill had passed that other men could have as strong and sincere views as himself regarding the protective tariff and that they "really believed that a high protective tariff was of value to the entire American people."4

A second formidable battle of the new Democratic Administration was fought over the banking and currency question, which ultimately led to passage of the Federal Reserve
bill on 23 December 1913. Marshall, as presiding officer, had no role to play in the Senate debate except near the end when on 19 December the Senators voted to a tie on an amendment that would place certain governmental employees under Civil Service. The proponent of the amendment was a Republican, and since the measure did not figure in the Administration’s bill the Vice President voted against the measure with a 44 to 43 result.\(^5\)

Marshall had listened closely to the debates on the bill. He had been concerned about the financial system in America ever since Bryan ran for President in the year 1896. He followed carefully the Senators’ arguments and drew his own conclusions from the mass of facts that were mustered from foreign countries as well as from the United States. The German people were currently paying ten percent of their income to their government and their army had grown to eight hundred thousand. In addition, socialism was making gains in Europe as was the cause of universal manhood suffrage. France was still the bitter enemy of the Germans. Placing these facts together Marshall concluded “that there would be a war in Europe within five years, and that we might be drawn into it; and if we were, that this [federal reserve] system would enable us to finance a war.” When he shared these conclusions with his friends of the Senate, they laughed at him. They even accused him of imbibing the liquor bottle. So far as they were concerned “the peace of Europe was permanent.” Yet, as Marshall foresaw, war came: "It was not five years—it was only nine months. . .”\(^6\)
II

Notwithstanding his position as Vice President ("four years of silence"), Thomas Marshall spoke firmly on subjects about which he had strong convictions. Public speaking engagements kept him a busy man when he was not in the Senate presiding. On the day following Easter in 1913, he addressed a Y.M.C.A.-sponsored assembly in Springfield, Massachusetts. His remarks included a "dig" at Andrew Carnegie and his libraries which dotted communities across America. Marshall noted how in his travels he had been impressed by the pride of local citizens in their public buildings. The notable exception was the Carnegie library, if a town perchance had one. The people everywhere seemed apologetic about their Carnegie library. "I don't wish to detract from Mr. Carnegie in the slightest," he declared, "but I do believe that he derives more pleasure from giving the libraries than the public does from availing itself of them. If you want institutions of which the public will be proud, dig down into your pockets and pay for them yourselves."

Nevertheless, the Vice President did detract from Carnegie in no uncertain terms. He earlier said, "The public does not appreciate charity that emanates from predatory wealth." Two days later a defense of Carnegie appeared on the editorial page of the New York Times: Marshall had erred in attacking the libraries as being derivative of predatory wealth. Indeed, Carnegie was not predatory, reflected the editor, else he would not have undersold his competitors! Furthermore, Mr. Marshall’s contacts in the twenty-seven states he visited were undoubtedly local politicians "who are not noted for their literary tastes, and would very likely disparage anything so impractical." The editor got even saltier by concluding that Marshall’s words were out of character and that he might find
his "place in the discard" where the muckrakers eventually found themselves! The new Vice President made no public retort to this, but he obviously got the message: the honeymoon was over--at least with the New York Times editors.

Later, in Boston Marshall gave forth his economic outlook for the country to interested reporters. Some businessmen were frightened that the Democrats were now in power. Investors were standing still, waiting for Congress to make a decision disclosing the economic path for the next four years. One man had come to Marshall for advice on what to do with a sum of money designated for investment. His response was colorful and consistent: "I said, Well, if I had my way, I'd see that $75,000,000 baked, boiled, and fricasseed, and shoved down the throats of the men who own it. Capital that has no initiative isn't much good, and capital that wants Government assistance in its investment isn't much good to the country!" He went on to say, "I never could get myself into the frame of mind to believe that the Government was organized to promote any particular line of business for any particular set of men. . . . There is no question that the Government has been a promoter of business; big business has resulted, and big fortunes have been amassed. The country has suffered, and now we wait to change all this in order that all business men shall be treated fairly." Marshall seemed to be giving "big" business fair warning that the Administration was keeping close watch. The country was not about to go to the dogs just because the Democrats had won the White House and the Congress. 7

On 12 April the Vice President held the spotlight at the Jefferson Day Dinner provided at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City. The National Democratic Club sponsored the annual dinner, and the audience consisted in the main of Democratic
businessmen. What they heard from the lips of the new Vice President was the sort of thing that causes Wall Street stocks to fall one hundred points. Their reaction to his speech was deeply negative.

People who had read his remarks made earlier in Boston should not have been surprised to learn that his strong feelings would not let him stay silent. Marshall warned his audience that "the institutions of the government may be jeopardized and the country revert to either socialism or paternalism." In his own words the Vice President expounded, "Nothing but a desire to arouse thoughtless rich men to a sense of their danger would induce me to suggest this--what might happen to them here in the great State of New York if those who have not, should take it into their heads to make common cause against those who have? They talk about vested rights, and in their talks assume they have both an inherent and constitutional right to pass their property down from generation to generation until some reckless descendant shall have dissipated it." Where do these men get the idea that they have the right? he asked. They have the privilege of descents, of inheritance, because they are given the benefit of the doubt by the citizenry that they will act responsibly, Marshall persuaded, and therefore they must change their ways before their ways are changed for them! "The belief that here is an unequal distribution of wealth in this country," he went on, "has been obtained through special privilege, that it did not come by labor, skill, industry, barter or trade, but through watered stocks and bonds, through corners on commodities, through corruption of legislatures, through the sale of impure foodstuffs, through wrecking railroads, through all the devices known to man whereby the law is not abrogated but chloroformed!"
This first major speech since his inauguration seemed aimed at the very people who were his most powerful political supporters. Concern for the economic welfare of the laboring man was being expressed by a person "from so high a position" as the Vice Presidency. That he was sincere was not in doubt. The truth of his remarks was not so obvious to his hearers. Were these the sentiments of a progressive? a reformer? or a socialist? or a crackpot?

Reactions multiplied rapidly. The Secretary of the Democratic National Committee, James F. Reilly, on the next day wrote a hasty letter to President Wilson charging Marshall with having made a socialistic speech. His language was strong: "Be careful that some crank of that order don't try to make Marshall your successor before your term ends so that the Socialists will have a leader at the head of the nation." A New York Herald editorial by-lined: "Our loquacious Vice President is at it again!" He was not, it noted, opting for more laws but was trying to persuade wealthy listeners to be more responsible with their wealth lest the country fall prey to the socialists. To the idea of one's inheritance passing to the State instead of to the offspring, Marshall said that he borrowed that idea from the Illinois State Bar Association and was passing it on as an example of what was presently being discussed throughout the country: inheritance as a privilege, not as a right. The New York Times editor was not charitable: Vice Presidents ought not to utter foolish remarks. In contrast, the Dallas News, supportive of the Wilson Administration and considering itself progressive, obviously admired the courage and convictions of the Vice President: "He entertains some old-fashioned views that are refreshing in these very modernistic times, but views which, though old-fashioned, he makes applicable to present problems. Apparently Mr. Marshall thinks we need
something more than just laws and equality of opportunity, assuming equality of opportunity to be a possible achievement of statesmanship; and so he suggests rather than proposes, that the shrewd and strong must learn to curb their greed and content themselves with the absorption of even less than an honest deference to just laws would enable them to make." The editor predicted that the Vice President's "bold and big idea" will someday not seem as preposterous as it did to the audience at the Waldorf-Astoria. 9

Before an assembly of students of the George Washington Law School in Washington, D.C., a week later the Vice President, himself a former small town lawyer, challenged the young men to consider what kind of ethics had entered the legal profession. Rhetorically he asked about the man who was interested in beating an opponent regardless of whether the former was in the right. Marshall wondered aloud about the businessman who can operate unethically and still remain outside penitentiary walls. He questioned the temptation of large fees in the determination of outcome in a divorce case. He queried how a poor man could get a just claim from a large corporation. And then proposed to his audience a standard of "legal ten commandments." They were, in fact, moral pronouncements:

I. Don't put a fee before a just cause.

II. Don't worship money to the extent of being willing to write a dishonest contract in order to get a large fee.

III. Be a peacemaker; that is the lawyer's business.

IV. Don't chase ambulances.

V. Honor your profession as your own sacred honor; therefore do not seek or confound litigation.
VI. Don't accept contingent fees.

VII. Use your influence against the system of allowing attorney's fees in advance of divorce cases. Therein lies the evil of the divorce laws; when that has been abolished, half the divorce cases will be stopped.

VIII. Use your influence to compel a person charged with crime to testify in the cause; the innocent man cannot be harmed thereby.

IX. Take the part of the known criminal, but only to see that justice is tempered with mercy.

X. Don't inquire as to your client's pocketbook before fixing your fee.10

This address to the law students prompted a reaction from the New York Sun:

"Friends of the Wilson Administration are beginning to search their heads and ask one another, 'what are we going to do with the Vice President?' Mr. Marshall's speeches against 'the thoughtless rich' are giving them a lot of worry."11

It was not long before both criticism and support reached the ears of the astonished Vice President. He admitted that he had received "many letters of approval" of his views. Again he placed himself on record: "I am an American. I would go down into a ditch and shake the hand of a poor man, but I would also be glad to shake the hand of a rich man. We are all brothers. My only thought has been that the men in power should know what the rest of the people are saying, and I merely repeat what has been said to me. If the men of wealth consult their consciences about their business they would not have to worry so much about the law." Any editorial impartiality appeared
waived in this controversy over economic philosophy. A New York Times editor felt constrained to say that Marshall's intentions were good but, he instructed, the Vice President does not see the necessity for correcting the inconsistencies of state and federal laws which allow bad men to operate without fear of prosecution.  

A scathing speech by George Harvey, editor of the North American Review, was soon made to New York bankers and businessmen at the very same hotel where Marshall had earlier shared his view. The men who heard Harvey arise and deliver his first words knew their evening's entertainment was assured. Harvey would rip into that small-minded man, the Vice President.

And so he did. Harvey assumed a platitudinous tone to parry the attacks of his antagonists, the western statesmen (Indiana, of course, being west of the Hudson River!) who took opportunity to point out the sins and shortcomings of the biggest city in the country. He explained that the "latest monitory visitor was our worthy Vice President. He had come almost directly from the place of his nativity, Columbia City, Indiana, which rests on the bank of the river Eel. His purpose was to inaugurate a four years' period of perfect silence. He did it admirably. The aching void was filled to overflowing." With tongue in cheek Harvey proclaimed, "As a Democrat, I was proud. I had to be. We are in power, at least, some of us are. . . ."

Something profound was at stake for Harvey. Marshall had made irresponsible remarks about the very backbone of the American economy. The speaker proceeded to poke holes in the Vice President's logic--or illogic. By implication, reasoned Harvey, the thoughtful poor are the foils of the "thoughtless rich," or so Marshall seemed to be saying. The former seem possessed of attributes lacking in the latter. The rich are those who
have $100,000 or more to bequeath to their heirs. Why not confiscate the property of those who have all of $10,000 to bequeath? Mr. Marshall seems to be arbitrary. Has he forgotten that we "thoughtless rich" helped to get him elected? Harvey advanced. Did he overlook our support of the popular election of United States Senators? Why has he "picked on" us? The magazine publisher pointedly remarked, "I take care to refer to our recent guest as Mr. Marshall and not as the Vice President. I doubt he quite realizes yet that he has been elected. So, naturally, he keeps on campaigning." Like Mr. Bryan, he makes "a fine door-yard horse," and drops his head and tail when once out of public view. "The chief menace to our country," the speaker emphasized, "lies not so much in the activities of the predatory rich as an incitement of the predatory poor." With words whose meaning was not lost to his hearers Harvey concluded, "I may go so far as to admit that, if somebody had proposed the health of Mr. Wilson at the conclusion of Mr. Marshall's speech, the toast would have been drunk with rare enthusiasm!" Who would dare to expose the reins of government to one with such dangerous views!13

It was novel for a Vice President to become embroiled in public controversy and with American businessmen as targets! (Some forty years earlier another Hoosier Vice President, Schuyler Colfax, had run afoul of public opinion when it was learned he had engaged in questionable transactions with the notorious Credit Mobilier company.) In its May issue the Literary Digest noted the consensus of criticism directed against Marshall's speech in such papers as the New York Times and the Journal of Commerce: how dreadful if such a man ascended to the White House! "The Progressive Evening Mail calls him a demagogue and a 'defamer of the American people.' And an organ of Marshall's own party, The World, declares that for him 'to give free rein to his tongue to no purpose
but to stir up unnecessary class hatred is to render a great disservice to his party and the Administration!"\(^{14}\)

Though Marshall himself believed his views were not radical and that they strongly reflected sentiments of popular opinion, conservative editors branded his speech as socialistic, and socialist papers admitted the truth of the eventual triumph of their view of life. The socialist newspaper, St. Louis Labor, observed, "In going to New York and making his sensational speech there Vice President Marshall thought he could whip the lions of capitalism into line and permit the Wilson Administration to carry out some of its campaign promises. However, the lions of capitalism will not even get up in their den and take notice of Mr. Marshall. They will have a smile of pity for him."\(^{15}\)

Not even pity was expressed by an editor of the New York Evening Post when he wrote, "The idea that we are on the verge of a cataclysm, and that the only way to avert it is to make panicky concessions to the vague demands of the restless and discontented, is one that... is the common property of the whole tribe of cheap orators. It meets with easy-going acceptance among large numbers of enthusiastic young reformers. It is a pleasant refuge for those who cannot think vigorously enough upon the fundamental questions of society to range themselves either as socialists or as opponents of socialism..."

The Charleston News and Courier, in contrast, viewed Marshall as "indicting the system under which we are governed. He will be blamed because he carried the torch of light into the powder magazine. But, the light will not hurt... It may help bring reform by showing those who oppose reform how surely they are preparing for their own destruction."\(^{16}\)
In Washington the matter was just one of several current topics of conversation in political and social circles. To the home of General John Briddle his next door neighbors, new in the Capitol, were invited for dinner along with other local celebrities. Young Eleanor Roosevelt, wife of the new Assistant Secretary of the Navy, made her way carefully in this fascinating forest of federalism. At table she was enthralled to listen to the esteemed Justice, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. On her other side sat the Vice President of the United States. It was one of the first encounters Eleanor had with Mr. Marshall, and it was memorable enough for her to write to a friend her impression that "he is a good deal of socialist with a desire for the millennium and it seems to me no very well worked out ideas so far of how we are to get there." The young lady was perceptive. Marshall was not being consistent according to the either-or ideologies of the day.

There was obviously a wider range of perspective on the implications and consequences of the rich-poor chasm. The businessmen saw themselves and their forebears as industrial statesmen and not as the Vice President seemed to be picturing them. With the passage of time the controversy died down. The Vice President’s popularity survived the crisis, but there would be a taint of his reputation in some minds.

III

A larger issue confronting President Wilson during his first term was the Mexican problem. South of the border Francisco I. Madero had spent a shaky three months in office as President of Mexico. Though he was hailed as "El Redentor!" he was not the man for the job of heading the government of that much-abused populace. They had suffered earlier under the aristocratic Porfirio Diaz, who looked to Paris rather than to
Mexico City for his inspiration. Offering no progressive leadership, Diaz was forced to resign by popular demand. Madero also meant well, but he possessed no military power and had no immediate program to offer to the disaffected Mexican workers and Indian masses. His general, Victoriano Huerta, for a time achieved a new peace after his guards murdered Madero and his immediate followers. European governments promptly recognized the new regime, and one of Huerta's strongest supporters (admirers might be a more accurate word) was the American Ambassador, Henry Lane Wilson. 18

The Huerta coup occurred just prior to Woodrow Wilson's ascendancy to the Presidency. President Taft had not followed the other nations with diplomatic recognition of the new government. He wanted to use the "gift" to bargain with Huerta regarding disputes that the United States was having with Mexico. Taft never dreamed that his successor's moralistic foreign policy would issue in complete withholding of recognition of the Huerta regime.

Ambassador Wilson, meanwhile, was about to be fired from his position. Neither the President nor Bryan wanted to retain him since his viewpoint was clearly at odds with their own. The rumor spread that the Vice President was doing his utmost to prevent the Ambassador's dismissal. A reporter confronted Marshall with the charge, and he replied that he never spoke to anyone in the Administration about Ambassador Wilson. "There is no earthly basis for the statement published beyond the bare suspicion that because Ambassador Wilson and I were graduated from Wabash College, and his brother, John L. Wilson, was a classmate of mine, I would attempt to interfere on his behalf. Personally the relations between Ambassador Wilson and myself are cordial, but the handling of the
Mexican situation is the business of the Administration, and not my private and social business.\textsuperscript{19}

Doubtless Marshall meant well. There is no evidence of his having attempted to use his influence despite "the bare suspicion." At this early date he recognized that a gulf existed between "Administration business" and his own sphere of responsibility. So far as the handling of the Mexican situation was concerned, the Vice President really had no special insight. Other persons did have, however, and Marshall was only too willing to share their views with the President.

Throughout the spring and summer 1913, turmoil and tyranny reigned in Mexico. On 2 August Marshall sent President Wilson a handwritten note pertaining to Mexican policy and to current public opinion. The response from Wilson was prompt:

Thank you warmly for asking my advice about the protests which you sent me and which I herewith return. My own judgment is that it would not serve any useful purpose to lay them before the Senate. I believe that I can say that the prospects for a settlement in Mexico are better than they have been for some time, and I think the more quietly we go about it the more likely success will be. It is at best a difficult and puzzling situation, and I am very much afraid of even seeming to play into the hands of some of our Republican friends of the Senate who are trying to make the situation impossible.\textsuperscript{20}

Throughout the spring and summer months Wilson's diplomacy attempted to influence the political winds of Mexico but without any real results. On 27 August the President spoke to the Congress and advocated a policy of "watchful waiting." Two months later
Wilson reaffirmed the Monroe Doctrine and demanded that President Huerta retire from office, which was now none other than a military dictatorship.

At this time the Marshalls were on their way to Arizona to enjoy a brief rest. In Kansas City, Missouri, the Vice President told reporters that "it was no secret in Mexico that Madero was to be killed, and I may say it was no secret in Indianapolis." How did he know? Three days before Madero's assassination a letter had been sent to him from a Mexican Masonic brother as well as to other United States Masons in an appeal for help for the Madero regime. It was too late. The Mexican situation, meanwhile, would get worse.  

By April 1914 the fortunes of Huerta were nearly at an end. He controlled only the central region where the capital was located. The remaining portions of the provinces were held by men with the now familiar names of Zapata and Villa and especially Venustiano Carranza who succeeded Huerta in mid-July. President Wilson felt that Carranza's middle-class aspirations might provide the basis for a new democratic Mexico. Thus, in February he revoked the United States embargo on the shipment of arms to Mexico, which act allowed the anti-Huerta revolutionaries to obtain arms that eventually led to the defeat of the brazen Huerta.

While Wilson was about to ask Congress in April for approval to use United States troops against Huerta, the Vice President expressed his view of Administrative philosophy in a speech at Camden, New Jersey: "Mexico can't have a republic until Mexico has different laws, different sentiments and different people. Here we have a republic because we have the people and the ideals that go to the making of a republic. But you can't have a pie without any filling, and that applies to the country to the South as
well as to any country anywhere else." The Mexican holding of United States Marines at Tampico on the ninth of April resulted in her troops being overcome by American naval and land forces at Vera Cruz on the twenty-first of that month. The situation was so uncertain that four days later Congress provided means for the raising of volunteer forces in case of an actual or threatened war with Mexico.22

Marshall played no role in the formation of foreign policy in this matter. As an Administrative official he was quoted on the Mexican crisis, but he was privy neither to the State Department nor to the White House regarding what the United States Government proposed to do. He had known the United States Ambassador to Mexico, he had been recipient of "suggestions" from unidentified persons who may or may not have had any real information, and he had learned of a Mexican plot to assassinate Madero. Marshall did not even have an informed opinion about the Mexican situation. His last word to reporters on the matter was simplistic: "Of course, we all hope for peace with Mexico. . . . But we all know the Mexican temperament and how the nation is really a volcano of warfare. . . ."23

Wilson's policy of moral condemnation of the Huerta government and consequent diplomatic non-recognition of the new regime was not in accord with Marshall's own view of foreign relations. The Vice President consistently advocated that the United States recognize the Latin-American states as sovereign equals and not seek to impose its policies and standards upon those peoples. Marshall's role in influencing Wilson's foreign policy was minimal. Wilson made his own foreign policy with as little help as necessary from anyone.
By March, 1915, the situation in Mexico had become clearer politically, though perhaps not to Americans north of the border. A power struggle had taken place between Carranza and Pancho Villa with the former victorious for the moment. Meanwhile, Villa and Zapata separately harassed, raped, and murdered the countryside at odds with their ways. On his way to the west coast Marshall had the Mexican situation foremost on his mind. He had visited earlier with the family of an American sailor killed in the United States attack on Vera Cruz, Mexico, almost a year before, and had attended the sailor's funeral in Pittsburgh. His words to reporters revealed compassion and conviction:

"[De Lowry's] mother is a brave Irishwoman and she had draped her boy's picture with the Stars and Stripes. That woeful visit caused me to take a solemn oath that I would support no war movement by this country unless the alien invader's foot was placed on our shores."

The Vice President did not favor American intervention in Mexico, for he considered that the same results would prevail as that when the United States conquered the Philippines. Besides the logistical problem of subduing Mexico, he worried about the diplomatic problem: "While we were intervening how would the republics to the south of us look upon it? Might they not regard us with distrust—as an invader armed with a big club who might push on into their provinces if successful?" In March, 1916, General John J. Pershing led a punitive expedition into Mexico to catch Pancho Villa but was unsuccessful. One year later Wilson begrudgingly "recognized" Carranza as the new President of Mexico. Marshall felt that the situation was resolved but not in the way he would have directed. Had he been President he would have ordered a joint expedition with Argentina, Brazil, and Chile to put down the revolt, "restore law and order, furnish
security for life, property and investments, and them withdraw or else. . . . the United States, of its own volition, would enter, and come out when it got ready.” As it was, he was left with the feeling of being “responsible for nothing and influential nowhere.”25
It had been one whole year since Thomas Riley Marshall arrived in the Capitol as one of the new Administration officials. Congressman Slayden's wife, a tenured member of the Washington social crowd who did not hesitate to lay open her visions on any number of subjects, recorded in her journal on the evening of 17 March 1914: ". . . At a beautiful luncheon at Mrs. Porter's for Mrs. Benjamin Harrison we broke all precedent. Democratic women laughed with the rest of the melancholy society of the White House; the way some of the Cabinet couples address one another as 'momma' and poppa,' and the V.-P.'s latest witticism in agreeing to make an address somewhere if they would just let him stand up on his hind legs and talk." Could it be that the Vice President was getting uncomfortable with his position? Two months earlier Marshall had stood in front of the congregation on a Sunday morning and said, "I do not blame proud parents for wishing that their sons might become President of the United States. But if I sought a blessing for a boy I would not pray that he become Vice-President."

With twelve months' experience in office Marshall discerned how limiting his role and responsibilities were as Vice-President of the United States. He later confessed, "I soon ascertained that I was of no importance to the administration beyond the duty of being loyal to it and ready, at any time, to act as a sort of pinch hitter; that is, when everybody else on the team had failed, I was to be given a chance. I reached the conclusion that I was too small to look dignified in a Prince Albert coat, and the way I
wore my silk hat was evidence that it was not a thing of common usage in the ordinary walks of life in Indiana. I, therefore, chose what I thought to be the better part: to acknowledge the insignificant influence of the office; to take it in a good-natured way; to be friendly and well disposed to political friend and political foe alike; to be loyal to my chief and at the same time not to be offensive to my associates; and to strive, in so far as I had the power, to deal justly with those over whom I was merely nominally presiding.\textsuperscript{2}

Thomas Marshall wrote this sentiment in reflection of his eight years' experience in the Wilson Administration. It is the writer's judgment that he felt his talents unused often, but sometimes more, sometimes less, according to the times. In his \textit{Recollections} the Vice President did not specify a particular period when he wrote this retrospection.

Woodrow Wilson was too occupied to notice the Vice President's uneasiness. Now and then he wrote short notes to Marshall expressing appreciation for his thoughtfulness, his service, and his generosity:

\begin{quote}
I am warmly obliged to you for being so thoughtful of my personal pleasure. I shall look forward with real zest to reading "General John Regan."
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
My warmest congratulations on your birthday and the hope that there will be many returns with constantly accruing satisfaction because of the disinterested and earnest public service you are rendering now as always.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
I warmly appreciate the memorandum you placed in Mr. Tumulty's hands on April ninth. It is most interesting and helpful. It was kind of you to think of it and generous of you to prepare it.\textsuperscript{3}
\end{quote}

One wonders why Marshall felt himself to be "of no importance to the administration"? Perhaps he thought that he might accomplish more than in fact he had. Perhaps he had encountered a stronger will in Wilson whose own "need for domination"
frustrated the Vice President's own will to succeed. During the time of the Sixty-third Congress Wilson used pressure to get legislation passed, and the session lasted from 7 April 1913 to 24 October 1914, longer than any session of Congress to date. As President of the Senate Marshall was forced to sit through endless speeches on matters which were not always personally interesting. Perhaps the former Hoosier governor had grown tired of his "esteemed" position.4

The events of the spring and summer of 1914 somewhat changed the mercurial spirits of the man from Indiana. A happy occasion helps the spirit tremendously. On his sixtieth birthday on 14 March Marshall's friends gave him a large birthday cake on which were placed six candles and a shield of the United States. They remarked that he certainly did not look sixty years old. "No," he said, "I keep young by not thinking about the years. I have seen a great many babies born and I have seen a great many men die, but I want to live to be in my second childhood. This is a good world to live in." Life was not so bad. The high school seniors back home in Columbia City still remembered him and wanted to dedicate their Columbian yearbook to him with his picture in it. He happily responded by lending them a steel engraving for making prints.5

The summer months were occupied with his presiding over the Senate and in going distances to deliver commencement addresses and speeches. The ousting of Mexican President Huerta by Venustiano Carranza on 15 July was overshadowed by the outbreak of war in southeastern Europe. On the day that Austria-Hungary declared war on Russia the President's wife, Ellen Axson Wilson, died of Bright's disease (nephritis). Though she had been ill for nearly a year, the gravity of her condition did not become apparent until after a fall in the White House in February. Her death was Wilson's
profound loss, and he and his daughters were joined in mourning by official
Washington.⁶

I

In the words of one Administration official, William G. McAdoo, "he was a great
job-hunter for his friends." McAdoo's words have contributed to the traditional image of
Marshall who was hurt because Wilson and others ignored his position and his requests.
This writer found only one item in Wilson's papers in which the President asked McAdoo
about a man (a Republican, be it noted) whom the Vice President thought might be a
worthwhile member of the shipping board. In fact, Thomas Marshall was neither
notorious nor atypical in his usage of patronage. The Vice President recommended his
writer-friend, Meredith Nicholson, for an ambassadorship to Portugal. In the summer of
1913, there had been a vicious Democratic intra-party fight in Indianapolis. Marshall
was seen by state machine forces as ignorant of recent political conditions within Indiana
and Nicholson was regarded as a too independent-minded Democrat who was outside the
organization. Party spokesman Thomas Taggart criticized Nicholson publicly when it
was learned that he might be offered an ambassadorship. (Nicholson seven years later
seemed to have forgotten this slight, for he vigorously supported Taggart in his U.S.
senatorial bid of 1920.) Marshall denied to the press his having recommended Nicholson
to the President, but the Wilson Papers reveal that Wilson was introduced to Nicholson
by letter from the Vice President. Nicholson ultimately turned down the President's offer
for family and political reasons.⁷
Marshall continued to supply cabinet members with names of persons he regarded as qualified for available job openings. His request would become heavy during the war years. Marshall sought a Civil Service appointment for more than one Hoosier lady working in a federal office in Washington. Charles Denby of Indianapolis, Consul-General at Vienna, was protected by a strong word of support by the Vice President to Secretary of State Bryan. Later, a couple of Indianapolis bankers were benefited by good words to the President from the Vice President, and one of the men expressed gratitude to Marshall for the former's bank having been selected by the federal government "to execute an organization certificate in their district." Another Indianapolis man was suggested in 1919 as a successor to William C. Redfield for the position of Secretary of Commerce.  

II  

The Vice President's key constitutional responsibility is to moderate discussion and maintain order in the Senate. As President of the Senate Marshall on occasion had difficulty in maintaining order. The Senators talked loudly to their colleagues and sometimes to those seated above in the galleries (given the poor acoustics in the [old] Senate chamber and there being as yet no microphones). During one discussion Senator John Sharp Williams of Mississippi expressed unmistakable anti-Huerta ideas. Whenever he said something strong, such as demanding decisive United States action, there would be applause in the galleries. This provoked Marshall to interrupt with warnings to both observers and debaters:
The Sergeant at Arms will be compelled to clear the galleries. The chair is not responsible for the rules of the Senate. They were made contrary to the judgment of the Chair. They place upon the chair the duty of seeing that there are no demonstrations of approval or disapproval in the galleries of the Senate. Three times on this morning attention has been called to the fact, and the Chair had been compelled to clear one gallery, much to the regret of the Chair.

The Chair wants to say something further now: The Senate passed this rule; but the Senate, if the Chair is an observer of things going on, is largely responsible for the outburst in the galleries. If the Senate expects the Chair to enforce the rule as against the galleries, a decent respect for the feelings of mankind would suggest that Senators should also obey the rule.

Marshall and Williams became warm friends, but their friendship did not prevent them from speaking their minds when the occasion seemed to demand it.  

During a debate toward the end of September, 1914, certain Senators were arguing the subject of governmental leasing of land. They became so involved in their debate that some were speaking out of order. Marshall felt that it was finally time for him to set the record straight; the confusion was becoming very trying for the Senate's official reporters. He declared, "There have been very frequent interruptions when Senators, without any reference to the Chair and without any regard to the Senator who had the floor, have risen and proceeded to talk on the floor." The interruptions were not only disrespectful but in violation of Senate rules of debate. Heated remarks continued, and not long after his admonition Marshall had to interrupt again. The Senators were
getting overly emotional, especially those from West Virginia (Chilton), New Jersey (Martine), and Oregon (Lane). Insults were cast at certain states, an infraction of another rule (Rule XIX, section 3: "No Senator in debate shall refer offensively to any state of the Union."). With tact the Vice President guided discussion back to the subject of leasing coal lands in the Alaskan territory. The behavior of some Senators on the Senate floor in the matter betrayed the reputation of their being an august body. To support this judgment, during a filibuster in January, 1915, Utah Senator Serge Sutherland made a facetious remark about Senator Owen of Oklahoma searching for a way to require a Senate vote to force Senators to raise their voice when speaking. Marshall responded that "the Chair has no power to decide in what tone of voice a Senator shall discuss a question." That seemed to settle the matter.  

Another issue which aroused the Senate was that involving ship purchase and a merchant marine. When hostilities between Austria-Hungary and Serbia erupted into declarations of war, which encompassed several major powers in Europe during July and August, 1914, the United States immediately declared itself neutral in the war between Austria and Serbia. American firms promptly began to do business with the neutrals, exemplary of the President's admonition to all Americans to be "neutral in fact as well as in name during these days that are to try men's souls." The nation's economy was dependent on international trade, and for a war to occur across the ocean was a sign of impending economic crisis. The Government needed a large number of ships to handle the volume of business between North and South America and across the Atlantic Ocean. If it were possible to purchase ships already built, a merchant fleet could be quickly
obtained. Purchase of ships owned by belligerent nations was frustrated by the stipulations placed upon the United States Government by both belligerent factions.

Secretary of State Bryan in August, 1914, tried to persuade the Vice President to save the Administration's Ship Registry Bill by introducing a gag rule. Marshall felt that he was being asked to do something unethical. He did nothing about Bryan's request, and the bill at that point failed to pass. Williams of Mississippi was bitter about the defeat of the bill and spoke his mind to the Senators. He then submitted to the desk his resignation from the Foreign Relations Committee, but his resignation was worded in such personal terms that Marshall ruled Williams out of order. The Senator appealed, but the Senate supported the Vice President. Williams then rushed out of the chamber.\(^{11}\)

Through January and the first few days of February, 1915, Administration supporters in the Senate again sought enactment of the President's Ship Purchase Bill. Approval by the Senators would allow the expenditure of $30 million towards a shipping line owned and operated by the United States Government. Henry Cabot Lodge and other Republicans strenuously objected and thus far had prevented passage of the measure. These opponents feared that if Wilson got the money, he would proceed to buy German ships, a most unneutral act. Thus, it was reasoned, the German Empire would receive a large amount of money from the United States Government, which would not only help one belligerent but would also place the American Government in the arena of private enterprise!

To secure his goal the President's Senate supporters planned a filibuster strategy to last as long as Democratic members were in the minority voting column (two Senators were then out of town). Upon their return a tie vote would result with the Vice President
being able to break the tie, and the bill would pass. The President's maneuvers repulsed Republican Senators Lodge, Kenyon, and Norris, who strove more earnestly and with success to defeat the measure. Marshall's aid never was required, since intransigent Democratic Senators became convinced that the vote of the insurgents together with that of the conservative Republicans was overwhelming. Defeat had been accomplished by the aid of seven "deserter" Democrats along with liberal and Old Guard Republicans. Wilson was furious, but there was nothing more he could do although he threatened to call a special session of Congress. The President had taken the position that the economy of the nation and the economy of Europe were dependent upon passage of the bill. Opponents were fearful that Britain might misunderstand America's intent and conclude that the latter wished to build a navy comparable to Britain's, capable of competing on the open market around the world. Britain was understandably sensitive at this time, and especially so if the American ships were originally of German construction. Conditions for international disorder were rapidly forming. 12

III

During these early Senate debates Vice President Marshall made the remark that was destined to be his most memorable utterance: "What this country needs is a good five-cent cigar!" Marshall was often seen with a cigar in his mouth or hand, and it was not uncommon for him to take a break from his duties as presiding officer of the Senate and go to the cloak room for a smoke. During one of many speeches on the floor of the Senate Chamber, the story goes, Joseph Bristow of Kansas was expounding on the needs of the country and would follow each need with a suggested remedy. He talked about the
needs in industry, in finance, in agriculture, in labor, and so on and on. At this point in the story, the traditions vary. In one account Marshall was fidgeting in his seat after having listened for more than an hour to Bristow. Unable to endure it any longer he called for a senator to take over his chair to preside and left for a rest in the Senate cloakroom. Taking a cigar from his vest pocket Marshall looked at Henry Rose, Senate secretary, and exclaimed, "Henry, Joe hasn't hit it yet. What this country needs is a really good five-cent cigar!"

Another variant has Marshall remain in his Senate chair: he reacts, leans over and makes his remark to John Crockett, chief clerk of the Senate. Still another finds him blocks away at the Willard Hotel, his residence for most of his years in Washington. The cigars in the ornate nineteenth century dwelling were so expensive that their price "caused the salty Indianan to come forward with that epic statement about the nation's need for a nickel smoke."

No contemporary of Marshall is ever recorded to have shown an understanding of what the Vice President really meant when he made the statement. That it was a funny remark, pure and simple, was the reaction of most people. Others saw it as the expression of a superficial-thinking man who happened to be Vice President and, thank God, not President!

The meaning Marshall intended to convey, but with a smile on his face, was a serious one. In 1924, the year before he died, he visited St. Louis and, when reminded about his famous remark, tried to lay it to rest: "His statement was accepted literally, he said, when he meant it as a serious philosophical metaphor, indicating the more simple life of times gone by." Unfortunately for him cigar manufacturers began to send him
samples of their products, requesting him to give his name to their product. At least one manufacturer took it upon himself to design cigar boxes with Marshall's name and remark on the exterior. The ploy did not work. Marshall refused to cooperate. (At least one Marshall cigar box was preserved and is on exhibit at the headquarters of the Whitley County Historical Museum, the Marshalls' former home in Columbia City, Indiana.)

Not only interested Americans kept alive the traditions. Several scholars of the Wilson era noted this quip, its teller, and the usual judgment that Wilson's Vice President was a funny man who was inept and cowardly at critical junctures. Historian John Morton Blum, for example, in his biography of Wilson's secretary, Joseph P. Tumulty, accepted uncritically the Administration's caricature of Marshall: "No one high in the councils of the Administration had great respect for the Vice President. That affable politician typifying the mediocrity of most of the holders of his office, stood for little but a good five-cent cigar. Neither as Governor of Indiana nor as presiding officer of the Senate had he demonstrated the vision or capacity for leadership in such critical times."

Contrary to Blum, Marshall was never inept or cowardly. Indeed, at critical junctures he was, if anything, keen and sensitive. If anything was peculiar about the man, it was that he was a natural humorist with a tendency toward self-deprecation. Sober sophisticates are never supposed to be funny or daring. Marshall was all of these things. One may reflect that Blum's negative judgment of Marshall was influenced by his subject's [Tumulty] antipathy toward the Vice President and Blum's own nescience of the object of his criticism. 13

A long-standing tradition with the Senate was that no motion pictures were to be taken while the senators were in session. The first recorded infraction of this tradition
occurred in October, 1914, when the Vice President, certain senators, officers, and the chaplain of the Senate allowed a motion picture company to get a sequence of shots of the opening of the daily session. North Carolina's Lee Overman, chairman of the Committee on Rules, was quite disturbed about the matter. He charged Marshall with usurping his authority and that of the Committee which was really the one to give the original consent. Marshall countered that he had assumed authority had been given by Overman's committee. In the investigation it was learned that the Senate's Sergeant-at-Arms had given consent to the movie company but only after he had consulted with the Vice President's secretary, Mark Thistlethwaite, who told him that there would be no objection to the pictures being taken. That Thistlethwaite would have done so without consulting Marshall first is unthinkable but not impossible.

Tradition can be very sacred matter. Marshall never admitted whether he gave original consent. In the course of debate by the Senate the Vice President exclaimed, "Instructions will be given that the films taken yesterday must not be used!" When it was realized that the filming had no other purpose than to be used as an educational production, tempers cooled and the films were freed of senatorial restriction. The New York Times editorial covering their curious controversy commended Vice President Marshall for being willing to "play" himself. After all, just as it is possible for an actor to make up like Hamlet, so could one have looked like Mr. Marshall: "It is, on the whole, better for the country to have a first-hand picture of Mr. Marshall calling the Senate to order than a clever make-believe. . . . The Vice President may be only leading the way in which all other statesmen must soon follow. For the art of movies is long and official life is fleeting."
The man simply could not submerge his inventive wit nor his unpretentiousness nor his impulsiveness. His frugality was mixed with frolic as he dared to "moonlight" to earn extra income. Bryan had done it for years on the Chautauqua circuit. Marshall biographer Charles Thomas relates that Bryan once advised Marshall, "Always get your money before you step onto the platform. Don't be standing around later waiting for it. Don't step onto the platform unless you already have the money in your pocket." When asked by reporters what he could say to his critics, the Vice President blurted, "I do not think the people of the United States care whether I am paid for lecturing or not. I do believe they care whether I am on my job as presiding officer of the United States Senate while that body is in session." Earlier that summer a Congressman introduced a bill to prohibit high government officials from giving lectures while Congress was in session. International crises could arise and officials would be off somewhere lecturing, oblivious to the dangers of diplomacy. Marshall felt no pangs of guilt. He took the offensive against critics of Bryan's lecturing. Besides, he reasoned, he himself was "billed" simply as Thomas R. Marshall, not as the Vice President of the United States. He would say no more about the subject. It was his business alone. 15

IV

In addition to interest in the 1914 Congressional elections, political eyes were focused as well on the 1916 Presidential race. The Vice President was mentioned as a possible candidate, but his choice was the incumbent, Woodrow Wilson, and he issued a statement to that effect. Marshall thought about the 1914 elections in the context of the hostilities abroad. He perceived that Americans saw the European situation as delicate
and that they would remain neutral in accord with the President's injunction of 18 August.

In his words, "Partisanship will be sunk by the American people in their desire to preserve the blessings of peace. We may and probably shall have politics in 1916, but not in 1914..."

The question among politicians was whether or not Wilson would run for a second term, since the 1913 Democratic Platform writers had pledged their candidate for only one term. Marshall's position was that "Fair-minded Democrats will recognize that he [Wilson] is entitled to a chance for a second term to prove the utility of his policies... ." Joseph Tumulty told reporters that the White House knew nothing about Vice President Marshall's statement and had nothing to say about it. Wilson, however, thought about the idea Marshall had promoted and wrote him about it:

I have refrained from telling you how warmly I appreciated as a generous expression of your confidence in me what you are reported to have said the other day with regard to choice of a Democratic candidate for the Presidency in 1916 only because I hesitated to risk misrepresenting myself by seeming to be thinking of my own political fortunes. But I am not at liberty to believe myself by seeming ungrateful for such confidence as you have expressed merely because of such a delicacy of scruple. I am sure you will believe me when I say that the performance of my duties is not connected in my mind in the least degree with calculations as to my own political future. I'm willing to let that take care of itself. I should be especially chagrined if my fellow-countrymen were to think that such personal matters played a part in my thoughts in these critical times when duty should be purged to the utmost of every thought of oneself, of every thought except the country's welfare and advantage. But since you have spoken so generously I cannot be churl [sic] enough not to tell you how greatful [sic] I am to be so believed in and supported.

Wilson was obviously "warmed" by the Vice President's sincere and selfless recommendation of the President for a second term of office. Woodrow Wilson fed upon this adulation by his "second-in-command." 

The New York World held Marshall's
judgment about Wilson to be "unanimous" among Democrats everywhere. The editor believed that Wilson would be renominated by the Party and reelected by the people in 1916 unless something radical changed the picture.  

Faced with making an answer to reporters in Detroit several weeks later about the incongruity of the Democratic plank of one-term and his assertion that Wilson should run for a second term, the Vice President met the question by stating that not Wilson but the Democratic Party was obligated by the platform. Marshall simply could not foresee any issue or any leader within the Republican camp that could hurt Wilson's chances for re-election in 1916. The President did not let Marshall's support go unrewarded. Another letter from Wilson reinforced in Marshall his own worth to the Administration: "...The pleasure of being associated with you grows as the months pass and I want to send you as the session [of Congress] closes this simple message of congratulations and thanks."

The last months of 1914 came to a fruitful end with Congress enacting several progressive measures, namely, the Federal Trade Commission Act (26 September), which facilitated regulation of corporations; the Clayton Anti-Trust Act (15 October), which strengthened the Sherman Anti-trust Act of 1890; the Revenue Act (22 October), which imposed special taxes to balance the economic depression brought on by the European conflict; and the Federal Reserve System (16 November) which went into effect on this date to stabilize the national currency and banking. Marshall was in basic agreement with these accomplishments under Wilson’s leadership, though "the Federal Trade commission Act approached too close to regimentation to meet his approbation," according to his secretary, Mark Thistletonthwaite.
The Sixty-third Congress ended on 4 March 1915. Every Congressman seemed joyous with the expectation of a well-earned vacation at hand. Marshall was congratulated by the Senators for his conduct as presiding officer and for his impartial rulings. In return, he expressed his felicitous feelings about the Senators and his time with them during that period: "May I be permitted to say that when I came here two years ago it was the first time that I ever stepped inside of a legislative body. I know that I have made mistakes, errors sometimes, of the head; but, thank God, I can look you in the face and say to you that there has never been an error of the heart." At this juncture Marshall's position within the Administration seemed secure.