Sandwiched between the Gay ‘Nineties and the Roaring ‘Twenties the first two decades of the twentieth century had their own peculiar brands of creativity and corruption. "The age of the average American," Mark Sullivan labeled it in Our Times. Perhaps only average politicians were needed to govern the country. With all the cries for reform one would think there was a multitude of mediocre or mercenary rulers: mayors, councilmen, legislators, and governors. When he first took office as Governor, the fifty-four year old Marshall was not thought of as a politician so much as an old-fashioned country lawyer with impractical, outdated ideas about running a state. Indiana had nearly three million inhabitants scattered through 92 counties, 88 cities, and several hundred small incorporated towns. It would be a lot to govern.¹

Just as he had not accepted one cent of campaign contributions, believing it unethical to do so, the Governor-elect could not allow the state to pay for his Indianapolis residence. It would be unconstitutional. So, the Marshalls moved into leased housing during the four years in office. The move included a maid, possibly two, and a large angora cat named "Pink." Lois Marshall made a favorable mark upon the new friends and acquaintances in the State Capitol. They marveled at her youthful appearance. Now thirty-seven years old, she impressed interviewers with her "brown eyes, girlish face, sweetness of expression, ease and grace of manner [reflecting the] poise and charm of a delightful personality."²
Not since Claude Matthews' administration (1893 - 1897) had there been a Democrat in the Governor's Chair in Indiana. In fact, there had been few Democratic office holders in the state capital since that time. It looked as though Indianapolis would be bulging with office-seekers. With pontifical aplomb Marshall decreed, "Any man who says he had a promise from me, directly or indirectly, tells what is not true and if his name is given me, I will promise now that he will not get the appointment; and no appointment will be made on a man's ability as a politician, but on merit. I shall appoint Democrats, real Democrats who will give the state service for the pay they receive."

He meant what he said. Just the same, his friend and campaign manager attorney Andrew Adams ultimately got a job in Indianapolis as an appellate court judge. Dr. William King, also of Columbia City, got the position of chairman of the State Board of Health and promptly moved his family to the state capital.

The story is told of Marshall later visiting his hometown upstate and meeting an old friend, Phillip Anthes, a saloonkeeper of German stock.

"Phillip," he asked, "how's the men's club at the Presbyterian church?"

"Tom, you damn near ruined it, transferring all those people to Indianapolis!"³

Marshall's four years as governor of an agricultural state, 1909-1913, were witness to positive developments in urban growth and farming but also to political infighting and illicit activity by avaricious entrepreneurs, gamblers, and labor leaders. The common man's politician that was now his governor established his reputation as a fearless leader by risking his influence for what he genuinely believed was good for all the people. Not everyone would agree with him, including certain politicians, educators, ministers, and
fellow lawyers. His greatest battle would involve a repudiation of Indiana’s state constitution.

I

In early January, 1909, the outgoing governor, bantam-weight J. Frank Hanly, addressed the General Assembly for virtually the last time. In his own way Hanly was a reform-minded governor, as were his Republican predecessors, James A. Mount and Winfield T. Durbin. Between 1897 and Hanly's departure from office the Indiana General Assembly had passed laws on the regulating of monopolies, on the processing and sale of food and drugs, and on the legalizing of voting machines. During his tenure Hanly had overseen passage of laws on liquor traffic control and the manufacture and sale of cigarettes. In his farewell message he reviewed the State's finances and offered legislative proposals which he wanted to see enacted, including a uniform accounting law, a voter registration measure, the direct primary election, an inheritance tax, amendments to the railroad commission, and regulative laws for private banks.4

For all of his "progressive" inclinations Hanly was single-minded about the abolition of alcohol from the state and the nation. He despised anything and anyone that was not prohibition-oriented. Hanly and Marshall had exchanged strong views on each other in their campaign oratory. Though Marshall himself had long since ceased to imbibe, he was a "wet" politically and a Democrat supported by state liquor interests. Now custom required that these men sit together in the carriage ride to the inaugural ceremonies for the new governor.
The new Secretary of State, Fred A. Sims, being of calmer temperament, persuaded Hanly to telephone Marshall to invite him to ride in the governor's carriage to the ceremonies. Sims and Hanly rode to the Marshall home and while Hanly remained in the carriage Sims went to get the governor-elect. During the ride to the State House there was complete silence, Sims sitting between the two men who were looking out their own sides of the carriage. As they approached their destination, with a touch of wickedness Marshall blurted out his intent to approve certain school bonds which Hanly had refused to sign. Sims was shocked. Hanly said quickly, "Mr. Marshall, when you are governor, you may do exactly as you please about signing the Vincennes University bonds."\(^5\)

At the capital building elation and tension were felt. The Democrats were happy, but no one knew what Hanly might do or say as a final gesture. The ceremony proceedings went according to plan. Marshall took the oath of office from Frank Roby, State Appellate Court Justice, and Hanly presented him as the new governor, whereupon (as Marshall remembered) "some big Irishman in the gallery interrupted the proceedings by yelling in a stentorian voice, 'Thank God!'" The throng burst into long applause.\(^6\)

Subdued, the new governor presented his inaugural address and his message to the legislature both in the same day. The recommendations that Marshall made were in the progressive tenor of the times. He favored the adoption of a uniform primary election law and the hiring of nonpartisan experts outside the state to examine the work of each state official. He asked to have personal authority to remove officials not doing their duty rather than to pursue the old and time-consuming practice of legislative impeachment. The new chief executive wanted laws to provide against the watering of stock by
corporations. He wanted insurance companies investigated in order to modernize the
state's insurance department. Marshall favored widening the power of the State Board of
Health and having local boards assume jurisdiction over pollution of streams and
supervision of tenement maintenance. And, he wanted a new election law that would
apply to candidates running for the United States Senate.

Of all his requests the creation of a State Board of Accounts to audit all the
records of state and local officials was most favorably received and subsequently acted
upon despite strenuous objection by the county officers' lobby. Along with these
recommended legislative regulations, the Governor warned the General Assembly to walk
gingerly between the extremes of paternalism and socialism. The majority of the listeners
were Republicans, and for the first two years, the first session, there was little
Democratic-sponsored legislation that passed. 7

The new governor began his executive duties believing that Thomas Jefferson's
ideas about democracy were as timely as ever. At the midwestern Jefferson Day Dinner
in April he cautioned Democrats to "remove not the ancient landmarks." Jefferson did
not contend that it was the right of a powerful majority to take away the individual rights
of any man. "Freedom for us is a possession and not a gift," held the Governor, "and its
holding must be paid for by the sacrifice of personal desires and personal motives."
Jefferson never meant to blend business with statecraft, Marshall offered. Government
has no business with business as it does when it supports protective tariffs. In this
situation government acts to benefit the few at the expense of the commonwealth.

With his philosophy of government spread out for all to see, Thomas Riley
Marshall proceeded to "Democratize" Indiana. He felt strongly about individual initiative
and at the same time believed in rule by the majority. He was not a socialist in that he would hand over private means of production to the government, but rather he saw government as steward of the people's economic and social interests. As administrator of a midwestern state Marshall began to perceive his responsibilities and political philosophy in a new light even as his champion Jefferson saw that sitting in the President's chair was far different than criticizing his opponent who preceded him for practices that he was close to adopting.  

The Hoosier State had an indebtedness due in large measure to the construction of a new State House. Governor Hanly earlier repealed a sinking fund law that would have retired the construction debt. Marshall caused the law to be reenacted. Secretary of State Sims recalled that "probably to Mr. Marshall more than any other man was due the honor of retiring Indiana's state debt." There is no question but that Marshall was intent upon economy in public administration. His "Governor's Bill" saved the taxpayers $13,600 alone by reducing the work force in the governor's office.  

Marshall's office staff contained fewer persons than did Hanly's. Lou Slagle resigned her job in Columbia City as stenographer to the Marshall, McNagny, and Clugston law firm to join the Governor's office staff. Journalist Mark Thistlethwaite was named as his private secretary. Newsmen soon began making witticisms about the young man's name. "Hith name ith Thistlethwaite. Can you thay it?" and "It is quite probable that office holders will call him 'Thistle' before six months roll around." Nevertheless, Thistlethwaite had good qualifications: a Richmond Democrat, a graduate of Swarthmore, and a former newspaperman with experience in Philadelphia and in Indianapolis, most recently as an acting editor of the Democratic Indianapolis News.
Another member of the staff was Bert New, among whose secretarial tasks it was
to place the daily correspondence on the Governor's desk. As it happened, many letters
arrived to him from women constituents and their feminine handwriting was apparent.
New's practice was to separate the correspondence into male and female piles and to open
only the male letters. After a few days of observing this ritual Marshall bellowed out,
"Bert, open all these letters. I ain't keepin' no goddam whore!"\textsuperscript{11}

Naturally the Governor did not use such language around his wife. In an interview
with an Indianapolis reporter she confessed, "I never get angry and lose my temper, and
Mr. Marshall -- oh! sometimes he gets awfully roiled." One suspects that Lois doted on
her husband a great deal. The Governor liked cigars and she seemed to be ever ready
with a match while he searched his pockets for one, after having bitten the end off of his
cigar.\textsuperscript{12} They spent a lot of time together when he was not involved in official duties.
They would take walks, sometimes streetcar rides, not minding what people said. Call
him thrifty: he was contented. He did not keep a horse and buggy and he chose not to
own an automobile, though Indiana was noted for its fledgling automobile industry.

Tom Marshall became a familiar sight on the sidewalks of downtown Indianapolis.
One Hoosier noted, "You can see him almost any morning in Indianapolis, walking
slowly down Market Street toward the State House. He is calm and serene and small . . . .
His hair is gray and so is his mustache. His clothes are gray and so is his tie . . . . His
gray fedora hat shades his gray eyes." As if to add a little color to his life now and then,
he would put on a red bow tie.\textsuperscript{13}

One well-known Indiana sport had its beginnings during his first year in office:
the Indianapolis 500-mile Race. The two-and-one-half mile race course was under
construction when the first scheduled event, the national balloon races, took place on 5 June 1909. Twelve balloons were entered (nine actually participated), ranging in size from 40,000 to 100,000 cubic feet. Owner-manager Carl G. Fisher and his cohorts invited the Governor to participate in the pre-race ceremonies. On the road leading to the Motor Speedway Marshall got caught in a traffic jam of cars and carriages. By the time he entered the gate the balloon race had started. The Governor did get to see Barney Oldfield make history soon after by driving his Benz around the track at an average speed to 83.2 miles per hour. Such fast driving and such dangers that existed prompted the owners later to build a paved surface on the roadway that was first composed of crushed stone and tar. 3,200,000 paving bricks later and the track was ready for another ceremony. On 17 December the Governor arrived at the track early enough to place a "gold" brick in position at the starting line. (The brick was actually a compound of bronze and brass, and not gold.)

Tom Marshall was a considerable contrast in appearance and temperament to his predecessor in the Governor's Chair. There was a tempered quality about the man. His physical appearance was fodder for the political cartoonists, but he who looked closely at the Governor saw a blending of serenity and nervous energy. His silvery gray hair crowned a handsomely shaped head. Deep-set and expressive, his eyes could twinkle at a joke or glare at an error. His large eyebrows and mustache added attractiveness to a pleasant-sounding voice. He was not a large man, but there was character in his carriage.

He was different from the popular image of a state governor. The World To-Day for January, 1910, contained four brief statements by governors of certain midwestern states. Two of them held that the great need of their states was conservation of natural
resources and a third deemed the issue of trust regulation to be a preeminent need.

Marshall wrote that Indiana's greatest need is contentment. By that I mean that it should possess a body of citizens who are content to do a day's work for a day's wage; who are willing to pay a day's wage for a day's work; who are unwilling to shirk work and gain wages by cunning; who are unwilling by enforced employment to increase profits; who believe more in the common good than in the larger good; who would rather be buried in a pine box wet with genuine tears than to have a rosewood casket guarded by detectives; who really feel that Indiana is the land of opportunity, individuality and manhood, and not the land of knavery, trickery and cunning; who believe he is not wise who is not just, and that justice is as much the other fellow's right as his own. Maybe a majority of Indiana's citizens are such. I hope so.¹⁵

Once in a while Governor Marshall commuted between Columbia City and Indianapolis. It was his custom to travel on the Big Four Railroad north to Warsaw and take an evening train over to Columbia City. There would be a hack parked at the depot to take arriving passengers to the hotel a mile away. The hack was a one-horse-drawn vehicle with seats along the side. On one occasion Marshall got into the back, according to his version, and there were no other passengers. He was disturbed that he did not know the driver, since he prided himself on knowing most all the townsfolk. Remaining anonymous, he remarked to the driver, "Isn't this where Governor Marshall lives?"

"Yes."

"What do people say about him?"

"Oh, they just laugh!"
It was typical of Marshall to tell stories like that about himself. One might say that on occasion he was self-deprecating. One also might say that here was a man who could laugh at himself, not take himself overly seriously, and exhibit an inner strength of self-confidence not available to many men.16

II

As in many other states at this time, candidates for the office of United States Senator were chosen by state party caucuses and elected by both houses of the Indiana General Assembly. (This occurred before the Seventeenth Amendment was passed in 1913 permitting the direct election of senators by popular vote.) Several prominent Democrats wanted the coveted nomination. The Indiana Democratic caucus was scheduled for 13 January 1909. Thomas Taggart let it be known that he was interested in the position even though other aspiring candidates included John W. Kern, who had recently lost the vice presidential election as Bryan's running mate the previous year; Benjamin F. Shively, a Congressman several times since 1884; Ert. Slack, a leading state legislator; and Edward G. Hoffman, a young politician from Marshall's section of the state.

When the Democratic party caucus assembled in Indianapolis, considerable wheeling and dealing took place. Throughout twenty ballots there were charges and countercharges of infidelity and trickery. Taggart and Marshall publicized themselves as neutrals. Many observers believed Kern would win largely because of his having been Bryan's running mate. Shively, though, ultimately won the Democratic nomination and went on to win the U. S. Senate seat by a vote of 86-67 over the Republican incumbent,
James Hemenway, because of a plurality of Democratic votes in the General Assembly
and because he had helped the liquor interests by defeating a prohibition measure which
action they repaid with victory. The charges of vote buying, of double dealing, and of
outright lying convinced many that the caucus method of electing a United States Senator
was a poor method of choosing outstanding candidates honestly. Governor Marshall
was offended by the vicious infighting of the January caucus. He worried how people
throughout the state would react to the intraparty strife, particularly with the impending
Democratic State Convention scheduled for April, 1910.

John E. Lamb, defeated earlier in his race for Governor, was also giving serious
thought to that April convention at which time another vote would take place to choose a
second nominee for United States Senator from Indiana. He did not have much of a
chance if a caucus were called to choose the next candidate. Newspaperman Claude
Bowers of Terre Haute, who had literally followed Marshall’s progress in his
gubernatorial race, was summoned by Lamb for a conference. Lamb conveyed to Bowers
his idea that the state Democratic convention should nominate its candidate for the Senate
and require the Democratic legislators to pledge themselves to that candidate. Lamb felt
he would then have a realistic chance for the nomination. Bowers agreed. A potential
candidate, Lamb argued that it would not look good for himself to suggest such an idea to
the convention. Instead, he would ask Governor Marshall if he would agree to sponsor
this plan.

Marshall heard Lamb's rationale: "If it goes through, it would give you a
reputation all over the country of having bucked the machine in the interest of the rank-
and-file of the party!" The Governor was impressed and agreed to do it, though he knew
it would anger Taggart and others. Bowers himself had typed out the plan in Lamb's office and now Marshall would intentionally publicize the plan as his own in newspapers around the state.

To South Bend newspaper editor John B. Stoll, Marshall expressed his feeling that the people--through their convention delegates--should have a say as to who shall represent them. "In the final analysis," he wrote to Stoll, "my political philosophy has been that it is far better to educate every Democrat in Indiana to think for himself and to have every Democrat a leader than to transfer to one man or to a number of men the right to do the thinking for them. It would be unutteringly [sic] depressing, my dear Mr. Stoll, if after one hundred thirty years of free government in America we had reached a point where the solution of a proposition that has been put up to the people of Indiana is to be left to the voiced desires and personal ambitions of a few men." Andrew Jackson would have been pleased to hear this statement out of his own brand of Jeffersonian politics. Marshall's friends agreed that the Governor would have a golden opportunity to express his views personally to the delegates at convention time in the last week of April.18

Relations between Marshall and Taggart were distant at this time. Taggart was accustomed to having top Democrats consult with him and Marshall had not shown due appreciation for Taggart's role. On his part Marshall simply did not play the same game of politics as did the "boss." Three weeks before the state convention Taggart received a letter in which the Governor tried to explain his own position. In that letter, written on 8 April 1910, Marshall explained his position on candidate endorsement, and he endeavored to assure Taggart that whatever position he held, even if in opposition to Marshall's, "will not change the friendly relations existing between us." Marshall was
not trying to boom or bust any candidate by his proposal. (But, Taggart's desire to run for
the senate seat would be dashed if the decision were left to the convention. Taggart knew
this; Marshall surely did.) The proposal, the Governor believed, would be "an honest and
wise one for our Party to adopt." Then, he ended the letter “with renewed assurances of
my personal esteem.”

By mid-month Taggart, Ralston, and Shively were furious with this radical plan.
Lamb could see that Marshall was wavering in his resolve to support the plan and
confided to Bowers, "I believe he's getting cold feet. We've got to do something to
bolster him up. Bryan is coming back from South America and is landing in New York
next week. I can't go to New York to see him because that would attract attention, but I
want you to go to New York, explain the situation to him, and have him send a telegram
of congratulations to Marshall."

Bowers followed Lamb's suggestion. In a few days William Jennings Bryan sent
a telegram to the Governor, which proved to be the encouragement Marshall needed to
take decisive action. Opposition to the Governor's plan continued, however. Ohio
Democrats felt it would issue in defeat at the polls and have wide-ranging implications.
Taggart's men thought they could head it off at the convention.

The delegates assembled in Indianapolis on 27 April. The convention was guided
by committees whose members belonged to different factions. Taggart's men were able
to gain control of these committees, especially the rules committee in which they
outnumbered the others seven to six. The Governor began to worry again. Many
Democrats liked Marshall's plan, but the opposition had Taggart announce that he would
be a candidate for United States Senator. Thus, Taggart and Marshall were pitted against each other.

Addressing the Democratic state convention, Marshall asked that the delegates consider issues and principles and not to focus on policies and personalities. They were encouraged to support their beliefs with their honest vote and to nominate the best candidate for United States Senator.

Then Taggart made a strange move. He directed the rules committee to recommend that the first item of business be an open vote on the Governor’s plan. If it were defeated, Taggart would know that he had clear control of the convention. Perhaps he felt overconfident that he would win, but he soon saw defeat inevitable. Out of 1,747 votes he missed by 30 votes! The plan was adopted.21

John W. Kern ultimately became the delegates’ choice to run that November against Senator Albert J. Beveridge whose second six-year term was coming to a close. (John Lamb got lost along the wayside.) Marshall was pleased with the Kokomo lawyer, who had reform sentiments like his own and who was apparently not a henchman of the machine boss. Kern had enough experience as a state senator to know the issues and ills of American politics. His candidacy for the Vice Presidency in 1908 revealed his national reputation among Democrats.

In the months leading to the 1910 November election Governor Marshall provided support to Kern by criticizing the Republican county-option law (still on the legislative books). He worked to woo the state's large German population away from the Republican camp. Kern took the offense in his battle with Beveridge who expressed his own progressive ideas with a water-and-oil mixture of explanations about Old Guard
Republican policies. When the votes came in, Democrats won enough seats to have a majority in both houses of the General Assembly, which meant Beveridge's defeat. The rising tide of progressive thinking was colored Democratic. Beveridge, hurt, commented to reporters, "Fortunes of war." Claude Bowers was convinced that Governor Marshall's political reputation began to stand out nationally. It was Marshall's "Plan" that was tried and not found wanting.\textsuperscript{22}
6.
Gamblers, Workers, and the New Moses
1909-1911

Thomas Taggart was having trouble with the law when Thomas Marshall succeeded Frank Hanly as governor. Gambling was notorious in certain sections of the state, including French Lick in the south central area where Taggart owned a lavish hotel. Many people linked the Democratic boss with gambling interests. His friends insisted that he had no part in the illegal activities taking place elsewhere in the town. Governor Hanly had wanted to see Taggart indicted for complicity with the operators of the casino. Hanly's state auditor was discovered to have lost money at the gaming tables, and the Republican Governor not only dismissed him but supported his prosecution for embezzlement of state money.¹

I

In the spring of 1910, cries of outrage at the flouting of the law reached Governor Marshall from French Lick itself. The president of a local manufacturing company, W. E. Ryan, was incensed at what had happened to his town because of the gambling interests. "There are very few men in this town," he wrote the Governor, "mostly long-tailed rats." It was common knowledge that gambling was occurring not in the Taggart hotel but in the Al Brown building under lease to Ed Ballard. Local citizens were not supporting the law but were abetting the betters! Some 600 of the population were living comfortably because of their employment in connection with the French Lick Springs Hotel which
accommodated the people who journeyed by train and carriage to the out-of-the-way gambling house.

James Bingham, State Attorney-General, presented his own evidence to Marshall about the casino. The information was conveyed to the Orange County prosecutor who did nothing with it since he was aware of the community's attitude of support for Taggart. Within a month the Governor summoned the local prosecutor to show cause why he had not pursued the indictments. Bingham's office worked closely with the Orange county prosecution, but in the end the grand jury--composed of local folk--found no illegal activity connected with Thomas Taggart. 2

The Governor had no real cause to "go after" Taggart, but he made no effort to help the Indianapolis businessman-politician. Taggart's private secretary, Gertrude McHugh, knew that "there was never a warm feeling between Taggart and Marshall."

When the new governor first arrived in the state capital, Taggart charged her to go to Marshall and ask for a state appointment as a stenographer. He wanted to know what sort of consideration the new governor was giving in patronage to the Taggart people. At the time Marshall said he knew only of a position with the forestry department. She inquired there, discovered the job paid only $45 per month, and reported back to Taggart. He was now convinced that Marshall was giving only menial positions to his people. Within a short time Taggart would visit Marshall to discuss Democratic patronage, and the two would work out an amiable understanding. The Governor stood fast on hiring only competent Democrats, whoever recommended them. 3

French Lick was only one of several key gambling areas. Gambling was taking place in pool rooms in Indiana near her borders next to Louisville in the south and
Chicago in the northwestern corner. Slot machines had been outlawed. Boxing matches were really "prize fights," and illegal bets were regularly made on who would win the fight and in what round. It was evident that Marshall needed to take radical steps to stop organized gambling in the state.

After six months in office Governor Marshall ordered the Jeffersonville sheriff to close up the gamblers' headquarters and with the aid of the state militia, if needed. His outspoken position against the gamblers encouraged citizens to send him letters and telegrams about the conditions of vice in their own communities. He learned that race track news was being sent into Cincinnati and Louisville by way of leased wire belonging to Western Union and to Bell Telephone Company. Railroad lines were contributing to illegalities by furnishing transportation to gamblers entering the state. To one railroad official the Governor wrote, "... The state can protect itself to the extent of withdrawing the privilege of doing business in Indiana, if corporations make themselves silent partners in the violation of the criminal laws of Indiana."

Even little towns were havens for crime. A frustrated Jasonville citizen wrote a letter to the Governor: "If there is any law in the land this place surely needs it. We have a town marshal and the Good Citizens League, but the blind Tigers and gambling dens are in full force." Marshall found, nevertheless, that most of the townspeople favored the illegal sale of liquor and would not support prosecution. A young prosecuting attorney from Lake County, next to Chicago, was upset that the Crown Point citizens had no interest in justice. He admitted to the Governor that because of such apathy he could understand why vice was rampant throughout the state.4
Chicago underworld figures recognized that there would be little public opposition to building a race track and gambling facilities in Porter County, fifteen miles from the Illinois line near Chicago. They surmised that there would be virtually nothing the Governor could do because he would be making political campaign speeches outside the state.

It was not long before news of the proposed race track reached the State House at Indianapolis. Informed, Marshall sent a speedy letter to the sheriff of Porter County telling him what he obviously already knew: that the proposed race track at Mineral Springs was being opened by a "foreign corporation which had not complied with the laws of this state." Marshall told him to take his men to the track and arrest every member of the corporation when they tried to run their first race. Within a week Sheriff C. A. Wood acknowledged that he and the prosecutor were watching developments and would act accordingly.

Days went by. Nothing happened upstate. Marshall directed his secretary, Mark Thistlethwaite, to authorize the hiring of a private detective to look into the situation at the race track. "Operator 52" went to Chicago and learned that the gamblers had "fixed" the county authorities and expected to beat the State in the courts. The "Association" in Chicago was confident that it had the money to influence the outcome of any litigation in its favor. Still, no racing had yet taken place by the middle of October. Owners of horses had shipped their animals to the Porter County track and were having to pay boarding costs without making any money. At least, this was in the agent's report of 12 October 1912. His last report was on 2 November.
Chicago reporters were making their own inquiries, and published articles on gambling and bookmaking at the Mineral Springs track. It soon became obvious that Operator 52 had been “bought” by the Association. In Wyoming by then, Marshall heard about developments. He wired Thistlethwaite:

STOP PORTER COUNTY GAMBLING AT ONCE OR I WILL COME BACK AND DO IT.

The command had been given. The office of the State Attorney General in agreement with the Adjutant General called up the state militia, and soldiers with fixed bayonets marched onto the racetrack. Preparations for the first race were made anyway. The horses readied at the starting position, the doors opened, and they sprinted ahead. The jockeys, looking up rapidly became impressed with guns and bayonets facing them several hundred yards away and stopped their horses abruptly. The militia forced the horses off the track and they ran the customers out of the grandstand. They then destroyed the stands.

Quickly the racetrack operators filed a lawsuit against the Governor and others for sending in the National Guard—who went in with force and arms, did not pay an admission fee (!), broke up the race, and excluded spectators from the grounds. The operators eventually dropped their suit when they learned that "an executive is not personally liable in damages for the use of his militia in enforcing what he believes to be the law." The Governor had won.
II

One of the most gratifying experiences Marshall had as Governor was in seeing men succeeding in society who had once been incarcerated. Because he believed in the possibility of humans rehabilitating themselves if given the chance, he earned the label of "Pardoning Governor." More than a dozen years passed between his term in office and his writing his memoirs and yet his mind was vivid about experiences and encounters concerning men whom he had given a second chance and who had made good their record in society.

Marshall did not believe in capital punishment. Paradoxically, he did not believe in pardoning prisoners indiscriminately, particularly those serving life sentences, but there were many in prison whom he (with a lawyer's background) felt were wrongly placed there by their judges. He had no brief with the man clearly established as a criminal: "Your outlaw is essentially a coward. He protests against society, its organization and its laws; he takes the law into his own hands and immediately, when he finds himself in its clutches, he uses every device of the law to avoid responsibility for his acts; in other words, he is for the law to save himself, but against the law if it prevents him from injuring another." The Governor believed that new laws were needed to cover criminal action and criminal conspiracy where these are clearly connected in a given situation.

Marshall profoundly respected the law and the courts and the society for whom these exist. For thirty-three years he had practiced law and occasionally been a judge. He knew human nature and was not naive about human behavior, as events would show.
Labor trouble throughout the Midwest was connected with the expansion of industry, the increase in immigrant workers, and the conflicting interests of management and labor. Union membership increased notably in the first decade of the century, especially among miners, but there was determined opposition to organized labor by manufacturers. The United States Steel Corporation in Gary successfully opposed efforts by iron and steel workers' unions to force the creation of an open shop. When confronted with crisis between management and labor, Marshall acted according to his philosophy of government. In situations where it might have been easier and safer to call out the state militia, the Governor chose the way of arbitration and law, as in the streetcar strike in Vincennes and the railway strike in South Bend. The exception was the closing down of the Porter County race track at Mineral Springs.

Marshall was sensitively aware that many strikers were well-intentioned but culturally ignorant immigrants who wished their fair due from exploitative factory owners. He later admitted, "I ought to have been more patient with the hundred tribes and tongues which went into the making up of the city [Gary], and to have realized that it would take time to blend it into the body of what I believed to be one of the most law-abiding states in the Union." There were mixed feelings about the factory owners. He realized that they had grown so used to power that they were almost oblivious to the rule of law in the interests of all the people.

Public opinion about labor unions varied within each section of the state and nation. One publicized incident brought disfavor to the union cause and almost obliterated Marshall's political career.
Early in 1911, newspaper headlines carried details of the dynamiting of the Los Angeles Times Building. Investigators traced the plot to the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' Union, headquartered in Indianapolis. On a Saturday morning in April, 1911, agents of California Governor Hiram Johnson appeared before Marshall to request extradition of John J. McNamara, a union officer. Johnson sent along an indictment charging McNamara and his brother, James, with having engineered the dynamiting.

After reading the grand jury indictment, Marshall issued an arrest warrant and the agents promptly apprehended the accused and took him out of the state to the West Coast to stand trial with his brother.

Union men were in an uproar when they heard that John McNamara had been extradited without benefit of counsel or hearing. They were especially furious when they heard that he had not even been in Los Angeles at the time of the crime. The Indiana Governor became the target of attack: Marshall allegedly knew better but he broke the law by not allowing McNamara legal protection.

From April to December of the following year indictments and trials continued, implicating over fifty persons in the act of dynamiting or in the transporting of the explosives. Under advice by Chicago defense attorney Clarence Darrow, John and James McNamara pleaded guilty to the crime of conspiracy to blow up buildings. John's Indianapolis office was found to contain enough dynamite to kill forty thousand people.

Marshall was castigated for his part in McNamara's extradition. He, in fact, did act properly in regard to the warrant. Counsel was denied McNamara, but Marshall maintained years afterward that the federal law regarding persons being in the state of the crime at the time of its occurrence was obsolete. When that law was written, no system
of telegraph, telephone, radio, or railroads flourished. In terms of labor union regard for the Governor, it is a paradox that for six months during the heat of the McNamara incident Secret Service men "shadowed" Marshall for a possible assassination attempt by misguided union men, yet by the end of the Governor's term a frequent union critic, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, presented him "with a gold-headed cane and an engraved address stating that they had received better treatment under my administration than that of any other governor of Indiana."8

IV

On 5 January 1911, the Second Session of the Indiana General Assembly met to hear the Governor's annual message. The audience was more receptive than two years earlier, since Democrats now held a majority in both houses.

Marshall's remarks belied the charge that he was an old-fashioned country lawyer whose views were outmoded for modern society. He forcefully presented that new laws were needed for new times, regarding liquor control, voting procedures, workmen's compensation, control of stocks and bonds, and other matters. His Democratic legislators were determined to enact as many measures as were in accord with their party platform.

During the 1911-1913 session a child labor law passed which forbade any child under fourteen years to work, unless around the home or farm, although limited types of work for youths 14 to 16 were permitted. This legislation would have longterm effects on the adolescent labor supply throughout the state of Indiana.

Three liquor laws passed, written by state senator Robert Proctor: one concerned the city and selection of the township option (favored over the county), another concerned
the regulation of saloons, and the third centered on rules governing local option elections. Though he was secretly a reformed alcoholic, Marshall's concept of democracy was such that he could not honestly deny another man the right to buy liquor. He consistently supported the local or township option position. That Marshall would support the Proctor local option bill threw terror in the hearts of certain local Indianapolis preachers. At a meeting of the Methodist Ministerial Association a Reverend Tillotson berated the Governor for his approach and advocated the passage "of such laws as are in keeping with the laws of Christ and the spirit of democracy and will take the open door of temptation away from weak and fallen man."9

Marshall's boldest venture was to draft, legislate, and refer to the voter a new state constitution. No provision had been made in the Indiana Constitution of 1851 for its revision or for a constitutional convention. The only forethought of the state fathers was to provide for amendment of the Constitution. The amendment process, however, was extremely difficult: for an amendment to be ratified, it had to gain the approval of every single elector at a specified election time when the amendment had been submitted.

The Governor was aware of the legal history of the matter. He knew that sixty years with the old Constitution had frustrated many a General Assembly. He also knew how involved and expensive the calling of a constitutional convention could be. So, he sought another way.

To the legislators Marshall referred to the debates of the 1850 Constitutional Convention, which produced a provision in the new Constitution giving the people the right to change their governmental structure. The legislators realized that there might be a new way to break the decades-long impasse. Upon study and recommendation by a
caucus of Democratic lawmakers both houses of the General Assembly supported the basic need for revision. Jacob P. Dunn, a chief architect and the principal authoritative defender of the "Marshall Constitution," publicly proclaimed that the proposed constitution would aid immeasurably in improving conditions surrounding elections.\(^{10}\)

Senate Bill \#407 was virtually a copy of the 1851 Indiana Constitution but with some 23 proposed changes. The bill included that upon its acceptance by the electors in 1912, it would take effect in January, 1913. To an Indianapolis News reporter the Governor explained, "I presented the matter to the General Assembly because I believe it to be right, and I am prepared to defend it either as a party measure or simply as a proposition to be put up to the people, regardless of party."\(^{11}\) After the committee work and final drafting, the new document was brought before the state legislature for approval.

Considerable debate and controversy centered around what to more conservative legislators, especially Republicans, were radical proposals. Marshall had conferred extensively with Dunn about what Indianans needed in a reform state constitution. On his part Dunn incorporated progressive, democratic procedures that would bring the Indiana constitution into the twentieth century.

After heated exchanges between Democrats and Republicans on and off the floor, the proposal passed with the order that it be put before the people for ratification or rejection. Opponents of the Marshall Constitution protested that no branch of government can make or unmake constitutions. Only the people can do that. It was the Governor's idea, though, that the people could vote yes or no after the constitution was
made known. Marshall became depicted as a robed Moses with the Ten Commandments, "our new Lawgiver."  

An Indianapolis Republican lawyer, John T. Dye, brought suit against the unorthodox procedure and the allegedly unconstitutional constitution. Near the end of September, 1911, the case was heard in the Marion County Circuit Court by Judge Charles Remster. His decision was that the legislative act--the proposed constitution--was void because the General Assembly had no constitutional right to adopt such an act. He charged that the act was not proposed in the prescribed manner for making amendments and so sustained the lawyer's suit.

An appeal was then made to the Supreme Court of the State of Indiana (which at that time had 3 Democratic and 2 Republican judges). This court supported the decision of Judge Remster. Marshall was furious. He felt the Supreme Court had inferred that despotic rule was endeavoring to foist upon the people a new constitution. The Governor quickly sought a writ of error to the Supreme Court of the United States on the ground that the State Supreme Court was trying to usurp the powers and responsibilities of the legislative and executive branches of state government. The matter was not settled until after Marshall had been out of the Governor's office for almost a year. The federal court decided not to recognize Marshall's writ because he had made it as Governor of the State and not as a private citizen whose personal rights had been violated by the courts.  

Months later at a dinner party in Washington, D. C., Marshall asked the Supreme Court justice who had denied the writ why he did so. The justice, Marshall remembered, implied that the Governor had been right and the Supreme Court of Indiana had been wrong, but the federal court did not wish "to interfere, if it [could] avoid doing so, in any
political questions arising in any of the states of the Union." Marshall had to content
himself with that answer. He felt that agitation and publicity over the issue had gotten
the people to realize that they did need a new constitution for the good of their state in
terms of improved voting procedures and voter qualifications.14

Not an expressed office holder, not an advocate of the spoils system (though he
did practice patronage for professionals and other qualified persons), and not a copier of
past governmental practices, Governor Marshall had shown genuine interest in the people
and with capable civil assistance had managed well a state emerging into the twentieth
century. Adding his contribution of improvement in legislation to Republican
progressive accomplishments, he held to convictions that sought to protect the citizen not
only from exploitative capitalism but also from interfering government. Without being
obnoxious he resisted control of his party by machine politicians and yet worked with
them, as he understood it, for the good of the party and the people. While unable to make
his state a utopia, he stood up to organized interests in business and in the underworld
that would exploit communities and citizens for their own selfish ends. Because Marshall
had provided courageous leadership along with a strong administrative hand, his
supporters began to consider their governor for the highest office in the land.
Even if he were not an announced candidate, Tom Marshall was acting like a cautiously expectant one. The American presidential race was only two years away. Before the middle of his term as Governor, Marshall began to hear people using his name in connection with the 1912 campaign. Indiana friends believed that he had the makings of a United States President. He was enjoying success as a state executive and as titular head of the state Democratic Party. He impressed political leaders in other states as he had occasion to journey throughout the country. By the end of 1910 the Indiana governor had achieved national prominence for his action in the McNamara case and throughout 1911 for his novel attempt to get a new state constitution. He rated nationally as one of the most popular Democratic governors. Marshall knew that his chance to become President was remote. He wanted that office but refused to work for the nomination. He kept saying that the office should seek the man, not the other way around. Was this view really a rationalization for not doing more to deserve the office?

No sooner had the new legislative session begun in 1910 than Marshall admirers boomed their governor for President at the annual banquet of the Lafayette, Indiana, Jackson Club. At that time the recommendation made hardly a ripple on the surface of the national political water, but one month later Democratic leaders in the East were
voicing concern about the waves emanating from the Hoosier state. The big dinner, the National Jefferson Day Banquet, when all the Democratic stars and satellites would shine forth in apparent unity, was only two months away. A decision was made to change the meeting place from Washington to Indianapolis; it was closer to the center of a geographic region that was important to the Democrats nationally. At least, this was the explanation of Indiana Democrat, Colonel William C. Liller, chairman of the National Democratic League of Clubs. Many Eastern Democrats were supporting Ohio Governor Judson Harmon for the 1912 Presidential nomination, and they began to see this change of place as a subversive plot initiated by the Marshall forces. Perhaps they should check this Marshall boom.¹

The Indiana Governor was making no secret of his political views. "The one great question before the people is the tariff," asserted Marshall. "I should like to see the Democratic party go to the country with two issues--protection and economy and not a single line about anything else."² The country needed to be impressed by something. The American people’s votes were responsible for the failure of the Democratic Party to elect a President since 1892.

The Jefferson Day Banquet in Indianapolis on 13 April 1910 was attended by over six hundred Democrats, principally from the midwestern states. (There was even a sprinkling of renegade Republicans.) Ex-Governor Joseph Folk of Missouri was present, a not-so-subtle presidential aspirant. So were John Shafroth, Governor of Colorado, Chicagoan James Hamilton Lewis (later a United States Senator), and William Sulzer, a New York Congressman and friend of Governor Marshall. Local party boss Thomas
Taggart, now a member of the powerful Democratic National Committee, was in attendance also.

After dinner and welcoming speeches Senator John Worth Kern arose to praise and launch Thomas R. Marshall onto uncertain political waters leading to the 1912 presidential race. Kern's accolade was followed by applause and shouts of "Marshall! Marshall!"

The fifty-six-year-old Governor arose before the multitude, his less than medium stature nearly hidden by the podium. With upraised hand to still the crowd he spoke plainly: "I am not a candidate for anything under the sun. I am simply the Governor of Indiana, desirous of serving the people of Indiana!" This expression of public servitude only served to bring more applause and shouting. The visiting Democrats wanted to hear more from this man who was becoming a David among the Goliaths of the party leaders.

The Governor avoided a direct approach to the question of his active participation in a national campaign for the Presidency. He nevertheless criticized the policies of Republican Presidents Roosevelt and Taft. He had no sympathy for one branch of government usurping the functions of another branch, which he alleged Roosevelt to have done while President. Taft, Marshall judged, should have signed the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill and then kept his mouth shut. The tariff bill, passed the previous August, he felt to be harmful to the people of the nation. It is not the Republican Party but the Democratic party that has rescued the country from the special interest groups: "Let me tell you that the best thing that the old chariot of state ever had put on it was a brake--a brake to keep the blamed old thing from going too fast down hill; and the Democratic party has been
the brake that has kept this country from being plunged into an aristocracy or a monarchy before its time!"³

Campaign rhetoric grew more volatile with the onset of the state Democratic convention two weeks later. It seemed to some that Marshall was turning around statements uttered by Theodore Roosevelt, who recently spoke in Indianapolis. Life magazine, a popular national weekly, editorialized that the Indiana Governor did not know what he was talking about and should not be taken seriously. The Republican-influenced Indianapolis Star did not agree with Marshall's politics, but it sided with him against Life. The Governor, it was contended, had cast some "unfortunate flings" at Roosevelt and Beveridge, but as a leader he deserved his party's support and nomination for President.⁴

Marshall kept aware of the Democracy's gain and status throughout the other states, including the races for governor. New Jersey Democrat Woodrow Wilson, Princeton University president and his party's choice for state executive, won at the polls. To the voters of New Jersey Wilson had urged that government ought to be the servant of all the people: it will not kowtow to corporations or tremble before trusts; it will seek compensation legislation for workers and primary elections for all public officials. Both men were talking the same rhetoric: economic and legislative reform. Marshall quickly sent a telegram to the victorious Wilson:

I WELCOME YOU INTO THE COMPANY OF GOVERNORS WHO THINK THAT PRINCIPLES ARE WORTH MAINTAINING. CONGRATULATIONS.
THOMAS R. MARSHALL⁵
Along with certain other Democratic governors Marshall and Wilson were being esteemed as Presidential timber. The Washington Herald, following the November election victories, editorialized:

It is easily conceivable that the repetition of 1890, recorded by Tuesday's landslide, may in two years be followed by the repetition of 1892. All the more conceivable it is with men of the caliber of Wilson, Dix, Marshall, and Baldwin intrusted with the party's destinies in states traditionally Democratic under normal conditions. Marshall has already demonstrated conspicuously the qualities of sane, progressive leadership, and if the Governors-elect in the east measure up to their opportunities for public service as he has done, their ability for greater service and highest honors will be apparent to all in 1912. Certainly, in the meantime, it is to such statesmen as these that the party will look for safe guidance and prudent counsel.6

The Indianapolis News, a Democratic organ, quoted this sentiment and added that it was nice that Governor Marshall was so well spoken of outside the state: "The Governor of Indiana is evidently as highly esteemed abroad as he is at home. Without making the slightest effort to do so he seems to have impressed himself on the country. There never was a poorer advertiser, and yet the people have heard enough of him to make them admire him." In office as Governor just one year, Marshall had brought the state into financial respectability, had initiated legislative reform measures some of which would become enacted in time, and had become "his own man" in regard to Democratic
party domination. Even party boss Thomas Taggart began to show respect for him, which no doubt influenced other powerful Democrats to see a new stature in the man, superseding that of country lawyer.

II

In January, 1911, Taggart publicly supported Marshall as a Democratic Presidential nominee. Within a month campaign buttons were being circulated throughout Indiana, Michigan, and Illinois. The buttons had printed on them: "For President Thomas R. Marshall of Indiana for me." Colonel Liller, a Taggart man supposedly on the Marshall bandwagon, told reporters that there was growing support from seven midwestern states and that plans were underway for "an active and aggressive campaign on his behalf." Marshall still had not committed himself to run for the Presidency.

The Governor was assuming a cautious stance. Men who had been his political enemies were suddenly becoming "supporters." He knew who his old friends were. It was these new ones of whom he was unsure. Bernard Korbly, an Indiana Congressman, spoke with Marshall to learn whether he would block efforts of friends in Washington to help him secure the Party's presidential nomination. In typical fashion the Governor told Korbly that he would be honored by Democratic support but he himself would not seek the office, believing always that the office should seek the man. He emphasized to Korbly that "under no conditions would I permit my name to be considered for the nomination for Vice President." The Governor was alert enough to know that a Vice
President's salary did not go far. Having little money and much love he did not want his wife to have to live in dull surroundings for even one term in Washington.\textsuperscript{9}

Senator Kern communicated his personal support to Marshall. The two men saw each other in the same ideological camp: trying to help the party grow democratically lest it be completely wrested away by machine politicians. In a letter written just prior to a scheduled Democratic dinner, Marshall expressed his concern and hope "that we are going to get through the banquet without having any trouble with the Colonel [Taggart or Liller?] but nobody knows when or where or under what circumstances he is liable to break out." The Indianapolis affair was to be a widely publicized one in which the Indiana Governor had invited the Democrats’ three-time leader, William Jennings Bryan, to be present. Bryan was also called “Colonel”. Time would shortly tell who was Marshall’s friend and who would be his foe.\textsuperscript{10}

The all-day conference of Democrats took place on 13 April at the Murat Temple in Indianapolis, an imposing structure on Massachusetts Street built for the Indiana Freemasons. Speeches were given by various notables. Woodrow Wilson spoke on "The Democratic Party and the Present," George Harvey of New York on "Progressive Democracy," and H. B. Ferguson of New Mexico on "Militant Democracy." Other speakers, all governors, were Cruce of Oklahoma, Hawley of Idaho, and Marshall of Indiana. Bryan unexpectedly was not present but was in New York attending the funeral of Tom L. Johnson, former reform mayor of Cleveland.\textsuperscript{11}

The ostentatious dinner that evening had been dubbed the National Democratic Achievement Banquet. At the speakers’ table with the Governor of Indiana sat the new Governor of New Jersey. Marshall must have realized that Woodrow Wilson's exposure
to midwestern Democrats might influence them to support him later in 1912. He kept to himself his thoughts and feelings about Wilson as a potential competitor or as one whom the Indiana Governor might want to support as a Democratic candidate for the Presidency.

During the banquet Wilson, governor just three months, received word that he had won a legislative battle in his own state through the passage of the Geran Bill which provided for direct party primary elections of delegates to national conventions. This news was relayed by Wilson to the toastmaster who read it aloud to the audience, "and the crowd cheered." Many at the banquet saw in Wilson one who could become the next President of the United States. The editor of the Gary Evening Post was pleased with Wilson's honesty and directness: "Some time ago The Post singled out Woodrow Wilson as the most probable nominee of the party for the presidency. The better he becomes known the more power there is added to that belief."12

Wilson was feeling magnanimous as a result of his happy reception to his presence and speaking at the Indianapolis Democratic banquet. He was truly comfortable among the midwesterners. He was impressed with the Indiana capital city, "a remarkable place. I do not know any American city of its size that is the home of so many interesting people . . . ." He was even affected by the personality of the governor of the state, "a capital and very able man. If the sphere of his thought and action had been a little bigger than Indiana, he would be a big man. He has the brains and the sagacity."
It is likely that the Marshalls hosted Governor Wilson at their home while he attended the Achievement Banquet. In a letter written to his special friend, Mary Allen Hulbert Peck, shortly after his departure from Indianapolis he described Lois as being a dear, and uncommonly pretty. Her mouth is adorable,--singularly like yours!

They have no children, and live, with delightful simplicity, in a little house which they hire for themselves, Indiana, like New Jersey, not supplying her governor with an executive mansion.\(^\text{13}\)

Colonel Liller revealed his true colors one week later when he wrote Wilson that he was using his influence to frustrate support for Marshall and to use a new allegiance to Wilson for his presidential hopes. By his actions Liller showed that he was not truly one of the friends of Governor Marshall, no matter how many campaign buttons he was passing across the borders of the state! As events proceeded, this hardly mattered. The Indiana delegation at the 1912 Baltimore Convention would vote when and as Tom Taggart directed--and Liller would not be there, not even as an alternate delegate.\(^\text{14}\)

Tom Marshall did have genuine supporters. John B. Stoll, Indiana newspaper publisher and prominent upstate Democrat, liked Marshall, and the Governor himself felt that Stoll was an honorable man. In a letter to Stoll written soon after the April banquet he felt it necessary to repeat that he was not a Presidential nominee, "so kind have you and others been to me that I am going to keep on trying to remember that now I am the servant of Indiana and I shall most assuredly not put myself on exhibition in all parts of America offering myself to the highest bidder." To Senator Kern, Marshall expressed
grave concern over the emerging factionalism within the state Democratic Party: "I have never paid any personal attention to these matters because I did not think they deserved any, but latterly I have been afraid that they might disorganize us in the State. Indiana is of far more importance to us than anything else just now."\(^{15}\)

Throughout the remainder of the year the Governor gave his attention to matters of state government, particularly in obtaining a new state constitution. He was aware, nevertheless, of his friends' trying to get a presidential campaign off the ground. Marshall himself was exerting no effort to create a campaign organization. He admitted that "many of my good friends, however, seem to be more ambitious for me than I am for myself and more aggressive than I care to be." One of those friends was Andrew A. Adams, now a judge in Indianapolis, who had managed his gubernatorial campaign. Any person who expressed support in the campaign was being referred to Adams.\(^{16}\)

Marshall was behaving true to form. It was not that he did not want to be President but he remained profoundly convinced that if the people did not want him and did not show him by their efforts that they wanted him, it would be futile and presumptuous to initiate a fight for the Democratic nomination. The man was convinced that he could win if he had the kind of delegation at the national convention that he had in Indianapolis when running for governor. To his old friend, Judge Elisha Long, before whom as a young lawyer he had argued cases many times, Marshall wrote, "This is not a very proud position to occupy but you know, Judge, in the oldish days when I practiced before you when I could not get the principal and the interest, I would take either . . . as would best come to hand. This is my only chance."\(^{17}\)
On 28 November the Indiana State Democratic Committee meeting was attended by scores of persons from around the state. Party leaders came out for Marshall for President. His response: "If Indiana wants Tom Marshall to be a candidate for president, then Tom Marshall can be president of the United States!" On Thanksgiving that year he had something new for which to be thankful. His party had finally come to him publicly in support. Henceforth, his record as Governor and his policies came into prominence in order to be analyzed, attacked, or admired.  

Another year, and another Jackson Day dinner for the Democrats took place at the Raleigh Hotel in Washington, D. C., on 8 January 1912. Early in December Marshall had written to a Washington Democrat that he could not attend that dinner. Something must have made him change his mind because he was there along with over seven hundred party faithful. His advisers surely instructed him that if he wanted to win the nomination of his party he would have to get as much national exposure as possible. At the speakers' table sat Senator James O'Gorman, the toastmaster, flanked by Bryan, Wilson, Kern, and Champ Clark, Speaker of the House of Representatives. In the audience with Governor Marshall sat Alabama Congressman Oscar Underwood, one of the more popular vote getters; party bosses Charles Murphy of Tammany Hall, Roger Sullivan of Chicago, and James R. Nugent of New Jersey; William Randolph Hearst the publisher, and Judge Alton Parker, the Party's 1904 presidential candidate.  

Following dinner and dessert the speakers one by one went to the podium to speak briefly on "Democracy," that is, the Democratic Party. Thirteen speakers in all, Wilson was fifth in line and Bryan was last. The speeches kept the audience captive from eight in the evening to 3:30 the next morning. One wonders whether the applause which
accompained the end of Bryan's speech was due to his apparent support of Woodrow Wilson and of party unity or to the end of the long night! At any rate, Governor Wilson had made an excellent presentation. Henry Morgenthau surmised that the other candidates commenced to see Wilson as their chief competition. Newspaper headlines soon showed that Governor Wilson and Champ Clark were strong favorites. Other candidates were mentioned, though their importance would be measured in terms of "favorite son" votes to be switched at appropriate junctures during the convention balloting. Thus, Thomas R. Marshall, the Indiana governor, was regarded by Democrats nationally as prominent but not preeminent.20

III

Marshall was cautiously optimistic about the outcome of the Presidential campaign. To Judge Long, Marshall wrote, "I have the same old Presbyterian prophecy to make—that if things continue as they now are, there will be a deadlock in the Convention and I shall be nominated." Two days later he wrote Long an even longer letter, revealing more of his feelings about his chance of becoming the Democratic choice for President. He was pleased with his apartness from factionalism in the state party. Such neutrality had enabled him to become Governor. His position of power was to him an occasion to keep the party united for the next political race. "This is not intended to be egotistical but simply as a condition of affairs which seems to be fortunate for me," he admitted. "You know," he reflected upon himself, "I am not at all a pushing sort of fellow." Whatever this meant, a postscript to another admirer is revealing: "I many say privately for you and no one else that I think I shall be nominated." By this time, five
months before the national party convention, Marshall was perceived by *McClure's Magazine* as a compromise candidate to front-runners Wilson, Clark, Harmon, Folk, and Underwood.21

As the keynote speaker of the Indiana Democratic State Convention on 20 March Marshall did not overly sell himself as a candidate. He discussed state affairs along with the national political race. He gave his Democratic-controlled legislature the credit for a number of progressive legislative enactments. He handed Theodore Roosevelt a verbal thumping for his advocacy of "overruling" the court when one has been an unsuccessful litigant. "My sober judgment," Marshall offered, "looking to the permanent good of the people, entitles me to insist that the courts must remain free and untrammeled; that we must first seek relief through the remedy we now have and patiently abide by lawful reversal of judicial injustice."22

Nationally he was still a question mark. *The American Review of Reviews* stated that "Governor Marshall of Indiana is a man of originality and force, whose personal equation is not at all known to the country at large." As an unannounced candidate for the Presidency, Marshall had neither the number of campaign workers nor the supporter commitment as, say, Woodrow Wilson. Here was the key to the Wilson campaign. In January, at the Jackson Day Dinner in Washington, the New Jersey governor had been at the speakers' table and had gotten indispensable exposure. His campaign strategists were doing their homework.23

Former presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan was not asleep either. Having observed the Republican convention in Chicago in mid-June, prior to the Democratic conclave, the Great Commoner foresaw that only a progressive-minded
candidate could beat the conservative Republican candidate and that if the Democrats chose a conservative for President the nation would surely select the Progressive Party man. Right ideas but wrong party! Upon learning of Judge Alton Parker as the choice of the Convention Committee for Temporary Chairman, Bryan immediately assumed that the convention delegates would be led down the conservative trail. A telegram to the leading Democratic candidates might just calm the conservative storm that appeared to be brewing off the coast of New York City. Bryan's telegrams requested no less than a repudiation of Parker.

The olive branch strategy did not work. North Dakota Governor John Burke was the only one to give Bryan the answer he wanted. Wilson had already stated his position publicly. Clark answered against party discord. Governors Foss and Baldwin and Marshall had their own reasons for declining Bryan's kind support. Marshall's ideal of the office seeking the man and not the man seeking the office sounded admirable. Still, it was a man and a machine who placed the governorship in the lap of the Columbia City lawyer four years earlier. Marshall could never have achieved that office without Taggart's help. Would Taggart rescue the dapper little democrat at the national convention? Apparently unaware of the extent of his previous dependence on Thomas Taggart for victory, Marshall's thoughts were on the Indiana delegates who had pledged themselves to a man to help get the Democratic Presidential nomination for their Indiana leader. It remained to be seen what the Hoosiers would accomplish with the other forty-seven-plus state delegations.
The “Real General”, Thomas Taggart

June - August 1912

Baltimore, that northernmost southern city, was the target for trains and motorcars containing state delegations to the 1912 Democratic national convention. City streets were decorated with red, white, and blue bunting as local citizens behaved with grace and curiosity toward their visitors. Out-of-state delegates were unaccustomed to the humid summer weather of the Chesapeake Bay area. A political reporter noted that most of the delegates came from the West and the South and were not as neat looking in dress as had been the Republican delegates at Chicago.¹

The Republicans had completed their convention at the Chicago Coliseum, and reports of bickering among themselves pleased the Democrats to no end. Taft and Sherman were renominated, but not without a fight from the progressive wing which wanted Roosevelt back at the helm. With the convention committee stacked with Taft supporters and the bulk of the delegations pledged to the President, the outcome became obvious. In a huff the progressives left when they failed to get real support and initiated their own Progressive Party in Orchestra Hall. Weeks later, in August, the Progressive Party would again meet in Chicago to nominate Theodore Roosevelt for President and California Governor Hiram Johnson for Vice President.

Slogans and slurs were making the rounds the closer the Democratic delegates moved to the Maryland Fifth Regiment Armory, a huge downtown fieldhouse that had
sheltered everything from marching troops to dancing dogs. Supporters of Champ Clark were singing,

Everytime I come to town  
The boys keep kickin' my dawg aroun';  
Makes no difference if he's a houn',  
They gotta quit kickin' my dawg aroun'!

His supporters were going to Baltimore to stop others from kicking the dog (Clark). The fight would be touch-and-go, but the outcome looked hopeful. With the Republicans split into two camps, the Clark men might have a good chance of winning the Presidency for their man. The Wilson forces hoped to stem the tide of Clark support, but their man had only half as many pledged votes. Oscar Underwood from Alabama was confident that he would get solid support from the Deep South. Other known vote-getters were the "favorite sons": Thomas Marshall was one. There were 224 other votes that as yet belonged to none of the front-runners.

Not since 1860—and in Baltimore—would the Democrats take as long, and longer, to arrive at their decisions. Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois had been their choice then, a midwesterner with a southerner, Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia, to balance the ticket. The outcome of the 1912 convention voting, though the delegates would not yet know it, became the reverse: a southerner as Presidential nominee (Wilson) and a midwesterner as Vice Presidential hopeful (Marshall).
The 1912 Democratic National Convention was called to order at noon on 25 June. A prayer was offered by James Cardinal Gibbons of the Archdiocese of Baltimore after which the presiding officer, Norman Mack, offered the National Committee's choice for Temporary Chairman of the convention, Alton B. Parker of New York, the party's unsuccessful candidate for the Presidency in 1904. Bryan, who like Parker had run unsuccessfully for the Presidency (in 1896, 1900, and 1908!), was opposed to the nonprogressive Parker. The Nebraskan placed in nomination the name of John Worth Kern of Indiana, Bryan's running mate for Vice President in 1908. Senator Kern was offered as one "to represent the militant spirit of democracy" and to start the Convention in the most auspicious manner.

Kern declined the nomination. He had already decided whom he would serve:

"... I hail from the State of Indiana, which will shortly present to this Convention for its consideration the name of one of the best, truest, and most gallant Democrats on this earth, in the person of the Honorable Thomas R. Marshall, the Governor of that State."

(The Indiana delegation cheered.) Faithful to his friend, Kern declared, "I desire to take no part in this Convention that will in any wise militate against him or against his interests, which all true Indiana Democrats this day loyally support." The Kokomo politician held that the good of the Party must take precedence over factional differences, and then he proceeded to name seven or eight other likely candidates for Temporary Chairman, including Judge Parker himself and even Bryan, "the great American tribune."

In response, Bryan strove to the podium to explain that he preferred any "progressive" who could "lead the battle." At length, he and Parker were pitted against each other for this brief but symbolic office. Judge Parker narrowly won the vote, 579 to
508, and for the appearance of unity was then unanimously elected. Bryan's progressive forces, while inadequate to get him the position of temporary chairman, at least blocked the conservatives from getting two-thirds of the convention's delegate support. The tone of the battle was being set.

Marshall remained in Indianapolis throughout the convention. While native Indianans had a fair knowledge of their governor, he was hardly a name nationally except to the politically astute. Boss Taggart was not close to Marshall but he had chosen to back the Governor for several reasons. Taggart after all was himself from the same state, Indiana. He was always more interested in wielding power at the local and state levels despite his involvement with the Democratic National Committee. Besides the contests on the national level there was the current race for governor. The Irish-Indianan knew that his energetic fight for Marshall would stimulate Hoosier support for his crony, Samuel Ralston, then running for governor.  

Taggart was recognized as being one of the top three Democratic bosses nationally, along with Charles F. Murphy of New York and Roger Sullivan of Chicago. These men had learned to play the politics of realism: a well-placed word, a well-timed strategy meeting, a switch of allegiance if expedient—all toward winning the political game. Yet, the charisma of William Jennings Bryan might prove indispensable to their victory. These men were playing their cards close to their vests.

On the evening of the third day of the convention, the Permanent Chairman, Ollie James, called for the nomination of a Democrat for the Presidency of the United States. At that point, Bryan arose to sway the convention against "any candidate for president who is the representative of or under obligation to J. Pierpont Morgan, Thomas F. Ryan,
August Belmont, or any other member of the privilege-hunting and favor seeking class."

The colorful Commoner was absolutely determined to prevent his party's selection of a reactionary for President, one who would surround himself with financial and political interests harmful to the Nation. It was a great and calculated gamble by Bryan, one that he felt he had to take to save his party and the American people.

Opposition to Bryan's resolution was prompt and volatile. While many praised him, others cursed him. Ryan of Virginia and Belmont of New York were present as delegates but neither spoke publicly against Bryan. Long debate took place, forcing the convention to make a clear-cut choice between what were understood to be pro- and anti-Wall Street factions, in other words, "conservative" and "progressive" positions. As one eyewitness from Maryland described the reactions of the delegates toward Bryan, "When he mounted the platform and made statements, the uproar of the Convention, both for and against him, was so strong that it was almost pandemonium at the convention." Most of the delegates agreed with Bryan that such men as Belmont and Ryan had no proper place in a democratic arena, and voted 883 to 201 1/2 in support of the resolution. No candidate was eliminated by this vote, but the convention had made progressivism its firm commitment. To insure this commitment Bryan was given every opportunity to assist in the composition of the party platform.

That evening, nominating speeches were made for the contestants. Underwood of Alabama, Clark of Missouri, and Baldwin of Connecticut were the first nominations. Following them the name of Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey was presented in which this man, as governor of his state and a recent president of a famous and proud university, was
advanced as one in whom all the people could place their confidence. Still other
delegates arose to make nominations or to give seconding speeches.

Thomas R. Marshall’s name was presented to the Democratic Party at five o'clock
the next morning. Indiana Senator Benjamin F. Shively walked to the podium slowly.
The sun had started its slow rise. Inside the armory the delegates were restless and tired.
They hardly listened to Shively speak of his state’s crucial geographical position and her
historic role in the Democracy. It appeared too true to refute. Shively reminded his
fellow delegates that "through all the ninety-six years of its statehood, as Indiana has
gone, so had gone the Union. Whenever in all these years Indiana has been won for the
national ticket, the presidency has been won." And, then, the reverse has been true.
"Whenever Indiana has been lost [to the Republican party], the presidency has been lost."
Shively labored on to explain how typical of all America Indiana has been, and
emphasized, "The candidate who can carry Indiana for the national ticket can carry all the
States necessary to the election of the national ticket." Such a candidate, Shively
presented proudly, is Governor Thomas R. Marshall. His accomplishments as Governor,
his political philosophy, and his dedication to Jeffersonian principles were laid out for
thoughtful consideration. Champ Clark is needed by the country as the Speaker of the
House of Representatives, Shively offered. Oscar Underwood is needed by the country as
head of the House Committee on Ways and Means. The other nominees who are
governors of their respective states are needed by their people "to carry forward and
complete the civic regeneration of their respective States which they have so nobly
begun. . . ." (The same reasoning, somehow, did not apply to Indiana’s Governor.) The
country, Shively concluded in a series of rhetorical questions, needs a candidate who is
honorable, accomplished intellectually and physically vigorous, unattached to faction, loyal to Democratic principles, full of solid wisdom and universally admired. Marshall, indeed was all of these things, but something more was needed to win the votes, and that he did not have: a strong, sophisticated campaign machine dedicated to winning the contest for him.\(^7\)

The first balloting for the Democratic nominee for President ended with Clark getting the highest number of votes (440 1/2) and Wilson the second highest (324). Harmon and Underwood were next highest with 148 and 117 1/2, respectively. Indiana gave to Marshall all her 30 votes, and one additional vote came from a Michigan delegate. Marshall never received more votes than these. Most of Indiana's thirty votes would go to another candidate at a critical moment in the balloting.\(^8\)

Throughout the next day of the convention, 28 June, eleven more ballots were cast. By the end of the day Clark had gained 100 votes while Wilson received only 30 more. Clark's manager at the Convention, Arthur F. Mullen, believed that Wilson was too wrapped up in his idealism to win and that most of the other candidates had no real political power base such as Tammany Hall, which helped Clark on the tenth ballot. At this juncture Champ Clark seemed to be winning.\(^9\)

Though no decision to desert Marshall had yet been made by the Indiana delegation, some delegates appeared to favor Wilson, some fewer Clark, and the rest were noncommittal. In general, the sentiment was for a progressive nominee. The question was to decide which candidates were reform-minded. Clark was not under the influence of either machine boss or Wall Street financier. Yet, he had not shown sufficient assertiveness to persuade people that he would not be influenced by special interest
groups. Indeed, Bryan was himself troubled and uncertain as to how far he could go in supporting Clark. Marshall was progressive in some ways but was not a thorough-going liberal. His greatest liability was in not being known well outside his state.

Meanwhile, Taggart worked to discover which of the leading candidates had the best chance to win. Mullen believed Taggart's promise to deliver Indiana's thirty votes to Clark "sometime around the fifteenth ballot," assuming Clark would maintain the majority of the ballot votes by then. As events developed, Clark did not remain in the majority. He was still ahead by the end of Friday but Wilson was gaining steadily and almost surely, as delegates became persuaded of his unattachment to Eastern bossism and financial interests.

The convention hall was crammed with both delegates and unofficial observers. Some persons, supposed doorkeepers, were making money by selling convention tickets for a dollar and a half apiece to people outside. Those who bought these tickets were surprised to find that they could indeed enter the crowded auditorium, particularly through the smaller, Biddle Street entrance at no cost! Inside, the place seemed in a state of chaos with constant movement of people in the aisles and on the floors. Ollie James, a big man with a big gavel, pounded the table by the podium and pounded it some more to get attention. The roll call votes caused great interruptions and with the acoustics so poor the turmoil was tremendous. No one appeared to know what was going on until after a vote was posted. Clark was leading the field, yet he had not achieved the needed two-thirds for the nomination by the end of Saturday's balloting.
Sunday, 30 June, was a day of rest for the Democratic delegates. It was not so for the candidates' strategists, including Wilson's McCombs and Marshall's Taggart. Great excitement had been generated the preceding day by Bryan's denunciation of the New York delegation coupled with his switch of confidence from Clark to Wilson because the former had not repudiated the New York support. There was genuine fear that Bryan might take advantage of the deadlock between Clark and Wilson to advance himself.

It was in the hotel suites of the convention campaign managers, particularly the Belvedere and the Emerson, in downtown Baltimore that the final results were engineered. By this time McCombs and others of the Wilson team were frustrated as to whether Bryan in fact would take away his support for Wilson if New York gave him its votes, which strength Wilson needed to pass Clark's total votes. From his Emerson suite McCombs telephoned Governor Wilson at his vacation home in Sea Girt, New Jersey, to inform him of Bryan's intransigence and of new alliances with certain key delegations. The party bosses allegedly were working to undermine Wilson in favor of a dark horse, A. Mitchell Palmer, a Pennsylvania progressive and Wilson worker. Palmer, however, remained loyal to Wilson.12

Taggart may have participated with Murphy in a plot against the progressive Wilson (the party bosses did not like Wilson's principles or his politics), but subsequent events cast doubt on his involvement. McCombs recorded years later that he was in bed on Sunday night, virtually worn out by the physical effort required of him, when a bellboy arrived to ask him to go to Bryan's hotel room.13 While doubt has been cast on McCombs' version by contemporaneous sources, the experience was extremely vivid to the tired politician: "When I went in I shall not forget the sight. Bryan standing with his
profile facing me, and never turning. His hair was all in a frenzy. Suspenders down. Big trousers bagging at the knees and sagging from the belt. Loose, spreading carpet slippers. Brown Nebraska undershirt. You can imagine the picture as the army of stenographers and secretaries scurried to cover."

According to McCombs, Bryan looked at him sternly and pontificated that neither Wilson nor Clark nor Marshall [sic!] could be nominated: only a progressive Democrat would win. McCombs interpreted Bryan to be putting himself forward as the savior of the Party. In a huff McCombs said plainly that he was not at all interested in Bryan's views and left him immediately.

For no confessed reason other than admiration for Tom Taggart's political abilities, McCombs indicated that he "went straight" to the Indiana boss's hotel room at the Belvedere and shared the brief conversation he had just had with Bryan. He then asked Taggart, "How does Wilson look to you at this time as our man for president?"

Just as quickly Taggart replied, "McCombs, how does Tom Marshall look to you for vice-president?"

"Fine, as the running mate of Woodrow Wilson."14

A conversation held weeks after the Baltimore convention between McCombs and John Stoll, an Indiana newspaper publisher, occurred in the lobby of the French Lick Springs Hotel owned by Thomas Taggart. Pointing to him across the lobby, McCombs revealed, "There is the real general who made Woodrow Wilson president and Thomas R. Marshall vice-president. I was there and I ought to know." Stoll's account (above) is in essential agreement with McCombs' discussion in his book, Making Woodrow Wilson President.
(1921). McCombs' secretary, Maurice Lyons, also confirmed that there had occurred a meeting between McCombs and Taggart.15

What Taggart did after his meeting with McCombs was to call party boss Roger Sullivan of Illinois, Democratic National Committee Chairman Norman Mack of New York, and other delegation leaders to arrange an immediate meeting in his hotel room. In pajamas and lounging robes they spent much of the remaining hours of the night in conference deciding upon the suitability of the Wilson-Marshall combination. Having made the decision to support Wilson with his delegation votes, Taggart that morning went to Judge Andrew Adams, Marshall's personal representative at the convention. Adams knew that Marshall's bid for the nomination for President was hopeless. He was receptive to Wilson's candidacy and so agreed with Taggart on the switch to Wilson.16

On Monday morning, 1 July, on the second ballot of the day, Taggart signaled to the Hoosier delegation that they were no longer bound to support their "favorite son." Twenty-eight votes went to Wilson, one to Clark, and one to John W. Kern. Later that day on the thirtieth ballot some of Iowa's delegation cast their support to Wilson, putting him ahead for the first time over Clark (460 to 455). The other candidates trailed far behind. Still, the necessary two-thirds majority was missing. Wilson's count increased slowly. The suspense was growing. Finally, with Illinois' support for Wilson on the forty-third ballot, followed by Virginia and West Virginia, and Underwood's Alabama delegation switch to Wilson on the forty-sixth ballot, the race was over. Wilson supporters ascended into seventh heaven. At 3:30 p.m., Woodrow Wilson was his party's nominee for the Presidency.
III

Shortly after the nomination of Woodrow Wilson a behind-the-scenes decision was made by the Wilson campaign then in favor of Marshall as the preferred running mate. This occurred probably during the recess on 2 July, between four and nine o'clock in the evening.

Wilson had received word that he had become the winner, whereupon he telephoned Albert S. Burleson in Baltimore about contacting fellow southerner Oscar Underwood to run with him. Burleson relayed to Wilson that the delegates were "leaning toward Thomas R. Marshall." "But, Burleson," Wilson reacted, "he is a small-caliber man." Burleson was sympathetic but realistic: Marshall was from the Midwest and would be a prudent compliment to the candidate from the East. 17

William Gibbs McAdoo, an important member of the team, spoke long-distance with Wilson that same day and inquired about his choice of a political partner. Wilson replied that he would leave the decision in the hands of the delegates, and then asked whom McAdoo would suggest. McAdoo answered that Marshall of Indiana had a good reputation, "that of a liberal, and because he seems to be generally well regarded." This was enough to satisfy Wilson. McAdoo in his own mind believed that he had persuaded Wilson to accept Marshall as running-mate. He would later reminisce, "I do not think Marshall ever knew to what extent I was instrumental in having him nominated as Vice President at the Baltimore Convention." The decision, however, had already been made between Wilson’s campaign manager and the Indiana "boss." Thomas Taggart received the promise of a vice presidential nomination for Indiana in exchange for the promise of
delegate votes timed to begin a grand switch to Wilson. He had taken advantage of a desperate move by McCombs to obtain needed support from any quarter.¹⁸

Monday evening was devoted to the convention's nomination of a candidate for the Vice Presidency. A Georgia delegate announced his choice of the runner-up to Wilson, Champ Clark. Clark refused but pledged loyalty to the party's choice for President. North Dakota Governor John Burke was next offered for Convention consideration, followed by support for Elmore W. Hurst of Illinois.

Governor Marshall was nominated by G. V. Menzies of Indiana. His words were directed to appeal to Southerners who remembered "the dark days of 1870." They were reminded that Indiana was the first state in which the Democrats achieved political power following the Civil War: Indiana "turned the tide of radicalism and helped you to resume the white man's civilization of the South." Thomas R. Marshall, he concluded, was not only "of Old Virginia ancestry" but an Indiana Democrat whose reputation and name would add much to the national ticket.

It was as though the convention were turning into a national basketball tournament. An Iowan followed, nominating another Iowan. Kansas seconded the name of John Burke, and Louisiana followed with support to Marshall. A Maryland spokesman extolled the virtues of the mayor of Baltimore, James Preston. Just then, unexpectedly, Senator Kern stepped forward to give the report of the Committee on Resolutions, interrupting the nominations for the Vice Presidential candidate. The introduction of the resolutions into the period of nominations for the Vice Presidential candidacy was a device to stall for time while Thomas Taggart, Charles Murphy, and Roger Sullivan went among the delegates to offset any ill effects of anti-Marshall telegrams sent that day from
labor leaders throughout the country, criticizing Governor Marshall's allegedly premature action in his handling of the McNamara extradition two years earlier. The noise subsided throughout the Armory.

The debate over who should be the Vice Presidential candidate resumed. The remarks were few, the hour was abominable, and the states mentioned little more than their choice. Then, a District of Columbia delegate mentioned in a "semi-humorous" way the name of William Jennings Bryan, which prompted the Great Commoner to go to the podium again to deliver an impromptu speech. He had declined to run for the Presidency: "It is not because the Vice Presidency is lower in importance than the Presidency that I decline it. There is no office this nation so low that I would not take it if I could my country by doing so." On he spoke, concluding with a second of not one man but two: Burke and Chamberlain. 19

Had Marshall been present at this time in Baltimore, he would not have been surprised at this lack of support from Bryan. A constrained schism between them had developed when Bryan wired Marshall prior to the convention not to support Judge Parker for the temporary chairmanship. Years later Marshall revealed his reason for noncompliance with Bryan. He had not forgotten that Judge Parker had spoken throughout Indiana in 1908 in support of Marshall in his race for Governor while also supporting Bryan in his race for President. Marshall was cautioned not to cross Bryan, which action might wipe out any chance the man from Indiana had to be nominated for the Presidency. "But I realized," he later recorded, "that sometime in the future I would meet Judge Parker, and then when I did he would be thinking what an ingrate I was . . . ."

Thus, Marshall wired Bryan that he would support Parker. In consequence, he paid a
debt of kindness to Parker and incurred the wrath of Bryan. In retrospect, Marshall made no wrong decision, as the balloting would show.\textsuperscript{20}

The time for voting for the candidate for Vice President eventually arrived. Five names were submitted for voting, and four more were added during the balloting. Voting results divided among the nine nominees showed Marshall considerably ahead of Burke and the others. A motion was made for a unanimous nomination. Bryan arose to ask whether there was time for debate. He was answered affirmatively, and then the man from Missouri who had requested a unanimous vote for Marshall withdrew his motion and a second ballot was called.

Maryland started the move to Marshall as she withdrew the name of Preston. Mississippi changed her twenty votes from Chamberlain and gave them for Burke. Split voting was not uncommon, but the highest number of votes again went to Marshall, 644 1/2; with Burke getting 386 1/3, and Chamberlain 12 1/2 (abstentions numbered 44 2/3). The battle was between the men from North Dakota and Indiana. The total was not yet providing a two-thirds split.

Hughes of New Jersey moved that Governor Marshall's nomination be made unanimous. The time had arrived as the Wilson forces showed their support of the Indiana man whose delegation began the switching of votes to Woodrow Wilson. Thomas Taggart was being personally repaid by this act. A North Dakota delegate decided that the battle was too far gone, withdrew Burke's name as a candidate, and seconded the motion for a unanimous vote for Marshall. The convention was almost at an end.
Tom Taggart strode to the podium. After expressing gratitude to the National Committee, the people and the mayor of Baltimore, and the Convention officers, he announced that Ollie M. James would notify Wilson of his nomination and that Alton Parker would notify Marshall. It was two o'clock in the morning, July third. The convention was over, finally. 21

In the middle of that same night a reporter sought out Governor Marshall's reaction at his home on Pennsylvania Avenue in Indianapolis. Lois heard the banging on the door downstairs and awakened her husband with her suspicion that the intruder had news from Baltimore. Marshall was not anxious to get out of bed but his wife persuaded him to go downstairs anyway. With the information given that he had been nominated by his party as candidate for the Vice Presidency—not the top office—he thanked his caller and went back to bed.

The next day a close friend, Meredith Nicholson, visited the Marshalls and proceeded to sound out the Governor as to his decision to accept the second spot on the ticket. Marshall unhesitatingly answered no. The position did not pay enough money in light of the cost of living in Washington. His wife was stunned. She commenced crying. The prospect of returning to Columbia City after Indianapolis when she might have gone to Washington was simply overwhelming to her. Her beloved was none other than a penny pincher, and his periodic remarks on his personal finances left no doubt the economy was quite important to him. Still, it is hard to conceive that a limited income in Washington would be the sole, even the most important reason for refusing the party's call. A disquieting reason is that Marshall was not that sure of himself. Maybe an upstate
Hoosier lawyer could handle the governor's chair in Indianapolis, but to sit before the senators of the nation?

Lois' tears were something else. Nicholson added his thought on why Marshall should accept the nomination. He admired the Governor immensely for his integrity and his untainted political philosophy. He even wrote a novel that was inspired by Marshall’s character. The governor weakened and finally capitulated.22

Following the Baltimore convention analysts reflected upon the two Democratic standard bearers. Wilson and Marshall were seen to have curious similarities: neither had ever served in a legislative capacity; both had been in public life only as governors of their respective states; both had been elected as Democrats by people who had often voted in Republican candidates to the governorship and by machine bosses who represented the opposite of reformmindedness, and both had shown themselves to be progressives by their record while in the state house. What was not emphasized were their differences. These would slowly and surely emerge as the two men settled into their respective position.

From Sea Girt, Woodrow Wilson sent a prompt telegram to Marshall:

SINCERE CONGRATULATION. I SHALL LOOK FORWARD WITH PLEASURE TO MY ASSOCIATION WITH YOU.

To the newspapers Wilson issued this statement: "Governor Marshall bears the highest reputation both as an executive and as a Democrat, and I feel honored by having him as a running mate. He is, I am happy to say, a valued personal friend of mine, a fellow-
Democrat." This is what the Indianapolis News reported. The New York Times carried Wilson’s public response to learning of Marshall as his running mate:

An excellent man, one who is entirely satisfactory as far as I am concerned. I know Gov. Marshall and have been his guest on one occasion for thirty-six hours, and I am sure that his selection is another progressive triumph. It couldn’t be anything else.23

One could interpret this to be the epitome of hyperbole. Wilson’s earlier reaction to the knowledge that Underwood would not accept the Democratic nomination for the Vice-Presidency was not recorded except for Wilson’s initial reaction to Burleson in knowing about Marshall as the convention choice. He did not seem to be elated by the victory.

Messages went forth between the two new partners in politics. Marshall invited Wilson to Indianapolis for the Vice Presidential candidate’s notification ceremony and then to Muncie, Indiana, to attend a Democratic rally: "I still have nothing but good news for you from Indiana. It now looks as though we would have a regular state republican ticket, a Bull-Moose ticket, and I am not at all sure that we will not have a county option ticket. The voter in Indiana, this year, will have his choice beyond doubt. Reports from every county, however, encourage us to believe that the loss to the democratic party will be negligible while hundreds of republicans are declaring they will vote the democratic ticket." The other requests to Wilson to visit Indiana were turned down since he was working on his acceptance speech and preparing for the campaign ahead. Two days
before Wilson's notification ceremony the Marshalls left Indianapolis for Sea Girt on the Jersey shore where the ceremony would take place.\textsuperscript{24}

IV

The weather was perfect: clear skies and cool winds. It could not have been otherwise or there would have been chaos for the occasion. The white Victorian summer home was beautiful to behold from the outside, but in event of rain there would have been no room inside for all the people in attendance. Governor Wilson, before the ceremony, took Governor Marshall in arm and reviewed the many Democratic clubs that had arrived from up and down the State of New Jersey. "A number of them are some of my old campaign friends," explained Wilson. "They march," observed his Hoosier guest, "as well as if they were Jersey militiamen." "No doubt some of them are!" was the retort.\textsuperscript{25}

The ceremony began. The crowd became still as Kentucky Senator Ollie M. James set the tone of the occasion: "Sixteen years of Republican rule have riveted the chains of monopoly, special privilege and greed upon every avenue of trade. . . . It will take a giant for this task [of breaking the chains], a hero's heart, a soldier's courage. Democracy looked this Republic over, and with millions to choose from, selected you as the man. . . ."\textsuperscript{26}

Wilson acknowledged the honor given him and his task as a potential President of the nation. He saw the day as a new age, a time to fight the forces of "privilege and private advantage." His words summarized the platform so recently adopted in Baltimore. The Democratic nominee charged that a very small group of men were involved in private affairs with motives not completely in the public interest. The tariff
question has been a matter of politics, not of business, he claimed, a matter of the
dispensing of favors instead of just regulation. He chose not to accuse any persons in
particular but he indicted the system. He did not denounce big business for its bigness
but for its favoritism to the few. He did not attack business but the absence of genuine
competition which had been created by the trusts. He touched on other planks and
returned to the idea of the spirit of the new age in which the people's cause shall be his
cause and in which he and his party shall be true servants of the people. 27

The crowd who heard Wilson that day was made up mostly of news reporters and
a few friends. No elaborate preparations had been made to impress anyone. It was a
simple ceremony of acceptance. Governor Marshall was there as Wilson's "only personal
guest." Before he left Sea Girt, he presented Wilson with an "Abe Martin" Indiana book,
signed, "From your only vice, Thomas R. Marshall." 28

Indiana Democracy's big day was on 20 August in Indianapolis. Various local
committees were formed to cover the almost endless details. "Boss" Taggart, chairman
of the reception committee, had big plans for the big day. He was going to entertain the
visiting Democratic worthies at a luncheon at the Denison Hotel, and at the notification
ceremonies he would call the meeting to order, a sign of his preeminence among the party
faithful. Portly Samuel Ralston was running for the office of governor for a second time.
He was to give a ten-minute talk after Taggart's initial greetings. Following the
ceremonies Governor Marshall would entertain the notification committee at the local
country club.

The day of notification arrived. Photographers busied themselves grouping
distinguished visitors for posed pictures. On the steps of the State House stood one group
that included Taggart, Governor Marshall, handsome Joseph E. Davies of Wisconsin, western campaign manager, and Josephus Daniels, a North Carolina newspaperman who had supported Wilson every step of the way. National Committee Chairman William F. McCombs, ill in New York from the effects of the Convention, was represented by William G. McAdoo, vice-chairman of the National Democratic Committee. McAdoo also was a substitute for Governor Wilson who found it impossible to be present.29

This event was not the first time a Hoosier candidate for national office had received personal notification of acceptance by his party. Thomas A. Hendricks in 1876 received notice that he was the Democratic Vice Presidential candidate running with Samuel Tilden, and again in 1884 Hendricks was notified of his candidacy with Grover Cleveland. Four years earlier the Democrat William H. English was notified in Indianapolis that he was Vice Presidential candidate running with General Winfield S. Hancock. These notifications were all delivered by mail. Benjamin Harrison, Republican candidate for President in 1888, was the first Hoosier to be personally notified. In 1904 Charles Warren Fairbanks, Republican, was given a ceremony of notification as Theodore Roosevelt's running-mate. John Worth Kern received the news of his 1908 candidacy along with William Jennings Bryan, and in 1912 Thomas Riley Marshall became another recipient of notification.30

Before the Indianapolis crowd of enthusiasts and onlookers, Alton Parker delivered his notification address. Parker's round face, bald head, and bushy mustache turned in unison with his raised fist as he made each point in denouncing the opposition party, its leader President Taft, former President Roosevelt, and the monopolists' puppet Republican Congress. Parker referred to Wilson's attack on the partnership between
government and privilege and of the theft of millions of dollars made possible by the
tariff statutes. "The Republican Party is solely responsible!" 31

A few kind words were directed to Marshall, of course, for whom the speech was
given. His response was lengthy, almost as long as Wilson's, but where Wilson spoke of
the sources of evil in economic terms and promised to do combat through the halls of
Congress, Marshall chose to talk about the nature and needs, practical and ideological, of
the American citizen. He expounded, "The individualism of Thomas Jefferson is not
dead. It has not moldered back to dust in the grave at Monticello. It walks the earth this
day knocking at the door of rich and poor, of wise and ignorant, alike, calling upon all
men to be the master and all shall be glad to be the servants of the Republic."

"It cannot be that it is the system of Government which is wrong," he went on to
say. "It is the unjust use of the system. From Jefferson to Lincoln, the Republic grew in
might, in majesty, in pomp and splendor, and the humblest of its citizens could obtain
justice, not as a beggar crawling in the sun, but as a man. It has not been the use but the
misuse of the powers of government which has produced this discontent in the minds of
men."

Like Wilson, Marshall reminded his hearers of the "iniquity" of the high
protective tariff. The Republican Party had become the party of privilege whereby the
minority of favored few had aligned itself with an administration which had ceased to act
for the majority, the citizens of America.

The voter who wants an oligarchy to rule America, he explained, will vote the
Republican ticket. He who wants his government to become a socialism, will vote the
socialist line. He who wishes no separation of church and state, where religious issues
with other ones are settled by ballot, will vote for the Prohibition Party. And, those who
with "equalization of opportunity" in government and equalization of purchase price to
those at home and abroad will vote the Democratic ticket. He concluded, "The hour has
come when patriotism must consist in something more than eulogies upon the flag.
Whether voting the ticket or not, men everywhere looking upon the awful injustice of this
economic system are becoming socialistic in theory if not in conduct. . . . I do not
hesitate to say that if it be impossible to restore this Republic to its ancient ideals, which I
do not believe, and I must make the ultimate choice between the paternalism of the few
and the socialism of the many, count me and my house with the throbbing heart of
humanity."32 Just exactly what he meant by his last statement may not be as obvious as it
first appears. Nevertheless, the words had been spoken. Some there would be who
would not forget it.

It cannot fairly be said that Tom Marshall came to politics late in life. His father's
influence, his college days' dabbling in democracy, and his participation in local and
district election races all went toward the practice of campaigning for his party's
candidates. Marshall was not a "pro" in the minds of the machine bosses or the new
organizational politics. Nevertheless, he proved he could deal with the politicos on his
own terms while governor and could mend his fences among the rival factions. By his
latest remarks he was showing himself to some to be a democrat bordering on socialism
and the welfare state but never admitting such a perspective to himself. He was always in
process of becoming and so he fitted into Wilson's "New Freedom" progressivism, yet he
would use the "old" language of Jeffersonian individualism and attempt to persuade
conservatives as well that Democracy was what America desperately needed if it were to save itself from the unfettered greed of growing corporations.