NOTES

CHAPTER ONE  “The Boy Tommy”


3Woodson S. Marshall memoir relates that his “mother, Elizabeth Craven, was born in Green County, Pennsylvania, on May 20, 1799.” A listing of the daughters and sons of Riley and Elizabeth appears in a family Bible presented to the ninth child, Ezra,
by his parents at Stanton, Kansas (1 October 1857), so Jessie Woodward, daughter of Ezra; letter, Jane Beard, Cedar Falls, IA, to the writer, 5 April 1973.

4TRM, Recollections, 55.

5The Woodson S. Marshall memoir supplies details of Riley’s life and career in Indiana. See TRM’s extensive reminiscences in an interview with James B. Morrow, “Thomas R. Marshall Gives His Views on What the Democrats Should Do,” Indianapolis Sunday Star, 23 January 1910. TRM’s father, Daniel M. Marshall, was born 5 March 1823. Charles M. Thomas notes that Dr. Marshall and his bride took up housekeeping in 1848; Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall, Hoosier Statesman (Oxford OH: The Mississippi Valley Press, 1939), 12. However, the Robert F. Lancaster scrapbooks on TRM (Whitley County Historical Society, Columbia City, IN) indicate they were married on 6 November 1849. Rush Medical College (today Rush University) was chartered in 1838 and its classes began in 1843. The Chicago fire of 1871 destroyed the medical college building and most of its records. Curiously, an “Address Book of the Alumni of Rush Medical College” which lists the graduates from 1844 through 1913 does not list a Daniel M. Marshall. He is not listed in the “Catalogue of Students” of the Fifth Annual Catalogue of Rush Medical College for 1847-8. His consistent use of the M.D. after his name and his reputation support that he did receive institutional training. Letters, Chicago Historical Society (3 March 1973), and the University of Chicago, Office of the Registrar, 6 April 1973. See below, chapter two, footnote 2.

mentions Martha’s aunt, Phebe C. Patterson, as a grand-niece of Charles Carroll (1737-1832), Maryland revolutionary patriot of Irish Catholic ancestry and a signer of the Declaration of Independence.


8The Marshall brothers’ store, located at Main and Neil Streets in Champaign, was advertised weekly in the Central Illinois Gazette from 10 March 1858 to 1 December 1858; letter, Illinois Historical Survey, University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana, 20 March 1973.

9In his Recollections, 52, TRM wrote, “In an address made at Freeport some years since, I ventured to tell this story, and an elderly gentleman from the audience came to me at the close of my talk, said he was present at the joint discussion, and remembered there was a little boy who sat on Lincoln’s lap and on Douglas’ lap while the discussion was going on.”

10TRM, Recollections, 58. John Brown’s face and reputation must have burned themselves onto the boy’s memory as he in maturity found the imagery of “the poet’s eye, in a fine frenzy rolling” appropriate to the incident from childhood. The quotation is from Shakespear’s A Midsummer Night’s Dream, Ac 5, Sc 1.


12 Duff Green was a common name for persons of Irish descent. The best known person with this name was a journalist, politician, and presidential emissary (1791-1875). TRM confused Duff Green, one-time resident of Vicksburg, with Martin E. Green of Lewis County who was killed by a Union sharpshooter during the siege of Vicksburg on 27 June 1863. James S. Green is better known for his experience in Congress and as a foe of Senators Thomas Hart Benton and Stephen A. Douglas. See Lewis, Clark, Knox and Scotland Counties, Missouri (1887): 86, 750-51. Letter, Louelle H. Felt, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, 2 March 1973.

13 TRM, Recollections, 61-64; Morrow, “Thomas R. Marshall Gives His Views” (1910). Pierceton was a new village, not many years old, and named after Democratic President Franklin Pierce (1853-1857); see Ronald L. Baker and Marvin Carmony, Indiana Place Names (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1975), 129.

14 An essay written by TRM when governor of Indiana throws some light on Riley’s wife Elizabeth, who may have survived her husband and lived a few years longer with her son, Daniel or Woodson. He remembered “a sweet faced old lady” recount her early life as a pioneer in Indiana. His memory of her riding horseback “with a baby boy in her arms from Old Virginia to the wilds of Indiana” is at variance with the reminiscences of his uncle, Woodson, who wrote: “My mother, Elizabeth Cravens, was born in Green County, Pennsylvania, on May 20, 1799. Subsequently her family moved to Highland County, Ohio, and where she and my father were married in 1818.” On


17TRM, Recollections, 70.

18The envelope is addressed to Miss Lizzie Marshall, LaGrange, Missouri, postmarked 17 March 1863; TRM Papers, Box 1868-1925, Indiana State Library, Indianapolis. I am strongly in the debt of Peter T. Harstad and Ray Boomhower of the Indiana Historical Society for help in “translating” the nine-year-old’s handwriting.

19Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall, 13; TRM Papers, Box 1868-1884, Indiana State Library.

20TRM, Recollections, 79-95, contains his impression of his college days. Noteworthy among Marshall’s achievements was his election to the national scholastic honorary fraternity, Phi Beta Kappa; Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall, 14-17. A report card, a 1873 class history, and the 35th Commencement Programme of Wabash College are in the Marshall Papers, Indiana State Library. See James I. Osborne and Theodore G. Gronert, Wabash College: The First Hundred Years, 1832-1932 (Crawfordsville, IN: Banta Publishing Co., 1932), chapter viii; 302.

21TRM, Recollections, 85; Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall, 17.

22TRM, Recollections, 93-95.
Three years following his graduation from Wabash, 1876, Marshall was awarded an honorary master’s degree by his alma mater for his success as a young lawyer. In 1904 he was elected to the College’s board of trustees. Classmates’ esteem of Marshall is conveyed in the Wabash College Record-Bulletin issue which appeared following his death in 1925.

CHAPTER TWO

“The Honorable Thomas Riley”


2Robert F. Lancaster Scrapbooks, Vol. 1 (Whitley County Historical Society, Columbia City IN), indicates that TRM was boarded for a time in Warsaw, where his uncle, Woodson (aged 34), was practicing law. The first professional advertisement of Dr. Daniel Marshall appeared in the 12 August 1874 issue of the Columbia City Post. Of the nine other physicians, five recorded medical degrees, including Daniel. On Columbia City in 1875 see “A Visit to Columbia City: What It Has and What It Needs,” Whitley County Commercial (5 August 1875).


5Mark Thistlethwaite Scrapbooks, TRM Papers, Indiana State Library.

6TRM, *Recollections*, 100.


8McNagny married Effie Wunderlich, the county assessor’s daughter, Columbia City *Post*, 27 October 1880.


10The above two cases are discussed in the James D. Adams Papers, originally located in the law office of Phil McNagny, Jr., of Gates, Gates and McNagny, Columbia City, Indiana.

11Newspapers covered the case throughout the year, 1884, until Butler was hanged on 10 October; “County’s Only Legal Hanging An October Event 82 Years Ago,” *Whitley County Historical Society Bulletin* (October, 1966): 4-5. Interview with Judge Rob. R. McNagny, Columbia City, 15 October 1967.

13 TRM, Recollections, 24.

14 Columbia City Post, 31 May 1876; 14 August and 18 September 1890; 22 January 1892; 19 July 1895.


16 Letter, Bernice Carver, Columbia City, to the writer, 7 February 1974. The Marshall-Casner letters are located in the Whitley County Historical Museum, Columbia City. Their dates are 27 October, 13 December, and 29 December, 1881.

17 Interview, Rob. McNagny, Columbia City, 15 October 1967.


19 Quoted in Columbia City Post, 8 January 1958. On Abbie Thorn see newsclipping, “Wabash County Mourns,” in scrapbook in TRM Papers, Indiana State Library. On his mother see his Recollections, 21-22, though he wrote little about his relationship with her. In 1911, while Governor, he wrote a poetic paean about Martha Marshall, entitled, “Do You Believe in Santa Claus?”; essay shared by Mildred Dole McKillen (Angola IN), third cousin of Lois Kimsey Marshall, in a letter to the writer, 8 October 1968.

Letter, Ina Craig Emerson, Angola IN, to the writer, 12 September 1972.


CHAPTER THREE Favorite Son


Columbia City Post, 12 April 1876.

Columbia City Post, 26 July 1876.
4Eli Brown editorialized in support of the young lawyer; Columbia City Post, 9 June 1880.

5See Columbia City Post, 23 and 30 June 1880, on the Fourth of July celebrations.

6Columbia City Post, 7 May 1884.

7Columbia City Post, 25 June 1884. The Democratic Presidents referred to were James K. Polk, Franklin Pierce, and James Buchanan.

8Columbia City Post, 16 April 1884. Hendricks’ form letter to party organizers is in the TRM Papers, Indiana State Library. The rooster, not the donkey, was the Democratic mascot nationally at this time.


11TRM, Recollections, 147.

revealed that Marshall once confessed, “I have never desired public office, but if I had an ambition to hold office it would be to be Governor of Indiana.” Speech delivered at Thomas R. Marshall banquet, 14 March 1940; copy in the Peabody Library, Columbia City.


16*Columbia City Post,* 8 January 1908.

17*Columbia City Post,* 12 and 19 February 1908. Philip R. VanderMeer has observed that politics was undergoing change in this era. Parades and festivities were less important to victory than organized campaigning; *The Hoosier Politician: Officeholding and Political Culture in Indiana, 1896-1920* (Urbana IL: University of Illinois Press, 1985), 45-46.


Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall, 44.

Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall, 46.

Claude Bowers, My Life: The Memoirs of Claude Bowers (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1962), 62. Bowers was active in politics in this period but later turned his hand to writing successful popular history on such personages as Thomas Jefferson, Albert Beveridge, and John W. Kern.

Bowman, “Stepping Stone to the Vice Presidency,” 37-40. Fadely, Thomas Taggart, 115-116, interprets that Taggart came out a winner because Slack did not win and that Marshall also won because of Taggart. At this juncture Marshall had no political dealings personally with Taggart.

Columbia City Post, 28 March 1908.

Mark Thistlethwaite Scrapbooks, TRM Papers, Indiana State Library.

CHAPTER FOUR

A “Wet” Democrat

The train ride to Columbia City from Indianapolis is described in the James D. Adams Papers, Gates, Gates & McNagny law firm, Columbia City Indiana.

Columbia City Post, 6 April 1908.

James D. Adams remembered the sentiments of Marshall and recorded them in his unpublished memoirs.
4Edgar Strouse, private interview, 4 October 1967, Columbia City; Columbia City Post, 6 April 1908.

5Columbia City Post, 2 and 9 May 1908.


10Interview with Leigh Hunt, Columbia City, August, 1972.

11Columbia City Post, 8 July 1908.

13Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette, 28 October 1908; Alexander Sutherland’s letter, dated 26 October 1908, is in the TRM Papers, Indiana State Library.


15TRM, Recollections, 169.

16TRM, Recollections, 170-71.

CHAPTER FIVE

“Governor Marshall”

1Mark Sullivan, Our Times: 1900-1925 (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1926-1935), 6 volumes; undated news editorial (1911), Mark Thistlethwaite scrapbook, TRM Papers, Indiana State Library, Indianapolis.

2News article (1909), Mark Thistlethwaite scrapbook, TRM Papers; Whitley County Commercial-Mail, 2 January 1959.


me no courtesy whatever with reference to my inauguration”; TRM, Recollections of
Thomas R. Marshall, Vice-President and Hoosier Philosopher: A Hoosier Salad

6TRM, Recollections, 175; Indianapolis Star, 12 January 1909.

7Indiana House Journal [Sess. 1909], 89-99; TRM, Recollections, 195.

8TRM, “Remove Not the Ancient Landmarks,” National Democratic Club Annual
Dinner of Jefferson Day, 13 April 1909, 26-37, printed pamphlet, TRM Papers, Indiana
State Library.

9Fred A. Sims, quoted in the Columbia City Post, 14 March 1938; Rollo E.
Mosher, “Tom Marshall’s Term as Governor” (M. A. thesis, Indiana University, 1932),
74.

10Columbia City Post, 2 December 1908.

11Interview with Harold C. Feightner, Indianapolis, 13 October 1967. Feightner
was a newspaperman intimate with the inner workings of the Marshall Administration.
He began his career as a reporter in Huntington, Indiana, then as a city editor for the
Indiana Times in Indianapolis and a reporter subsequently for the Democratic
Indianapolis News. His last position was as an executive for the Indiana Liquor Board,
and he provided needed perspective to the writer on the wet-dry fight of the 1908
campaign; see his unpublished manuscript, “Politics, Prohibition, and Repeal in Indiana”
(Indianapolis, 1965), Indiana State Library.

12Fred Fisher, “A Secret Story of Love and Politics as revealed in Governor
Marshall’s Family Album,” Indianapolis Star, 15 September 1912. In an earlier
interview, Marshall himself admitted, “I have the most vicious temper of any man in the
United States. . . . During my youth, language, as I then used it, got me into considerable trouble,” but he learned with difficulty to bridle his tendency to curse; James B. Morrow, “Thomas R. Marshall Gives His View on What the Democrats Should Do,” Indianapolis Sunday Star, 23 January 1910.


14Letter, Al Bloemker, Indianapolis Motor Speedway, Speedway, Indiana, 2 March 1973. The first 500-mile race occurred in 1911 (during Marshall’s governorship) with Ray Haroun winning in a six-cylinder Marmon Wasp at an average speed of 74.5 mph; Al Bloemker, 500 Miles To Go (New York: Coward-McCann, 1966).


16Interview with Leigh Hunt, Columbia City, August 1972.


18Indianapolis News, 2 April 1910. The account about Lamb’s preeminence in developing the plan is from Bowers’ reminiscences, above, 30-32.

19Letter, TRM to Taggart, 8 April 1910, TRM Papers, Indiana State Library.


John Braeman, Albert J. Beveridge: American Nationalist (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), 185-97; Bowers, reminiscences, 32. The Republican Indianapolis Star in a 1 May 1910 editorial communicated a contrary interpretation, namely, time would show that it was really a Taggart victory due to his control of the resolutions committee; James Philip Fadely, Thomas Taggart: Public Servant, Political Boss, 1856-1929 (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1997), 120-21.

CHAPTER SIX Gamblers, Workers, and the New Moses


Interview with Gertrude McHugh, Indianapolis, 13 October 1967. For seven months and sixteen days during 1912, Miss McHugh was employed as a stenographer for approximately $80 per week, a figure not out of line with other state-employed stenographers; Box 76, Governors Archives, Indiana State Library. See Charles M. Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall, Hoosier Statesman (Oxford OH: The Mississippi Valley Press, 1939), 59-60.

Letter, Martin J. Smith to TRM, 16 September 1911, Box 75, Governors Archives, Indiana State Library. Numerous letters to Governor Marshall from citizens
and prosecuting attorneys about the crime in their communities are in Boxes 74-75, Governors Archives.


6TRM, Recollections, 204.

7TRM, Recollections, 185-86.


11Indianapolis News, 14 February 1911; Boomhower, Dunn, 81.

Constitution’ of 1911” (M. A. thesis, Indiana University, 1958), 88; Boomhower, Dunn, 92-94.


14TRM, Recollections, 214-15; Boomhower, Dunn, 94-96.

CHAPTER SEVEN “A David Among the Goliaths”

1Indianapolis News, 11 January 1910; Indianapolis Star, 11 February 1910. The Democrats nationally had not been successful for a number of years. The N.D.L.C. was organized following the failure of the 1908 campaigners to have a supportive, grassroots organization like its predecessor, the National Organization of Clubs in the 1904 campaign.


3Indianapolis Star, 14 April 1910.

4Indianapolis Star, 19 June 1910. See letter, TRM to J. F. Collen, Pittsburgh, Kansas, 11 May 1910, TRM Papers, Indiana State Library. Life under the editorship of John Ames Mitchell enjoyed a healthy longevity as a weekly that attempted to appeal to a growing, educated America. Its terminal dates were January 1883 to November 1936, and was followed by another magazine of the same name published by Henry Luce; Frank L. Mott, A History of American Magazines, 5 volumes (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938-1968).

6Quoted in the Indianapolis News, 14 November 1910.

7Indianapolis News, 14 November 1910.

8Indianapolis News, 27 February, 1911.

9Indianapolis News, 31 March 1911.


11Gary (IN) Daily Tribune, 13 April 1911.


13Letter, WW to Mrs. Mary Allen Hulbert Peck, 16 April 1911, WP 22:571.


15Letter, TRM to John B. Stoll, 28 April 1911; TRM to John W. Kern, 24 May 1911, TRM Papers, Indiana State Library.
16 Letter, TRM to T. J. Appleyard, Tallahassee, Florida, 18 September 1911, TRM Papers, Indiana State Library.

17 Letter, TRM to Elisha V. Long, East Las Vegas, New Mexico, 11 September 1911, TRM Papers, Indiana State Library.

18 Gary Daily Tribune, 28 November 1911.


22 Indianapolis News, 21 March 1912.


24 Alton Parker was the 1904 national Democratic candidate for President but lost to incumbent Republican Theodore Roosevelt. For Marshall’s reason in declining Bryan’s support see below, [chapter 8, p. 14]. Bryan’s opposition to Marshall at the Convention is explained in his letter to Wilson, 22 July 1912, WP 24:565; Koenig, Bryan, 483.
CHAPTER EIGHT  “The ‘Real General,’ Tom Taggart”


2The “houn’ dawg” song was recalled to the writer by a friend of TRM, Edgar Strouse of Columbia City, who was an unofficial observer at the convention; interview, 4 October 1967.

3Actually Herschel Johnson was not chosen at the 1860 Convention. Benjamin Fitzpatrick of Alabama was the delegates’ choice, but he was not present at the convention and when informed of his nomination he refused it. The Democratic National Committee then selected Johnson. See Betty Dix Greeman, “The Democratic Convention of 1860: Prelude to Secession,” Maryland Historical Magazine, 67 (Fall, 1972): 225-53.


5Interview with Rex Potterf, Fort Wayne, Indiana, 26 October 1967. Potterf developed an extensive bibliography of newspaper articles and references on the career of Governor Marshall. The principal published study on Thomas Taggart is that of James Philip Fadely, Thomas Taggart: Public Servant, Political Boss, 1856-1929 (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1997). A noteworthy historical source here is the unpublished
biography of Taggart by A. C. Sallee who was secretary of the Indiana Democratic State Central Committee for a number of years. The work was entitled “T. T. The Mastermind that Wrought Brilliant and Bewildering Achievements in Political Legerdemain”, Thomas Taggart Papers, Indiana State Library.


7Official Report [1912], 169-72. Others apparently felt the same way about Indiana’s crucial position. In the 1920s Mark Sullivan wrote, “The typical American of 1900 possibly had more points of identity with the typical inhabitant of an Indiana community than with most other persons in other backgrounds. . . . Politically the average Indianan and his Ohio neighbor determined the occupant of the White House for nearly half of all the years from the Civil War to 1925. . . . In politics the representativeness of the Indiana voter. . . . was universally recognized and won for him something close to omnipotence, for his ideas, his prejudices, and his economic interests were universally considered and generally deferred to.” See his Our Times, Vol. I: The Turn of the Century (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1928), 3-4.

9 Arthur F. Mullen, Western Democrat (New York: Wilfred Funk, Inc., 1940), 173.


11 Official Report [1912], 277.


13 Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall, 112. Paolo Coletta records that the “bellboy” was none other than Bryan’s brother, Charles; William Jennings Bryan, II:71.


19Official Report [1912], 383; Indianapolis Times, 3 July 1912.


21Official Report [1912], 392.


24Letters, TRM to WW, Sea Girt, New Jersey, 30 July 1912, Miscellaneous Papers File (letter #28335); WW to TRM, Indianapolis, 5 August 1912, Wilson Papers,
Box 58, and TRM to WW, 14 August 1912, Wilson Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

25Indianapolis News, 7 August 1912.

26Official Report [1912], 396-97.

27Official Report [1912], 402; Link, Wilson, I:471.


30To anticipate, the 1916 Vice Presidential nomination would again go to Marshall and the ceremony would again be in Indianapolis. In 1916, also, Charles Warren Fairbanks of Indiana would be the Republican Vice Presidential candidate, and Frank Hanly–Marshall’s Republican predecessor in the Indiana Governor’s seat–would be the Presidential candidate on the Prohibition ticket. As if to spread the laurels among Hoosier politicians, Eugene V. Debs of Terre Haute did not run for President for the Socialist party in 1916, but did so in 1900, 1904, 1908, 1912, and 1920. Bryan never caught up with Debs’ record of attempts. See Indianapolis News, 20 August 1912.

31Official Report [1912], 419. See the notification photograph opposite page 160 in TRM, Recollections.

32Official Report [1912], 428-32.
CHAPTER NINE  

“A Much Better Man”


4 Letter, WW to Albert S. Burleson, New York City, 22 August 1912, Burleson Papers, Volume 5, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.


7 Indianapolis News, 27 August 1912; New York Sun, 27 August 1912.

9New York American, 17 September 1912. Marshall was using the magazines to spread his views during this period, e.g., his article on “The Automatic Citizen” pled for Americans to look within themselves even as they demanded moral and legal responsibility from their legislators; *The Atlantic Monthly* (September, 1912): 295-301.


12New York Herald, 5 October 1912; New York World, 5 October 1912.


15New York Herald, 23 October 1912. On examples of midwestern nativism see Columbia City Post, 8 April and 22 December 1875. See TRM, “Regards the Ku Klux Klan as Creature of False Fear,” Washington Star, 23 October 1921.


William Fosdick Chamberlin, *The History of Phi Gamma Delta* (Washington, D. C., Published by The Fraternity, 1926), 162-64. On Fairbanks see Herbert J. Rissler, “Charles Warren Fairbanks: Conservative Hoosier” (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1961). Eight years later, 1920, Calvin Coolidge would join the ranks of Vice Presidents who had been members of Phi Gamma Delta while in college. Regarding TRM’s novel esteem of his home state, he wrote, “Yes, the old state, as the days have come and gone, has struck a right good average. It has perhaps had no towering mountain peaks, but it has surely furnished as many first-grade second-class men in every department of life as any state in the Union”; TRM, *Recollections of Thomas R. Marshall: Vice-President and Hoosier Philosopher, A Hoosier Salad* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1925), 39-44.

CHAPTER TEN

**Entering Four Years of Silence**

1. *New York Times*, 28 February 1913. By tradition, according to the Chevy Chase Country Club, Presidents and Vice Presidents automatically became honorary members. Wilson, however, had other priorities and refused to join.

The Trenton meeting seems to have laid the ground for a positive working relationship between the two men but Marshall would not be privy to much of Wilson’s decision-making.


4Writing in 1931, Linnaeus N. Hines believed that “perhaps no man in the whole list of chief executives was more active or more interested” in public school education than was Governor Marshall; “A History of the Indiana State Board of Education,” Indiana Magazine of History, XXVII (March, 1931): 23-39. Nevertheless, Marshall favored the private liberal arts college over the state university; Charles M. Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall: Hoosier Statesman (Oxford OH: The Mississippi Valley Press, 1939), 102-06; see also TRM, Box 74, Governors Archives, Indiana State Library.


NY: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1931), 437-59, discussing Wilson’s reasoning, or lack of it, regarding his choice of cabinet members.


8After the Inaugural Programme and Report, New York Times, 4 March 1913, and 5 March 1913.

9Marshall’s inaugural address is found in the Congressional Record, 63rd Congress, 1st session, 4 March 1913, 1-2.


13“Ike” Hoover diary, Edith Bolling Wilson Papers, Box 57, Library of Congress. Information on the social and business engagements of the Marshalls when at the White House is taken from the record book of Irwin Hoover who was the chief usher, a curious cognomen for one whose duty it was to note literally the comings and goings of everyone in the White House every day, including the official family. Elizabeth Jaffray, Secrets of the White House (New York: Cosmopolitan Book Corporation, 1927), 38.

14New York Times, 23 March 1913, picture section.

15New York Times, 8 and 10 April 1913.
16 Letters, TRM to WW, 14 April 1913; WW to TRM, 14 April 1913, Wilson Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

17 Interview with Frank E. Bohn, 10 November 1967, and George W. Myers, 22 November 1967 in Fort Wayne, Indiana. Mr. Bohn knew Marshall in the Masonic fraternity, while Mr. Myers, a Columbia City native, was administrative secretary to Louis Fairfield, a Republican congressman from Marshall’s home district. Mr. Myers occasionally visited with the Marshalls in their Washington suite at the New Willard Hotel (1920-1921).

18 Letter, WW to TRM, 23 December 1913, Wilson Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. On the party for the pages, Richard L. Riedel, Halls of the Mighty: My 47 Years at the Senate (Washington, D. C.; Robert B. Luce, Inc., 1969), 22. J. Mark Trice, Secretary for the Minority in the United States Senate at the time of his letter to the writer, 22 April 1968, was also a page along with Riedel and fondly remembered Marshall as host for the occasion.

19 Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall, 143.


CHAPTER ELEVEN The Vice President is at it again!”


2 63rd Congress, 1st session, 7 April 1913, Congressional Record, 58-60.


6TRM, *Recollections*, 245.

7*New York Times*, 24 March 1913; and editorial, 25 March 1913.

8*New York Herald*, 13 April 1913.


11New York *Sun*, 21 April 1913.

12*New York Times*, 17 April 1913; 18 April 1913.

13George Harvey, “Thomas Riley Marshall,” *North American Review* (October, 1916): 620-21; the speech of 8 May 1913 was printed three years later to coincide with

14“The Vice President’s New Freedom,” Literary Digest (3 May 1913): 995. The New York Sun for 10 June 1913, prominently displayed a large cartoon of “Tom-in-the-box” with the box lettered “Prudent Silence.” The progressive Outlook was supportive: “The Vice President and Social Unrest,” (3 May 1913): 8-9.

15Quoted in The Literary Digest (3 May 1913): 996.

16The New York Evening Post, 17 April 1913; the Charleston editorial was quoted by the Indianapolis News, 21 April 1913.


20Letters, TRM to WW, 20 March 1913; TRM to WW, 2 August 1913; and WW to TRM, 4 August 1913, Wilson Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.


25TRM, Recollections, 249-50.

CHAPTER TWELVE Cave of the Four Winds


3Letters, WW to TRM, 10 March 1914 and 14 March 1914, Wilson Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress; WW to TRM 18 April 1914, WP 29:461.

4See Alexander L. George and Juliette L. George, Woodrow Wilson and Colonel House: A Personality Study (New York: Dover Publications, 1964), 151, in which President Wilson is viewed as one who must dominate others in order to “counter his own low self-estimate,” a dubious supposition.

5New York Times, 15 March 1914. Letter, TRM to George W. Myers of Columbia City, Indiana, 11 March 1914. Myers was editor of the high school yearbook.


14 *New York Times*, 10, 11, and 12 October 1914, cover this comedy of errors. The writer has not located any extensive film footage on Thomas R. Marshall except what is preserved in the National Archives film library.


18 Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall, 142-43. Other significant enactments by this time passed by the Democratic-controlled Congress, besides the Underwood-Simmons tariff act, included an act to regulate cotton exchanges, another to provide for a government railroad in Alaska, an act to admit foreign-owned or -built ships to American registry, renewal of arbitration treaties, and approval of twenty-two Peace Commission treaties; New York Times, 5 March 1915.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN Before the Storm


2 Letter, William Phillips to WW, 5 March 1915, Wilson Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress; letter, Franklin D. Roosevelt to Commandant, Navy Yard, Mare Island, California, 15 March 1915, Navy Correspondence #3768-455 1/2, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; see also Roosevelt to Flag Officer, Colorado, San Diego, California, 15 March 1915, Navy Department Correspondence #3768-455½, National Archives.
Letters, TRM to WW, 7 March 1915; WW to TRM, 8 March 1915; WW to TRM, 19 March 1915, Wilson Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.


Chester Rowell, Fresno progressive and member of the California State Exposition Commission, together with Senator Phelan and Governor Hiram Johnson are the only persons here meriting attention by George E. Mowry in his book The California Progressives (1951). The publisher William R. Hearst receives little attention because he was not seen as being “progressive.” There were even strained relations politically between Hearst and the Wilson Administration. Marshall seemed oblivious of this, but he may have been exercising caution.


The primary source utilized here is the five-volume work of Frank Morton Todd, The Story of the Exposition... (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1921). The group is mentioned in volume IV, 27; Todd, The Story of the Exposition, V, 66-67.


Marshall had developed a great respect for the Japanese nation based upon both
diplomatic leaders and students he had met over the years since his days at Wabash College in Indiana.

9 The well-intentioned words of the Vice President, despite his personal feelings, could hardly have impressed Admiral Uriu in light of the racism of the Californians, progressives included, whose Alien Land Bill of 1913 excluded Japanese immigrants as land owners in that state.

10 Todd, The Story of the Exposition, IV, opposite page 42.


12 Todd, The Story of the Exposition, IV, 34. On 6 April 1914 a treaty with Colombia, expressing the United States’ “sincere regret” over the incident, was signed, but not until 20 April 1921 did the Senate give its consent to a $25 million reparation, payable to Colombia.

13 Todd, The Story of the Exposition, IV, 34.

Written by Franklin D. Roosevelt, 18 February 1941; F.D.R.: His Personal Letters, Vol. II, 1928-1945, edited by Elliott Roosevelt (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearch, 1950), 1123-25; see Carroll Kilpatrick, ed., Roosevelt and Daniels, A Friendship in Politics (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1952), 118-19, FDR to Daniels, 26 July 1932. Eleanor Roosevelt noted that the officers aboard ship were quite disturbed that the Vice President would shake hands with enlisted men and at mealtime would sit wherever he pleased on board ship; Eleanor Roosevelt, This is My Story (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1937), 222. The correct name of the San Diego exposition was the Panama-California International Exposition; Todd, The Story of the Exposition, I, 64, and Eugen Newhaus, The San Diego Garden Fair (San Francisco: Paul Elder and Company Publishers, 1916).


26 Telegram, TRM to Lansing, 24 July 1915, Diplomatic Correspondence, Department of State, #F.W. 763.72/1940, National Archives.


29 Remarks to the Gridiron Club, 11 February 1916, WP 36:219. Wilson’s remarks about Marshall’s sense of beauty are reminiscent of the Vice President’s remark on the sunset scene as recorded by Eleanor Roosevelt on the trip to the exposition in San Francisco.


New York Times, 13 October 1915; TRM, Recollections, 73-78.


Letters, WW to TRM, 10 February 1916, Wilson Papers, Letterbook 27, 262; WW to TRM, 13 March 1916, Wilson Papers, Letterbook 28, 157, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. Correspondence between Marshall and Daniels includes Daniels to TRM, 14 April 1916; TRM to Daniels, 15 April 1916; and Daniels to TRM, 19 April 1916, Josephus Daniels Papers, Box 42, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.
CHAPTER FOURTEEN

“Tis Enough ‘Twill Serve”


Official Report of the Proceedings of the Democratic National Convention, compiled by J. Bruce Kremer (St. Louis, 1916), 100-07. Aside from the President’s personal endorsement of Marshall, the twentieth century precedent of a Vice President running for a second consecutive term had been set by Marshall’s predecessor, James Sherman, chosen by the Republicans in 1908 and in 1912. Actually, Charles W. Fairbanks was also running for a second though unconsecutive term, having been Theodore Roosevelt’s Vice President, 1905-1909.


New York Times, 1 August 1916. Thomas Taggart had been appointed by Indiana Governor Samuel Ralston to fill the unexpired term of the recently deceased Senator, Benjamin Shively, on 20 March; James Philip Fadely, Thomas Taggart: Public Servant, Political Boss, 1856-1929 (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1997), 142.


John, Wilson, V, 153.


New York Times, 14 October 1916. Hughes, of course, was never asked to be a counselor to the President, and, as has been noted, Wilson made his own decisions and often in terms of what he thought was the proper approach. He was the President and his was the responsibility, but he did not relish taking counsel except from his most intimate friends, such as Col. House.


25 Link, Wilson, V, 122.

26 New York Times, 28 October 1916; and , editorial, 30 October 1916.


31 Telegram, TRM to WW, 9 November 1916; WP 38:625; New York Times, 10 November 1916. The quotation is from Romeo and Juliet, Act 3, Scene 1.


33 New York Post, 27 November 1916.
CHAPTER FIFTEEN  

“Go to it, Woodrow, go to it!”


2 Ashurst diary, 51-52. Wilson was smarting from the verbal thrusts of Senator Lodge who was not only a Republican opponent but also an interventionist regarding the European conflict. /// {date? Ashurst diary, 51-52}


6 64th Cong. 2d sess., 3 March 1917, Congressional Record, 4869.

7 New York Times, 6 March 1917.


14 E. David Cronon, ed., *The Cabinet Diaries of Josephus Daniels* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1963), 142 (hereafter referred to as Daniels’ diary); letter, Daniels to TRM, 27 April 1917, Daniels Papers, Box 42, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.


25National Archives motion picture #111 H-1133 (2 reels), Fourth Liberty Loan Drive, September, 1918 (Signal Corps).


27New York Times, 18 September 1917. The speech was published as Address of the Vice President of the United States, Delivered at a Meeting of the Supreme Council of Scottish Rite Masons for the Northern Jurisdiction of the United States, Held in New York City, on September 17, 1917 (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1917). The words of Marshall were echoed by President John F. Kennedy in his
inauguration speech in 1961, where he proclaimed, “And so, my fellow Americans, ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country. . . .”

Kennedy (or his speechwriter) may have had access to this war speech of Vice President Marshall, but it must be acknowledged that Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., in an address dated 30 May 1884, before members of the Grand Army of the Republic, expressed his appreciation of his nation in these words:

> For, stripped of the temporary associations which give rise to it, it is now the moment when by common consent we pause to become conscious of our national life and to rejoice in it, to recall what our country has done for each of us, and to ask ourselves what we can do for our country in return. Bartlett’s Famous Quotations (14th ed.), 1073.

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30 Letters, TRM to WW, 20 September 1918; Benedict Crowell to TRM, 1 October 1918; Crowell to WW, 1 October 1918, Wilson Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. Marshall also wrote on behalf of Dr. Louis P. Cain to Josephus Daniels for a chaplain’s commission to the Navy Department; letter, TRM to Daniels, 14 December 1918, Josephus Daniels Papers, Box 42, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

Interviews with Ralph F. Gates, Columbia City, Indiana, 15 October 1967; George W. Myers, Fort Wayne, Indiana, 15 October 1967; and William Geake, Jr., Fort Wayne, Indiana, 10 November 1967, concerning his brother, George.

Letter, TRM to Daniels, 7 February 1914, Josephus Daniels Papers, Box 42, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. Letters, TRM to Daniels, July, 1916; Daniels to TRM, 13 July 1916, Daniels Papers.

New York Times, 2 March 1914; Josephus Daniels diary, 5 April 1917. See Daniels’ diary entry of 10 April 1917, regarding Evansville as site for the plant. See Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall, 201. Letter, Daniels to TRM, 22 January 1919, Daniels Papers, Box 42.

Marshall-Daniels correspondence, 3, 9, 10 and 16 September 1918, Daniels Papers, Box 42.

Letter, TRM to Baker, 31 October 1918, Newton D. Baker Papers, Box 7, Library of Congress (emphasis added). The italicized words reflect Marshall’s midwestern sentiment that Wilson’s Administration was indeed under strong southern influence and took care of its own people; Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall, 200. See the stimulating study on southern reassertiveness in this period by Jack Temple Kirby, Darkness at the Dawning: Race and Reform in the Progressive South (Philadelphia PA: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1972). On segregation in the Wilson Administration see Arthur S.
CHAPTER SIXTEEN

“Your orders will be obeyed.”

NY: Doubleday, Page, and Double, Doran, 1927-1939), 79; memoranda to the President,
dated 15 and 21 May, Wilson Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress; Charles
Valley Press, 1939), 189. A Washington newspaper noted that the parents were Mr. and
Mrs. Martin Morrison; scrapbook clipping, TRM Papers, Indiana State Library.

2Memorandum to Wilson, 12 July 1917, Wilson Papers, Manuscripts Division,
Library of Congress.

3Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall, 189; TRM, Recollections of Thomas R.
Marshall, Vice-President and Hoosier: A Hoosier Salad (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill
Co., 1925), 379.

4Letter, TRM to WW, 7 May 191[8], WP 47:547-48. Letters, WW to Burleson,
8 May 1918, WP 47:596; WW to TRM, 8 May 1918, WP 47:560; Burleson to Wilson,
10 May 1918, WP 47:596{ ? }; Louis Brownlow to Burlerson, 10 May 1918, Wilson
Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

5For a picture of the Marshalls and the boy see TRM, Recollections, opposite page
352; this volume has another picture of the Vice President holding the infant, opposite
page 340. Indianapolis News, 7 September 1917; Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall, 189-

6Marshall, “Tomorrow, Day of Childhood, Should be Day of Consecration,” *Washington Star*, 24 December 1922. Interview with Mrs. Eleanor King Lennox, Indianapolis, 9 November 1967. Mrs. Lennox’s father, Dr. William F. King of Columbia City, had been a close friend of Marshall who encouraged him to move to the state capital’s Board of Health in 1911. Following the boy’s death, letters of condolence were sent to the bereaved couple, and resolutions by Louis Fairfield of Marshall’s home district were passed by the House expressing its sympathy; 66th Cong., 2d sess., 26 February 1920, *Congressional Record*, 3543.

7Noted by Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, VII, 544, probably from Ike Hoover’s diary which recorded names of persons visiting the White House.


19th Cong. 2d sess., 24 September 1918, Congressional Record, 10702; New
York Times, 25 September 1918. Related correspondence includes letters from TRM to
WW, 7 September 1918, and WW to TRM, September 11, 1918, Wilson Papers,
Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.


21st 65th Cong., 2d sess., 21 November 1918, Congressional Record, 11626.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN        Presidential Stand-in

1New York Times, 27 November 1918. On the League to Enforce Peace, see
Ruhl J. Bartlett, The League to Enforce Peace (1944).  {full reference?}


4Charles M. Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall (Oxford OH: The Mississippi

5Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall, 221.

6Ashurst diary, 90.      {date?}

7New York Times, 30 November 1918.

8Sewell Thomas, Silhouettes of Charles S. Thomas: Colorado Governor and
United States Senator (Caldwell, IA: Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1959), 197; Ashurst diary,
90-91; George C. Osborn, John Sharp Williams: Planter-statesman of the Deep South


11TRM, Recollections of Thomas R. Marshall, Vice-President and Hoosier Philosopher: A Hoosier Salad (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1925), 250-55, is not only an appreciation of the Japanese but also an apologia for a separate-but-equal status for Japan in her relations with all nations of the world, including the United States whose “yellow peril criers” disgusted him.


13This display of openness and acceptance of the Japanese by the American Vice President was later annulled by the painful decision of Wilson in Paris over the question of including “racial equality” in the League Covenant and over the question of whether Japan should get as booty the Shantung Peninsula (which belonged to China); see Harold Nicolson, Peacemaking 1919, 144-47.

14Memorandum, Daniels to TRM, 7 December 1918, Josephus Daniels Papers, Box 42, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

15A picture was taken subsequently of the Cabinet with Vice President Marshall seated at the head (13 February 1919). A similar picture is the sole photograph in the Thomas biography of Marshall (opposite title page). It shows Marshall on the end and to his left, clockwise, Carter N. Glass (Treasury), Thomas H. Gregory (Attorney General), Josephus Daniels (Navy), David F. Houston (Agriculture), Frank L. Polk ( Acting
Secretary of State), Newton D. Baker (War), Albert S. Burleson (Postmaster General),
William B. Wilson (Labor), and William C. Redfield (Commerce).

16 The statement is found in the Wilson Papers and was recorded in the New York
Times, 11 December 1918; Daniels diary, 10 December 1918.

17 Daniels diary, 10 December 1918; Ashurst diary, 91. {date?}

18 New York Sun, 10 December 1918. Letter, Newton D. Baker to WW, 1 January
1919, WP 53:583-84. In her otherwise admirable study Professor Ruth Silva reveals her
incognizance of the Kin Hubbard cartoon (“Abe Martin”) by stating, “Plum was probably
correct in saying that Wilson ‘retains the salary.’” See Silva, Presidential Succession
(Ann Arbor MI: University of Michigan Press, 1951), 97n47.

19 Daniels diary, 17 December 1918; see Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall, 222.
Sometimes Daniels would note a line about the Vice President’s contribution: “Marshall
very witty” (31 December 1918).

20 New York Times, 7 January 1919. One biographer carried this brief word by
Marshall upon learning of Roosevelt’s demise: “Death had to take him sleeping, for if
Roosevelt had been awake, there would have been a fight.” William Roscoe Thayer,
Theodore Roosevelt, An Intimate Biography (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company,
1919), 450.

Division, Library of Congress; Daniels diary, 7 January 1919. The cabinet members
regarded the closeness of Thomas Marshall and his wife curious, their never having been
separated overnight for some two dozen years.

22 Daniels diary, 21 January 1919.
23 Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall, 222-23.

24 Daniels diary, 20 and 22 February 1919; Arthur Walworth, Woodrow Wilson, II (Boston MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1965), 275. By this time Attorney General Gregory resigned to go to Paris and was succeeded by A. Mitchell Palmer on 5 March.


behind Marshall. The event was recorded by at least one motion picture camera and has been included since then in movie and television news accounts of the history of American woman suffrage.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

Heir Apparent

1 Josephus Daniels’ diary, 8 July 1919, Josephus Daniels Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress; Vice President Marshall’s welcoming home speech, TRM Papers, Indiana State Library; New York Times, 9 July 1919; see Edith Bolling Wilson, My Memoir (Indianapolis, IN: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1939), 272.


Telegram, WW to TRM, 8 September 1919, WP63:117.

Marshall’s Words of Welcome to General John J. Pershing, manuscript, TRM Papers, Indiana State Library; New York Times, 13 September 1919. (At this same time in Boston, Massachusetts, Governor Calvin Coolidge was deriding the striking police as deserters, an act that would gain him national fame.)


Ashurst diary, 3 October 1919. Letter, Gilbert Hitchcock to William Jennings Bryan, 4 October 1919, William Jennings Bryan Papers, Box 32, Manuscripts Division,


16 Montgomery, AL, Advertiser, 8 October 1919, newsclipping, TRM Papers, Indiana State Library.

17 Letters, TRM to Lansing, 7 October 1919; Breckenridge Long to Lansing, October 7, 1919; Lansing to TRM, 7 October 1919; TRM to Lansing, 9 October 1919, Robert Lansing Papers, Vol. 47, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.


19 Officials of the U. S. Govt. accompanying the Royal Belgian Party, mimeographed sheet, TRM Papers, Indiana State Library.

20 Letter, Tumulty to Edith Benham, 28 October 1919, Joseph P. Tumulty Papers, Box 14, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. In his diary Senator Ashurst recorded that “the company was strictly official such as would have been invited to the
White House had President and Mrs. Wilson entertained their majesties”; Ashurst diary, 29 October 1919.


22 Bulletins for 18 October 1919, as recorded in the New York Times the following day.

23 Daniels diary, 24 October 1919. For a fanciful reconstruction of the crisis see George S. Viereck, “When a Woman Was President of the United States,” Liberty (20 February 1932) issue in the revived Liberty (Summer, 1972), 37-50.

24 Lansing desk diary, 3 October 1919, WP 63:547-48; Lansing Memorandum to Josephus Daniels, 21 February 1924, Lansing Papers, Vol. 61, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress; Arthur Walworth, Woodrow Wilson, II [2nd ed., rev.] (Boston MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1965), 377. In a 1937 interview by Charles Thomas with Newton D. Baker, the former Secretary of War revealed that the cabinet definitely “did not discuss the question of the devolution of the presidential duties upon the Vice-President”; Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall, 225. Josephus Daniels, however, in his diary entry of 6 October 1919, makes specific references to the topic; WP 63:555.

25 Joseph Patrick Tumulty, Woodrow Wilson As I Know Him (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1921), 442-44. Edith B. Wilson’s My Memoirs was appearing serially in the Saturday Evening Post when Lois Marshall revealed to a reporter an alleged discrepancy in the former First Lady’s book. Mrs. Wilson had related that Dr. Francis X. Dercum of Philadelphia had advised against Mr. Wilson’s relinquishing the Presidency.


30 Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall, 226-27. Letters bearing Wilson’s signature and handwriting dating from March and April, 1920, show the President to have possessed less than normal vigor but a clear mind and legible but larger script, e.g., Wilson to Burleson, 25 March 1920, Albert B. Burleson Papers, Vol. 25, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

32TRM, Recollections, 368. See also Henry L Stoddard, As I Knew Them: Presidents and Politics from Grant to Coolidge (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1927), 541, 547.


CHAPTER NINETEEN

“A Year of Disappointment”


2Ashurst diary, 21 October 1919; Washington Post, 24 October 1919.


For the cloture rule on the peace treaty, Rule XXII, see the Congressional Record, 66th Cong., 1st sess., 19 November 1919, 8554-55. The first page of the Wednesday session contains the Lodge reservations which alone were considered by the Senate; Irving Williams, The American Vice-Presidency: A New Look (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Co., 1954), 36.


66th Cong., 1st sess., 19 November 1919, Congressional Record, 8767-8803. The outcome in retrospect should have been obvious to all of the Senators, and Wilson should have known what would happen. Thomas A. Bailey fantasized what might have happened to the treaty had Wilson died in Pueblo and Marshall succeeded him as President. The Republican Senators would have been “shamed” into a compromise with an accommodating Marshall and the treaty would have been approved “with a few relatively minor reservations.” Bailey, Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal, 137.


National Archives photograph #67,270, showing Prince Edward and Vice President Marshall at the Union Station in Washington while the Marine Band played “God Save the King.” Eleanor Roosevelt, The Autobiography of Eleanor Roosevelt

12 Interview with Rex Potterf, Fort Wayne, Indiana, 26 October 1967; TRM, Recollections, 380.


16 House Diary, 22 December 1919, WP 64:217.


Department, see [Clinton Wallace Gilbert], The Mirrors of Washington (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1921), 213-26.

CHAPTER TWENTY A Reward He Deserves


7Marshall keynote speech at the Indiana Democratic Convention, manuscript dated 20 May 1920, TRM Papers, Indiana State Library; New York Evening Post, 21 May 1920.


23 Letter, Daniels to TRM, 3 January 1921, Josephus Daniels Papers, Box 42, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.


26 Letter, William E. Borah to TRM, 5 March 1921, TRM Papers, Indiana State Library.


CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE  Elder Statesman


12TRM, “Demand for Cloture Is As Old As the Senate Itself,” Washington Star, 11 February 1923.


16 TRM Papers, Indiana State Library, contain numerous letters from diplomats concerning preparations for this two-month tour of Europe. French, English, and Belgian ambassadors and friends were especially helpful. The Whitley County Historical Museum, Columbia City, Indiana, contains numerous letters from Lois Marshall to her mother regarding the pleasures and travails of ocean travel between the United States and Europe; letter from Ruth Kirk, Director, to the writer, 22 December 1997.

17 The Times (London), 24 May 1922.


TRM, “Marshall Finds British King Revered as Symbol of Empire,”

TRM, “Finds Contentment of Swiss Founded in Youth’s Education,”
Washington Star, dateline 8 July 1922. Oswald Spengler (1880-1936) published in 1923 as Der Untergang des Abendlandes, later translated as The Decline of the West. Concerned for the destiny of the world and of Western man’s ability to live his life most realistically, Spengler fell out with the Nazis, who did not fit his view of those reconstructing the world.


The new alliance refers to the Treaty of Guarantee of 1919, acted upon by France and England but not by the United States.
27 TRM, “Germany Not Yet in a Mood Where Mercy Would Be Beneficial,”
Washington Star, 3 September 1922.

28 TRM, “Men Everywhere Cry for Peace, Even as They Sow Seeds of War,”
Washington Star, 17 September 1922.


32 TRM, “Crossed Wires, Short Circuits, Confusing Religious Thought,”


34 TRM, “Conduct of Christian Nations Deters Growth of Christianity,”
write that we westerners should “enrich our own, hitherto parochial, outlook, which until recently tended to assume that all wisdom flowed from the West,” *The Nature of the Non-Western World* (New York: Mentor Books, 1963), 24.


A final footnote: while everyone has heard of Fairbanks, Alaska (named in memory of Theodore Roosevelt’s Vice President, Charles W. Fairbanks of Indiana), perhaps no one today knows about Marshall, Alaska, named in honor of Woodrow Wilson’s Vice President; see John E. Brown, “Marshall, Alaska, Yukon Settlement Named for Thomas R.,” *Whitley County Historical Society Bulletin* (April 1970): 9-10. Gold was discovered there on Wilson Creek, 15 July 1913, and a placer mining camp was established near the Yukon River, first called Fortuna Ledge [1915], then Marshall Landing or Marshall--unsung but at one time in history very precious.
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CORRESPONDENTS

Arnold, Paul F., attorney, Evansville IN 8/29/68
Barnhart, Dean L., son of congressman Henry A. Barnhart, Indianapolis IN 10/31/67
Bayh, Birch, U. S. Senate, Washington, D.C. 3/25/68; 12/3/70
Beard, Jane [Mrs. Marshall R.], family, Cedar Falls, IA 5/5/73
Bettman, Otto L., archivist, New York NY 8/12/68
Bloemker, Al, Indianapolis Motor Speedway Corporation 3/2/73
Bridges, Roger O., Illinois State Historical Library 2/16/73
Bohn, Frank E., Freemason, Fort Wayne IN 10/29/67; 11/10/67
Carver, Bernice, local historian, Columbia City IN 2/5/75
Chamberlin, Wesley, San Francisco State College, San Francisco CA 4/7/68
Comfort, Elizabeth, State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia MO 5/10/73
Copeland, Margaret, Smith Memorial Library, Chautauqua NY 4/24/68
Deal, Mrs. Fred G., family friend, LaGrange IN 8/27/68; 9/17/68; 9/28/68; 12/1/67
Elman, Edna M., family friend, Lansing IL 1/6/68; 1/29/68; 4/20/68
Emerson, Lucy, family friend, Angola IN 9/12/72; 5/27/73
Felt, Louelle H., Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis MO 3/2/73; 4/7/73
Feerick, John D., writer, New York NY 4/7/68
Feightner, Harold C., librarian, Indianapolis IN 9/26/67
Ferrell, Robert H., historian, Indiana University, Bloomington IN 1/4/71; 1/14/71; 2/9/71
Frankenstein, Alfred V., art critic, San Francisco CA 4/7/68
Freed, Mrs. Liegh, local historian, Wabash IN 8/1/75
Gaskill, David H., Culver Military Academy, Culver IN 12/30/68
Gates, Ralph F., lawyer, Columbia City IN 10/15/67
Geake, William J., Freemason, Fort Wayne IN 11/10/67
Gillette, George W., librarian, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia PA 1/5/68
Gorrell, E.C., newspaper editor, Winimac IN 10/20/67
Harstad, Peter T., historian, Indiana Historical Society 12/10/97
Hayden, Carl, U. S. Senate, Washington, D.C. 112/1/67
Heck, Frank, historian, Centre College, Danville KY 9/28/67
Hudson, Mrs. Robert, family friend, Goshen IN 11/10/67
Jacobsen, Steve, VISTA, Marshall AK 5/10/68; pm4/8/68
Kimsey, Susan B., student, Principia College, Elsah IL 1/15/68
Kimsey, Morton E., brother of Lois Marshall, Scottsdale AZ pm1/5/68; pm5/8/68
Kimsey, William L., son of Morton, Culver City PA 1/5/70
Kirk, Ruth, curator, Whitley County Historical Museum, Columbia City IN 12/22/97
Knorr, Lois, family friend, Columbia OH 5/29/68
Lancaster, Robert F., family friend, So. Whitley IN 11/20/67; 11/24/67; 4/2/70; 8/1/75
Lawrence, David, White House reporter, Washington, D.C. 11/1/67; 2/9/70
Lippman, Walter, White House reporter, New York NY 10/13/67
Lennox, Eleanor King, family friend, Indianapolis IN 11/2/67
Link, Arthur S., historian, Princeton University, Princeton NJ 9/3/70; 3/9/71; 8/9/75
Logan, Sr. Eugenia, archivist, St. Mary of the Woods IN 10/8/68
McHale, Frank, Indiana State Democratic chair, Indianapolis IN 10/30/67; 11/9/67
McHugh, Gertrude F., Thomas Taggart’s secretary, Indianapolis IN 10/13/67
McKillan, Mildred Dole, family, Angola IN 10/8/68
Macdonald, Frances B., librarian, Indiana State Library, Indianapolis IN 9/11/67
Marshall, J. Richard, distant relative, Muncie IN 9/20/68; 5/8/70; 3/14/73
Maxwell, Stanley F., Supreme Council Scottish Rite, Boston MA 11/27/67
Meitzler, Edwin, local historian, Columbia City IN 5/9/75
Mellett, John C., White House reporter, Indianapolis IN 10/6/67; 10/19/67
Myers, George W., family friend, Fort Wayne IN 11/22/68
Nicholson, Meredith, Jr., family friend, Indianapolis IN 10/3/67
Nottingham, Phyllis, librarian, Alaska Historical Library, Juneau AK 8/30/68
Page, Mrs. Thisbe, family, Dayton OH 3/1/73; 4/10/73
Paulison, Arthur M., Freemason, Fort Wayne IN 11/13/67; 11/30/67
Potterf, Rex, librarian, Fort Wayne IN 10/26/67
Raber, Gail, family friend, Columbia City IN 10/15/67
Riedel, Richard L., U.S. Senate page, Centreville VA 4/25/68
Scouffas, Cheryl, Illinois Historical Survey, Urbana IL 3/20/73
Shumaker, Arthur W., writer, DePauw University, Greencastle IN 2/14/68
Smith, Dwight L., Freemason, Indianapolis IN 11/22/67
Sterling, Kier B., historian, U.S. Army Ordinance, Richmond VA 3/12/91
Strouse, Edgar and Mary, family friends, Columbia City IN 10/14/67; 10/23/67
Thomas, Charles M., Marshall biographer, Montgomery AL 10/9/67; 2/13/70; 8/5/75
Trice, J. Mark, U.S. Senate page, Washington, D.C. 4/22/68
Valeo, Francis R., Secretary of the U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C> 3/7/68
Waldman, Neil, CBS News Film Library, New York NY 3/26/68
Weis, Carl A., Moose Supreme Secretary, Mooseheart IL 3/27/68
Williams, Irving G., historian, St. John’s University, Jamaica NY 1/29/69; 2/3/69
ESSAY ON SOURCES

What follows is an introduction to the general reader of the principal sources used together with some additional works on the topics and various periods covered for the years 1854 to 1925. The writer has endeavored to avoid repeating sources except where it was felt to be helpful. Not all of the sources mentioned in the notes are listed below.

Manuscripts

The collected papers of Thomas R. Marshall reside in the Indiana State Library, Indianapolis. Some two thousand letters, speeches, and mementos, including scrapbooks and items assembled by his secretary, Mark Thistlethwaite, are located in the Indiana Division, while correspondence and documents relating to the governorship of Marshall are in the Indiana Governor Archives. Correspondence between Marshall and Woodrow Wilson is preserved in the latter’s papers in the Library of Congress, where also may be found letters and notes from and to Marshall from Wilson cabinet members, some of which are in the papers of Newton D. Baker, William Jennings Bryan, Albert S. Burleson, Josephus Daniels, Robert S. Lansing, and William G. McAdoo, and from Wilson’s chief secretary, Joseph P. Tumulty.

The National Archives contains only a few messages by or about Vice President Marshall in State Department and Navy Department files, but there are numerous U. S. Army Signal Corps photographs as well as several motion picture newsreels from
governmental and commercial sources (listed in the notes to each chapter, where applicable).

Newspapers

Newspaper reports and editorials provide a surprising quantity of material covering his career as lawyer through the governorship and the vice presidency. Those providing the most pertinent coverage were the Columbia City Post and the Whitley County Commercial, 1874-1908, the Indianapolis News and the Indianapolis Star, 1908-1912, and the New York Times and the Washington Star, 1912-1925. I am indebted to the New York Public Library for the use of microfilm of the Wilson-Marshall Scrapbooks (54 unpublished volumes of news clippings from New York City newspapers) covering the years 1912-1921.

Selected Published Addresses and Articles of Thomas R. Marshall


Address of the Vice President of the United States, delivered at a meeting of the Supreme Council of Scottish Rite Masons for the Northern Jurisdiction of the United States, held in New York City, on September 17, 1917. . . . Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1917.


Articles (140) in the Washington Star, 1921-1923. [not enumerated]


Commencement Address at the Forty-ninth Annual Commencement. Purdue University Bulletin, XXIII (1923).


"Law and Lawyers." University of Chicago Magazine (December, 1908): 45-52.

"Lonesome as a Black Cat." Hearst's International (January, 1922): 45, 76.

“My Ideal of Marriage.” Woman’s Home Companion (September, 1918): 18.

“My Life on Main Street.” Hearst’s International (December, 1921): 17, 73.


BOOK ONE

MIDWESTERN ORIGINS
CHAPTER ONE


The Marshall Papers (Indiana State Library, Indianapolis) contain little material from his boyhood days, mostly essays from his high school and his college years. His alma mater, Wabash College, has some articles and clippings about him as student and as trustee, but they are few and of limited value. Material relating to his years in college is found in James I. Osborne and Theodore G. Gronert, Wabash College: The First Hundred Years, 1832-1932 (Crawfordsville, IN, 1932), chapter viii. Marshall was an early member of a college social fraternity whose ranks included other well-known contemporaries; William F. Chamberlain, The History of Phi Gamma Delta, 5 vols. (Washington, D. C., 1926).

CHAPTER TWO

No correspondence between Thomas and Lois Kimsey Marshall has been uncovered by the writer, which is not surprising given their never having been separated but once or twice during their married years. Newspaper accounts and interviews in Columbia City and in Indianapolis have been supplemented by recollections of friends and relatives of Mrs. Marshall. The Whitley County Historical Society Bulletin, published bimonthly, typically features local articles on the personalities and culture of the area, and several were written about Marshall, especially by Ralph F. Gates of Columbia City, himself a former Indiana governor (1945-1949), who was an ardent admirer of Marshall.

CHAPTER THREE

The important period nationally between Reconstruction and the Progressive Era is the focus of John A. Garraty, The New Commonwealth, 1877-1890 (New York, 1968), to which follows the decade of the 1890’s as examined by Harold U. Faulkner, Politics,
Reform and Expansion (New York, 1959). While respectable studies, Garraty virtually skips over the Midwest, and Faulkner sidesteps Indiana in his discussion.


For coverage of local politics during the period 1876 to 1908 the Columbia City Post was the voice of the Democratic party, the stronger of the two parties, while the Whitley County Commercial provided a Republican perspective. A Democratic state history is John B. Stoll, History of the Indiana Democracy, 1816-1916 (Indianapolis, 1917). Republican activity is described in Russell M. Seeds, History of the Republican Party of Indiana (Indianapolis, 1899), and in Frank Munger’s 1955 Harvard dissertation, “Two-Party Politics in the State of Indiana,” though his treatment is lean on the early years. John Braeman supplies this gap in his Albert J. Beveridge, American Nationalist (Chicago, 1971).

On Marshall’s law partner, William F. McNagny, the main sources are the local newspapers and personal interviews with his son, the late Judge Rob. R. McNagny, and his grandson, Phil. McNagny, Esq., of Columbia City. No formal study has been made of William who himself had a distinguished civic career, including a term as United States Congressman, 1893-1895.

While not emphasized in the present study, Marshall was an earnest and active Freemason during his years in northeastern Indiana. His activities with this civic
fraternity were periodically cited by the local papers, and the offices and awards he received are preserved in the Marshall Papers, File 3 (1889-1898), Indiana State Library.

CHAPTER FOUR


The personal papers and autobiographies of politicians and reporters involved with Indiana issues include the Albert J. Beveridge Papers, Library of Congress. Beveridge was prominent nationally while Marshall was still practicing law in Indiana. Of a different political party within the same state Beveridge eulogized Marshall as an important American and a personal friend, but they were not intimates. The Samuel M. Ralston Papers, Lilly Library, Indiana University, show a closer friendship between the two gubernatorial aspirants who eventually achieved their goals largely due to Indianapolis party boss Thomas Taggart, whose papers in Indiana State Library are frightfully meager. No published study of Taggart existed prior to the recent competent work of James Philip Fadely, Thomas Taggart: Public Servant, Political Boss 1856-1929 (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1997) with the exception of the private biography written by Taggart’s secretary, A. C. Sallee, “T.T. The Mastermind that
Wrought Brilliant and Bewildering Achievements in Political Legerdemain” (in the Taggart Papers). The latter biography is a scissors-and-paste composition which contains no footnotes or other critical apparatus and gives no credit to portions which are verbatim extracts from other works.


For anecdotes of Marshall’s legal and political career see his Recollections, chapter VIII-XII, and the papers of James D. Adams, Whitley County lawyer and judge who was an admirer of Marshall, formerly in the possession of the Gates, Gates & McNagny law firm, Columbia City, Indiana.

The speeches of Thomas Marshall are preserved in part in the Marshall Papers, Indiana State Library, and in published sources such as newspapers, Democratic Party convention reports, and university commencement and alumni magazines. A valuable study of his evolution as a public speaker is Keith S. Montgomery, “A Rhetorical Analysis of the Forensic and Occasional Speaking of Thomas R. Marshall” (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1956).

Harold Feightner’s unpublished Politics, Prohibition, and Repeal in Indiana (c. 1966) in the Indiana State Library narrates the growing confrontation between advocates of county option and local option. Ernest A. Cherrington’s Anti-Saloon League Year Book 1910 (Westerville, Ohio), and the Year Books for 1911 and 1912 communicate the increasingly successful war being waged by prohibitionists.

BOOK TWO

JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRAT

CHAPTERS FIVE AND SIX

Much of the material in the Marshall Papers is relevant to the gubernatorial years 1909-1913, as is the correspondence in the Indiana Governors Archives, Boxes 72 through 76, Indiana State Library. The Indiana legislature’s deliberations are contained in the House Journal and the Senate Journal, and the acts passed are in the Laws of the State of Indiana (1909-1912).

Charles M. Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall (chapter 5) provides an outline of the key issues and crises facing Marshall while Governor of Indiana. Marshall’s
Recollections (chapters XIII-XV) communicates his political philosophy and practices. A fresh new perspective is that of Ray E. Boomhower, Jacob Piatt Dunn, Jr.: A Life in History and Politics, 1855-1924 (Indianapolis, 1997), in particular, chapter 5, in which the author credits Dunn with having been the draftsman of the “Marshall Constitution.”

The Republican-oriented Indianapolis Star and the Democratic organ, the Indianapolis News, closely observed the state’s government and governor during this period. John B. Stoll, History of the Indiana Democracy, 1816-1917 (Indianapolis, 1917) and Rollo E. Mosher’s master’s thesis, “Tom Marshall’s Term as Governor” (Indiana University, 1932) are helpful early interpretations of his four-year term. Another specialized study is Betty Lou Thralls Randall, “The ‘Marshall Constitution’ of 1911” (master’s thesis, Indiana University, 1958) which traces the background and political controversy surrounding Marshall’s attempt to secure an up-to-date instrument for state management. A contemporary history of Indiana is Logan Esarey, History of Indiana from Its Exploration to 1922 (3rd ed., 2 vols., Ft. Wayne, IN, 1924), redeveloped by John D. Barnhart and Donald F. Carmony in their four-volume work, Indiana: From Frontier to Industrial Commonwealth (New York, 1954).

Political progressivism is exemplified through the public career of the Indiana Republican, Albert J. Beveridge, American Nationalist, the title of a study of this United States Senator by John Braeman (Chicago, 1971), based upon his 1960 Johns Hopkins dissertation. A different breed of Indiana Republican was Theodore Roosevelt’s Vice President, Charles W. Fairbanks, about whom Herbert Rissler wrote a dissertation, “Charles Warren Fairbanks: Conservative Hoosier” (Indiana University, 1961), based upon Fairbanks’ papers situated in the Lilly Library of Indiana University. Marshall’s
moderate progressivism fell between the ideologies of Beveridge and Fairbanks, but would now be considered as conservative. The Democratic successor to Governor Marshall, Samuel C. Ralston, was the subject of extensive scholarly attention by Suellen M. Hoy in her 1975 doctoral dissertation, “Samuel M. Ralston: Progressive Governor, 1913-1917” (Indiana University). Marshall’s contemporary Republican opponent, James E. Watson published an autobiography, As I Knew Them (Indianapolis, 1936). Third Party activities, including Eugene V. Debs’ socialist party, are treated in various issues of the Indiana Magazine of History.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Marshall’s Recollections contains no word on his 1910-1912 presidential aspirations. A brief discussion is in Charles M. Thomas’ Thomas Riley Marshall, chapter VI, with regard to the Baltimore Convention in 1912. The best Indiana accounts are from the Indianapolis newspapers, especially the News and the Star, though other Indiana papers are helpful, e.g., the Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette and the Gary Evening Post and Daily Tribune. See the Notes to chapter seven for letters from Marshall that reveal his fatalistic approach to even a political campaign.

On Democratic ascendancy at this time see Arthur S. Link’s Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era, 1910-1917 (New York, 1954). A more developed treatment of the emerging political career of Wilson is Link’s first of five volumes, Wilson: Road to the White House (Princeton, 1947). While Wilson published no autobiography, his considerable personal correspondence is most revealing in The Papers of Woodrow Wilson, 69 volumes (Princeton, 1966-94), edited by Link and others. It is to be noted


CHAPTER EIGHT


Bryan’s personality which was still persuasive is discussed in the life history written by Paolo E. Coletta, *William Jennings Bryan*, 2 vols. (Lincoln, NE, 1969). A description of the convention fight which focused upon Bryan’s efforts to produce a progressive presidential nominee is Louis W. Koenig, *Bryan: A Political Biography of William Jennings Bryan* (New York, 1971), though no mention is made of Bryan’s conversation with McCombs, Wilson’s wearied manager. The erratic but supportive McCombs wrote his own account of the Wilson campaign; William Frank McCombs, *Making Woodrow Wilson President* (New York, 1921), which words were followed by the adulatory biography by Maurice F. Lyon, *William F. McCombs, the President Maker* (Cincinnati, OH, 1922). The architect of the Wilson campaign was actually William Gibbs McAdoo, *Crowded Years* (Boston, 1931).

BOOK THREE

LOYAL SUBJECT
CHAPTERS NINE AND TEN


New York City newspapers commenced their attention on Marshall as a national Democratic candidate, namely, the *American, Herald, Press, Sun, Times*, and *Tribune*, and especially the *New York World*, the chief supporter of the Wilson candidacy.

The Wilson-Marshall exchange of letters began as a result of their election by the Democratic Convention. The correspondence is in the Wilson Papers, Library of Congress, but there is virtually nothing from Wilson to Marshall in the latter’s papers in the Indiana State Library. Initial research for the present study was conducted just as the first volumes of *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson* were being published, and references to the Wilson Papers are largely based upon the writer’s work at the Library of Congress, Manuscripts Division, though where possible the published letters are identified by their place in the appropriate volume of *The Papers*. 
Marshall’s brief words on his introduction to Washington society and senators are in his *Recollections*, chapter XVI. Observations and reactions to the colorful new Vice President were recorded in the memoirs of Cabinet officers, for example, Secretary of Agriculture David F. Houston, *Eight Years with Wilson’s Cabinet, 1913-1920*, 2 vols. (Garden City, NY, 1926), and Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels: E. David Cronon, ed., *The Cabinet Diaries of Josephus Daniels* (Lincoln, NE, 1963).

The recorded words of Marshall as President of the Senate begin with the *Congressional Record*, 63rd Congress, 1st session, 4 March 1913, 1-2.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Marshall’s views on the duties and alleged insignificance of the Vice Presidency are conveyed in his *Recollections*, chapter XVII, followed in chapter XVIII by his observations of the issues and debates which faced the Sixty-third Congress. Charles M. Thomas’ usually helpful description of Marshall’s career contains only three chapters out of eleven on his vice presidential years, and the treatment of the legislation is mixed chronologically. His sources were mostly reminiscences of Indiana friends of Marshall, though a few were press personnel (James D. Preston, Louis Ludlow, and J. Fred Essary). Young, promising journalists such as David Lawrence and Walter Lippman followed instead the career of President Wilson, the White House “beat.”

Most critical of Marshall’s diatribes against an insensitive business community was the *New York Times*, especially during 1913. Alienated by Wilson, George Harvey

CHAPTER TWELVE

Marshall’s positive views on patronage derived from his approval of the Jacksonian spoils system, and his documented efforts are in letters to Wilson, to Secretary of State William J. Bryan, to Secretary of State Robert Lansing, to Secretary of War Lindley M. Garrison, to Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels, and to Secretary of War Newton D. Baker. His efforts seemed extreme to William G. McAdoo, *Crowded Years* (Boston, 1931).

On Marshall’s moderating of the Senate during heated debates perspective is provided by Franklin L. Burdette, *Filibustering in the Senate* (Princeton, 1940), and by Charles M. Thomas, *Thomas Riley Marshall*, chapter VII (New York, 1945). Many books have been written on the Versailles treaty debate, noted in the chapter nineteen endnotes.

(Boston, 1951), and Gene Smith, When the Cheering Stopped: The Last Years of Woodrow Wilson (New York, 1962). It hardly needs to be said that the writers were influenced by their sources (for example, Tumulty) and by their own predisposition regarding Marshall with little concern for understanding him as a person.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

BOOK FOUR

DISILLUSIONED DISCIPLE

International trade fairs and expositions were common in Europe and the United States as technology and the arts increased in the latter nineteenth century and into the opening years of the twentieth century. The principal source for the San Francisco Exposition is the five-volume work of Frank Morton Todd, The Story of the Exposition: Being the Official History of the International Celebration Held at San Francisco in 1915 to Commemorate the Discovery of the Pacific Ocean and the Construction of the Panama Canal (New York, 1921). (Today there is also a web site on this subject on the Internet.) Focusing upon the aesthetic contributions of nations participating and on the architecture is Eugen Neuhaus, The Art of the Exposition, 3rd ed. rev. (San Francisco, 1915), who also published a description of the Panama-California International Exposition as The San


Franklin Roosevelt’s personal impressions are conveyed in F.D.R.: His Personal Letters, Vol. II, 1928-1945, edited by Elliott Roosevelt (New York, 1950), as are those of Eleanor Roosevelt, This is My Story (New York, 1937). Roosevelt, then Assistant Secretary of the Navy, provided instructions to the naval officials stationed at Mare Island, California, contained in Navy Department Correspondence #3768-4551/2, National Archives.

Developments on the war in Europe and Administration reactions were covered by the New York newspapers, collected by the New York Public Library as the Wilson-Marshall Scrapbooks (54 vols.), unpublished and now microfilmed in seven reels. The times are closely examined by Arthur S. Link, Wilson: Confusions and Crises 1915-1916 (Princeton, 1964).

CHAPTER FOURTEEN


Wilson Era (Austin, TX, 1973). The broader history is given by Arthur S. Link, Wilson: Campaign for Progressivism and Peace 1916-1917 (Princeton, 1965). Newton Baker’s view of his position at the time was conveyed in personal remarks to Charles M. Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall, chapter X.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

The Sixty-fourth Congress, Second Session, recorded the inauguration of Wilson and Marshall in the Congressional Record, 3 March 1917, 4869, which was covered by reporters for the New York Times and other publications in the following days.

Cabinet members’ published observations on their experiences and on the cabinet deliberations during the war years were comparatively few, surprisingly, though several did publish on their respective departmental administrations. For our purposes the pertinent volumes include E. David Cronon, ed., The Cabinet Diaries of Josephus Daniels, 1913-1921 (Lincoln, NE, 1963); Josephus Daniels, The Wilson Era, 2 vols. (Chapel Hill, NC, 1944-1945); David F. Houston, Eight Years with Wilson’s Cabinet, 1913-1920: with a Personal Estimate of the President, 2 vols. (Garden City, NY, 1926); Robert Lansing, War Memoirs of Robert Lansing, Secretary of State (Indianapolis, 1935); William Gibbs McAdoo, Crowded Years: The Reminiscences of William McAdoo (Boston, 1931); and William C. Redfield, With Congress and Cabinet (New York, 1924). The personal papers and diaries of the cabinet members are primary source materials and many are referred to in this biography.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN


Charles M. Thomas, *Thomas Riley Marshall*, chapter VIII, apparently interspersed interviews with newspaper reports to write on “the War Years.” Marshall’s *Recollections*, chapters XXVII-XXIX, include his reaction to the progress of the war effort by the President and by Americans. Reporters’ views of Wilson’s Vice President are contained in editorials and articles, for example, Ralph Block, “How to be Vice President,” *New York Tribune*, 24 May 1918, and John Temple Graves, “Marshall Sees Menace in Roosevelt,” *New York American*, 20 June 1918. On Americans’ growing fear of a Bolshevik revolution from within, which Marshall shared, a helpful analysis is

**BOOK FIVE**

**BETRAYAL AND SURVIVAL**

**CHAPTER SEVENTEEN**

On the success of the suffragettes with passage of the Nineteenth Amendment a respectable history is that of Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle: The Women's Rights Movement in the United States* (New York, 1958). James Watson was involved as chairman of the Senate Suffrage Committee, which supported the proposed amendment which Marshall eventually signed on Wilson's behalf.

The potential problems created by President Wilson's absence from the country are analyzed in Ruth C. Silva, *Presidential Succession* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1951). Vice-Presidential studies noted previously will be helpful here.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN


administrative secretary, advanced his interpretation of events surrounding Wilson's incapacities in *Woodrow Wilson As I Know Him* (Garden City, NY, 1921), which is in conflict with the interpretation of Secretary of State Robert Lansing as revealed in his papers in the Library of Congress. Reporters had their own views based upon limited information, for example, Charles Grasty, "Strain of Years Tells on Wilson," *New York Times*, 26 September 1919, and J. Frederick Essary, *Covering Washington* (Boston, 1927).

Marshall's personal words on Wilson's health are in his *Recollections*, p. 368, but his reactions upon learning of the President's strokes are vivid in David F. Houston, *Eight Years with Wilson's Cabinet*, vol. II, in Josephus Daniels' diary, and in Henry F. Ashurst's diary. Baltimore Sun reporter J. Fred Essary first broke the news to Marshall, who was not privy to Wilson's physical condition. Probably the most influential popular interpretation was given by George S. Viereck, "When a Woman Was President of the United States," *Liberty*, February 20, 1932 (reprinted in *Liberty* [Summer, 1972]: 37-50).

Indiana, was chairman of the Senate’s subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments, which produced the 25th Amendment on presidential disability and succession.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

Debates on the treaty with Germany and on whether the United States should join the League of Nations are reproduced in the Congressional Records, November, 1919, and following. Newspaper coverage followed. Vice President Marshall’s words were few but emotion-laden (Recollections, chapter XXIX), and little more than description is provided by Charles M. Thomas’ 1939 biography, Thomas Riley Marshall, chapter IX. A narrative of the debates with little interpretation is provided by Alan Cranston, The Killing of the Peace (New York, 1945).

Marshall’s estimates of his Senate colleagues occupy six chapters in his Recollections, XXI-XXVI, and his activities while substitute President are noted in chapters XXVIII-XXX.

A volume in which Arthur S. Link has provided a reconstruction of Wilson’s entire life is Woodrow Wilson: A Brief Biography (Cleveland, OH, 1963), and the reader is referred to the Papers of Woodrow Wilson (Princeton, 1966-94). An engaging small volume on Wilson’s contributions is Woodrow Wilson: A Profile, edited by Arthur S. Link (New York, 1968). Thomas A. Bailey’s Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal (New York, 1945) is an absorbing description of the crisis concerning the debates, though Bailey is mistaken in his view that Marshall had agreed to follow Wilson in his resignation plan.
Numerous studies in political science have appeared over the past thirty years concerning the office of the Vice Presidency. With the passage of time since the Wilson Era few of these studies shed any light on Vice President Marshall's situation. A most impressive essay is that of Allan P. Sindler, Unchosen Presidents: The Vice-President and Other Frustrations of Presidential Succession (Berkeley, CA, 1976). He examines what are feasible alternatives to choosing the successor to the President besides the present Constitutional provisions. Most studies focus upon issues and personalities of the latter twentieth century, for example, Joel K. Goldstein, The Modern American Vice Presidency: The Transformation of a Political Institution (Princeton, 1982); Paul C. Light, Vice-Presidential Power: Advice and Influence in the White House Baltimore, 1984); Marie D. Natoli, American Prince, American Pauper: The Contemporary Vice Presidency in Perspective (Westport CN, 1985); Michael Nelson, ed., A Heartbeat Away: Report of the Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on the Vice Presidency (New York, 1988); and, Timothy Walch, ed., At the President's Side: The Vice Presidency in the Twentieth Century (Columbia MO, 1997) with an essay by John Milton Cooper, Jr., on Vice Presidents during the Progressive Era. The older book by Edgar Wiggins Waugh, Second Consul: The Vice Presidency, Our Greatest Political Problem (Indianapolis, 1956), contains a pertinent chapter on the early Vice Presidents of this century with perception and not a little wisdom to match.

CHAPTER TWENTY

On the national party conventions of 1920, the main historical study is Wesley M. Bagby, The Road to Normalcy: The Presidential Campaign and Election of 1920


The efforts of Thomas Taggart at the San Francisco Convention are chronicled in the Indianapolis News (Democratic) and the Indianapolis Star (Republican). James Fadely’s recent biography sheds helpful light on Taggart’s importance as an “organization man” in this period of time: Thomas Taggart: Public Servant, Political Boss, 1856-1929 (Indianapolis, 1997). The New York Times and the New York World
provide reportings of interviews with Marshall and other prominent Democrats in attendance in the Washington scene.

POSTSCRIPT

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

The early ‘Twenties have encompassed much attention over the years. One of the better known popular cultural studies is that of Frederick Lewis Allen, Only Yesterday: An Informal History of the Nineteen-Twenties (New York, 1931). A respected general history is John D. Hicks, Republican Ascendancy, 1921-1933 (New York, 1963). A study that connects the Wilson years to the twenties is William E. Leuchtenberg, The Perils of Prosperity, 1914-1932 (Chicago, 1958).

Thomas Marshall knew the men who were presidents of the period. Harding, a former member of the Senate, is the center of a controversial biography by Francis Russell, The Shadow of Blooming Grove: Warren G. Harding in His Times (New York, 1968) and a later study by Randolph C. Downes, The Rise of Warren Gamaliel Harding (Columbus, OH, 1970). Coolidge, one-time governor like Marshall, and then a Vice President, is brought up-to-date by Donald R. McCoy, Calvin Coolidge: The Quiet President (New York, 1967) and by Thomas B. Silver, Coolidge and the Historians (Durham, NC, 1982).
The Recollections of Thomas R. Marshall (Indianapolis, 1925) ends abruptly after commentary on the visit of the young Prince of Wales in November, 1919. An ending was obviously tacked onto the chapter, concluding the manuscript as a whole. Thus, we are led to depend upon Marshall’s 140 articles written between 1921 and 1923 for his views of matters past and current.

Eulogies on Marshall (d. 1 June 1925) are found in the Thistletwaite Scrapbooks, TRM Papers, Indiana State Library. Memorabilia have been assembled in the Marshall residence in Columbia City, Indiana, which is now the Whitley County Historical Society Museum.
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BIBLIOGRAPHY

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