THE NATIONAL SUNDAY MAGAZINE



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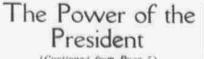
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upon this subject. Some scholars have proved that the power of the presi-dent is gauged by the strength of his personality; and others have demon-strated that the extent of the power strated that the extent of the power of the president depended on whether he took sound and right positions on the questions he had to deal with. For example, no more dominant-willed man than Grover Cleveland ever occupied the presidential chair and yet his power was broken as if it were a rotten reed. Also he was absolutely right in his stand in favor of honest money and Mr Bryan was of honest money and Mr. Bryan was comically wrong; yet, this was the most dangerous rock of the reef on which Mr. Cleveland's political for-tunes were wrecked, and at the same time the stepping-stone on which Mr. time the stepping-stone on which Mr. Bryan mounted to popularity. John-son was a strong personality; yet, he was cut off at the beginning of it and his political life ended in disgrace. The most towering personality in our history is that of Washington, and his foreign policy was without a flaw; yet, it was this very thing that brought him to the end of his second term the best hated by a great body of the people and the most reviled man of all our presidents excepting only Lincoln. only Lincoln.

ON THE contrary, the personality of Madison was as colorless as his intellect was splendid, and some of the positions he took as for example, his weto of the first internal improve-ment bill, were ridiculously er-roneous; yet he went through two terms with undiminished reputation and died a beloved and historic figure. Monroe, with very small natural ability, with an obstinate and an unability, with an obstinate and an un-impressive personality was more often wrong than he was right and sometimes even base, as for example in his French Mission and attack on Washington. Yet, he too, rode out two terms with comparative ease and managed to get his name attached to a great national doctrine of the far reaching meaning and develop-ment of which he had no more con-ception than an Eskimo. The character of congress — the

The character of congress — the ability, vigor, and information of members of the House and Senate — has as much to do with the power of the president as the masterfulness of the chief executive. A congress in of the chief executive. A congress in which there is a large proportion of new members is uncertain of itself; especially when it comes in as a change of party control with a presi-dent of the same party, such a new congress yields readily to his sugges-tions. But the same congress two years later when it has found itself. years later, when it has found itself, is apt to assert itself. Where there is a conjunction of a strong and clever president who knows exactly what he wants, and a new and untried con-gress which does not know what it wants, the power of the presidency assumes, for the moment, mountain-ous proportions to the casual public

Obviously the powers of the presi-dent are neither growing nor declin-ing — they are considerable at one ime and negligible at another time No cause can be given nor a generalization made explaining this, except-ing the conflict between the natural ing the conflict between the natural growth of the idea of a party govern-ment on the one hand and the ob-stacles which our constitution throws in the way of this on the other hand. Under the parliamentary systems of other free countries one of two things happens — they either give the re-sponsible head of the government practically all the power they have to give, as in the case of England and give, as in the case of England and other modern parliamentary coun-tries, or else they do not give him any power at all, but make him a mere figurehead, as is the case with the president of Switzerland.



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