

Hon). On September 23 I answered this letter, saying:

"At present there is nothing for me to see you about, though there were one or two points in my letter of acceptance which I would have liked to discuss with you before putting it out."

"On October 10 I wrote him:

"In view of the trouble over the state ticket in New York, I should like to have a few words with you. Do you think you can get down here within a few days and take either lunch or dinner with me?"

"The trouble I spoke of had reference to the bolt against Higgins—that is in reality against Mr. Harriman and Mr. Harriman's friend, Governor Odell. A reference to the files of the New York papers at that time will show that there was a very extensive bolt against Mr. Higgins upon the ground that Governor Odell had nominated him and that he had in some matters favored Mr. Harriman overmuch—neither ground in my judgment, being tenable. Mr. Harriman's backing of Governor Odell and extreme willingness that he showed by securing Higgins' election, was a matter of common notoriety and mentioned in all the papers, notably in the New York Sun. On October 12 Mr. Harriman wrote me:

"I am giving a very large part of my time to correcting the trouble here and intend to do so if any effort on my part can accomplish it. I will take occasion the first of next week to run down to see you and think by that time the conditions will have improved."

"I wrote Mr. Harriman the following letter, which I give in full:

"Personal: October 14, 1904.—My Dear Mr. Harriman: A suggestion has come to me in a roundabout way that you do not think it wise to come on to see me in these closing weeks of the campaign, but that you are reluctant to refuse, inasmuch as I have asked you. Now, my dear sir, you and I are practical men and you are on the ground and know the conditions better than I do. If you think there is any danger of your visit to me causing trouble, or if you think there is nothing special I should be informed about, or no matter in which I could give aid, why, of course, give up the visit for the time being and then, a few weeks hence, before I write my message, I shall get you to come down to discuss certain government matters not connected with the campaign. With great regard, sincerely yours."

"You will see that this letter is absolutely incompatible with any theory that I was asking Mr. Harriman to come down to see me in my own interest, or intended to make any request of any kind for help from him. On the contrary all I was concerned with in seeing him was to know if I could be of help in insuring the election of Mr. Higgins—a man for whom I had the highest respect, and who, I believed, would be, as in fact he has been, a most admirable governor."

"Moreover, the following letter will show that Mr. Harriman did not have in his mind any idea of my asking him to collect money, and that, on the contrary, what he was concerned with in connection with my letter to him was the allusion I made to the fact that I would like to see him before I wrote my message to congress on certain government matters not connected with the campaign."

"His letter, which is of November 30, runs as follows:

"Dear Mr. President: I have just had a telephone talk with Mr. Loeb and requested him to give you a message for me. I drew his attention to the last paragraph of your letter to me of October 14 last and explained that of course I did not want to make a trip to Washington unless it should be necessary; that the only matter I knew of and about which I had any apprehension and which might be referred to in your coming message to congress is that regarding the interstate commerce commission and what the attitude of the railroads should be towards it."

"I have communications from many conservative men in the west asking me to take the matter up, they having, which I have not, information as to what you propose to say in your message on that subject, and I am very apprehensive about it. Mr. Loeb stated he believed that that part of the message could be sent to me, and I hope that he will do so. I very sincerely believe it would be best for all interests that no reference be made to the subject, and in any event if referred to in such a way as not to bring about increased agitation. It is, as you well know, the conservative element and the one on which we all rely, which is the most seldom heard from. Yours sincerely."

"This letter to me was crossed by one from me, which reads as follows:

"Strictly Personal.—November 30, 1904.—My Dear Mr. Harriman: Mr. Loeb tells me that you called me up today on the telephone and recalled

my letter to you of October 14, in which I spoke to you of a desire to see you before sending in my message, as I wanted to go over with you certain governmental matters, and you answered that you had heard that I had referred to the interstate commerce commission; that you regretted this and wished I had left it out. In writing to you I had in view, especially, certain matters connected with currency legislation, and had not thought of discussing railroad matters with you. However, if it had occurred to me I should have been delighted to do so, but if you remember when you were down here both you and I were so interested in certain of the New York political developments that I hardly, if at all, touched on governmental matters. As regards what I have said in my message about the interstate commerce commission, while I say I should have been delighted to go over it with you, I also must frankly say that my mind was definitely made up. Certain revelations connected with the investigation of the beef trust caused me to write the paragraph in question. I went with extreme care over the information in possession of the interstate commerce commission and of the bureau of corporations before writing it. I then went over the written paragraph again and again with Paul Morton, who is of all my cabinet the man most familiar with railroad matters, of course, and with Root, Knox, Taft and Moody. It is a matter I had been carefully considering for two years and had been gradually, though reluctantly, coming to the conclusion that it is unwise and unsafe for me to leave the question of rebates where it now is, and fail to give the interstate commerce commission additional power of an effective kind in regulating these rates."

"Let me repeat that I did not have this question in mind when I asked you to come down, but that I should most gladly have talked it over with you if it had occurred to me to do so, but as a matter of fact, as you will remember, when you did come down to see me you and I were both so engaged in the New York political situation that we talked of little else, and finally, that the position I have taken has not been taken lightly, but after thinking over the matter and looking at it from different standpoints for at least two years, and after the most careful consultation with Morton, Taft, Moody, Knox and Root, as to the exact phraseology I should use."

"I do not send you a copy simply because they have given no one a copy, not even the men above mentioned. It is impossible if I give out copies of any portion of my message to prevent the message being known in advance, and the three press associations who now have the message are under a heavy penalty not to disclose a word of it before the appointed time. Sincerely yours."

"On December 2 he wrote me the following letter on the same subject:

"December 2, 1904.—Dear Mr. President: Thank you for your favor of the 30th. It was natural for me to suppose that railroad matters would be included in any discussion you and I might have before writing your message. I am of the opinion that an effective interstate commerce commission could regulate the matter of rebates and absolutely prevent the same without any additional power of any kind, and, as you say, Paul Morton is more familiar with such matter than anyone else in your cabinet, and I believe he will agree with me in this. I fear there has been a lack of co-operation."

"During the enormous development of the last four years the railroads have found it very hard to keep pace with the requirements imposed upon them, and the so-called surplus earnings, as well as additional capital, have been devoted to providing additional facilities and the bettering and enlarging of their properties, so as to give the increased and better service required of them. This work of betterment and enlargement must go on, and is all-important for the proper development of all sections of the country. There is little doubt that during the next decade every single track railroad in the country will have to be double tracked and provide enlarged terminal and other facilities, and any move that will tend to cripple them financially would be detrimental to all interests over the whole country."

"I beg that you will pardon my not signing this personally, as I have to leave to catch my train for Arden, and have asked my secretary to sign it for me. Yours."

"I was unable to agree with Mr. Harriman's views of the matter and left my message unchanged as regards the interstate commerce law."

"(The rough draft of this portion of the message was completed in October, before the election.) I had always discussed with freedom all my proposed moves in the trust and labor matters with the representatives of the big combinations or big railroads, as well as with the leaders of the labor men, of the farmers' organizations,

the shippers' organizations and the like—that is, I had as freely seen and communicated with Mr. Harriman, Mr. Morgan, Mr. Hill and other railroad men as I had seen and communicated with Mr. Gompers, Mr. Keefe, Mr. Morrissey, Mr. Morrison and other labor leaders."

"Mr. Harriman had, like most of the big railroad men, always written me very strongly protesting against my proposed course as regards the supervision and control over big combinations and especially over the big railroads. In a letter of his of August 19, 1902, for instance, he expressed the fear that a panic would follow my proposed action."

"It will be seen that the above correspondence is entirely incompatible with what Mr. Harriman now, as you inform me, alleges as to my having asked him to secure money or to subscribe money for the presidential campaign. As for the Depew matter, he professed throughout to be acting in the interest of Governor Odell, and though Governor Odell had been anxious that Mr. Depew should be nominated as ambassador to France at a time when he was supporting Governor Black for senator, he had changed his mind shortly after the last letter to me, above quoted, from Mr. Harriman, and on December 10 he wrote me the letter I enclose, which reads in part as follows:

"My Dear Mr. President: A great many of your friends here in New York would be very much delighted and pleased if you could find it possible to appoint Mr. James H. Hyde as minister to France. Large business interests have given to him splendid executive ability and his association with so many prominent business men would be fitting recognition of the effective work done by them in the last campaign."

"In addition to this he has behind him, I am sure, the approval of Senator Platt and Senator Depew, and so far as I can speak for the organization, I believe his appointment would be, without question, more satisfactory than any that could be made from New York at the present time. Personally, I should appreciate your favorable consideration of this suggestion almost beyond anything else you could do for me. If you so desire, I shall be glad to come to Washington and talk with you about it, but I believe there are others who are close to you and who feel just as I do and I thought therefore that this letter would be sufficient as showing the attitude of the organizations and myself personally upon this important appointment."

"As you know, I was obliged to refuse the request of the New York financiers and of the republican organizations of the state and city, not deeming it proper to appoint Mr. Hyde to the position he sought."

"So much for what Mr. Harriman said about me personally. Far more important are the additional remarks he made to you, as you inform me, you who asked him if he thought it was well to see 'Hearstism' and the like triumphant over the republican party.' You inform me that he told you that he did not care in the least, because those people were crooks and he could buy them; that whenever he wanted legislation from a state legislature he could buy it; that he could buy congress, and if necessary he could buy the judiciary.' This was doubtless said partly in boastful cynicism and partly in a mere burst of bad temper of his objection to the interstate commerce law, and to my actions as president. But it shows a cynicism and deep-seated corruption which make the man uttering such sentiments, and boasting, no matter how falsely, of this power to perform such crimes, at least as undesirable a citizen as Debs, or Moyer or Haywood. It is because we have capitalists capable of uttering such sentiments and capable of acting on them that there is strength behind sinister agitators of the Hearst type. The wealthy corruptionists and the demagogue who excites in the press or on the stump, in office or out of office, class against class, and appeals to the basest passions of the human soul, are fundamentally alike and are equally enemies of the republic. I was horrified, as was Root, when you told us today what Harriman had said to you. As I say if you meet him you are entirely welcome to show him this letter, although, of course, it must not be made public unless required by some reason of public policy and then only after my consent has first been obtained. Sincerely yours,

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

"To Hon. J. S. Sherman, St. James Building, New York."

The second letter to Mr. Sherman is as follows: "The White House, Washington, October 12, 1906.—My Dear Mr. Sherman: I would like to make an addenda to my letter to you of the other day. Both Mr. Cortelyou and Mr. Bliss, as soon as they heard that Hyde's name had been sug-