

Kathleen Dalton

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

☆ A STRENUOUS LIFE ☆



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☆ CHAPTER TWELVE ☆

A Progressive World Movement

ONE WARM EVENING, as the excitement grew at the end of the Stimson campaign, Theodore Roosevelt drove in an open car down Fifth Avenue with young lawyer and campaign aide Felix Frankfurter, who had worked for him prosecuting the Sugar Trust. When TR asked Frankfurter's campaign advice, the twenty-seven-year-old told him to talk more about Stimson and less about his own policies on the stump. Roosevelt had his share of yes-men as advisors, but he took this suggestion to heart and changed his strategy immediately. However, even timely issues and a revised campaign style could not elect Stimson, who lost to Dix by 67,000 votes. Republicans yielded control of the House of Representatives, and around the country Democrats and Republican insurgents beat stand-pat Republicans.

Smears against TR's reputation grew more hateful. He found he had to reassure his supporters that, contrary to the slander spread by his opponents, he had not drowned his sorrows with an alcoholic bender on election night. After the election season his spirits remained jovial at first as he played sports with Stimson, read William Cullen Bryant's version of the *Iliad*, and was as "gay as a lark" to be home at last.¹

As always, his moods shifted. Friends who visited him in the winter of 1910–11 found him "in a most depressed state of mind" as he endured "six weeks of grey horror" watching Taft bumble, the Republican Party disintegrate, and progressive causes go unchampioned. For the many who criticized him for mucking around in state politics he answered: "The thing that would have hurt me most was to stay absolutely still, because I should have been attacked just as savagely as I am now attacked."²

He refused to move back to the center politically, but he was not sure what else to do with himself. He tried to make the best of his caged-wolf mood, when he confessed to his daughter-in-law Eleanor:

What I now most want is just what is forced on me; to stay here in my own home with your mother-in-law, to walk and ride with her, and in the evening sit with her before the great wood fire in the north room and hear the wind shrieking outside; to chop trees and read books, and feel that I am justified in not working.³

Tammany was running New York City and state affairs, and much he cared about was not getting done. Voters had turned away from workplace safety regulation, and the thirty thousand factories in greater New York were not even required to provide fire escapes for their workers.

Though muckraking magazines habitually attacked "the special interests" and declared that "J.P. Morgan is the boss of the United States," no one had found a way to unite progressives, who headed in different directions. La Follette capitalized on the bad publicity that came out of TR's actions in the Saratoga convention and his New Nationalism speech to organize and raise funds for his own presidential ambitions. Roosevelt's followers flocked to La Follette, and Stimson would soon join the Taft administration as secretary of war. Pinchot was already talking about a third-party movement, which irritated his old chief. TR could not easily run for president, but he could not bear to keep out of politics, either. He had turned fifty-two that fall, still hardly except for occasional bouts of malaria and throat problems. He missed the strenuous life more than he could admit.⁴

Christmas 1910 found the Roosevelts unified but missing Ted, who was in San Francisco, and Archie, whom they had taken out of Groton temporarily and placed at the Evans School in Arizona because of his frail health. TR rode over the snow happy to have family gathered near him again. Back at the United Charities Building former shirtwaist factory worker and labor activist Leonora O'Reilly of the Women's Trade Union League talked over labor issues with him. He already knew her friend Mary Dreier, who briefly had been courted by the perennially eligible rich bachelor Gifford Pinchot. Together the women's reform network activists joined Frances Kellor in enlisting Roosevelt to work more actively beside them in their fight against child labor and for the improvement of conditions for working women. *The Outlook*, with TR's approval, had already praised the work of Louis Brandeis, the legal mastermind who had embarrassed the Taft forces in the Ballinger-Pinchot hearings. TR applauded when Brandeis mediated the cloakmakers' strike that fall, but more than mediation was needed.⁵

Over lunch with Pinchot and the *Collier's* editor, Norman Hapgood, early in 1911, TR said he would probably support Taft if he got the nomination in 1912. Pinchot bluntly called that "foolishness" and pressed him further: why

not support La Follette? TR could not bring himself to endorse the senator, but made several overtures to meet with him so that they could discuss the best way to advance progressive ideas. He asked New Jersey reformer George Rublee to try to get Brandeis to prevent misunderstanding between progressive camps and to help him move the country ahead on labor and economic issues, but Brandeis declined because his close friend La Follette already feared that all his friends would desert him to urge TR to run for president. La Follette refused several offers to coordinate their efforts, because he gradually became suspicious of his supporters like Pinchot who loved TR best. For most of 1911, Roosevelt denied he had any interest in being 1912's sacrificial progressive lamb, but deep inside he did not know if he wanted to be drafted or left alone.⁶

In the same winter months Roosevelt found his way out of the doldrums by aligning himself squarely with the women's labor movement, the Consumers' League, and child labor reformers when he publicly endorsed the work of Frances Perkins of the New York Consumer's League in trying to get rid of child labor in canneries. After the Triangle Shirtwaist Company fire on March 25, 1911, killed over 140 women workers because the employers locked doors and failed to provide for fire safety, activists saw more vividly than ever the price average people paid for courts that blocked labor legislation. Eighty thousand workers stood in silent vigil in New York City on April 5, angered that the state had failed to pass the necessary safety legislation.⁷

In the wake of the Triangle Shirtwaist fire, Stimson chaired a committee of safety to prevent future workplace tragedies, and activists close to Roosevelt and his ideas became leaders in the "golden era in remedial factory legislation" which followed the creation of Robert Wagner's Factory Investigating Commission. His old friend Tim Sullivan mentored Perkins and helped her get passed an important bill limiting the hours women worked in New York's factories. Many of the programs Roosevelt had defended in the Stimson campaign, all basic goals of the Consumers' League, finally gained a hearing. Consumers' League representatives took TR to visit Pennsylvania coal country, where he talked with men covered in coal dust and visited homes without adequate sewer systems. Though he wrote magazine articles about what he had seen, he knew nothing would change for the miners and their families without government intervention. Climbing out of his own depression was harder when the state of his country made him so angry.⁸

His speeches told audiences stories intended to shock their consciences. He spoke about young girls who had lost arms in dangerous machinery and employers who would neither pay compensation nor provide safe working conditions. When he tried to build public support for the Consumers'

League's legislative program, Pauline Goldmark and Owen Lovejoy of the National Child Labor Committee drafted memos which he put directly into his speeches and articles. He took what he called his "ambulatory rareshow" to the South, where he described himself in Birmingham, Alabama, as a "radical" who believed that "unless the majority of our people share to a certain extent in the prosperity, then the success and the prosperity amount to very little." He was applauded when he called for "using the collective power of the people to build up the weak," but the South refused to listen to his calls for abolishing child labor in factories.⁹

Roosevelt's alliance with the women's reform network was forged out of a shared commitment to fight for social democracy, but the women activists irritated him when they tried to push him so far leftward that he lost credibility in the Republican Party. Consumers' League advocates Florence Kelley and Maud Nathan had started to convince him that protective laws for working women and the legislative crusade against white slavery would never be passed unless women got the vote. On his way to give a speech in Chicago he heard Jane Addams' arguments for suffrage and told her afterward: "If you're for it, I'm for it." The Consumers' League activist Molly Dewson urged him to support suffrage, and he could see that twenty-five million new women voters might be more inclined to support his causes than regular male Republican Party members. He moved from mild support of state-by-state suffrage to all-out backing for the national suffrage, or Anthony Amendment, but that put him out on a limb in party politics.¹⁰

Too restless to stay at home, he agreed to make a western speaking tour. He and Edith visited Hull House and their many social worker friends there, before he went to dedicate Roosevelt Dam. He enjoyed seeing the Grand Canyon again and hearing praise for his work to save it as a national monument. Then he, Ethel, and Edith visited Archie at the Evans School. Though Archie was happy to see his family, he later recalled that he knew he was the weakling son his father never accepted: "I suppose that subconsciously I realized I was a misfit." Theodore loved Archie, but did not hide the fact he thought him stupid. Before Archie's senior year at Groton his parents decided the boy would need extra tutoring if he ever hoped to pass Harvard's preliminary exams.¹¹

Theodore and Edith stayed with Ted and his wife, Eleanor, in San Francisco, and TR gave a speech at the University of California at Berkeley announcing: "I took the Isthmus, started the canal, and left Congress—not to debate the canal, but to debate me," which reasserted his importance in history but also invited renewed criticisms of his foreign policy. When he was not bragging about his bold acts as president, he looked like a man who was

trying to build a new political coalition. He met with leaders of women's clubs and breakfasted with organizations of women voters in Washington. He later told Maud Nathan that his contact with women voters in the West helped make him a supporter of the national suffrage amendment, but it is much likelier the conversion took place in his daily talks around the water cooler in the United Charities Building. He warned western voters against using the referendum to cut university budgets, but the Associated Press refused to cover his western speeches at all.¹²

When TR sat at his desk in the library at Sagamore Hill in the spring and summer of 1911 he could see the wisteria blooming outside his window, exactly as Edith intended when she planted it there to serve as a reminder of how peaceful home could be. He lamented that "an ex-president has only a small field of possible work open to him," and insisted he did "not care a rap" that he was being attacked as too radical or ambitious. But he was not being entirely honest with himself. He was sincerely distressed that Republican bosses stood between him and the people who wanted to follow him. He was not having much luck working up support for his new ideas among party regulars.¹³

Being adrift professionally gave him more time to devote to being a father and a husband, and he took the greatest pleasure in watching his family grow up. He accompanied Archie to the Bronx Zoo to watch the chimps and at night tutored him in civics and history while Edith helped the boy with French. While Edith supervised the paving of a new road to the house, Ethel helped her mother run Sagamore Hill, but she confided in her diary that she longed to hold down a real job.¹⁴

Near tragedy struck in the middle of Roosevelt's reacquaintance with family life. On September 30, Edith and Theodore were riding on the paved Cove Road near the blacksmith shop in Oyster Bay when an automobile frightened Edith's horse, Pine Knot. The horse reared, and she was thrown against the pavement "with great violence" and was almost killed. When the doctor arrived it was not clear she would wake up. For two days she remained unconscious, with the family waiting impatiently for news. By October 5 she was awake but had lost some of her memory and her sense of smell and taste. A distraught Theodore wrote Corinne:

I think Edith is better, and I believe her to be out of danger; but her recovery is very slow, and the doctors' statement that the pain would vanish has not proved correct. She is still in real agony, and I do not know when she will be able to leave the bed. There was a slight concussion of the brain, and a slight dislocation of the three upper cervical vertebrae. She had a

very narrow escape. We have a trained nurse, and have so far been able to get along with only one, as I take care of Edith during the night, though I generally have to call the nurse and Ethel at least once.¹⁵

She was dazed and semi-conscious for another ten days. The weeks of hovering by Edith's bedside and being her night nurse had, TR confessed, driven him "nearly mad."¹⁶

He rubbed her back and recited poetry to her, but his warlike poems were not a comfort for her splitting headache. Finally he had to hire a second trained nurse so that he could get some sleep. With the prospect of losing Edith ever present, he restlessly wrote long letters to friends and rode Pine Knot back to the scene of the accident, where the horse also tried to throw TR. He held firm to the saddle, though, and promised she would never ride Pine Knot again. At other times, he simply waited: "Sometimes I just sat quietly and held her hand."¹⁷

With mortality so present in his mind, Theodore watched his wife's recovery as she went from semi-consciousness to being "very frail and feeble" by November. He did not know if she would ever be herself again, which Ethel said was "so hard on Father." In San Francisco, Ted and Eleanor had produced the first Roosevelt grandchild, Gracie, and before her accident Edith had planted a grove of pine trees where little Gracie could play someday. When she became strong enough to talk, Edith said she was sorry that Gracie would be out of baby clothes before they could see her. Edith was too weak to travel, so Theodore spent Thanksgiving at Groton with Quentin, who had suddenly grown taller than his father.¹⁸

In the stressful several weeks after Edith's accident TR began to waver about 1912. Her always restraining hand no longer held him back from what she knew was a quixotic path. The terror of facing her near death was a reminder that time might be short for him, too. He began to behave as if the coming campaign might be his "last chance" to make government respond to the needs of its people. And in public addresses, his strongest emotions came out when he talked about protecting women.

TR had stayed close to home for most of the time since her accident, but he kept an engagement to speak on the "Conservation of Womanhood and Childhood" on October 20 in New York. In a strong speech that was his response to the tragedy of the Triangle fire, he praised the New York Factory Commission which had been set up in the wake of the fire and urged the passage of stringent laws to provide safe workplaces. He attacked the canners, the textile, candy, and collar manufacturers who had opposed the fifty-four-hour workweek bill that Frances Perkins had tried to shepherd through the legisla-

ture, and called it a disgrace that the South resisted efforts to prohibit child labor below the age of fourteen. He told the story of Alma Whaley, the Tennessee textile laborer who had been working ten hours a day, six days a week since she was ten. Rather than live a life of industrial slavery, TR pointed out with high drama, Whaley drank carbolic acid in a suicide pact with other child workers.

Conserving womanhood and childhood was the heart of his talk, but, on Pauline Goldmark's suggestion, he added that fatherhood, too, would be hurt if industries kept men working such long hours at such pay that they could not play a role in family life. Home manufacturing and chronic unemployment also diminished family life, and children were losing their childhoods because "our national government has proved so supine." A stronger state could save the family—all the families.¹⁹

Though TR spoke to an enthusiastic audience about substantial national issues, the Democratic *New York Times* described the speech only as an attack on the courts. The *Times* also reported that a suffragist ran up after he spoke and pinned a white suffrage ribbon on his chest reading "Woman want the Ballot." Roosevelt knew that getting the public aroused about issues like child labor would be difficult, but a small step was taken when Congress finally passed the Children's Bureau bill which he had supported as president.²⁰

It felt like a political slap in the face when on the day before Roosevelt's fifty-third birthday, the Taft administration suddenly brought an anti-trust suit against the Steel Trust. Taft's lawyers attacked Roosevelt's 1907 approval of U.S. Steel's purchase of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company. Stimson wrote: "It was certainly a most extraordinary charge for the lawyers of any administration to level without warning at an ex-President of their own party." Right away TR wrote an article for *The Outlook* about anti-trust policy in which he defended his decision in the U.S. Steel case and criticized Taft's anti-trust policy, which he said was aimed at re-creating the business conditions of the eighteenth century.²¹

He decided that the trust problem could be solved by a regulatory commission that would prevent unfair competitive practices among businesses and ensure fair labor conditions, including wage levels, hours, and safety at work. Furthermore, he argued that price regulation could protect the consumer. The edition of *The Outlook* describing his radical trust policy sold out quickly and stimulated more talk than ever about his candidacy for president. The small group of business leaders who were sympathetic to welfare capitalism, profit sharing, government regulation, and improved labor conditions, but not anti-trust suits, preferred TR's trust policy to Taft's. A few, like George

Perkins, launched a TR for President movement, raising funds with promises of more sympathetic regulation of business. Newspapers reported that Roosevelt did not know of Perkins' fundraising. But when Perkins sent potential supporters to Sagamore Hill, Roosevelt, cagey on the issues, asked them: "Could I carry your state?"²²

Before Edith's accident and the Steel Trust suit, her husband had begged progressives not to urge him to run. Then, while she was still "very much shattered," he told his friend, governor of California Hiram Johnson, "Now I would not feel that I had the right to object to being sacrificed if it were necessary to sacrifice me, if we had to lead a forlorn hope." He thought his *Outlook* article on business regulation ignited "a strong undercurrent of feeling about me," and he knew by the large crowds who followed him that his popularity was still a potent national force but not one that would necessarily hit hard enough against the almost immovable object of boss-ridden party politics. TR had tried once more to work toward progressive unity by meeting, with La Follette's knowledge, with several of the Wisconsin's closest lieutenants for a "very frank" talk. He said he would run only if the senator's campaign stalled. By December he told James Garfield that he could not say he would not run. Garfield knew the race was starting.²³

In December, Theodore and Edith celebrated their silver anniversary alone. He toasted her recovery with her grandfather's Madeira. They were joined by a houseful of children for a subdued Christmas which Ethel summarized as "Horrid Christmas. Sister very depressed and ill. Ted Away. Mother weak. F[ather] preoccupied. Archie away. K[ermit] leaving early for a jaunt." Edith had a serious relapse in the form of a facial erysipelas infection after the holidays, so nurses had to be hired to minister hypodermics of morphine. Theodore kept quieter than usual about his political quandary, but he asked his friend Florence La Farge if he could hold a secret "political rendezvous" with Westchester boss William Ward at her house. In a few months Ward would turn up as one of TR's delegate managers.²⁴

Roosevelt had reason to be preoccupied about America's need for better leadership as 1912 began. In January the Lawrence, Massachusetts, mill workers' strike drew headlines when the children whose parents were striking were sent away to ensure they would not starve or be caught up in strike violence. As the children boarded the train, the local police beat them. TR's friend Senator Miles Poindexter tried to bring the plight of the children to the attention of the Senate, where he found "a lot of self-satisfied old fossils . . . chuckling or jeering over the unfortunate condition of these mill workers." *The Outlook* published a tepid article on Lawrence because the Wobblies, or

Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.), had come to town to work with the local strike leadership, and TR was finding even the reform magazine too conservative.²⁵

He disagreed strongly with the other *Outlook* editors on the subject of lynching, which he saw as a form of lawlessness as bad as letting rapists out on light bail. The burning alive of a black man by a mob in Coatesville, Pennsylvania, in the summer of 1911 shocked Roosevelt into action. He, Booker T. Washington, and the N.A.A.C.P. leadership lobbied *The Outlook* to fight lynching in its pages, and Roosevelt published an anti-lynching article and complained to other anti-lynching crusaders that public opinion was hard to arouse on the subject. Then he wrote, with Florence Kelley's help, an article speaking out in favor of suffrage where women wanted it, but one of the Abbotts edited out of his original draft his strongest praise for the positive effects of suffrage in helping women fight for better working conditions.²⁶

Roosevelt had moved to a position which his supporters read as a shift: he said he was definitely not a candidate but if the nomination were presented to him as "a genuine popular demand" he would not "shirk a plain duty if it came unmistakably as a plain duty." If that public sentiment did not already exist, TR's friends knew how to stimulate it. La Follette's campaign was foundering because his appeal was limited to the Midwest, and he was judged by professional politicians to be incapable of mounting a serious challenge to Taft. Roosevelt men started putting his name on primary ballots across the country.²⁷

In late January, Gifford Pinchot, Medill McCormick, and Gilson Gardner went to La Follette and asked him to withdraw from the race and support TR. Though the press and many of his supporters told him he could not win, the senator would not give up, even if his staying in the race meant factional infighting would undermine progressive causes. He could not admit that his campaign had not yet attracted strong support outside the Midwest or that lack of money made his winning the nomination unlikely. La Follette let himself get so tired his speeches were often incomprehensible. Then, he lost control of himself with a fist-shaking, cantankerous, and rambling tirade against newspaper publishers at the Periodical Publishers Dinner on February 2, where he berated publishers for thinking only of profit and rarely of careful reporting of the truth. Newspapers already hostile to the Wisconsinite's anti-capitalist rhetoric unfairly reported his performance as a nervous breakdown.²⁸

La Follette believed that his candidacy had been undermined by his supporters who were Roosevelt's friends. As if to prove that the senator's suspicions had foundation, Pinchot let the press know that La Follette's erratic

behavior had wrecked his candidacy. Next, his manager announced the campaign was over, which La Follette contradicted. Pundits declared that the senator's gaffe "puts the Rep[ublican] nomination . . . very definitely in the hands of Col Theodore Roosevelt."²⁹

The suspense was building in February as rumors spread that TR would announce his candidacy any day. Evidence of widespread public support came from many quarters. Spontaneous Roosevelt meetings were being held across the country after local polls showed 60 percent of Republicans favored TR. Oklahoma was already reported to have three hundred Roosevelt Clubs. Then, by prearrangement with Sagamore Hill, the governors of seven states issued a public request for him to run.³⁰

In private, on February 5, Roosevelt promised Pinchot, who already dreamed of founding a third party if TR did not get the Republican nomination, "he would 'stay through' if he did not get a single vote in the convention." He also asked Pinchot to write a platform for him. Pinchot may have misunderstood this as a commitment to bolt if the Republican nomination went to Taft, which was not TR's intent. Roosevelt reiterated his ideas about a New Nationalism in Columbus, where he spoke about the "Charter of Democracy," but then added controversial remarks on the recall of state judicial decisions. He argued that courts had blocked legislatures' attempts to address social and industrial injustice so the people needed some new device for overruling such decisions. His Columbus speech would come back to haunt him and some said would prevent him from being nominated, even though he had earlier spoken out for recall without starting an uproar.³¹

Early in February, Edith and Theodore moved into a cousin's house in Manhattan to escape the frigid winds of Sagamore Hill, but he evaded discussing what the months ahead might mean. Edith called the politics of 1912 "hateful" and said her husband's decision to run made her "gloomy." But she did not have the strength to try to stop him. He dismissed her sour mood, because, he said, "she has never regained her health." He evidently never considered the strain the campaign would bring upon his family, especially his fragile wife. She and Ethel planned a trip to the Caribbean to gain some stamina for what was coming.³²

Alice called Edith on February 15 and learned that the announcement that TR would run was coming shortly. Nick Longworth declared that if Roosevelt challenged Taft for the Republican nomination, it would provoke a tragedy. He also told his wife he would not be able to run for Congress again because he owed allegiance to Taft and the Ohio Republicans, though he believed in most of the ideas of his father-in-law. Alice was certain Edith could bear the slander of a nasty campaign, but she was not sure how her own

marriage would fare. When she came to Sagamore Hill to see Ted and Eleanor the next week, she got up early to talk politics alone with her father, who told her he thought Taft had a three-to-one chance of losing the nomination. Theodore at that moment believed he could win; the cheering crowds had lured him into political combat.³³

On February 21, TR told a reporter: "My hat is in the ring, the fight is on and I am stripped to the buff." Alice and the rest of the family were "exploding with excitement." But his candidacy forced tough choices on his friends. Elihu Root's personal fondness for Roosevelt was not enough to make him a supporter, but he turned down Taft's pleas for help in the Ohio primary. A "miserably unhappy" Senator Lodge sought counsel with Alice, whom he considered "a good politician." Since his career was tied to the incumbent President and his views on recall and many direct democracy measures and labor issues were like Taft's he could not support his old friend. Former La Follette men like Amos and Gifford Pinchot, Gilson Gardner, Medill McCormick, and James Garfield eagerly joined the Roosevelt campaign along with Democrats like Ben Lindsey, who had been organizing Woodrow Wilson Clubs locally.³⁴

Eleanor and Franklin Roosevelt adored Uncle Theodore and believed in many of his causes, though neither was as liberal as he on labor and suffrage issues in 1912. Franklin's budding career as a Democratic state senator stopped him from making any public gesture of support. Only Franklin's mother, Sara, sent money and turned up at Roosevelt headquarters, where she saw many relatives and friends. The 1912 conflict proved so painful to Archie Butt, the Roosevelts' military aide who had become like a brother to Taft, that he fled to Europe for a rest. Before he could come home to face his divided loyalty he died on the *Titanic*.³⁵

With Roosevelt running, La Follette had little chance to be anything but a spoiler. But an adept spoiler he would be—attacking TR viciously in his serialized *Autobiography*, hinting that his rival was beholden to the railroads, and making the public charge that men like Gifford Pinchot had sabotaged the La Follette campaign. A year earlier when he had assumed TR would not run, he did all he could to praise the Colonel, but when his ambition was thwarted, La Follette lashed out at TR on the campaign trail as an "inconsequential playboy."³⁶

March began "in mad haste" for TR because local authorities called him for jury duty just as he was setting up his campaign organization. Taft's forces were trying to stop states from choosing convention delegates by letting voters register their preference in presidential primaries, and the followers of Roo-

sevelt and La Follette were backing primaries. The first primary, North Dakota, went to La Follette because of a local factional dispute, but TR blithely claimed it as a victory for anti-Taft forces. In a few nonprimary states where a caucus of party members voted unanimously for Roosevelt, it outraged him when the Taft organizers threw out the results and held new caucuses stacked with Taft men. Roosevelt had long known that any sitting president could manipulate the system to overrule what the voters wanted, especially in this era when caucuses chose more delegates than primaries. Nevertheless, he was shocked when Taft pulled strings to get the nomination.³⁷

While Theodore struggled to run a campaign, Alice and Nick fought regularly. Alice was devoted to her father's cause, and Nick had finally decided to run for reelection and support Taft. She made repeated trips to Sagamore Hill to be closer to the action. Her father told her he could win the nomination if only the major newspapers would cover his views fairly. Hearst's *New York American*, Pulitzer's *New York World*, the *New York Times*, the conservative *Los Angeles Times*, and most other powerful papers were against him. But TR still had sympathetic coverage from the Scripps papers, *Munsey's*, the *Boston Transcript*, and the *New York Evening Mail*, the *New York Tribune*, the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Kansas City Star*, the *Philadelphia North American*, the *Washington Times*, the *American Review of Reviews*, *Collier's*, and, of course, *The Outlook*. He hoped that his popularity with the New York Press Club would help him get more positive coverage.³⁸

Alice saw 1912 as her chance—at long last—to win her father's love. As he left work at *The Outlook*, she met him on the Long Island Railroad and went with him to Sagamore Hill. While Ethel and Edith were on vacation in the Caribbean, Alice talked nonstop politics with him over a rare dinner when they had no visitors. It was her first chance to be her father's advisor and a respected political mind, and, if she alienated her husband in the process, it was worth it to her. Alice hated to return to Washington, where she soon got into an argument when her friends accused TR of mad ambition, and Nick told her unequivocally to "shut up" about her father's candidacy. Alice thought Edith had been "stony and unsympathetic about F[ather]" and his campaign, so she sought to replace her stepmother as the loyal family member who was "with [him] mind heart and soul."³⁹

Edith cabled her husband that she was extending her trip southward, and he wrote in exasperation to Kermit: "I don't know how it was settled as to which one's health demanded the Costa Rica trip!" He predicted that when he asked her why she stayed away so long his wife would "be very pretty and

NY
Tribune
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support

alert and defiant, and explain that it is because she has grown so independent on account of my going to Africa and leaving her all alone." He admitted to being lonely without Edith, but Alice's visit had been a comfort. He explained to Kermit that Alice "felt she just had to see me because of course all respectable society is now apoplectic with rage over me."⁴⁰

His campaign for the nomination, however, was even more daunting because he had inadequate staff support. Before long, Roosevelt was "driven nearly to death." Newspapers were accusing him of being on the take from Andrew Carnegie because the steel magnate had funded part of the Smithsonian collection from TR's Africa trip. Alice chose the heat of the campaign to consort with the enemy, attending Washington parties for the Tafts where she flirted with William Randolph Hearst, with whom she made a date to meet at the Democratic convention. Hearst, she knew, agreed with her father on many issues, but nothing she could say or do could stop him from following a vicious anti-Roosevelt editorial policy. The publisher resurrected stale charges of Standard Oil influence over the Republican Party, just as Pulitzer's *World* would claim that TR was a pawn of big corporate interests. Though her father considered Hearst an "unspeakable blackguard," Alice saw him again to find out as much as possible about his plans to sabotage her father's campaign and elect a Democratic candidate.⁴¹

With a race for the nomination to be run, Theodore's spirits, even under attack, brightened considerably. Edith observed wryly: "He always answers to the spur," and the stimulation of being in the running again made him feel more alive.⁴² After Ben Lindsey visited TR at Sagamore Hill he wrote home to friends in Colorado:

I had a *great* visit with T.R. He is *just* great, great! Never saw him in better, fitter shape for the fight, and *radical*—just as radical as we want him. Had a private conference with him and his manager, Mr. [Medill] McCormick last night at Sagamore Hill. *Just a few friends*, Anne Morgan among them.⁴³

Anne Morgan had been a prominent Mink Brigade supporter of the Triangle strike, and her left-of-center views were distinctly at odds with her father, J. P. Morgan, who bankrolled Taft. But her presence signaled a new constituency working for Roosevelt that spring, the women's reform network. He had followed their advice on social justice, and they saw his campaign as a logical extension of their presence in municipal reform, settlement work, and the labor movement. Woman's Roosevelt Leagues cropped up across the country

long before any campaign organization existed in most states. Ethel's friend Dorothy Whitney Straight joined Anne Morgan, the Pinchots, Lucius Littauer, and others in financing Roosevelt's spring campaign for the Republican nomination.⁴⁴

The season opened when Roosevelt's manager Medill McCormick challenged Taft to meet his opponent in direct primaries. The presidential race in 1912 would not be like the one in 1904 because for the first time primaries were a major factor in choosing nominees, and no one was sure how it would work. Fourteen states were holding primaries to select delegates. Before presidential primaries were invented by progressive reformers, party regulars and officials voted in caucus or held closed meetings to choose delegates to the nominating convention. In 1912 far more states held caucuses than primaries, so incumbents, from the President down to the county chairman, could push caucuses toward the candidate they preferred, in this case, Taft. Though primaries drew the greatest press coverage and seemed to gauge best the will of the people, what mattered most was the final delegate count when the nominating convention began, as Roosevelt would soon discover.

TR became an advocate of primaries because they let more voters choose the party's nominee, and they loosened officials' control over the nomination process. He welcomed the new era of successive primaries, which the press reported as a series of horse races because when it came to vote-getting he had become quite a thoroughbred. Media interpreters had never spoken with one voice, but during his presidency they had spread his viewpoint and news of his greatest political feats across the land. He had no reason to expect different treatment now, and he urged more states to adopt primaries as quickly as possible.

When progressives like TR introduced presidential primaries, they prolonged the decision-making process and brought it into fuller public view. Voters in primary states received more attention from candidates than voters in caucus states. In the long run, primaries also enlarged the role of the media, and donors gained influence because multi-state primary campaigns in the public view were more expensive to run than secretive caucuses.

The Republican nominating process was not supposed to be like 1908, when TR dictated from Washington the selection of Taft. Primaries were invented to make the search for delegates more challenging. But not all primary states were holding free elections. In New York the Democratic Murphy machine and the Republican Barnes machine specialized in voting fraud and voter confusion with fourteen-foot-long ballots in some districts. So Roosevelt had to run against corruption first and Taft second. New York's Roosevelt

Committee offered \$500 to anyone who could prove polling place impropriety. It was no accident that poll inspectors were being politically pressured and fired as the primary approached.⁴⁵

Caucus states were even worse. Roosevelt men were excluded from caucuses in the South where blacks were largely disenfranchised and a white Republican was hard to find, and Taft sent organizers to make sure southern delegates would go his way. In hotly contested caucus states talk about federal officeholders being pressured to support Taft started as early as March, and no one dared run a front porch campaign in 1912.⁴⁶

AT THE STAR Casino in New York City on March 25, while Roosevelt was in the middle of a deeply felt speech about voting fraud and how hard it was to guarantee impartial poll watchers, he was interrupted by a woman who shouted from the audience: "Should not the women be allowed to vote, Mr. Roosevelt?" He responded politely that he thought women should vote to decide whether they should get suffrage. She persisted with other questions until the angry crowd cried: "Order! order!" and "Woman, you go home and take care of your children." TR called on the crowd not to throw her out, but the woman would not stop asking questions. She shouted: "You are no square deal, Mr. Roosevelt." Confusion reigned as the crowd hissed and booed. The band started to play, and it was impossible for TR to go on with his speech. He tried to regain control of the meeting, saying, as she was removed by special police: "Friends, wait a minute; wait a minute. Now, I am particularly anxious to treat any woman with the utmost respect. . . . Anything that the women of the country want, I want to give them."⁴⁷

The crowd was his again. He was a seasoned stump campaigner who had had many speeches disrupted by critics, hecklers, and opponents over the years. Yet, even when he managed a heckler graciously, he had not anticipated how disruptive it would be when his speeches were interrupted by suffragists. He wanted them on his side, so he moved closer to declaring himself on their issue.

On April 2, TR left Sagamore for a five-state, nine-day campaign trip "naturally very fussed" over the support Taft would get from the Lorimer machine in Illinois. He campaigned to large audiences and canvassed voters with the help of Hull House and a wide range of Illinois progressives and labor people. He beat Taft handily in the Illinois primary and campaigned in Pennsylvania, where he told Gifford Pinchot he had "his fighting clothes on." He held up before the crowd a pay envelope of a mill worker whose wage was \$25 but who had debts to his employer for rent and purchases at the company store total-

ing \$23.23. Roosevelt charged this practice was an "outrage," and his audience cheered. He won another stunning victory in Pennsylvania, which would soon be followed by triumphs in Nebraska, Oregon, California, and Maryland.⁴⁸

Taft finally decided to fight back. Angered by his benefactor's criticisms of the courts and egged on by his advisors, Taft took on the Osawatimie speech, declaring: "When the demagogue mounts the platform and announces that he prefers the man above the dollar he ought to be interrogated as to what he means thereby." TR countered that he had merely been quoting Abraham Lincoln about putting the man above the dollar.⁴⁹ Taft had also claimed that the Colonel belonged among the "political emotionalists and neurotics," that he was promoting class hatred, and that he was a dangerous man.⁵⁰ Roosevelt replied that Taft was the bosses' candidate, that he had "been disloyal to our past friendship" in the vicious way he had conducted his campaign, and charged him with a "scandalous abuse of patronage" in pressuring federal officeholders to support him at the convention.⁵¹

And it soon got even nastier. Lodge's ambitious son-in-law, August Gardner, accused Roosevelt of having protected the International Harvester Company from anti-trust prosecution as president. Worse yet, Taft produced documents to add suspicion about the suit, and the contest threatened to degenerate into name-calling and debates about who said what at cabinet meetings in 1907.

When Roosevelt warned voters that "if on this continent we merely build another country of great but unjustly divided material prosperity, we shall have done nothing," he made wealthy voters nervous. As they gathered in their mansions and private clubs, many of his Harvard classmates "now felt sure he was crazy." California newspapers were spreading reports that TR had been drunk on the campaign trail. Taft warned that Roosevelt "would hurry us into a condition which would find no parallel except in the French Revolution." Irwin Cobb of Pulitzer's *World* wrote that Roosevelt was "the most cunning and adroit demagogue that modern civilization has produced since Napoleon III."⁵²

Taft announced that the primary vote in his home state of Ohio would decide the nomination. He tried to win the black vote by criticizing TR for discharging innocent soldiers in the Brownsville case, but the Roosevelt campaign pointed out that Taft as secretary of war had recommended the dismissal. When he was criticized for breaking the third-term tradition, TR dredged up the fact that Taft's father had been active in the third term for Grant movement in 1880, and that, as long as the terms were not consecutive, charges of dictatorship were ridiculous.⁵³

Their Ohio showdown proved to be a strain on Roosevelt because he had "no right hand man" in the state and had to act as his own advance man and take care of travel plans. He won the black vote there by stating he stood for "equality of opportunity"; he also had a better record than Taft on appointing blacks to office, preaching against lynching, and building long-term relationships with black leaders. He told Ohio audiences that Taft "has forgotten the plain people," and on primary day Roosevelt beat Taft in his home state by 47,000 votes.⁵⁴

In private, the feud made for ugly feelings. Roosevelt seethed that Taft was a "puzzlewit" who was "behaving like a blackguard," and Taft grieved over "the hold which Roosevelt still has over the plain people" and broke down sobbing after he had attacked his old friend. A mutual friend visited TR to express Taft's private hope that after the campaign they could return to their former warm friendship. But the President also bitterly awaited the day when "almost the insanity of megalomania that possess[es] Theodore Roosevelt will make [itself] known to the American people." Taft found the campaign he was waging distasteful and seriously considered withdrawing from the race. But he stayed in because he believed his rival's judicial recall plan was dangerous. Both men got so caught up in the personal emotions of their feud that they lost track of the issues.⁵⁵

TR came home to Sagamore Hill believing that his Ohio victory "should settle the question of the nomination." He told friends that if the newspapers reported more accurately what he said, people would support him in droves. Furthermore, he convinced himself that he had enough delegates to win the nomination even though he knew the Republican National Committee had the power to disqualify contested delegates. He had, in fact, won 278 delegates in the primaries, far more than Taft's 48 and La Follette's 36. But he ignored the fact that the struggle was not over. The contest over delegates had already threatened to break out into violence more than once: In Missouri men armed with baseball bats fought each other at the "ball bat convention" to see whether their state would go for Taft or Roosevelt. In Michigan state troops had to stop fights between Taft and Roosevelt men. The convention would not be cut and dried for Roosevelt.⁵⁶

The excitement of the campaign had spread into his family. Kermit stayed up all night in Roosevelt headquarters in Boston to hear the disappointing news that his father had split the Massachusetts delegation with Taft. Ethel and the Roosevelt cousins were jubilant over each victory as they worked in Roosevelt campaign headquarters in Manhattan. Ethel wrote that the "campaign is all that means anything to us now." Edith stayed at Sagamore Hill for most of the time comforting Alice over the phone when her Longworth in-

laws were nasty to her, and Nick forbade her to visit him in Ohio because she was so outspoken in support of her father. Before her accident Edith had been involved in a movement to provide villagers with more recreation, including a park, bandstand, and tennis court, but now she had limited energy, which she saved for her children, especially Alice, who wrote in her diary that her stepmother had been "so dear & kind & sympathetic."⁵⁷

All spring Alice was obsessed with her father's campaign. She read ten newspapers a day and kept on the phone to the campaign and the family. When Lodge asked Nick to write TR to stop him from attacking Governor Murray Crane of Massachusetts, Alice judged Lodge's request "a piece of unparalleled cheek" which proved that Lodge had lost all "sense of proportion." Since most of her social world in Washington accepted the "power mad" view of her father's campaign, she found herself defending TR again and again at embassy receptions. As her marriage became strained, she alternated between being "nearly wild with excitement and anticipation" and taking to her bed with odd pains. She timed her trips to Sagamore Hill to coincide with her father's homecomings, and she appreciated Edith's calm as they walked to Cooper's Bluff and sat on the beach looking at the far-off mist on Long Island Sound.⁵⁸

In the middle of his father's political struggle, Archie wrote what TR called "vulgar and profane" remarks about Rector Endicott Peabody on the outside of a letter he sent to a friend at Groton and was promptly expelled for it. Always oblivious to how much his four sons disliked Peabody and Groton, Theodore wrote his old friend that he was sure Archie "loves" you, but he was "passing through a phase of thinking it manly to be tough and swear." Edith was furious that the rector had bothered her husband instead of taking the matter up with her first, and Archie's standing in the family sank to its lowest depths ever.⁵⁹

Edith was proud that her husband was "making an uphill fight for what he believes in," but she did find amusement in the fact that his hair had been straight before but "is now curling vigorously,—due to psychical electricity doubtless!" She was used to having him criticized in public and she confided to friends: "When I am angry or sad I remember that the mountain tops are always lonely." She worried about Quentin, who was being ostracized at Groton for his father's politics. Cruelly from his peers, she said, ate away at his "big tender heart," which always reminded her of Thee's. After the "spiteful folly" of Lodge's son-in-law attacking TR's action in the International Harvester case, Edith wrote Bamie that Theodore "bears all these worries and hurts marvelously," though his voice was hoarse and his chest was "tired."⁶⁰

If presidential primaries and popular votes had been the deciding factors in 1912, TR unequivocally would have won the Republican nomination. But primaries were new and in most states party caucuses could be manipulated by the incumbent. After the primary season TR had won 411 convention votes, Taft 201, La Follette 36, Albert Cummins 10, and 420 were either uninstructed or disputed. The Taft-controlled Republican National Committee would decide on the contested delegates, which did not bode well for TR.⁶¹

When Roosevelt finally had a chance to relax by early June, he suspected what lay ahead at the Republican convention. Taft forces would not give up easily, though gossips reported to Alice that the President was sleeping a lot and Mrs. Taft was so upset she was "incoherent." TR's humor had not disappeared in the duress of the campaign, and he joked that "Mr. Taft only discovered that I was dangerous to the people after I discovered that he was useless to the people." Reporters told him they had heard he would break with tradition and make a personal appearance at the Republican convention. Newspapers recorded that he made a "comical grimace" and replied: "By George! that's the first time I'd heard it. But with my Machiavellian disposition, I may have concealed it from myself, don't you know."⁶²

He was forced to go to Chicago, however, when his convention managers complained that a Taft steamroller was stealing delegates. Roosevelt bundled together a horde of relatives and took the train there on June 14. They were greeted by fifty thousand supporters who had broken through police lines, "cheering at the top of their lungs." Out on Michigan Avenue ten thousand handbills announced that TR would soon walk on the waters of Lake Michigan. To make the primaries count as the voice of the people, Kermit met with delegates at party headquarters and Roosevelt spoke with small groups at the Congress Hotel to hold their votes. William Jennings Bryan, present as a Hearst newspaper reporter, found his old rival "as buoyant as I have ever seen him." Bryan thought the attendance of the "leading candidate" at a party convention—a first—added a touch of novelty to an already contentious show.⁶³

Bands played "There'll Be a Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight" when TR waved to crowds from his hotel balcony, and no one slept much. When he addressed a huge mass meeting Roosevelt spoke with great emotion to remind his followers that the progressive cause was much larger than a contest over the presidential nomination:

What happens to me is not of the slightest consequence; I am to be used, as in doubtful battle any man is used, to his hurt or not, so long as he is useful, and is then cast aside or left to die. I wish you to feel this. I mean it; and I shall need no sympathy when you are through with me, for this

fight is far too great to permit us to concern ourselves about any man's welfare. . . . We fight in honorable fashion for the good of mankind; fearless of the future; unheeding of our individual fate; with unflinching hearts and undimmed eyes; we stand at Armageddon, and we battle for the Lord.⁶⁴

Reporter Bryan wrote that when TR got around to talking issues he sounded a whole lot like a Democrat, even a Bryan Democrat. When he heard Roosevelt denounce the evil influence of special privilege and corporate greed, Bryan could only remark dryly: "He probably feels more strongly stirred to action to-day because he was so long unconscious of the forces at work thwarting the popular will." For TR's die-hard followers every word was truth, every word was original, every word was an invitation to act. That night Alice wrote: "You could feel the tension in the air."⁶⁵

Roosevelt fed on the sociability and excitement of the convention. When William Allen White brought the young short-story writer Edna Ferber to the Congress Hotel to meet the former president, he dropped politics to tell her that in her next story she should have her popular businesswoman heroine Emma McChesney combine marriage and a career. Ferber was "disarmed" and charmed. Edith would hardly recommend combining marriage with the arduous career of politician's wife because she was "dead tired" as she gave a tea for newspaperwomen and received friends and supporters from around the country. Because of her weak health she felt the "strain of these days" more than anyone else. She and Alice had suggested cuts in her husband's Armageddon speech, and Edith helped mobilize the family to work toward the nomination of the man the conventioners called the "Big Noise."⁶⁶

The Taft-dominated credentials committee would decide which of the 252 contested seats rightfully belonged to Taft, Roosevelt, or La Follette. Early reports looked bad for Roosevelt. The irony was that Taft did not want the nomination anymore. He told a supporter that he was staying in the race to save the country from Roosevelt's radicalism. Ethel, who now felt "that politics is all that's worth while," overheard meetings in her parents' rooms about plans for the Roosevelt forces to "bolt" if the credentials committee refused to seat legally elected Roosevelt delegates. Some recalled that TR argued against a third party even after the outcome of the fight over delegates became clear, yet others believed he had been moving toward the third-party idea for a long time.⁶⁷

Roosevelt's advisors, Learned Hand, George Rublee, and Joseph Cotton, found him uncomprehending about the tariff and open-minded about most reform issues, but convinced unequivocally that the Republican Party was "a

class party" under Taft. Even before the convention, TR had written: "I have absolutely no affiliations with any party," and as the convention proceeded he came to the realization that he was not a Republican anymore.⁶⁸

The Taft-dominated platform committee turned down the most revered woman in America, Jane Addams, when she asked it to endorse woman suffrage, and rejected prominent social workers who presented a platform for national minimums modeled after the British program of the same name. Paul Kellogg of *Survey* magazine then brought the national minimums platform to TR, who had already supported most of its planks, and got a more sympathetic hearing. Roosevelt had already been talking about a national health service and a social welfare bureau in the federal government, and Florence Kelley had given him an abundance of facts and figures about the need for a minimum wage.⁶⁹

When the convention finally opened at the Coliseum, hope lingered that Roosevelt would be nominated because he had won so many delegates in the primaries. One tipsy Rough Rider threatened to shoot up the convention if the nomination was stolen from his old colonel, so TR turned the man over to his valet, James Amos, who got the man so drunk he could not pick up his gun.⁷⁰

Taft had chosen as his convention manager the Albany Republican boss, William Barnes, who was later charged with taking kickbacks on the state's printing contract. Barnes told the delegates that they must "preserve the Republic and the Constitution against monarchy" by voting against TR, which disgusted young Nicholas Roosevelt, who was running errands for his cousin Theodore. In the eyes of the cynical Pennsylvania boss Boies Penrose, who took money from mill owners to block child labor legislation, all progressive reformers like the teetotaler Gifford Pinchot really needed was a good stiff drink. With bosses like Barnes, Lorimer, and Penrose lined up against them, Roosevelt supporters were going to lose no matter how much they shouted about reform at the convention.⁷¹

TR proved "wonderfully cheerful" until he saw the forces arrayed against him. La Follette delegates threw their support to Taft to elect Elihu Root as temporary chairman, a serious defeat for Roosevelt. To have his old friends Lodge and Root in control of the convention made his impending defeat even more painful. Root let contested delegates vote, which meant that the fraudulent had as much influence as the elected. La Follette then instructed his delegates to do all they could to prevent Roosevelt's nomination. Then, Governor Herbert Hadley of Missouri and Senator Cummins were proposed as compromise candidates. Though Edith was lying down with a headache, TR called her into a meeting with his advisors, and she apparently urged him

to step aside so that Hadley could get the nomination. But he did not take her advice because he could not let go of a nomination which he believed the voters had given him. Roosevelt would not release his delegates until the fraudulent ones were expelled.⁷²

Grass-roots supporters on the floor loved Roosevelt. When on the second day of the convention a woman dressed in white—the color of the suffragists—stood up in the balcony and waved a picture of TR, she set off a forty-minute demonstration and parade around the perimeter of the Coliseum. She was joined by a swaying golden California bear sent by Hiram Johnson's stalwarts. Though the demonstration turned the convention floor into pandemonium, it did not change the roll call. News came that TR's men had walked out of the credentials committee after the Taft men disqualified 90 elected Roosevelt delegates. Of the 252 contested seats the committee awarded 238 to Taft. California's Roosevelt delegation wanted to walk out of the convention altogether, but the caucus decided it was "best to keep silent but not leave."⁷³

The credentials fight had determined the outcome of the convention, and on June 20, TR wrote that "successful fraud and deliberate theft" had ruined the Republican Party. Even Taft's most sympathetic biographer later admitted that "a proportion of the Taft delegates had been illegally chosen." When Senator Warren G. Harding of Ohio put Taft's name in nomination, the convention was disrupted by gallery cries of "steamroller" and chants of "Choo-choo" as Roosevelt delegates, now numbering 343, sat refusing to participate.⁷⁴

Alice's feverish desire to be everywhere, to know everything, and to will the right outcome into being pushed her to forget that her husband, who sat next to her in the Roosevelt family seats, watched Harding's nominating speech for Taft without seeing him as she did. When Harding told Nick he would gladly support him for governor, Alice chimed in to say that they would not accept any such crumbs from his vile hands. Stunned that she would presume to speak for him, and so peremptorily, Nick was "furious" with her.⁷⁵

Taft won the Republican nomination that night without high drama or a conviction that he could win in November. Instead of paying attention to that awful fact, Alice was completely caught up in the "spirit buoyancy & enthusiasm" of the Roosevelt delegates who met at Orchestra Hall to begin a third party. A young social worker had organized a parade of supporters wearing red bandannas, and TR wore one around his neck as he spoke to his new party. Because Alice saw that meeting as "one of the greatest nights of my life—A new party has come into being," she was angry that Nick did not share her enthusiasm. What Ethel called "Crusaders in their Holy War" listened as TR prepared them for what promised to be a "hard fight."⁷⁶

Back home after Chicago, ready to plan for the third party, TR waited to see whom the Democrats would nominate. He knew he could win if the Democrats chose the conservative Champ Clark. They might pick Woodrow Wilson, who had an outstanding record as a reform governor of New Jersey. He supported the regulation of utilities and advocated a corrupt practices law, a workmen's compensation law, and the direct election of senators. Roosevelt thought he would probably lose to Wilson, who would get the Solid Democratic South and many progressive votes. Even William Jennings Bryan had been disgusted when Taft claimed his party had been saved by his nomination. Bryan wrote that Taft showed "an astounding indifference to the intelligence of the public" because "both he and Senator Root know that he was not the choice of a majority of the Republican voters." Furthermore, Bryan understood that TR could win in November if Clark got the nomination, so when the Democratic convention met in Baltimore in July, Bryan threw his support to Wilson and to a platform that called for a single-term presidency.⁷⁷

With Wilson running, TR could have positioned himself as a centrist and calmed the fears of those who saw him as a threat to the Republic. At times in the 1912 presidential campaign, he did try reassurance as a campaign strategy. But his major reason for running what he knew in his more reasonable moods would be a losing race was to move the American polity left, to introduce new ideas that others, perhaps Wilson, would carry into legislation. As letters from supporters around the country poured in, it was clear that TR's talk against special privilege had touched a deep nerve. The magnitude of his mail alone was a testament to public concern about a "crisis unparalleled since the decade prior to the Civil War." In response, he kept running hard. Though bosses like Barnes would demonize Roosevelt as a new Jacobin, his followers believed that he "incarnate[d] social justice."⁷⁸

Taft dismissed TR as "a freak, almost, in the zoological garden" and "the most dangerous man that we have had in this country since its origin," a demagogue who wanted to turn his adherents into "Holy Rollers." But he also dismissed Wilson as an opportunist who gave "purring and ladylike" speeches. The National Progressive Party, which was now being called the Bull Moose Party because of TR's remark about feeling "as fit as a Bull Moose," sought to become a permanent alternative to the two old parties which TR called mere "husks." It became America's closest flirtation with creating a multi-partied system.⁷⁹

Roosevelt asked Gifford Pinchot, George Rublee, and Learned Hand to work on the Bull Moose platform, which sent donor George Perkins into "a perpetual state of jitters" as he waited to see how radical it would be. TR listened as well to his Female Brain Trust, especially Jane Addams, Frances Kel-

lor, and Florence Kelley, and to his social worker allies, Henry Moskowitz, John Kingsbury, and Paul Kellogg, who helped write the historic social welfare planks—minimum wage, old-age insurance, health insurance. At a time when most mainstream party leaders, including Taft and Wilson, considered the minimum wage a dangerous quack remedy, Kelley credited the Bull Moose campaign for its passage in eight states.⁸⁰

TR finally took the full suffrage plunge and endorsed the Anthony Amendment at a time when coming out for woman suffrage invited attacks on a man's masculinity. For example, the reporter Will Irwin, who marched for woman suffrage in Manhattan parades, was jeered at as a "Sissy," and one aristocratic hostess spat in his face.⁸¹

Roosevelt's old concerns about manliness and his desire to appear as forceful as possible in a year when he had come out for suffrage made him careful about what kind of figure he cut in the newsreels. When Pathé News came to make a newsreel of his life at Sagamore Hill for use in the fall campaign he refused to be filmed playing tennis because, he said, "some people think tennis is effeminate." Instead, he asked to be shown jumping with his horse, playing with his dogs, and chopping down a tree.⁸²

Reform groups had high expectations for the platform, especially on race. The most advanced leaders of the N.A.A.C.P., including Jane Addams, W.E.B. Du Bois, Henry Moskowitz, Joel Spingarn, and Lillian Wald, hoped that the Roosevelt campaign would help them fight disenfranchisement, lynching, and segregation. What they had not expected was Roosevelt's anger at southern black Republicans. TR was especially bitter about the charges that Taft paid black delegates in the South to vote against the Roosevelt ticket. Before TR came to the Bull Moose convention in August, Du Bois, working through his N.A.A.C.P. allies Spingarn and Addams, presented a racial equality plank to the platform committee. Du Bois recommended two ideas that TR privately favored: ending lynching and cutting southern congressional delegations where blacks were not allowed to vote. Most significantly, Du Bois included the prohibition of segregation in housing laws, the military, education, and public transportation. He had, in effect, asked the Bull Moose to kill Jim Crow. Newspapers said Roosevelt accepted Du Bois' racial equality plank.⁸³

But he did not. Roosevelt said he feared it would ignite racial conflict. He recalled the sting of the attacks on him for socializing with Booker T. Washington, and he knew men like Josephus Daniels, Walter Hines Page, and Thomas Dixon, Jr., had recently risen to power across the South by inciting race hatred and posing as defenders of endangered white womanhood when they disenfranchised blacks. If he supported Du Bois he would lose the South

and create an uproar in the North. He still dreamed of winning the Solid South away from the Democrats, and he told his friend John Parker of Louisiana: "Really if I could carry one of the eleven ex-Confederate states, I should feel as though I could die happy."⁸⁴

His divided heart on race made him at once ready both to abandon all pretenses of seeking racial justice if he could win back the presidency and fight for what he knew was right. On one level he agreed with Du Bois' goals, but he viewed them as unattainable in 1912. Roosevelt had denounced the southern Democrats for grasping power "by encouraging the hatred of the white man for the black," and he had been one of the few white national voices to call the southern rape scare false and pernicious. But he was also feeling spiteful about the criticism he had drawn from Niagara Conference activists like Du Bois for his dismissal of the Brownsville soldiers. He decided not to risk further controversy by advocating racial equality in his platform.⁸⁵

He also faced a moral dilemma about seating contested delegates from the South. Roosevelt never accepted a blanket policy of seating only "lily-white" delegates, but after years of trying to build a Republican Party in the South in partnership with Washington, TR now turned against the black men from the rotten-borough districts in the South for electing fraudulent Taft delegates in Chicago. In a public letter to delegate Julian Harris of Georgia he wrote that though he supported equal rights for blacks, he also believed an integrated Republican Party had failed in the South. He ordered the credentials committee to give each disputed delegation a fair hearing, but after his Harris letter they decided in favor of few southern black delegates. Delegates like William Flinn protested "lily-whitism" in the Bull Moose Party, but the credentials committee also refused to seat delegates representing Asian-Americans from Hawaii. The committee asserted that Progressives wanted "a white man's party."⁸⁶

Roosevelt rationalized the emerging racial policies of the Bull Moose Party by claiming that enlightened white Progressive leaders would "set their faces sternly against lynch law and mob violence" and make war on peonage and "fight to keep the school funds equitably divided between white and colored schools." TR promised that the Bull Moose Party would act "with fuller recognition of the rights of the colored man than ever the Republican Party did." Newspapers reported that on the grass-roots level in the North and the South the Progressive Party was open to blacks, and in New York the Bull Moose state committee recommended that wherever blacks were a substantial part of the population they should be guaranteed 10 percent representation among the state's delegation.⁸⁷

With his racial equality platform rejected, Du Bois understandably left the Bull Moose Party and embraced Wilson. Roosevelt's failure to stand up for racial equality seriously marred his record as a reformer, even though he later served on an N.A.A.C.P. committee and tried to get the Republican Party to accept some of Du Bois' proposals in its 1916 platform.⁸⁸

Despite his unwillingness to tie the goal of racial justice to his Bull Moose campaign, TR kept the support of many black leaders. Black progressives formed local organizations and held a national "Roosevelt Progressive Colored Republican" convention. In states like Indiana leading black politicians supported the Bull Moose Party. The radical editor of the *African Methodist Episcopal Church Review*, Reverdy Ransom, left the party with Du Bois, but the conservative minister Francis Grimke stayed with TR. Many founders of the Niagara movement, the N.A.A.C.P., and the National Urban League stood by Roosevelt because of his commitment to social reform. Booker T. Washington could not afford to leave the Republican Party and give up his influence over federal appointments, but because of his past working relationship with Roosevelt he could not bear to campaign actively for Taft.⁸⁹

Most black voters believed they had nowhere better to go and expected even less of Wilson and Taft on race. The Socialist Party nominated Eugene Debs for president, and he stood up against segregation no matter how many votes it cost him, but his party included plenty of bigots like Victor Berger. Northern grass-roots black voters still saw TR as their major white champion, and S. Willie Layton, president of the influential though disenfranchised Black Baptist Women's Convention, threw her support to the Progressive Party. Roosevelt, however, looked like a tarnished hero to many black voters. As one black newspaper said about Brownsville: "President Roosevelt may like Colored folks, but he has a 'devilish mean way' of showing it."⁹⁰

Though Roosevelt was not yet ready to accept the challenge of reforming race in America, the Bull Moose platform took on a great many other issues. Like social democrats in Europe, the Progressives advocated government guarantees of a minimum level of economic welfare via unemployment insurance, a minimum wage, health insurance, and pensions. Roosevelt's aides sent word to Lloyd George that the Bull Moosers were "fighting on the Lloyd George programme." Gas and water socialism was welcome in the party, and so were redistributive taxes on inheritance, income, and corporations.⁹¹

When TR arrived in Chicago for the Bull Moose convention in August, the National Progressive Party had already, with his blessing, placed itself squarely to the left of the Republicans and Democrats and on many issues

quite close to the Socialist Party. After a stirring keynote speech by Albert Beveridge calling for "social brotherhood" TR's nomination was seconded by Ben Lindsey and Jane Addams, who became the first woman to give a nominating speech at a major party convention. As a representative of American women and the conscience of the social justice side of progressivism, Addams spoke explicitly about the Bull Moose Party being the harbinger which would bring America up to the reform standards already achieved by other countries:

The new party has become the American exponent of a world-wide movement toward juster social conditions, a movement which the United States, lagging behind other great nations, has been unaccountably slow to embody in political action.

I second the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt because he is one of the few men in our public life who has been responsive to the social appeal and who has caught the significance of the modern movement. Because of that, because the programme will require a leader of invincible courage, of open mind, of democratic sympathies, one endowed with power to interpret the common man and to identify himself with the common lot, I heartily second the nomination.⁹²

The Bull Moose platform, or "Contract with the People," advocated the right of labor to organize in unions, conservation, the limitation of campaign spending, woman suffrage, the eight-hour day, the six-day week, legislation for safer workplaces, and, most significantly, social insurance for unemployment, old age, and sickness. It no doubt gave Addams a sense of satisfaction that the platform called for immigrants to be given "a larger share of American opportunity."⁹³

The scene at the Chicago Coliseum was one of hope and excitement over Roosevelt's willingness to harness his popularity to a united front of reform groups, and Addams and others relished the "curious moment of release from inhibitions" afforded by the "barn raising of a new party." Though the convention was often described by historians as having the flavor of a Protestant revival meeting, among the fourteen thousand rich and poor, elected and self-appointed delegates who came from all over the country, a significant force of the newly politically arrived walked the convention floor: more women than any party convention had ever had; more immigrants, Jews, and Catholics than a Republican convention had ever seen; and black delegates from Arkansas, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, and West Virginia. Newspaper reporters claimed they saw as many as a quarter of the

convention seats filled by women, and they were surprised when the Massachusetts state delegation proposed that it was time to choose a woman as the party's vice-presidential nominee. But calmer estimates showed fewer than forty women delegates.⁹⁴

Though the press, especially the *New York Times*, complained how "feminized" the campaign had become, many voters recalled that the candidate stood for revived and strenuous manliness in the minds of many Americans. Partisanship, like gun owning, belonged mainly to men in 1912, but thanks to women advisors and activists in the Bull Moose Party, the women's reform network now claimed the right to leave the ladies' auxiliary behind and make party politics coeducational.⁹⁵

Senator Albert J. Beveridge, the man who Mr. Dooley said gave speeches you could waltz to, chaired the convention, but the mood in the Coliseum was not a waltz. "Battle Hymn of the Republic" and "Onward Christian Soldiers" fit the mood of high moral purpose, but the delegates sang in the coming days a more original and expansive set of tunes: "Oh, You Beautiful Moose," "Roosevelt, My Roosevelt," and "The Red Bandanna." Oscar Straus, the Women's Trade Union League's Mary Dreier, southern black delegate Dr. W. H. Suggs, and Catholic John J. Leary sang along on behalf of a party that advertised itself as knowing "no North, no South, no East, no West, no Race, no Creed, no Sex."⁹⁶

A friend of the Socialist candidate Eugene Debs attended the Bull Moose convention and wrote back to him in astonishment:

There is something strikingly significant in the gathering together of 14,000 men and women from all parts of the nation to declare that they no longer were republicans, thus severing the political ties of a life time. I sat within twenty feet of Roosevelt and there were times when I could have shut my eyes and readily believed that I was listening to a Socialist soap boxer! In the decorations, red predominated and the red bandana was very much in evidence. My prediction that Roosevelt would steal our platform bodily has been fulfilled. I am also firmly convinced that he is to be the central figure around which the campaign will be waged this year.⁹⁷

The *New York Times* dismissed the gathering as "a convention of fanatics" and "a convention managed by women and has-beens," and it denounced Roosevelt for preaching "socialism and Revolution." Indeed, TR had never advocated reform by violence, revolution, or state ownership of the means of production; he was, in fact, an anti-socialist social democrat. But former Populists Mary Elizabeth Lease and Tom Watson jumped on the Bull Moose

bandwagon because they, too, saw something radical at its core. In Europe the press saw Bull Moose proposals with no alarm because they were familiar "advanced doctrines that have been floating around in American and European politics for years."⁹⁸

Edith, who was never swept up in hero worship for her husband, admired what he stood for and found the Progressive Party convention "far more serious and constructive" than the Republican convention. For her it was the climax of her husband's long commitment to a Social Gospel. Though John Parker and Ben Lindsey were considered for the vice-presidential nomination, TR picked California's Hiram Johnson. Edith was touched by the many volunteers and strong family support the campaign drew, and she was glad that her husband started the campaign season in "fine and dandy" shape.⁹⁹

Formidable enemies waited, however, ready to attack when Roosevelt's fall campaign began. He had anticipated from the start that he had "to step in and take the hammering" for the "whole movement" of progressive reform. But the hammering he received exceeded his worst fears. Newspapers, almost entirely owned by conservative Democrats or Republicans, denounced the former president as ambition-mad and radical. In the *Houston Post* he was arraigned as "the first president whose chief personal characteristic was mendacity, the first to glory in duplicity, the first braggart, the first bully." The press heaped the same abuse on him that he and Hewitt had given Henry George in 1886. Believing what they read in the papers, socialites lectured Alice on TR's overweening lust for power, and ambitious politicians like Warren G. Harding called him a "communist."¹⁰⁰

Rather than credit TR with his crucial support of food regulation, pure food and drug advocate Harvey Wiley accused him of regulating in the interests of industry rather than consumers, and Wiley went on the stump to call the Bull Moose "essentially dangerous to free institutions." Southern editors rehashed their old complaints about TR's advocacy of "social equality" when he ate dinner with two black Progressives in Providence. Harvard's ex-president Charles Eliot charged Roosevelt with disregarding the Constitution in seeking another term, though no provision against third terms existed at the time. Following Roosevelt as he gave campaign speeches in Charleston, Atlanta, Birmingham, Chattanooga, Louisville, and Chicago was a young reader of Pulitzer's *New York World* who carried a Colt revolver.¹⁰¹

Edith wanted to help her husband fight for what he believed in the fall campaign, so she ministered to his everyday needs. Though she was not fully recovered from her accident, she made sure her husband had clean shirts to wear and went to the public library to get books for him to read on his long train trips across the country. She advised Corinne that she could help by

mailing him books along the way: "He likes a new book on history or science or a novel which is *not* a problem novel, but one in which he can consistently act the hero's part, or a good novel of trash." Because he knew she worried about his safety too much, he typically did not tell her about the assassination threats he received or about the attacker whom reporters said the Bull Moose repelled with a jiu-jitsu move.¹⁰²

As always, Roosevelt left the unpleasantness about money to someone else. A Women's National Committee was set up "mainly for raising money," and friends of the family were generous, especially Olivia Cutting and Dorothy Whitney Straight. Ethel worked on the finance committee in New York, where large donations were also collected from Elon Hooker, Frank Munsey, Douglas Robinson, and Emlen Roosevelt. Pinchot cultivated a prospective donor named Cornelia Bryce, but fell in love with her rather than winning a big donation. But the campaign had limited appeal to the very wealthy because of its advocacy of inheritance and graduated income taxes. After all, receipts for donations to the party carried the redistributive slogan "Pass Prosperity Around."¹⁰³

Inventor Thomas Edison made the loudest and most important celebrity endorsement of Roosevelt, and the campaign handed out pamphlets in which Edison said a vote for TR was a vote for the "equalization of wealth." And the inventor of the incandescent light bulb and the motion picture made a small campaign contribution. In New York, nephew Teddy Robinson rented an old house on Washington Square West for headquarters, and from that home base Gifford Pinchot, social workers like Mary Simkhovitch, and the actor William Gillette, who had brought Sherlock Holmes to American theaters, spoke to enthusiastic crowds of Italian-American Bull Moosers.¹⁰⁴

To reach the goal of \$300,000 needed to run the fall campaign, Ethel and the women's committees around the country sold Bull Moose stamps in drug stores and started a People's Dollar Campaign. Women's colleges organized Moosette Leagues, and Simkhovitch and Ruth Hanna McCormick put together a Founder's Day celebration featuring women supporters. The Bull Moose stores in Chicago and New York marketed TR badges, stuffed moose, bronze lapel pins, and red silk bandannas with the Colonel's face imprinted on them. The National Women's Trade Union League's Margaret Dreier Robins, her sister Mary Dreier, and several other women labor leaders gladly took leadership positions in the new party.¹⁰⁵

Women played a more prominent role in presidential politics during the Progressive Party's brief life than they ever had before or ever would again until Molly Dewson and Eleanor Roosevelt made the women's division a vital force in the Democratic Party. Future members of Congress Ruth

McCormick and Isabella Ferguson (later Greenway) gained experience as Bull Moose organizers, which encouraged them to launch their own political careers later on. Though the Bull Moose usually waffled on the question of banning demon rum, dressmakers from the W.C.T.U. joined the party enthusiastically. The campaign adopted advertising techniques popular in the suffrage movement, such as displays in store windows, posters, and celebrity appearances by Lillian Russell. Russell spoke on TR's behalf at rallies all over the East Coast, and Progressive Party pamphlets also reflected women's influence when they argued that a true democracy should not deny rights based on sex. One cartoonist showed a party wife and mother telling her husband at the breakfast table: "In the future, Henry, please do not refer to me as the 'Missus': Call me the moosus."¹⁰⁶

The Progressive Party was innovative, not only in its acceptance of women's contributions as advisors and fundraisers, but in its embrace of technology. TR made at least three sound recordings with the Victor Talking Machine Company, including "Why the Trusts and Bosses Oppose the Progressive Party." But this did not diminish his followers' understanding that Roosevelt stood for a strenuous life in which modernity could be mastered by strong hands that lived in close touch with nature and the romance of the past. Followers came to him from odd places and for odd reasons. Some supporters saw in a Bull Moose aesthetic the promise of a reformed culture more sympathetic to plain people and plain living. Hull House advocates of the Arts and Crafts Movement called for a "just" sense of beauty, and organized for the Bull Moose all over the state of Illinois. Conservation-minded designer Gustav Stickley and his ideological kinsman Charles Fletcher Lummis became Bull Moosers, too.¹⁰⁷

As the fall began back home at Sagamore Hill, however, Edith said she felt "actually black and blue with successive blows!" from the many departures—Kermit after graduation from Harvard had taken a job with the British Railway in Brazil, Archie had been sent to finish high school at Phillips Academy, Andover, Quentin returned to Groton, Alice was back in the capital. Twenty-one-year-old Ethel lived as strenuous a life as she could—dining with Maxfield Parrish, seeing Ty Cobb play baseball and Harry Houdini perform his escape stunts, learning to do the turkey trot, and, all the while, working as a campaign volunteer for her father. Before Theodore's departure for the campaign trail he had taken his wife rowing, and he wrote that he found her "as charming and pretty . . . as when she was the slender girl I made love to—and I can't help making love to her now." She worried that his throat would give out again or that he would exhaust himself, so Emlen's son George, another volunteer, sent her regular state-of-the-candidate telegrams.¹⁰⁸

Roosevelt campaigned as he never had before. He remained angry at what had happened in Chicago and the untruths that newspapers and people like Barnes told about him. He explained on the stump that principle drove him: "As this movement has developed, instead of my growing less radical, I have grown more radical." Motion pictures of TR speaking from the back of trains showed him smiling at crowds and having a good time, because men, women, and children wearing red bandannas listened to him when he said: "This country will not be a good place for any of us to live in if it is not a reasonably good place for all of us to live in."¹⁰⁹

He cheerfully embraced "the deluge of travel and dust and howling and fatigue" that went with full days of speaking as he traveled to thirty-eight states. He laughed heartily when local Progressives tried to greet him with moose calls, and he spoke affectionately to the "little Bull Mooses" who flocked around the train on his whistle-stops. He even kept his equanimity when roman candles were thrown his way and when the wooden platform on which he spoke collapsed. Whistle-stop campaign techniques were already being supplemented by door-to-door and telephone canvassers, electric signs, and mass mailing of printed matter, but TR still loved the nostalgic human drama of the torchlight parades which greeted him in small towns.¹¹⁰

For all the amusements and trials of being on the stump again, he and Edith never forgot that their close friends Elihu Root and Henry Cabot Lodge helped Taft make sure Roosevelt did not get the nomination. Years later, Edith still had angry dreams about Root. She took some satisfaction when Lodge was to speak in Boston that a thousand Republicans went instead to a Roosevelt meeting featuring young cousin George Roosevelt. When Roosevelt campaigned in Massachusetts everyone knew he alluded to Lodge when he talked about the "shame and indignation" he felt when certain New England senators supported the theft of delegates in Chicago. In private he also amused guests with the riddle, how was Lodge like a New England farm? The answer, TR replied, was that both were "highly cultivated but entirely sterile!" But Lodge continued to write warm personal notes to his old friend all through the campaign year, and the replies, though at times guarded, told him their friendship would survive. The *New Yorker* wrote him: "My dear fellow, you could not do anything that would make me lose my warm personal affection for you." Root and Taft, on the other hand, would not be forgiven as easily.¹¹¹

The campaign grew more complicated when a "real war with no weapons barred" broke out between Roosevelt and Wilson in October. TR had to go over Wilson's daily statements and rewrite speeches on the train before "pillorying the Professor." He criticized Wilson's inactivity against trusts in New

Jersey and the fact that Wilson said he did not understand the Progressive platform. Wilson's defense of limited government, Roosevelt stated, sounded to him like a defense of laissez-faire and liberty of contract. He accused Wilson of knowing "nothing of actual living conditions of our wageworkers" and proposing economic policies that would cause a bigger crash than that of 1893. Wilson, in turn, said monopolies would have free run of the economy if TR were elected and he charged his opponent (falsely) with taking Standard Oil contributions in 1904 and U.S. Steel money in 1912. TR replied that Wilson accepted Wall Street donations, too, and represented Wall Street's financial views.¹¹²

Because Taft was so unpopular and ineffective as a candidate the campaign had become a two-way race between Roosevelt and Wilson. The remarkable fight hinged on issues, momentum, eloquence, and intangibles like trust. When Elihu Root heard of Wilson's extramarital affair with Mary Allen Peck Hulbert, he could have advanced the Taft campaign by using the information to undermine public trust in the candidate. If TR learned of Wilson's secret, he judged it foul play to let a sex scandal determine an election's outcome. Fearful that his sins would be exposed, Wilson fought even more feverishly against Roosevelt, calling him a defender of the special interests and a friend to monopolies.¹¹³

New constituencies and new state parties with Progressive slates were developing as Roosevelt's train headed west. Though women did not yet have the full franchise in New York, the Bull Moose state convention welcomed about 10 percent women delegates, organized by Alice Carpenter's Woman's Roosevelt League. In September the Colonel found he had such strong support from women voters that extra women-only meetings had to be added to his tour in Spokane, and in Los Angeles a Jane Addams chorus of a thousand women greeted him. After talking with women activists in the West, TR started speaking out for one of their pet issues—moving elections away from saloons and into the public schools.¹¹⁴

TR called for an equal partnership of the sexes within the Bull Moose Party, so for the first time in U.S. history women served alongside men on the national committee and on the party's state committees, though without full equality. Women like Margaret Dreier Robins became favorite Progressive stump speakers and she traveled around the country on the Woman's Roosevelt Special Train.¹¹⁵

The Bull Moose himself spoke up for even more than suffrage and "equality of right." Harvard's Eliot hated TR for welcoming women to participate in his party's leadership and so attacked Jane Addams because she was what he called "an old maid," and, therefore, a bad choice to be "held up in the lime-

light as an example for other women to follow." Roosevelt defended Addams and other unmarried women, and argued in a searing speech that women "have precisely the same right to speak in politics" as men. When the *New York Times* joined Eliot in denouncing Addams' seconding speech, TR retorted that "one of the memories of the Convention which I shall always cherish is the fact that Jane Addams seconded my nomination." TR said that it had been Jane Addams, Frances Kellor, and Florence Kelley who had convinced him, based on their expert knowledge and experience, "that working girls would be helped by the suffrage."¹¹⁶

The Progressive Party's discovery of the unrecognized electoral potential of women voters and organizers was not altogether new. Even where they could not vote, women had counted in politics. TR's sisters had been lining up allies, building networks, and even making phone calls for their brother for years. The Woman's Municipal League had been a factor in the fight against boss rule in New York, while women's organizations had worked hard to reform cities and towns across the country. Women's auxiliaries to the Republican and Democratic Parties had been around for a long time. But 1912 marked the height of the women's reform network's influence before national suffrage became a fact.

The first woman in U.S. history to cast an electoral vote for president was the Moosette Helen B. Scott, who voted for TR. Politicians could see how well women's organizations could get out the vote, but the regular parties still resisted women's participation. Nevertheless, minister Raymond Robins, whose moral reformism aimed at uplifting men's behavior in the Men and Religion Forward Movement, believed the Progressive Party's example was spreading: "The fellowship and service of women in politics has advanced wonderfully in all parties, and all parties vie with each other to be thought Progressive."¹¹⁷

As the fall wore on, Roosevelt delved happily into combat with his rivals and warm contact with cheering crowds. He was quick to lash out at opponents who sent a squad of "Truth Tellers" to "dog" his tour. In Marquette, Michigan, TR was heckled by a man who challenged his praise of Hiram Johnson's accomplishments and the minimum wage for women; as young cousin Philip Roosevelt reported, as soon as TR found out that the man was a local Republican "scalliwag [sic]," "he tore the hide off the man's words holding up to scorn his past record, his partner's record, and his assault on Johnson. It certainly was spectacular."¹¹⁸

By mid-October, Roosevelt's campaign reached its zenith. The Bull Moose was as happy as he had ever been, though he said he could not possibly keep up the pace of twenty speeches a day until November. Raymond

Robins wrote his sister-in-law Mary Dreier: "Saturday was a great day for the big Bull Moose in this little old Chicago. He spoke to over 25,000 people and over ten thousand tried to hear him without success." TR had also given a rousing speech to eight thousand immigrants on the West Side of Chicago, then he returned to the Coliseum where the thirteen thousand seats were filled within eleven minutes after the doors opened. Men hung from the iron girders under the balcony so they could "hear Teddy."¹¹⁹

But a Colt revolver waited in one of the crowds. On October 14 outside the Gilpatrick Hotel in Milwaukee, Roosevelt entered the car that was to drive him to his next speaking engagement. He turned and lifted his hat to wave toward the people who lined the sidewalk, when a man standing nearby shot TR in the chest. Stunned and wounded he fell backward. When his aide Henry Cochems put his arm around him, the wounded candidate said only: "They have pinked me." His stenographer wrestled with John Schrank, a paranoid-schizophrenic former bartender obsessed by the third-term issue, and knocked him to the ground to prevent him from shooting again. Roosevelt called out not to hurt the gunman. He made sure he was not bleeding from the mouth and then, despite the pain, announced that he would go on to his speaking engagement as planned. Doctors in the crowd were horrified that a bleeding man would endanger his life for an insignificant speech, but no one dared stop him.

Despite pain, the loss of blood, and the bullet lodged near his lung, Roosevelt went to the hall and spoke for an hour and a half to a mortified audience. Seeing this as a chance to talk "without having his sincerity questioned," he said, "this is my big chance, and I am going to make that speech if I die doing it." TR showed his blood-stained shirt to his audience and explained that he had been shot but added: "It takes more than that to kill a Bull Moose." He called his would-be assassin a "coward" and said: "It is a very natural thing that weak and vicious minds should be inflamed to acts of violence by the kind of foul mendacity and abuse that have been heaped upon me for the last three months in the interests not only of Mr. Debs, but of Mr. Wilson and Mr. Taft." Reiterating that he "would not speak to you insincerely within five minutes of being shot" he tried to lay to rest charges that "insane ambition" drove him to run. Instead, he said he was running "to stand for the sacred rights of childhood and womanhood . . . to see that manhood is not crushed out of the men who toil by excessive hours of labor, by underpayment, by injustice and oppression."¹²⁰

Roosevelt's glasses case, overcoat, suspenders, and thick folded speech kept the bullet from penetrating farther into his chest, but it nevertheless broke a rib and caused bleeding. He was taken to Mercy Hospital in Chicago,

but before he left Milwaukee he telegraphed Edith that the wound was "purely superficial. . . . I very earnestly beg you not to come out. I am not nearly as bad hurt as I have been again and again with a fall from my horse. Everything possible is being done for me by everybody."¹²¹

Of course, she was already determined to go to him because no one else could make him listen to doctor's orders. Doctors recalled that TR was "very much wrought up after the accident," and when he reached Mercy Hospital he eagerly awaited his wife. When Edith arrived she found his breathing labored due to his broken rib, which also caused a severe pain in his side. Doctors watched him for signs of lockjaw or blood poisoning, but his life was not in danger.¹²²

Edith, Ethel, and Alice allowed almost no one to see him in the hospital, but TR insisted on talking to a few reporters. The Roosevelt women, however, welcomed Jane Addams to speak with him about granting suffrage to the District of Columbia as soon as he took office. The "impatient patient" shook hands with the nuns who had been his nurses and left the hospital on the twenty-first in a wheelchair. Edith brought him back to Sagamore Hill and cared for him without help. As TR recuperated he played with little Gracie untiringly, and Groton let Quentin come home to see his father. Edith was encouraged by his recovery: "It will be some time before he is free from discomfort and I know he ought not to use his right arm as much as he does," but by the end of October he could sleep on his right side again. Doctors warned her that her own serious bout of eczema and weakened health were reactions to the shooting. Her husband's appetite came back and soon the chicken bones were "stacked like cordwood" around his plate, which disgusted Edith. A servant who observed TR eating declared that "the bullet was never made could kill a man that can eat as much fried chicken as that and live." By Halloween supporters in New Mexico led by Isabella Ferguson were holding a Bull Moose Masquerade Ball to celebrate the recovery of their hero, some dressed in Teddy costumes.¹²³

The campaign hoped that the nearly "lavish post-mortem praises" their candidate received after he was shot might turn into a win on election day. The would-be assassin, Schrank, had dreamed that President McKinley told him TR had been his murderer and asked him to "avenge" his death. Schrank provoked a nationwide debate about crime, "moral insanity," and the evil influence of saloons. Bull Moose campaign manager Senator Joseph Dixon blamed the shooting on inflammatory reporting by the reactionary press, which had trumpeted Taft's charge that TR was a threat to free institutions. Roosevelt had been attacked for a multitude of sins, including being endorsed by too many writers.¹²⁴

Schrank was finally confined to a prison ward for the criminally insane, where Bull Moose inmates taunted him. Wilson announced that he would stop campaigning out of deference to his wounded opponent, but TR thought the campaign should go on while he recuperated. His surrogates, especially Hiram Johnson and Oscar Straus, hit Wilson hard for his anti-immigrant writings and lack of concrete proposals for reform.¹²⁵

Roosevelt finally agreed to hire the Burns detective agency for protection, and a thousand policemen guarded him when he gave his last major speech of the campaign at Madison Square Garden on October 30. As he spoke, he could not lift his right arm for his customary fist-pounding gesture, but otherwise did a "tremendously impressive" job in his adoring daughter Ethel's eyes. Thee's old friend Louisa Lee Schuyler sat in the audience and was proud to call herself a Bull Mooser, which pleased Edith and Theodore as a blessing from the Civil War generation they so revered.¹²⁶

Public sympathy shifted after Roosevelt was shot. Oddsmakers, who had rated the Bull Moose's chances of winning at four to one before the shooting, now saw his chances improved to almost two to one. Edith was amused when Quentin wrote to say even Rector Peabody would vote the Progressive ticket. In his last campaign interview, TR said that the participation of women, especially his loyal Female Brain Trust, had been the greatest inspiration of the campaign and that if elected he would call a special session of Congress to pass the social justice planks which the *New York Times* said were "practically dictated to him" by Addams, Kellor, and Margaret Dreier Robins. Roosevelt told one of his supporters that Jane Addams probably would have a cabinet post.¹²⁷

After a quiet walk on November 5, Edith and Theodore awaited evening phone calls telling them the state-by-state election returns. By dinner time they knew Wilson was winning. TR earned 4,119,538 votes against Wilson's 6,293,454 and Taft's 3,484,980. With an even smaller campaign budget and weaker organization than the Bull Moose Party, Socialist Eugene Debs received 900,672 votes. Later Ethel wrote: "Of course its [sic] a great disappointment but we expected it. The worst blow is that Taft makes a much better showing than we expected. . . . F[ather] seems wonderfully brave and smiling." The next morning Ethel and Edith broke into sobs over breakfast, but Theodore remained "undaunted." He told the press: "The battle is just begun." Booker T. Washington visited to explain why he had sat out the election, and Roosevelt said he "honored" the choice, which left Washington thinking his old ally was "a bigger man than I thought he was before."¹²⁸

Already the Bull Moose Party's accomplishments were impressive. They had made a better showing in 1912 than the Republicans had in 1856, when they were a fledgling third party. Thirteen new Progressive congressmen and

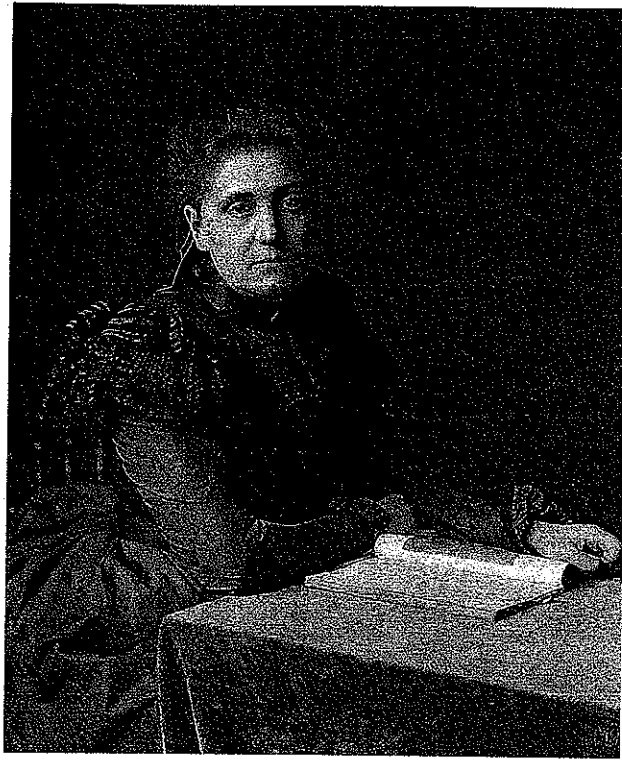


Left: Alice in 1902

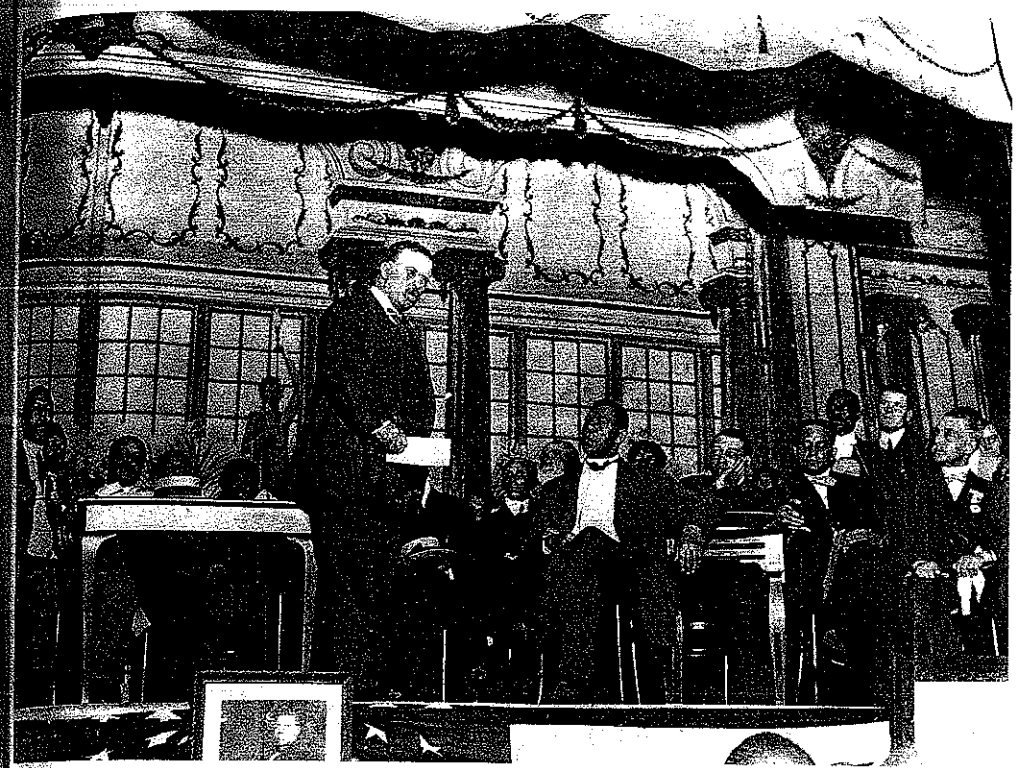
Right: Ted, Archie, TR, Quentin, and Kermit, 1904



TR at the Army-Navy football game. Behind him in the stands are Ethel and Ted; seated to his right are Loeb and Edith, and behind him Bamie. Princeton, December 1905



Jane Addams, founder of Hull House, crusader against child labor, and the most admired woman in America

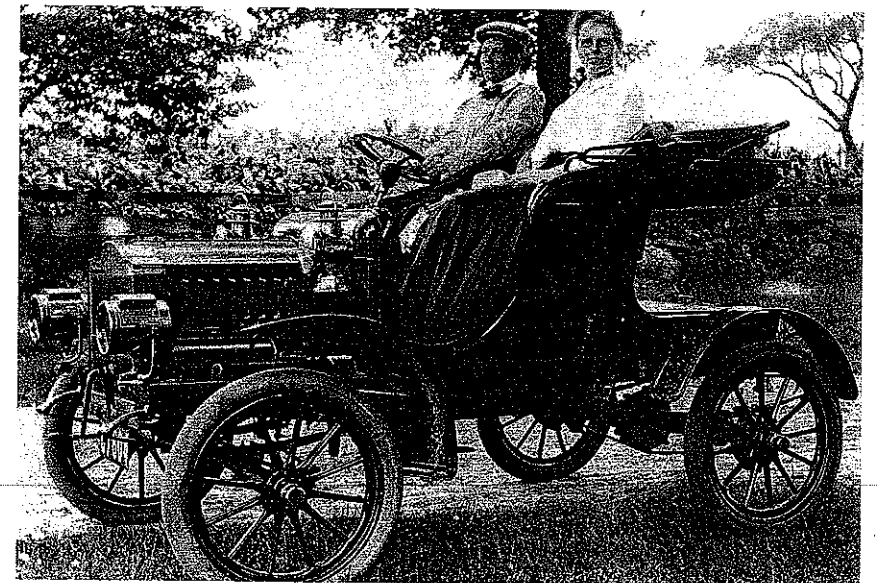


The President and Booker T. Washington at Tuskegee Institute



Florence Kelley, National Consumers' League advocate and defender of the minimum wage

Below: Frances Kellor and Mary Dreier, members of TR's 1912 Female Brain Trust, leaders in the National Women's Trade Union League



ROOSEVELT WHITE HOUSE



Left: "Keeping Him Quiet"—John Hay and Henry Cabot Lodge muzzle the President, *New York World*, May 9, 1904



Right: Letting off steam in the fall of 1904—TR riding at the Chevy Chase Club



"A Herculean Task": the President fights the Senate. A cartoon from *Puck*, April 1, 1905



Sergei Witte, Baron Rosen, TR, Baron Komura, Minister Takahira



Augustus Saint-Gaudens' ten-dollar Indian-head coin



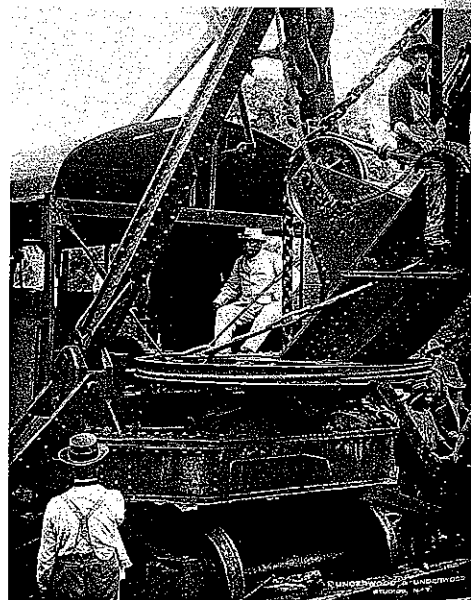
Lodge and Taft drift politically away from TR during his second term.



The President and the backbone of the navy



Roosevelt in Africa

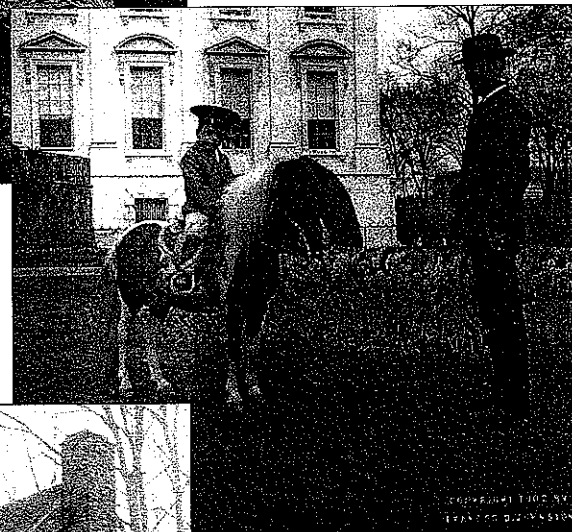


TR in Panama, operating the steam shovel at Culebra Cut, November 1906



Nicholas Longworth, Alice Roosevelt Longworth, and the President, 1906

Right: Quentin on Algonquin



Pine Knot, presidential retreat



He devotes a few moments to San Domingo



He hands Mr. Castro a few



He jumps on the U. S. Senate



He dashes off an essay about the race question



He lands on the Standard Oil Co.



He attends a banquet in New York



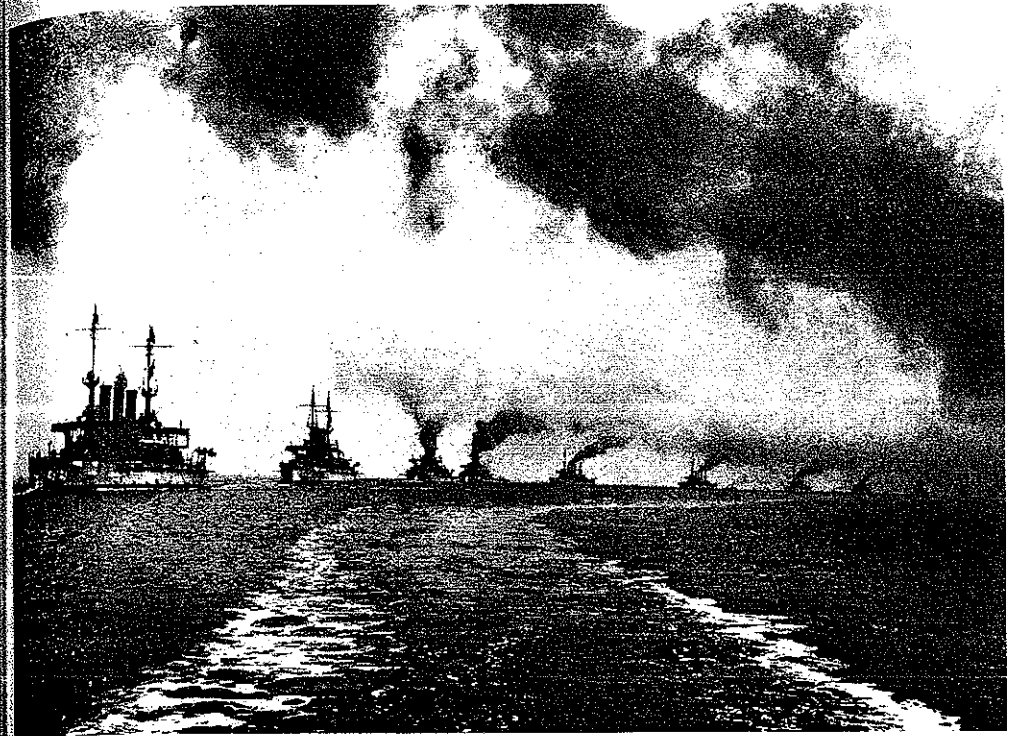
He superintends the preparations for Inauguration Day



He passes a hot message to the Senate



He pauses for a moment to make plans for a hunting trip



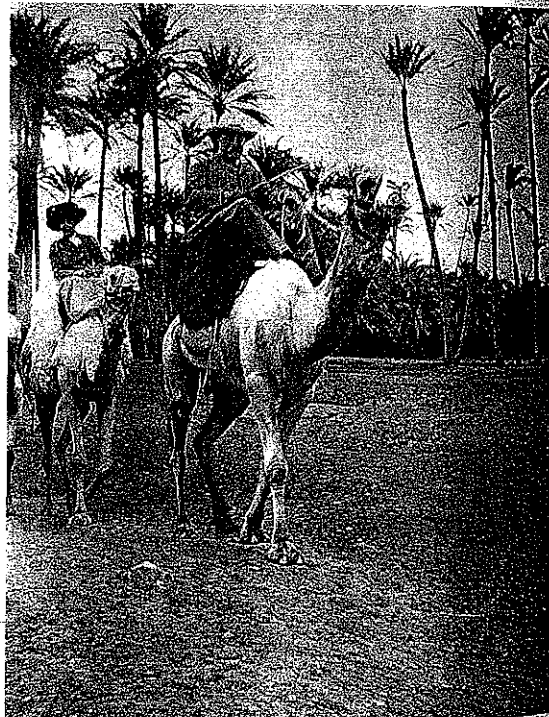
The Great White Fleet's return from its round-the-world cruise



TR gives the New Nationalism speech while standing on a kitchen table



Above: TR watches troop maneuvers with Kaiser Wilhelm II



Edith and Theodore ride camels in Luxor, Egypt



Henry Stimson, Roosevelt protégé, U.S. attorney, and TR's chosen candidate for governor of New York in 1910



Above: TR waving his hat as he greets crowds in 1912

Bull Moose
BULL MOOSE
& Outing - Picnic &

—AT—
Dexter
Park

Jamaica Avenue
Edmond Hill



Thursday
AUG. 15
1912

Given by the **KINGS COUNTY**
COLORED PROGRESSIVE CLUB

Layyer Alfred C. Cowan, Leader and Executive Member

Music by Jackson's Brass Band of Jamaica and
Prof. J. Nimrod Jones Full Orchestra.

Meo may appear in shirt waists

ADMISSION

25 CENTS

DIRECTIONS: Take Surface or Elevated cars to Cypress Hills; transfer to Jamaica Ave. car which passes the Park. From N.Y. take Lexington Avenue 'L' to Cypress Hills and transfer to Jamaica Avenue car.

S. H. Luck, Printer, 488 Atlantic Ave.

S. H. Luck

Left: Colored Bull Moose picnic



Left: TR, lawyer W. H. van Benschoten, and F.D.R., who testified for Uncle Theodore in the Barnes trial, Syracuse, May 1915



Right: TR and Alice often talked politics.

Below: Ethel and TR entering the church before her wedding, April 1913



TR campaigning during a whistle-stop tour in 1912

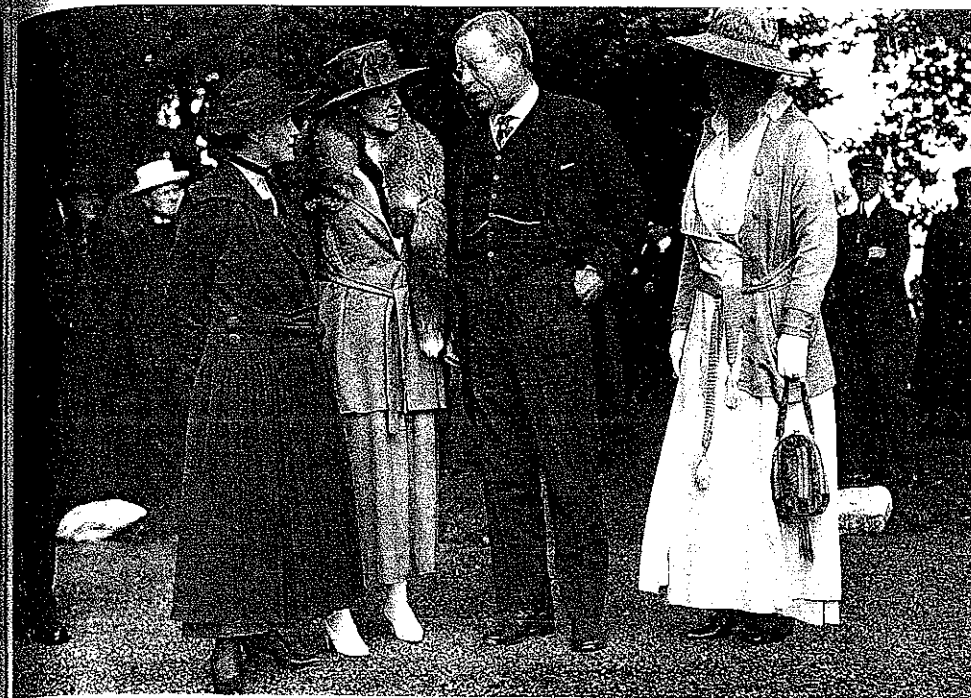


Left: The Progressive Party Convention, Chicago, August 1912



Roosevelt and Colonel Rondon before entering the River of Doubt

Left to right:
William Jennings
Bryan, Secretary
of the Navy
Josephus Daniels,
President Woodrow
Wilson, Assistant
Secretary of State
William Phillips,
and Assistant
Secretary of the
Navy Franklin
Delano Roosevelt,
1915



Helen Mills Reid, Vira Whitehouse, TR, and Harriet Laidlaw:
New York suffrage leaders hold a meeting and reception at Sagamore Hill, 1917.



Clifford Berryman's cartoon about
TR's World War I editorial



Ted, Eleanor, TR, Archie, Nick, Alice, TR, Quentin, Richard Derby, Jr., Dick Derby, Belle, Kermit, Jr.
The last complete Roosevelt family picture
Back Row: Archie, Nick, Alice, TR, Quentin, Richard Derby, Jr., Dick Derby, E the 1

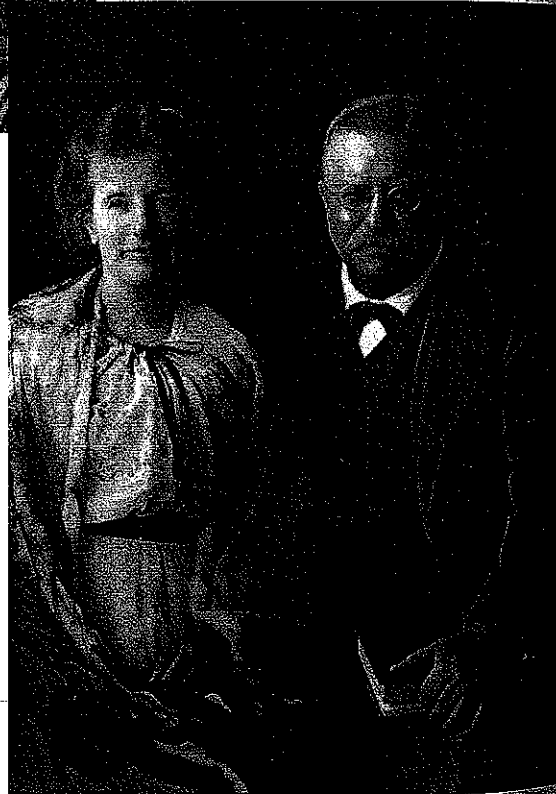
"Pass Prosperity Around"
was the slogan for the Bull
Moose Party in 1912.





The President and first lady

TR holds his place in a book while a photographer snaps his picture with Edith.



260 state legislators had been elected. The minimum wage had been popularized; labor had gained new defenders of their right to collective bargaining; TR had wagered his popularity to fight for the idea that Americans should not suffer because of old age, unemployment, and illness. Later historians would assert that the Bull Moose Party foreshadowed Franklin Roosevelt's Democratic coalition of the thirties, but others argued that Progressive Party voters lured urban immigrants away from Republican rather than Democratic ranks.¹²⁹

TR saw the deeper meaning of the campaign in his attempt to change people's minds about what Americans owed to each other. He said he had pleaded "the cause of the crippled brakeman on a railroad, of the overworked girl in a factory, of the stunted child toiling at inhuman labor." For a political party to step so far away from politics as usual to talk about the obligation that the whole society owed to those who struggled was enough to "fill" Mary Simkhovitch and other social workers "with thanksgiving."¹³⁰

He wrote his "dear friends" Mary Dreier and Frances Kellor that the party must look to the future and the work they still needed to do together to shift the mainstream of American politics. Few outside the campaign saw 1912 as the epic drama of a heroic warrior fighting to the death against what used to be his own armies; few saw it as a battle waged by a strong man who saw the harm done by a weak state. But Edith Wharton wrote: "Our Theodore is a good deal more saga-like than anything in *Wuthering Heights*."¹³¹

LOYAL FAMILY member Douglas Robinson felt as if "somebody had given me a blow in the solar plexus" when the election results came in. Big crowds had led them to hope that TR would win an upset victory. Instead, the Bull Moose Party had guaranteed Woodrow Wilson's triumph. For Roosevelt, his disappointing showing at the polls hurt much more than the bullet that still pained him if he moved too suddenly. In its brief existence, the Progressive Party had come "into this world making a noise like 10,000 babies," but had not had time to grow up enough to overcome the established two-party system. It did not console Roosevelt to know that, after all the racial controversies swirling around the platform and the convention, he had won 60 percent of the African-American vote nationally.¹³²

He had proven once again that he was the ultimate "slugger" in American politics, but when the cheering stopped so did his high spirits. The "dull thud" he had avoided by going to Africa in 1909 would hit him hard after the 1912 election. At first he looked upon Wilson with a kindly eye, hoping he would prove himself a true progressive.¹³³

But his own fall from grace hurt. The editor of the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, Henry Watterson, denounced the large Bull Moose vote as the product of hero worship and the American preference for Caesarism over constitutional processes. Watterson found it ominous that the women voters of the western "suffragettes" states voted Progressive and that TR won the new suffrage state, California. He called Bull Moosers dangerous "nationalists" who "have 'nigger' on the brain." He portrayed Roosevelt as "an opportunist without convictions, one who had never been a man of the people, bred an aristocrat—a patrician, unstable in all his mental processes and moral conclusions; a child of fortune, selfish, self-willed and dangerously ambitious." Since July, Roosevelt had suspected he would lose, but the defeat and accusations still hurt. So many had turned their back on him in battle. Henry Adams dismissed his old friend as nothing more than a "chewed-up cud."¹³⁴

As 1912 came to a close, Edith watched her husband's sorrow, and she wrote Kermit: "The disappointment went deeper than he admits to himself at the result of the election." *The Outlook* subscribers were leaving in large numbers so the Abbotts warned Roosevelt they might not be able to give him a salary much longer. TR blamed himself for the magazine's decline, and Edith wrote: "He was hurt and grim because so many of those he cared for did not stand with him, and in the excitement of the fight he did not have time to think of it as he has now." After being so harshly vilified in the campaign, Roosevelt felt so low that he began contemplating how the end of his life would turn out.¹³⁵

Dr. Alex Lambert was called on "short notice" to Sagamore Hill in December. Theodore told Lambert he had been "shunned by old friends and neighbors, treated like an outcast," and described himself as "unspeakably lonesome." Although the family tried to hide the fact from biographers, Lambert later said he found Roosevelt mired in a mood of "desolation." The family would later concede that TR suffered that winter from a "bruised spirit," but they would not allow anyone to describe him as clinically depressed.¹³⁶

After such a recent escape from a righteous end in Milwaukee, Roosevelt, despite Lambert's sympathy, contemplated the subject of heroic death. He wrote about the nobility in Antarctic explorer Robert Scott's dying words, composed after another man beat him to the pole: "We took risks . . . but bow to the will of Providence, determined to do our best to the last." Finding his own place on "the long honor roll of those men who 'do and dare and die at need'" captured Roosevelt's thoughts in 1913.¹³⁷

But it was the wrong moment for Theodore, like the *Titanic*, to slip with his lost cause into the icy sea. He had to find a more heroic ending to his final chapter of life. In the weeks after the election he felt the loss almost as

intensely as the death of someone he loved. Even the former pleasures of daily life with Edith at Sagamore Hill rang hollow. His old bustle to get tasks done so that he could reward himself with an afternoon sunlight walk with her had lost its magic. Death had been with him since his childhood days of gasping for breath. Dying itself struck much less terror in Roosevelt than coming to a bland or ignominious end.

When Sir Edward Grey wondered whether he would have been as brave in speaking so long if he had bled from a bullet wound, TR reassured his friend that he too would "have shown the absolute coolness and courage and lack of thought of self that your brother showed when mauled by the lion." Roosevelt confessed that he had made the Milwaukee speech "in the very unlikely event of the wound being mortal I wished to die with my boots on, so to speak. It has always seemed to me that the best way to die would be in doing something that ought to be done, whether leading a regiment or doing something else." But the gunshot had not killed him. With a reprieve at hand, how could he keep doing something worthwhile until he could meet a worthy death?¹³⁸

He disliked Shakespeare's story of a man angry when his time passed before he was ready, perhaps because he did not like to see the raging King Lear emerging in himself. An indomitable will would prove to be inflexible armor for this stage of living. Aging well required something more subtle than the headlong drive to win. Willfulness and his long-standing combativeness toward rivals might interfere with his ability to fight selflessly for high purposes. The roar of crowds, the seduction of political flatterers, the temptation to heroics, in short, his desire for glory, competed with his urge to keep fighting a steady and uphill fight for social justice. His path to political usefulness was blocked by his many foes in old parties, but most of all by President-elect Wilson.¹³⁹

In the first weeks and months after the election, TR still wrote about Wilson in tempered language. He had hopes that journalists like Joe Bishop would be treated better now that Wilson was president "because Taft showed himself to be a plain fool, and Wilson is not a fool." TR even praised Wilson in private for his "adroitness" in the campaign and for talking an "ardent but diffuse progressiveness."¹⁴⁰

Roosevelt doubted, however, that Wilson would get much done as a progressive president because of his commitment to the Democrats' states' rights philosophy and his failure to understand social justice. Deep reform, in his opinion, could be forged only by an activist federal government led by a strong executive. Wilson's Industrial Relations Commission produced little, and the new President refused at first to support child labor reform. He sup-

ported the Aldrich version of currency reform and did nothing for women. The Bull Moose conceded, however, that Wilson had the potential to "make a great record and rivet the attention of the country upon him." And a great record for Wilson meant no more record for TR. While he waited to see how Wilson would do, Roosevelt said: "I am absolutely helpless—probably more helpless than any other man in America."¹⁴¹

If Wilson snuffed out TR's last hopes as a progressive leader, would the last years of the great Bull Moose drag out, devoid of purpose? With Schrank's bullet lodged in his chest for the rest of his life, Roosevelt felt in his shortened wind and enlarged girth the cumulative effects of unhealthy campaign living. He might console himself and his supporters by remembering how he had influenced the "choir invisible" of minds changed forever by the "educational value of the campaign." Yet he felt the costs more sharply than the legacy. He knew that the 1912 campaign had hurt his standing with the American people. Perhaps the romance he had with the public was over.¹⁴²

Rumors of TR's drunkenness had been spread during the campaign by Democratic and Republican newspapers alike. When he heard the same lies about his drunkenness repeated too many times, he finally lost patience. The editor of a small-town paper, the *Iron Age*, a staunch Republican named George Newett, had written:

Roosevelt lies and curses in a most disgusting way; he gets drunk, too, and that not infrequently, and all his intimates know about it. All who oppose him are wreckers of the country, liars, knaves and undesirables. He alone is pure and entitled to a halo. Rats. For so great a fighter, self-styled, he is the poorest loser we ever knew!¹⁴³

TR decided to sue Newett for libel, and in December, as he prepared for the trial, he warned his Michigan-based lawyer, James H. Pound, that Newett was "hunting everywhere to find testimony against me." Ready to fight, Roosevelt lined up his closest friends and associates to prove that he was not much of a drinker at all. Then Newett found a journalist, J. Martin Miller, who said he was willing to testify about specific occasions when he saw Roosevelt drunk.¹⁴⁴

Roosevelt's integrity was also being questioned by his fellow naturalists. In *Auk* magazine Francis Allen accused TR of as many as fifty misrepresentations in his published criticisms of Abbott H. Thayer's views on protective coloration in animals. Allen said he had proof of Roosevelt's "inaccurate habit of mind." But scientists rallied around the accuracy of Roosevelt's statements, and the editor of *Auk* wrote TR an apology for publishing Allen's partisan attack.¹⁴⁵

Though the family would try to be upbeat, it had been a difficult chapter in their lives. Fifteen-year-old Quentin was still being hazed at Groton for his father's politics. The boy admitted to Auntie Bye, but not his father, that he had had "a pretty hard time up here." When he went into the shower in his dormitory a classmate stole his towel. As soon as Quentin chased the boy outside to reclaim it, other boys blockaded the door so the only way he could get back inside was to walk naked in front of several ladies. Quentin expected Peabody to suspend him for public nudity, but the mishap eluded the rector.¹⁴⁶

The year 1912 also had more permanent victims. Alice discovered Nick had been unfaithful to her, but she knew that Theodore and Edith disapproved of a member of their family getting a divorce. They believed that duty and commitment should come before personal happiness. After building his career standing up for the sanctity of marriage and old-fashioned moral codes, TR feared that a scandal in his family would undermine the very institutions and ideals he stood for. Alice understood that a divorce in the Roosevelt family would constitute what Ethel would later call a "betrayal of the trust of the American people."¹⁴⁷

So Alice chose marital repair and tried to play the part of a good politician's wife by doing flood relief work. Her "annoying red female" of an anti-suffragist mother-in-law never stopped harping on the sins of the Bull Moose, so as late as 1914, Alice wrote Auntie Bye in exasperation that she contemplated becoming "an active suffragist just to spite her." Quiet sexual transgression and an acerbic wit provided easier rebellions against a loutish husband and insufferable in-laws. At Sagamore Hill everyone knew that Alice was going through a horrible time.¹⁴⁸

The 1912 campaign had opened up new worlds for the ardently progressive Ethel, and seeing her father's Female Brain Trust in action made her want to help people through the Progressive Social Service which TR and Frances Kellor set up in 1913 or perhaps she could organize social services in a hospital. No wonder that as 1912 ended, Ethel agonized over Dr. Richard Derby's long-standing marriage proposal. She wanted to postpone married life so that she could at least have the adventure of going to Brazil to visit Kermit, who had announced to the family that he might be away for a decade. She even asked her parents if she could work with Jane Addams at Hull House, but they said no because she was too young. Ethel's situation resembled Grace Dodge's dilemma in the 1880s: after growing up with parents who exposed her to the important work of reform and charity, Dodge had wanted to lead a public life of "good works," a fate her parents considered unthinkable. Edith and Theodore thought Dick Derby a perfect match for Ethel: He was a moneyed

young doctor with a social conscience. Groton and Harvard had trained Dick, and he had been one of the outstanding college men TR had brought to Sagamore Hill to launch into public service careers.¹⁴⁹

BEING BUSY might dissipate TR's grief for a while; having work piled high on his desk might approximate true purposefulness. After answering twenty-five thousand letters in 1912 alone, he was used to managing a tidal wave of correspondence each day. In the winter of 1912-13 he also spent long hours at his desk making sure his voice would not be lost on the American scene. He contemplated going into motion pictures, possibly as a lecturer, but he chose not to for fear of "commercializing what I did as President." He traveled many miles and spent some of his own money to keep the Progressive Party alive. His admirers predicted that the White House would be his in 1916, so why should he reconcile himself to a quiet life?¹⁵⁰

After the election he had written Fanny Parsons, who was to have a private lunch with him in New York: "I shall not try to put on paper the multitude of things I have to say to you." Especially in this period when Edith and Theodore went through a mild estrangement, Edith jealously found their childhood friend Fanny still "very pretty and affected." TR held Fanny dear for being what Edith was not, an adoring audience when he was licking his campaign wounds.¹⁵¹

Still weakened by her near-fatal accident in 1911, Edith was having her neuralgia, lethargy, migraines, eczema, and other ailments treated with prescribed rest and thyroid supplements. While everyone else around Roosevelt had been giddy with the excitement of the campaign, she had waited, tense and apprehensive, knowing that the shooting in Milwaukee could happen at any time, hoping he would survive to embrace their quiet life at Sagamore in November. Theodore described his wife as still not well, and he felt responsible.

When her wounded and "rather blue" warrior returned to her at Sagamore Hill, he could not bear to seek respite for long. He brought home to Edith telegrams, phone calls, daily bags of mail, and plentiful guests. He brought, too, abundant tension and excitement as reporters called upon him almost daily to flash his famous smile and react to world events.¹⁵²

Christmas 1912 found the Roosevelts of Sagamore Hill united again for well-loved family traditions. Together, Theodore and Edith sang Christmas carols in a snowstorm as they gathered on Christmas Eve in the North Room with Quentin, Archie, Ted, his wife Eleanor, and Ethel. Because of the snow,

Ted and Eleanor had left Gracie home to spend Christmas with the servants, which disappointed her eager grandparents.

On Christmas morning Theodore arose early as usual and woke Edith up with a kiss. Then the family opened their stockings in Theodore and Edith's bedroom, as they had done when the children were small. After the holiday Edith took ill again, probably with the same gynecological troubles that would linger until 1915, but Ethel, Quentin, and Archie managed on their own when on December 27 TR rode the train to Boston to spend three days with William Sturgis Bigelow and deliver an address as president of the American Historical Association.

Roosevelt reaffirmed a romantic's view of history, of heroic tales, of lofty dreams, of "the glory of triumphant violence" and banners flying above great hosts of warriors. He hoped that when the history of his own time was written "it will show that the forces working for good in our national life outweigh the forces working for evil." Historians who had wanted him to serve as president of the A.H.A. considered him worthy especially for his advocacy of preserving historical records when he was president. TR's defense of the life of the mind and of the value of teaching history as an essential part of all education earned him respect across the profession.¹⁵³

When he planned his trip to Boston he sought to insulate himself from unpleasant confrontations with his critics. He told Bigelow he wanted to see a few Massachusetts Progressives or scholars at breakfast or dinner. To avoid contact with the Republicans who often visited his sister Bamie in Farmington, he told her that when he stopped at her house en route from Boston he wanted to see "no one who is not in the Progressive Party." To further reduce contact with his political foes and with the clubmen who hated him for being a traitor to his class, he resigned from the Century Association.

As 1912 finally ended, TR's spirits remained low. Helplessness did not set well with the Bull Moose. Yet the editor of the *New York Evening Mail* would later write that Roosevelt "seemed to me never so great, never so inspiring, as during this after-the-White-House period." In the years when Roosevelt spoke out most boldly as a prophet for causes he held dear and became a pariah for it, he "reminded" the editor "of an imprisoned soul struggling vainly for freedom."¹⁵⁴