be a servile Senate on that side if unanimously they agreed with this programme. But that is the programme as outlined by the press, and coming I do not doubt authoritatively from Theodore Roosevelt's own lips. Now, you have got the whole scheme.

Well, what are we going to do about it? I have heard it said that the purpose of delay in the present innocuous desuetude that obtains in the Committee on Foreign Relations in regard to this convention was due to the fact that by maintaining the status quo the President would continue, and feel authorized to continue, his present policy in Santo Domingo, and that, therefore, we are not likely to have a vote on the treaty for some months to come, if at all.

Probably we will adjourn again without any action. Of course, our Cæsar would then feel authorized to say, "Why, the Senate has not said to me, 'No;' it knew all the status; it has not indicated that it opposed it or disagreed with it. So I will go on in my beneficent care and friendly offices to my warm friend, the successor of Morales, Mr. Caceres," to say nothing of the creditors who naturally are very anxious for somebody to collect the money to pay their debts, just and unjust; to say nothing of the men hid out in bushes, if such there be, who have bought Dominican securities at 2 or 3 or 5 cents on the dollar, and can well afford to make any kind of a compromise, and in a generous compromise would take 50 cents on the dollar, or even 25 cents.

Well, what are we going to do about it? Are we going to vote on this treaty in the near future? Will some one on the other side who is authorized to speak tell us? Let us understand whether you have got your four White House Democrats ready or whether all of you Republicans are lined up and willing to go on record as voting for this departure in our foreign relations, this establishment of a receiver, this establishment of a court of equity, or some other kind of a court, to marshal the assets and apportion the money among the creditors.

We have got a large navy, and it seems to me that it is just now not doing very much. We do not need any more ships down there, but we may need to send a few more gunboats or torpedo boats to help keep down smuggling. We could even engage in this same delectable occupation with two or three other South American peoples and countries, and unless there might be some little row kicked up on shore or a few bullets shot nobody would be very seriously concerned, I presume, with this.

But, my brother Senators, have we reached that pass in the first hundred and twenty-five years of our national existence that this great coordinate branch of the Government, charged specifically under the Constitution to assist the President in negotiating and ratifying treaties—have we sunk so low, are we so oblivious of our obligations to our oaths of office and the people we represent and the States we represent, that we will present the spectacle here that the great men on the other side of this Chamber, who are the leaders and the responsible men for this thing, are afraid to stand up in your seats and say to Mr. Roosevelt: "You have got to obey the law or we will take you by the throat, sir?" Or is the possession of power so dear, so sweet, and the dispensing of patronage so necessary to your official existence that you will present the spectacle of having yourselves hectored and threatened?

Why, listen. What happened two or three days ago? A hint, an insinuation went out that the "rebels," as they were called in the House, men who were opposing the Philippine tariff, had gotten up some kind of arrangement by which they were to defeat the tariff unless some amendment were made to the statehood bill. The insinuation goes out that these men have been bought, that money had been used among them. The Senate before the country to-day stands disgraced in the eyes of the people because of the use of the press of the country to flyblow it as an instrument of corporations and wealth, and the President is pressing onward along his collateral lines in various schemes of his own, among them rate legislation, which is very popular. I want some rate legislation of some kind, and I said so before he ever discovered that it was necessary. So I am not following him in that, but he is following me or following the Democratic party. But the President has not hesitated and does not hesitate now to threaten us with the wrath of our constituents on the rate-making proposition if we dare oppose him in any of his schemes. He is going to have his sweet will go through and carry out the whole programme. He is going to be Andrew Jackson, Napoleon Bonaparte, and any other fellow you can think of who pushed things to the limit.

I said the President has used the press, or it has been used by those who are his friends, to create the impression throughout the United States that the Senate to-day is obstructing him in all of his pet schemes for the public welfare, and that the country stands watching us to see how far we dare go in the maintenance of our constitutional rights and prerogatives. The people are oblivious of the enormity and outrage of his conduct in the Santo Domingo business because of their earnest desire to see other things done.

I have taken some trouble to examine and find out all I can in regard to Theodore Roosevelt's attitude toward his predecessors. I will quote verbatim and literatim from his own books on Thomas H. Benton and Gouverneur Morris.

I have already remarked that the President seems to have had no respect for anything old, anything uttered or done by any of his predecessors in that great office. His own words will show what his attitude was, as I shall quote them.

Before I get to talking about the newspapers, I want to ask what is the matter with our Chief Executive? What motive actuates him? What is there underlying his conduct? Why is he so much in love with his own way? Why does he turn his back on the advice and statemanship and the canons of conduct of this Government for the last hundred years? Why does he think himself so much superior to all his predecessors?

My purpose in looking this up was to call attention to some of the peculiar characteristics of the present occupant of the White House and give his estimate of some of the great men of the past who were his predecessors. Hear him on Jefferson:

> Jefferson could write or speak—and could feel, too—the most high-sounding sentiments; but once it came to actions he was absolutely at sea, and on almost every matter. (Gouverneur Morris, Roosevelt, p. 291.)

And this also:

> Excepting Jefferson, we have never produced an Executive more helpless than Madison when it came to grappling with real dangers and difficulties. Like his predecessor, he was only fit to be President in a time of profound peace; he was utterly out of place the instant matters grew turbulent or difficult problems arose to be solved, and he was a ridiculously incompetent leader for a war with Great Britain. (Ibid., p. 303.)

And again hear him:

> This was done mainly as an unscrupulous party move on Jefferson's part, and when his side came into power he became a firm upholder of the Union; and, being constitutionally unable to put a proper value on truthfulness, he even denied that his resolutions could be construed to favor nullification—though they could by no possibility be construed to mean anything else. (Thomas H. Benton, Roosevelt, p. 85.)

Now, this on another predecessor—two of them:

> Van Buren was the first product of what are now called "machine politics" that was put into the Presidential chair. He owed his elevation solely to his own dexterous political manipulation and to the fact that, for his own selfish ends and knowing perfectly well their folly, he had yet favored or connived at all the actions into which the Administration had been led either through Jackson's ignorance and violence or by the crafty unscrupulousness and limited knowledge of the kitchen cabinet. (Ibid., p. 163.)

Here is his fling at another:

> Tyler, however, had little else in common with Calhoun, and least of all his intellect. He has been called a mediocre man; but this is unwarranted flattery. He was a politician of monumental littleness. (Ibid., p. 212.)

And again:

> Tyler, the very smallest of the line of small Presidents who came in between Jackson and Lincoln. (Ibid., p. 259.)

And this:

> But it soon became evident that Pierce was completely under the control of the secession wing of the party, and Benton thereafterwards treated him with contemptuous hostility, despising him, and seeing him exactly as he was—a small politician of low capacity and mean surroundings, proud to act as the servile tool of men worse than himself, but also stronger and abler. (Ibid., p. 305.)

In reading I accidentally came on this:

> New York has always had a low political standard, one or the other of its great party and factional organizations, and often both or all of them, being at all times most unlovely bodies of excessively unwholesome moral tone. (Thomas H. Benton, Roosevelt, p. 73.)

This has the appearance of a bird befouling its own nest, and while it may be true, it is not known at what time Mr. Roosevelt tried to elevate the politics of his native State.

I quote this on John C. Calhoun as it caught my eye:

> Calhoun's purposes seem to have been in the main pure; but few criminals have worked as much harm to their country as he did. The plea of good intentions is not one that can be allowed to have much weight in passing historical judgment upon a man whose wrong-headedness and distorted way of looking at things produced, or helped to produce, such incalculable evil. (Ibid., p. 99.)

I would remark in passing that if the President is allowed to have his way in Latin-America the future historian will almost surely pass the same judgment on him.

To return to the press. The newspaper correspondents are the men who have made him what he is, as the public knows, because he has never had the opportunity in all his journeyings and speeches to meet more than one in a thousand of his fellow-citizens, and it is through the great instrumentality represented

in that press gallery that he has become puffed up to such a degree that

> "He doth bestride the narrow world,
> Like a Colossus, and we petty men"—you, thank God, not I,
> "Walk under his huge legs and peep about
> To find ourselves dishonorable graves"—
> Or a piece of pork.

Mr. SPOONER. The Senator pointed to me.

Mr. TILLMAN. No; I have no personal controversy with the Senator from Wisconsin whatever. I will gladly welcome him into this discussion at any time he sees fit to enter.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President——

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from South Carolina yield to the Senator from New Hampshire?

Mr. TILLMAN. The Senator from New Hampshire is one of the most courteous gentlemen I know of. He has been a very warm friend of mine ever since I have been here and has done me some favors.

Mr. GALLINGER. I thank the Senator. Mr. President, the Senator calls attention to threats from the White House, and that it has intimated that patronage will be withheld, and all that sort of thing, if the members of this body and of the other House of Congress do not do the will of the President. There was a direct charge made against Mr. STEENERSON, a very substantial Member of the other House, in the newspapers of the country only a few days ago, saying that the President had distinctly informed him in a conversation at the White House that had he known he was going to become one of the insurgents of that body he would not have made an appointment for him which he had made.

Now, Mr. President, if the Senator will take the RECORD of this morning he will find that Mr. STEENERSON rose to a question of personal privilege in the other House, and he declares on his honor that no such controversy ever occurred between himself and the President and that the newspaper charges were absolutely and wholly untrue.

I do not think that either this body or the other body ought to be judged by what newspaper correspondents say in reference to matters of public policy, and I think the Senator will agree with me in that statement.

Mr. TILLMAN. I will agree with the Senator from New Hampshire to this extent, that newspapers are very often mistaken and that the newspapers sometimes in certain instances are very unjust. I have experienced a good deal of that sort of treatment myself, and I know it; but I go, in my assumption as to the existing situation, simply on the knowledge of human nature which fifty-eight years knocking up and down the world has given me, and a rather keen watching with the one eye I have got. [Laughter.] Unless there is some instrumentality of coercion, some terrorizing influence which compels apparent acquiescence in and obedience to the Executive will, and unless you fear that he will exercise his great influence to see that you are defeated when you are up for reelection or decline to give you any of the patronage of your respective States, for the life of me, knowing you as I do to be patriotic gentlemen, most of you, I swear I can not think what it is unless it be the fear of losing patronage. I know many of you do not approve of the action of the President in many respects.

But I started to go into the newspaper business. I want to bring in evidence here a witness called the other day for a different purpose by my distinguished friend from Maryland [Mr. RAYNER], which exemplifies to my mind the truest and fullest and best definition of the relationship of the press to the people and the Government and its value to anything that has ever been put upon paper. Writing from Paris in 1787 to Edward Carrington, Thomas Jefferson used this language:

> The basis of our Government being the opinion of the people, the very first object should be to keep that right; and were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter. But I should mean that every man should receive those papers and be capable of reading them. I am convinced that those societies (as the Indians) which live without government enjoy in their general mass an infinitely greater degree of happiness than those who live under the European governments. Among the former public opinion is in the place of law, and restrains morals as powerfully as laws ever did anywhere. Among the latter, under pretense of governing, they have divided their nations into two classes—wolves and sheep. I do not exaggerate. This is a true picture of Europe—

Recollect this was two years before the outbreak of the French Revolution—

> Cherish, therefore, the spirit of our people and keep alive their attention. Do not be too severe upon their errors, but reclaim them by enlightening them. If once they become inattentive to the public affairs you and I and Congress and assemblies, judges, and governors shall all become wolves. It seems to be the law of our general nature, in spite of individual exceptions, and experience declares that man is the only animal which devours his own kind, for I can apply no milder term to the governments of Europe and to the general prey of the rich on the poor.

I would be glad if in the highest degree the great newspapers of this country would make that the cardinal principle governing the conduct of those great enlightening influences. But having quoted Mr. Jefferson himself as to his idea of the value of newspapers, I want to direct your attention to a phase of present newspaper work that was never contemplated by Mr. Jefferson or anybody else, and which is an outgrowth of the last ten or fifteen years, mainly and principally in the last five or seven, and that is the use of the newspapers, these instruments of education and enlightenment, not for that purpose, but for the purpose of sifting sand in the eyes of their readers and to giving out false information and misinformation and the dissemination of falsehoods and arguments, and the presentation of the worse for the better reason. We have had a glaring illustration of this phase of newspaper work in the employment of Mr. Bishop. Mr. Bishop, the bosom friend of the President, his trusted agent and lieutenant, was given $10,000 a year to run a press bureau to defend the Administration against critics and others who dared say anything against the management of the Panama Canal.

But the President has not just learned the value of handling news. This experience in having Mr. Bishop transmit to those papers that would take it the news, colored and labeled as he saw fit, respecting the inner thought and purpose and wishes of the Executive is by no manner of means his first experience with a press agent. I have not all the facts, but I could hunt them up; but I have a pretty good recollection of what I read. I recall the fact that when the war with Spain was on, and the Army went to Guantanamo Bay, landed, started on its march, almost daily there were telegrams about the Rough Riders, and when that contest came on on the slopes of San Juan Hill——

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The hour of 2 o'clock having arrived, the Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business, which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. The bill (S. 529) to promote the national defense, to create a naval reserve, to establish American ocean-mail lines to foreign markets, to promote commerce, and to provide revenue from tonnage.

Mr. GALLINGER. The Senator from Florida [Mr. MALLORY] announced yesterday that he would address himself to this bill at 2 o'clock to-day. I ask the Senator from Florida what are his wishes in reference to the matter?

Mr. MALLORY. I am perfectly willing to allow the Senator from South Carolina to proceed to the conclusion of his remarks. I told him that this morning.

Mr. TILLMAN. The Senator from New Hampshire has the floor, and it is only by unanimous consent that the unfinished business can be laid aside.

Mr. GALLINGER. In reference to the unfinished business, I desire simply to say that the bill was reported to the Senate something over a month ago. Of course, all Senators have taken an opportunity to examine it, I have no doubt. Being in charge of that bill, I wish to urge its consideration with as much speed as possible; yet I realize that under existing circumstances we can not expect to interrupt the Senator from South Carolina in his most interesting speech. I therefore join with the Senator from Florida in asking that the unfinished business may be temporarily laid aside until the Senator from South Carolina has concluded his remarks.

Mr. President, before I take my seat I will say that after the Senator from Florida has addressed himself to this subject and presented the views of the minority of the Committee on Commerce on the question I will then take an opportunity to ask the Senate to fix a day, not in the immediate future, for taking a vote on the bill which is now the unfinished business.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from New Hampshire asks unanimous consent that the unfinished business be temporarily laid aside until the Senator from South Carolina concludes his remarks. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

Mr. TILLMAN. I am very much obliged to the Senator from New Hampshire for his courtesy.

When I was interrupted I was remarking that the present occupant of the White House has known for a good while the value of the newspapers, and I was proceeding to relate from recollection my remembrance of the fact that when his great military reputation was being made in Cuba it was rather a queer and strange experience for a man who had read something of the dispatches from the civil war, when there were real grown-up battles being fought to see how much stress was laid and how much notice was given to the action of the Rough Rider Regiment and its lieutenant-colonel, while other officers and commands were ignored. The colonel seemed by some hocus

pocus to be in a condition of eclipse, although he has since blossomed out and grown very brilliant above the military horizon. But Colonel Roosevelt was this, and Colonel Roosevelt was that; Colonel Roosevelt was here, and Colonel Roosevelt was there. I do not say it in any spirit of carping criticism, for I recognize in the fullest degree the valuable services of Colonel Roosevelt.

I am ready to give due meed of praise to the man who is a brave soldier, who did his duty, who won renown, risked his life, and all that kind of thing, but it did seem a little queer that as to the officers of the Regular Army who bore the brunt of the battle, who offered up their lives in their country's cause—colonels, men higher in official position than he, they and their regiments—were hardly mentioned except in the official reports. Photographs were taken, and since the war has been over I have seen or heard somewhere an account of a great historic painting which depicts Colonel Roosevelt on horseback leading his regiment up San Juan Hill, when as a matter of fact Colonel Roosevelt was never on San Juan Hill on that day or time.

I say the President of the United States should well know, and does know, the value of the press agents. I do not want to detract one iota from any of his well-earned fame. I know he has shown himself by actual votes as the most popular man who ever offered for the Presidency, and all that kind of thing. But the glamor of success, the glory, the halo of his achievements, do not obscure the actualities. I say to you in all seriousness that Theodore Roosevelt owes more of his success as a public man to the newspaper men of this country than any other one instrumentality.

And then see, Senators, how he has come to be President, not only President by accident, but President by the voice of the people. See what his attitude is toward this great estate. He threatens, so I hear, he hectors, he reprimands, he causes men to be discharged. He has the White House news corralled, and his executive officers—the Cabinet—are forbidden to give out items relating to their special official duties. The news is colored and sifted to suit his idea of what it ought to be to maintain the great popularity which he has won, to preserve in the imagination of the people the hold he has on them.

Speaking allegorically, the actual condition at the White House has been for many, many months that of a quack doctor who has certain pills which he wishes to prescribe for the public. The newspapers have been the spoon, Mr. Loeb has been the apothecary, and Roosevelt's pills on Panama, Roosevelt's pills on Roosevelt, Roosevelt's pills on railway rate legislation, Roosevelt's pills on everything pertaining to public affairs are administered in this way; and because the newspapers have resented this interference with their ancient rights and privileges, have seen fit in recent months to lose some of that attitude of fulsome adulation, of lending themselves to this process of becoming a funnel through which this quack physic was to be sent abroad, because they have presumed, some of them, to deny certain official statements from the White House, there is great wrath in the Executive Mansion.

I will only illustrate as the saddest example, the most pitiful that has ever come to my knowledge of anything associated with the name of a President, the recent outrage upon Mrs. Morris. You are all familiar with the newspaper stories as they were allowed to be published by the proprietors. I know of one instance in which the story, straightforward, unvarnished, was not published because of a feeling that the paper would be boycotted, as one paper has been boycotted, and by Executive order its representative denied access even to the Executive Departments. I waited. I have waited a week or more prayerfully hoping that for the honor of this country and for the honor of its President he would take some action looking to a recognition of the fact that there was a feeling of outrage and of anger in the bosoms of American men worthy of the name and of all American women that this gentlewoman, this lady of refinement and education and of culture, because of some little trangression of the ironclad rules which now obtain, this woman sitting there quietly, trying to get access to the President for the presentation of a plea or explanation, was seized by order of the President's secretary or assistant secretary, dragged rudely across the pavement and the lawn, thrust into a cab, her clothes torn off her—I understand the earring was torn out of one ear—and she was then committed to the house of detention like a common drab——

Mr. HALE. Mr. President——

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from South Carolina yield to the Senator from Maine?

Mr. TILLMAN. Certainly.

Mr. HALE. I hope, Mr. President, that I shall never figure in this body as a general apologist either for the Administration or the President or anybody connected with him, but I say to the Senator from South Carolina that he is making statements and assuming facts for which there is no warrant, and that he is making the most serious and defamatory charges against the Executive of this country, the President of all the United States, having nothing whatever that he adduces as proof. I must say to the Senator that I do not deem it seemly that here in the Senate he should make this the occasion of discharging before us the personal feeling of ill will he has against the President of the United States. It is not a spectacle that any of us can look upon either with satisfaction or toleration.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President, I have such respect for the great ability, high character, and patriotic services of the Senator from Maine, and have had such intimate association with him during my service here, which is not half so long as his own, that he can not say anything in the way of reprimand to cause me to lose my temper. I want to say to you, sir, that I am not defaming Theodore Roosevelt, and I have not allowed my personal feelings, supposing I have any, to dictate one utterance of mine to-day. I want to say to you, sir, that if you will offer a resolution appointing a committee of this body, composed of Republicans alone, to examine into the facts, I will give you the names of four witnesses as reputable as you or I who will swear to the statement I have made as to what actually occurred.

Mr. HALE. Let the Senator produce his testimony——

Mr. TILLMAN. You present your committee.

Mr. HALE. And his affidavits before he stands up before the country and assails in this rude way the President of the United States.

Mr. TILLMAN. Ah, will you then offer your resolution appointing a committee to get at the facts?

Mr. HALE. Let the Senator himself offer it.

Mr. TILLMAN. It is none of my business. It is your business.

Mr. HALE. It is as much the Senator's business as it is mine.

Mr. TILLMAN. No; you have just accused me of having personal animosity and hatred to gratify.

Mr. HALE. I do not credit the exaggerated statements of the newspaper press about this incident. I believe they are all extravagant, swollen, and not justified by the facts; but whenever any Senator upon his responsibility declares that there should be an investigation and asks for an investigation, so that we may have, not statements, not virulence, not denunciation, but facts, nobody on this side will object to that resolution.

Mr. TILLMAN. I will offer it and put you to the test.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair would call the attention of Senators to the rule of the Senate which requires Senators in speaking to address the Chair. The Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President, I am very sorry that I transgressed, and I will try not to do so any more.

I want to get the record straight in this trial in regard to what actually occurred, and I will read the statement made at the White House as to what did occur, given out by Mr. Barnes.

STATEMENT MADE AT WHITE HOUSE.

In view of the inaccurate statements appearing in the press concerning the case of Mrs. Minor Morris, Assistant Secretary Barnes to-day made the following statement:

"Mrs. Morris called at the Executive office yesterday at about 1 o'clock and asked to be allowed to see the President. At the time Secretary Loeb was engaged with the President, and Mr. Barnes saw her. Upon inquiry as to the nature of her business she stated with considerable reluctance that her husband had been unjustly dismissed from a branch of the War Department; that she did not propose to have anything to do with the Secretary of War concerning it, but that she wanted the President to take it up and see that justice was done.

"She was informed that the President could not give personal attention to such a matter, and that the decision of the Secretary of War would be final. She insisted that she must see the President, and when told that that was out of the question, she asserted in boisterous manner that she would not be prevented from seeing him, and that she would remain where she was for a month, if need be, unless she saw him sooner.

"She was allowed to remain for some moments. When Mr. Barnes returned to the reception room shortly after he found her pacing excitedly up and down the room and informed her as quietly as possible that she could not see the President and that it would be useless for her to remain longer. She replied in a loud voice that she would see him and that she would stay there until she did. She was then advised to drop the matter and to go away quietly.

"This, in still louder tones, she refused to do. She was then told that she must either leave the office at once voluntarily or it would be necessary to have her put out of the building. At this she shrieked at the top of her voice, 'I will not be put out,' rushed to a chair, threw herself into it and shouted: 'Don't you have any hands laid on me; I am going to stay here until I see the President.'

SCREAMS ECHOED THROUGH MANSION.

"Mrs. Morris's piercing shrieks were heard throughout the building, and it became necessary in the interest of order to have her removed. She was accordingly taken in charge by a police officer, who had wit-