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Biographical Sketch
of
Hon. David A. Hollingsworth
Cadiz, Ohio
With Selected Speeches and Incidents

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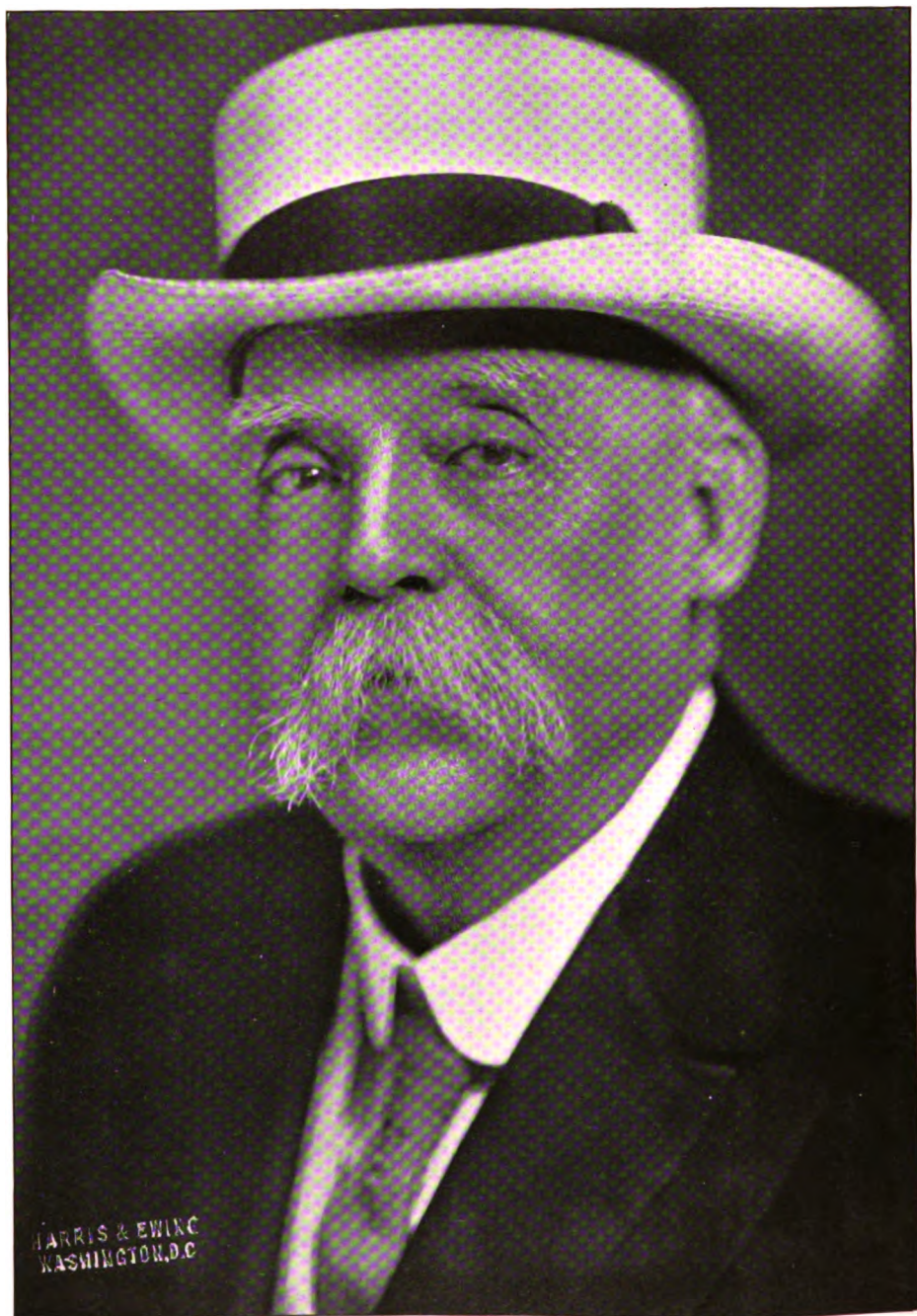
GIFT OF
THE AUTHOR

Compliments of the Authors

FAMILY friends of Gen. David A. Hollingsworth, of Cadiz, former congressman, have published a biographical sketch of him, with selected speeches and incidents, for complimentary distribution among members of the family and special friends. It is not for sale but copies of it may be seen in public libraries. It is a book of over three hundred pages, and, in addition to family and personal details, contains an interesting review of local district politics and politicians during the long years of Gen. Hollingsworth's political activities both as a candidate and public official.

*Of this book there is only a limited
number of which this is*

No. 157



Biographical Sketch

William A. Hollingworth
Cincinnati, Ohio

1861-1912

*For the J. and E. C. Co., Cincinnati, Ohio
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Biographical Sketch
of
Hon. David A. Hollingsworth
Cadiz, Ohio

WITH SELECTED SPEECHES AND INCIDENTS

*By his sister, Mrs. L. Ada Judkins Burtoft, St. Clairsville, Ohio,
author of "Memories," etc., and his nephew, Clyde
Hollingsworth Judkins, lawyer,
Cleveland, Ohio*

For Complimentary Distribution Only Among
Family and Special Friends

(The information contained in this volume, outside of the Congressional and other Public Records, has been largely gleaned from scrap-books and newspaper clippings, kept by a devoted, loving wife, a real companion in adversity as in prosperity, in shadows as in sunshine, during a long married life of intense mutual devotion and exemplary loyalty to duty. She died March 30, 1918; a noble woman, God's best gift to man.)

US 25m 1, 25



The Authors.

Published September 1, 1920

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Hollingsworth.

BIOGRAPHY

The following is quoted from the Biographical Directory of the Sixty-Fifth Congress:

Eighteenth Ohio District.—Counties: Belmont, Carroll, Columbiana, Harrison, and Jefferson. Population (1910), 253,735.

David Adams Hollingsworth, Republican, of Cadiz, was born November 21, 1844, at Belmont, Belmont County, Ohio; in early infancy moved with his parents to Flushing, Ohio; is a son of the late Elihu Hollingsworth, of Flushing, and a lineal descendant of Valentine Hollingsworth, Sr., of the Society of Friends, who in 1682 came to America in the ship *Welcome* with William Penn; his mother, Lydia Ann (Fisher) Hollingsworth, was a native of Virginia, daughter of Barak Fisher, a German farmer of near Gainesboro; was educated in the public schools and at Mount Union College; enlisted while a school-boy and served as a private soldier in Company B, Twenty-fifth Ohio Volunteer Infantry, in the Union Army; studied law, and was admitted to the bar September 17, 1867, at St. Clairsville, Ohio; was mayor of Flushing in the same year; located at Cadiz, Ohio, and began the practice of law in September, 1869; was elected prosecuting attorney of Harrison County in 1873, and re-elected in 1875; in 1879 was elected State Senator, and re-elected in 1881; was admitted March 1, 1880, to practice in the Supreme Court of the United States; was chairman of the Ohio Republican State Convention in 1882; in 1883, at the request of Gov. Charles Foster, who desired him to take charge of important tax litigation for the State in the supreme court, he resigned as State senator, and was appointed attorney general of Ohio to succeed George K. Nash upon his promotion to the supreme court commission; declined to be a candidate for election to the position, and at the close of his term, January 14, 1884, resumed the practice of law at Cadiz; was one of the organizers of the Ohio State Bar Association, and in 1908 acted as its chairman and delivered the annual address at Put-in-Bay; April 8, 1875, was married to Linda McBean, daughter of Dr. John McBean, of Cadiz, Ohio, a native of Scotland, whose father, a member of the McBean clan, married Jeane Campbell, of the Scotch clan of that name; two sons, Henry and Donald, died in childhood, and on March 30, 1918, Mrs. Hollingsworth died. He has always taken an active and intelligent interest in the business enterprises of his county and State. He is a Methodist, a Mason, an Elk, a Knight of Pythias, and

member of the G. A. R. He was elected in 1908 to the Sixty-first Congress from the sixteenth Ohio district, and in 1914 to the Sixty-fourth Congress from the eighteenth Ohio district, and in 1916 to the Sixty-fifth Congress, receiving over double his former plurality, although the national and State Republican tickets were defeated in Ohio.

ENGLISH ANCESTORS

The following early history of the Hollingsworth family is taken from authentic English annals:

HOLLINGSWORTH

The family is of Saxon descent. The estate was purchased A. D. 1022, in N. E. Cheshire, England. The name is derived from the Holly Tree and Worth (a farm), location Mottram. The Church of the family and the Hall, both several centuries old, are now standing, the family arms are on both. The late owner, Capt. Robert Hollingsworth, died in 1865. The buildings are very much out of repair. The estate is valued at 20,000 pounds. There are 625 acres.

The ancestral genealogy of the American branch of the Hollingsworth family, as it relates to the subject of this sketch, taken from church and contemporary public records, is as follows:

VALENTINE HOLLINGSWORTH, SR.

A member of the Society of Friends, probably born in Cheshire, England, about 1630 to 1640.

By tradition he married Catharine, daughter of Henry Cornish, High Sheriff of London, who was falsely accused of disloyalty to the Crown, and unjustly executed, October 23, 1685, during the turbulent reign of James II, of England, the bloodthirsty tyrant who was afterward driven from the throne by the Prince of Orange.

The historians, Hume and Macaulay, record the fact that, although King James subsequently discovered and punished the perjury of the witnesses against Cornish and granted an estate to his family, yet the cruel and atrocious character of this judicial murder did much to arouse the people of England and hasten the revolution, which, in 1688, resulted in deposing the king.



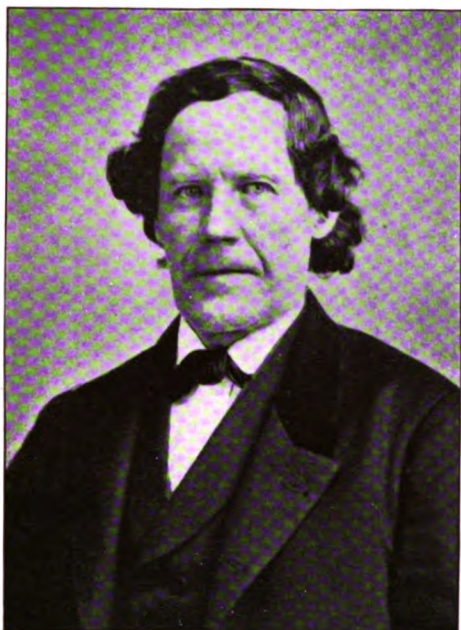
ELIHU HOLLINGSWORTH

From an early family portrait painted soon after his marriage, July 11, 1839



LYDIA ANN HOLLINGSWORTH

From an early family portrait painted soon after her marriage, July 11, 1839



ELIHU HOLLINGSWORTH, AGE 60



LYDIA ANN HOLLINGSWORTH, AGE 50



ELIHU HOLLINGSWORTH, AGE 83



LYDIA ANN HOLLINGSWORTH AGE 73

CHILDREN OF ELIHU AND LYDIA ANN HOLLINGSWORTH



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN HOLLINGSWORTH



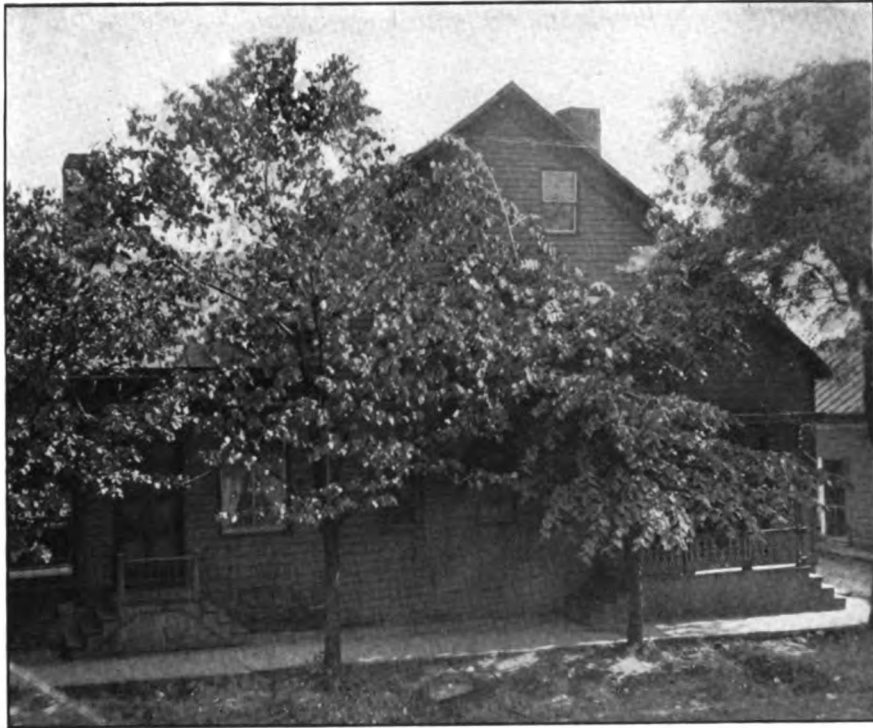
MARY LOUISA FARMER



DAVID ADAMS HOLLINGSWORTH



LAVINA ADELINE JUDKINS BURTOFT



THE HOLLINGSWORTH HOME AT FLUSHING, OHIO

*First house built in the town, a log cabin originally, but after purchase by
Elihu Hollingsworth was weather-boarded and a frame addition built.
Destroyed by fire September 27, 1918.*

After the accession to the throne by William and Mary, in 1689, this "wicked and infamous judgment," as Macaulay terms it, was annulled by special act of the British Parliament and the consequent attainder was reversed.

The family and contemporary public of England regarded the tragic incident as a mark of distinction.

Valentine's second wife, Ann Calvert, was a near relative of Cecilius Calvert (Lord Baltimore), founder of the colony of Maryland.

His descendants are quite numerous in Delaware, Maryland and eastern Pennsylvania; many of them have filled important positions of honor and trust, and they are connected by marriage and in business with some of the most prominent families of that section of the country. A part of the original land purchased by Valentine Hollingsworth, Sr., from William Penn in 1682 is still (1884) occupied by his descendants. It is located on the east side of the Brandywine, in New Castle County, Delaware, not far from where the famous battle at the crossing of that river was fought, in 1777, between the patriot forces under Gen. Washington and the British under Lords Cornwallis and Howe. He was a member of the Assembly from New Castle County in 1683 and in 1687, and again in 1695.

The family and descendants of Valentine Hollingsworth, Sr., in America, although generally adhering to the peaceful doctrines of the Friends, have been more or less distinguished as soldiers in every war in which the Colonies or the United States have been engaged. A number of them served under Washington during the Revolutionary War and were at times personally entrusted by him with difficult and important duties pertaining to the welfare of the army. He died in 17—, and was buried in the Friends Burying Ground at New Ark Meeting, near his residence.

The following facts are quoted from the recognized genealogical family tree of the American branch, showing a direct line of descent from the first immigrants through six generations to the subject of this biography, including the names and number of children in the family of each direct ancestor.

It is accurate, being taken largely from actual records of the Society of Friends, which, by a rule thereof, is required to keep a record of births. All children born in the Society become members thereof at birth by virtue of the membership of their parents.

Children of Valentine Hollingsworth, Sr., and his first wife, Catharine Cornish:

Thomas, born 16—, died at Winchester, Va., 1732 or 1733.

Henry, born 16—, died at Elkton, Md., 1721.

Catharine, born 1663, died in 1746, in her 83d year.

Mary, born 16—, died —.

By his second wife, Ann Calvert, who died in 1697:

Samuel, born 1672, died 1748.

Ann, born —, died —, married James Thompson in 1700.

Valentine, Jr., born —, died in 1757, married Elizabeth Heald in 1713.

John, born in America in 1684, died in 1722, married Catharine Tyler, 1706.

Joseph, born in America in 1686.

Enoch 1st, born —, died young in 1687.

Enoch 2nd, born —, died young in 1690.

Children of Thomas Hollingsworth 1st, of Rockland Manor, New Castle County, Delaware, son of Valentine Hollingsworth, Sr.; married Margaret —, first wife, and to them was born one son, Abraham, 1st month, 19th, 1686. She died 8th month, 1st, 1687.

By a second wife, Grace Cook, of Concord, children were born as follows:

Isaac, born 4th month, 16th, 1693; died 1699.

Elizabeth, born 11th month, 8th, 1694; married — Stroud, 1718.

Hannah, born 1st month, 17th; married William Dixon in 1718.

Thomas, born 12th month, 23d, 1698; married Judith Lampley in 1723.

Ann, born 5th month, 6th, 1701; died 1708.

Jacob, born 1st month, 4th, 1704; married Rachel Chandler in 1729.

Sarah, born 8th month, 7th, 1706; married John Dixon in 1724.

Joseph, born 3rd month, 11th, 1709; married Martha Haughton in 1730.

Grace, born 3rd month, 9th, 1712.

Children of Thomas Hollingsworth 2nd, son of Thomas 1st, of Rockland Manor; married Judith Lampley:

Susanna, born 2nd month, 13th, 1724; died 1754.

Grace, born 12th month, 27th, 1726; died 1729.

Thomas, born —; died 1727.

Thomas, born 2nd month, 13th, 1729; died 1799. Married Jane Smith, 1754.

Isaac, born 6th month, 13th, 1731; died 1795.

Nathaniel, born 8th month, 29th, 1733; died 1754.

Rachel, born 5th month, 13th, 1736.

Emmor (or Amor), born 5th month, 29th, 1739; died 1826; married Mary Chandler in 1766.

Christopher, born 3rd month, 15th, 1742; married Elizabeth Chandler in 1765.

Judith, born 5th month, 14th, 1744; married John Pyle in 1765.

Children of Thomas Hollingsworth 3rd, son of Thomas 2nd; married Jane Smith who died 5th month, 6th, 1825.

Nathaniel, born 8th month, 4th, 1755; married Abigail Green in 1783.

Thomas, born 10th month, 31st, 1756; died in 1834; married Susannah Jackson in 1798.

John, born in 1756; married Jemima Backhouse, 1781.

(Thomas and John were twins.)

Susannah, born 9th month, 12th, 1758; married Robert Burnet.

Mary, born 8th month, 29th, 1760; married George Chandler, of Ohio.

Err, born 6th month, 26th, 1762; married Phebe Mercer in 1795.

Levi, born 4th month, 22nd, 1764; married Mary Harry in 1789.

Judith, born 7th month, 21st, 1767; died 1769.

Aaron, born 6th month, 4th, 1769; died 1778.

Jane, born 9th month, 9th, 1771; died 1833.

Joshua, born 2nd month, 24th, 1774; married Hannah Harvey in 1798.

David, born 7th month, 3rd, 1777.

Children of Levi Hollingsworth, son of Thomas 3rd; married Mary Harry, 5th month, 28th, 1789, in Friends Meeting, Kennet, Pennsylvania, and moved to near Flushing, Ohio, in 1804, where he died June 11, 1829, and she died July 13, 1852. Both are buried in the Friends burying ground near the village.

Thomas, born in 1790; died in 1823, unmarried.

David, born in 1791; died in 1855.

Rachel, born in 1793; died in 1795.

Sarah, born 1st month, 29th, 1796; died 7th month, 30th, 1867; married Abraham Packer.

Hannah, born 11th month, 18th, 1798; died 4th month, 16th, 1884; Married Elisha M. Ellis.

Isaac, born in 1801; died in 1874; married Phoebe Kirk.

Susannah, born in 1803; married Samuel B. Scoles; died October 5, 1888.

Levi, born in 1805; married Lavinia Rogers in 1831, and raised a large family; second wife, Ann Eliza Allen; third wife, Elizabeth P. Braman.

Eli, born in 1807; married Elizabeth Ellis, February 28, 1827, first wife; second wife, Tabitha Thomas; large family. Died June 19, 1882.

John, born in 1809, 5th month, 9th, at Flushing, Ohio; died 3rd month, 22nd, 1886; married Elizabeth Ann Brock; four children: Geo. S., Catharine, Judge Jesse W., and Martha.

Mary, born in 1811; died in 1811.

Elihu, born at Flushing, Ohio, 1st month, 12th, 1813; died 11th month, 17th, 1897; married Lydia Ann Fisher, July 11, 1839.

Children of Elihu Hollingsworth, son of Levi; married Lydia Ann Fisher:

Benjamin F., born April 21, 1840; died June 1, 1863, unmarried.

Mary L., born March 20, 1842; died February 22, 1906; married Joseph Farmer and raised a family of seven children: Frank H., Frederick E., Lydia Ann, David T., Adaline B., Lucy M., and Ola Eta.

David Adams, born November 21, 1844; married Belinda (Linda) McBean, Cadiz, Ohio, April 8, 1875; two children, Henry and Donald; died in childhood.

Lavina Adaline (L. Ada), born March 2, 1849; married Francke Judkins, first husband, and raised a family of four children: Clyde H., Wheeler E., Anna Maude, and Rae D. Anna Maude married W. H. Boyd, of Cleveland, Ohio, and died, leaving Mary Gertrude Boyd a surviving daughter. Also one daughter, Mildred, since deceased. Second husband, Thomas Burtoft, of St. Clairsville, Ohio.

MOTHER

Lydia Ann Hollingsworth, mother of David Adams Hollingsworth, was a native of Virginia, youngest daughter of the late Barak Fisher, of near Gainesboro, in that State. He was of German descent, born Oct.

6, 1766, and was, at the time of his death, Dec. 8, 1831, one of the influential land owners of the Valley.

Although living in a slave State and surrounded with the social and other influences of slavery, he refused to countenance the institution and always cultivated his modest plantation with free labor.

After his death, his widow, Rhoda, with their four children, Joseph, Samuel, David Adams and Lydia Ann, moved to Belmont County, Ohio, where the widow died in 1835, aged about 57 years.

Lydia Ann Fisher, thus left an orphan, lived with a married half-sister, Lavinia, wife of Levi Hollingsworth, until her marriage to Elihu Hollingsworth, July 11, 1839.

The ancestors of Barak Fisher were early immigrants to America and were understood to be people of distinction.

WIFE AND CHILDREN

David Adams Hollingsworth was extremely fortunate in securing his life partner. He was married at Cadiz, April 8, 1875, to Linda McBean, a daughter of the late Dr. John McBean, native of Scotland, and for many years a prominent physician at Cadiz and in Harrison County, Ohio. Here she was born in 1845 and spent the early years of her life. When a young girl she went abroad as a companion to an older sister, Mrs. McMath, wife of Hon. Jesse H. McMath, Consul-General at Tangier, where she remained seven years, and where her home school training was supplemented not only by a thorough study of the books under private tutors, but by intelligent observation and experience in the manners and customs of court society, and, in mingling with the members of other embassies, she necessarily learned to speak and read the modern languages. Later, on the expiration of the term of service of Mr. McMath, she returned, a beautiful, intelligent and highly cultivated young lady with the added grace and charm of a society queen.

A few years afterwards she was married to Mr. Hollingsworth, then a struggling young lawyer just starting on his successful career, and she, with domestic traits as well as her cultivated nature, ready to encourage and second him in his ambitions. She was gifted with a retentive memory, a wonderful intellect, mind stored with classic lore, and ever ready in pleasant repartee or apt poetic quotation. Her force of character and genial

nature were attractive to all with whom she came in contact, while her never failing sympathy and generosity made friends with all who needed her help.

To Mr. and Mrs. Hollingsworth were born two sons, Henry and Donald, the death of whom in early childhood was to them a deep and lasting grief, but an abiding faith in the eternal wisdom of the Master enabled them to go forward in their chosen lifework.

During the six years spent in Washington she formed acquaintances and had for companions many cultivated people and met at social functions most of the distinguished foreigners having occasion to visit the national capital on business or pleasure. As those are who possess real ability and aptness at Washington, she was never allowed to remain idle but was constantly busy with social duties or in helping others. Her experience abroad made it easy for her to meet and speak with distinguished foreigners as well as cultivated women of our own country, and she greatly enjoyed the association. When her health failed, she, with the youthfulness of an endless future life illuminating her face, remained at her self-appointed tasks until compelled to give up and return to her home at Cadiz, where, surrounded by those who had known and loved her long and well, and with a vision that reaches beyond the stars, she was permitted for a short time to look out from the western windows of life into the purple twilight, unafraid.

Her passing was a great loss to Mr. Hollingsworth, the inspiration of her cheerful companionship gone, memories alone of wife and children lingering with him, he seemed to lose much of his desire for political advancement. He, however, went back to Washington and to hard congressional work and remained until his term of office expired, March 4, 1919. He then returned to his home at Cadiz, and, although urged by friends to seek further public honors, he declined, preferring the quiet life of a private citizen.

EARLY FAMILY HISTORY AND ARMY SERVICE

Elihu Hollingsworth, after his marriage out of the Society of Friends, with his wife joined the Methodist Episcopal Church, and, in after years, their children all followed their example.

Born, therefore, and reared in a Christian home, in a quiet Christian neighborhood, the home-life and school-boy days of David Adams Hollingsworth were comparatively uneventful until after his sixteenth year.

He was simply a sturdy, well-behaved, earnest, thoughtful American boy, apt in school and obedient to his parents and teachers. When not at the village school, he was busy assisting his father in a country store, or his mother with her household chores. He was a manly boy, both at home and at school.

It is related of him that when a cruel teacher undertook to use the rod and inflict severe and unjust punishment on one of his mates, he volunteered for the defense and informed the teacher that he would have two to lick, when, fearing the combined strength of the two boys, the faint-hearted teacher quickly changed his mind.

His most exciting adventures as a lad were in driving stock to the Wheeling market on foot over the old National Road for his uncle, John Hollingsworth, a famous stock-buyer and drover at Flushing in the days before railroad transportation interrupted such method of getting live stock to market. Often he spent an enjoyable evening at the "Good Intent," near St. Clairsville, and other similar taverns for the special accommodation of drovers, in listening to the weird tales of stock dealers who delighted in exploiting their experiences "along the pike."

And the boy was always ready to repeat such experiences to his chums on his return home. It delighted him; it was different from the humdrum life of a country village boy.

And when the tocsin of Civil War sounded in 1861, although less than seventeen years of age, too young for army service under the law, he ran off from home without the knowledge of his parents, with three other Flushing boys, S. S. Sultzer, J. T. White and J. C. Sultzer, and applied for enlistment in Company B, 25th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, whose captain, James Washburn, good-naturedly passed him in to the mustering officer with the other boys as being of the required age, eighteen years, and no embarrassing questions were asked him.

He immediately wrote his father and mother, explaining his youthful hopes and desires as to army service, and they, patriotically inspired, although regretting his tender years, thought it better to let the boy have his own way and made no attempt to have him discharged and sent home, as they might have done by legal process.

Possibly, it would have been better for him as he could better have withstood the stress and hardships of a soldier's life, had he waited until he was older, but the war fever was on, and like many others at the time, he feared the war might end before he had part in it. A bit of boyish romance added

to a loyal patriotic desire seemed to inspire him to offer his young life in defense of home and country without waiting for his muscles and limbs to further strengthen and harden with age.

As a result, after about two years of hard service, during which he took part in a number of battles, his health failed and he was honorably discharged on surgeon's certificate of disability and returned to his home at Flushing. Soon afterward, his health having improved, although forbidden re-enlistment in the regular service by the army surgeons who examined him, he accepted a lieutenant's commission from Gov. Todd in the Ohio State militia, and was for a time engaged in drilling and preparing reserve state forces for active field duty.

CHOOSING A PROFESSION

Meantime, he began his college training and preparation for admission to the bar, which took place at St. Clairsville, September 17, 1867.

A pious mother greatly desired that he enter the ministry, and his father offered him inducements to remain at home and engage with him in mercantile pursuits, but here again he persisted in following the bent of his own inclination against parental wishes, as he had done in entering the army.

From the first he was rated a success as a legal practitioner. He early determined to make it his life work, and it absorbed his energies to the exclusion of more inviting fields of profitable endeavor. He never speculated, never gambled, never trailed honor in the dust for office or gain.

FIRST CASE IN COURT

His first case in court was one of importance, and netted him a handsome fee, large as it then appeared in his eyes. Enoch Thomas, an old colored man, had shot and killed a young Negro at Flushing because of alleged familiarities in his home, and young Hollingsworth undertook his defense. The shot entered the back of his victim as he ran from the house. Thomas was promptly arrested and indicted for murder in the first degree, the penalty, if convicted, being death by hanging. The court appointed Judge D. D. T. Cowen, an experienced practitioner at St. Clairsville, with Hollingsworth, to make defense under the indigent prisoners act, and they accepted the responsibility. As the shot was in the back the usual plea of

self-defense seemed precluded, but "emotional insanity," as a plea in such cases, had already been used successfully in defense of white criminals, and it seemed to counsel as the only hope of saving the old man from the gallows. An outright acquittal under the circumstances could not be expected, but they thought it possible to reduce the offense to manslaughter or second degree murder at most, resulting only in a penitentiary sentence.

It was an uphill fight in court from the beginning, but the enthusiasm of a beginner at the bar and the calm, conservative reasoning of Judge Cowen finally prevailed with the jury, and a verdict of manslaughter was brought in and a sentence of five years in the penitentiary imposed by the judge.

A joint fee of four hundred dollars was allowed by the commissioners and, after receiving the same from the county treasurer, Judge Cowen called Hollingsworth into his office to divide, and in answer to an inquiry the latter expressed a willingness to accept a small fractional share, but leaving the division entirely to Judge Cowen, whose experience and friendship he highly appreciated. Without hesitation or further inquiry, the latter counted out two hundred dollars and handed it over, remarking, as though adding a bit of advice, "young man never depreciate your own services as a lawyer by offering to accept less as a fee than your co-counsel in any case. I have always acted on this rule, or I should now insist on you taking more, as you have really earned it." Hollingsworth was overjoyed; it was his first fee in court, and he needed the money badly, but he really prized more highly the advice and friendship of Judge Cowen, and, long afterward, at a bar meeting in the old court house, at St. Clairsville, on the day of the Cowen funeral, he recited the incident as one of the guiding influences of his own life-work.

Ambitious and successful to an extent in political preferment, Hollingsworth never permitted it to interfere with his one paramount purpose to become a successful lawyer, not merely in winning cases, but in profound knowledge of the science he loved.

Although the law in practice was an exacting master, it seemed to him as the "Voice of God and the harmony of the world," giving him inspiration in an honorable career at the bar of over fifty years.

LOCATES AND BEGINS PRACTICE AT CADIZ

Loving the quiet serenity of country life, away from the "madding crowd" of the cities, he selected as the place for beginning his professional

career the quiet, ideal county-seat town of Cadiz, noted for culture and an highly intelligent citizenship, and there he married and made his permanent home.

The bar at the time was composed of able and experienced lawyers, men of character and standing, men of the right type, who in an unusual degree exercised an influence for good in both church and state. It looked like tempting fate for a young man of twenty-four, a total stranger, without wealth or influential friends, to undertake the task of winning success under such conditions. But the older members of the bar received him kindly. John A. Bingham, then in his prime, an intellectual giant both at the bar and in congress, took special interest in him and spoke words of encouragement, inspiring him with hope and confidence. Bingham was his ideal, and, notwithstanding their disparity of ages, they became warm personal friends. One of the younger members of the bar, Major David Cunningham, who had studied law with Mr. Bingham, offered him a partnership which was accepted, and together they established the firm of Cunningham & Hollingsworth, which for twelve years enjoyed a reputation for honesty and fair dealing never excelled, and which brought to them a valuable clientage extending beyond local limits. It continued until the senior partner was elected president of The Harrison National Bank, which position absorbed most of his time and attention.

Mr. Cunningham was a rare, rugged, able, honest, unselfish man, whose friendship the subject of this sketch never forgot, and just the kind of friendship a young, ambitious lawyer needed.

Other friendships were formed among all classes, rich and poor alike, greatly to his advantage and for which he was duly grateful, among them being such men as J. M. Estep, nestor of the Cadiz bar, whose friendly assistance was generous and unselfish; W. B. Hearn, long publisher of the *Cadiz Republican* and acknowledged leading editorial writer of Eastern Ohio, whose friendly good will, wholly free of selfish designs or modern money-quest, was highly regarded; Rev. Dr. James Drummond, famous as a Methodist Episcopal divine, a special and valued friend, whose legal adviser he was and whose executor he became by special request in a will written by the testator; and many others of like distinction in other walks of life.

The following quotation as to his legal characteristics is taken from a local history of the county, published in 1891:

"David Adams Hollingsworth, during his residence in Cadiz, has justly gained and keeps one of the foremost places in the legal, political and religious circles of his county. In his legal practice, his counsel, based upon a thorough investigation of the principles of law, may always be relied upon as the real opinion of the adviser. So thoroughly has this principle of 'honest counsel' characterized his whole professional career that the community repose in him unquestioned confidence. He has shown himself a deep thinker, a clear reasoner, an eloquent advocate, the champion of right and ever the friend of the common people."

ENTERS POLITICS, BUT AS SIDE LINE ONLY, AND AT REQUEST
OF PARTY LEADERS

His first political office, after serving as county prosecuting attorney, was that of State Senator from the Harrison-Belmont district, to which he was elected in 1879. The district was then represented by a Democrat and the Republican managers in the State, anxious to secure a Republican legislature to retire the then Democratic U. S. Senator, were making a special effort to secure available local candidates who could be elected in close districts. It was Harrison County's turn to name the Republican candidate, as politics were then managed in the district. Gen. James A. Garfield, a Civil War veteran, afterward President, was understood to be the Republican candidate for United States Senator, and Col. John S. Pearce and Major David Cunningham of Cadiz, also Civil War veterans, were General Garfield's advisers as to local conditions, and, naturally enough, they insisted upon and easily brought about the nomination of Private Hollingsworth, whom they knew.

He proved a winning card for the Republicans and was elected by a substantial majority. Although he had not sought the office, on taking his seat at Columbus, in January, 1880, he resolved to give it his whole time and attention, even at the sacrifice for a time of his growing law business. The salary, five dollars per day during the session, was not enough to pay boarding for himself and family at the Neil, where they stayed, but he was building for the future.

Assigned to the Judiciary, among other important committees, he found congenial work and his term was a very busy one.

The rule of Republican nominations in the Harrison-Belmont district had been a single term alternating between two counties, and he was not

a candidate and did not seek renomination; did not attend the party convention, which was held at his old home town of Flushing.

But when the delegates assembled, although there were a number of good men willing to accept the uncertain honor, it was thought advisable from a party standpoint to make a renomination, which was done unanimously, and the convention adjourned without consultation with the nominee. Of course, he could not refuse a nomination thus made, and in a letter to the notification committee cordially expressed high appreciation of the endorsement given him. He was again elected by a largely increased majority.

His services during his two terms in the Ohio Senate were notable. As a preliminary, he quietly organized in the Sixty-fourth Senate a movement among the new members like himself for the formation of a special committee of Senators to arrange the standing committees of the body, which theretofore had been appointed by the Lieutenant Governor or President pro tem of the Senate. This new rule caused considerable feeling among the older members, who expected special recognition by the presiding officer, and it was said at the time that Lieutenant Governor Andrew Hickenlooper, a Civil War veteran and a very capable official, refused to preside on account of this supposed slight, although the members disclaimed any discourtesy. The journal of the Senate shows his almost continuous absence and only a very few laws were signed by him during the two years of his term. But the new rule has never been changed, showing clearly that its original adoption was not a personal matter.

As to his service in the State Senate and subsequently as Attorney General, the following quotation is adopted from a publication entitled "Biographical Sketches of Prominent Representative Citizens," printed soon after his retirement from the latter office, in 1884:

"In the Senate he took a leading part, serving as chairman of the committees on Judiciary, on Federal Relations, on Privileges and Elections, and on Railroads, Turnpikes and Telegraphs. In the last-mentioned position he was especially vigilant in guarding the interests of the people against the powerful railroad and other corporation influences of the State. Of his services in this respect, a writer at the time, in one of the leading newspapers of the State, said:

"Senator Hollingsworth's voice and vote are always felt in favor of the common people as against corporate monopolies, and the journals of the

Senate will show his active and intelligent support of all measures intended for the benefit of the working classes, such as those to provide for the safety and ventilation of mines, to require railroad companies to construct fences, crossings, and cattle guards at their own expense, to give laborers a prior lien for their wages in the construction of railroads, to prevent families of railroad employes from being deprived of the benefit of the homestead and exemption laws of Ohio, by the attachment of their wages in other States, to prohibit members of the Legislature and other State and county officials from accepting free passes on railroads, to prevent gambling in grain or cornering the provision markets, to preserve the purity of primary and other elections, and to prevent speculative or graveyard insurance, which has been completely broken up in the State by what is known as the 'Hollingsworth Law,' a measure introduced and successfully championed by him against powerful and determined opposition."

He was also watchful of the agricultural interests of the people, and was the first member of the General Assembly to call attention to the threatened reduction of the wool tariff in 1883, which he did by securing the adoption of a joint resolution opposing the recommendation of the tariff commission on that subject. Senator John Sherman afterward presented the resolution to the Senate of the United States for consideration.

Mr. Hollingsworth's most marked success, however, while a member of the Ohio Senate, was as chairman of the Judiciary Committee, which led to his appointment as Attorney General to succeed Attorney General George K. Nash, upon the promotion of that gentleman to be a member of the Supreme Court Commission.

By the request of Gov. Charles Foster, April 21, 1883, he resigned as Senator and accepted the position of Attorney General for the unexpired term of Judge Nash.

Among other legal questions claiming his official attention there were two of unusual importance, involving, as they did, the public revenues of the State. One related to the validity of an act passed by the General Assembly providing for the taxation of moneys, credits, and personal property converted during the year into "greenbacks," or other non-taxable securities, for the time the owner might hold such money, etc., during the tax year.

His opinion in support of the act happened to be the first one he was called upon to write after his appointment, and it naturally aroused the

opposition of a number of wealthy men in the State, who had previously been in the habit of avoiding such taxation by ignoring the law as unconstitutional. Many of the ablest lawyers at the bar also questioned his opinion and it was promptly taken into court for adjudication. After a number of contrary decisions in the lower courts, it finally reached the Supreme Court at Washington, where it was successfully argued and sustained by General Hollingsworth.

The other question grew out of the enforcement of what was known as the "Scott Liquor-Tax Law." The collection of this tax was resisted by the saloon keepers of the State, who employed ex-Governor Hoadly to argue the constitutionality of the act before the State Supreme Court. General Hollingsworth presented and argued the case on behalf of the State. In an elaborate opinion, delivered by the late Judge McIlvaine, the court sustained the law.

Its provisions, however, were subsequently nullified by a partisan decision in 1884, after the personnel of the court had changed. But this latter decision was never accepted as sound law, either by the people or bar of the State, and soon afterward the General Assembly substantially reenacted the law in the form now found on the statute books, and known as the "Dow Law."

Its validity has long since ceased to be questioned.

At the close of his term of office, General Hollingsworth declined to be a candidate for the position, and, on January 14, 1884, voluntarily resumed the practice of law at Cadiz.

The *Ohio State Journal* of the same day contains the following editorial mention of the fact:

"Attorney General Hollingsworth, after a busy term of eight months, today retires from office, leaving a clear docket for his successor. Besides attending to the usual number of trial causes in the Supreme and other courts on behalf of the State, he has officially rendered exactly two hundred written opinions, and has collected and paid into the State treasury the sum of \$40,652.76. He will return to Cadiz and hereafter devote his attention exclusively to private practice."

The annual salary of the Attorney General was at the time only two thousand dollars. Years afterward, when violations of the liquor statutes and consequent prosecutions of offenders increased, and the sale of intoxicants and complaints of the drink habit became more acute in the State,

these official opinions of General Hollingsworth were printed in book form and kept in the Attorney General's office as authoritative references on the subject. They cover substantially all the many-sided angles of the temperance and prohibition questions in the State during the last half century, finally resulting in the recent sweeping prohibition amendments to the State and Federal constitutions. It is said by lawyers that not one of these opinions has ever in principle been reversed by the courts.

He himself has always been a teetotaler in practice, following home example and precept, and was an early and bold advocate of general prohibition, but always insisted on opposition being strictly confined to the forms of law. He never believed in Carrie Nation methods nor in the personal persecution of the individual dealer, so long as the traffic in which the dealer engaged was recognized as legitimate by the State.

He believed in the "square deal" and distinguished between the individual citizen, otherwise of correct habits, and the liquor business itself, in which such dealer was engaged. He vigorously opposed the traffic along legal lines and claimed such opposition to be the individual right of every citizen, but, on the other hand, he recognized the same right in other citizens to defend it according to their own conscientious convictions of duty. He was liberal in thought and tolerant; never arrogated to himself superior virtue, feeling that all citizens acting within the prescribed limits of existing laws were entitled to respectful consideration and the protection of the State. He fought the laws authorizing the traffic, not individual citizens who mistakenly engaged in the business under the forms of law; he refrained from personal abuse, although striking trenchant blows at a business which from youth he had been taught and believed inimical to the best interests of the human race.

As an official he never compromised or temporized with violations of the law; he believed in punishment fitting the offense, both as a penalty and a deterring example to others.

As an illustration of this, when he was Prosecuting Attorney, a small liquor dealer in Cadiz persisted in making illegal sales, against public sentiment and against the protest of a number of good women banded together in crusading spirit, who watched and, peeping through a window, saw him in the act. A complaint was filed and heard before a justice of the peace, where, refusing to plead guilty and pay the usual small fine assessed by justices, he denied under oath the statement of the women and was bound over

to court. Here the whole matter was opened up before the grand jury and, having the evidence before it of two offenses, selling contrary to law and false swearing before the justice, he was indicted for the latter. It was a penitentiary offense, and resulted in a stubborn defense in court. He was not, as generally understood, a bad citizen, and his friends rallied to his support. The Prosecuting Attorney was urged by influential friends to accept a plea of guilty of the lesser offense and shut his eyes to the greater, but his reply was that it was then beyond his control as a sworn official. His duty was clear. Conviction followed an exciting trial in court and the prisoner was sentenced to the penitentiary. But, as stated, he was not generally regarded as a bad citizen, and, after a few months reflection, his friends presented to the Governor a numerously signed petition asking for his pardon, in which the Prosecuting Attorney joined on condition that he would not again engage in the business. He never did; he lived a correct life until his death, a blessing to his family and much respected by his neighbors.

It was a good example and doubtless deterred other evil-doers, so that, when Hollingsworth's term as Prosecuting Attorney expired, there was not an open saloon in Harrison County, although the liquor laws of the State were at that time quite lax.

In 1881, as shown by the journal of the Ohio Senate of that year, Senator Hollingsworth offered for adoption a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the State constitution providing for State-wide prohibition, probably the first ever offered in the State, but only three Senators voted with him on the subject.

In 1882, in an opening address as chairman of the Ohio State Republican convention at Columbus, he startled time-serving politicians of both parties by openly expressing his personal preference for a prohibition plank in the platform instead of the regulation-by-taxation feature adopted and favored by the party that year.

But as the time for this advanced step had not yet come in the judgment of his party associates, and hoping to get the best results he could out of present conditions, his printed address shows that he gave his adhesion to the party platform in these words:

"On State issues the Republican party has taken an advanced position. For years the order-loving people of the State have watched the rapid increase of pauperism, insanity and crime; they have seen the benevolent

and reformatory institutions of the State, and our county almshouses filling up with wrecked humanity, and our penitentiaries and jails overflowing with the criminal classes; patiently they have noted the annual increase of the appropriations necessary for the maintenance of these institutions, and in the amount of costs paid by the State and counties for criminal prosecutions, but they have cheerfully and in a spirit of pure benevolence paid the heavy taxes on their land and other property made necessary by these enormous outlays.

"Naturally, however, they have been led to inquire the cause, and investigation seems to have satisfied them that this increase in crime and misfortune is largely caused by intemperance, superinduced by an almost unrestrained and untaxed traffic in intoxicating liquors. The industrious farmers and artisans of the State have been unable to satisfy themselves that it is either right or fair to tax them to keep up these expenditures while those engaged in this traffic are permitted to escape with the paying of little or nothing to the State. They feel that so long as the traffic is continued it should be required to assist in bearing the public burdens. Accordingly, and in deference to this feeling, the present General Assembly, at its recent session, passed a law designed to accomplish this object. It was of doubtful constitutionality, it is true, and has since been set aside by a divided Supreme Court, but nevertheless the fact remains that the Republican party by this act of the Legislature has said that if this traffic continues it is right to tax it and thus relieve in part the heavy burdens imposed upon the property of the people, and also, if possible, restrict and restrain its pernicious influence; and the Democratic party, by opposing the law, has said as unequivocally that in this business, as in other respects, it is in favor of free trade.

"Speaking for myself, I believe an amendment to the constitution should be submitted by the General Assembly in such form as to leave the whole subject to the sovereign people, and, when their judgment is fairly expressed at the polls, it should be regarded as final. In no other way, it seems, can the troublesome question be put at rest."

Speaking further on another reform agitating the people in that day, Chairman Hollingsworth said:

"The Republican party is warned that it will lose votes by reason of another law passed by the Legislature, which requires the closing of all places where intoxicating liquors are sold on the first day of the week,

commonly called Sunday. We are told substantially that the law-making power of the State must not interfere with the habits of the people on this day, however much they may indulge in Sabbath desecration. The threat is made that the Republican party shall be defeated, because a Republican Legislature dared to provide for a quiet, orderly observance of this one day of rest. For one, I accept the issue. For one, I am willing to stand by the action of the General Assembly on this subject. The bill was introduced by a Republican, and became a law mainly by Republican votes, the Democratic members having, with a few shining exceptions, recorded themselves against it. As a political measure it is therefore the offspring of the Republican party, and notwithstanding threats of disintegration, it will not abandon the work of its own hands. Ohio is not puritanically proscriptive, but on a question of Sabbath or no Sabbath, it is Republican by an immense majority. Let the Democratic party squarely endorse the record made by the Democratic members of the General Assembly last winter, in favor of free whiskey and no Sunday, and it will be buried under an adverse majority, in October, greater than that which sent Vallandigham to his political grave, in 1863. The Republican party of Ohio is ready for this issue."

It was a notable convention. Many of the delegates were men of national prominence. Ohio at the time was more conspicuous in the councils of the Republic than later, when the center of political power began to move further westward. William H. Taft, a future President, sat as a delegate and personally moved the adoption of the platform which, on moral issues, was constructed as closely as the public sentiment of the day would permit along the lines of the chairman's speech. It was presented to the convention from the Committee on Platform by Senator Pringle, of Clarke County, one of the four Senators who had voted for the Hollingsworth prohibition resolution.

It follows:

"Resolved, That the tax-paying people of the State demand that by specific taxation the traffic in intoxicating liquors shall be made to bear its share of the public burdens, and that the constitution in so far as it may be an obstacle in the way of the exercise by the people through their representatives of practical control over the liquor traffic, to the end that the evils resulting therefrom may be effectually provided against, should be amended at the earliest date allowed by law."

"Resolved, That all laws upon the statute books must be respected and enforced until repealed by legislation, or abrogated by legal authority."

Consistently, General Hollingsworth maintained his attitude on temperance and prohibition for many years, giving support to all reasonable measures proposed to advance the cause of temperance, getting the best he could for it out of changing conditions and sentiment from time to time, although results were not up to his ideals, until finally, in 1918, Ohio adopted State-wide prohibition, and, in 1919, the Secretary of State of the United States, under the forms of law, was able to proclaim universal nation-wide prohibition.

It was a proud day for America when this was done, although public comment, pro and con, of approval and disappointment, was much indulged in among the people and by public men, according to their own individual feelings and judgment.

The following quotation from the Congressional Record of January 17, 1919, shows the diverse views of Congressman Stafford, of Wisconsin, an opponent, and Congressman Hollingsworth, of Ohio, who had favored it:

"Mr. Stafford—Yesterday it was announced by the gentleman from California (Mr. Randall), and the papers of this morning and of last evening carry in bold headlines, that the national prohibition amendment had been ratified by three-fourths of the States. It means that the National Government is going to be the police officer of the nation; that instead of localities, small and large, seeking to enforce the State regulatory systems as to the sale of liquors, that burden is to be thrown upon the National Government. Instances have been called to my attention where manufacturers are already advertising small stills for the private use of individuals in the making of alcoholic drinks for their individual use. * * * No one can tell how large an appropriation will be required if the national prohibition law is to be enforced in communities where the sentiment is strongly opposed to that strict character of legislation."

"Mr. Hollingsworth—Mr. Chairman, apropos of the statement of the gentleman from Wisconsin, the announcement in the morning papers that on yesterday, January 16, 1919, the national prohibition amendment to the Constitution of the United States was formally ratified by the State of Nebraska, the thirty-sixth State required to complete its adoption as part of the organic law of the country, marks an epoch-making period in the life of the Republic and must take rank in history along with the Declaration

of Independence, Lincoln's proclamation of freedom, the surrender at Appomattox, and the recent world victory of the American and allied armies over autocracy and absolutism in the world.

"It is a moral triumph of immeasurable importance to future generations.

"This House may well, therefore, today pause for a moment to congratulate itself on the vote just one year and one month ago of 282 for and 128 against submitting the proposed amendment to the several States for ratification under the orderly forms provided by law.

"With conscious pride, but wholly without personal prejudice against those who do not agree with me, I add to my remarks a brief quotation from the remarks I made in the House on that occasion:

"I shall vote for the resolution. Therefore I only deem it necessary to explain to those friends who do not agree with me.

"On the general subject of prohibition there is a decided difference of opinion in Ohio. The recent State vote on the subject was not decisive—at least was not sufficiently so to deter its friends from bringing up the subject again. But in the Congressional district which for a time I have the honor of representing the majority for prohibition was large, as it was also at the previous election when the question was submitted to the voters so that it might be said to be an instruction on this point to the district Congressman, even if he did not personally agree in sentiment.

"Besides, while I have always tried to deal squarely and treat every law-abiding citizen with due respect, respecting the individual judgment of all men in my district, my own home environment, personal thought and feelings have always been practically opposed to the use of intoxicants in any form.

"Over 6,000,000 people have petitioned Congress for its submission, more than have ever before petitioned Congress on any subject.

"What fair answer can be given for refusing their request for a vote on the subject? Can we say that the citizenship of the Republic is not to be trusted?

"Besides, for me to refuse to so vote would be to stultify a long personal, political and official record. As early as 1881, when a member of the Ohio Senate, as the journal of that year will show, I voted to submit the question of State-wide prohibition to the people of the State. The

next year, 1882, as chairman of the Republican State convention at Columbus, in my opening address I personally favored prohibition, although it was not then as popular as it is now. Freely recognizing, during the thirty-odd years intervening since I thus began voting on the subject, the right of everyone to exercise his own individual judgment in a political way, I have never sought to hide under a bushel my own record or views, public or private.

“‘It is too late now to begin, if I wished; too late to dissemble even if a candidate for re-election, which I am not.’”

(Applause.)

And yet, notwithstanding his expressed friendly attitude toward prohibition, he did not escape criticism. At his last election to Congress, in 1916, over a thousand voters of the district cast their ballots for a third-party prohibition candidate, the only effect of which was to weaken his chances of election without any hope of electing their own party candidate. Political opponents in the Democratic party also sought by unworthy methods to deceive temperance people into believing him friendly to the liquor interests of the district. They called attention to the fact that he was not loud in personal abuse of those who did not believe with him on the subject, and one conscienceless politician actually forged a letter purporting to be written by him requesting special saloon influence and promising reciprocity on his part, copies of which letter in large numbers were circulated by auto trips into the outlying temperance sections of the district, after dark on the night before the election, to deceive temperance voters at the last moment when too late to make correction as to its real character.

It was also printed with startling headlines in a late evening paper whose editor, although a bitter partisan Democrat, was a man of high character and truth.

But it failed of its purpose, although viciously intended. Its originator and the plotters with him in the nefarious scheme had not reckoned upon the sturdy reputation for honesty and probity of character long established by the victim they sought to stab in the dark. It fell like a poisoned arrow winged against a stone wall.

Before his service in the State Senate, Mr. Hollingsworth had acquired quite a reputation as a public speaker, not only at the bar and in political campaigning, but on all general subjects in which the people were interested. He had frequent invitations to address the public schools and school insti-

tutes and, as showing his early trend of thought on such subjects, the following address at a school commencement at Cadiz, in 1877, is here copied:

(From *Cadiz Sentinel*.)

CADIZ PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Address of D. A. Hollingsworth, Esq., to the Graduating Class, on
Friday Evening, June 1, 1877

Graduates of 1877—I congratulate you on your attainments. I congratulate you on having patiently and diligently studied the various branches of learning prescribed in the curriculum of Cadiz High School, and on having severally passed a successful and very creditable examination. I congratulate you—not that your education is now finished, but that you have proven yourselves capable of mastering the intricate problems of science, and that your success, hitherto, as shown by the diplomas you have just received, is a satisfactory assurance of your future. Specially do I congratulate the numerous young ladies of this class, two of whom, by winning the honors, have added new proof that the long-existing prejudice against female education is unjust and unfounded. You cannot have failed to notice, in studying history, that in ancient times—and not very ancient, either—women were not treated with the same consideration and respect they now enjoy; that they were kept in almost total ignorance, and restrained of their liberties, like so many amiable pets; and, indeed, in many parts of the world today, they are treated little better than slaves; in some places worse. However, as nations became more and more civilized and enlightened greater liberties and larger opportunities were accorded to women, and now, in many countries—notably in our own free land—there are few fields of competition to which they are not freely admitted, and the prejudice which excludes them from these is fast dissolving. In fact, a veritable revolution seems to have commenced against this prejudice, and as it is said “revolutions seldom go backward” we may reasonably expect ere long to see the last shackle broken and women elevated to an equality with man, civilly, religiously and politically. You may not, young ladies, live to witness the full success of this revolt against established custom, but you should, nevertheless, prepare yourselves by proper educational training to discharge well any possible duty destiny may have in store for

you. The commencement exercises of this evening truly mark the commencement of a new epoch in the life of each member of the class. Some of you may go hence to begin a higher course of training in some collegiate institution; others, doubtless, will at once enter the busy practical scenes of life, but remember, whatever may be your future occupation, that the successful man or woman never ceases to be a student. A cultured observer will everywhere discover new problems, the solution of which tends to broaden and strengthen the powers of the mind, which is the true end and aim of education. To such an one nature presents a vast unexplored field for intelligent thought; landscape, forest, mountain, meadow, river, sunshine and shower, each furnishing a distinct subject for reflection. It is the same in every department of business. There is as much science in intelligently tilling the soil and causing it to produce in extra abundance as there is in properly applying the principles of *materia medica*. There is as much mental labor, intelligent thought and genuine education required of the skilled artisan and inventor who causes the busy whirr of machinery, as of one who successfully unravels the intricacies of legal science, or establishes a new principle in law. And even in the humbler walks of life everywhere, there are rich subjects of thought to be found that rival in intricacy the most profound propositions of theology. We are taught that the mighty power of steam was discovered by an intelligent observation of the simple operation of water boiling in a tea kettle—possibly in some old lady's kitchen—and the falling of an apple in a farmer's orchard led Sir Isaac Newton to the grand discovery of the principle of gravitation. So it will be with you in whatever vocation you engage, in the great drama of life, you will be continually surrounded by rich treasures of knowledge, enjoyable only by the intelligent, educated observer, and the choicest gems will be discovered by those of you who are best qualified. You may not, indeed, any of you, discover new principles in science that will immortalize your names like that of Newton, but the fact that it is possible to do so should encourage you to put forth energy of body and mind toward the acquisition of knowledge. If you do this your lives, in any event, will not be failures, even if you should not succeed in entering your names on fame's immortal scroll.

I do not mean by education a knowledge of books alone, however important their contents. They are channels through which we obtain useful and indispensable information, and a proper study of the rich treasures contained in them tends to develop and strengthen our intellectual powers. Without books science would be chaotic and history traditional. Yet the

diligent student, after mastering the most difficult curriculum of our colleges, often finds himself unable to make any practical use of his acquirements. Why? Why are there so many educated failures in the world? We often hear it said of this or that man, when engaged in a very humble vocation, that he has a splendid education and should occupy a high and honorable position in life; and of this or that lady, who appears somewhat dull or stupid in society, that she is in fact educated and accomplished, fitting to reign as society's queen. On the other hand, we find men with limited school training honorably filling high positions of trust and responsibility, and sometimes the brightest, wittiest, apparently the most accomplished young lady of society, is found to be comparatively unlettered. I ask, why is this? Is it because of superior mental endowments, naturally? Partially so, no doubt, yet we sometimes see, seemingly, the dullest student in the class afterwards become the most successful in life. Our most brilliant generals, during the war, were not of those who stood at the head of their class at West Point; some of them barely passed the requisite examinations, and a few came from civil life without a previous military education. To me this is mysterious. I cannot account for it, unless students sometimes in their anxiety to acquire a knowledge of books, lose sight of the important fact that the principles contained in them are of little use unless they also learn to apply them to the practical business of life. Education, like wealth, is chiefly valuable by reason of the good we may accomplish with it in the world. A mind filled with educational theories and principles, without the power of utilizing them, is like a miser's safe, filled with precious treasure. They are both comparatively useless to their possessors and so far as the world is concerned they might as well be at the bottom of the Atlantic. The times are ripe for broad culture, liberal, practical scholarship, thorough school training, such knowledge and such training as will the better enable one to contend successfully in the great conflict of life. I trust and believe your education so far has been of this character. I infer so from your examinations during the week and your literary productions this evening, from the well-known ability and industry of your teachers, and from the kind of school apparatus and appliances furnished by the Board for the practical illustration of the principles of science. Hitherto, the advantages afforded you for acquiring useful knowledge have been most excellent, unsurpassed by few public schools anywhere; hereafter your opportunities will be such as you may acquire. If you should be permitted to continue your education in some higher institution of learning under the direction of com-

petent instructors you will indeed be fortunate, and your success in life rendered more certain. If, however, this evening's exercises should mark the close of your school days, you should not be discouraged, but remember that the powers of the mind cannot be controlled by circumstances, and that the world itself is one vast school of instruction. You will require a little more energy, a little more perseverance, your labors will be a little more difficult, but success will be within your reach. Whatever your future advantages may be, you can all obtain a liberal education and thus qualify yourselves to occupy any position in life to which you may aspire.

In the acquisition of knowledge, however, you should not forget that it is possible for it to prove a curse to you. To a mind disordered by a want of moral integrity education only furnishes additional facilities for committing crime. You should therefore continually cultivate that integrity of character, and honesty of purpose which distinguish the true man or woman everywhere. If to these you add the specific virtues of christianity it will be all the better, and when the evening shadows lengthen, and the last ray of light is glimmering on the horizon of life, you can bid adieu to mortality without regret, knowing that you leave the world better for having lived in it.

After his election to the State Senate, his reputation as a public speaker became state-wide and he was frequently called upon for addresses in the cities and different parts of the state.

He and Gov. Foster often spoke from the same platform as may be inferred from the following newspaper clipping:

(From *Cleveland Leader*, May 25, 1882.)

SAD CENTENNIAL

The Observance at the Village of Gnadenhutten
Of the Hundredth Anniversary of the Indian Massacre
The Historic Spot and Its Monuments and Memories
Vast Crowds — Addresses by Foster and Hollingsworth

Special Dispatch to the Leader

GNADENHUTTEN, O., May 24.—The one hundredth anniversary of the killing of ninety Christian Indians at the Moravian mission at this place, in 1782, by Captain David Williamson's company of settlers from along the Ohio, was observed today with public ceremonies.

Gnadenhutzen is a small hamlet of about 300 souls, lying south of the Pan Handle Railroad, six miles west of the junction of that road with the Cleveland, Tuscarawas Valley & Wheeling Railroad. The village lies in a fertile little valley, through which flows the Tuscarawas River. Wooded hills, now all green, shut in the view on every side. The people here are mostly of German descent, and belong largely to the Moravian church.

The Moravian Indian settlement of one hundred years ago was on the east bank of the river, on the southwestern border of the present village. There is located the green and shady Village Cemetery.

The western half is sacred to the location of the ill-fated Indian village. The cemetery is level, and shaded by tall sycamores, thorny locusts and other trees.

About the center of the western half stands the solid, gray sandstone monument, thirty-five feet high, erected ten years ago the 5th of next month. Its date is on the eastern face. On the western is this inscription:

Here
Triumphed in Death Ninety
Christian Indians.

March 8, 1782.

GNADENHUTTEN

Governor Charles Foster and Senator Hollingsworth arrived at 9:45 a. m. The Governor had come directly from Washington by way of Steubenville, and the Senator come from Cadiz. They were met at the railway station by carriages, brass bands, and a great crowd. A procession was formed and moved directly to the cemetery, where an immense crowd had gathered.

Judge Barnhill called the assembly to order at 11:18 a. m. There were perhaps 7,000 or 8,000 people gathered about the stand. Judge Barnhill requested strict attention, and introduced Bishop Van Vleck, who presented

THE ADDRESS OF WELCOME

The Bishop said the long looked for day had arrived, and various duties were assigned different gentlemen. He spoke of the presence of the

Moravian missionary from Canada with three Christian Indians. The most pleasing duty, the Bishop said, had been assigned to him. He said the occasion was peculiar, not a holiday, but a sacred occasion. The gathering was to commemorate, not the foul deed, which should be forgotten, but the triumphant death of the Christian victims, giving up their lives rather than to resist with weapons. They died forgiving their murderers, with prayers on their lips, which they were enabled to do only by the grace of God. The Bishop closed by extending a hearty welcome in the name of the Moravian and Methodist congregations at Gnadenhutten.

Rev. Mr. Arter offered prayer. Rev. Mr. Hagan read from the scriptures, Revelation vii. 9-17. A choir of mixed voices sang an anthem, "Praise ye the Lord." Judge Barnhill then introduced Senator Hollingsworth, the orator of the day, who spoke as follows:

HOLLINGSWORTH'S ORATION

Gnadenhutten—Tents of Grace! Earth, air and heaven combine to render sacred the memories which cluster around this historic spot. Nature has been lavish of her charms; art has added new beauties. This fertile valley, teeming with endless variety of animal and vegetable life; these picturesque, verdure-crowned hills; yonder river sparkling in the sunshine; the balmy air; the morning dawn; the mid-day sun; the lengthening shadows of evening; and the resplendent blue-arched dome above, all tend to invest this hamlet and its surroundings with a charm that is strangely fascinating to the senses. An artist or a poet might linger here for days, absorbed in contemplating the romantic beauties of the place, without giving as much as a single thought to the interesting reminiscences of the past. But on an occasion like the present, it seems fitting that we should call to remembrance, and take a retrospective view of the scenes and incidents of long ago—those which have made the Tuscarawas valley one of the most famous regions in the annals of American history. In this way we get a better idea of, and learn to appreciate more highly, the advantages of modern civilization. The gradual transition of a people from a state of barbarism to an enlightened, well-governed commonwealth, furnishes an interesting study, and is sure to reveal incidents of heroism that are worthy to be preserved in history.

The panorama presented by a rude hut in the wilderness, followed by a log building used jointly as a school-house and place of worship, then by

cultivated farms with splendid residences, and filled barns, school, and church edifices, public roads, hamlets, villages, cities, and other evidences of advancing civilization, furnishes a brief history of every enlightened community. These successive periods, or rather changes, serve as mile posts to mark the progress of a people. Occasionally an important event happens—sometimes a tragedy or dark crime—which in its result affects the whole history of a people. A single act of vandalism often involves a nation in war; the foolish act of an individual ruler, like that of Napoleon III, in declaring war against Prussia, sometimes destroys a dynasty, and one unfortunate occurrence like the capture and execution of old John Brown, has been known to precipitate a civil war of sufficient magnitude to convulse a continent. One act of useless cruelty will often prolong the horrors of war, provoke retaliation, render the struggle more sanguinary, and in the end engender feelings of revenge and vindictive hatred, which live and burn in the mind long after a declaration of peace. Such an act was the useless and unjustifiable murder of Christian Indians, men women, and children, at this place, on the 8th day of March, 1782. The unparalleled ferocity of the act, the cruel treachery by which it was accomplished, and the peaceable innocent, defenseless character of the victims aroused the neighboring tribes to such a pitch of frenzy that new and unheard of horrors were added to the cruelties of the war then in progress between England, with her Indian allies, and the American colonists. Peace was postponed, and the tomahawk and scalping knife claimed new victims in revenge for this wanton slaughter of unarmed Christians. The tortures of the stake were invoked to satisfy the demon of revenge. Even a declaration of peace between the belligerents failed to assuage this vindictive desire for blood. Murder, rapine, and violence continued for years to run riot all along the border. Practical extermination of some of the Indian tribes seemed to be essential to public safety, and it was only after long years of savage warfare that life and property became secure in the Tuscarawas valley. No computation can be made of the loss of life and property directly traceable to this unfortunate tragedy, and its results have been most disastrous in retarding the settlement of the county.

The details of the massacre have been told and retold until they are familiar to every household. They read like a chapter of tragic romance, but unfortunately, in this instance, truth is stranger than fiction. The Christian character and heroic fortitude of these murdered Indians, and their sublime, god-like resignation in the hour of dissolution, are worthy

to be engraved on the tablets of memory. They touch the chords of our better natures, and cause every instinct of humanity to revolt at a crime, the recital of which forms one of the darkest, cruelest, bloodiest pages in the history of the state. Would that it could be blotted from the record. But as this cannot be done, it behooves us, in celebrating this centennial anniversary, to carefully study the circumstances attending the massacre, the causes which led to it, and the consequences which followed, with a view to learn, if we can, some useful lessons that will aid in solving the Indian problem of today.

Senator Hollingsworth then recited minutely the details of the Moravian missionary work among the Indians in the Tuscarawas Valley. Of the Indian customs he said:

Their moral character, however, presented different traits in different tribes; some were licentious and wanton, others virtuous, honest, and truthful. As a rule they were proud, vindictive, and cruel. Cannibalism was not unknown. They were absolutely free, acknowledged no master, and yielded obedience to no positive law. Their chiefs did not rule in the ordinary sense, their authority being based upon personal influence, and upon the skill with which they guided their followers. They could not be enslaved. The germ of that grand principle of self-government, which has since ripened into full fruition in this country, seems to have existed among them, although in a crude, undefined form. In their primitive state they were without religious convictions, not a single aboriginal language containing a word to express the idea of a true God. True, they had a vague belief in a superior being, exalted above all the rest, but in their minds he was circumscribed by time, space, and bodily form. They worshipped idols, believed in sacrifices, were superstitious, and sacredly regarded dreams and charms. The popular notion that the Indian originally believed in one Great and Almighty Spirit is incorrect. Such belief grew into existence only after they had been brought into contact with the white race. This fact is abundantly attested by the earliest records of the Jesuit teachers. I am aware that the pen of romance has clothed "the noble red man" with exalted virtues, and invested their warriors with a reputation for heroic valor, but we have the authority of Rev. David Zeisberger, a truthful missionary, one who knew them intimately, loved them, lived with them, was adopted by them, and became a member of one of their tribes, to the effect that they were (morally considered) vile, degraded savages, given

to vice and immorality of the most detestable character, vindictive; licentious, and wholly unrestrained by religious influences. His testimony is conclusive. Under these circumstances, the triumph of the Cross among them was truly wonderful. It required courage, faith, and devout consecration in those who undertook the task of "winning souls" among such a people. But, nothing daunted, these messengers of the Gospel sent out from Herrnhut began to teach them the story of redeeming love. Their labors were not in vain. The harvest was ripe for the sickle of the Lord.

Moravian mission stations were established all along the Atlantic coast from Massachusetts to Georgia, and extending far back into the forests of the interior. The object, as subsequently stated by Rev. David Zeisberger and other missionaries, in a letter to Governor St. Clair, was "to preach the Gospel to the Indians, establish schools among them, inculcate habits of industry and sobriety, and instruct them to live a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty. To this end these zealous missionaries consecrated their lives. No earthly reward awaited them; modern salaries were unknown. It was even a rule among them to earn their own livelihood by bodily labor. They lived and dressed in the Indian style, that they might the more readily gain the confidence of those with whom they labored. They eschewed all controversial questions in theology, and sought to teach the plain, simple story of the Cross; they established rules for the government of the congregations, which were read at the commencement of each year, and no one was permitted to live at the stations without a solemn promise to strictly conform to them. Some of these rules are models of excellence, and would do honor to many Christian congregations of today. Such, for instance, as the following:

We will know of no God, nor worship any other but Him who has created us and redeemed us with His most precious blood.

We will rest from all labor on Sunday.

We will honor father and mother, and support them in age and distress.

No thieves, murderers, or drunkards shall be suffered among us. No one that attendeth dances, sacrifices, or heathenish festivals can live among us. We will not be idle and lazy, nor tell lies of one another, nor strike each other; we will live peaceably together.

A man shall have only one wife—love her and provide for her and the children. Likewise a woman shall have but one husband, and be

obedient to him; she shall also take care of the children, and be cleanly in all things.

We will not permit any rum or spirituous liquor to be brought into our town.

None of the inhabitants shall run in debt.

No one inclining to go to war—which is the shedding of blood—can remain among us.

These rules are strictly enforced; all violations being punished either by a reprimand or expulsion. As a consequence, the fame of the Moravian Missions, for simple, God-like piety, spread far and near, and this very simplicity attracted the neighboring savages, hundreds of whom were converted and confirmed: and, notwithstanding violent persecutions, the United Brethren speedily became the leading missionary church of the New World.

The history leading up to the massacre, which is so well known, was admirably told at length, and attracted the closest attention of the audience. The action of the Christian Delawares, when the slaughter had been decided upon, was told as follows, and the remainder of the oration is given in full:

Two propositions were made as to the mode of execution; one to burn them alive with the houses in which they were confined, the other to tomahawk and scalp them. The latter was adopted as being more humane. The rest of the narrative is best told by one of the Moravian bishops.

“Although startled at hearing a sentence so unexpected, the Indians recovered their self-possession. Solemnly protesting their innocence, they nevertheless declared themselves willing to die, and asked no favor other than time to prepare for death. This was granted them, and the following morning fixed for the execution. Shut up in two houses—in one of which the brethren were confined, and in the other the sisters and children—they began to sing and pray, to exhort and comfort one another, to mutually unburden their consciences and acknowledge their sins. As the hours wore away, and the night deepened, and the end drew near, triumphant anticipations of heaven mingled with their hymns and prayers. Converted heathens taught their Christian slayers what it means to die ‘as more than conquerors.’ At last the morning broke. It was the 8th of March. Impatient to begin their work of blood, the militia selected two buildings which they wantonly denominated ‘slaughter houses,’ the one for the killing of men, the other for the massacre of the women; and brutally called to

their captives, who continued to sing and pray in exultant tones, whether they would not soon be ready. 'We are ready now,' was the reply; 'we have committed our souls to God, who has given assurance that He will receive them.' Several of the men immediately seized Abraham, whose long, flowing hair had attracted their notice the day before, as fit for making 'a fine scalp,' tied him and another convert with a rope, and dragged them to the appointed house. There they were deliberately slain, and afterward scalped. The rest suffered in the same way, two by two. When all the men and boys were dead, the women and small children were brought out, two by two as before, taken to the other house and dispatched with the same systematic barbarity. Tomahawks, mallets, war-clubs, spears, and scalping knives were used to effect the slaughter, in which, however, only some of the militia appear to have taken an active part. Two lads, Thomas and Jacob, escaped the common fate. The former received a blow that merely stunned him, and the latter succeeded in slipping, unobserved, from the house in which the women suffered, into the cellar by means of a trap door. According to a careful computation made by the missionaries, with the aid of the national assistants, the whole number of victims was ninety—twenty-nine men, twenty-seven women, and thirty-four children. After the massacre had been consummated, the militia spent the day in securing their plunder; then, setting fire to the 'slaughter houses,' with their mangled corpses, and to the whole village, marched off to New Schoenbrunn, which they also plundered and destroyed."

The picture is not overdrawn. Some of the revolting details are purposely omitted, the object being to set before our minds only such scenes and incidents as are inseparably connected with the causes which gave rise to this centennial celebration. The recital of the sufferings and tragic death of these innocent children of the forest forms one of the blackest pages in our country's history—a stain which all true Americans deprecate with feelings of sorrow and shame. But there is a brighter side to the picture. Their death was the grandest exemplification of the power of the Gospel ever witnessed on the American continent. Rude savages by nature, they embraced a faith that was new to them, became devout Christians, and died without a single exception as Christian heroes die, glorifying the name of the Savior whom they had learned to love. It is the "triumph in death," which is commemorated by yonder monument; and it is this manifestation of the power of godliness, which we celebrate on this, the one hundreth anniversary of the terrible tragedy. God's people today, here

and elsewhere, mourn over their unhappy fate, and generations yet unborn will bring tributes to their memory.

The massacre was also fraught with important results. Inscrutable as it may appear, it marks the beginning of the decline of the Moravian missions in Ohio, and perhaps it may incidentally have affected the growth and influence of the church itself. Certain it is, the intervening century has witnessed the introduction and growth of other denominations which now far surpass the United Brethren in numbers, wealth, power, and possibly in usefulness. The impress, however, of their early piety remains, and is as indelibly stamped upon the character of the people of the State as is the impress made by the Puritans on the people of New England, or that of the Quakers on the people of Pennsylvania. All honor therefore to those around us of both races who still maintain the Moravian faith!

We have also seen that it had a marked effect in prolonging the horrors of the war then raging between England and the American colonists. It exasperated the Indian auxiliaries of the former and thenceforward the war on their part seems to have been one of extermination. Even after hostilities ceased they remained sullen, vindictive, and resentful; refused to again place confidence in the race that had so cruelly murdered their kindred, and stubbornly resisted every approach of civilization. As a consequence the peaceful policy of Penn and Zeisberger was gradually abandoned, and the course of the century is marked by a series of Indian wars.

A word in conclusion in justice to Colonel Williamson and his pale face followers: Their crime, unfortunate for their memory, grows darker and darker as it is reflected in the mirror of modern civilization; while the surrounding circumstances, and the inciting causes, which might tend to mitigate guilt, are lost in the lapse of time. According to Rev. Dr. Joseph Doddridge, who is authority on all matters relating to the pioneer history of the West, and who was personally acquainted with him, Colonel Williamson was "a brave man, but not cruel; would meet an enemy in battle and fight like a soldier, but not murder a prisoner." By the same authority we learn that the men under his command "were not miscreants or vagabonds, but many of them men of the first standing in the country." This fact is also evidenced by the marked consideration with which they were treated upon their return from the expedition, Colonel Williamson, and perhaps others, being elected to positions of honor and responsibility, both civil and military. We must therefore look elsewhere for the cause of

the blood-thirstiness displayed on the occasion. The frontier was then swarming with hostile Indians who, in their barbarous warfare, spared neither age nor sex. Murder and violence ruled the hour. There was scarcely a family that had not at some time or other felt the vengeance of these merciless savages. They were harrassed and exasperated beyond measure; to them the cry of "Indians" was more startling than the fire bell at midnight. It meant robbery, desolation, and death. Suspicions, whether founded or unfounded, existed that the Moravian Indians were, in some way, in league with these marauding bands, and they certainly did extend hospitality, although enforced, to them when on their murderous raids. Just before the departure of Colonel Williamson's expedition, a peculiarly atrocious murder was committed by one of these bands on the family of William Wallace, one of his men, and, as if to more thoroughly exasperate the whites, the Indians denuded and impaled the bodies of Mrs. Wallace and one of the children on trees near where they knew the troops would pass in pursuit of them toward the Moravian villages. Imagine the frenzied feelings of the volunteers when they arrived and witnessed this sight. In hot blood they hastened on to Gnadenhutten, but the murderers had fled. The bloody clothes of the victims, however, were left behind, and found by the husband and father in one of the Moravian houses. These things doubtless had weight in the council of war called by Colonel Williamson to determine whether the suspected captives should be executed on the spot, or be taken as prisoners to Pittsburg. The further fact that only the fall before a similar expedition had returned to Pittsburg with a number of Moravian prisoners, who were released in a few days by the commandant, and, according to reports then in circulation, murdered a family of whites the very night after their liberation, seems to have turned the scale decidedly against imprisonment. Deluded but determined men! They seem to have believed that the safety of their homes and families depended upon the total extirpation of the Indian race. Military commanders have at times deemed it necessary to ruthlessly depopulate whole districts in order to protect other districts of more importance, and their action has been applauded. Is there then no charity for Colonel Williamson and his men? Is there to be no mitigation of the sentence of murder which posterity has pronounced against them? Inflamed by passion, mistaken as to facts, wrong in judgment, reckless of consequences, was not their unfortunate act more akin to those outbreaks in civilized com-

munities where innocent victims are sometimes lynched and hung upon insufficient evidence?

For one I prefer to throw the broad mantle of charity over their motives, and leave the determination of the exact nature and extent of their guilt to that Great Judge, before whom they, together with their victims, have all been summoned.

The delivery occupied over an hour, and considering the amount of detail contained in it, was listened to with marked attention. At its finish the Senator received many congratulations, and the band began to play.

The exercises this afternoon were opened by an appropriate address from Governor Foster, who, in a feeling manner referred to the great lesson taught by the celebration observed here today.

CONGRESSIONAL AMBITION AROUSED

It was while a member of the Ohio Senate that the thought first came to him of being a candidate for Congress by a petition and two letters from home friends, including the leading Republicans of the county, as follows:

Office of J. M. Scott, Harrison County Auditor,
Cadiz, Ohio, April 10, 1882.

Hon. D. A. Hollingsworth,
Columbus, Ohio.

Dear Sir:

Enclosed we hand you communications from Members of the Republican Central Committee and many of the leading Republicans of Harrison County approving your course as a Senator in the 64th and 65th General Assembly of Ohio, and requesting you to permit your name to be presented to the next convention held in this district as a candidate for the nomination for Congress.

We trust our action in the matter will meet with your approval, that you will favorably consider the request so made, and that you may be nominated and elected.

Yours very truly,

JAMES M. SCOTT,
JESSE C. WEIR.

Rooms of the Harrison County Republican Executive Committee,

Cadiz, Ohio, April 10, 1882.

Hon. D. A. Hollingsworth,
Columbus, Ohio.

Dear Sir:

Your Republican friends in Harrison County, and especially the undersigned members of the Republican Central Committee of said county, desire to express their cordial approval of your course as a Senator in the 64th and 65th General Assemblies of Ohio, and as an earnest of their appreciation of your ability and conscientious discharge of duty, we desire the privilege of presenting your name to the next Republican Convention of this district for nomination as a candidate for Congress.

We sincerely hope that this may meet your approval, and that the convention when it meets will approve our action.

W. B. HEARN, Chairman,
A. W. SCOTT, Treasurer,
J. C. CARVER,
JAMES REA FINNEY,
JAMES M SCOTT,
JESSE C. WEIR, Secretary,
W. O. POTTS,
H. H. LINTON,
J. M. GARVEN,
J. L. ROBB.

Cadiz, Harrison Co., O., April 10, 1882.

Hon. D. A. Hollingsworth,
Columbus, Ohio.

Dear Sir:

The undersigned Republicans of Harrison County, Ohio, desire to express their cordial approval of your course as a Senator in the 64th and 65th General Assemblies of Ohio, and as an earnest of their appreciation of your ability and conscientious discharge of duty, desire the privilege of presenting your name to the next Republican convention of the district for nomination as a candidate for Congress.

We sincerely hope that this may meet your approval and that the convention when it meets will endorse our action.

Ephraim Clark, A. H. Carnahan, D. B. Welch, James Howard, I. C. Moore, A. C. Nixon, J. M. Sharon, A. P. Sheriff, J. C. Moore, M. J. Brown, C. O. F. Brown, W. C. Laizure, J. B. Lyons, John S. Graybill, W. H. Lacey, K. W. Kinsey, C. Kinsey, H. H. Harrison, W. T. Sharp, Richard Lyons, A. J. Hammond, J. H. Hammond, A. N. Hammond, James Kerr, M. S. Jamison, L. B. Grimes, J. W. Scott, James B. Rogers, T. Corwin Lemmon, S. Ferguson, James Knox, Walter G. Shotwell, J. W. Gillespie, O. G. Cope, J. W. Grimes, W. L. Houser, D. Cunningham, G. W. Martin, E. B. McNamee, William McConnell, S. M. Bailey, William E. Slemmons, W. T. Wood, Jacob Jarvis, O. Slemmons, C. R. Tipton, John F. Bryant, James Moore, C. Scott, John Coleman, J. J. Osborn, and many others from all parts of the county.

He was not a politician and had little knowledge of the methods common at that time in seeking a Congressional nomination. He had been nominated for Prosecuting Attorney and also for State Senator, practically without opposition and without expense.

But this was different. In his wildest dreams he had never hoped to fill the political shoes of his ideal statesman, John A. Bingham.

But he naturally was flattered by the requests. The bee began to buzz; visions of nation-wide fame rose suddenly in his mind, and, all innocent of the rough-and-tumble road he was entering upon, he soon found himself, using the usual parlance of a Congressional candidate, "in the hands of his friends."

Little recked he or knew of the weary years of waiting and hoping; disappointments, worries and defeats, often, like Moses, in sight of the promised land, only to see others come in from the big counties and unexpectedly cross over before him; sorrows and heart-burnings without number, and apparent betrayal by supposed friends, all of which he was destined to meet and suffer before he could reach the goal of his newly-aroused ambition.

A studious lawyer, innocent in politics, wholly unschooled in political craft, although thirty-eight years of age, he entered the contest without a conception of the giant-like politicians and small-fry followers whom he was to meet in the arena, and who, Warwick-like, were accustomed to making and unmaking public men.

The other candidates were:

J. T. Updegraff, of Jefferson County, a capable Congressman and locally popular, then representing the district and a candidate for a third term.

Joseph D. Taylor, of Guernsey County, able lawyer, wealthy, and with a host of friends to back him, claimed the nomination by some sort of undisclosed agreement entered into by a successful combination, in 1872, when Bingham was overthrown at the Bellaire convention.

R. W. Anderson, also of Guernsey County, a modest, capable lawyer and worthy citizen, aspired to the position on an anti-Taylor platform, and had a contesting delegation elected at primary meetings claimed to have been called by the people themselves.

J. M. Dalzell, of Noble County, "Private Dalzell," shied his hat into the ring with a patriotic whoop.

C. L. Poorman, of Belmont County, a brilliant, able man, gallant soldier, editor, and educated lawyer, worthy and capable of high distinction, but withal somewhat vacillating and visionary, entered the race as a strong but uncertain factor.

The convention was called to meet at St. Clairsville, June 21, 1882.

The delegates as reported selected were as follows:

J. T. Updegraff, 63.

J. D. Taylor, 38, but subject to possible loss of 30 by contesting delegation from Guernsey.

R. W. Anderson, 30, but subject to total loss by admission of the Taylor delegates from Guernsey.

D. A. Hollingsworth, 26.

J. M. Dalzell, 18.

C. L. Poorman, 17.

But before the balloting began the contesting delegation elected at township primaries in Guernsey County for R. W. Anderson was eliminated by an arbitrary so-called county unit rule, vicious, it was believed by many, and un-republican in every sense, but sanctioned by the political bosses of that day in the large counties.

Hon. Lorenzo Danford, former Congressman, was chosen chairman.

The first vote taken on candidates showed:

J. T. Updegraff, 62.

J. D. Taylor, 38.

D. A. Hollingsworth, 26.

J. M. Dalzell, 19.

C. L. Poorman, 17.

The convention lasted three days and adjourned in the midst of intense excitement without making a nomination, the final ballot, the three hundred and sixty-seventh, standing:

J. T. Updegraff, 76.

D. A. Hollingsworth, 45.

J. D. Taylor, 41.

Many exciting scenes, stormy altercations, ugly charges of corruption, and personal accusations of fraud and political knavery, marked the day and evening sessions, and the sub rosa scenes in the caucus rooms at night were said to rival the Bowery districts of New York.

Pandemonium broke loose as soon as Chairman Danford announced the adjournment *sine die*, and regrets were general among conservative delegates that the nomination had not been forced upon him as a dark horse. Had he desired this, it would have been done. On the street, outside of the convention hall, he expressed himself in favor of "Comrade Hollingsworth," but as chairman he was fair and impartial with the candidates, and when the tempting bauble was held before his eyes in the weary hours of the balloting, he turned it aside and loudly called for another ballot. The air seemed charged with dynamite as the delegates and spectators filed out of the hall, but nothing came of it. It was a typical American convention and consequently an orderly crowd.

Eventually, all three of the candidates on the last ballot, and also the chairman, were afterward elected to Congress and each served credibly.

Hollingsworth had received his first baptism in practical politics and his quiet acceptance of results lead friends and foes alike to think he was satisfied. But they were mistaken; he only bided his time, having learned that in the treacherous quicksands of modern political management, standing alone on his merits, without wealth or influential friends, patience and perseverance were essential to success for a young man like himself to realize his ambition.

Immediately, however, upon the calling of the next convention, much to the surprise of the politicians of the district, he announced his with-

drawal from the contest in a letter to Captain Albert Lee, of Belmont County, who had been one of his stanchest friends and a delegate at St. Clairsville. It follows:

Cadiz, Ohio, July 11, 1882.

My Dear Sir: Your much esteemed favor of the 5th inst., asking if you may say to my friends in Wheeling township that I am still a candidate for Congress, and assuring me of your and their continued support, is received.

In answering as I do, it seems proper that I should recall the circumstances under which I became a candidate. On the 10th day of April, last, a large number of the citizens of Harrison County forwarded to me, while at Columbus, a cordial endorsement, in writing, of my course as a member of the State Senate, with a request to permit them to use my name as a candidate before the then approaching Congressional convention. Referring to this request in my answer I said: "As to the request to permit the use of my name as a candidate before the Republican convention for Congress, I can make but one reply. The nomination of candidates and the election of public officers belong exclusively to the people; officers are only their servants. If the Republicans of the district, without undue solicitation, should, when assembled in convention, deem me worthy to represent the people in Congress, and should nominate me, I should esteem it a pleasure as well as a duty to accept the distinguished honor, and, if elected, would make an honest endeavor to creditably perform the responsible duties of the office."

The recent canvas, so far as I know, was conducted by my friends in this spirit, and I shall ever remember with feelings of pride and gratitude the voluntary support they gave me, uninfluenced as they were by promises or other unworthy considerations.

The substantial and flattering increase of my vote in the late convention is also a matter of special gratification.

Now, however, although I have the most positive reassurance from old friends and many new ones, I am unable to satisfy myself that any further effort in my behalf will be conducive to the best interests of the Republican party in the district. The principles of the party are, or should be, paramount to the interests of any individual member. No personal ambition, either of the candidates or their friends, should be permitted to stand in the way of party success. Office is not the sole end of an honorable life.

The next convention must be harmonious, and, for one, I can not willingly add to its possible distraction. On the contrary, I shall cheerfully forego all hope of present preferment, and shall do my full share as heretofore toward the election of any good man whom the convention may nominate.

My friends will therefore do me a favor by no longer regarding me as a candidate. In withdrawing from the canvass for the sake of harmony, I make no reflections against any of the candidates who see fit to remain in the field; conscious of my own personal rectitude, I impute no unworthy motives or actions to others.

With many thanks to you for good wishes and past favors, I have the honor to be.

Your obedient servant,

D. A. HOLLINGSWORTH.

The self-elimination and unselfishness of such a letter from a candidate who stood second at the close of the balloting in the St. Clairsville convention cleared the atmosphere, and the next convention, held in the Quaker town of Barnesville, was a tame affair. His withdrawal upset the wire-pulling schemes of district politicians, big and little, although as usual they were there in force. He also attended but not as a candidate or delegate, only a quiet looker-on, a student, as it were, in preparation for future eventualities.

He was young enough to wait, as had been urged against him in his first contest. Otherwise, he had been left unscathed in the turmoil and bitter accusations of the convention. He was not even suspected of political craft or wrong-doing, and might well have girded on his armor for the future.

A few episodes in the St. Clairsville convention and newspaper clippings at the time show this:

(From reports in *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer* (Republican).)

"Mr. Hollingsworth's friends are encouraged by the general friendly feeling toward him among the other candidates' delegates. Mr. Hollingsworth himself says his principal hope is that the convention will do what is best for the party, and what the people will say is best. His strength would be greater were he an older man. Some of the older candidates look upon him as too young to trust with one term, and there is some dis-

position to slight his claims because he is young enough to wait. The fact that he is from Harrison County also tells against him, Bingham's long service being looked on as quite that county's share for some years yet."

After the three hundred and fourteenth ballot had been reported, showing but little change from the first, this episode is quoted from the *Intelligencer's* report:

Colonel Poorman appeared upon the platform and withdrew his name, saying that the time had come when the labors of this convention should be brought to a close. The claims or wishes of no individual should interfere with the accomplishment of this end. He besought the convention to consider no personal animosities, but to keep in view the good of the party to whose care was entrusted the future of this great nation. He now urged, in the last words probably he would ever speak to them, as representative of the district, to nominate that man whose skirts were clear and whose escutcheon was clear of the shadow of an imputation of the use of unworthy means in the formation of this body. Such a storm of enthusiastic cheers and cries of "Hollingsworth" as then went up was never exceeded probably in a convention of this character. It was persisted in in spite of the Chairman's efforts to bring order out of the chaos for minutes.

Mr. Danford then coolly announced another ballot, taken as follows:

Updegraff, 71; Taylor, 34; Hollingsworth, 48; Dalzell, 9.

Each announcement of an accession of votes provoked wild applause.

After several more ballots were taken without change, Mr. Dalzell withdrew his name from the convention. He said he hoped the nominee of the convention would be a gallant soldier, like the brave Danford who had served so faithfully (Applause), and like his friend from Harrison County (Hollingsworth). The Private's speech was constantly interrupted by applause, and at its close a perfect storm of cheers and applause arose. The chairman then called the three hundred and twenty-second ballot, which resulted as follows: Updegraff, 73; Taylor, 41, Hollingsworth, 48.

The three hundred and fifty-sixth ballot resulted as follows: Updegraff, 76; Taylor, 42; Hollingsworth, 44.

The next ballot showed a change of one vote, one of the Noble County delegates transferring his vote from Taylor to Hollingsworth. This provoked some little applause. No further change took place in succeeding

ballots, and the last ballot on the candidates, being the three hundred and sixty-seventh, was taken. It stood as follows:

Updegraff, 76; Taylor, 41; Hollingsworth, 45.

As soon as the applause which followed this ballot subsided, Mr. Lewis again moved to adjourn *sine die*.

The scene of confusion which this created rivaled the most exciting scenes of any of the sessions. The opponents of adjournment moved about rallying their forces, and attempting to recall absentees. The vote was rushed through, however, the result being: Belmont, Ayes 16, noes 31; Guernsey, Ayes 30; Harrison, Ayes 21, Noes 3; Jefferson, Ayes 8, Noes 31; Noble, Ayes 8, Noes 14; total, Ayes 83, Noes 79.

For an instant the convention was paralyzed, of which Mr. Danford took advantage to declare the convention adjourned. Then a whoop, a yell, a scream and a series of cheers outvoicing the most vociferous steam whistle went up from the anti-Updegraff delegates and spectators. The cooler-headed ones counseled moderation and patience.

In a very short time the delegates had scattered, and the hall was as empty and peaceful as a country church at a week-day prayer-meeting.

Looking back over the convention, it must be considered one of the most remarkable in many respects that ever assembled in this section. Made up of men of unusually high average of ability, among them were two ex-Congressmen, it yet exhibited a woeful lack of unselfish devotion to the good of the party and stubborn adherence to favorite candidates. In duration, in interest, and in many other respects it has never been equaled in the district.

(From reports in the *Wheeling Daily Register*, Democratic.)

"Hollingsworth's immense moustaches can be seen waving over the doubtful countenance of some back country delegate, while he assures him that the phalanx from Harrison will be as unbroken as the last majority for him for State Senator."

"Senator Hollingsworth was picked up on the street near the Court House just after dinner, the reporter imagining that under the influence of a St. Clairsville meal the 'young man' would be disposed to talk a little. 'I have no ideas on the subject; I await results. This is the first time I

have ever been a candidate for any office. Once or twice office in a district has been given me, but this is my first real candidacy. Have I any hopes of nomination? Well, yes. I have carried on a very inoffensive canvass, always endeavoring to antagonize no one, and forcing no combinations. I have made absolutely no combination with any man or men. I go before this convention untrammelled and under no obligation to any of the other candidates. If strength before the people will be of any weight before the delegates to this convention, I certainly should be regarded with some consideration. I carried, as a candidate for State Senator, Belmont County by 329 majority, and my own county by about 800, or an aggregate of over 1,100 votes.

"The average majority is from 400 to 600 in this Senatorial district, so you see that I ran considerably ahead of my ticket."

"'In the event of your withdrawal or defeat in the convention, how will your delegates go?'"

"'That I cannot say. I have not attempted to influence them in favor of any man; I think it would be a piece of presumption on my part. I have 21 delegates from Harrison, 4 from Belmont, and 10 from Jefferson, 26 in all.'"

Colonel Anderson, manager of Colonel Taylor's candidacy, then of Cambridge, Ohio, subsequently U. S. Ambassador to one of the South American States, and for many years and at the time of his death an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia by appointment of President McKinley, gave an interview to the *Register*, in regard to the Guernsey County contest and Colonel Taylor's chances, as follows:

"There are very few of the contestants here. These men were all elected in a questionable manner. In Oxford township, Taylor received 105, while Ross Anderson, from the same county, got only 16 votes, yet notwithstanding this immense majority, that township has sent a delegate here and will probably ask to be recognized. In one ward in Cambridge only 4 men were present, and these men have the effrontery to ask for recognition. This is a sample of the means that have been resorted to to induce a split in our county. Ross Anderson knows his case is hopeless, and the general impression is that he is only a tool for Updegraff. In Londonderry township, where are a majority of Quakers, one Theodore Hibbs made an effort to defeat the popular vote plan, and I am informed that Hibbs'

brother was to receive \$100 from Dr. Updegraff if he would succeed in collapsing the popular vote plan, but the scheme was discovered and Updegraff only received nine votes. There has been a multiplicity of dodges resorted to to divide up the delegation, but we think they are all abortive and will prove so.

In Noble County the tactics have been changed. Dalzell was and is the first choice of nearly all the townships, but we concluded that it would be better for him to have the solid vote from his county, and so recommended, trusting to the developments of the convention to determine the course of his delegates. My idea of the outcome is this: We will go in with our own delegation, 30 votes, what we have in Jefferson, and probably 16 stray votes. On the second ballot we shall receive accessions, and in the event of the dropping of Poorman the Bellaire delegates will come to us, with probably his other delegates from Belmont and Jefferson County.

"How about Hollingsworth?"

"I do not know. I am informed that he is coquetting with one or two candidates. If he is foolish enough to attempt to divert his delegates from himself to Updegraff, the anti-Updegraffites in Jefferson swear that Hollingsworth will cook his goose in that county forever. He is well thought of there, now as a young and promising politician, and if he makes this mistake his Congressional aspirations will be nipped forever."

Years afterward when the diplomat and judge from Guernsey County, and Congressman Hollingsworth, and their families, became friends and associates in the social and official life of Washington, it is believed that the former tried to forget this threat of political extinction of his friend. It is certain that the Congressman entertained a very high regard for the jurist, Anderson.

(From reports to the Cincinnati *Daily Enquirer*, Democrat.)

"It makes one's heart bleed to stand around and see the wicked postmasters and the Republican politicians tear the laurels from the brows of our heroes; but they are tearing them with both hands and the mouth. Updegraff is a Quaker and therefore he has no soldier record to assail.

"Senator Hollingsworth, of Harrison, has the best record, and he is about the only genuine soldier before the convention, but he can only muster

about twenty-six votes. At least half of the Harrison delegation will go for the gorgeous Updegraff when the break-up comes."

(From the *Bellaire Daily Independent*—J. F. Anderson, editor.)

"Senator D. A. Hollingsworth is on the ground and has been since Monday night. He is calm, cool and confident, with the Congressional bee buzzing in his bonnet at a lively rate. He has no contests on his hands, but is quite restless, nevertheless, for fear something turns up to injure his chances now or in the future. Like a young lady skiff-riding, he enjoys it, but is very uneasy lest some mishap overtakes him. He has no contests on his hands, neither does he interfere even to expressing an opinion, except to say he hopes they will be settled right and not in the interest of any candidate. The Harrison delegates arrived last night and this morning and are red-hot for their man as the nominee.

"Hollingsworth says he has made absolutely no combinations, neither will he be a party to any."

"S. K. McLaughlin, the Shortcreek delegate from Harrison County, has been on deck ever since Monday evening, putting in his best licks for Updegraff."

HOLLINGSWORTH'S WITHDRAWAL

The Hollingsworth letter of withdrawal was commented on favorably by newspapers generally, and placed him squarely in line for the future.

But still his advancement was to come only after repeated contests such as he had experienced in the St. Clairsville convention. His road was not to be strewn with flowers, except by newspaper bouquets after convention defeats. They were generous, but political lions were waiting in leash in the district, destined to bar any early progress. In his innocence, he had failed to consult them or give assurances of obeisance in matters of patronage if he should be elected. He believed in the equal rights of all.

(From the July 20, 1882, issue of *Cadiz Republican*,
W. B. Hearn, editor.)

"We publish a letter in this week's paper from Senator Hollingsworth, in which he formally declines to be further considered as a candidate in the

present Congressional contest in this district. The letter will doubtless be a surprise to his friends in this county, for they were preparing to give him such support at the primary meetings as would show to the Republicans of the district that there was no doubt about their sincerity and earnestness. Senator Hollingsworth has had such voluntary assurances from all parts of the country as made him confident of having his former strength, and left but little doubt that he would have carried even the three delegates that formerly went against him, for several of the very ablest of those who had worked in favor of Updegraff in the former contest had given him the assurance of their support henceforth. As to the support he would have received from other parts of the district, had he chosen to remain in the contest, we are not prepared at this time to speak with authority. We are still of the opinion, however, that he was the right man to have been nominated out of all the candidates that have been named, and the one above all others that would have led the party to unquestioned victory. We do not doubt that the party can elect any man whom the convention will nominate, and we do not forget that the principles of the party are of more importance than the success of any man. Yet we had hoped to have a man as our candidate whose life was correct, whose record was straight, whose heart beats in unison with the best hopes of the world, and whose eye looks out on the future and not back over the ashes of the past.

"Mr. Hollingsworth's withdrawal from the canvass will be received with regret by the people of this county, and we think also by the best-thinking people of the whole district. He gives his own reasons for his actions, however, and we regard them as conclusive. He stood second in the convention at St. Clairsville, and it might seem the proper thing for those who stood below him to step aside at this time, but be this as it may, he has unselfishly chosen to sacrifice any personal advantage that he might possess for the sake of harmony and the success of the party."

"The letter is in admirable temper, and is just such an one as Mr. Hollingsworth would have been expected to write. When all men learn that personal ends must be secondary to the general good we shall have less disgraceful wrangling in conventions, better men will be promoted, and the public interest will be advanced."—*Ohio State Journal*—Republican Party organ.

"The letter of Senator Hollingsworth declining to permit the use of his name at the coming Congressional convention as a candidate is an admir-

able document, which does honor to his judgment, and will do more to advance his claim at the proper time than any other act he could have performed. Senator Hollingsworth is yet a young man, and with the exercise of the discretion which has heretofore characterized his actions has a bright career before him."—*Ohio Valley News*—Updegraff Organ.

"His letter speaks for itself. In point of time it was opportune, and its sentiment and tone cannot fail to contribute to the harmony of the party and to entitle the author to the gratitude of all well-meaning Republicans and place him in a position to command their preferment at a time when the distribution of Congressional honors shall have been in some measure equalized among the several parts of the district. Mr. Hollingsworth was handicapped from the first by his location."—*Guernsey Times*—Taylor Organ.

"Hon. D. A. Hollingsworth has written a letter declining to be a candidate before the next Republican Congressional convention of this district. This is one of the very best reasons why he should be the nominee. If there is anything in political life that is disgusting it is to see a man pushing his claims for political preferment on the people. Not only this, but using official patronage, money, and everything in his power to secure office.

"An officer should be the servant of the people and not the 'boss' and he should be elected, not from the self-seeking aspirants, but from those who think, as Mr. Hollingsworth put it, 'that office is not the sole end of an honorable life.' The very modesty with which Mr. Hollingsworth conducted his former canvass, if indeed such it could be called, and the fact that he now withdraws his name for the sake of harmony, ought to be sufficient evidence to the people that he is just the man the district wants for a Congressman."—*Freeport Press*—Independent.

CONVENTION OF 1884

The next Congressional convention at which Mr. Hollingsworth was a candidate occurred in 1884, at Steubenville, Jefferson County, the districts having been rearranged by the Legislature and Harrison and Jefferson counties taken out of the Belmont-Guernsey district and put in with Columbian, Mahoning and Carroll, forming the 18th district.

The candidates were Judge Ambler, a former Congressman and member of the Tariff Commission; Prof. I. P. Hole, an educator of recognized distinction, and J. C. Chamberlain, a wealthy manufacturer, all of Columbiana County; Judge J. R. Johnson, a distinguished jurist with a State reputation, of Mahoning County; I. H. Taylor, leading lawyer, of Carroll County; R. G. Richards, ex-State Senator and ex-Lieutenant Governor, of Jefferson County, and David A. Hollingsworth, of Harrison County.

The first ballot stood:

Hollingsworth	42
Johnson	41
Hole	30
Chamberlain	30
Richards	27
Taylor	23
Ambler	21

The last ballot, the 64th, after a two days' contest, but wholly unlike the turbulent scenes of the St. Clairsville convention, resulted as follows:

Taylor	118
Hollingsworth	86

The Cadiz *Sentinel*, Democratic, voicing the real feelings of many of the delegates, in a facetious report of the proceedings, headlined its article as follows: "The Harrison County Boys Again Skunked and Taylored."

But the Cadiz *Republican*, W. B. Hearn, editor, gave a full and fair report and, for convenience of statement, it is here copied:

"The Republican Congressional convention for the 18th District was held at Steubenville on Wednesday and Thursday, June 18 and 19, 1884. The splendid new City Hall, or Opera House, as the Steubenville people persist in calling it, proved a most admirable place for a large convention, the room being large, comfortable, airy, convenient, and in fact beautiful.

"The convention was called to order at ten o'clock A. M. on Wednesday by Hon. J. M. Cook, Chairman of the Jefferson County Central Committee, who read the call of the convention. Mr. Cook then introduced Hon. Asa Jones, of Youngstown, as temporary chairman. Mr. Jones made an eloquent speech of about fifteen minutes, after which the regular proceedings commenced.

"The usual committees were selected and made reports. The report of the Committee on Credentials was read by Hon. D. Cunningham, an-

nouncing that the delegations from Jefferson, Harrison, Mahoning and Carroll were all full and no contests, and that in the contested case of Perry township, Columbiana County, the Hole delegates were entitled to the seats.

"The nomination of candidates then proceeded.

"Harvey Eckley, of Carrollton, presented the name of Hon. I. H. Taylor, of Carrollton. Judge Firestone, of Columbiana, presented the name of J. C. Chamberlain. Colonel Brough, of Columbiana, presented the name of Prof. I. P. Hole.

"General Riley, of Wellsville, presented the name of Judge J. A. Ambler. Colonel Coulter, of Steubenville, presented the name of Hon. R. G. Richards. Judge King, of Youngstown, presented the name of Judge J. R. Johnson. J. M. Garvin, of Cadiz, presented the name of General D. A. Hollingsworth."

All of the speeches were good, some of them admirable and eloquent, those of Eckley, Coulter and Garvin being models of oratory. Mr. Garvin said:

"On behalf of the Republicans of Harrison County—all of them—I have the honor to present in this convention the name of Hon. D. A. Hollingsworth. We present to you, gentlemen, one whom we all know to be a man, physically, morally, socially and intellectually. A young man, imbued with faith, hope, courage, and a lofty and honorable ambition; faith in the principles, tendencies and purposes of the Republican party, hope that those principles, tendencies and purposes may be adopted and ratified, and approved by the people as they have been in the past. Courage to do the right as God gives him to see the right, and an honorable ambition to take a part in guiding this great nation in that onward and upward career that began when first the Republican party came into power.

"We present to you a man who, when a mere boy, was among the first to respond to the call for 75,000 troops, and continued to serve his country gallantly and faithfully, without straps upon his shoulder or stripes upon his arms, for about two years, when he was stricken down with disease and sent home to die. But he was too much of a man to die; he decided to live and go to Congress. He acquired a good education and became a successful lawyer, was twice sent to the Ohio Senate without his solicitation, and there distinguished himself by his energy, his skill, his

keen insight, and a peculiar tact for accomplishing results that made him at once one of the most prominent and influential members of that body.

"Two years ago he was surprised by a call signed by a large number of his neighbors, to become a candidate for Congress. He entered the memorable contest and bore himself gallantly and honorably till the close of the drawn battle at St. Clairsville, when, although second only in the contest, he had the good sense and patriotism to withdraw from the contest for the sake of harmony in the party.

"We present to you, gentlemen, a man who has opinions and the courage and ability to maintain them. A man who understands the industries and the interests of the people of this district, who knows what they need and how to accomplish it. A man who believes it is the duty of the American people, through their chosen representatives, to encourage and protect American industries from ruinous competition with European industries.

"We present to you a man whose record is not only brilliant, but clean and pure—who has no apologies to offer for any act of his life, public or private—a man whose nomination would give satisfaction all over the district.

"With all due respect for the other distinguished gentlemen whose names will be before you, we present him with the firm belief that he will enter upon his office with a conscientious regard for his duty, with dignity and such ability that you will be proud of him; we present him with an enthusiasm born of the conviction that he is the coming man.

"Vote for him, nominate him and we will guarantee that you will never regret it. Nominate him and our wool-growers will rest assured that they will have a willing and able champion, who appreciates the magnitude of the wrong done to them and who will do as much as any one man can do to remedy that wrong. Our manufacturers will know that their interests will not suffer in the hands of a man who believes that our raw materials should be converted into the useful and beautiful in American workshops, by American capital and American labor.

"Our laboring men will know that they have a representative who believes that every man beneath the flag ought to have an opportunity to earn enough to provide him a comfortable home of his own, and to support and educate his family.

"Our soldiers will know that they have a representative who carried the same kind of a musket they carried; who carried as many rounds of

ammunition; marched under as hot a sun; ate as hard hardtack, and slept on as hard ground as they did, with the same blue sky and the same starry banner over them, fighting against the same enemy, and for the unity and perpetuity of the same great Republic.

"Nominate him, and the 18th district, with its vast and varied interests, its wealth, intelligence and culture, evidenced by its magnificent Republican majority, will have a representative who will be as true and loyal to his constituents as he has been true to his God, his country and himself."

After all the candidates were present a ballot was ordered and the result set down as follows:

Ambler, 20 votes from Columbiana and one from Mahoning—total 21.

Chamberlain, 17 from Columbiana and 13 from Mahoning—30.

Hole, 24 from Columbiana and 6 from Mahoning—30

Hollingsworth, 26 from Harrison and 16 from Jefferson—42.

Johnson, 31 from Mahoning.

Richards, 27 from Jefferson.

Taylor, 23 from Carroll.

Ballot after ballot was taken with slightly varying results. The convention was in session all afternoon until shortly after 5 o'clock a motion was carried to take a recess until after supper. The offices, parlors and dining rooms of the principal hotels were soon thronged again with the great crowd, and there was much talk everywhere about the changes that would occur at the evening session of the convention. The evening session, however, continued with little change, Hollingsworth's vote reaching 57. At 10:55, the convention adjourned until morning, the vote standing 89 for and 70 against adjournment. Harrison county voted in a solid phalanx against adjournment.

The convention reassembled at 9 o'clock and everybody hoped that after a recess over night, a nomination would soon be reached. But when the balloting commenced again it was soon discovered to be the same old thing, all the candidates holding nearly their original strength. The only event of the forenoon session being the withdrawal of Professor Hole.

At the close of the sixty-first ballot, the names of Ambler and Chamberlain were withdrawn.

The sixty-second ballot stood: Taylor, 72; Hollingsworth, 62; Johnson, 52; Richards, 8; Chamberlain, 5.

After this ballot Richards was withdrawn by his friends.

The sixty-third ballot was called. Carroll gave Taylor 23 and Columbiana gave him 54, making his vote 77. Hollingsworth received 6 votes from Columbiana, 26 from Harrison, and the solid 43 votes from Jefferson, making a total of 75. Mahoning county was called last, but was not ready to vote, and asked leave to retire for ten minutes for consultation, which was granted.

The Mahoning delegates retired to a separate room. It was in their power now to give the nomination to either Taylor or Hollingsworth, or to hold the convention in session by continuing to vote for Johnson.

The meeting was stormy. A division was taken as between Taylor and Hollingsworth, and, although the vote was nearly even, a majority was for Hollingsworth. But the most ardent friends of Johnson insisted that the delegation should still stand by him, in the hope that the convention might yet nominate him. There was much excitement and confusion. There were fifteen soldiers in the delegation and they expressed their determination to vote for Hollingsworth regardless of what others might do. As a result of the whole deliberation the delegation came back into the convention divided and without any clear understanding as to what they were going to do. But their chairman reported their ballot, amid many objections from individual delegates to be—Johnson 44, Taylor 6, Hollingsworth, 1.

Meantime, a pressure had been brought to bear on the six delegates in Columbiana county who had voted for Hollingsworth to induce them to change to Taylor, and all but one of them by some means were persuaded to change. After all these changes, the sixty-third ballot was footed up by the secretaries and announced as follows: Taylor, 89; Hollingsworth, 71; Johnson, 44.

The friends of Johnson now abandoned all hope of nominating him, and withdrew his name from the convention. There was great excitement. Cheers were given for Taylor, and cheers equally long and loud followed for Hollingsworth. All the delegates were on their feet, and for fully five minutes nothing could be done amid the confusion. Finally order was restored and the chair directed the call of counties for the sixty-fourth ballot.

Carroll cast her 23 votes for Taylor, and then the cheering was resumed. Columbiana came second and gave Taylor 57 and Hollingsworth 4. The supporters of Taylor gave renewed cheers. Harrison came next, casting

26 for Hollingsworth, and then the hall roared with cheers from Hollingsworth's friends. Jefferson county was next called. Col. Coulter arose to announce the vote and commenced by—"Mr. Chairman, when the institutions of this country were being assailed"—but the Taylor supporters raised a great hurrah and would not let the colonel make any speech. He finally found he could do nothing but announce the vote, and said: "Jefferson county casts her 44 votes for the gallant soldier of Harrison county."

The cheers for Hollingsworth were now renewed. Many of the delegates stood on the chairs, shouting, waving hats and handkerchiefs, and urging the convention to nominate the soldier.

Finally, Mahoning county was called, and one of its delegates in the midst of the confusion announced that every soldier in the delegation voted for the soldier from Harrison county. The chairman of the delegation announced the vote—Taylor, 36; Hollingsworth, 15. Two votes from Jefferson were changed to Taylor, and then the result was announced, Taylor 118, Hollingsworth 86.

The Harrison county delegation made the motion that Taylor's nomination be made unanimous, which was carried.

All the defeated candidates made speeches promising to go in to win. The convention then adjourned.

Hollingsworth had received another lesson in the maneuvering power and potency of political bosses in big counties; but he ended second in the race over such men as Judge Ambler, General Riley and Governor Richards, and his ambition was not squelched. He bided his time and loyally supported the party ticket.

Editor Hearn, in an editorial in the *Cadiz Republican*, under a headline, "How It Was Done," put the facts as follows:

"It was seen that a majority of the delegates could not be induced to concentrate in favor of either Mr. Ambler, or Mr. Chamberlain, or Mr. Richards, or Mr. Johnson or Mr. Hole. It was seen that an attempt to concentrate on either one of these would result immediately in the nomination of Mr. Hollingsworth, for he was second choice of more than half the delegates of either of them. It thus happened that it was Hollingsworth against the field. He led on the first ballot and continued to lead throughout the convention, until the one, and the only, plan was adopted that could defeat him. The delegates from 'Little Carroll' were in favor of Hollingsworth as second choice, and they could go to him any time and nominate him, and

the only thing that could keep them from doing this was for the field to unite in support of the Carroll county candidate.

"The Columbiana county delegates were about equally divided between Chamberlain, Ambler and Hole, and while they had no sympathy for each other, but on the contrary were at sword's points most of the time, they finally found a common bond of union in the determination to defeat the man from Harrison county who seemed to be particularly in the way of each.

"The same fact was developed among the Mahoning delegates, though there were fifteen soldiers among them who declared their intention to support Hollingsworth, and who did vote for him on the last ballot.

But besides all else, and as the most important factor in deciding the result, Hollingsworth was regarded in the northern part of the District, in Mahoning, Columbiana and Carroll, as a 'carpet-bagger.' In other words, Harrison county was regarded as an accident in the District—to remain only for a short time, and having nothing in common with its political future. It had done nothing for the 18th District in the past, and had not a single promise that it could hold out for the future. It seems quite probable that before another Congresssional convention shall be held Harrison county will be restored to the old district, and that the 18th District will be composed of Mahoning, Columbiana, Stark and Carroll as heretofore.

Under the circumstances it seemed highly improbable that the District would nominate a candidate from Harrison county. And yet, in spite of the tremendous odds against him, it turned out that the Harrison county candidates came mighty near getting nominated. The opposition could only defeat him by abandoning all the leading candidates and taking up a man who was practically a dark horse, who, it is fair to say, was never in public life, and had never done anything to antagonize anybody.

"The counties of the old 18th District, Columbiana, Mahoning and Carroll, had 135 delegates, while the new counties, Harrison and Jefferson, had only 69. There was little hope when the northern counties determined to combine against us. But when the combination was finally determined on, and was carried out under the splendid leadership of such able managers as Judge Ambler and General Reilly, and Mr. Chamberlain, of Columbiana, and Judge King, and Judge Johnson, and the Hon. Asa Jones, of Mahoning—when the force of their splendid organization and overwhelm-

ing numbers had done their utmost, the Hollingsworth column stood strong with its 86 votes, lacking only 17 of enough to nominate him."

As a matter of fact, the districts were re-arranged exactly as Mr. Hearn predicted, before the next election in 1886, and the Carroll County Congressman, Mr. Taylor, without any particular objection to his service, was cut off with one term by the overwhelming prominence of Major McKinley, afterwards President, who, although defeated for Congress in the former district, became a candidate from the big county of Stark in the restored district which he had represented in previous Congresses with much distinction. The rearrangement of the districts also brought back into the old district Congressman J. D. Taylor, of Guernsey county, and he was accorded a third nomination in 1886, in accordance with the district precedents established in the elections of Hon. Lorenzo Danford and Hon. J. T. Updegraff.

CONGRESSIONAL CONTEST OF 1888.

But as the election of 1888 approached, newspaper outgivings from Washington began to indicate that Congressman J. D. Taylor would ask a fourth term. Soon paid advertisements in the district papers, signed "Guernsey," announced that he would be a candidate before the convention called to meet May 15, 1888, at Bellaire. The big politicians in the big counties began to stir themselves and soon it became evident that, with government patronage in the control of the Congressman as politics were managed in those days at Washington, Mr. Taylor would be nominated.

Colonel Coulter, of Jefferson County, who had made such a favorable impression at the Steubenville convention in 1884, became a candidate, but his friends doubted if he could carry his own county against the methods and push of the men from Guernsey.

Meantime, Mr. Hollingsworth's law practice had increased and he was loth to enter another uneven contest. He had not lost his ambition to go to Congress and hesitated only on account of the handicap of living in a small county, and the conceded talent in political maneuvering of those in charge of Congressman Taylor's campaign.

But without request or management on his part the Republican County Committee of Harrison County unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"Whereas, We recognize Hon. D. A. Hollingsworth, of Cadiz, as a man of intelligence, character and experience, one who is well informed as to the necessities of the various industrial interests of the Congressional District and in full sympathy with all classes of its people, a patriotic ex-Union soldier with a record of actual service on the battle field, an able, upright, uncompromising advocate of Republican principles who has always responded cheerfully to all appointments made for him by this and other county and State committees in past campaigns, and one whose public record and private life are without reproach; and,

"Whereas, The Republicans of Harrison County have in recent years aided in conferring equal Congressional honors on Hon. L. Danford, of Belmont County; Hon. J. T. Updegraff, of Jefferson County; Hon. J. D. Taylor, of Guernsey County, and honors of equal rank on Hon. W. H. Frazier, of Noble County; therefore,

"Resolved, That we, as individual Republicans, now present the name of Hon. D. A. Hollingsworth, of Harrison County, to the Republicans of the district as a candidate for the pending Congressional nomination, in the confident hope that the Republicans of the other counties may reciprocate the past support of Harrison County, and accord to her distinguished candidate due consideration at the convention to be held in Bellaire, May 15."

The Secretary of the Committee, Mr. E. B. McNamee, in giving out this resolution to the press, said:

"The Republicans of the county and of this committee know ex-Attorney General Hollingsworth and regard him as the peer in point of ability and real worth of any of the other candidates named in the district, and, this being so, they insist that the usages of the district in recent years should now obtain in favor of his candidacy. Hence the resolution in question."

But the real turning-point in his hesitancy to enter the canvass was the advice of his friend, Hon. John A. Bingham, still in the full flush of his great fame as a statesman, who offered to go to the convention as a delegate and present his name for its consideration. The offer was genuine, without any revengeful thoughts of the famous convention of 1872, at the same place, at which Mr. Bingham himself was overthrown after a fierce contest by what was believed to be and was called a Danford-Updegraff-Taylor combination to control the political future of the district.

The convention itself was a Taylor triumph; he had the delegates and took control.

Colonel Coulter withdrew in open convention, with an oratorical good word for everybody. According to a correspondent of the *Steubenville Herald*, from Bellaire, on the evening before the convention, when it became apparent that Taylor had captured a majority of the delegates, someone asked excitedly in the leading hotel office, "What are you going to do about it?" quoting the old Tammany cry of Boss Tweed, and Hollingsworth with unruffled temper, answering for himself, said:

"I have not figures on the result of the primaries. My name has been presented through the newspapers to the Republicans of the district as a candidate, and I am content to await their action as it shall be registered in the convention. Very little effort has been made to secure delegates in my interest, notwithstanding the false cry of 'still hunt,' which was started in the last weeks of the canvass to arouse the friends of other candidates and to enable a few local bosses in the district to assume an importance in the management of the primaries which they would not have otherwise obtained.

"Up in Jefferson County, where they hold primaries under the 'Baber Law,' my name, either by mistake or adroit manipulation, was left off the tickets printed under the direction of the County Committee, without my knowledge or consent, and, of course, I can not expect any delegates from that county.

"I personally visited my old home at Flushing and two or three other points in Belmont County, where I had some personal friends, and this is the extent of my canvass. I know very little, if anything, about the situation, in Noble and Guernsey counties. Not a delegate in the convention for or against me will be able to say I have annoyed him with personal letters setting forth my own supposed merits or beseeching his support because of any assumed claim on my part to the position. The office of Congressman belongs in a special sense to the people, and this fact I have always recognized. Nor will any of the delegates be able to point to a single word or act of mine calculated, as some of Colonel Taylor's friends claim, or intended to mislead the people, or misrepresent my opponents, or improperly influence the action of the primaries. I have avoided conflicts and have been especially desirous that there should be no breach of Republican harmony in any part of the district as we enter upon what I believe will prove to be the most memorable national contest ever seen in this country. My special friends in the canvass, I feel sure, have been equally careful of my honor and of the party's interests.

"Conscious of these facts, I should not feel defeat as a personal humiliation, and success under any other conditions could only injure one's usefulness as a public servant, and should be to any honorable man a cause for lasting regret.

"In this spirit my name will be presented to the convention by the Harrison County delegation, and I trust that their efforts will be seconded by quite a number of the delegates from Belmont County.

"I shall not withdraw. It is a principle with me to stand by my friends, and, if need be, share defeat with them, but never to put out the white flag before the action begins. Force of numbers may render a contest useless, but I am not ashamed to stand up with my friends and be counted. The reflection is a pleasant one to me that such wise party advisers as Hon. John A. Bingham and other Republicans of almost equal prominence in the district have voluntarily sympathized with and supported my candidacy during the canvass, and it shall be one of my chief concerns not only now but in the future to prove myself worthy of their confidence.

"Besides, Colonel Taylor, whom I regard, all things considered, as the most successful political manager in Ohio, taught me a lesson in 1882 on the dangers of withdrawing from political contests which I have not forgotten. Before the Barnesville convention of that year, at which the late Dr. Updegraff was nominated, I declined for the sake of party harmony to continue in a canvass that seemed distracting to the party, but he fought it out to the last ditch and in the convention had the few delegates that had been instructed for him duly counted, and then surrendered with as much apparent gravity as General Lee assumed in surrendering to General Grant at Appomattox.

"I received no credit in thus withdrawing from the contest and soon afterward Colonel Taylor was sent to Congress by the very men whom he had been opposing.

"I do not expect history to repeat itself, but I shall certainly in this one respect follow the example set by Colonel Taylor, should it now turn out, as his friends claim, that he has captured the convention. But it is quite possible their boastful claims may not materialize in convention. The ballot alone can tell."

The convention proved to be a short perfunctory affair. The Guernsey County candidate had the delegates and, with confidence, his manager, Mr. Patterson, presented his name for another term. The only incident ap-

proaching a sensation in the convention was when Hon. John A. Bingham, for sixteen years a most distinguished member of Congress, and afterward Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States to Japan, came to the front when Harrison County was called and presented the name of Hon. D. A. Hollingsworth, his "friend and neighbor."

Quoting from the regular printed report of the proceedings:

"Mr. Bingham's presence before the convention was the occasion for a great outburst of applause which lasted for a considerable time. When it had subsided Mr. Bingham presented the name of General D. A. Hollingsworth. He said it was a great pleasure to him to appear again before the delegates of the old district which had honored him so often in years gone by, and that it was with equal pleasure that he was here today to present for the consideration of the convention one who was the unanimous and voluntary choice of his county for the Congressional nomination. He said that without a word or thought of disparagement as to other candidates who had been named or might be named before this convention, he presented the name of Mr. Hollingsworth, his friend and neighbor, as the peer of any man who had ever aspired to the nomination, a gentleman whose character was without stain or shadow, a soldier, a Republican, a patriot, a man fit to represent the American people in the Congress of the United States; 'for we are not here today,' he said, 'to select a candidate to represent this district; we are here to select a candidate to represent the American people in the Congress of the nation.'

" 'I am sure,' said Mr. Bingham, 'that it will not be regarded as improper that I should refer to the services of Mr. Hollingsworth in defense of his country, for he was one of the brave men who in the hour of the nation's peril left home and friends, and taking his life in his hands entered the Union army as a private soldier, endured the weary toil of march and bivouac, and often in the battle's front itself was exposed to the enemy's shot and shell. His civil service has been equally eminent. Twice you sent him to represent the district composed of the counties of Belmont and Harrison in the Senate of the State, and there he always took a leading position in the legislative business of the State, and when called, by appointment, to fill the responsible position of Attorney General in a critical period in the history of our State Legislature, you know how ably he performed the duties imposed upon him.' "

The roll of the counties was immediately called for balloting as soon as the applause over Mr. Bingham's speech subsided, resulting as follows:

Belmont—Taylor, 49 1-2; Hollingsworth, 10 1-2.

Guernsey—Taylor, 32.

Harrison—Hollingsworth, 24.

Jefferson—Taylor, 30; Hollingsworth, 12.

Noble—Taylor, 24.

Total—Taylor, 135 1-2; Hollingsworth, 46 1-2.

A committee was appointed to notify Mr. Taylor of his nomination, but the delegates separated and the convention, lifeless and without enthusiasm, adjourned before he reached the hall.

Again Hollingsworth was second in a convention ruled by the political managers of the big counties, and the political methods of that day. But no public complaint was made, although, expressing himself privately in appreciation of his friends in the convention, he said he was proud to go down with them; and they, headed by Mr. Bingham, were proud of him.

He faced the future serenely, although the goal of his one political ambition seemed far in the future.

ECHOES OF THE CONVENTION

Harsh criticism of the successful candidate, just or unjust, appeared in a number of local papers, but the defeated candidate and his friends were careful not to give cause to doubt their loyalty to the ticket.

Convention history, however, would not be complete without some adverse criticism, as shown by newspaper clippings:

(From *Bellaire Independent*, Republican, before the convention.)

"General David A. Hollingsworth is making a campaign so different from that of Colonel Joseph D. Taylor that it is admirable in these degenerate days. He stands aloof from entangling alliances of any kind, and is making the canvass on his merits and the ground that Harrison County is entitled to recognition. General Hollingsworth is supported by the ablest and best Republicans in this county.

(Same paper, after convention.)

"Danford's picture of the Republicans of earlier days and the would-be leaders now was roasting some of the boys."

"Hon. John A. Bingham created more enthusiasm than anything else that occurred during the deliberations. General Hollingsworth, he said, is the peer of each and all of the candidates for this responsible position, and then the time-honored and distinguished orator proceeded to pay a tribute to General Hollingsworth that any man might well be proud of. 'Wipe out these demagogues,' he said, 'and guard the interests of the people!'"

"General Hollingsworth's support was not of the bombastic kind. They supported him because they wanted him and refused to allow Taylor's nomination by acclamation."

"Such methods as have been used, beyond all doubt or cavil, cannot last long in this district, and the farmers and other good people who blindly supported Colonel Taylor through the misrepresentations of his friends will turn upon those who have misled them in years to come, and they will be made to feel the keen edge of righteous rebuke. The interest of the delegates in the candidate for Congress was apparent in the wild rush they made to leave the hall before the candidate could be presented for a speech. We will be surprised if the district remains one of commercial value very long."

(From *Cadiz Republican*, Republican, W. B. Hearn, editor.)

"Since the convention the fact is generally recognized that Hollingsworth is the coming man of the district. He is not at all discouraged, but will go to work cheerfully, and 'bide his time.'"

Again, General Hollingsworth returned to his ever-welcome law office for a few years more of congenial work. Instead of sulking, he would "improve each shining hour."

Meantime the State was again redistricted for Congressional purposes, and this time Guernsey and Noble counties were taken out of the district, but leaving the big counties of Belmont and Jefferson as dominating political factors. The Congressional convention of the new district was called early, and candidates from all the counties were soon announced except from Monroe, a new county in the district, strongly Democratic.

CONGRESSIONAL CONVENTION OF 1892

Unlike the former canvasses, the candidates were friendly and went to the convention, which was held at Steubenville, without having developed any bitterness, although the announcement of Senator J. Wilber Nichols, of Belmont County, and his subsequent withdrawal in favor of Colonel Poorman of the same county, was variously commented upon.

Hon. L. Danford, a former Congressman, was made chairman, and, as the convention report states, "made a short, stirring address."

Colonel John S. Pearce, of Cadiz, who succeeded Colonel Poorman, one of the candidates, when the latter resigned as Colonel of the 98th Ohio Regiment, was chairman of the Harrison delegation, and presented the name of General Hollingsworth in words of praise rivaling the tribute paid him by Mr. Bingham, at Bellaire.

Other announcements were Colonel C. L. Poorman, of Belmont County, by C. L. Weems; Judge William McCoy, of Carroll County, by U. C. De Ford, and Hon. Reese G. Richards, of Jefferson County, by Judge John M. Cook.

Subsequent proceedings are quoted from the regular printed report of the convention as follows:

"A call of the counties was now ordered, and the great crowd in the Opera House listened with rapt attention as the several counties announced their votes. Belmont County, through its chairman, Judge Cochran, of Martins Ferry, announced 60 votes for Poorman and 3 for Hollingsworth. This announcement confirmed the claim that the Nichols delegates would support Poorman, in accordance with the agreement between the two candidates from Belmont County, and was received with great applause and cheers from the large crowd of Belmont County people who were present.

"Carroll County came next in the call, and the chairman, Mr. DeFord, announced its solid 23 votes for Judge McCoy. When Harrison was called Judge Pearce announced 26 votes for Hollingsworth. Jefferson County came next, and Chairman John M. Cook announced 43 votes for Richards and 4 for Hollingsworth. The secretary announced the ballot—McCoy, 23; Hollingsworth, 34; Richards, 43; Poorman, 73. This left Poorman within 14 votes of a nomination, and his friends were jubilant in the belief that another ballot or two would settle matters in his favor.

"A second ballot was ordered, and as the call of the counties proceeded it was noticed that the Poorman vote was dropping off a little. Belmont

County voted 59 for Poorman and 4 for Hollingsworth. Two votes also came from Carroll County to Hollingsworth, and 4 from Monroe County, making Hollingsworth's total on the second ballot 40 votes, with Poorman 68, Richards 43, and McCoy 21. On the third ballot, Hollingsworth gained two or three more votes from Monroe County, and one or two more from Belmont, and it began to be apparent to everybody that Colonel Poorman's first vote was to be his highest and that his nomination, so confidently expected on the third or fourth ballot, was not in sight at all.

"Ballots now succeeded each other rapidly, with slight changes and variations, Hollingsworth constantly gaining and Poorman constantly declining.

"Matters thus went on until the nineteenth ballot was reached. When Belmont County was called it announced 52 votes for Poorman, with 10 for Hollingsworth and 1 for McCoy. Carroll County gave 10 votes for Hollingsworth and Monroe County gave 11 votes for him. Jefferson County on this ballot, as on every other ballot in the convention, from first to last, voted 43 for Richards and 4 for Hollingsworth. The secretary announced the result of the ballot as follows: McCoy, 9; Richards, 43; Poorman, 60; Hollingsworth, 61.

"Monroe County was ready to give Hollingsworth its solid 14 votes at any time, and he had enough additional votes in either Jefferson or Belmont to give him the nomination if the time and condition could arrive for either in which they could be released from the home candidate. The ballots which now followed for a considerable time had no significance. Complimentary votes were passed around among all the candidates, and after the 26th ballot an adjournment was taken until 8 o'clock P. M. Promptly at 8 o'clock the convention was called to order. The 27th ballot resulted: McCoy, 23; Richards, 43; Hollingsworth, 47; Poorman, 60. Ballot after ballot followed with slight variations. All remained firm and there was even less disposition to cast complimentary votes.

"After two hours hard work it became evident that no nomination could be made that night and the convention adjourned until 9 o'clock next morning.

"When the convention reassembled there was great curiosity to know how the first ballot would result. It was the 83rd ballot, and when the counties were called they voted nearly as they had on the first ballot. Bel-

mont gave 60 for Poorman and 3 for Hollingsworth; Carroll give 23 for McCoy; Harrison gave 26 for Hollingsworth; Jefferson gave 43 for Richards, and Monroe divided its vote between Poorman and Hollingsworth. On the next ballot, when Carroll County was called, McCoy's name was withdrawn and its vote divided, 10 votes coming to Hollingsworth and the rest divided between Poorman and Richards, but the ballot was completed and announced without material change from former ballots.

A private conference had been held at General Hollingsworth's request in his room in the early hours of the morning, in which he counseled his friends to the effect that if the outlook at the opening of the convention was for another protracted struggle, and a possible deadlock, and no solution of the contest in view, that he felt that he would withdraw from further candidacy and thus do his share, at least, toward ending the contest and promoting the harmony of the party.

"It was with this understanding, therefore, that after two ballots had been taken and the third called, when Harrison County was reached the delegation asked for a few minutes' time before reporting.

"Meantime Mr. Hollingsworth, who was in his room at the hotel, learning of the condition of affairs, made his way to the hall where the convention was being held and proceeded at once to the stage. The chair soon announced that General Hollingsworth desired to address the convention, and coming to the front he spoke as follows:

" 'Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention:

" 'The hour has arrived when another friendly contest in this so-called "reservoir of genius" should end, and I am ready for the sacrifice. The interests of the Republican party demand that we here and now get together, about face, and turn our attention to the common enemy. We must not harbor resentments. We must accept results with unquestioned party fealty. Republican principles are infinitely of more concern than the political fortunes of any man or number of men, of any city, or any county.

" 'Therefore, I shall willingly accept orders and march in the ranks, instead of at the head of the column, as I had hoped, in the Sixteenth Congressional District. Before retiring, however, permit me to thank my special friends for their advice, counsel and assistance. Words are inadequate to express to them the deep sense of gratitude which I feel for their

kindness. Ingratitude is not one of the sins charged to my account. I am too much of an admirer of General Grant for that. I now ask that no further consideration be given my candidacy by this convention.'

"Mr. Hollingsworth's remarks were applauded to the echo. The convention awaited the vote of Harrison County, knowing it was going to name the nominee and end the contest. Judge Pearce in clear tones announced the 26 votes of Harrison County for Colonel C. L. Poorman, which gave the Colonel the nomination and started an applause which compelled the suspension of business for some time."

Keen observers, however, noticed that among the shouters were only a few of the big political bosses of the district. Colonel Poorman, although hailing from the big county of Belmont, had never been a favorite with them. He received the nomination fairly without their assistance. Boodlers and bosses were at a discount in that convention. Would they support its nominee at the general election? Time alone could tell.

The friendly feeling developed in the convention for General Hollingsworth, while not sufficient to nominate him, clearly showed that sooner or later his merits would be recognized.

A local Cadiz paper, referring to his return from the convention, said:

"General Hollingsworth returned from the Steubenville convention on Wednesday evening, in as good spirits as could be expected, and on Thursday morning went to work as cheerfully as usual in the trial of cases in the Circuit Court. He is 'a little disfigured but still in the ring.'"

Poorman was defeated at the polls by the Democratic candidate.

It was a shock to the best Republicans of the district, and of course he immediately announced his candidacy for the nomination in two years. His fighting blood was up and he looked upon his political enemies about as he did the Southern Confederates when leading his regiment against them in the Sixties.

STEUBENVILLE CONVENTION OF 1894

It was to be a battle of giants; bossism and anti-bossism had crossed swords. Having vanquished the bosses of his own big county, in 1892, he felt sure of doing so again, and early began coquetting with other candidates. As editor of the *Bellaire Tribune*, he threw this bouquet to Harrison County before the canvass was begun:

"Mr. Hollingsworth is spoken of as a candidate for congress, and if the nomination is not to be given to the candidate of two years ago, and there is to be a free-for-all contest for the nomination, will be a very formidable candidate, much more likely to be nominated than any man not a candidate before the last convention."

But at once the *Bellaire Independent*, an anti-Poorman neighbor of the *Tribune*, countered with the following:

"Mr. Hollingsworth, though a candidate before previous conventions for this honor, has always conducted himself in a dignified way and when the contest was over returned to his law office and resumed the practice of his profession without the ranting and raving of a disappointed politician. He has always been a gentleman in and out of conventions, and two years ago when he felt his own case a hopeless one in the convention made sure the nomination of Colonel Poorman. At that time reciprocity was in high favor and he thought the reciprocity idea would bring to him greater strength in the conventions that might follow. Two years have rolled around, another convention is at hand, but the honorable gentleman from Cadiz finds no vestige of the reciprocity delusion in this section."

Seemingly, with only one reservation, that of having to support "some home candidate," the sentiment of the district press was favorable to Hollingsworth. His nomination was freely predicted:

"It now seems a settled fact that Harrison County will furnish no Congressional candidate other than Hon. D. A. Hollingsworth and it is conceded that in him we present the best qualified man in the district. It is now our turn and those who have acquainted themselves thoroughly with the situation admit that we are to receive the courtesy.—*Harrison Tribune*.

"The friends of J. J. Gill are early in the field and making a strong effort to unite Jefferson County in his favor, but we imagine Mr. Hollingsworth's friends are not asleep."—*Ohio Valley News*.

"General Hollingsworth is well and favorably known throughout the district and is fully equipped. Of course, Belmont County expects the nomination, and will likely win if the delegation is solid for one man, as it probably will be."—*Barnesville Republican*.

"General Hollingsworth possesses the qualities which wear well, which make him liked the better he is known. He has been before the public long enough to be known for the worth that is in him, and there is a general feeling in the district in favor of his nomination now which never existed before. He is the coming man."—*Cadiz Republican*.

"General Hollingsworth is a modest man and has never paraded his claims in the modern blowhard style. He marched and fought in the ranks. Should Belmont County not be honored with the nominee, the convention will make no mistake if it shall call upon D. A. Hollingsworth, of Cadiz."—*Martins Ferry Times*.

"Mr. Hollingsworth received some encouragement here, but not as much as he would had not Captain Danford come into the race."—*St. Clairsville Gazette*.

"General Hollingsworth is a man of unquestioned ability and clear record, and if the mantle falls on his shoulders he is a man who would wear it with honor."—*Toronto Tribune*.

"Mr. Hollingsworth is well known throughout the district as a gentleman of ability, and one who would subserve the best interests of his party with judicious fidelity."—*Steubenville Ohio Press*.

"General Hollingsworth will probably not profit much from the delegation from this county in the present contest, not because he is not admired and esteemed for his high character and manly bearing, but for the reason that Belmont County will hope to win the prize."—*Bellaire Independent*.

"General Hollingsworth is well known to our people. Born and raised within the borders of Belmont County, having obtained high rank as an attorney, a man of highest honor and integrity, imbued with Republicanism that is unquestioned, he is altogether a man to whom we could give the heartiest support should he succeed in obtaining the honor to which he aspires."—*Belmont Chronicle*.

"Mr. Hollingsworth is one of the ablest men in the district; he has many friends in this county who would rejoice in his success."—*Barnesville Enterprise*.

And yet with all these goods words, sincere beyond doubt and general throughout the district, the cry of county pride, home candidates, and the maneuvering of skilled political managers, big bosses in the big counties, prevented him going into the convention with a single vote outside of Harrison County, and destined at the end of a most strenuous convention to be beaten by an openly acknowledged combination for future spoils, or, as many believed, worse, direct betrayal of delegates by leaders entrusted with casting their votes in the convention.

The convention met June 12, 1894, at Steubenville. Dr. S. B. McGavran, of Harrison County, was made temporary chairman, and Senator Nichols, of Belmont County, permanent chairman. Both made ringing speeches, evidently calculated to arouse, in connection with a very able address by Mr. Bingham in response to a call from the floor of the convention before it got down to business, thoughts of dark horses in waiting.

All preliminaries out of the way, the counties were called for the presentation of candidates:

Jesse W. Hollingsworth, of St. Clairsville, presented the name of Lorenzo Danford, of Belmont County.

A. T. Stewart, of Bellaire, presented the name of Colonel C. L. Poorman, also of Belmont.

Senator Eckley, of Carrollton, presented the name of I. H. Taylor, of Carroll County.

Hon. R. G. Richards, of Steubenville, presented the name of J. J. Gill, prominent capitalist, of Jefferson County.

Dr. Griffith, of Beallsville, presented the name of Dr. G. A. Keepers, of Monroe County.

J. M. Garvin, of Cadiz, presented the name of D. A. Hollingsworth, of Harrison County.

A local Steubenville paper stated at the time that "Mr. Garvin's speech was very decidedly the most interesting of all, and received by far the most universal response from the whole house. He spoke the heartfelt sentiment

of a friend and associate at the bar, and a comrade in the Union army." Brushing aside oratory, he said:

"Without any attempt at oratory I will, with your permission, and in a very few minutes, present to you the claims of Harrison County, and of her candidate. For nearly a quarter of a century Harrison County has not been honored with a nomination for Congress. By the time the man whom we nominate today, and whom we shall elect, shall take his seat, it will have been a full quarter of a century.

"During that quarter of a century the loyal Republicans of Harrison County cast their votes four times for distinguished citizens of Belmont County, three times for a distinguished citizen of Jefferson County, one time for a distinguished citizen of Carroll County, and three or four times for a distinguished citizen of Guernsey county. And, during all of that time, no man in your party was more ready to go into a campaign, to open his purse and cast his vote for a Congressional nominee, no man was more firm and unwavering in his allegiance to his party than David A. Hollingsworth.

"I do not present him to this convention as the champion of any particular class of men, or of any particular industry. He believes in the protection of American labor and American capital in Steubenville, in Martins Ferry, and Bellaire, as much as he does in the protection of the sheep that nibble the grass on the hillsides out in God's green country. He understands that every cloud of smoke that rises from your factories makes every acre of land in the district worth more than it would be otherwise. He understands that when the farmers get 30 cents per pound for their wool it makes every car load of your manufactured products worth more than they would be otherwise.

"I don't propose to take up your time in pronouncing an eulogy. The act for which I honor him most was at the very outset of his career. He ran off from home in 1861, at the age of sixteen, and joined a Monroe County company in the 25th Regiment, O. V. I.

"I present to you the name of a son of Belmont County—the adopted son of Harrison—Private David A. Hollingsworth.

"His fitness and his ability to represent the people and all the people of this district in Congress, is conceded on all hands. I think that a majority of the Republicans in the district concede that the claims of Harrison County are just and proper.

"I wish that every candidate before this convention could go to Congress. But in the very nature of things some of us must go home in mourning. Three of the candidates before this convention have already gone home from conventions in years past with the shouts of victory ringing in their ears. Two others of your candidates are enjoying the luxury for the first time. Poor little Harrison has been going home in mourning for twelve years. 'With malice toward none and charity for all,' we believe you will all be better satisfied in the end if you nominate our candidate."

The first ballot resulted as follows:

Belmont—Danford, 38; Poorman, 28.

Carroll—Taylor, 22; Poorman, 1.

Harrison—Hollingsworth, 27.

Jefferson—Gill, 50.

Monroe—Keepers, 16.

All day and evening the balloting continued without material changes and after the 44th was called, adjournment took place until the next morning.

On the 10th ballot Monroe complimented Hollingsworth with six votes and Belmont gave him six.

At the morning meeting balloting started and continued without incident for some time, when Jefferson County asked the privilege of retiring for ten minutes, but on returning, instead of making a break and ending an impending dead-lock, it plumped the usual 50 votes for Gill, and the weary grind was resumed, with bouquet compliments for all candidates, until 11 o'clock, when Belmont County asked leave to retire. After its return and balloting was resumed the only change was one from Poorman to Danford.

After the noon recess, the printed report of the proceedings reads as follows:

"At the meeting of the afternoon session there was evidently a strong second-choice sentiment in favor of Hollingsworth in every delegation, but the trouble was to bring them to the front. Every candidate up to this time had a hope of being nominated. As Belmont County had a divided delegation there was a feeling in the other counties that that county ought to be the first to make a break. The smaller counties could do nothing alone and so the balloting went on. Danford's friends had assured Hollingsworth from the first that they were for him as soon as it seemed certain that

Danford could not be nominated. Poorman's friends, or most of them, gave the same assurance, although Poorman all along believed that he would be the nominee. Monroe was ready to give its sixteen votes to Hollingsworth at any time they could nominate him, and assured him of the fact. Carroll gave many friendly assurances as to what they might do, and twelve Jefferson delegates assured Hollingsworth of their support if they ever left Gill.

"A recess was taken of nearly an hour. Poorman offered to withdraw provided that Danford would do the same. But Mr. Danford refused and both remained in, and the weary work of balloting was resumed with little changes. On several occasions Hollingsworth's vote rose to 52, thus putting him the highest on the list, but the ballot fell back again to the old marks. At half past four o'clock Belmont County gave Danford 60 of her 66 votes. He received 15 others, making his total vote 75, the highest yet given for any candidate. This made a sensation, but Poorman was given the same vote by Belmont, and afterward the ballots settled back to the old figures.

"After the 177th ballot a recess was taken until 8 o'clock, evening.

"After reconvening for nearly an hour the ballot proceeded as before supper, but finally Jefferson gave two-thirds of her vote to Danford and the remainder to Hollingsworth. This did not quite nominate Danford, but when Monroe was called, that county had it in its power to make a nomination and casting its sixteen votes for Danford it gave him 96. Immediately there was great excitement and charges of fraud in the vote of Jefferson County. Its delegates retired and on its return the chairman claimed authority to cast its vote about as before. Delegates claimed the vote was announced without consulting them. After much excitement and many points of order the chair ordered a new call, which resulted, as announced, in Danford's nomination."

A further report of the closing scenes of the convention is taken from the Steubenville *Herald*, as follows:

"Jefferson gave Hollingsworth 40 on the 231st ballot, bringing his total to 67, and Monroe gave him 10 on the 233rd. No change to the 239th. On the 240th Belmont went back to 38 and 28, but soon resumed 41 to 25. There was scarcely a change to the 257th ballot, Belmont going back to 40 and 26.

"When the 258th ballot was called, Chairman Miller, of the Jefferson County delegation, had just come in and when his county was called he arose

and announced 41 for Danford and 9 for Hollingsworth. For a moment there was a dead silence, and the chairman of the Monroe delegation quickly grasping the situation gave his 16 votes for the same. There was another instant of quiet, when the mathematicians of Belmont suddenly realized that their man had 97 votes and was the nominee. They broke into loud cheering, which was interrupted by cries of 'Gill' from the crowds in the gallery. A Monroe delegate moved that the nomination be made unanimous, to which Mr. Hebron, of the Jefferson delegation, shouted 'no,' and he, with Mr. Davis, another Jefferson delegate, objected to the vote of Jefferson County as announced.

"J. W. Terrell, of Belmont, moved a committee of five be appointed to notify Mr. Danford of his nomination and escort him to the hall.

"During this time nearly all the members of the convention and the hundreds of spectators were on their feet. A dozen were trying to get the attention of the chair or raising objections or points of order. Senator Nichols pounded away with his gavel and attempted to restore order out of chaos. At this point Mr. Erskine asked the Jefferson delegation be allowed to take a private ballot.

"Hon. John A. Mansfield, who was on the stage, shouted, 'Let us have a free and fair vote,' which was the occasion of more cheering.

"McGavran, of Harrison, moved a reconsideration of the vote just taken.

"A Belmont delegate raised a point of order; another Belmont delegate moved to adjourn.

"Mr. Danford appeared in the hall by this time, and was greeted with cheers by the Belmont delegation.

"Another Belmont delegate moved to lay the vote to reconsider on the table.

"The point of order was again raised that the whole matter was settled and could not be reconsidered.

"Somebody asked for the rules, but they were at the hotel, and the chairman said the vote of Jefferson County had not been withdrawn until the result of the ballot had been announced.

"It was claimed that the vote of Jefferson was withdrawn at the first opportunity, and Mr. Lewis, of Belmont, appealed from the decision of the chair on the point of order. At this time there were cries of 'Gill' from

the gallery. The Belmont gentleman withdrew his point of order. The motion to lay on the table was lost and the original motion to reconsider was carried amid immense cheering.

"Chairman asked that the Jefferson delegation be allowed ten minutes to retire. Granted.

"They were absent an hour, during which time the delegates and others gathered in knots and discussed parliamentary law and other points. It was generally conceded that the convention had at least lost its dullness.

"The Jeffersonians returned at 10:20 and were greeted with hand clapping and cheers.

"Chairman Nichols appealed to the delegates and spectators to preserve order and insure a fair hearing to everybody.

"Chairman Miller being called on said the trouble arose over the impression that there had been a mistake in the announcement of the vote. He had given it correctly with the one for Gill, as requested, and another desired to vote for Colonel Poorman. These two votes came off the nine announced for Hollingsworth.

"A Harrison delegate said it was necessary for the roll call and the vote to be taken again.

"This was objected to, and Mr. Eckley, of Carroll, claimed that the other ballot having been reconsidered it was wiped out and the roll should be called again as though the 258th ballot had not been taken.

"Judge Cochran, of Belmont, arose to a point of order, but the chair sustained Mr. Eckley.

"A Belmont delegate objected that the mover of the motion to reconsider had voted with the majority.

"The chair decided that this objection came too late.

"After some further discussion the chair directed the 258th ballot to be recalled, with the following result:

"Belmont—Danford, 44; Poorman, 22.

"Carroll—Taylor, 24.

"Harrison—Hollingsworth, 27.

"Jefferson—Danford, 41; Poorman, 1; Hollingsworth, 7; Gill, 1.

"Monroe—Danford, 15; Hollingsworth, 1.

"Total—Danford, 100; Poorman, 23; Taylor, 24; Hollingsworth, 35; Gill, 1."

No Congressional convention ever ended in the district leaving more bitterness or more ugly charges, especially in the Jefferson County delegation.

Boss rule held its grip defiantly and defeated candidates were forced to answer from the stage the old inquiry of Boss Tweed, of New York—"What are you going to do about it?"

"Hollingsworth had kept his room and his head during all the excitement and, as usual, was ready to respond when the committee called to escort him to the convention hall.

A Steubenville paper, in giving a report of his speech, said:

"When Hollingsworth came to the front all was quiet, knowing that heart-strings would be torn open and that his words would be full of meaning. He spoke with deliberation and much feeling:

" 'Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention:

" 'Bowing to the inevitable, surrendering to the force of numbers, yielding up the only political ambition I ever cherished, I come here at your invitation to ratify the nomination you have just made. I do this without equivocation or mental reservation. Loyalty to party should never depend upon the result of a political convention. Candidates are nothing, principles everything.

" 'The Republican party was never more united and harmonious than it is today. Its great leaders, its McKinleys, its Shermans, its Forakers, and its glorious Tom Reeds, have joined hands to rescue the country from Democratic domination, and the Sixteenth Congressional District must do its whole duty in this good work of political redemption.' "

" 'Having said this much, I may be permitted to specially thank those of the delegates who have honored me with their support and to those from my own county—the good old loyal county of Harrison—who have stood by me and gone down with me in unbroken column, in this and former contests, I have not fitting words to express my gratitude. So long as memory and reason remain your friendship will be to me a cherished remembrance. It will be an inspiration to duty as I hereafter march in the ranks and keep step to the music of the Republican party, just as the remembrance of home and friends and country was an inspiration to the private soldier in 1861-65, as he followed his leaders and kept step to the martial music of the Union.

“ ‘And now, gentlemen of the convention, one and all, without complaint, without censure, and with no spirit of revenge rankling in my breast against anyone, I accept as final this defeat of my long-cherished ambition, but I shall be found hereafter, as heretofore, in the humble capacity of a private citizen, battling to the extent of my ability for the ever-living doctrines and principles of the grand old Republican party.

“ ‘This privilege no convention can deny me and its continuous exercise I feel assured will at least shield me from the envenomed shafts of the few who in jealous envy too often assail the motives and character of public men.”

To Mr. Hollingsworth it seemed as though the political dial had been turned backward in the district. At the Bellaire convention, in 1872, when the veteran Bingham was defeated, it was reported that a tacit agreement had been entered into by Danford, Updegraff and Taylor for the three to thereafter rotate the office. Danford was nominated first and served three terms. Updegraff followed with three nominations and Taylor succeeded him.

But man proposes and God disposes. Only one of the three was left, himself much of a gentleman, but the bosses of the district thought he could be trusted better than a new man and they in a sense called him from his retirement.

It amounted to a warning for ambitious young men to keep out of politics unless backed by boodle or bosses.

Would the new combination last? Hollingsworth evidently thought that it would when taking leave of the convention.

But two other incidents had touched his feelings more keenly in the convention than the loss of the nomination itself.

Mr. Danford's name was unexpectedly presented to the convention by a favorite cousin and an undoubted personal friend of Hollingsworth.

Mr. Gill's name was presented by Hon. R. G. Richards, supposed to be Hollingsworth's best outside friend in the district. They had served together in the Ohio Senate, where their friendship was cemented by many acts of mutual assistance. When the State authorities cut off the State school funds from Richard's home city, Steubenville, for alleged frauds in over enumeration, it was Hollingsworth who came to the rescue. He also named Richards for president pro tem of the Senate, waiving patronage for

his own district, and afterwards went to the Republican State convention and presented his name for Lieutenant Governor and secured his nomination.

The loss of such friends seemed a new lesson to Hollingsworth in politics and at the time, without the explanations subsequently made, he felt it keenly.

He was much disappointed and turned to his law office again with added interest for the future.

AFTERMATH OF THE STEUBENVILLE CONVENTION

The *Cadiz Republican* said:

"General Hollingsworth stepped to the front to say that he was just as loyal to the party in defeat as in victory—not an easy thing to say under the circumstances, and not possible unless sincere. His suggestion about this being his *final* defeat will never be seconded by any of his friends. Such a feeling was natural for the moment, but there never was a time when he stood so high as at present in the estimation of the Republicans, not only of his own county, who shared keenly in his disappointment, but also of the whole district. He will be heard from in the future, and the future will justify the confidence which his friends of all parts of the district have reposed in him.

"We mistake the temper of Harrison County Republicans, if they permit General Hollingsworth to thus retire from the field. If, as claimed by certain Jefferson County politicians, Captain Danford has agreed, in consideration of his present nomination, to retire from Congress with one term, and throw his influence to Jefferson County, the people may have something to say about it."

The *Freeport Press* said:

"Hollingsworth and his 27 delegates went down with flying colors and died gallantly in the last ditch. He could not have done otherwise and retained his manly dignity."

The *Martins Ferry News* said:

"Joseph J. Gill will never have the solid delegation of Jefferson County to back him in another Congressional convention. Delegates do not relish

being voted against their wishes and without being consulted. We never saw such manifestations of soreness as over the nomination of Danford. General Hollingsworth should have been the nominee."

The *Bellaire Independent* said:

"It will not be best to have General Hollingsworth retire from his place in the politics of the district and serve only in the ranks. He is a wise counsellor and sagacious leader, but he is a resident of a small county."

The *Belmont Chronicle* said:

"General Hollingsworth never displayed greater ability as an orator, nor did his Republicanism shine with greater lustre, than in his speech at the close of the convention. 'I now bid adieu,' said he, 'to the cherished political ambition of my life.' General Hollingsworth is a young man yet; a man of such ability and possessed of such a record that he should not despair of realizing his ambition. We need such men as Hollingsworth in the front rank and he may be the next nominee."

The *St. Clairsville Gazette*, Democratic, said:

"At the close of the Steubenville convention, Hon. D. A. Hollingsworth took the stage to bid a final farewell to his ambition to go to Congress. Well might he have added: 'Had I but served my God with half the zeal I have served my party, he would not have cut me off quite so abruptly.' It is true that no man in his district has done more to elevate the character of the Republican party than has Mr. Hollingsworth. In all his many canvasses for the nomination there is not a breath of scandal attached to him. He has always been clean, fair and honorable in his dealings. Such a man in Congress would have honored his constituents of all parties. But the handwriting on the wall is against him. Not that he is found wanting, but that the looting Medes and Persians who barter nominations as they would potatoes are too strong for him, and that before the machinations of a corrupt gang virtue cannot stand. Hollingsworth's valedictory is a blow to dishonesty in politics."

The *Bellaire Tribune*, Colonel Poorman's paper, said:

"There was more trickery and unmanly politics, or what Mr. Halstead would call 'yellow dog' politics than in any convention ever held in this dis-

trict; the great body of the convention was made up of honorable gentlemen, but affairs were under control of the tricksters and schemers."

The Steubenville *Herald*, Gill organ, said:

"The decision as to how the final vote of Jefferson County should be cast was left by the delegates to the judgment of Mr. Gill, and his conclusion to cast it so as to nominate Captain Danford was for the best interest of Jefferson County in the future."

The *Ohio State Journal* correspondent said:

"The nomination was the result of a deal that was on all day, but did not materialize until night. Under it Danford is to have two years and assist Gill then to the nomination, but all the delegates did not know of the deal; hence the trouble."

A Steubenville Independent paper printed the following items:

"In the last caucus held by Jefferson, Erskine, Lewis and a dozen others took off their badges and threw them down, saying they would not go back into the convention, and Erskine kept his word."

"If Gill wanted to withdraw, he should have said to his men, 'I am satisfied, go where you please; not put a collar on them and go where I tell you.'"

"We are authorized to state that the casting of the Jefferson vote by Miller on the 258th ballot was not a mistake or an error, but done by previous arranged agreement or dictation by Mr. Gill."

"A majority of the Jefferson delegation were for Hollingsworth, second choice. It was a G. A. R. man that objected to being sold out. 'I do not like it a d—n bit,' said Captain McElravy, with eyes blazing."

"Hon. Lorenzo Danford: 'Behold, the conquering hero comes.'"

"Hon. David A. Hollingsworth: 'I lay my armor down.'"

"Colonel Christian Poorman: 'Thou are so near and yet so far.'"

"Dr. Geo. A. Keepers: 'I am, that I am.'"

"Joseph J. Gill: 'Imperial Caesar dead and turned to clay.'"

"Hon. Isaac H. Taylor: 'Lightning never strikes in the same place twice.'"

As predicted, Mr. Danford, once back in Congress, seemed able and willing to continue until the Grim Reaper should claim him, and apparently forgot, if in fact he ever personally knew the details of the so-called Gill pact at the Steubenville convention. His course pleased the Hollingsworth men and the anti-boss element generally, and those who had personally engineered the deal behind closed doors seemed afraid to have the light turned on even after the storm created by the convention had subsided. Danford's political future was assured.

CONTEST FOLLOWING DANFORD'S DEATH

But immediately on his death, even at his funeral, a Gill propaganda was started among the dead statesman's friends in Belmont to recognize and carry out the pact of 1894 with Jefferson. It was not an easy task. The sentiment for Hollingsworth as indicated by the newspaper publications following the convention, showed an unmistakable feeling in his favor which would require heroic treatment equal to that indulged in at Steubenville to defeat him if he again became a candidate. It would be necessary to develop another favorite son of Belmont if its big delegation was to be secured and held for trading purposes with the big county of Jefferson. It could not be done at the primaries in the first instance for Mr. Gill. Developments came quick and fast even before the convention was called. Mr. Weems, a capable lawyer and skilled politician of St. Clairsville, essayed the task. He had presented Col. Poorman's name in the convention that nominated him, and also as a delegate from Noble County in the famous St. Clairsville convention had presented the name of Private Dalzell as a candidate, and held the delegation together until it could be bodily transferred for use by the bosses, and, from the first, since his removal to Belmont County, he had made himself felt in the political management of the county, and had avoided making enemies. He was popular in many ways and, by the boss cry of standing by home candidates he succeeded in substantially consolidating the county for himself as a first choice.

Popular home leaders were also brought out as local candidates in all the other counties.

Meantime, Mr. Gill had trouble in again consolidating Jefferson County in his favor. Mr. Richards' espousal of him in the Gill-Danford convention had eliminated himself as a candidate for this year, but other worthy

candidates appeared among the anti-boss forces. John A. Mansfield and E. E. Erskine, clean types of manhood, and independent, worthy Republicans, entered the list, and for a time thought they were winners, but in the end it was the same old story. Like bees around a honeysuckle the "boys" sensed the sweetness of former campaigns and gathered where the honey was to be found. Boodle, booze and the bosses won, and the primary count only gave Mansfield and Erskine one or two delegates.

A glance at the list of delegates showed bossism in the saddle everywhere. From Carroll County came D. O. Rutan, acknowledged local boss, with an abiding grievance against Cadiz and Cadiz men for having burned him in effigy for refusing to vote for Mark Hanna for United States Senator. And from Monroe, without the farce of presenting any candidate, came the "Rouse-Keeper boys," ready for business.

The outlook was discouraging for Hollingsworth and his friends. Would the two big counties be able to continue the alleged agreement of alternating the Congressman between them? The result seemed to be a double-riveted certainty for the future. The convention met at Martins Ferry, September 12, 1899. U. C. Deford, of Carroll, was made both temporary and permanent chairman. The county also had two local candidates.

The proceedings lasted three days. On the second day a train-load of boosters arrived from Steubenville, and their numbers increased until final results were reached on the afternoon of the third.

The following report, printed in the *Cadiz Republican*, is a conservative statement of facts written by the editor, W. B. Hearn, who was present:

GILL THE NOMINEE

Two Hundred and Ninety-nine Ballots Were Taken Before a
Choice was Made.

Longest Drawn Out and Most Stubborn Contest in Ohio's
Political History.

"The Republican Congressional convention for the 16th District was held at Martins Ferry this week. The first session was held in the Opera

House at half past ten o'clock on Tuesday morning. Attorney J. C. Gray, of Martins Ferry, made an address of welcome.

"Mr. U. C. Deford, of Carrollton, had been selected by the committee as temporary chairman. On calling the convention to order Mr. Deford made an eloquent address and received the applause of the convention.

"The convention got down to business at half-past one o'clock, and proceeded rapidly.

"Major E. T. Petty, of Barnesville, presented Capel L. Weems, of Belmont County.

"Hon. Harvey J. Eckley, of Carrollton, presented John H. Fimple, of Carroll County.

"Attorney J. H. Blythe, of Carrollton, presented William F. Butler, of Carroll.

"Major D. Cunningham, of Cadiz, presented D. A. Hollingsworth, of Harrison.

"Hon. R. G. Richards, of Steubenville, presented J. J. Gill, of Jefferson.

"Mr. Isaac Voorhes, of Unionport, presented Judge John A. Mansfield, of Jefferson.

"All of these seven speeches were good efforts of oratory, all occasionally eloquent, and all were granted enthusiastic applause from time to time. The applause accorded to Weems, Hollingsworth and Gill was as nearly equal as could be imagined, and was thoroughly enthusiastic, but strictly in good order.

"At ten minutes after three o'clock the roll call of counties was ordered for a ballot. The result of the first ballot was as follows: Belmont, Weems 61; Carroll, Fimple 19, Butler 2; Harrison, Hollingsworth 26; Jefferson, Gill 44, Mansfield 1; Monroe, Gill 8, Hollingsworth 5.

"The second ballot was taken, and was exactly like the first. The third was called and was the same. The fourth was the same, and so was the fifth, sixth, and seventh, and tenth, and fifteenth.

"On the 17th ballot the only change was Belmont, Weems 59, Hollingsworth 2. The next three ballots were the same, and then the convention took a recess till seven o'clock p. m.

TUESDAY NIGHT

"The convention met at seven o'clock and on the call of the counties for the 20th ballot the result was the same as in the afternoon. Call after call

was made but up to the 41st ballot there was no practical change. Then the delegates called for music and Miss Grace Updegraff was introduced and sang, with fine effect, the Star Spangled Banner, receiving great applause. Then the balloting was resumed, but it was the same old grind, all the delegates standing firm for their favorites, the 57th ballot being exactly like the 20th. The convention then adjourned to Wednesday morning at nine o'clock.

WEDNESDAY MORNING

The convention reassembled at nine o'clock. There had been many talks during the previous night and early morning hours between candidates and their friends and there was much hope that a result had been agreed upon. But when the 57th ballot was called it resulted just the same as on Tuesday evening. Then the balloting proceeded until the total number reached 111, when the convention adjourned to one o'clock p. m.

"During the recess many efforts were made to arrive at some agreement in favor of somebody, but without any special success. The candidates and their friends were all on friendly terms with each other, but each held out for himself.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON

"The convention opened at one o'clock with the 112th ballot as follows: Belmont county, Weems 59, Hollingsworth 2; Carroll, Fimple 19, Butler 2; Harrison, Hollingsworth 26; Jefferson, Gill 44, Mansfield 1; Monroe, Gill 8, Hollingsworth 5. Balloting was continued until 158 ballots had been taken without any change, and then the convention again adjourned to seven o'clock p. m.

WEDNESDAY EVENING

"After the convention resumed business the one hundredth and fifty-eighth ballot was taken, which resulted identically the same as the afternoon session for two ballots, when the Mansfield delegate switched off into the Gill line and remained in that column for twelve ballots, when he resumed his original position, which he kept until the end.

"After the two hundredth ballot the audience was afforded musical selections by the Acme Quartet, Mrs. Howard Hipkins and Miss Grace Updegraff, all of whom received hearty applause, especially Miss Updegraff, who sang 'Annie Laurie.'

"After the rendering of musical selections balloting was resumed in the same old way. After the two hundred and sixteenth ballot a motion was made to adjourn until 8 a. m. The motion prevailed.

THURSDAY MORNING

"Eighty-three futile ballots were taken during the Thursday morning session. There was a sensation when the Carroll and Monroe delegations began voting for Gill, which gave him 78 votes—six short of enough to nominate.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON

"When the delegates met after the noon recess Mr. Weems appeared before the convention and stated that as his claims were hopeless he withdrew his name from further consideration.

The 299th ballot was then taken with the following result: Belmont County, Gill 27; Hollingsworth 34; Carroll, Gill 21; Harrison, Hollingsworth 26; Jefferson, Gill 45; Monroe, Gill 13. Total, Gill 106, Hollingsworth 60."

AN ELOQUENT SPEECH.

"Hollingsworth, the Magnificent."

The *Wheeling Intelligencer* uses the above heading in giving its account of the speech of General Hollingsworth before the convention, "accepting" his defeat. The *Intelligencer* says:

"Just here, another defeated candidate, General Hollingsworth, advanced to the front of the stage, and he was received with wonderful enthusiasm by friends and foes alike. He said:

"Some men are born great, others achieve greatness and others have greatness thrust upon them, but I am sensibly reminded by your action, just announced, that I do not belong to any of those favored classes, especially when it comes to being a candidate for Congress. A philosopher, however, ought to be able to find some grains of comfort and consolation even in defeat. It is something to be invited to appear before this magnificent convention; it is vastly more to be able to come with clean hands and without an apology, and without making any kind of an accusation against any candidate or any delegate.

"It is something also to have been a candidate for Congress, although defeated, in this great Ohio district, a district recently honored by Capt. Danford, whose death you deplore by resolution, but who still lives among us in spirit and example; honored also by the lamented Dr. Updegraff, who, in comparison with some modern statesmen, was as a giant to a pigmy and honored also by the venerable John A. Bingham, that grand, gifted and eloquent statesman of the old school, associate and co-worker of Lincoln and Stanton, and who, in the days when real statesmanship was recognized and appreciated, gave to the 16th District a character and renown which will long outlive the degeneracy of modern political management.

"It is indeed an honor to be deemed worthy even to aspire to a position filled by such men.

"Besides, the old school-boy question, long discussed but never settled, of whether the pursuit of an object is not more pleasurable than its possession, still remains to comfort those who from any cause fail to reach the goal of their ambition. It is argued by some that there is more real joy and satisfaction in being a candidate for Congress or in pursuing after a nomination, than in the actual possession of the office, especially in view of its exacting duties and great responsibilities. If this argument be correct, I have certainly in the past had my full share of joy and satisfaction. (Cheers and laughter.) But while this is so, I shall hope to be able in the future as in the past and now, in defeat or in victory, and whether I shall ever again be a candidate or not, to accept without complaints the majority judgment, fairly expressed, of the grand old Republican party. (Great applause.) Its flag shall be my flag and its candidate my candidate. (Renewed cheering.)

"Having said this much, I may be permitted to specially thank those of the delegates who have honored me with their support. Words almost fail me (these words, indeed, were uttered in a choking voice) as I look into the disappointed faces of old friends whose unselfish generosity and friendship I prize more than the office I have sought. Napoleon at Waterloo could not have been prouder or more grateful to his 'Old Guard,' as they fell before the superiority of numbers, than I am here today to the 'old guard' from little Harrison, composed as it is of as big hearted, brainy loyal, true and sincere Republicans as ever lived on earth. I am also most grateful to the thirty-four friends who came to me from my native county of Belmont.

"To you, my valued friends, I am proud in this presence to make my most humble obeisance.

"And now, Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention, with thanks to all for courtesies shown me, I am ready to take my place in the ranks, march to the front and do battle along the firing line for the Republican party in what I believe will prove to be one of the most hotly contested political battles ever fought in Ohio.

"John R. McLean, the Democratic candidate for governor, is not a novice in politics or political management; his methods can only be successfully met by Judge Nash's purity of character, backed by a united Republican party.

"Let us then, my fellow Republicans of all possible factions, resolve here and now, to let the dead past bury its dead, unite in the living present as one man, get together like old-time Republicans, and do our whole duty to the party and all its candidates.

"Let us demonstrate once for all, that in the 16th District at least, the great party of Lincoln and Grant, of McKinley and Reed, of Foraker and Hanna and of Bushnell and Nash, is neither torn by factions nor ruled by a boss."

At the close of this inspiring appeal the convention went wild with its enthusiasm, and General Hollingsworth may feel a pride in having made such a happy address, which could have only one effect—a good effect."

During the delivery of this speech, it was noticed that the successful candidate, Mr. Gill, came into the hall with his escort, but his entrance failed to draw the attention of the convention or create the usual furore among partisan delegates at the triumphal entrance of a successful favorite.

It was an unusual tribute to Hollingsworth, but Mr. Gill proved equal to the occasion. Quietly and courteously he took a seat on the stage near his defeated rival, until he finished, and then, after greeting him with a hand shake, made a creditable acceptance speech, and the convention adjourned.

Hollingsworth went at once to the telegraph office and sent the following laconic telegram to his two best friends, wife and mother: "Defeated again but not disgraced."

At eight o'clock next morning he was in his law office at Cadiz, ready for business as though nothing unusual had happened.

STEUBENVILLE CONVENTION, 1903

The next convention came sooner than expected. The pact between the two big counties, believed to have been renewed at Martins Ferry, was to develop and be verified in Mr. Weem's nomination sooner than the contracting parties intended.

Mr. Gill, a successful business man, used to the ease and luxury which wealth brings, was not wholly pleased with his experience at Washington. At home, in his business, he had only to touch a button and hundreds of workmen willingly did his bidding, but at Washington it was different. Old, experienced Congressmen do not readily respond to the touch of a button by new members, however able. The initial waiting for recognition is generally irksome.

Besides, Mr. Gill's health was reported as failing.

At any rate, he chose to claim the established custom of three elections and then voluntarily retire. He resigned unexpectedly and at once the question of a successor was uppermost in the public mind.

The convention was called to meet at Steubenville, September 22, 1903.

Hollingsworth hesitated to again enter the race, knowing from repeated experiences the effect of big county combinations and the firm grip of their bosses. But his course in defeat had made him friends with the people, and soon the old fight of boss and anti-boss was on. New candidates appeared. Hon. Jared Dunbar, of Steubenville, an eminent citizen and noted railroad lawyer, sought the term Mr. Gill voluntarily relinquished. He was not a man the bosses could use, but it was known, if he failed, he would never go to Hollingsworth, who was widely known as a successful lawyer in railroad damage cases. He and Hollingsworth were used to sharp contests at the bar. Fimple and Butler, the two Carroll County candidates at the Martins Ferry convention, were really Hollingsworth's friends and it is believed they declined point-blank to be used in another convention to defeat him, and so the amiable Mr. Blythe was again brought forward, as believed by many, at the instance of Mr. Rutan, and made a local Carroll County stalking-horse.

It was, as Hollingsworth predicted, the same old story, the details of which are fully reported in the following clipping from the *Cadiz Republican*:

CONGRESSIONAL CONVENTION.

Capel L. Weems Nominated on the Eleventh Ballot.

The contest for the Congressional nomination in this district was known to those who are used to political management to be between only two candidates, Weems, of Belmont County, and Hollingsworth, of Harrison. The other three candidates, Mr. Armstrong, of Belmont; Mr. Dunbar, of Jefferson, and Mr. Blythe, of Carroll, were all doubtless sincerely in the race so far as they themselves were personally concerned, but the public in general and most of their supporters understood that they were to be dropped out of the race at the first opportunity where it could be done with due formality and politeness. Most of their supporters were using their names merely as a sort of breast-works behind which they could the more conveniently arrange their plans for the real contest between the two real leaders in the fight.

The primaries of last week resulted in the election of delegates as follows: Weems 50, all from Belmont. Hollingsworth 23 from Harrison, 4 from Belmont, and 20 from Jefferson; total, 47. Armstrong one, only, from Belmont. Blythe 22 from Carroll, and Dunbar 22 from Jefferson.

Hollingsworth had received over 1,500 votes in Jefferson County, and was clearly the second choice of that county, Mr. Dunbar's vote being only 60 or 70 greater than his. The public would have said that Mr. Dunbar's delegates should have come to him when they left Dunbar, but political managers do not always respect public sentiment. In fact, it was early understood that there was a Dunbar-Weems combine. Mr. Dunbar may have innocently imagined that this combination might by some contingency make his nomination possible, but Mr. Weems and his friends knew that it meant simply 22 votes for Weems, when needed. Hunter Armstrong's one vote in Belmont County went to Weems from the start, and this combination secured him—Belmont, 51; Jefferson, 22; total, 73. He needed seven more votes to secure the nomination.

If the promises and assurances made by Carroll County had been kept in good faith, General Hollingsworth would have been the nominee of the convention; nothing could have prevented it. These promises were made, not only to Mr. Hollingsworth's friends from Harrison County, but were made also to his friends and managers in Jefferson County. They had

doubtless been made in good faith by most of the delegates from Carroll County, for they were sincerely General Hollingsworth's friends, and if they had been left free to vote as they pleased would have cast their votes for him. However, they were under the leadership of Mr. Oliver Rutan and his brother-in-law, and those who are familiar with convention management know the meaning of skillful leadership.

The real fact was that Mr. Rutan had practical control of the Carroll delegates, but he, with the rest, had from the first given the utmost assurance of their support for Hollingsworth. The later developments showed, however, that while he was giving these assurances to such men in Harrison County as Dr. McGavran, S. K. McLaughlin, H. L. Thompson, and others who had always been his personal friends in this county, and to Mr. Gill, Mr. Miller, Mr. Simeral, and the other leaders in Steubenville who were Hollingsworth's friends there, he was also at the same time in secret consultation with Mr. Sinclair, who was Mr. Weem's manager in Steubenville, and through him with the Weems managers of Belmont County.

In short, Mr. Rutan was an ambitious leader. The contest between Hollingsworth and Weems was so close that a few delegates on one side or the other would turn the scale, and Mr. Rutan held the key to the situation. There is evidence to indicate that the Weems people were suspicious of his overtures, and made no contract with him until the closing hours of the convention. What mutual promises were made, or whether they were any, the public will never know.

Of course, the Republican delegates from Harrison County were both surprised and disappointed. And yet, there is a satisfaction in knowing who deceived and betrayed them. After it was all over Mr. Rutan said publicly that he had taken his course to get even with Harrison County Republicans who had defeated him for renomination for Representative, and who had burned him in effigy when he voted against Mark Hanna for Senator.

THE CONVENTION.

After the foregoing general statements the details of the convention have but little interest. After the speeches announcing the four candidates had been made a ballot was ordered and on the call of the secretaries the result was as follows: Belmont—Weems, 51; Hollingsworth, 4. Carroll, 23 votes for Blythe. Harrison, 23 votes for Hollingsworth. Jefferson—

Dunbar, 21 1-2; Hollingsworth, 20 1-2. Monroe—Dunbar 8; Blythe, 8. Totals—Weems, 51; Hollingsworth, 47 1-2; Blythe, 30; Dunbar, 29 1-2.

Nine more ballots followed, with a few variations from the above. A few flirtation votes were given, here and there, but everybody understood that all these ballots were mere formalities. After the tenth ballot the Carroll delegation asked leave to retire for consultation, and when they returned to the convention they were ready to complete the bargain which had been agreed upon. Mr. Blythe took the platform and withdrew his name from the convention, leaving his delegates free to vote for whom they pleased. On the eleventh ballot their solid vote was cast for Weems. This, together with the 51 from Belmont, and 16 from Monroe, gave him 89, being 9 more than enough to nominate.

Major D. Cunningham, of Cadiz, made the speech before the convention announcing the name of General Hollingsworth.

Large crowds packed the opera house at every session of the convention, and judging by the cheers and yells indulged in at various times the friends of Mr. Weems and General Hollingsworth appeared to be about equal in numbers. Both had plenty of rooters present.

Although there was a good deal of feeling on both sides of the contest, there was no ill temper manifested in public. Real politeness and perfect order characterized every step of the proceedings.

Immediately following the nomination a committee was appointed to bring Mr. Weems into the convention. He soon appeared and was introduced, and was received with great cheers. He thanked the convention for the nomination, but excused himself from making a speech on the ground of fatigue, but promised to go home and rest and then make a canvass of the district.

There were loud calls from all parts of the convention for Hollingsworth. The General soon appeared on the stage, and on being introduced by the chair spoke substantially as follows:

"Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the convention:—This is not my first experience as a political corpse in a Congressional convention. God and my friends only know whether it shall be my last. It is not the first time I have been called upon to officiate at my own obsequies. It is not the first time I have been permitted, like Moses of old, to approach near enough to view the promised land and then be turned back to the husks and dry grasses of disappointment while others entered to partake of the milk and honey of suc-

cess. It may or may not be my lot to wander on to the end, like Moses in the wilderness of disappointment. My one little cherished political ambition may never be realized. But, if not, I shall not utter a word of complaint, remembering as the proudest fact of my life that I have been supported in this convention and in previous conventions by as good a delegation and by as honorable men as God ever gave to a candidate in a political convention. Defeat, after all, is but an incident of political warfare. It matters very little to the great mass of people who shall serve them in Congress provided his services be honorable, efficient and patriotic. I have no hesitancy therefore in pledging to your nominee, if he shall come up to this standard, my unqualified support. He shall be my representative as he will be yours, although it is no secret that I have not helped to nominate him. The principles of the Republican party shall continue to be my guide. As a citizen, I can rejoice in the prosperity, grandeur and growth of our common country and shall in the future as in the past be loyal to its one flag—Old Glory—unsullied emblem of a free people, whether it be floating peacefully at home over a reunited country, or be found flying at the mast of our men of war in distant seas. The destiny of the Republic is sure and certain. Under God, I believe it is to lead the world upward to a higher and purer civilization. But enough. I must not trespass upon your time. With malice toward none and with loving gratitude in my heart toward all my friends in this convention, I shall return to my home in Cadiz and there seek to do my simple duty as a private in the ranks of the Republican party instead of leading its hosts to victory, as I had hoped to this fall in the Sixteenth Congressional District.”

His remarks were cheered to the echo, and he was given a great ovation at the close.

SUCCESS FOLLOWS THE COLLAPSE OF BOSSISM

The Carroll County boss had shown his cunning purpose and strength as a political manager, and his picture and triumph were featured, much to his personal vanity, by the Cincinnati *Enquirer* in such flaming headlines as the following:

“Rutan Landed the Winner.”

“And Weems Nominated As the Successor of Gill.”

“Republican Who Lead the Fight Against Hanna Has Routed the Men That Burned Him in Effigy.”

"Tonight His Foot is Upon the Neck of the Men Who Made the Bonfire."

"When Rutan closed his deal with Weems that gentleman was hopelessly beaten, and his garments about to be divided."

"The other politicians awoke to find out 'The Deacon,' as Rutan is known, had been working while they slept."

But, as it turned out, it sounded the future death knell of local bossism. Never again in the Sixteenth District was a Congressional contest to be settled by such methods in convention. A tactical mistake, notwithstanding the astuteness of the boss, had been made. The pillars of the temple of bossism were wrecked, Samson-like, and before another Congressional nomination in the district, the whole structure was to collapse and bury in its ruins the big boss and his Philistine connections.

But the time was not yet ripe.

Being unable to use a second time such men as DeFord, Fimple, Eckley and Butler, his county co-workers at Martins Ferry, the big boss had secured the services of Mr. J. C. Oglevee, a clean-cut young lawyer of Carrollton, thoroughly independent of all factions, to present Mr. Blythe's name in convention, and add respectability to his own contemplated movements.

Mr. Oglevee's speech attracted the attention of convention leaders and when, afterwards, he became postmaster at Carrollton by appointment of Congressman Hollingsworth, it was shrewdly surmised that he and Hollingsworth might have had some private conferences at the Steubenville convention leading to the quiet displacement of Mr. Rutan on the Congressional committee, a position he had held for years and was believed to have used for his own personal exploitation. Mr. Oglevee was not a politician, but he sensed the advantage of membership on that committee and in some way held on until after Mr. Weems had received the usual three-term courtesy of the district, and until, in 1908, when Mr. Hollingsworth, finding a majority of the committee his friends, boldly suggested the calling of a general primary all over the district to nominate a successor. It was startling, but it was undoubtedly within the province of the committee. The gradual, it may be said stealthy, changes in the controlling forces on the committee were not noticed by the bosses, even the displacement of Mr. Rutan, and the accidental dropping of a friend of his in Harrison County, followed by the appointment on the committee of B. W. Rowland, of Cadiz, a double-riveted friend of Hollingsworth, failed to alarm them. The appeals for fairness to

Hollingsworth by such sturdy leaders as Cunningham, Pearce, Hearn, McGavran and others of Harrison, and Dr. Hobson and Frank Corey, who came as delegates from his old home at Flushing, in Belmont, fell upon deaf ears. The bosses felt all powerful, able to control committees as well as conventions, and seemingly chuckled at what they called "Hollingsworths' finish." Mr. Weems had no opposition, the usual number of terms was conceded to him and he did not need to further ally himself with the bosses. He also satisfied Mr. Dunbar by the appointment of a son-in-law as postmaster at Steubenville. But the chief, flushed with his victory of the year before and the prominence given him in the Cincinnati *Enquirer*, wished to go the next year as a delegate to the National Republican convention, a selection also to be made at the regular Congressional convention, and he seemed, and perhaps justly, to fear that delegates selected by the people might stop short after voting their instructions on Congressmen, and vote as they might please on National Delegates.

CONVENTION OF 1904

A scheme was therefore devised by which the naming of delegates was reserved to the candidate for Congress who might be successful at the township primaries. It worked successfully for Mr. Rutan, but it cost Mr. Weems some unnecessary opposition. In three of the counties, opposing candidates were brought out against him more as a protest against this arbitrary assertion of power than opposition to his nomination for a second term in Congress.

Hon. John A. Mansfield, of Jefferson, A. S. Greer, of Carroll, and Major David Cunningham, of Harrison, were named as opposing candidates under such conditions. Major Cunningham at first insisted that Hollingsworth should be the candidate from Harrison, but on being assured that Hollingsworth would go as a delegate and present his name, he consented.

The convention was a tame affair, the balloting standing: Weems 130½, Greer 11, Cunningham 23, Mansfield 15½.

Substantially, the same vote was given to Mr. Rutan as a National Delegate, his total being 109½, although 180 votes were cast for Henry Gregg, as a candidate for the other National Delegate. Col. S. L. Mooney, of Monroe County, was nominated for Presidential Elector by a vote of 141½, and then the convention adjourned.

The following is quoted from the report of the proceedings by the Steubenville *Herald-Star*:

"When Harrison county was called Hon. D. A. Hollingsworth arose and in the most eloquent speech of the convention placed Major Cunningham in nomination. Throughout its delivery he was frequently applauded and some of its strongest passages were received with the heartiest commendation."

He said: "Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention:—

"On behalf of the Republican voters of Harrison County, I bring you today as a candidate not only a man but a principle. A man, who, without disparagement of any other candidate, is certainly the peer of any one ever presented for Congress in this district. A rugged, honest, sturdy business man, never an office seeker but always devoted to the public good, he resembles in this respect in a marked degree the late Senator Hanna as he was before unexpected public exigencies brought him into prominence and revealed to the world his inherent qualities of statesmanship.

"The same opportunity and like fortuitous circumstances would reveal in the candidate whom I shall name, the same high qualities as a statesman.

"In the early days of the 16th Congressional district, it was known far and wide as the "reservoir of genius." Merit, ability and honor alone gave prominence to its public men. County lines were ignored. Residence in a small county was not a bar sinister to political preferment. Able men, recognized as such by the people, were voluntarily urged for high positions, and with them public service became a public duty. Honors were accepted, not sought. Such a thing as trafficking in votes or the tricky manipulation of primaries was never suspected. The people believed in self-government. They were jealous of their rights. Like our English ancestors at Runnymede, they frowned upon absolutism, usurpation and arbitrary power of all kinds. The love of liberty with them was as sacred as when the Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth Rock. It inspired them as it had inspired the signers of the Declaration of Independence; as it had inspired the Continental Congress; as it had inspired Washington and his compatriots of the Revolution, and as it has ever since inspired true republicanism in the heart of every lover of this free land of America.

"Lincoln at Gettysburg felt this same inspiration and immortalized it in the declaration that government of the people, by the people and for the people must not be permitted to perish from the earth.

"Do not misunderstand me or those whom I represent. We are not pessimists. The glory of the Republic is not waning. It grows brighter and grander with the passing years, destined, as I believe, to lead all nations upward to an ideal republicanism, where political bosses and boodlers will never be thought of and where the untrammelled will of the people will be supreme.

"The present Congress is composed of honorable men; I make no exception. Many of them are not responsible for the little bosses who seem to surround them. I have no reflection to make on any public man in or out of Congress.

"At the same time, gentlemen of the convention, I trust you will pardon a little retrospect in which the small counties of the district take pride, even if all else be denied them.

"From 'little Carroll,' in the long ago, came the famous McCooks and Ephraim R. Eckley, grand old man, still living; and it is the belief of many good citizens that there are McCooks and Eckleys still in the woods of Carroll county if only modern conditions would permit them to come to the front.

"Harrison county, only a little larger than Carroll, gave to Lincoln's great war secretary, Stanton, his first political office, and it was there he established his homestead, a fine old colonial mansion which to this day, in the little town of Cadiz, is pointed to with pride as the only real Stanton memorial in the state.

"The county also gave to the church Matthew Simpson, universally recognized as the greatest ecclesiastic bishop the Methodist Episcopate has ever known. It also gave to the army the heroic Custer, who taught American soldiers how to die rather than surrender to the savagery of superior numbers. It also gave the eloquent Bingham to the councils of the nation during the Civil War, when great men and wise counsellors were needed—

Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog
In public duty and in private thinking.

"Has this race of intellectual giants become extinct in the district? Is it true that statesmanship declines as political management grows selfish?

"Each county must answer for itself. Harrison County, weighing well her public men, has selected one in whom the people have confidence. They believe in him; they trust him. His whole life is an assurance that, given favorable opportunity, he would not discredit any position however exalted in the gift of the American people.

"I do not speak words of flattery.

"Modest and unassuming, he stood as a patriot soldier with Grant in the trenches at Vicksburg, and at Antietam, he was higher in command than his then comrade, the lamented McKinley, whom he resembles much in character and thought.

"Harrison County in him furnishes to the 16th Congressional District an opportunity to regain its ancient prestige, if any be lost; an opportunity to restore to the people the correct principle of self-government if in fact it be lost as many good Republicans believe.

But, Republican always, whether in the lead or as a hewer of wood and drawer of water for others, Harrison County, with her candidate and her people, will be found in line this fall at the polls in favor of the nominee of this convention whomsoever he may be.

"I name Major David Cunningham, of Cadiz."

STEUBENVILLE CONVENTION, 1906

The third nomination of Mr. Weems occurred in 1906, and was without unusual incident. He had made a creditable Congressman and the three term rule of the district was firmly established. The convention, at which he was nominated by acclamation, was held at Steubenville, April 3, 1906, and was purely perfunctory. The bosses had gone to sleep, and the anti-bosses, Micawber-like, were waiting for something to turn up.

The following is substantially a full report as printed in the *Cadiz Republican*:

"The convention at Steubenville on Tuesday, this week, was a quiet affair of one brief session, and Mr. Weems was renominated for Congress by acclamation.

"Regular stock politicians' resolutions were passed.

"Speeches were made by Mr. Oglevee, of Carrollton, chairman of the convention, who eulogized the President, but never mentioned Foraker or Dick, and by Mr. Cowen, of Belmont, in presenting Weems for nomination, and by Mr. Weems himself in accepting the nomination.

"District committeemen: B. W. Rowland, of Harrison; J. C. Oglevee, of Carroll; Madison Aldridge, of Belmont; John L. Means, of Jefferson, and Frank M. Martin, of Monroe."

Hollingsworth was not a delegate and did not attend the convention, but none knew better than he the significance of the district committee then named, as it would have control of the manner and method of nominating Mr. Weems' successor in two years. There was not a boss or a boodler on it.

Mr. Weems was elected by a plurality of 3,365 and at once announced that he was satisfied and would not be a candidate for another term in 1908.

Then it was that the bosses awoke and found that "others had been working while they slept." The big boss of "little Carroll" realized that the temple he had builded had collapsed and that he and his Philistines were likely to be buried in the ruins.

The first intimation of Mr. Weems's possible desertion to the anti-boss forces came in an article printed in the daily papers too late to attract attention of the bosses before the convention named the Congressional committee for 1908, written by Francis B. Gessner, a noted political correspondent at Washington, reviewing the Ohio political situation, and in which he made mention of the 16th District as follows:

"Capell L. Weems, Congressman from the Belmont District, will be renominated at Steubenville, April 3, and there is a reason to believe that he will not seek another term after this coming election. He intimated as much to your correspondent, this week, saying that he was a lawyer and loved his profession. He also said that while it was not his place to suggest his successor he thought it likely that Hollingsworth, of Cadiz, might yet attain his long-time ambition to be in Congress. This was significant talk coming from Weems, whose record in public office has ever been good. Hollingsworth lives in Cadiz, and that county has not had a Congressman since the retirement of John A. Bingham, in 1873.

"Year after year Hollingsworth has yearned to come here, and with such a small county as Harrison could do little in a convention. Belmont is so large and populous that by combining with one of the other counties she can always control the nomination, and has done so. There is no purer, better man in the state than Hollingsworth, and it would be a fitting close to his political career if he could come here for a few terms."

The bosses and boodlers of the district stood aghast at the suggestion. What had happened? Had Hollingsworth turned politician? They sensed aright that a storm cloud was in the brewing for 1908. The committee had the power; would it call a general primary or would the old methods obtain?

Hollingsworth, as usual, kept his own counsel.

EFFORTS TO SIDETRACK HIM

He was offered an appointment as Lieutenant Governor on the death of Governor Pattison, but turned it down, as shown in the following newspaper item:

"HOLLINGSWORTH DECLINES

"There was much talk a few days ago about the appointment of some Republican as Lieutenant Governor of Ohio, and among the names prominently mentioned was that of General Hollingsworth, of Cadiz. He was known as a personal friend of Governor Harris, and the suggestion met with favor both among Washington City and Ohio politicians.

"A Washington correspondent of the *Zanesville Times Recorder* writes as follows on the subject:

" 'Friends of General Hollingsworth, of Cadiz, who sent him word that he might be appointed to be Lieutenant Governor, received word from him that he did not desire the honor. Hollingsworth made a very significant reply to one Washington friend who had suggested the appointment. He said:

" 'Since Governor Pattison could not, in the providence that controls events, serve out the term for which he was elected, Ohio is most fortunate in having General Harris as a successor. It will tend to clear up the murky air of State politics. He will serve out the term under the constitutional provision, and, like Roosevelt, be elected to serve out a term of his own. It is already acting on a number of budding gubernatorial booms like a killing frost on early vegetables. General Harris can be trusted. I have known him a long time—was only a few yards away from him when he was wounded at McDowell. No better soldier ever drew a sword. His record since the war has been all that the most exacting critic can require.'

"It is evident from Hollingsworth's words that he asks no honors from a State convention or any appointment, but that two years hence he will again try to be the Congressman from the 16th District."

Suggestions of like nature were made as to Governor, Supreme Court judge, and other positions of State prominence, but with like effect. Politically, Hollingsworth had but one end in view.

The Steubenville *Herald-Star*, in commenting, said:

"General Hollingsworth would fill any position with credit and honor to himself and State, but does he want to head the ticket this year? If he does, let's whoop 'er up."

The Cadiz *Republican* said:

"General Hollingsworth would not likely leave his law practice for any State office, though he would certainly make a splendid leader in the campaign. His record as a political reformer, temperance advocate, and straight Republican is without blemish.

"As stated, he has been ambitious for a number of years to represent this district in congress and it is believed that there is a growing feeling in his favor in all the counties. 'All things come to him who waits,' especially if he waits patiently and loyally as General Hollingsworth has done."

Hollingsworth was immune to flattery or cajolery, whether good-intentioned or not, and had no thought of seeking a nomination for a state office knowing that, as political conditions then existed in the state, success meant subserviency to big and little political bosses, state and local.

He could wait. And a short season of feverish expectancy for the district bosses before the Congressional committee would be called upon to act in 1908 might do them good. They professed friendliness to Hollingsworth, but the limit of the Godly injunction to "turn the other cheek," had been reached with him. He had been surfeited with such friendliness and knew what it meant.

He was beginning to turn politician and the bosses knew it. A truce and a little camouflage were natural, but neither the bosses nor anti-bosses went to sleep for fear of another rude awakening.

FINAL DEFEAT OF DISTRICT BOSSES

As the year 1908 approached, tense political conditions gradually took on form. A new President was to be nominated. Ohio had two probable candidates, Foraker and Taft, boss and anti-boss. Could the Congressional convention be manipulated as before, so as to secure national delegates

without consulting the people, was asked behind closed doors. The importance of the new Congressional committee was sensed by all. Conferences were held secretly and openly by those who had for years ruled Congressional conventions and incidentally Congressional committees. New candidates, mostly of the dark horse variety, began to be mentioned in all the counties, and it was noted with concern by Hollingsworth's real friends that they were generally of his former supporters, two of them from Harrison County.

Perhaps the most significant preliminary conference took place at Steubenville, at which a staff correspondent of the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, he of the Rutan headlines of 1903, was present with Senator Foraker, and wrote a report of it as follows:

"Steubenville, O., May 31, 1907.

"There were many indications last night and today that the Foraker following is at work in the Sixteenth Congressional District and intends to make a fight to nominate Representative Capell L. Weems' successor, as well as to select delegates to the national convention.

"FAVORITE SON GAME

"Senator Foraker met people from Carroll, Harrison, Monroe and Belmont counties, and some long distance telephoning was done while he was here. The outward evidence secured goes to sustain the belief that the present plan is to work the favorite son game in the several counties in order to secure enough delegates to do business.

"Just now the only avowed candidate in the district is General D. A. Hollingsworth, of Cadiz, who has been near the nomination several times. This year the feeling for him is friendlier than ever before, and his success is being predicted. But his way is not lined with roses and carpeted with velvet.

"Former State Senator Charles M. Hogg, of Cadiz, is being thrust forward, and so is Robert P. Scott, the well-known inventor.

"It is fairly indicated that Hogg will get the Foraker following in order to head off Hollingsworth.

"Last night S. K. McLaughlin, of Harrison County, the Senator's personal representative, was here and put in several hours in consultation, talking to Mr. Hogg at intervals by long-distance phone. In the party was

D. O. Rutan, of Carroll, just now in political eclipse, but busy as ever. Rutan will endeavor to get Carroll County, and there has been talk that he would be the candidate himself in order to get the delegates.

"Thomas B. Rouse and Editor Goodrich, of Woodsfield, were here speaking of Monroe County. It is hard to imagine Rouse being for one of the Mooney-Mallory faction in Monroe County, but the news today was that W. C. Mooney, son of old Colonel Mooney, was to be supported there. At least Congressman Weems said that he was the candidate he preferred even over General Hollingsworth.

"A SUCCESSOR FOR WEEMS

"In Jefferson County neither J. A. Mansfield nor Senator Marshall Duvall has said that he would enter the fight. Duvall would get the support of the organization and wise politicians say that he would have no trouble in "cleaning up" the delegation. Mansfield is looking about carefully and watching for signs.

"In Belmont, under ordinary rules, there should be no candidate, but in a pinch all rules go overboard. It would not be surprising to see some stalking horse sprung in order to keep the votes away from Hollingsworth or Duvall or whoever else happens to be the candidate. Weems is for neither of these gentlemen, as has already been stated.

"It is not an improbability that the uncovering of the plans of the opposition will cause some concerted action for the purpose of checkmating it.

"If reports are to be depended upon the district is for Taft. Now, if it is true that political strategy of the other side is to secure delegates to the national convention, through the manipulation of the Congressional candidacies, it will not be long before an understanding is reached for a similar deal which is to work in precisely the opposite direction. Belmont, Jefferson and Harrison can control the convention and perform almost any kind of political act. It would appear that Senator Foraker has, therefore, caused not only his friends, but those who are not, to get busy before the time ordained."

The publication of this item was another tactical mistake of the boss managers. It revealed in clear light the Goliath of Bossism, and was likely to be resented by a committee of independent membership. It also set Hollingsworth to thinking, and, like little David of old, he quietly began

seeking for pebbles, so to speak, for use with the sling he intended to use in his next contest with the giant.

He sensed the old adage that the hair of a dog would cure its bite, and applied it to political conditions in the district. Evidently he was ready for graduation in the hard school of politics in which theretofore he had only been a student.

A personal visit was undertaken to each committeeman, except in Monroe County, which, owing to its past maneuvering in conventions, was regarded as "no-man's-land."

The other committeemen were his friends and he knew it. His individual interviews with them were short and without newspaper notice or other exploitation. No agents or so-called managers accompanied him and he reported to no one. He was his own mentor and went home satisfied, and it is said, although neither would ever admit it, that he immediately wrote out the kind of a Congressional call he wished and which was afterward issued, and gave it to his friend, Committeeman Rowland, for consideration of the committee..

The committee meeting was at Steubenville, January 14, 1908, and, as usual on such occasions, the bosses, boosters and candidates, new and old to the number of six or eight, were present to offer advice and assistance as to the time and place for holding the convention. Hollingsworth was conspicuous by his absence and was not represented by any one. Some of the shrewdest of the bosses sensed trouble because of the reticence of committeemen in talking, and at once telephoning home was lively for "influence" to be exerted by telephone on individual members. Mr. Oglevee, of Carrollton, was an especial target, but it had little effect upon him. He, like the other members of the committee, was used to doing his own thinking.

When the committee retired to an upstairs room to transact its business, a good-natured but noisy crowd remained in the hotel lobby awaiting its return. They did not have long to wait; private committee discussions were brief, and the call was soon prepared and signed.

On their reappearance the hush of silence fell upon the crowd as the chairman began reading the call, signed by all the members, providing for a general primary in the district as a unit. County and township lines, as influential factors, were obliterated. It was explained that Mr. Martin, of Monroe, favored an old-fashioned convention but had signed the call in deference to the large majority who favored the new plan.

The silence is said to have been abruptly broken by one of the expectant candidates excitedly exclaiming: "H—ll, that nominates Hollingsworth, and I am out of the race!" and all the others wisely followed his lead, except Colonel R. P. Scott, the millionaire inventor of Cadiz. He had courage and coin and staid in the race, saying to those who "fight and run away," that he favored the district unit and did not propose to be eliminated by it or any other plan. He received more credit for his courage than the run-aways, and, under different conditions, might have had more favor with the voters at the primary.

Many, friends and foes, thought they saw that the question had been answered: "Was Hollingsworth turning politician?" He himself, as usual, kept silent.

Boss Rutan, however, was sure he knew, and soon afterward, realizing, as was true, that Hollingsworth had nothing to do with burning him in effigy, he became, apparently at least, reconciled, and at the primary Hollingsworth carried Carroll County by a majority of about six hundred. A permanent armistice seems to have ensued between them, although their differing types of thought prevented any closer alliance.

Press comments were favorable, and the new plan was soon to become popular by the passage of a general State primary law.

A PIONEER DISTRICT IN ADOPTING THE GENERAL PRIMARY

But the 16th District was distinctively the pioneer. Hollingsworth was to have the honor of being the first Congressman ever nominated at a general primary in Ohio, and probably in the United States.

The shadows of bossism everywhere were lifting and the people were coming into their own.

The *Cadiz Republican* said:

"The Republican Congressional Committee, consisting of John L. Means, of Jefferson County; Madison Aldridge, of Belmont; J. C. Oglevee, of Carroll; B. W. Rowland, of Harrison, and Frank M. Martin, of Monroe, held a meeting at Steubenville, on Tuesday, this week, to appoint the time and manner of holding the Republican nomination of a candidate for Congress in the Sixteenth District. The main features of the call are the following:

"The candidate receiving the highest number of votes in the whole district will be the nominee.

"This is a new and very important step. It will be the first time in the history of our district that the Republican voters have been given the privilege of selecting their own candidate, by their own votes, free from the influences of bosses or managers of any sort. It is a step in compliance with the demand that is coming up everywhere from the whole nation for cleaner politics and the honest rule of the common people. Many of the conventions in recent years, in all parts of the State, have degenerated into mere games; not honest games, but games where delegates were traded like cattle, and where schemes and tricks and secret bargains have decided results; disgraceful games, demoralizing to those engaged in them, and debasing in their influence on the public conscience.

"Thanks to the honor and intelligence of a committee which for once has listened to the voice of public sentiment and not to the demands of a few political managers, we are to try the experiment of a fair and honest vote of the whole party of the district, in the choice of a candidate.

"It is a new experiment; it is a step in advance; it takes it for granted that the intelligence and honest purpose of the people can be trusted to make a wise choice.

"And who is there that dare say nay?"

The Martins Ferry *Times* said:

"Belmont County, it seems, is not to have a candidate to succeed Congressman Weems, the one receptive candidate for the honor from this county having withdrawn from the race. This leaves Belmont County voters free to support some other county's candidate, and while the Republicans of this county are under more or less obligations to the Republicans of every other county in the district, they are under obligations to none more than to those staunch Harrison County Republicans who always could be depended upon to roll up a handsome Republican majority for a Belmont candidate.

"The opportunity will be afforded this year to repay Harrison Republicans.

"They present more than one candidate, but the qualifications of one of these are so pre-eminent as to give him front rank in the list of candidates. Belmont County Republicans should take pleasure in supporting General David A. Hollingsworth, of Cadiz."

The Belmont *Chronicle* said:

"The adoption of the primary plan is a victory for General D. A. Hollingsworth and seems to practically insure his nomination. In fact the news from the committee meeting is to the effect that there may be no other candidate. Others talked of as candidates were undecided whether to enter the race. Be that as it may, it is apparent that General Hollingsworth will win on a popular vote of the district."

The Wheeling *Daily News* said:

"The goal of the ambition of a lifetime is in sight for General David A. Hollingsworth, of Cadiz, as he will most probably be nominated unanimously by the Republicans of the Sixteenth Ohio District. For over twenty years Harrison County, Ohio, has presented the name of General David A. Hollingsworth, its favorite son, for nomination for Congress at the hands of the Republican conventions. At no time has the county left its candidate, but to the last voted for Hollingsworth and each time went down to defeat, only to present his name to the next convention.

When the Congressional committee decided on a popular vote primary Tuesday the other candidates saw defeat facing them, and all but R. P. Scott, of Cadiz, decided not to be a candidate, and Scott will likely withdraw. It is conceded all over the district that Hollingsworth will be nominated and almost conceded that he will have no opposition."

The Wheeling *Register* said:

"There is a strong sentiment in the over-the-river district for General Hollingsworth, of Cadiz, and those who have hesitated in climbing on to his band wagon will not be slow in doing so now that it becomes apparent that he is not to have serious opposition."

The Flushing *News-Advertiser* said:

"Most all the newspapers over the district coming to this office state that Hollingsworth will be a sure winner under the popular vote plan. The other candidates for nomination were opposed to the plan, probably knowing that their only chance lay in a delegate convention where ——."

The Monroe *Republican* said:

"For some time there has been a feeling in the district that Hon. D. A. Hollingsworth would win, some day, and reports now come from the different counties that he may win easily."

The Bellaire *Herald-Tribune* said:

"Those who think they know about future political events predict that Hon. D. A. Hollingsworth will secure the Republican nomination for Congress."

The Carrollton *Free Press-Standard*, Rutan organ, said:

"Affairs have taken such a turn in the Congressional contest that Mr. Hollingsworth looks like an easy winner, and it is very likely that he has a nice speech of acceptance tucked away in one of his pockets."

The Steubenville *Herald-Star*, edited by Charles D. Simeral, former secretary to Congressman Gill, at Washington, said:

"The Republicans of Jefferson County are for General D. A. Hollingsworth for Congress. They are for him overwhelmingly, unitedly, enthusiastically. For years thousands of them have supported him in preference to any other candidates and this year the other thousands are joining the loyal ones of former campaigns in one grand, united effort to land for him the prize for which he has so persistently contended. From other counties of the district comes the news that the same conditions prevail there, so that there can be no reasonable doubt but that General Hollingsworth will be the nominee of his party for Congress.

"And why not? Has he not been loyal to its every interest and to its every candidate? Does he not stand for the best traditions and the best aspirations of the people of this famous old district, and is not his every ambition wrapped up in its progress and development? In his early youth he shouldered his musket and fought under the old flag for its honor and glory, and in all these years which have passed since those fateful days he has just as persistently and as bravely stood for the things which are uplifting and honorable and clean as he did then for the things which were patriotic and necessary.

"No man in the 16th District has the affection of the rank and file of the party as has he, and had he not hailed from a small county—small

in population but large in all the things which make for decency and order—he would have attained his one crowning ambition years ago. But the honor for which he has waited is now at hand and it finds him equipped in the fullest measure for its duties. General Hollingsworth will take rank from the very beginning as one of the strong, able members of Congress, and the *Herald-Star* congratulates the people that they have the opportunity of securing such an ideal candidate for this very important position.”

The Freeport Press said:

“There will be no chance to trade delegates or inveigle them into schemes of the wire-workers in the present Congressional contest.”

The canvass was between gentlemen and was without special interest. Colonel Scott, whose ancestors were pioneer settlers in the county, and their large families had been closely identified with its social and industrial life for near a century, and who was himself a reputable citizen, wealthy and influential, with generous impulses that made him friends, was unable to overcome the handicap clearly pointed out in the above newspaper items. His father had been one of the original signers of the request in 1882 to General Hollingsworth to become a candidate, and, as an evidence of the cordiality and good feeling existing, the following item is taken from a report in a local Cadiz paper of a complimentary banquet given a few days after the nomination:

“Ex-Mayor Scott, brother of Colonel Robert P., in speaking for the J. W. Scott’s sons, said they were all proud of the fact that their father had been among the first to recommend and support General Hollingsworth for Congress, and that they would all be found in the Hollingsworth band wagon in the coming campaign.”

The following item, taken from the report of the nomination in the same local paper, is believed to be the statement of a friend of each:

“General D. A. Hollingsworth was nominated as the Republican candidate for Congress for the 16th District, on Tuesday, this week, by the voters of the party in the five counties, each county giving him an overwhelming majority.

"A dispatch to the *State Journal* places Hollingsworth's majority at 7,000 in the district. It may not reach quite that much, but it is so large in each county that it is conceded by everybody to be practically unanimous.

"As soon as the committee decided that the nomination in this district should be made by the Republican voters, at primary elections, the nomination of Mr. Hollingsworth was conceded by all the politicians of the district, and all the more prominent candidates in the several counties withdrew at once, in his favor. Mr. Scott, only, contended for the nomination against him, and put up a contest in each county that might have had some effect under other conditions, but was really a hopeless effort from the beginning. He managed to carry Dillonvale, and two small precincts in the mining regions of Belmont county, and had a scattering vote in nearly all the precincts of the district; but the odds against him were overwhelming.

General Hollingsworth's election next November will be quite as much a foregone conclusion as his nomination. He stands for the things which represent the best thought, and best hope of the people of the district, Democrats and Republicans alike. He stands for a protective tariff, honesty in finances, and the square deal as between the people and the corporations; while his personal life is a guarantee that his sympathies are always on the side of order and sobriety, and all that pertains to the welfare and happiness of the homes of the people."

CONVENTION TO ANNOUNCE RESULTS OF THE PRIMARY

As the primary system had not yet been enacted as a part of the law of the State, it was necessary for the Congressional committee, in its call, to provide for the holding of a convention of delegates to announce the results, and also make appointments of two Republican National Delegates, and the nomination of one Presidential Elector, for the ensuing election.

It met at Steubenville, February 26, 1908, and the following clipping is the full report thereof made by the *Cadiz Republican*:

CONGRESSIONAL CONVENTION

The Congressional convention for the 16th District was held at Steubenville on Wednesday, this week. There was a full attendance of the delegates from the five counties.

Mr. Simeral, of the Steubenville *Herald-Star*, presided, and made a splendid address.

Mr. James F. Anderson, editor of the *Bellaire Independent*, and Senator M. N. Duvall, of Steubenville, were chosen as the delegates to the National Convention.

Judge Mansfield, of Steubenville, was chosen as the candidate for Presidential Elector.

The former Congressional committee was re-appointed.

General Hollingsworth was introduced as the Congressional nominee, and addressed the convention on the political questions of the day, as follows:

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee and of this Convention:

"In accepting this nomination, coming as it does directly from the Republican voters of the district, I feel greatly honored and beg to express to you and them my most profound appreciation and thanks.

"The primary system is a new departure in political management in the district, but it is likely to become permanent. The sources of power in a Republic—the people—cannot be too frequently consulted, and their intelligent guidance cannot be too implicitly followed.

"It was real genius that caused Abraham Lincoln to follow, or seem to follow, rather than lead the people in the great undertakings of his administration. The people were ready for emancipation before the emancipation proclamation was issued, and Lincoln better than any other man knew the fact. McKinley followed this example in the war with Spain. The cry of oppressed humanity in Cuba had reached the hearts and consciences of our people before the declaration of war was formulated. The President and Congress only gave utterance to the well formed opinions of the people.

"So with the great economic questions of today growing out of unlawful combinations and trusts. Even without President Roosevelt's deserved prominence as a leader, public sentiment as to these would have taken the form of a political cyclone. The times were ripe; the patience of the people was about exhausted. A directing mind was needed to prevent unlawful extremes in the opposite direction and the genius of opportunity came to President Roosevelt. Masterfully, the mind and heart of the President rose to the occasion and already he is acclaimed, and justly, as the greatest reformer of the 20th century.

"If democratic government, government of the people, means anything, it means this, and if it is to endure and finally become the great governing force of the world, as I believe it will, it must rest upon the solid rock of intelligent public opinion.

"If, then, this nomination shall be ratified at the regular election this fall, it shall be my aim to keep my ear as close as possible to the people and do their bidding in so far as duty and conscience will permit.

"I promise to devote my time and energy and such talents and ability as I may have, honestly and conscientiously, to the advancement of the best interests and glory of our common country, as I may be given to see them.

"If I fail, the people will know it and I shall not complain of an early retirement.

"I am a Republican through and through and yet, if elected, I shall be the representative of the whole people of the district and shall endeavor to keep in mind the motto of President Hayes that 'he serves his party best who serves his country best.'

"Loyalty to all the people can never be disloyalty to the Republican party.

"As political parties stand today, the Republican party may be said to be the embodiment of all that is good and great and grand in the Republic.

"Its principles, time-tested and progressive, have proved equal to every emergency of the government.

"Coming into power in the hour of the nation's distress, when the government seemed in the throes of dissolution and when a civil war of frightful proportions menaced our fair land, the Republican party heroically breasted the storm, accepted the issue, fought the rebellion to a finish, and then, in a spirit of magnanimity unparalleled in history, brought peace and order out of chaos.

"After the war, grave questions of the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the Republic arose, but they were promptly settled and settled right by the Republican party against the protest and bitter opposition of the Democratic party.

"Since then, the government, except at rare intervals, has been under the guidance and control of the Republican party.

"Its principles, its policies and its leaders have been dominant in the wonderful growth and progress of the country and in the exaltation of the Republic among the great powers of the earth.

"Every material departure from Republican doctrine has been attended with disaster.

"It is not important to particularize on an occasion like this. Political discussion will come later; this is only a 'preparatory meeting,' in the language of our good churchmen.

"All remember, however, the prostration of our industries under Grover Cleveland, when the mills and factories of the Ohio valley were stilled as by a blighting paralysis, the market for farm products was destroyed and wool-husbandry was dead.

"All remember their prompt revival under President McKinley and the Dingley tariff. All know of the continuance of this revival under President Roosevelt, notwithstanding recent efforts of powerful influences to 'queer' financial conditions.

"Such object lessons are not to be forgotten by the present generation of Americans.

"The fads and fancies of Bryan and his worshippers cannot alter the facts of history or prevent legitimate deductions being drawn therefrom by the voters when they go to the polls.

"No backward steps must be taken on these great economic questions. But other problems of equal if not greater importance are up for discussion and settlement:

"The relation of capital and labor must be adjusted on a permanent basis just and fair to each. Arbitrary power, corporate greed and lawless anarchy must all alike be checked and controlled by the strong arm of the government. The just rewards of labor, by brawn or brain, must be secured to its owner.

"An honest financial system, without any 16 to 1 silver or other fad, must be maintained and be made sufficiently elastic to resist pressure either from the wild alarms of the timid or from the unscrupulous designs of gamblers in finance.

Interstate commerce must be regulated by the government fairly and reasonably in the interest of all the people, without unjust discrimination or the destruction of any legitimate business interest.

"Internal improvements like those contemplated for the Ohio river and other great waterways must be provided for as the transportation business and necessities of the country increase.

"Individual rights as guaranteed by the constitution must be protected, without discrimination on the part of the government, state or national.

"A foreign policy must be pursued which will tend to maintain and increase the present high standard of the Republic among the great powers of the world, and insure, by a just recognition of the rights of others and a firm adherence to our own rights, permanent peace and tranquility among the nations.

"The basic principles of our government—liberty, justice and equality before the law—must be preserved.

"The final and permanent solution of these problems, and others of equal importance which may arise, may be safely entrusted to the Republican party.

"Its past history is a guaranty against injustice in any form.

"Its State and national platforms, soon to be adopted, will speak in no uncertain terms. Its great battles of the past have been fought and its victories won on the basis of absolute justice to all, and its leaders of today are actuated by the same high standards.

"It is the shield and buckler of the masses. It is the only hope of conservatism in the fight now on against corporate greed on the one hand and anarchy on the other. It stands alike for labor and capital; it is the only sure defense of the people against the machinations of both the demagogue and the boss.

"Its doctrine of absolute fairness to all is the touchstone which alone can solve the intricate problems of our industrial life, a polar star ever pointing to industrial peace.

"The Republican party has grandly met every expectation; it has fairly and justly discharged every public duty. It can be trusted to work out the solution of any new problems that may arise.

"It is emphatically the one hope of the future.

"The warring factions and diverse views of our opponents, and their failures when temporarily entrusted with power, warn us that danger lurks in the pathway of Bryan, Parker and other Democratic leaders.

"Safety lies in the opposite direction.

"Let us, then, my fellow citizens, stand pat with the leaders of Republican thought, past and present, and be ready at the Presidential election this fall to give to the Republican ticket an old-time majority under the leadership of Ohio's favorite son, Judge Taft, whose nomination now seems to be assured.

"Ohio has been conspicuous in the councils of the nation ever since its admission to the Union. It has been a potent factor of leadership at every Republican convention since its first national convention in Philadelphia, in 1856, at which John C. Fremont was nominated for President and John Sherman, of Ohio, was the central political figure.

"This leadership and this prominence must continue, will continue, if Ohio Republicans do their duty.

"So-called factional warfare must not be permitted to injure the Republican as it has done the Democratic party. Mistakes have doubtless been and will be made. It is only human to err, but no good can come of constant accusation or complaint. Republican managers should always act in harmony or quietly retire in favor of others in the rank and file of the party organization.

"There are unknown John Shermans, William McKinleys and Marcus A. Hannas, still in the ranks, who can be drafted as leaders if necessary to keep Ohio at the front.

"The expanding powers and glory of our Republic, boundless and typical of its future, are the common heritage of all. Its flag and its influence touch every shore; its diplomacy reaches every cabinet, and, today, in the vast economy of the world, in the parliament of nations, its pre-eminence stands unchallenged.

"American ideas, American statesmanship and American diplomacy, guiding influences for good, seem to be leading the whole world upward to a higher and purer civilization.

I shall be glad indeed if as a member of Congress I am permitted to take a part, however humble, in this grand upward march of events.

"A word more and I am done: A candidate is not expected to stand alone. He must have the support of his party. Heretofore, it has been my privilege, after Congressional conventions, to support every Republican nominee in the district since I have been old enough to think on political subjects, and I now respectfully ask the same courtesy of the distinguished gentleman who honorably contested with me for this nomination; and also of the other honorable gentlemen who, when urged by friends to enter the race, chose to hold ambition in abeyance for a short time at least.

"I ask the support of all Republicans, those who supported me and those who opposed me at the late primaries, and, to be entirely frank, I would not object to an occasional Democratic vote.

If elected, I promise an honest effort to discharge official duty so as to subserve the best interests of all the people of the district."

Not a trace of bossism appeared anywhere in the proceedings.

AN ERA OF REFORM IN POLITICS

Thus was bossism eliminated from the Republican party in the 16th Ohio District by reforming influences within the party itself. The primary plan was a success. Big and little bosses were in eclipse. Would it be permanent? Would it become State-wide by action of the General Assembly? Would it be possible for political tricksters to devise new schemes for evading its provisions and corrupting the electorate?

Time alone would tell.

Hollingsworth, recognized as a pioneer in this reform movement, was elected by a large party majority, and soon thereafter the primary system of nominations was by law made general in the State, and future nominations were likely to be more satisfactory to the rank and file of all parties.

He was opposed at the election by Hon. A. N. McCombs, a Democratic free trade wool grower, and the canvass was one alone of principle along the lines of protection to American industries. Personalities were not indulged in.

GOOD SENSE OF THE BOSSES

To the credit of the boss elements of the district, generally speaking, they forgot the long fight Hollingsworth had made against them in nominating conventions, and remembered only his loyalty at the general elections to the candidates they had brought forward to defeat him in convention.

Even the Carrollton *Free Press-Standard*, Rutan organ, had this pleasant item about him in its issue just before the election, aiding materially in securing for him his big majority of about one thousand in Carroll County:

"The nomination of Mr. Hollingsworth for Congress by the Republicans of this district was an honor well merited and worthily bestowed, and when the nomination is ratified at the polls on Tuesday the worthy ambition of General Hollingsworth, cherished from his early manhood, to represent his

district in Congress, will have been gratified. The *Free Press-Standard* felicitates Mr. Hollingsworth on the honor that is about to come to him and congratulates the district on the choice it will make.

"There is something in the career of General Hollingsworth which appeals to all Republicans and causes them to rejoice over his coming success. When John A. Bingham, who made the Sixteenth District illustrious and gave it a national reputation by his oratory, and by his profound statesmanship, retired from Congress, it was the desire of Mr. Hollingsworth to become his successor. The people of Harrison County were back of his candidacy. They never faltered in the advocacy of his claims. In every campaign when there was an opportunity for a contest, they loyally supported him. Yet time and again he went down to defeat in convention. But he was patient. He never murmured; he never complained.

"If any unkind words were uttered, they came from his enthusiastic and admiring friends who could not conceal their disappointment.

But in the campaigns which followed, General Hollingsworth was always found on the hustings, lifting up his voice, pleading the cause of his victorious opponents. None rendered more cheerful service or contributed more potently than he to swell the majority of the Republican Congressional candidates. At last, it seems to be the hand of destiny that is about to reward him for his faithfulness to others and loyalty to his party which he has always placed above self. Surely it is a fitting recognition of his honorable career.

"The *Free Press-Standard* believes the Sixteenth District should give notice to all who have political ambitions that it proposes to honor itself and at the same time be of service to the State and nation by renominating General Hollingsworth in 1910, 1912, 1916, 1918, 1920 and as many terms thereafter as he will accept."

TAFT AND HOLLINGSWORTH CAMPAIGN

The National Delegates, Senator Duvall and Editor Anderson, from the 16th District, were also anti-boss thinkers and it is believed acquainted the Republican Presidential candidate, Judge Taft, with conditions and secured his promise to tour the district and make a number of speeches in it during the canvass. At any rate, the Republican National Committee made this arrangement for him, and although the big "Taft Special," as his train was called, had trouble in reaching high grade railroad points like Cadiz, he greatly enjoyed the trip and added much to his own popularity.

The following is clipped from the daily newspaper account of the trip :

"General Hollingsworth, at the request of the National Republican Committee, met the 'Taft Special' at East Liverpool, and accompanied it through the 16th District, making the introductions at seven different meetings. The train was provided with stenographers and typewriters, and the remarks of the speakers were furnished at once to representatives of the daily press.

"At Cadiz General Hollingsworth was requested by Mr. Taft to extend his introductory remarks somewhat to rest him a little before commencing his speech after what he called 'climbing the hill of Zion to Cadiz.'

"On leaving the train at Wheeling the Presidential candidate warmly thanked General Hollingsworth, and congratulated him on the certainty of his election.

"General Hollingsworth's remarks at Cadiz, as copied from one of the daily papers, were as follows :

"My Fellow Citizens of Cadiz and Vicinity, of All Parties and Creeds :

"We are honored today in the distinguished character of our guest, whose presence reminds us of the earlier distinctions of our village, when Lincoln's great war secretary, Stanton, was one of our county officials and made his home among us; when the eminent Bishop Simpson, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, was an honored citizen; when John A. Bingham, one of the great pillars of Lincoln's administration, was our leading citizen and represented this district in Congress, and when the brave, dashing, heroic Custer, our county's pride, won honor and distinction on the battlefields of the Civil War before the tragedies of the Custer massacre cut short his brilliant career.

"The coming here of such a guest is also a good omen of success for him. No Ohio man has ever been elected to the Presidency without having first made a political pilgrimage to Cadiz. It is not a railroad way-station, but the end of the line. Hayes, Garfield and McKinley each in turn thus honored our little town before reaching the goal of their ambition.

"So it is today with another Ohio candidate for the Presidency. He can now feel that his election is assured. He has come to this typical rural center and seen for himself the sturdy character of our citizenship. He realizes and rejoices in the marvelous prosperity of this agricultural section, this wool-growing center of the great State of Ohio. He knows, as we know, Democrats and Republicans alike, that this prosperity is the direct result of

wise tariff legislation. He is ready, like Roosevelt, when he became President on the assassination of the lamented McKinley, to uphold and carry out the McKinley policy of reasonable protection to every American industry and every American workman.

"Elect him and a Republican Congress and the one dark shadow—free trade—overhanging the wool husbandry of Harrison and adjoining counties, will disappear like the mists of the morning before the rising sun. He has not forgotten the free trade days of Grover Cleveland. He is safe, sound, sane and solid.

"I have great pleasure in introducing William Howard Taft."

After his introduction, Judge Taft began by saying:

"Ladies and Gentlemen: We have been climbing the hill of Zion for an hour, and I am glad to know from the assurance of your presiding officer that we have made our calling and election sure.

"I am delighted to meet you—delighted to look into the eyes and faces of an audience of such intelligence, and therefore of such Republicanism."

He then delivered a thorough-going protective tariff speech of the McKinley type, dwelling especially on its advantages to American wool growers, and closed by adding that he was glad "his old friend, General Hollingsworth, had been nominated for Congress, where his influence would be felt on the right side of every public measure; and also to visit the home city of his friend and former class-mate at Yale, Judge Walter G. Shotwell."

UNUSUAL PROMINENCE AS A CONGRESSMAN-ELECT

Gen. Hollingsworth's nomination, made as it was by an overwhelming primary vote after creditably seeking the nomination in conventions of his party for twenty-six years, never falling below second in any contest, showed a persistence and strength of purpose on his part, which, added to his election as a protectionist, and his well-known views in favor of a square deal for all, gave him unusual prominence as a Congressman-elect, and this fact was much and favorably commented upon in the public press from one end of the country to the other. It gave impetus to party reforms much discussed and in contemplation in other districts and throughout the state and nation. One public writer at Washington was so stirred by Hollingsworth's unremitting efforts for one honor and one alone, recalling the line

in Lucile that "the man who has one aim in life and but one can hope to attain it before life is done," dropped into verse and published the following in a number of widely circulated papers:

A TRIBUTE

To General David A. Hollingsworth

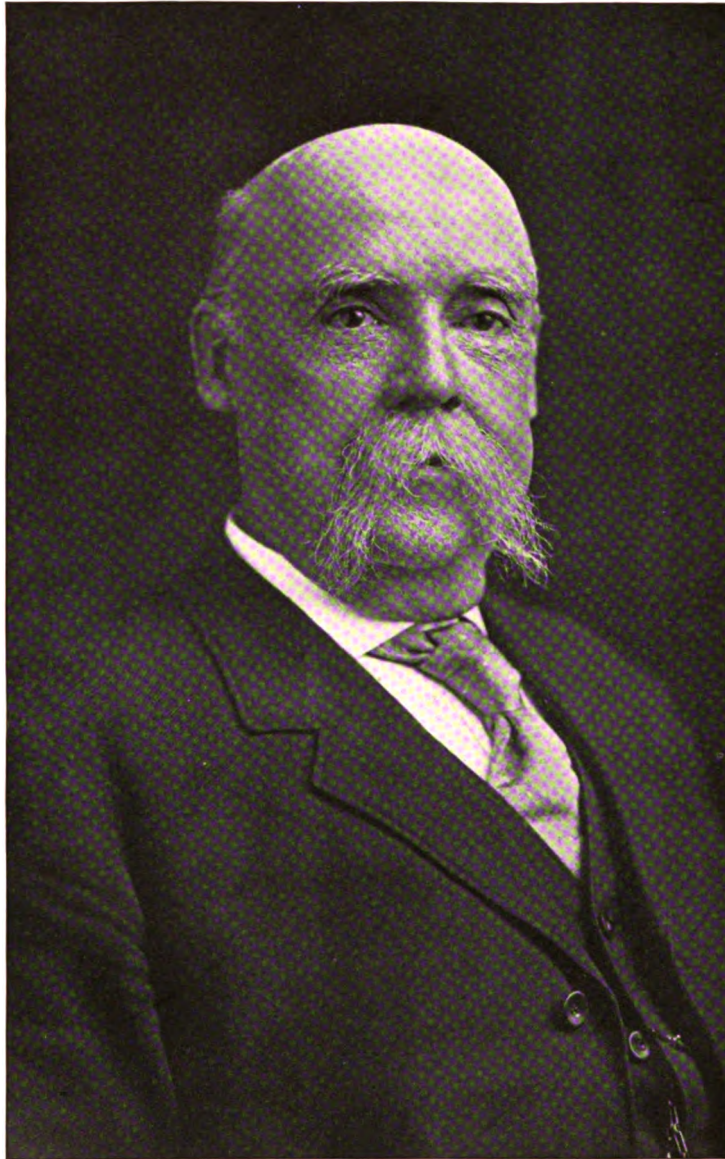
By Francis B. Gessner

Some bard in rhyming lines hath truly told
How those who have in life an aim but one,
Can win with effort great and struggle bold
That aim's achievement e're Life's race he run.
And now, despite defeats most manifold
Thy aim achieved by zeal and work well done;
The poet's promise well you verify
Though late in life may come the honor sought,
Through years of waiting setting back and sigh
Yet thy reward is worth the battle fought
With state and nation gaining more thereby
And hearts made glad with what thy hand hath wrought.
Hence now the single thought of loyal friends
That many years shall pass before thy life of service ends.

Would the movement started against bossism and the exercise of arbitrary power by party managers, grow and become nation-wide? The test was to come in the organization of the 61st Congress. The so-called "Canon Rules" had become a stench in the nostrils of fair-minded men of all parties. Czarism, and the boss rule of a favored few in Congress, seemed doomed.

CHEERED BY KINDLY WORDS OF FRIEND AND FOE

When elected to Congress General Hollingsworth was in his 64th year and in good health, body and mind. His life had been one of strenuous endeavor, but, without enervating habits or excesses of any kind, it only gave him strength for the new duties about to devolve upon him. He was



DAVID A. HOLLINGSWORTH
At inauguration of President Taft, March 4, 1909



MRS. DAVID A. HOLLINGSWORTH
At inauguration of President Taft, March 4, 1909

encouraged and delighted by the good words and congratulations of friends and by friendly newspaper comment.

Even the opposition press saw the futility of further efforts to discredit him as a public man, and changed their attitude toward him.

A single clipping from his home paper, edited by a rock-ribbed Jacksonian Democrat, will suffice as a fair sample of comments on his election as published in the opposition papers of the district and State:

From *Cadiz Sentinel* (Dem.), W. H. Arnold, Editor:

"We feel personally proud of Hollingsworth. He had the honest persistency to say that he wanted the office—that he coveted a seat in Congress. Some candidates have mock modesty, and talk about 'serving the people,' and being chosen without seeking the place, while at the same time they have done some of the meanest things of which honesty is capable to bring the choice to them. But persistency is rewarded, and next Sunday he can join in singing the old hymn:

" 'This is the way I long have sought
And mourned because I found it not.' "

Was it possible for him, at his age, to come up to the expectations of his friends in the larger field of statesmanship opening before him? He was to be associated with intellectual giants, his junior in years, but with many years, in some instances a quarter of a century or more, of Congressional experience. He would try; he would do his best, was the only answer he could make to the candid inquiries of his own mind.

OVERTHROW OF "CANNONISM" IN THE HOUSE

He secured for advance study a copy of the existing rules of the House, hoping to familiarize himself with them in time for the extra session of the new Congress expected to be called at once on the inauguration of President Taft. The adoption or change of these rules would be one of the first duties after the organization and election of a Speaker. They seemed to him, on examination, to be intricate, involved and troublesome—a veritable maze, in fact, for the uninitiated. They appeared, however, in the main, on casual view, to be reasonable and essential to the orderly transaction of the business of Congress, and were in truth the gradual

outgrowth of years of parliamentary practice in this country. But a close analysis showed, as it appeared to him, fatal defects, arbitrary features, wholly at variance with the popular theory of free representative government. Here and there autocratic powers were lodged in the Speaker, destructive of individual initiative, and subversive of the equal rights supposed to exist among the membership of the House. Favoritism for a few and deliberate repression of others; preferential advantages given to certain classes of legislation, and certain interests, with arbitrary suppression or pigeon-hole attention to other proposed measures equally if not more meritorious, and discrimination generally in the transaction of public business, had existed, or were believed to exist, for years in Congress, and, although exaggerated by partisan zeal, there was a growing feeling of unrest and opposition among the people.

Independent members of the majority party felt keenly the conditions imposed and a spirit of revolt against such oligarchy of power in the House was aroused among those not of the favored few or not willing to bow the knee to power that "thrift might follow fawning."

Hollingsworth, as a new member, under such conditions, was a natural insurgent. He could not consistently, after a careful examination of the old rules, vote for them without some radical modifications. They were to his mind worse than the rules of the Ohio Senate, whose overthrow he helped to organize in 1880.

But hoping that his opposition might not be specially resented by the governing influences in the House, he concluded to modestly vote no and with this be content. In such conclusion he was joined by one other new member from Ohio, Hon. Adna R. Johnson. In the Republican caucus preliminary to the organization of the House they had voted for the nomination of General J. Warren Keifer, of Ohio, for speaker, but the caucus having made Mr. Cannon the regular Republican nominee, they voted for him because of party fealty, although a number of independent Republicans bolted the party caucus. But supporting the old rules was different. They were discussed pro and con on the floor of the House by older members with dramatic earnestness, and when Hollingsworth's name, the first of the two, was called on the roll, he voted in the negative, prepared to take the consequences whatever they might be. His negative vote was unexpected by party managers, who claimed to have had assurance that he would meekly follow their example, and to them it proved a disappointment.

They had not considered it necessary to advise with or consult him or the other new member from Ohio, although placing their names confidently on the list of "regulars" who were expected to vote for the rules. The vote was known by the managers to be close, only a bare majority being counted upon by the "organization," and when Hollingsworth voted no, it was seen by both "regulars" and "insurgents" that the scale was turned. He was not aware in advance of the closeness of the contest, but realized at once that he had created a commotion in the House. The Speaker, a lovable old gentleman but every inch a boss, although of quiet Quaker parentage on the side of his mother, whose maiden name was Hollingsworth, a distant relative of the Congressman, immediately sent a page requesting him to come to the Speaker's desk, presumably for private discipline and to get him to change his vote. Hollingsworth hesitated and held back, not wishing thus to be made conspicuous before the House, and so remained in his seat. But the page was followed by a special friend, Mr. Lampson, of Ohio, reading clerk of the House, who pointed out to him that although not intending to change his vote it might be to his advantage to attend upon the Speaker as requested. He went. Their interview, much to Hollingsworth's embarrassment, attracted the attention of the House and the press gallery, but the roll call went on and was announced without change. Immediately, a Democratic insurgent, Fitzgerald, of New York, made a motion to adopt, in large measure, the same rules, but eliminating the most objectionable features, shrewdly retaining, however, as a bait to the Republican regulars, the one allowing the Speaker to appoint the standing committees of the House, and in this form it was adopted. It was voted for by Democratic insurgents, Republican regulars and a few so-called "near" Republican insurgents, like Hollingsworth, who supported it because it seemed to be the best that could be obtained at the time.

It proved effective to an extent in liberalizing House procedure, and laid the foundation for the subsequent extirpation of Czarism in the House, or one-man-control, and, although proposed by a Democrat, it amounted to a reformation from within the Republican party itself.

Gradually thereafter the Speakership was shorn of its autocratic features, and never since then has any Speaker been given the power to name the working committees of the House. The House itself, like the U. S. Senate and the Ohio State Senate, now attends to this vital duty, and the Speaker has become, as he should be, simply the presiding officer of a parliamentary body.

NATIONAL PROMINENCE

Of course, Hollingsworth's action offended the leaders, but, as compensation, his status as a member of the House was advanced and, although a first-termer, it was realized that he would thereafter need to be reckoned with as an average member of co-equal rights and duties. At least he would control his own vote.

His industry and usefulness did not depend wholly on committee assignments. Every newspaper in his district, Republican and Democratic, endorsed his course, and the favorable notices of him in connection with the incident in the city dailies brought him unexpectedly into national prominence.

Two articles, printed at the time in the leading Republican and Democratic papers of the district, tell in brief the whole story:

From the Steubenville *Herald-Star*, March 16, 1909, Charles D. Simeral, editor:

THE DEFEAT OF CANNONISM

HE DID RIGHT

This district has a right to be proud of General Hollingsworth.

He has been weighed in the balance and not found wanting.

On one side was organization, assured victory, membership in an oligarchy, favorable committee assignments, the gratification of ambition, the desire to have the good will of those in authority, while on the other side of the scale was duty—simply duty to his country, to his constituents, to his conscience, and he voted in this crisis as he shot in the crisis of '61 to '65, for liberty and equality in the transaction of public business.

We know something (having been private secretary to Congressman Gill) of the tremendous pressure which is brought to bear upon all members of Congress by the organization. It has all the favors to bestow, all the patronage to give, all the gracious kindnesses to grant, and to a new member, anxious to make good and to favorably impress his people back home, these are the life blood of his service.

To disregard them requires the spirit of the crusader, of the forty-niner, of the blazer of new trails through the wilderness of oppression, and General Hollingsworth has proven that he cares more for the approval of his conscience than he does for the smiles of those in authority.

"I may, probably will, be in the minority," said General Hollingsworth, "but such reform, sooner or later, is as sure to come as that sunshine follows shadow and one can, if necessary, afford to live in the shade, for a time, to fully enjoy the full-orbed sunshine of the future."

Were he our most bitter enemy we would still say: "All honor to this man, who has the courage of his convictions, who fights the people's battle and who votes as he thinks." He is representing in full and rounded measure the almost unanimous wish of the intelligence of his district and his vote against Cannonism and its kindred evils is being most enthusiastically and generously commended by his constituents.

Hollingsworth voted as he shot.

Hollingsworth is no camp follower.

The people are with Hollingsworth in his stand against autocracy.

The people of this district should be proud of Hollingsworth.

The machine got one good, hard blow, anyhow.

A man of nerve and conscience usually votes right.

Maybe a Representative will represent somebody now.

In all of these votes General Hollingsworth has the approval of his constituents and that, after all, is better than the favor of the mighty.

God bless the man who votes for human liberty.

THE WORLD MOVES

Our new Congressman displayed a commendable independence in not bowing the knee to Baal in the contest on the rules; yet it may mark Mr. Hollingsworth as a future victim of a vindictive Speaker. His two latest predecessors both showed independence of spirit, and both found how impossible of accomplishment were things they would have done if the House had been a truly representative body, with an open arena of discussion. If truth were told, we opine that the reason for Mr. Gill's voluntary retirement, and Mr. Weems' decision not to seek further Congressional honors, was their realization of the utter uselessness of attempting to honestly represent their constituency under existing conditions. It is patent that no self-respect-

ing man can afford to be a rank-and-file Congressman under the Cannon regime.—The *Steubenville Gazette* (Dem.).

The *Gazette* is absolutely right, but as for us we would rather have cast that vote against the un-American and utterly tyrannical House rules than to have enjoyed all the favors which a friendly Speaker could ever bestow upon us.

The average citizen, being unacquainted with conditions in Washington, can hardly realize what courage it took to vote against the controlling powers of the House of Representatives. A man had to put almost everything he cherished in jeopardy, and General Hollingsworth did that very thing when he voted against the dictation of Joseph G. Cannon.

It is for that reason that we appreciate it all the more, and it was for that reason that years ago we could not understand the senseless chatter that buzzed about Mr. Gill's head when he had the courage and independence to denounce these same rules which the American people have since been educated to understand and hate.

It was a grand thing for General Hollingsworth to vote as he did; it was as brave a thing to do as facing bullets on a battle field, but while he may have the displeasure of the Speaker, he is having the plaudits of his home people.

Yes, the world does move, and the man who does right can afford to await its approval of his acts.—The *Steubenville Herald-Star*.

The Stamina Republican League of Cincinnati, at its next annual dinner, invited him with other speakers, including Senator Foraker and Congressman Longworth, to deliver an address. It was a notable occasion and the Cincinnati dailies featured it as the "opening gun of the 1910 campaign."

General Hollingsworth was assigned the subject of "Insurgency in Congress," and the following report of his speech is taken from the *Commercial Tribune*:

"General Hollingsworth has been a figure in Eastern Ohio politics for many years and served as state Senator, also as Attorney General of Ohio by appointment. This is his first term in Congress.

"In part he said: 'I congratulate you on the exhibition of Republican harmony seen here tonight. It is of the genuine variety. There is no sham about it. It is or ought to be an inspiration for good, an example worthy the emulation of every right-thinking Republican in the State.

"The particular sentiment assigned to me, "Insurgency in Congress," is of recent origin and its meaning is not clearly defined or well understood. It has been much misrepresented by both friends and enemies. It dates back to the organization of the present Congress in March, 1909.

"At that time, in consequence of certain powers theretofore exercised by the Speaker of the House of Representatives and believed by the people to be arbitrary, autocratic and unjust, excluding, in fact, individual thought and initiative on the part of the members, there was a revolt, stubborn and determined, by a few conscientious, self-respecting Republican members of character and spirit, who refused to countenance a continuance of such powers and protested especially against their exercise by the present Speaker and a favored coterie of House leaders believed to be back of him.

"These members felt the humiliation of one-man power in the transaction of public business. They felt that they owed a higher duty to their constituents and the country than to act merely as good-natured automatons to register the will of what was believed to be a selfish self-constituted organization to control men and measures in the House of Representatives. The same conditions had, in a measure, existed for years, except that the so-called "regular" organization of the House seemed to grow stronger, more selfish and intolerant with each succeeding Congress. It arrogated to itself the exercise of powers believed to be greater and more dangerous to individual liberty of thought and action than ever attempted in any other parliamentary body in the world.

"REVOLT ONLY PARTLY SUCCESSFUL

"The revolt, although aided by the Democratic minority, was only in part successful. The Speaker, Mr. Cannon, was re-elected by decree of the Republican caucus and the old rules, slightly modified, were adopted on motion of a Democratic deserter of his party. It proved, however, an entering wedge, a moral warning for the future, and was at least productive of some immediate good. The iron hand voluntarily relaxed in many directions. Toleration of individual judgment was proclaimed within party lines. The powers and privileges of the House, however, remained centered and combined in committees organized alone by the Speaker and a so-called junta of selfish House leaders, the road to whose favor seemed to lie in personal abasement if not actual surrender of individual convictions of duty.

“But fortunately a power behind us all—the people—had become aroused. They had no cringing fear of the steam roller or the boss.

“The people and the independent newspapers of the country, knowing the real cause of the trouble, demanded a modification of the iron rules of the House, so that important measures in the interest of the public could not be secretly sandbagged or chloroformed in committees. They demanded for the whole membership of the House participation in the organization of the House committees. Antagonism to this proposition came quick and sharp from selfish interests. Leaders in Congress and in the lobby, accustomed to be consulted in such matters, seemed to rally to the support of the Speakers's assumed prerogatives. The fight for individual rights was on.

“It was a trying moment for members ambitious to be useful in the House and yet unwilling to yield their individual convictions of duty or barter the constitutional rights of their constituents.

“INDEPENDENCE NOT INSURGENCY

“But, Mr. Chairman, I must be permitted before closing to draw a distinction, broad and wide, between insurgency of the character described and that which we find exploited in some so-called independent newspapers. It does not mean an abandonment of any of the old time-honored and time-tested doctrines of the Republican party. It does not mean Democratic free-trade or academic tariff tinkering, twin enemies of American industries and American labor.

“The policy of protection as taught by Henry Clay, James G. Blaine, William McKinley and other practical leaders in economic thought and action is still a vital, dominating force in the Republican party. On it rests the vast structure of American progress. Its abandonment would mean disaster.

“But if the Republicans of Ohio, following the example of the Stamina Republican League of Cincinnati, shall this fall, as they ought to in State convention, run up to the masthead the old party banner inscribed only with standard Republican doctrines to which all the Republicans of the State can subscribe without reference to past differences of opinion, then indeed will victory be assured and the party continue on in its wonderful career of progressive usefulness in the State and nation.’ ”

ASSIGNED TO HARD-WORKING COMMITTEES

When the House committees were announced it was seen that Hollingsworth had fared reasonably well notwithstanding his insurgent leanings. Although denied a position on the Judiciary, which he desired, and for which he was especially fitted by like service in the Ohio Senate, and as Attorney-General of Ohio, he was assigned to two others of importance—Revision of the Laws and Invalid Pensions—which he accepted without complaint. They would occupy his time, except when engaged in the House or in special study of bills reported from other committees with which he needed to familiarize himself before voting on them. The committee on revision was exacting in detail and required high class service, but the committee on invalid pensions was different. It required time and attention but was really with him a labor of love for his comrades and his position on the committee enabled him to serve them to advantage. He and General Sherwood, also of Ohio, were the only ex-Union soldiers in the House, and naturally their labors were largely increased on this account. They worked together in many cases and were friends. At the close of the 61st Congress, Hollingsworth held the record for the highest number of successful bills on all subjects introduced by any member of the House. He had to his credit over sixty in all.

His time was fully employed and he was known as a hard working, industrious, able member, shirking no duty and ever at his post. He did not seek notoriety or prominence in any way, and yet an incident in his career, simple in itself, only a few months after his service began, unexpectedly brought him into the limelight of much newspaper publicity.

SURPRISED AT EX-CONFEDERATE SENTIMENT IN WASHINGTON

As an ex-Union soldier he was surprised at the manifest Southern sentiment he found at Washington. Although the Administration was Republican yet Confederate leaders seemed to be in special favor. One of them, an Associate Justice, was elevated to the Chief Justiceship of the Supreme Court of the United States, over a senior Associate Justice, General John M. Harlan, a worthy ex-Union soldier, without apparent cause. Another ex-Confederate, a Morgan Raider, who had been captured during the Civil War while on a raiding expedition extending through Hollingsworth's home county, was appointed an Associate Justice of the same court, and

similar appointments of ex-Confederates to high office were common. Confederate memorials of all kinds appeared in the city and ante-bellum days seemed to have returned. In Congress resolutions were introduced to annul war amendments to the constitution.

Early in the session it was reported in the public press that an elaborate silver service set with artistic engravings of Jefferson Davis, head of the late southern confederacy, had been purchased for presentation to the U. S. Battleship "Mississippi," commanded by Captain John C. Fremont, son of a worthy Union soldier, for the permanent use of its officers at social and public functions, and Congressman Hollingsworth, thinking government war ships not the proper place to exploit such engravings, introduced a modest resolution asking the Secretary of the Navy to inform the Congress by whom and on what authority such gift was to be accepted and what lesson of loyalty or patriotism it was intended to teach to the young officers and men in charge of the vessel. It seemed a very proper inquiry, but at once there blazed forth from the public press of the South the vilest character of abuse and misrepresentation of the hapless author, and his mail was filled with threatening letters against his life. This outburst more than the resolution itself stirred the loyal press and patriotic societies and people of the Northland, and almost without exception, they came to the rescue in public discussion and resolutions of endorsement.

The feeling among Southern sympathizers at Washington was tense, but Hollingsworth had heard the old rebel yell in the sixties and was not disturbed. He selected from among hundreds of Southern papers sent him a few of the most virulent, and, rising in his place in the House to a question of personal privilege, asked leave to reply. Objections came promptly from the Southern side, but the foxy old boss in the Speaker's chair overruled them until the clerk had read into the record the offensive items, and then coolly decided that they were not raw enough to present the question of personal privilege, and that Hollingsworth could not under the rules adopted by the House make any reply. The ruling was so manifestly unjust that Hollingsworth asked unanimous consent of the House to print his remarks in the record, but Mr. Harrison, of New York, whose father was secretary to Mr. Davis when President of the Confederacy, objected.

But truth crushed rises again, and all who remembered the scene between Hollingsworth and Speaker Cannon, when the rules were under consideration, knew that the present incident was not closed.

He would wait; his opportunity to speak would come when the House engaged in general debate.

The following is quoted at length from the Congressional Record of February 24, 1910:

Generously has the line between the Blue and the Gray been obliterated except in matters of vital principle.

Americans all, let us honor but one flag on all occasions, and that the starry flag of our great Republic, destined as it is, under Providence, to lead the world upward to a higher, purer, nobler, grander civilization, a civilization in which the individual rights of men shall never again be questioned.

SPEECH OF HON. DAVID A. HOLLINGSWORTH, OF OHIO,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

February 24, 1910

Mr. Hollingsworth.

Mr. Chairman, I desire to submit a few remarks while the House is in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

On May 3, 1909, there was submitted in this House a resolution of inquiry directed to the Secretary of the Navy, requesting information as to a proposed gift of silver service for use on board of the United States battle ship "Mississippi," the chief decoration of which was understood to be a portrait engraving of Jefferson Davis, late chief of the defunct Southern Confederacy. It sought to inquire into the propriety and authority for the act and contemplated corrective legislation. That its exact nature and scope may be readily understood, it is here quoted in full:

"Whereas, the dignity and character of the United States Government and its creditable standing at home and abroad require that its battle ships should be in command of officers imbued with high American ideals, healthy loyalty, and a just pride in the history and institutions of the government they serve; and,

"Whereas, public monuments, paintings, engravings, and other works of art exhibited or used in government buildings, structures, or in other public places belonging to the General Government are intended and should be

calculated to inspire reverence for such ideals and teach valuable lessons of patriotism and love of country; and,

"Whereas, it is reported in the public press and not contradicted that an elaborate silver service set of 62 pieces, with the centerpiece thereof decorated by an artistic portrait engraving of Jefferson Davis, the head of the late Southern Confederacy, has been purchased for presentation to the battle ship 'Mississippi' for the permanent use of its officers at social and public functions, to the exclusion of any other service which might be furnished by the government or presented by other donors; and,

"Whereas, of the 37 officers now in command of the vessel, including Captain John C. Fremont, of California, a worthy descendant of a brave Union general in the Civil War, only 7 were appointed from the States lately adhering to the Confederacy, and such proportion of appointments from the different States of the Union is likely to be continued in the future. Therefore be it

"Resolved, That the Secretary of the Navy be requested to inform the Congress by whom and on what authority such gift is to be accepted, and what lesson of loyalty or patriotism such portrait engraving is intended to teach, and with what ideals of government it is expected thereby to inspire the officers and men now or hereafter to be in control of such battle ship, and especially to ascertain and inform the Congress whether or not the proposed gift of silver service thus decorated and such use of it are agreeable to or desired by the officers now in command of the 'Mississippi.' "

As will be seen, the resolution does not contain an offensive word or reference of any kind. It is in line with the loyal sentiment of the country and the policy of the government ever since the close of the Civil War to carefully exclude from government buildings and grounds everything that might tend to offend or wound the feelings of our Southern brethren, especially unpleasant reminders of their attempt in 1861 to disrupt the Union and destroy the government established by George Washington and his compatriots.

The sons of the Confederacy, thanks to this considerate thoughtfulness on the part of the General Government, may pass through the full courses at West Point and Annapolis without seeing on the walls or in the corridors of the buildings any picture or motto calculated to remind them of the fact that their fathers at one time deserted the old flag under which they serve as cadets. A Confederate reunion might be held here in this Capitol

building, and not a soldier of the "lost cause" be reminded, by picture, cut, or carving, of Vicksburg or Appomattox. He would see in the Rotunda a magnificent painting of the surrender of Cornwallis, but nothing of the fate of Pemberton and Lee. He would see representations of glorious victories won by the American arms in Mexico and against foreign foes on other battlefields, but nothing of Lookout Mountain, Sherman's march to the sea, or the capture of Richmond. No arc de triumph has ever been permitted to span any of the magnificent avenues of the nation's capital.

The dominant element of the government—loyal people of the North—if you please—have ever been thoughtful and considerate of the vanquished, those who failed in their ill-advised, ill-timed, and ill-starred effort to destroy by arms the best government God ever gave to man. The right hand of friendship and forgetfulness, ever since the tragic furling of the stars and bars at Appomattox, has been generously extended by the victors. It is not their fault if a want of fraternal feeling exists anywhere within the nation's domain.

The passing years have done their perfect work on both sides in healing the wounds of the Civil War. Generously has the line between the Blue and the Gray been obliterated except in matters of vital principle. Equality of citizenship under the law has been made absolute without humiliating conditions. The government and the people have closed their eyes to the constitutional definition of treason.

Only one man, Jefferson Davis, of all the Confederacy, spurned the government's generous proffer to restore forfeited citizenship. After the collapse of his hopes of a Southern empire, he seemed to live and die literally as "the man without a country."

Quoting from a eulogy by his chief lieutenant, General John B. Gordon:

"Mr. Davis for the last quarter century of his life was the citizen of no country, professed allegiance to no government, was not concerned in the duties or ambitious for the rewards which make the life of an ordinary man."

Peace, blessed peace and forgetfulness, seemed to spread her wings alike over North and South after the surrender and parole of the armed forces of the Confederacy, and, with rare exceptions as in the case of Mr. Davis, it was fondly hoped that the Confederacy itself and all that it stood for in opposition to the General Government might in time be forgotten, might pass away like a horrid dream of the night.

But, sad commentary on American patriotism, this hope has not been realized. On the contrary, the false ideals of the Confederacy would seem from recent events to have been only temporarily laid aside, incased as it were in chrysalis form, cocoon-like, in furred Confederate flags, only to burst forth in new forms as soon as the General Government and the loyal, forgiving people of the North could again be lulled into a feeling of security, brotherly love and indifference.

Has this condition arrived? Are there no longer any cherished ideals of the Northland? Has maudlin sentimentality replaced heroic conviction? Does the recent chiseling of the name of Jefferson Davis immediately above that of Abraham Lincoln on Cabin John Bridge, at Washington, indicate a mistaken belief in the waning glory and fame of Lincoln or a wish for the recrudescence of his Confederate rival?

The portent of the times would seem to indicate a belief in the minds of Southern statesmen that the ideals of Lincoln and Grant, the eternal principles of right vindicated in a four years' war for the Union, are being forgotten, or at least lost sight of in the present mad, feverish, money-getting commercial age. There is no other explanation of recent events. The erection of a monument to Major Wirz, of Andersonville fame; the forcing into the National Hall of Fame a statue of a Confederate general in the full uniform he wore while fighting to destroy the government; the attempted decoration of an American battle ship with engraved object lessons calculated to teach young officers reverence for the false ideals of the Confederacy, and the Congressional attacks now pending in Congress, one in the Senate and one in the House, to nullify and destroy both the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, guaranties on which rest many of the vital results of the Civil War, only tell a part of the story.

In unguarded moments the hidden thoughts and purposes of a people come to light. Note the sudden outburst of violent invective at the unexpected introduction of the resolution in question at the late special session of Congress. Simple, plain and inoffensive as were its terms, it was at once attacked and, with its almost unknown author, made the object of merciless abuse and misrepresentation. All the deep-seated rancor and prejudice of the old days of the Southern slavocracy, when Northern men were called "mud sills" and the Union soldiers were contemptuously referred to as "Lincoln hirelings," seemed to break forth with increased virulence on a mere suggestion that United States battle ships are not the proper place for

the display of Confederate emblems, and that the young officers of the American Navy are entitled to different object lessons and different incentives to duty than the engraved portraits of Confederate chiefs.

The storm raged with bitter fury in the press of the South, especially in that of Mississippi. The United States mails from that section were burdened with threats of violence against the hapless author of the resolution. Even here in the national capital there was a suggestive feeling that possibly a mite of the old spirit of Preston Brooks and others, who were wont to strike down officials for opinion's sake, might be lingering in the halls or underground recesses of the Capitol building.

It was a sudden awakening for the people of the North, who had fondly cherished the belief that Grant's magnanimity at Appomattox was still remembered and appreciated in the South.

So violent and abusive was this attack in a personal sense that, on May 15, at the extra session, I rose in the House to a question of privilege, and, ignoring the low, scurrilous abuse of irresponsible letter writers and small newspapers, asked to reply to certain articles in four of the leading Southern journals, one of them published at the capital of the State of Mississippi, styling itself the "official journal of Mississippi."

I believed then, and I believe yet, that I was entitled under the rules to the privilege. But it was denied after the articles had been read in full by the clerk. They are printed in the *Record* of that date.

To make the situation plain, however, I here quote from them a number of personal excerpts:

"This man Hollingsworth is serving his first term in Congress, and is evidently a South hater of the rankest kind, who is seeking to make political capital for the future."

* * * * *

"Raised in a section notorious for its hatred of the South, of Southern institutions, in a restricted and narrow sphere, and with no public experience, and taught to believe that Jefferson Davis was a traitor who should have been tried, convicted and hung, it is perhaps natural that such a contemptible little whelp should rise up to abuse the men and slander the section that appreciates him. Hollingsworth belongs to the past, though a young man, to that class of narrow-minded political wretches who think it a virtue to wave the 'bloody shirt' and an honor to denounce the South's great chieftain."

* * * * *

"It is all nonsense for this little Ohio Congressman to talk about the proposed gift being agreeable to the officers, or to ask by whom and on what authority such gift is to be accepted. The Navy Department has known for months what the design would be, and no word of displeasure has been received, no suggestion as to change made, so it is safe to say that no attention will be paid to the cheap resolution of the political nonentity from Ohio."

* * * * *

"The Ohio Congressman who got up in the House the other day and raised all manner of sand about the picture of Jefferson Davis being put on the silver service presented to the battle ship 'Mississippi' ought to be informed that nobody cares what he thinks about it. A politically prejudiced gas bag from Ohio can no more cast reflection upon the life and character of Jefferson Davis than a mangy, flea-bitten, bobtailed cur dog can insult the moon by getting up at 2 o'clock in the morning and barking himself to death at the pale-faced luminary."

* * * * *

"Davis is the idol of the South, and will continue to be long after this windy misfit from Ohio has been retired by his constituency and everlastingly forgotten by the nation."

* * * * *

"It will be interesting to know when and where Congressman David A. Hollingsworth, of Ohio, 'fit, bled, and died' for his country."

* * * * *

"Had Congressman Hollingsworth been informed, as he should have been, he would have known that whatever are the designs and ornaments and figures and emblems on this silverware they were selected by a commission of men named by the State; that the money for this service was contributed by citizens of Mississippi; and that nothing has been done without the approval of the Secretary of the Navy at Washington."

* * * * *

"Measured by his frothings, he is indeed a little man. If aged enough to have enlisted in the struggle between the States he was not one of the brave men who were actively engaged in active service and on the fighting line. Brave men, men who experienced the hardships of the march, the camp, the bivouac, and the shock of battle do not 'wave the bloody shirt.' Perhaps Congressman Hollingsworth was one of the 'home guards' or one

of Sherman's bums, who robbed defenseless women, old men, and children. Who is Hollingsworth? Has he ever 'fit and bled and died' for his country?"

* * * * *

"The man who holds the position of Secretary of War today in the Cabinet of President Taft believes in Jefferson Davis. And if Davis deserves the contempt and execration that this pusillanimous pigmy from Ohio would heap upon his name, the son of a Confederate soldier, who believes in his father's political creed, has no place in the Cabinet of Mr. Taft."

These quotations, Mr. Chairman, fairly represent, in my judgment, the real feeling and spirit in ex-confederate circles toward those in the North who are unwilling to shut their eyes to the manifest and growing recrudescence of the Confederacy in thought and power here at the national capital.

I am not alone entitled to the distinction.

On attempting respectfully to reply after the articles were read I was met by technical objections from at least five honorable members representing States lately adhering to the Southern Confederacy, and two from New York—seven in all; and, on their objections, it was held that such accusations, sufficient, if true, to warrant expulsion, did not "reflect upon the gentleman from Ohio in his representative capacity" and were not, therefore, subject to a question of privilege; that is to say, it is not officially regarded as a reflection upon the representative character of a Member of the House, barring personal epithets, to accuse him of being a misfit Congressman, introducing cheap resolutions, and raising all manner of sand in the House to make political capital for the future. A graver or more contemptible charge against the actions or motives of a member or against his official integrity could not, in my humble judgment, be made. If guilty, he should be expelled. It seemed to me unfair, but it was effective. I was knocked out, in the language of the prize ring, before I got on my gloves.

Unanimous consent, a request seldom denied a member, was asked to have my remarks printed in the *Record*, explaining my position and the resolution I had offered, but again objections from the same source came prompt and vigorous.

I was squelched; I felt like a "steam roller" had unexpectedly passed over me as the gavel fell, ending my efforts.

The result? My own discomfiture shall not weigh a feather with me in the calculation. It was not the first time I had witnessed an apparent Confederate victory.

But, sinking my own personality entirely, I ask again, What of the results?

The press and public men of the South seemed to accept and hail the incident as a complete vindication in the Congress of the United States of the principles for which the Confederacy stood. Exultant echoes of this sentiment were heard at every Confederate reunion from the Potomac to the Gulf, and even here in the national capital it was as plainly manifested in certain quarters as was the joy which showed itself in many faces immediately following the first battle of Manassas Junction. The quoted newspaper articles claimed to have been thus approved were read and reread with gleeful comment. Literally, a broad smile spread over the Southland at my discomfiture.

And why not, my countrymen? They stand today unchallenged on the records of this Congress. They contain sentiments abhorrent to the calm, conservative, just judgment of the people whose loyalty under Lincoln saved this Government from destruction, and yet no reply was permitted.

Let me quote a few other excerpts not to me of a personal nature:

"Everybody in America who knows the history of the two men knows that in point of education, native ability, culture, oratory, legal attainments, character, and unselfish patriotism, that Jefferson Davis was a greater man than Abraham Lincoln, and knows, furthermore, that the cause for which the southern soldiers fought was the cause of right."

* * * * *

"In revering the memory of Jefferson Davis the State of Mississippi has honored itself and exalted the patriotism of her gallant sons and the devotion and heroism of her daughters."

* * * * *

"The people of Mississippi have contributed the money to buy the silver service for the battleship *Mississippi*, bearing the name of their State. And the people who contributed believe in the purity and nobility of the life of Jefferson Davis. They sympathized with him during the war between the States. They honor his memory and admire beyond expression his superb qualities."

* * * * *

"If the portrait was not on the silver service, I should have it put on the service, and I would put it in such a conspicuous place that it would not be possible to look at the service without seeing the best likeness possible of the incomparable man who served as president of the confederacy."

* * * * *

These expressions, Mr. Chairman, are not the words of irresponsible passion-led men of the South. They were not written in 1860 and 1861, when turbulent hot-heads, South and North, if you please, were rushing the American people into a clash of arms. They were not inspired in the heat of the conflict as it raged from Manassas Junction to Appomattox. They were written deliberately in 1909 by representative men of the so-called "New South," and reveal a present purpose and determination not to let "by-gones be by-gones," not to stand by the honorable settlements made between the brave officers and men who fought to a finish the most unfortunate war ever known in history.

Silently and insidiously, night and day, in the schools, churches, and other organizations for the control of public sentiment in the South, even here in the halls of Congress, the leaven of distrust and discontent seems to be constantly working. The senseless cry of the "bloody shirt," is still heard repeated and rerepeated as a complaint, although sensible people long ago recognized it as a mere ruse to conceal southern hopes and designs.

Southern ideals are being revived; southern idols are being recanonized. What, I ask, does this mean? Are the results of the civil war to be undermined and destroyed? If not, why the pending resolutions in this Congress to nullify the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments? Why the scores and hundreds of bills introduced, forty-four years after the civil war, to pay for alleged damages in the Confederate States caused by the Union armies in the necessary prosecution of the war? Why all this commotion about a simple protest against making our battleships places for the display of Confederate emblems? Why the reported raising of a large fund to erect a Confederate memorial at Arlington, eclipsing in size and magnificence any of the present monuments, if its purpose be not to establish a rival center for the annual display of Confederate sentiment at a place peculiarly sacred to the memory of Union soldiers who lie buried there in such numbers that they and their widows and orphans have been rudely referred to as the greatest of all monuments to Confederate valor and Confederate honor? Why the recent demand that anti-slavery mottoes be removed from the walls of the Lee mansion by executive order?

The truth ought to be known. If the State of Mississippi, merely because the Navy Department has chosen to name one of its battleships after the State, may force upon it for use anything offensive to the general sentiment of the country, the sooner that fact is made known the better. If one State may do this, another may. If the portrait engraving of Jefferson Davis be a proper object lesson on board the *Mississippi*, then that of Brigham Young would be equally appropriate on the recently launched battleship *Utah*. Either suggestion would make of the vessel a laughing stock in any foreign port in Christendom.

I do not disguise, Mr. Chairman, the ultimate purpose of my resolution to be a law to prohibit such objectionable displays on all American vessels and public buildings. They should be forbidden just as the law now forbids the official acceptance of foreign gifts.

Abuse of the author and sarcastic references to his motives, the usual resort of small minds in the absence of substantial arguments, can not reduce or minimize the subject. It will not down.

I waited patiently during the extra session in the hope that opportunity might come to bring up my resolution, but I was disappointed.

Meantime conditions changed somewhat after June 1, the date heralded in advance for an ostentatious delivery of the silver service on board the vessel with characteristic pomp and blandishment, there to be accepted in like spirit by Captain Fremont, son of a Union general and first Republican candidate for the Presidency. It was impossible to learn from the public press whether the Davis silver had actually been taken on board. An opossum-like reticence seemed to settle upon these same southern journals after the first of June. The last published trace of the precious gift, so far as I know, shows it on shore in the hands of some of Mr. Davis' friends and a subaltern of the vessel, all seemingly making merry over what they evidently believed to be the indifferent attitude of Congress and the Navy Department of the United States Government.

I thereupon, in the closing days of the extra session, finding it impossible to secure consideration, introduced another resolution, to be taken up at the regular session, and which embodied all the terms of the former one, with this addition:

Whereas under the present rules of the House as administered it has so far been impossible to get such resolution up in the House for consideration, and it has been reported in the public press that a subaltern officer

of the vessel while on shore June 1, 1909, assumed to accept such gift from some of Mr. Davis' friends on behalf of the Navy Department of the United States Government; therefore

Resolved, That in addition to the requests for information set forth in the original resolution above, the Secretary of the Navy be also requested to inform the Congress whether or not such a gift has been accepted by any one; and if so, how, by whom, and on what authority.

I again call attention, Mr. Chairman, to the total absence of any offensive words in the resolution. It seeks only information on which to base future legislation.

I may be pardoned, therefore, for a brief reply to the harsh invectives which my resolution excited. "The war is supposed to be over," says this official journal of Mississippi, coupled with a personal reference intended to be offensive. I agree with it in this sentiment. The tragedy of Appomattox, forty-odd years ago, was supposed to end a great civil war, a war between the States, a sort of War of the Roses, as some modern statesmen insist on calling it.

Ulysses S. Grant, the great captain of the Union forces, when he said, "Let us have peace," meant it from the bottom of his big, loyal heart, and every true soldier of the North responded, "Amen! so let it be." They had learned to respect Southern valor and Southern courage.

They have kept the faith; loyally have they abided by the pact of peace made by Grant and Lee. Conscious of the rectitude of their own hearts and the justice of their own cause, Northern soldiers have been content with the simple fruits of victory and have not in any manner sought the personal humiliation of the equally brave soldiers of the lost cause.

I also agree with another sentiment of my editorial critic, applying it to the soldiers of both armies, that "brave men, men who experienced the hardships of the march, the camp, and the bivouac, and the shock of battle, do not wave the 'bloody shirt;'" a fact, Mr. Chairman, easily learned at any reunion of either the Blue or the Gray, especially at such Confederate reunions as the one held last summer at Memphis. The veterans of Lee and Jackson and Johnston present on that occasion did not need to afterwards explain or apologize for anything they said or did. They were not there to fight over again the battles of the war or exploit their own acknowledged bravery. They were not disturbed by the excited expressions of a few tame civilians ostentatiously wearing Confederate emblems and waving Confederate flags in a time of profound peace.

When Robert E. Lee, of Virginia, Grant's famous rival, the real idol of the Southland, with calm dignity and a nobility of soul born of his own belief in the righteousness of his cause, feeling that his personal honor was untouched, but recognizing the inevitable, bowed his head in sorrow and handed his sword to General Grant in token of capitulation and his acceptance of terms the most generous ever offered by a victor on the field of battle, he acted in good faith, intending thereby the full significance of his action. When he said, in anguish of heart, to his devoted followers, "Boys, the war is over," he meant it, and they, too, like their comrades in the North, responded in fitting approval. They also have kept the faith.

Lee did not by hysteric efforts seek personal safety in flight. He gave no cause for scandal or false accusation. He was not captured in hiding or in disguise.

It had been a contest of giants. Anglo-Saxon had contended against Anglo-Saxon and cavalier for the triumph of ideas. There was no middle-ground for compromise. God himself had drawn the line, and surrender meant abandonment of the cherished ideals of a lost cause. Deeply touched by Grant's magnanimity and in a spirit of heroic resignation, Lee bade his brave band of survivors farewell, and they, in turn, with deep feeling and affection, accepted his advice and returned to their homes, henceforth to live the life of good citizenship.

They abided by the results of the war and have kept the pact of peace. This action of Grant and Lee and their respective commands is an object lesson, a benediction, an inspiration, and an example for all time to those who place God and country above passion and prejudice. It is an object lesson in historic setting, dwarfing in comparison into infinitesimal proportions the action of the State of Mississippi in its recent attempt to revive war memories by forcing upon an American man-of-war, where only loyal thoughts should be taught or tolerated, an object lesson for young officers such as the engraved portrait of the chief of the forces lately confederated against the government.

Nor can I, Mr. Chairman, pass by without resenting it, another suggestion of one of those quoted articles to the effect that the Union Army of General Sherman was an army of "bums who robbed defenseless women, old men, and children." I was not with General Sherman on his famous march to the sea, but I knew him personally and knew enough of the character of his subordinate officers and men to denounce this sentiment as an atrocious

libel. Man for man, officer for officer, no more creditable army ever marched to battle under a civilized flag.

My own part in the great war drama of the sixties was an unimportant and modest one. A year or more of service as a private in the Twenty-fifth Ohio Volunteer Infantry did not furnish many opportunities for distinction or for doing harm to the Confederacy, but, simple and uneventful as it was, I am proud of it and have no apologies to make.

One or two little incidents of my service ought perhaps to shield me from the embittered pens of writers who, from the safe vantage of editorial sanctums, charge me with being a "South hater of the rankest kind," "narrow-minded political wretch," "waver of the 'bloody shirt,'" "home guard." or "one of Sherman's bums," and so forth.

Allow me to recite one of these incidents, not only in answer to the ill-tempered inquiry as to where I "fit, bled, and died for my country," but as showing that there never was any real animosity or hatred existing between the men behind the guns, such as now seems to inspire certain fire-eating editors and reunion orators who were either too young or too feeble to do any of the fighting, but who now delight in hurling hot explosions of wrath at imaginary foes, forgetting that their efforts would be laughable if it were not for their serious effect on the minds of women and children. Don Quixote attacking his windmill was not more ludicrous.

But to the incident I was about to relate.

I hold in my hand a little keepsake given me by a Confederate prisoner captured in one of the minor engagements of the war. It is a fractional bill of one dollar and a half, issued August 1, 1861, by the Metropolitan Savings Bank, Richmond, and payable in current funds of the kind then in use in the Southern States. It is a curiosity today, but its value and significance to me, then and now, are shown by a memorandum of facts entered by me on its back after my return to camp. It follows:

"This note was given to me December 13, 1861, on the battlefield of Alleghany Summit, Virginia, by a Confederate soldier whom I personally captured. He belonged to a Georgia regiment. I shot at him once before he surrendered. After throwing down his gun and giving up, he remarked that he was nearly starved, and I gave him enough for a good, square meal out of the cooked rations in my haversack before turning him over to the prisoners' guard. He thanked me very cordially, and said the 'Yanks' were not such bad people after all, and asked that I accept the note

as a keepsake. I felt a boyish pride in having captured a full-grown rebel when I was only 17 years and 22 days old." (David A. Hollingsworth, Company B, Twenty-fifth Ohio Volunteer Infantry).

God bless that particular son of the South. I am glad my shot went wild of its mark. I called him a "rebel" then and he called me a "Yank," in the common language of the time; but I shared with him my "flitch and hard-tack," and if he is still living and will visit me at Washington I shall be glad to entertain him with the best meal the Capitol cafe can afford.

Such incident is mentioned, not in self-praise, but in self-defense, against the poisoned arrows incessantly winged at me from all sections of the South.

The Navy Department is also charged with complicity, or rather with knowledge, for months, without objection, of the intention of the State of Mississippi to present this portrait engraving for use on the United States battleship of the same name. I doubt this statement. It may be true, but I call for specific proof or, in default, that an apology be made to the loyal sentiment of the country.

If true, the American people are entitled to know the fact.

I do not believe in perpetuating the hatreds of the war, North or South. Time has softened its asperities and smoothed out its wrinkles. No one today objects to the Southland honoring its heroes at home in its own way. Southern statesmen can truthfully boast that they decorate their homes with Confederate flags and the pictures of Davis, Lee and Jackson, without offense to northern visitors of highest distinction, and without injury to their political standing. No official, certainly in the North, thinks of encroaching upon individual rights. In all the history of civil wars the world over there is not a parallel to the leniency, high consideration in fact, shown by the General Government toward those who, less than a half century ago, were striking at the life of this great nation.

As a contrast, Mr. Chairman, I noticed on a recent visit to the old Confederate capitol at Richmond that the captured Confederate flags which, instead of having been destroyed as they properly might have been at the close of the war, were kept and eventually returned to the several States, and those of Virginia are now displayed in glass cases in the most conspicuous corridor of the capitol building, object lessons again teaching the rising generation to revere the false doctrines of the lost cause.

The same conditions doubtless exist at other Southern capitals.

It was this false educational use of such flags, foreseen twenty-odd years ago by Governor Foraker, of Ohio, which called forth his fiery but notable response when asked to join in the sentimental movement for their return, that no such flags would be returned from his State while he was Governor, and subsequent events, Mr. Chairman, have vindicated his wisdom and forethought.

Indulgence and sympathy for the South have marked every national administration from Lincoln to Taft. Generously have they accorded to the South every right. Willingly have Southern statesmen been called into the councils of the nation, at times seemingly to the disparagement of those who stood by the General Government when loyalty meant something in this country.

The internal policy of the Southland has been sacredly regarded.

Even though shocked to the point of resistance by the recent erection of a monument on the horrible dead line at Andersonville to Major Henry Wirz, a foreign-born Confederate adjudged responsible for the admitted atrocities there enacted during the war, the rising tide of public indignation at the National Capital and in the Northern States has been restrained. No action has been taken against such desecration. No dynamite has been applied. No Congressional resolution has been introduced.

There has been marvelous toleration, not interference or restraint, for all Southern ideals and tastes. Even recently, since the close of the extra session, there has been placed in Statuary Hall of this Capitol a Confederate memorial which is a distinct shock to many loyal hearts throughout the country, but inasmuch as it is supposed to be lawful under an old statute of permission to the several States it will doubtless be tolerated until the law can be repealed, as it should be, and all State memorials be sent back to the respective States, where they belong. But, with due deference to the South and to all Southern sympathizers, I protest that the limit has been reached in the proposed action of the State of Mississippi, claimed as a right, but without any law therefor, to decorate one of our national battle ships with objectionable emblems—"trophies," so called, of the Confederacy; object lessons, if you please—calculated to inspire in young officers want of respect for the high ideals and history of the government, simply because such battle ship happens to bear the same name as the adopted State of Jefferson Davis. As well demand on behalf of the State that "Old Glory" be hauled down and the "stars and bars" be run up to the masthead. It is the same spirit which seeks further, notwithstanding Mr. Davis' boasted refusal of Ameri-

can citizenship, to place an honorary memorial to his memory in Statuary Hall of the National Capitol, a place supposed to be reserved for the most honored citizenship of the Republic.

Shades of Lincoln, Seward, Sumner, Chase, Grant, and their illustrious compeers, what next? What next?

Some things, Mr. Chairman, like the war itself, were supposed to have been settled at Appomattox. They were subsequently embodied in constitutional amendments of which all right-thinking Americans are today jealous and watchful. They are as sacred as our form of government. They constitute the fundamental truths for which free men have contended in all ages. They lie at the very foundation of republican government. Any attack upon them is an attack upon free institutions.

Human slavery, although shot to death by Union guns, was not effectually destroyed until the adoption of the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Citizenship and the equal protection of all citizens under the law came only with the adoption of the fourteenth amendment, now sought to be nullified by a resolution offered at the extra session and still pending in the Senate. Its guaranties are universal. Individual independence is secured by it in all matters of private concern. No citizen under it can be questioned for individual conscience; individual action, lawful in itself, can not be restrained. Racial lines, it is true, in matters of public right, are obliterated, but in private life, in individual association and choice, the individual is and always must remain, so to speak, the architect of his own fortune. No man, not even the President, can be questioned or called to account officially because of his friends, his associates, or those with whom he may wish to break bread.

Political equality does not mean social opportunity.

The fourteenth amendment also wisely forbids payment of the Confederate debt and claims for emancipated slaves. Its repeal therefore as proposed would make such payments possible by a simple act of Congress.

Are we ready for this?

The fifteenth amendment, guaranteeing equal suffrage to all citizens, was a culmination only of political rights. It also should be enforced in spirit and in letter. The resolution to repeal it, offered July 9 and still pending in this House, must be regarded as revolutionary. It should be defeated.

I protest, therefore, in the name of constitutional government, in the name of a just people, against all modern attempts to nullify these great settlements of the war period, and especially against the open efforts now

being made in certain quarters to teach false doctrines and false ideals to the rising generation by such object lessons as the ostentatious display of Confederate memorials in the Hall of Fame at the National Capitol, or by the decoration of our United States war vessels with the emblems of a defeated and defunct Confederacy.

Let the pact of Grant and Lee at Appomattox be kept inviolate in spirit and in fact. It is the only safety of our redeemed Republic. Anything else means the complete domination of the General Government, either by the North and Northern ideas or by the South and Southern ideas, possibly by both at different times, but the changes always attended by bitter political animosity and strife, such as led to the fiery outbreak of 1861. Americans all, let us as patriots faithfully observe every duty of good citizenship, and avoid all such acts and displays as tend to weaken the harmony and peace of the sections.

Let us honor but one flag on all occasions, and that the starry flag of our great Republic, destined as it is, under Providence, to lead the world upward to a higher, purer, nobler, grander civilization, a civilization in which the individual rights of man shall never again be questioned.

The tone and temper of this speech, being circulated in the Congressional Record as it was throughout the South, seemed to open the eyes of its conservative elements, and these hot-headed effusions of the fire-eating journals were generally regretted. At least there was no repetition, and a number of invitations which Hollingsworth received to attend public functions in the South immediately thereafter showed that with the best elements in that section the incident was closed.

QUIETLY ENGAGES IN THE HARD COMMITTEE WORK OF CONGRESS

Hollingsworth, with the publicity given him, felt secure in his position and standing with his fellow members, and thereafter quietly pursued the lines of the hard work set before him, fearless of bumptious bosses North or South.

A single modest clipping from his home paper, copied into many local and city papers, expressed at the time substantially the estimate of him by the leading journals of the North:

HAS BEEN FEARLESS

(Cadiz *Republican*.)

Of course everybody remembers that Mr. Hollingsworth was one among the independent Republicans who did not support Speaker Cannon for re-election, and who compelled a modification of the Cannon rules, and, of course, everybody understands that Mr. Cannon ruled against him in this instance without reason or precedent, simply because he could do it, and because he treats in the same way every member of the House who opposes his arbitrary methods.

Meantime, Mr. Hollingsworth by his fearless manner of doing things, during the few weeks he has been in Congress has taken a position at the very forefront of those who have to be reckoned with, and has gained a fame that is both State-wide and nation-wide. It is known already, as well as if he had been there ten years, that he is not in Congress as an idler, or a loafer, or merely to have a good time, but that he is there to know just how things are being done, and why they are done in that way.

Mr. Hollingsworth has not posed for sensationalism or notoriety, to the slightest extent, but has quietly and modestly insisted on his rights, and everybody in Congress has discovered that he knows what his rights are. Though quiet and modest in manner, yet the fellow who tries to shove him off to one side is sure to meet with a surprise. Everybody knows now that there is a Sixteenth District in Ohio.

But one lone Mississippi Congressman, Hon. Thomas Spight, seemed restless and dissatisfied at the calm that followed this Jeff Davis incident. For some reason, Capt. Fremont was not present at the presentation of the silver, the duty of accepting it having been entrusted to a subaltern in sympathy with the project, and the consequent display was not to Mr. Spight's liking. It was too tame. He had been an editor and missed the fiery invective of the first Southern outburst.

Besides, since his participation in the unseemly attack on Hollingsworth, there had been talk in southern political circles of retiring him for his hot-headed foolishness. He was an ex-Confederate soldier, wounded, and of reputed bravery, and his popularity thus acquired had kept him in office after the war and the removal of his disabilities by the government, almost continually. He was then serving his seventh term in Congress, elected without opposition of any kind, and was sure of re-election if he could keep up

the natural interest and sympathy of his section for Confederate heroes, but the Democratic primary for 1910 was approaching and a bright young man, Mr. Stephens, from another county, born ten years after the war, had entered the contest against him. Something must be started to revive waning Confederate memories, and, seemingly, he thought the best thing to do was to make an attack on Hollingsworth's speech. A month or more had passed and it had apparently been forgotten until, March 26, when Mr. Spight obtained the floor, in Hollingsworth's absence, and delivered a caustic, ill-advised, ill-tempered, and inaccurate tirade, which he called a reply to "a gratuitous, unprovoked slander of all the people of the South."

It failed of its evident purpose to arouse Confederate enthusiasm, either in Congress or in his Congressional District, but it gave Hollingsworth an opportunity to deliver this final retort:

SPEECH
OF
HON. DAVID A. HOLLINGSWORTH
OF OHIO
IN THE
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
MAY 14, 1910

Mr. Hollingsworth said:

Mr. Chairman: In the interest of historic accuracy alone I ask the indulgence of the House for a few moments to reply to certain remarks made a few weeks ago—March 26, 1910—by the honorable gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. Spight), for whom I certainly entertain due and proper regard.

I was temporarily absent from the Hall, or I should, at the time, have called his attention to his inaccuracy of historic statement, giving him the opportunity of making corrections himself, and should have wholly ignored his personal remarks and flings at myself, as I have often had occasion to do from similar sources in the South.

He was good enough, as I learn from the printed record, to tell the House in plain language, after a little harmless attempt at muckraking, that his remarks were intended as a reply to a speech of mine appearing in the *Record* of February 24. It was well that he did this, for otherwise no one of ordinary intelligence who had read my speech would have suspected such purpose on his part. His remarks were certainly not apropos in reply to anything I had said.

My personal acquaintance with the honorable gentleman is not extensive, having, as he was careful to state, only been a Member of the House about a year; but I am sure, Mr. Chairman, that he has not, during this time, received aught from me but kindness and deferential consideration for his longer and doubtless more valuable services in Congress, judging by his own standard.

At the extra session last year, after a somewhat testy but successful objection made in the House against a personal privilege, I sought to orally explain or print in the *Record* a brief explanation of a resolution I had submitted protesting against the display of Confederate emblems, notably a portrait engraving of Jefferson Davis, on one of our United States battleships, he voluntarily called at my office and we had a friendly and, to me at least, satisfactory talk, over the incident.

We shook hands and, as I remember, parted as friends. I never suspected anything to the contrary until I read his somewhat churlish reference to my want of experience in Congress, and suggesting that my speech was "born" out of season, and so forth. His second-hand witticism about hoping that I felt relieved after its delivery, borrowed from Senator Bankhead's humorous reference to a patriotic speech recently delivered by Senator Heyburn, did not impress me seriously, except as a very small plagiarism to cover a very big deficit in original wit.

However this may be, Mr. Chairman, I certainly acquit him of any intention to be personally offensive.

His exploitation of his own soldierly qualities is excusable. Any brave soldier, such as he must have been from his own statements, may do this without criticism. His glorification of the military leaders under whom he served in a hostile army until our beloved land was near to the brink of destruction may also be pardoned in one of his early training and evident environment.

No one asks or expects the southern people to forget their heroes. It is a proper sentiment to cherish their memories. All this I conceded in the address to which my friend says he undertook to reply.

It is printed in the *Record* of February 24, and I challenge any fair-minded friend of the South to find in it an offensive word or sentiment calculated to wound the feelings of any true-hearted American citizen. It breathes only of peace, hope, good-will, and justice to all mankind. Only a muckraker in a garden of flowers could imagine anything to the contrary.

I am not surprised, therefore, that the honorable gentleman found it necessary to conjure up imaginary wrongs to which he might seem to reply.

He does, however, in addition to exploiting his own bravery and long service in the army of his choice, make some statements which are likely to be questioned by the impartial readers of American history, to whom he professes to appeal. He calls loudly for a vindication of the truth of history, and challenges my statement, which he correctly quotes, to the effect that "only one man, Jefferson Davis, of all the Confederacy, spurned the Government's generous proffer to restore forfeited citizenship."

He attempts to refute this by suggesting that a man of Mr. Davis' "high sense of honor" could not accept clemency without forgetting his "manhood" and proving "recreant to the people who had trusted him." I quote further from the exact words of my friend's attempted denial of my statement:

"In the proclamation of President Andrew Johnson, dated May 9, 1865, just one month after the surrender at Appomattox, about ten days after the surrender of the army under General Joseph E. Johnston at Greensboro, N. C., before the surrender of the last of the Confederate armies, and before the capture of Mr. Davis, amnesty was denied to Mr. Davis and quite a number of other Confederate officials."

I assume, Mr. Chairman, that this reference is, as it must have been, to the first proclamation of amnesty which, according to the official copy as it appears on page 310, volume 6, of the printed message and papers of the Presidents, published by authority of Congress, was May 29, 1865, instead of May 9 as stated, but this slight mistake or inadvertence cannot affect the essential facts of history, except as it may spoil and render futile the gentleman's bitter arraignment of President Johnson for having issued such proclamation "before the surrender of the last of the Confederate armies and before the capture of Mr. Davis," which capture took place May 10, 1865.

It might also have added somewhat to the correctness of his "vindication of the truth of history," the "whole truth," which he says he wants to have known "for all time," if he had "fairly and accurately" quoted the whole of what he calls "a later clause" in this same proclamation to the effect that any of the excepted classes, including Mr. Davis, might apply individually for pardon, and the generous promise of President Johnson in relation thereto that "clemency would be liberally extended."

He might also in fairness have mentioned a later proclamation of September 7, 1865, extending amnesty to all, had he desired to deal justly with Mr. Johnson's memory and justify his own words in saying that he would "withhold nothing." Can it be possible that my critical friend has overlooked this later proclamation entirely, as he seems to have done the correct date of the first one, or has his zeal outrun his judgment?

Besides, it must be remembered that Mr. Johnson was a Southern man born and bred. He early espoused the Union cause, and with that bitterness of heart sometimes felt toward deserted friends, he proclaimed a harsh political creed to the effect that "traitors must be punished and treason be made odious." It was known, however, that he could only occupy for a few years the great office to which he succeeded on the assassination of the pure and gentle Lincoln. He was harmless in his wrath. He was opposed by a Republican Congress, and by General Grant who followed him as President.

I have no excuse at this late date for the harshness of Andrew Johnson's early utterances. As President, however, he soon lost his bitterness of heart and in turn deserted his new-found friends, those who had honored him with an election to the Vice-Presidency. He attempted to return to his old associates in the South, but it would seem from the remarks of the gentleman from Mississippi that the South never forgave him for his services to the Union cause.

General Grant, whose loving words of peace my friend quotes approvingly, succeeded to the Presidency in 1869, but Jefferson Davis chose to live on in silent isolation, a voluntary alien in the land of his birth. Surely he had no cause then to fear or resent President Johnson's proclamation of 1865.

"The doors of citizenship" were held wide open for him by President Grant and later Presidents of like generous impulses, but Mr. Davis heeded them not, stubbornly continuing on in his unique position, the "man without

a country," in the new, rich life of the American nation, until in 1889 the angel of death touched him and ended forever his voluntary exile.

Requiescat in pace to his memory, not *esto perpetua*, as the gentleman from Mississippi classically suggests.

Verily my friend doth protest too much.

Robert E. Lee was supposed to be a man of a "high sense of honor," and yet long before his death he renewed his citizenship and became a useful member of the body politic. Did he in that act become "a traitor to his own people?"

So I would inquire as to Joseph E. Johnston, Beauregard, Wheeler, Longstreet, Walthall, Cockrell, John B. Gordon, and other famous Confederate leaders, who after defeat chose to follow their patriotic impulses and voluntarily become a part and parcel of the glorious citizenship of our reunited country.

What of their "honor?" What of their "manhood?"

Even my good friend the gentleman from Mississippi must have early satisfied his own scruples about "honor," as the Congressional Directory shows that he has occupied various offices requiring him to take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, including the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, for a period covering in the aggregate over a quarter of a century since he and Joseph E. Johnston surrendered at Greensboro in 1865. Is he not a man of high "honor" and "manhood?" His election without opposition to Congress on a total vote of 7,511 in his district is a sufficient answer in the affirmative.

What then becomes of the gentleman's suggestion about Mr. Davis' supercilious notions of honor? It is a barren ideality.

Nor can I, Mr. Chairman, agree with another statement of the honorable gentleman from Mississippi, when, in speaking of Mr. Davis' imprisonment, he says that "the brutality of his treatment there (Mr. Davis' confinement in Fortress Monroe) has never been equaled in all civilized history."

I think myself that the Government might have safely turned Mr. Davis loose with his wife and family, after his somewhat embarrassing, if not ludicrous, capture, but it was a time of great stress and excitement, only a few days after the surrender of the main bodies of the Confederate army. Nobody then knew what the end might be. Guerrilla warfare had been threatened. There were rumors also, as the gentleman himself suggests, not well founded, thank God, for the good name of American civilization, of the

Confederate president's complicity in the assassination of President Lincoln and in the Wirz atrocities of Andersonville.

But, admitting Mr. Davis' incarceration to have been a mistake, does that justify the words of my friend the gentleman from Mississippi as to its superlative brutality? I think not. The horrors of Andersonville and other Southern prisons rise up to refute a thousand times over such inconsiderate calumny against the prison management of the United States Government. As compared with the atrocities referred to of Major Wirz, to whom a monument has recently been erected in the South, Mr. Davis' imprisonment was most humane and considerate.

But let all such grewsome subjects pass; they do not belong to present-day controversies.

The honorable gentleman in his heat also garbles a quotation from my speech, and then characterizes it as "a gratuitous, unprovoked slander of all the people of the South." As quoted by him it follows:

"Silently and insidiously, night and day, in the schools, churches, and other organizations for the control of public sentiment in the South, the leaven of distrust and discontent seems to be constantly working."

I am unwilling, Mr. Chairman, that the honorable gentleman shall thus, or by his further unsupported statement that I thereby "indict all the women and all the girls, all the men and all the boys, all the preachers and all their congregations in the South," put me in a false light in his self-styled attempt "to vindicate the truth of history," and so I here repeat in ungarbled form the whole quotation:

"Silently and insidiously, night and day, in the schools, churches, and other organizations for the control of public sentiment in the South, even here in the Halls of Congress, the leaven of distrust and discontent seems to be constantly working. The senseless cry of the 'bloody shirt' is still heard repeated and rerepeated as a complaint, although sensible people long ago recognized it as a mere ruse (a sort of stop-thief cry) to conceal Southern hopes and designs.

"Southern ideals are being revived; Southern idols are being recanonized. What, I ask, does this mean? Are the results of the Civil War to be undermined and destroyed? If not, why the pending resolutions in this Congress to nullify the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments? Why the scores and hundreds of bills introduced, forty-four years after the Civil War, to pay for alleged damages in the Confederate States caused by the Union armies in the

necessary prosecution of the war? Why all this commotion about a simple protest against making our battle ships places for the display of Confederate emblems? Why the reported raising of a large fund to erect a Confederate memorial at Arlington, eclipsing in size and magnificence any of the present monuments, if its purpose be not to establish a rival center for the annual display of Confederate sentiment at a place peculiarly sacred to the memory of Union soldiers who lie buried there in such numbers that they and their widows and orphans have been rudely referred to as the greatest of all monuments to Confederate valor and Confederate honor? Why the recent demand that anti-slavery mottoes be removed from the walls of the Lee mansion by executive order?"

"Distrust and discontent constantly working" against the recognized settlements of the war period. Are not these words expressive of real conditions everywhere in the Southland? Do they not describe the simple truth wherever Southern ideas are dominant? Are not the old idols and the old ideals of the Confederacy being revived? No fair-minded man acquainted with conditions now pretends to doubt these facts. They are too apparent. Even here in the Halls of Congress, as I suggested in the extract which the gentleman omits from his quotation, evidences are painfully manifest on every hand.

I do not, Mr. Chairman, care to further continue my remarks. What I have said has been prompted solely by a sense of duty to truth and accuracy in the statement of historic facts.

I agree with the honorable gentleman in most of what he has said in laudation of the Southern people, but I suggest a different personal application of his words when with seemingly overwrought nerves he assumes to state and insinuatingly apply to me a truism, which no one doubts, to the effect that "while it is easy to make a charge there ought to be some sort of evidence to sustain it."

A little introspection often relieves the mind of vagaries, and I commend it to my friend. We are all prone to overlook the beam in our own eye while magnifying the mote in that of a brother.

The honorable gentleman, like many others of his class in the South, does himself an injustice in shutting his eyes to the actual beauty of Northern sentiment, to the real helpful friendship and generous, impulsive good will of the North toward the South in all matters except those believed to be vital to our republican form of government, such as the constitutional amend-

ments, and in blind stubbornness attempting by irregular methods to strike down these safeguards of the people.

He reminds me not of a muckraker, although there may be a relationship, but rather of a so-called "thorn hunter," one who in a garden of roses is said to close his eyes to the beautiful coloring of petals and bloom, his ears to the soft notes of the song birds, and his nostrils to the sweet-scented fragrance of perfume-laden air, while he blindly clutches underneath to seize and crush the thorn protections of the bush.

The analogy between the thorn-pointed guards of a rosebush and the vital points of a constitutional guaranty may be slight, but it is, I hope, sufficient to point the attention of my friend to the truth of the poet's words:

There is no dearth of kindness
In this world of ours;
Only in our blindness
We gather thorns for flowers.

Mr. Spight was repudiated by the primary of his own party and he was not to have the honor of a seat in the next House, which, because of the Democratic landslide at the following election, was to be of his own party faith. He might have been conspicuous in it by reason of his long service, but—"esto perpetua."

The battle ship *Mississippi* was soon afterward sold by the United States and, under another name, became a part of the Turkish fleet in the great World War, and met with deserved disaster.

A few additional newspaper clippings on the subject may be of interest:

(From *Wheeling Intelligencer*, May 31, 1909.)

HOLLINGSWORTH IS SPEAKER AT SOLDIER'S HOME

Pays Tribute to Lincoln in Referring to Proposed Silver
Service for Jeff Davis

Congratulations of Veterans Continue

By Francis B. Gessner

Intelligence Bureau.

Washington, D. C., May 31.

General Hollingsworth, from the Sixteenth Ohio District, continues to receive the admiring tributes of his soldier comrades in all parts of the Union,

and the unstinted abuse of the ex-Confederates in all sections of the South. He enjoys both and remains confident that in Ohio, and all through the North, in fact, he will be given praise and honor for protesting the placing of the Jeff Davis medallion on the silver service of a United States battle ship. One very rampant Southerner wrote during the last week a letter approving the Hollingsworth resolution, and declaring that the phiz of the beloved Jeff Davis had no business on a "Yankee" ship anyhow—that the South thought it no honor for the medallion of Davis to ornament anything on a ship built by the Yankee government at Washington. This fling indicates the sort of abuse and comment that has been the portion of the Ohio patriot, and he notes with satisfaction a revulsion of feeling among House members who for a time sided with Uncle Joe Cannon in attempting to stifle any remonstrance against the acceptance of the silver service.

A RELATIVE OF CANNON

As if to complicate the situation the more, some genealogy sharp has hunted up the family tree of both Speaker Cannon and General Hollingsworth and has found that they are distant relatives. Both are Quakers, and it appears that the maiden name of Cannon's mother was Hollingsworth. Then it was found that she was a descendant of the original Hollingsworth in this country, who came over with William Penn, and thus a relative of the Ohio member, whose ancestors remained North, while those of the Speaker on the maternal side drifted from Philadelphia to South Carolina. When the Ohio member refused to vote for Cannon in the caucus there was mutterings on the part of the cabal that has run things in the House for several years, but they did not know then that Hollingsworth and Cannon were kin, or that both being Quakers the spirit of forgiveness and consideration ought to weigh with each in future operations.

DELIVERS ADDRESS AT WASHINGTON

Thanks to his activity against the Jeff Davis medallion, Hollingsworth has been showered with invitations to address Memorial Day celebrations all over the country, but as he had to remain here for his Congressional duties, he decided to accept the invitation for an address at the National Soldiers' Home here in Washington. It is a great institution and devoted to those of the regular army who have become old or disabled. General

Hollingsworth was given a very enthusiastic greeting by the assembled veterans and many others who wore the blue and who went out from this city for the exercises. Referring to the Jeff Davis silverware incident in the House and his part in it, General Hollingsworth said in part:

"No one questions the wisdom of reconciliation and peace. The war was a contest of giants. Anglo-Saxon contended with Anglo-Saxon equally brave for the triumph of ideas. Antagonistic principles were at stake. There was no middle-ground of compromise. God himself had drawn the line and surrender meant abandonment of the cherished ideals of a lost cause. No other meaning can be given to the pact of peace made by Grant and Lee at Appomattox. It should be kept inviolate, in letter and in spirit. It is the only safety of the Republic.

"Loyal men, lovers of their country and their country's honor, may well shudder at certain modern suggestions. It will be a dark day indeed for the Republic when the name of Abraham Lincoln ceases to be revered above all other figures of the Civil War period, or when it shall be replaced by that of Jefferson Davis to any extent in the hearts and affections of the American people. The thought of it is as shocking as the first thrill of horror that followed the firing on Sumpter."

"Patriots, ex-soldiers of the Union army, may we not seriously inquire: Whither are our public leaders drifting? Are the ideals of Lincoln, Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Thomas, Logan, Custer, McKinley and others of Civil War fame to be abandoned? No, my comrades, there is a brighter vision. The ideals of Lincoln and Grant, fixed immutably as the stars, cannot be destroyed. Registered in heaven, they are beyond the reach of man's undoing."

WON'T CROSS THE OHIO

(*Charleston News and Courier.*)

There is much talk in the newspapers about "the Rebel yell" at Memphis this week, and we merely rise to remark that Hollingsworth is entirely safe.

REBEL SNEERS

(*Ohio State Journal.*)

Mr. Hollingsworth had a right to introduce that resolution. It was perfectly natural that he should do so. He wasn't opening old sores; they had already been opened. The purpose to put Jefferson Davis on the

silverplate of a United States warship is regarded as an insult to the sentiment that put down the rebellion. Nobody blames the Confederate soldier. Everybody wants to forget and forgive. But that does not mean that the cause of the rebellion shall be exalted by honoring the incarnation of it.

Congressman Hollingsworth was not waving the bloody shirt. He was only protesting against others waving it in his face. There is no man who will take the hand of a Confederate soldier with a more friendly grasp than he. There is no man more ready to forget that Jefferson Davis attempted to destroy this Republic than he, and he should be allowed to forget, and not be reminded by a purpose to honor the name and perpetuate the fame, by an official recognition, of the man who led in the attack on the Union, which purpose is most ungenerous and unkind.

MISSISSIPPI AT FAULT

(*Harper's Weekly*.)

Wouldn't you think this came from our neighbor, the *Evening Post*?

"In view of the execrable taste displayed by Mississippi when it had Jefferson Davis' portrait engraved upon the silver service designed for presentation to the battle ship *Mississippi*, we can hardly blame Representative Hollingsworth, of Ohio, when he denounced the performance."

Mais non; it is from a Southern paper, and one of the best, by the way, in the South—the Charlotte (N. C.) *Observer*. Since we have been lately accused of too much friendliness to the South, we feel all the freer to agree. The *Observer* points out that custom practically prescribes the state coat of arms as the proper ornamentation for such a gift. But no authority or custom is needed to supply reprobation for so plain an offense against good taste. No matter what one's opinion may be, it is bad taste to obtrude them upon others, who may not relish them, and a gift should be so chosen as to give pleasure to those who receive it, not to gratify the givers at the cost of embarrassment to the recipients. In plainest American, Mississippi has made a pretty bad break.

(From the Congressional Record, May 17, 1909.)

INTERVIEW WITH REPRESENTATIVE HOLLINGSWORTH

In an interview with Congressman Hollingsworth, of Ohio, relative to the gift of silver service, with portrait of Jeff Davis, to the battleship *Mississippi*, he said:

"My resolution speaks for itself. It follows the line, although in contrary direction, of the one introduced by Senator Money, of Mississippi, at this extra session, in which he seeks to revive war memories by requiring the Attorney-General to file in the Supreme Court proceedings to question the validity of the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States. He challenges directly the official records and integrity of the government and the separate states in the adoption of that amendment. He seeks to revive the unhappy discussions and issues of the reconstruction period. At the same time his state and his people seem to think it quite the thing to place the portrait of President Davis, of the Southern Confederacy, instead of that of President Lincoln, of blessed memory, on the dining service of a United States battle ship for use at all social functions, at home and among foreigners, by United States officers in command, many of whom, like Captain John C. Fremont, are worthy descendants of the patriotic men who fought on the side of Lincoln and against Davis during the Civil War.

"I look upon it as humiliating to four-fifths of the officers and men on board the vessel. It is the culmination of a maudlin sentiment recently developed, and which seems to manifest itself in sentimental efforts to win the South by such acts as the restoration of the name of Davis on Cabin John Bridge, at Washington, and Senator Money's resolution to impeach the integrity of the fourteenth amendment and like suggestions which a few years ago would have met with a storm of protests.

"This extreme tenderness toward the ruling elements of the South may be wise, but to one who remembers the result of President Hayes' generous acts extending the same olive branch, doubts and misgivings must be excused. It is well enough to hide away the scars of the war, but there is such a thing as the pendulum of time swinging backward beyond the perpendicular. The thoughtful men of both the South and the North are content to abide by the impartial judgment of history, and not seek by such puny sentimental displays to divert the thoughts and judgment of the present generation from the eternal truths vindicated and settled by the Civil War."

PROTECTIVE TARIFF

The paramount economical question for discussion and consideration in the Sixty-first Congress was the tariff. Should the so-called protective principle, on which the general prosperity of the country was believed to depend,

be preserved, or should there be yielding and concession to the liberal or so-called tariff reduction element?

Both parties had declared in favor of tariff revision; admittedly, some schedules of the Dingley Act were too high, others too low. But which? The urgency for revision was admitted in the campaign by leaders of both parties to be sufficient to justify the calling of an extra session.

The Republican Presidential candidate, Mr. Taft, was not an ideal old-time protectionist, he had some secondary theories about tariff boards, reciprocity, and the raising of public revenues by taxing corporations, etc., which might or might not fit in with a bill to be prepared by the House Ways and Means Committee, sure to be dominated by such sturdy old protectionists as Sereno E. Payne, of New York; John Dalzell, of Pennsylvania; Joseph W. Fordney, of Michigan, and others of like experience in matters of revenue legislation.

Hollingsworth was a protectionist, pure and simple, having imbibed moderate views of the doctrine from his father, a Henry Clay Whig and Republican, and been confirmed in the faith by deep study of the subject himself. As a new member, however, he could not expect a place on the Ways and Means Committee, the most important in the House, the one having charge of tariff legislation, and so, even if not tinctured with insurgency against the bosses, his influence was certain to be limited on financial subjects to individual action on measures first reported to the House by this committee.

He believed in the square deal, without discrimination among tax payers, and so, in his local canvass for election had laid down and published a declaration succinctly setting forth his own views:

"Adequate protection to American industries and labor wherever brought into unjust or unequal foreign competition, either through cheap labor or cheaper conditions of foreign production, to the extent at least of equalizing the difference in cost of production at home and abroad, and also a tariff board to furnish Congress with expert information for intelligent use in removing, if possible, from the arena of partisan politics the troublesome tariff problems which have too long vexed and disturbed the legitimate business of the country."

He was elected on this issue.

The contest in the House centered around what was known as the "Payne Bill," destined to be known as the "Payne-Aldrich Tariff Act" after its passage in the Senate and signature by President Taft.

It was about as much as the average member could do to keep in touch with the varying phases of the discussion and vote intelligently on the innumerable amendments offered. Such proposed amendments, some adopted and some rejected, ranged all the way from absolute free trade to absolute prohibitive duties on imports, and by the time the bill became a law its authors were not especially proud of it. It was purely a hotchpoch and in the end was to give the party trouble.

The following speech of General Hollingsworth is believed to express a conservative estimate:

(From Congressional Record, July 31, 1909.)

TARIFF BILL

SPEECH OF

HON. DAVID A. HOLLINGSWORTH

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, July 31, 1909

On the Adoption of the Conference Report on the Bill (H. R. 1438) to
Provide Revenue, Equalize Duties, and Encourage the Industries
of the United States, and for Other Purposes

Mr. Hollingsworth said:

"Mr. Speaker: I only ask a moment to explain my position on the pending conference report.

"I shall vote for it as a Republican measure, not that the bill agreed upon is an ideal one; not because its provisions are entirely satisfactory to my constituents, but rather on the theory of always accepting the best attainable good. It contains a number of important provisions which I should like to see modified or changed, and some which I would not support if given the opportunity to vote on them separately, but under the present rules of the House, devised, seemingly, for the suppression of individual judgment, except in a few, this is now impossible, and has been impossible to the average member ever since the bill was reported to the House from the Ways and Means Committee.

"The alternative is presented to us of accepting all or going on record as rejecting all. To defeat the measure now would be a confession of Republican weakness, an admission that the Republican party is no longer capable of framing a tariff law with adequate protection to American industries and labor, and yet one which in its operation would be fair and just to the whole people. It would be unfair to the administration of President Taft, unfair to our present House leaders—successors to the Dingleys, the McKinleys, and the Morrills, of past protective tariff legislation—to abandon them now and refuse to indorse the results of their months of hard labor. Our leaders have certainly been diligent and faithful, especially the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, who has stated on the floor that he has listened to or read every tariff speech delivered or printed in the Record, a prodigious task the like of which seldom falls to the lot of one man.

"It would be unprofitable to particularize as to the objectionable features of the bill. It is a compromise of ideas, and, in the very nature of things, had to be. It will not excuse us to say we have the Dingley bill, a very satisfactory measure from my standpoint, to fall back upon in case of failure. Both parties were pledged in their platforms to revision, and one or the other must act. I am unwilling to trust the Democratic party in any way with the business interests of the country. Experience has shown its folly and its danger. The results of the Wilson-Gorman act are too recent to be forgotten. The free trade tendencies of the Democratic party are alarming to conservatives. Here and there during the consideration of this measure, a Democratic member, from confessedly selfish motives, has manifested a disposition to break away from the old 'tariff for revenue only' heresy of his party, but the exception only proves the rule. The leopard does not change its spots, although some of the spots may grow hoary and dim with age, and this is equally true of the Democratic party, especially in the consideration of the tariff question. It is irreconcilably wrong. Even General Hancock, who, when a candidate for the Presidency, sought to treat the tariff as a local question, found out his mistake when it was too late to save his cause from utter collapse, too late to save himself from being laughed out of the canvass. The line of cleavage of the two great political parties on the question of protection to American industries and American labor is clear and well defined. It cannot be disguised or mistaken. Even, therefore, if some of the schedules in this bill are too low or too high, even though some things are improperly placed on the free

list, yet it is better, in my judgment, for Republicans to pass this measure now and trust to the future correction of errors than to continue for a day the present uncertainty in business or let the question go over to a future, possibly Democratic, Congress.

Business waits upon the passage of this law, and the American people, like England at Trafalgar, expects every man to do his duty. The public will hold the Republican membership of this House responsible for delay. It matters little what the Democratic members may do; they can afford to play for chaos and confusion, but Republicans must look solely to the good of the country; they are expected to do this and must govern themselves accordingly. I have no hesitancy, therefore, in pledging my support to the bill. It is infinitely better than anything we can hope for from the Democratic party. Imperfect it may be, but its main features all point in the right direction.

"In saying this I may not be entirely unselfish. My own district has undoubtedly fared better than some others. In one respect it is exceptionally fortunate. The bill as it comes back from the Senate and the Conference Committee is vastly better than when it left the House. The effectiveness of the wool tariff, vital to the one great agricultural industry of my district, has been saved, as I believe, by the Senate amendments which restore the Dingley rates entire, under which rates the industry revived after its practical destruction by the Wilson-Gorman act, and has since enjoyed a prosperous and steady growth.

"As said in debate on this floor, the existing tariff rates are believed to be as essential to the continued prosperity of sheep husbandry as are the ordinary life currents to the healthy condition of the human body.

"In other respects I believe the pending measure will prove more effective for good than is now believed possible by some of the best thinkers of the House. I do not minimize the opposition to this bill. It may, as some good Republicans believe, be an entering wedge, a blow, to the final destruction of the protective policy; or it may, as others equally conscientious believe, be in the interest of trusts and combinations; but let us hope that, like the McKinley and the Dingley acts, it will grow in favor with reviving industrial conditions. Prosperity is coming if we may judge from the signs of the times, and if so, all objections will be drowned in the rush and roar of active business life. Depression and gloom will give way to cheer and hope, and American capital and labor, harmonized by satisfactory re-

wards and mutual interests, will, hand in hand, enter upon a long period of unparalleled prosperity.

"I need not mention the corporation-tax feature added to the bill by the Senate. It is distinctively an administration measure. It has the emphatic indorsement of President Taft, a very able jurist, aided by a corps of legal advisers called into consultation as to its constitutionality. They have O. K.'d it. Good lawyers, admittedly able jurists, may doubt its conformity to constitutional requirements, but it is only fair for us, especially those not charged with responsibility as members of the committee, to abide by the judgment of the President on this point.

Personally, I would have preferred, because of manifest discrimination among business interests entitled to equal consideration, if the government found it necessary to raise revenue for its support otherwise than by tariff duties, to have enacted an inheritance-tax law, such as was adopted by the House, or a straight income tax law, which I believe could have with care been constitutionally drawn. They are each of a non-discriminating nature. They are ideally American in this respect at least. But all tax measures involve more or less of injustice and discrimination among tax payers, and possibly this one may not prove more unjust than others of like character. At least, as an administration measure, it is entitled to a fair trial. It is entitled to Republican support."

This brief speech of Hollingsworth, showing his party loyalty, also revealed a sentiment in the party likely to increase and give trouble unless the operation of the Payne-Aldrich Act should, before the next Congressional election, prove a marked success. It was looked upon as a challenge of extremists within the Republican party. The so-called reform views of the President engrafted upon the measure were not well understood, and his apparent hesitancy in supporting it as an entirety caused deep-seated uneasiness.

The bald charges of corruption, bossism, and corporation influence, made by Democratic leaders without cause or justification, against the Republican administration, as the Congressional election of 1910 approached, together with sharp criticism of some features of the Payne-Aldrich act, were such as to confuse and alarm conservative voters, and Republican campaign managers were manifestly at a disadvantage from the start. Democratic victory seemed in the air, and a Democratic landslide was confidently claimed without apparent cause by exultant Democratic leaders, while the Republican campaign seemed to lack in harmony and old-time vim and

vigor. Reformers of the so-called "progressive" type were beginning to cause trouble and party management was paralyzed.

Hollingsworth's plurality in 1908 had been 3,404, being 485 more than that given to President Taft, so that, having been renominated in 1910 without opposition, he felt secure of his own re-election and, at request of the State and National Republican committees, devoted his time and attention largely to the general canvass. But he, too, was to have a surprise.

The industrial interests of his district, including agriculture and wool-husbandry, were well cared for in the Payne-Aldrich Act, and were so dependent on wise tariff laws, that it was not thought possible for the district to be wrested from the Republican column. Districts of many thousands more normal Republican majority were felt to be in doubt and were given special attention by Republican managers to avert what proved to be a Waterloo at the election, but the Democratic managers, more alert and resourceful, possibly more unscrupulous, left nothing to chance.

Hollingsworth, besides being an advocate of all needed tariff protection to American industries and labor, was recognized as a special champion in Congress of the soldier element in his district. He and General Isaac R. Sherwood, of original dollar-a-day pension fame, were co-laborers in many respects in the interests of their comrades of the Civil War, and the so-called soldier vote was likely to go almost solidly for both, although of different political parties. Could anything be done to divert it from Hollingsworth?

This question, asked by Democratic managers, was answered by a bald forgery. Beaten by a small margin of votes diverted from him by foul misrepresentation, when too late to make exposure before the election, he, January 10, 1911, placed his arraignment of the unknown criminal in the Congressional Record, with General Sherwood's presence and consent, as follows:

TRUTH AS TO THE SHERWOOD FAKE LETTER TO SOLDIERS IN 1910

Let me relate my own experience, said General Hollingsworth: A few days before the election—November 3, 1910, to be accurate—I discovered that practically every soldier in my district had received a letter, some of them two, purporting to be signed personally by General Sherwood, of dollar-a-day pension fame, asking his and my comrades to vote against me

and for my opponent, who, the letter said, was "a personal friend," and that a vote for me was a vote against his bill.

It was circulated too late for my friends to fully counteract the injurious effects it was designed to have upon my vote at the election, but feeling that its egotism and manifest purpose were impossible to a man of the old Roman type of General Sherwood, I promptly dispatched him a telegram, of which the following is a copy:

"Cadiz, O., November 3, 1910.

"To Hon. Isaac R. Sherwood, Toledo, Ohio:

"My Dear Comrade: You know that in committee and in every other way in the Sixty-first Congress I voted for and favored all your measures for the relief of our comrades.

"We repeatedly, as you know, consulted together and worked together to that end. You know, also, that I procured more private pension bills than any other Ohio member. I voted, as you know, on every measure, the same as you did, in favor of our comrades, and yet I find a circular letter dated November 1, now being circulated in my district by my opponents, purporting to be signed by you, and asking old comrades to vote against me.

"I do not believe, knowing that you know the facts and our friendly work together in the interest of our comrades, that you ever authorized such circular letter, and I have therefore denounced it as a fake.

"Yours in F., C and L.,

"D. A. HOLLINGSWORTH."

He was engaged at the time in a hot contest of his own for re-election, but his loyal secretary, Mr. Parrish, promptly answered in words of truth, which General Sherwood has since confirmed, as follows:

"Toledo, O., November 3, 1910.

"Hon. D. A. Hollingsworth, Cadiz, O.:

"Dear Sir: Your telegram received in General Sherwood's absence. I know he authorized no such circular sent into your district. I also know that he considers you friendly to pension legislation. And I know myself that you are favorable to legislation in the interest of the old soldiers.

"I am very sorry such thing has occurred. With greatest respect, I am,

"Yours, very truly,

"GEO. F. PARRISH."

Let me, Mr Speaker, be fully understood. I honor General Sherwood and do not attach any blame to him.

In this same speech, defending a bill then pending (H. R. 29346) "granting pensions to certain enlisted men, soldiers and officers, who served in the Civil War and the war with Mexico," he said, apparently as though nothing unpleasant had happened him at the election, further as follows:

"Mr. Speaker: I make no pretense of being the special advocate of pension legislation in this House. I have not during my brief service introduced any general bill on the subject, contenting myself with simply trying to do my duty toward the veterans of the Civil War as a member of the Invalid Pensions Committee, and yet I yield to no member of the House in my desire to see even-handed, exact justice done to those who, in the fateful days of 1861-1865, responded to the call to arms of President Lincoln to defend the assailed integrity of the Republic. Their action was voluntary, being the inspiration alone of patriotic impulses, and yet no fair man can deny that it was under a solemn promise, both expressed and implied, made by the loyal people of a great Nation, that, come what might, the veterans and their widows and orphans should be cared for and should not thereafter be allowed to suffer want or neglect so long as the Government should remain able to succor or supply their needs.

"It is not, Mr. Speaker, a mere debt of gratitude we owe the men who fought the battles of the Republic, but rather a contractual relation which we sustain toward them as binding upon the Nation in morals and equity as the contracts entered into with its bondholders, who, inspired possibly by thoughts of the big interest rates common at the time, loaned from their abundance the money necessary to arm and equip the troops.

"The former offered life and health and happiness on the altar of their country, while the others, remaining at home, risked only dollars and cents.

"Each contract was sacredly attested. The bondholders, however, have practically all been paid in gold—mark the word gold—not in the depreciated currency with which the soldier was paid his monthly pittance of thirteen dollars, but in the highest and best standard of coinage value in the world. It cost the Government millions upon millions of dollars to keep its plighted faith against repudiation, to keep its financial honor unsullied against alluring temptations such as the greenback and 16 to 1 fads of a great party, but since then we can and do all rejoice in the fact that the right triumphed. Good men, gold Democrats so called, deserting their party, came over to the aid of those who believe in the square deal, in aid of the political party that believes in national honor and which has always stood by the Government and defended its integrity against any and all assailants.

No taint of repudiation has ever been permitted to stain the fair escutcheon of the Republic. It is the richest and admittedly the most prosperous Government on earth. Its financial credit is a veritable Gibraltar of strength. Nothing of a financial character seems too colossal for its contemplation. The Panama Canal, our great naval expansion, the cost of maintaining outlying provinces, battleships and ship subsidies, and even the ordinary appropriations asked for and needed by the General Government seem to stagger comprehension and confuse the best financial minds of the country, but no one hesitates or doubts our ability to carry the burden. No one seems to contemplate the lowering of the American flag either on the field of battle or in the world's commercial marts. We are all Americans when it comes to dealing with the Nation's honor, except in the one instance when we are asked to redeem the Civil War pledges made to the men who defended Old Glory against the armed cohorts of those whom we now quite frequently see exalted in honor. It is only when the obligations due to the surviving veterans of the war loom large in amount because of their increasing years and needs that we talk of repudiation, begin to dally with the Nation's honor.

"But, say the critics of this bill, it is not equitable or just to all soldiers alike. It gives to the short-term man the same consideration as those of longer service. This is true. It does not seem, on its face, exactly fair, but may not this apparent discrimination be excused in the same spirit that the Master, in the parable of the vineyard, sought to justify the payment of an equal wage to all laborers alike, those who came at the eleventh hour the same as those who came at the first, third, sixth, or ninth hours? Are we more righteous than He?"

But Hollingsworth keenly felt his defeat by the votes of those whom he knew to be his friends, had they not been thus misled, but he did not allow it to disturb his own feeling of comradeship toward them. He continued to work faithfully in their interest the same as before until his term expired, March 4, 1911, and felt amply repaid by the many letters of mingled regret and gratitude which he received.

The following quotation from a subsequent speech after his later return to Congress, January 25, 1919, a few weeks before his final retirement, shows his own just conceptions of the pension policy of the Government:

"I regard the present pension laws in their enforcement as unjust to some, just perhaps to others, and possibly too liberal to a few, and as this may be the last pension bill of this character reported by this committee at

this session of Congress now rapidly nearing its close, with big war problems, or rather peace problems, yet to be solved, I desire to submit during the consideration of this bill a few additional thoughts on the general subject of Civil War pensions. The pending bill, although intended by the committee, of which I am a member, to be a generous one, is not perfect; no one claims that it is. It does not provide adequate support even for the few needy survivors mentioned, their widows and orphans, as contemplated in the implied promise of the Government at the time of enlistment. The Government, in my judgment, occupies a contractual relation toward the soldiers of the Civil War and their dependents as binding as if entered into with all the legislative formalities of the war-risk insurance law for the protection and relief of the soldiers of the present war and their dependents; as binding in fact as the war bonds of the Government issued at the time.

"Although heartily supporting this bill, as I have every pension bill or soldiers' relief measure reported from any of the House committees since I have been a member of Congress, and have myself introduced and had passed scores of special bills, aggregating nearly 200, for the relief of those needing more help than can be obtained under the general pension laws, I can not say that I am in entire accord with the present laws on the subject or the present method of granting relief by special acts which are liable to give one soldier a preference over another of equal merit.

"I also dissent wholly from the theory of charity in connection with relief bills for soldiers of the Civil War or for their dependents. Adequate support for them, at least enough to keep the wolf from their doors, is as much a business obligation of the Government as is its duty to make prompt payments on the insurance policies issued during the present war or on any other contract obligation of the Government.

"Veiled suggestions of charity made on the floor of the House whenever pension legislation is up for consideration, and even by well-meaning citizens throughout the country who are of a later generation and can not personally realize Civil War conditions, are unwarranted except on the theory of almsgiving generosity the acceptance of which is objectionable to many sensitive minds. They overlook the fundamental pact of the Government with its volunteer soldiers.

"I have no patience with those who undertake to differentiate between the word 'compensation' for the unfortunate victims of the present war and the payment of 'pensions' to like unfortunates of the Civil War.

"It is a matter of tweedledee and tweedledum. Charity is not an element in either. Debit and credit are the only elements of accounting as between the Government and its citizen defenders in either war. Patriotic and sentimental considerations are not matters of accounting.

"When the tocsin of civil war sounded in the sixties and the life of the Republic was seen to be in peril the Government at Washington hastily called for volunteers to defend it. Conscription, or selective drafting, as it is now sugar-coatedly called, was not then thought of except as a last resort, if it should appear that American citizenship faltered or showed an unwillingness to voluntarily come forward in defense of home and country. It seemed then, as it does yet to some, contrary to republican ideals, foreign to our democratic form of government.

"Accordingly recruiting officers duly accredited were sent out by the Government among the people calling for volunteers, and by speech and through the press the promise was proclaimed deliberately and urged as an assurance of the Government to induce volunteering that any citizen thus entering the army, and his widow and children in case of his death or misfortune, should always be objects of care and solicitude on the part of the Government, and come what might, either during or after the war, they should never be permitted to suffer the pangs of hunger or want. Poor and needy soldiers and their families to this extent were made contingent wards of the Republic by an implied contract as sacred and binding as any obligation ever entered into by human authority. Volunteers with this assurance and without other formality patriotically rushed to the colors, feeling that they and their families were protected against the uncertain contingencies and casualties of the future, not that they expected to be paid specific amounts, as provided in the insurance policies issued to the soldiers of the present war, but simply a solemn though unwritten guaranty on the part of the Government that they and their loved ones should never be permitted to suffer want.

"Thus was the Union Army recruited and volunteer soldiers accepted by the Government. Over 2,000,000 of splendidly equipped young men, the flower of the northland, with no other assurance or guaranty, went forth to battle against foemen known, as they proved to be, worthy of their steel.

"Victory finally crowned their efforts, after four years of terrific fighting. It was so complete that victor and vanquished at once accepted results, and the white flag at Appomattox proved a signal for speedy disbandment of

both armies and their return to the peaceful avocations of civil life, without any need of peace conferences to settle terms or exploit leaders, as is now being done at Versailles.

"The intervening years have healed all wounds and today we are a united, happy people, in spirit and in fact, welded together by tender ties and common interests found in the hearts of a brave, just people, and, as applied to the sovereign States of a glorious Union, welding them together more indestructibly than is possible by any of the theoretic, bayonet-pinning-together league projects for universal world peace now visualizing at Versailles. The debts and obligations of the Government growing out of the Civil War, even the high interest-bearing bonds discounted and sold to provide for war emergencies, have all been paid or canceled, saving only this one implied obligation of the Government to its needy volunteer soldiers and their dependents, making such special relief bills as we are now considering a necessity of governmental good faith. The general pension laws are admittedly inadequate to cover all cases. They are also so hedged about by technicalities, red tape, and unjust limitations like the requirement of 90 days' service, slight absences from duty without formal leaves, and other boyish delinquencies, trivial in their nature, but which have for over a half century barred many worthy soldiers from needed relief, from absolute rights which were guaranteed to them by this implied obligation of the Government they volunteered to serve.

"Statistics are not at hand to show the exact number of unfortunate volunteer soldiers, their widows and orphans, thus barred by arbitrary legislative limitations, but they certainly aggregate many thousands. Modest, needy heroes, some of them, with years of hard military service for the Government to their credit, compelled to struggle on in life against adversity, and, worst of all, against the stings of ingratitude and neglect shown them by the Government they served.

"This ought not to be. It is rank repudiation, under the guise of law, of a solemn, though unwritten, obligation of the greatest and believed to be the most just and considerate Government on earth, and, worse yet, an obligation incurred in an hour of peril, when it was loudly calling for volunteers to defend its very existence.

The end approaches. Soon this chapter of ingratitude will have been written and relief bills in Congress will be powerless to bring them even partial justice. An unsavory memory of discrimination, of mixed generosity for some and wrongful neglect and violated faith for others, will mar

forever the fair perspective of the Republic unless Congress acts promptly while it can and removes the shadows of injustice now resting upon our national escutcheon. The memory of one unjust act by the government toward one of its defenders cannot be wiped out by a thousand generous deeds for others. It lingers and rankles in the minds of a just people and mars the pages of history after the victim is forgotten. Like truth, it cannot be crushed; like Banquo's ghost, it rises continually to condemn.

"I know it is said, and truthfully, that many well-to-do survivors of the Civil War are drawing pensions under the present law who cannot properly be classed as needy. Charges of commercializing patriotism have frequently been made against them on the floor of the House during the consideration of pension bills for no other offense than accepting in good faith such benefits as the government has voluntarily granted to them by solemn acts of Congress, with the passage of which they had nothing to do. Shafts of obloquy hurled against citizen soldiers who in the hour of their country's peril voluntarily went to its rescue are sure to react in the public mind and generally reveal under the searchlight rays of truth mere jealousy or envy of those who won distinction in defense of home and country. Such critics are growing fewer and fewer, vanishing like the number of old soldiers whom they would defame. They are unworthy the respect of law-respecting citizens. They are of the Bolsheviki type.

"I have never felt any inclination to criticize or find fault with any citizen for obeying the laws of his country, duly enacted. If the government awards him a pension, it is his right. At the worst its acceptance is a matter of taste.

"Special pension bills, such as we now have under consideration, are different. A rigid rule of the committee bars the rich and well-to-do.

"Rule 2 reads:

" 'The committee will not give consideration to any bill for pension or increase of pension unless the testimony and information submitted with the bill clearly shows the claimant is now in such physical or mental condition as to be entirely unfitted for self-support and in destitute circumstances.'

"Everyone who is to receive a benefit under the pending bill has been shown by evidence to come within this rule. He has been shown to be needy and deserving; coming, in fact, under the implied contract the government made with him at the time of enlistment.

"Nor have I any criticism, Mr. Speaker, much less fault to find, with the few remaining survivors of that great Volunteer Army of the Union

who still cling to and strictly act upon the original pension theory and implied promise of the government under which they entered the service of their country in the dark days of the sixties, and which promise they understood to be a part of their contract of enlistment and which, stated briefly, was a simple guaranty to them that, come what might, they and those dependent upon them should never suffer want.

"Fortunate, more or less, financially and in fair health, considering their ages, with honorable discharges showing them entitled to pensions if they desired under existing laws, the names of these patriotic, strict constructionists do not appear on the pension rolls. Apparently they prefer, so long as they are able, to eat their own bread in the sweat of their own brows. Perhaps it is more of a sentiment than otherwise, but still it gives luminous emphasis to the poet's inspiration about the 'glorious privilege of being independent.

"At any rate, it is their business, and their unselfish acts and modesty should, as it does, give them immunity from criticism.

"I confess to a little tenderness myself along the same line, and am thankful that the wolf has not yet entered my doorway. But, Mr. Speaker, I fain would say a word for those, numbering thousands, who in dire distress are denied relief because of technical barriers unthought of and not provided for at the time this implied promise was made and volunteers were accepted by the government. Such exceptions were not reserved in the original pact of enlistment.

"What right has the government, as it does, to say to an honorably discharged soldier who served faithfully for 89 days and now in need, 'Step aside; you are not entitled to any consideration from the government,' and at the same time say to the one who served 90 days, perhaps in good health and well-to-do financially, 'Step up to the counter; here is your pension,' without regard to health, wealth, or need, at \$30 per month and up? What right has it to treat the widows and orphans of the same soldiers in the same way?

"It is a hideous discrimination, and yet it is the law of this blessed Republic. Again, a youthful soldier at home on sick leave recovers and instead of returning to the company he belongs to goes, with some of his chums perhaps, into another regiment and serves faithfully under this last enlistment until the end of the war and is honorably discharged with his regiment. From first to last he has been a faithful soldier; at the worst his changing regiments without red-tape approval was only a boyish indiscre-

tion. The government got the full benefit of his young manhood as a soldier, and yet, when pension day comes, his years of faithful service do not count; he is bruskiy told to step aside because he neglected to get a discharge from his first and minor enlistment. But the 90-day boy has no worries about his pension, whether or not he did any of the fighting.

"Is it right? Accidental overstaying of a furlough for a few days, or, possibly, caused by sickness unexplained because of his regiment being mustered out during his absence, has left against many really good soldiers the dark mark of desertion, placed on the record by a careless sergeant or other subordinate of his company, who might easily at the time have learned and recorded the facts, a blot to remain forever more terrible to a true soldier than any possible loss of pension rating. It is worse than the 'scarlet-letter' mark to a sensitive mind.

"Is it right? No; and Congressional committees cannot, in my judgment, be too liberal in granting special relief measures.

"Other instances of discrimination and wrong to worthy soldiers might be mentioned, but I forbear.

"It is now, Mr. Speaker, over 50 years since Fort Sumter was fired upon; a jubilee year, with welcome for all those who fought on the other side, has long ago been signalized by this great, wealthy, and powerful government; another war is upon us and billions of the nation's wealth are being lavishly and properly expended for the comfort of our new armies in the field and those coming home since the signing of the armistice, and in making much-needed billion-dollar loans to the allied governments, including a most remarkable gratuity of one hundred millions to a greedy lot of unidentified and unclassified non-English speaking foreigners, wholly without sympathy or appreciation for American ideals, and yet there are thousands in our own land who fought on the Union side in the long ago faithfully and well now in poverty and need, but denied any assistance by the government, and are thus compelled to eke out existence as best they can with the great Republic they served apparently indifferent. They are denied relief only because of such trivial technicalities as I have mentioned.

"Is it right? Is their jubilee year never coming?

"In my judgment every surviving Union soldier who, accepting the recruiting promises and assurances of recruiting officers, enlisted and served his government and country, if now in actual need of assistance for the support of himself and family, should be granted a pension by the government adequate to make good such promise, unless he has been dishonorably dis-

missed from the service or can be found guilty by regular courtmartial proceedings of moral turpitude during the war or cowardice in battle.

"It is not a charity; it is a contractual right due him under his contract of enlistment."

March 5, 1911, Mr. and Mrs. Hollingsworth, after calling at the White House and elsewhere to take final leave of a number of warm personal friends they had formed at Washington, departed for their home at Cadiz apparently as cheerful as a young couple returning from an extended honeymoon, and soon their comfortable home life was resumed. His law business also awaited him in good shape, having been in charge during his absence of Judge John B. Worley, his partner, an excellent lawyer as well as valued friend.

Life seemed roseate to them.

Would fickle ambition ever disturb Hollingsworth again? He seemed satisfied.

A few days afterward, Mr. Hearn, of the *Cadiz Republican*, knowing his readers would be interested in Mr. Hollingsworth's views of the situation, sought an interview with him and in his issue of March 23, published the following:

HOLLINGSWORTH

Talks About the Last Session of Congress and the Coming One.

Thinks the People Ought to Support President Taft.

"I am delighted to get back to Cadiz," said General Hollingsworth in greeting a number of his old friends and neighbors on his return from Washington. "Here," said he, "my good qualities, if I have any, and certainly my bad qualities are known, and yet I have always been treated with great kindness and consideration by all classes; my faults have seemingly been overlooked and I have often been given credit for more of actual worth than I was entitled to. It is a real pleasure to abide with such a people.

"I confess, therefore, that my return, instead of being a source of regret, touches in me a tender chord and arouses a feeling akin to genuine satisfaction. At the same time, it would not be frank in me to express any sort of gratification at the Democratic victory of last fall. Personal considerations aside, I feel that a serious mistake was made in the election of a Dem-

ocratic House of Representatives. It is heralded as a victory of reaction, a repudiation of the time-honored doctrines of the Republican party, basic principles of economic policy on which, during the long years of Republican ascendancy, the great industrial and business interests of the country have been developed. Protection and prosperity have gone hand in hand so long under Republican rule that the people last fall seemed to forget and the thoughtless among the voters gave no heed to the lessons of history. They recklessly and aimlessly struck at the party in power, forgetting that their blows would fall alike on the just and the unjust and upon the people themselves. Republican leaders in some instances had no doubt made mistakes, some of them deserved repudiation at the polls, but the extent and disastrous consequences of Democratic victory were not anticipated.

"The result was a distinct shock to the conservative citizenship of the country. Stay-at-home Republicans realized when too late the dangers of Democratic rule. Conservative Democratic leaders like Senator Bailey, sobered by sudden responsibility, took alarm and sought to restrain the wild tendency of more radical party leaders. Good citizens of all classes, anxious to avert a repetition of the free-trade soup-house horrors under the last Democratic administration, turned anxiously and hopefully to a Republican President and a Republican Senate, realizing that in them rested the only safety of the country for two years. The results are awaited with anxiety and fear. I should also be wanting in frankness if I did not admit to a feeling of disappointment over my own defeat. I was anxious to be a member of the next Congress, anxious to witness the organization and arrangement of the House committees on a new basis just and equitable to all, and without any arbitrary one-man power such as has been potential in the past. The victory won in the last House by progressive liberals in favor of individual rights marks an advance epoch in legislative proceedings. The Speakership has for all time been shorn of its autocratic prerogatives, chief of which was the power to arbitrarily arrange the standing committees so as to promote or retard at will the passage of important measures in the interest of the people. Hereafter the House, as it should, must assume full responsibility for its action. It will not be in the power of the Speaker or any of the committees to unjustly smother legislation. The people will know how and where to place responsibility.

"I was also anxious to aid if possible in the success of the present Republican administration. President Taft has upon his shoulders a tremendous responsibility. He needs the helpful sympathy and prayer of

every good citizen. Although a staunch protectionist he has embarked on the uncharted sea of reciprocity, following the lead of Blaine, McKinley and Roosevelt, neither of whom was permitted to put into practical operation the views on this subject advocated in turn by each. Naturally, therefore, the President expects the aid and helpful counsel of the followers of these pioneer leaders in reciprocity. Powerful opposition has developed, some of it in unexpected quarters. Strong leaders in his own party are in doubt as to the wisdom of the recent trade agreement made with our Canadian neighbors; business interests affected by it are alarmed, and many of those engaged in agriculture, usually the most conservative of our citizens, seem uncertain as to its results upon their special industry.

"It is the belief, however, of President Taft and Secretary Knox who assisted him in negotiating the treaty, and who has studied the subject closely, that, in addition to being in strict accordance with the declarations of the last Republican national platform in favor of protection to all American industries, at least to the extent of equalizing the difference between the cost of production at home and abroad, with a reasonable profit on invested capital, it will be beneficial to all classes in both countries by affording a wide range of markets and in the end will add greatly to the wealth and living conditions and consequent happiness of all the people. The conditions of life and cost of production in Canada and this country are practically the same. Canadian farmers, many of whom are emigrants across the border from our great northwest, are of the same healthy fiber and high class civilization as our own. There is no question of cheap labor or cheap conditions with either. Manly independence is characteristic of each. Healthy competition, freer trade relations and a common market, as contemplated in this reciprocity agreement, are believed to be of advantage to both countries just as they are now between the different states of the Union.

"There is not a semblance of parallel with the unequal conditions under which wool and manufactured products are produced. Canada is not a wool-growing or manufacturing country. It is not a competitor with the United States in such articles. Our competition comes from the cheap labor and cheap conditions of Europe and the East against which the Republican party stands committed, as I understand it, to a protective policy—tariff schedules sufficient in amount to equalize in our favor the difference in conditions caused by higher cost of production, better wages for labor and more costly standards of living in this country. The Democratic posi-

tion is the direct opposite of this. The issue was clearly drawn in the last national campaign; there was no subterfuge in either platform.

A crisis in performance is now approaching and, although retired from official life, I am ready for service in the ranks in any way in which I can be useful to the people.

"I am not a kicker in any form.

"The President, although honest and patriotic, willing to do the right as God gives him to see the right, which his worst enemies admit, still needs and should have in the administration of his great office not only the sympathy but the loyal support of all parties. Good government itself is non-partisan. Criticism, though just at times, is generally ungracious and good citizens as a rule leave to others the task of fault-finding. They are optimists in all things which concern the country's welfare. The Taft administration, now two years old, can only be judged by final results. He is a great and I believe a good President and as such should have the cordial good will and best wishes of all who place country above party.

"I have not, however, always been able to agree with his recommendations, or rather those of his cabinet advisers, and in a few instances have, although reluctantly, felt compelled to adhere to my own convictions. His appointment of Democratic ex-Confederates to high positions in the public service and on the bench, ignoring equally good and able Republicans, was not to my liking. I balked also at the great outlay of public funds, fabulous in amount it seemed to me, proposed by the Navy and War Departments for increased armaments, big battleships, isthmian canal fortification instead of neutralization by international agreement, and other multiplied incidental war expenses in time of peace. It seemed to me that much of the money thus appropriated might better have been expended for internal river improvements like those on the Ohio, public roads and highways, increased mail facilities, the extension of rural free delivery service, and other like improvements in the interest and for the benefit of the whole people.

"Ship subsidies, increased postage rates, and other like proposals made by the Postmaster General, met with scant favor, and I think the President himself was glad of an excuse to drop them.

"On the whole, the concensus of opinion among those best able to judge must be that the Taft administration, so far, has been wise, patriotic

and able, not so strenuous perhaps as that of Roosevelt or so patient and considerate as that of McKinley, but strong, bold, just and determined—just such an administration as ought to inspire the American people and at the same time win the respect and admiration of the diplomats and statesmen of the world.”

It is well we cannot read the horoscope of the future.

The Republican defeat of 1910 seemed a veritable Waterloo. The old guard; like that of Napoleon, was crushed and could not be reformed. Would President Taft, largely held responsible for the disaster, be able to reorganize the party and lead it to victory in 1912? Few of either party thought so and many strong leaders of the Republican party did not wish it so. As the time for the national convention approached the disintegration of the party became more and more manifest; it was painful to sincere conservative Republicans like Mr. Hollingsworth.

But he was not the kind to desert a sinking ship and from the first stood for regularity and harmony.

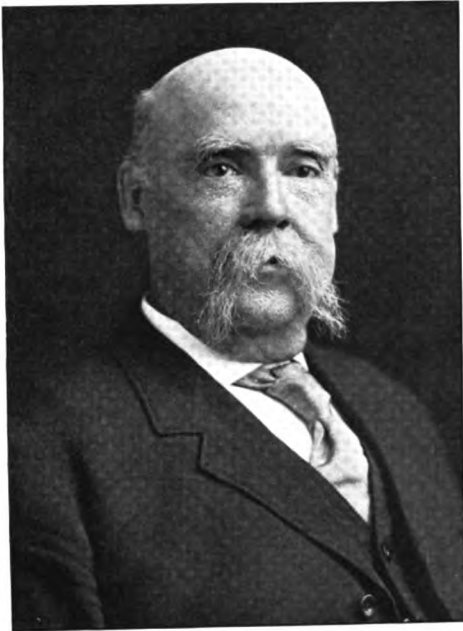
An early effort was made to renominate him for Congress, but under the then conditions with little expectation that he or any other Republican could be elected. Several Republican district leaders, however, entered the contest, more, it was believed, for the purpose of scoring for future possibilities than of any real hope of present election. They knew that a Congressional redistricting of the state would be due before 1914. It developed quite a contest, but Hollingsworth was an easy winner, and, in turn, was defeated at the election by a plurality of 797.

He received an aggregate of 15,781 votes to 14,145 cast in the same counties for Mr. Taft, the Presidential candidate, and this complimentary vote satisfied him and his friends that he could if he wished go back to Congress as soon as the political pendulum should swing back again, as it was sure to do.

He would wait and see. Meantime, his law business increased and he gave little thought to future Congressional honors.

His modest home was a center for distinguished visitors whose acquaintance he had formed in official life, and both he and Mrs. Hollingsworth seemed delighted with their home surroundings.

FAMILY OF DAVID A. HOLLINGSWORTH



DAVID A. HOLLINGSWORTH



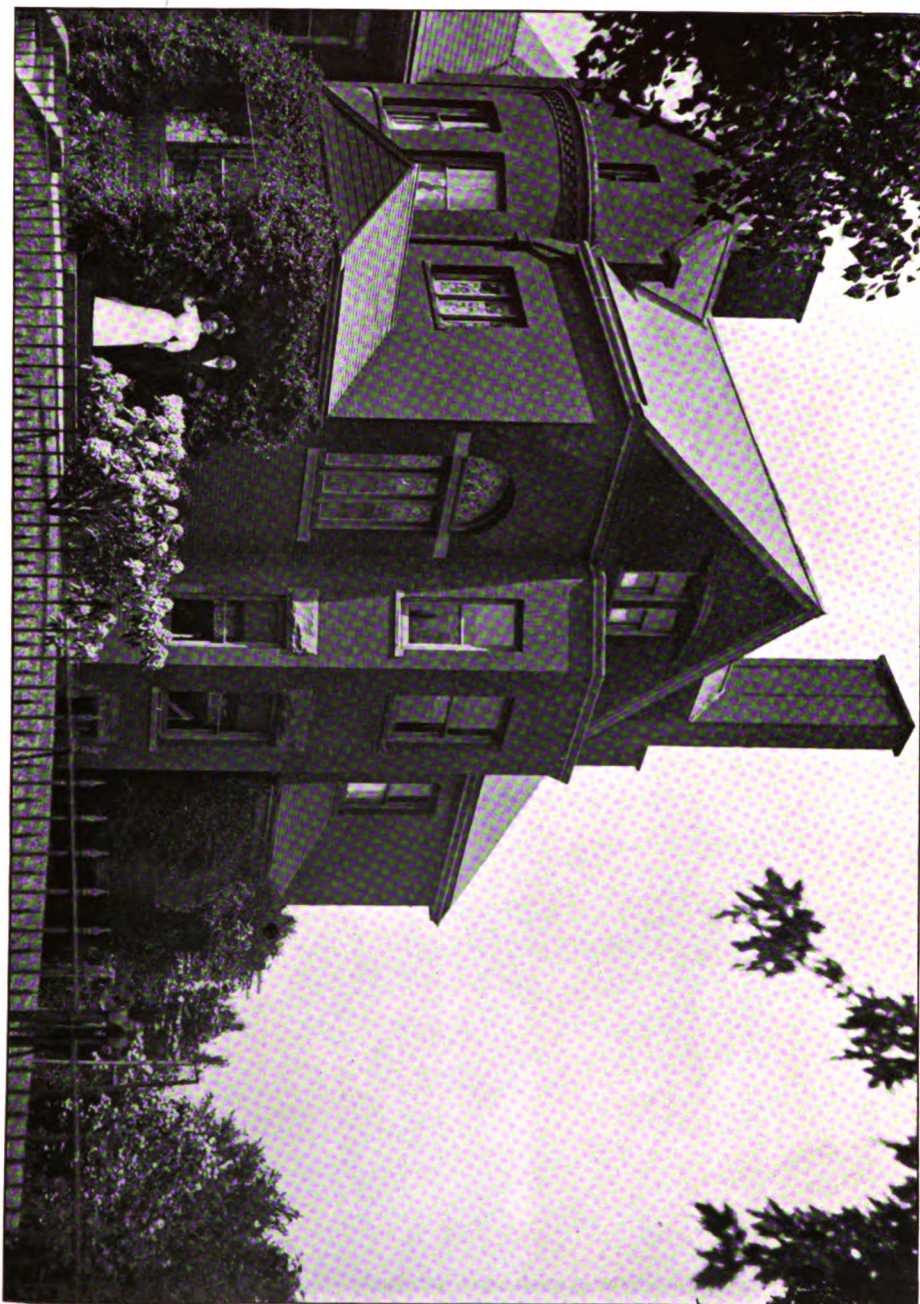
MRS. DAVID A. HOLLINGSWORTH



HENRY McBEAN HOLLINGSWORTH
AGE 4



DONALD McBEAN HOLLINGSWORTH
AGE 5



RESIDENCE OF HON. DAVID A. HOLLINGSWORTH, AT CADIZ, OHIO

HOME LIFE

At this hospitable home, during the week of the Bishop Simpson Centennial Celebration, at Cadiz, in June, 1911, Bishop David H. Moore, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, was a guest, and here he prepared the notable address he delivered on that occasion. His hosts were thoughtful and saw that he was not disturbed in this preparatory work. It was written in the well-known chirography of the Bishop, difficult to read, and when he seemed to hesitate about undertaking to deliver it without copy, Barclay W. Moore, who was in General Hollingsworth's office at the time, volunteered to put it in typewriting for him.

Bishop Moore was greatly pleased with the attention shown him at Cadiz and on his return home he immediately wrote to General and Mrs. Hollingsworth the following appreciation:

DAVID H. MOORE,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

Resident Bishop Methodist Episcopal Church.

June 24, 1911.

My Dear General and Mrs. Hollingsworth:

It seems a dream of Paradise, and now I wail a Paradise Lost! Did anybody ever have a better time than I? Ideal hosts, ideal hospitality, ideal everything!

The General carrying my grip! and Sister Hollingsworth's more than gracious care! I will try not to be spoiled; but I would better keep away from Cadiz. Heaven bless you!

Reached home Thursday night, pretty weary. Found wife and daughter well. Friday, I buried Wm. F. Boyd, Esq., and today Mr. Richard Dymond, two of our *very best laymen*. Are we doing our best to fill these vacancies?

Oh, may we be active!

Tell your clerk, Mr. Moore, that he is a jewel.

Over and over again I thank you for all you did for me.

Much obliged for that fine speech, dear General. I hope to see you in Congress again.

Gratefully,

DAVID H. MOORE.

DEMOCRATIC GERRYMANDER

A strong Democratic Legislature was elected and when it came to re-districting the state for Congressional purposes, trouble began for the majority party. Every county had in it an aspiring Democrat, in some cases two or more, who desired to serve in Congress and knew just how to get there, "if the Legislature they had helped to elect" would fix each district as they wished. But it was impossible to satisfy more than a very few without sacrificing some already in Congress who wished to remain.

Who should the victims be? Were there any in Congress out of line with the party leaders? Close scrutiny showed that the member from the 16th District was inclined at times to wobble a little. He had voted against the free wool scheme of the Democrats and that was enough to discredit him. In vain his friends in the Legislature pleaded that he had so voted only to please home friends and when his vote was not really needed to pass the bill, but that, after its passage and veto by President Taft, and an effort was being made to pass it over the veto when his vote was really needed, he had deftly shifted his position. It was plausible and probably true, but Democratic leaders insisted that a Democrat should be a Democrat all the time and in the open.

He was regarded at home as a churchman and good citizen, but Democratic bosses, some of whom had possibly concocted the Sherwood fake letter by which he was first sent to Congress, were inexorable on the subject of party loyalty, and he was pitilessly black-listed in the house of his friends. Vainly his close friends threatened a referendum if the caucus bill passed as proposed without amendment. His own pleadings fell on deaf ears. Even Republicans at his own home were sympathetic with him in his plight; some of them had quietly voted for him while professing loyalty to the whole Republican ticket, there being evidently a secret umbilical chord or reciprocal working agreement between them.

But Republican sympathy, like Democratic professions, is a little treacherous at times and often fails a candidate when critical moments arise.

Party leaders might be willing for the sake of securing an extra member at the election in the new district to quietly aid him by concocting another fake letter, like the Sherwood one, or the Hollingsworth anti-temperance proposal, heretofore referred to, but to condone such an offense as voting in Congress against free wool was not to the thought of.

The redistricting bill as endorsed by the Democratic caucus was passed by a strict party vote. It renumbered the 16th District as the 18th, adding Columbiana, a Republican county, and detaching Monroe, a Democratic one, making the district substantially Republican on a fair party vote.

It was a cruel blow to his friends, irritating to a few pseudo Republicans, and wholly unjust to a faithful Democrat whose only fault seemed to be a little flirting with secret Republican allies. But the threatened referendum did not materialize.

At once, on the passage of the act, interest developed in the approaching primaries. The Democratic nominee was designated in advance by his present occupancy of the office, and the political complexion of the new district was not such as to encourage others to enter the contest against him. No other Democrat could hope to succeed. His home popularity, however, together with his proved resourcefulness as a candidate, added to a natural sympathy created for him by the action of the Democratic Legislature, made him a quantity to be reckoned with at the polls, notwithstanding the change in the district.

But the main interest centered in the Republican primary. Would Hollingsworth be a candidate? If so, would it be safe to re-nominate him even in the new district after his one election and two defeats? He had had three regular primary nominations and shrewd aspirants for the place reasoned that this was equivalent to the so-called party usage of three terms in the district. Stuff and nonsense; this is the people's own business, answered his friends, and the contest was on.

Hollingsworth did not underrate his new primary opponents. They came from all classes, good men; capital, labor, agriculture and the professions were represented, including one versatile newspaper writer from the new county of Columbiana, who, somewhat visionary, seemed to think everything ought to and was coming his way. The old convention bosses, quiet political quantities now, had, like the people generally, learned to know and appreciate Hollingsworth better than when battling with him in the old days before the primary system, and they seemed to prefer him to any of the other candidates.

He won easily in a field of admittedly worthy competitors, some of whom, if patient as he has been, will in time reach the goal of their ambition.

He won also at the election and, on the 4th of March, 1915, was ready again to leave his law office and home at Cadiz with Mrs. Hollingsworth for Washington, followed by the congratulations and good will of their

neighbors and friends as cordial and pronounced as when, just forty years before, they had started East on their real honeymoon.

Only one more primary and election and his political aspirations would be satisfied under the third term usages of the district, and this he hoped to win without further primary contest by hard work and faithfulness during the term to which he had just been elected. But it was not to be. The primary and election of 1916 were substantially replications of those of 1914, with a number of new aspirants added to the primary list of candidates. They pointed to the fact that Hollingsworth had been a candidate since 1882, but noted his continuing increase of favor among the people, and when they found his primary and election votes both increased in 1916, hazarded the suggestion that if he wished a fourth or fifth term he had only to ask and he would receive.

Only one took offense and he wholly without cause. Hollingsworth tried to appease him in a manly way for the sake of old friendships, but he was self-centered and not responsive to gentlemanly methods, and Hollingsworth was incapable of any other, and so they drifted apart permanently, although Hollingsworth never allowed it to influence his own personal feelings.

The 64th and 65th Congresses were Democratic and the Executive was of the same party faith. It would be a new experience, therefore, for Hollingsworth to serve as a legislator in the minority. As State Senator and former Congressman his work had been with the majority; he had taken part and been consulted in the initiation of public measures. Now, and for the remainder of his service, he was to act with the minority, and the credit at least for the initiative and passage of measures was to rest with his political opponents.

Could he forget partisanship? Would he abide by the promise made in his acceptance speech when first nominated, that if elected he "would make an honest effort to discharge official duties so as to subserve the best interest of all the people?"

Let the printed records of the two Congresses, his votes, and his own words, give answer.

The beginning of the 64th Congress was coincident with the beginning of a new era for the world in general. The Demon-god of War had unleashed the fierce and unholy passions of men, and its bitter ending could not be foreseen. The world was convulsed. Violence and destruction of life

and property ran riot, and devastation, rapine and murder seemed to rule the hour. Nothing was sacred.

Would the malevolent upheaval spread to the New World? Would the sparks of war reach our shores?

The President, seemingly horrified at first, proclaimed strict neutrality in the European holocaust, and all America seemed to revert with him to the timely wisdom of George Washington in his advice to his countrymen to avoid foreign entanglements. The voice of unhallowed ambition seemed stilled everywhere.

The dividing line of partisanship vanished early in the 64th Congress and patriots of all classes, willing to forget their party leanings, lined up almost solidly behind the President. No official magistrate ever had a better opportunity than he to become the idol and leader of all the people. Real, substantial, non-partisan strength among the people abided with and for him until after the election of 1916, when he was re-elected on the plea of conservatism in the matter of war problems, not by Democratic partisans only, but by sincere, conscientious Republicans who believed that he had and would keep us out of war.

Would the President be equally considerate?

Would he, in the great work before him and the American people, be able to see and recognize merit without looking too closely for the political tab? The answer must be found in the current and future history of our beloved land.

It is no part of this volume to go into general details.

Hollingsworth, upon his election, reserving only matters of conscience, resolved to stand by the President in all official matters relating to the public good, and his votes as recorded during the two Congresses will show that he consistently maintained this attitude in the House.

Of course, as a representative, he could not always agree with proposed executive action, but, in such instances, he was ready to give other than political reasons for the faith that was in him.

FAVORED AMERICAN NEUTRALITY

He believed in actual good-faith neutrality until our own entrance into the war, and did not approve the large shipment of arms and munitions of war from America under American protection exclusively to one belligerent. It looked to him in principle too much like the construction of Con-

federate war vessels in English shipyards during the Civil War, and for which our government afterward exacted an indemnity of several millions of dollars from the British government. He believed in America doing as it would be done by.

FAVORS A VOLUNTEER ARMY

He also believed in the volunteer system of enlisting armies for the defense of the Republic, as against the draft system of the army staff, approved by the President. Quoting his own words in the House:

"I was much wedded to the volunteer system. I had myself been a volunteer in the Civil War. I voted for the amendment authorizing the President to have a division of volunteers organized in this war, distinctly to be enlisted, not drafted, for foreign service, and to be led by a former Commander in Chief of the Army, Theodore Roosevelt. I arranged to go with that division in a capacity in which it was believed I could be useful to my country, possibly more so than in Congress, notwithstanding I was over the draft age; and his letter releasing me after the President, guided as he said, by 'experts on both sides of the water,' had turned down the proposition of Congress, is still prized by me and laid away for safe-keeping, along with a time-worn but much valued discharge from the Federal Army of long ago.

"I have no apologies to make for not having supported the selective-draft law in the first instance."

HOLLINGSWORTH AND ROOSEVELT

"It developed here today through a letter from Colonel Roosevelt that Congressman D. A. Hollingsworth, of Ohio, was expected to accompany the Roosevelt division to France in the capacity of an aid on the staff of one of the commanding Generals, had not President Wilson turned down the act authorizing such volunteer force. Hollingsworth's interest in the resolution when it was defeated in the House attracted the Colonel's attention and he wrote a brief letter of appreciation. Afterward, when it was adopted, the Congressman immediately wrote the Colonel tendering his service to accompany the expedition in any capacity he might be deemed useful, adding: 'My age may be somewhat against me, but with good health and such military experience as I have had I feel that I might manage a staff position.'

"Colonel Roosevelt's reply was prompt, but it did not reach Hollingsworth until the day of the President's decision to ignore the action of Congress and so all he could do was to thank the Colonel and express keen regrets, which he did in a letter suggesting that as it was thus made impossible for him to do more he would continue his 'modest service' in Congress and otherwise show his loyalty to his country and to the Commander-in-Chief of the Army with his 'expert advisers on both sides of the water.' "

—Washington City News Item.

Colonel Roosevelt and General Hollingsworth were personal friends, although the latter supported the Taft candidacy in 1912, as the regular nominee of the Republican party, and was much disappointed at President Wilson annulling the subsequent action of Congress providing for Roosevelt's appointment to service in the World War.

His remarks on the subject, as reported in the Congressional Record of May 12, 1917, follow:

The Roosevelt Resolution

REMARKS OF HON. DAVID A. HOLLINGSWORTH

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, May 12, 1917

Mr. Hollingsworth: Mr. Speaker, the burden of half that has been said today on this "Roosevelt resolution" seems to be centered on keeping the record of members consistent with their past voting. This does not trouble me in the least. We may as well cease to expect consistency in its ordinary sense on the great questions involved in the present world's upheaval, kaleidoscopic in its changing from day to day. The jewel of consistency, to my mind, is simply acting in good faith all the time according to existing facts and an honest conviction of right and duty when called upon to act on any particular subject.

The President himself has set us an illuminating example of this kind. No one doubts his honesty; no one doubts his lofty ideals. And yet what a zigzag course of thought this nation has followed since the American volunteers in Mexico were ruthlessly shot down like dogs, and are still unavenged and the government without an apology therefor, to our present condition

of uncertainty, where, under other terms of the bill, we have abandoned the time-honored volunteer system of America and propose to raise an army of a half million by arbitrary conscription, and force them, willing or unwilling, to join in the trench fighting of far-away Europe to avenge wrongs not solely directed against our own beloved land and people. It is a humiliating reflection for red-blooded Americans.

And if this resolution be adopted today, judging from the many changes of mind and purpose on vital questions of public policy on the part of our honored President, it is quite within the range of possibility, and it would be perfectly consistent with his broad statesmanlike methods for him to again change his attitude on the subject of conscription without requiring the citizen, willing and anxious to volunteer in defense of his country, to wait for the iron hand of conscription to be laid upon him.

Evidently there has been a marked change in public sentiment on this subject; evidently, judging from the tenor of a number of patriotic speeches made here today by members who have heretofore supported the conscriptive system, but now propose to vote for this resolution, there has been an awakening in this House. It is admittedly unique and exceptional, but Roosevelt himself is an exception. Outside of official position he is far and away the biggest figure in American life today. Radical conscription leaders are getting their eyes open and are beginning to look with toleration upon the proposal to send Colonel Roosevelt to Europe backed by an army of American volunteers, real soldiers, none under the age of 25 years, and all anxious and willing to follow him as an ideal leader. No one suggests a conscript army for this expedition. Everyone realizes that it is a work for men, not for civic slackers or army shirks.

And yet, strange inconsistency, under other provisions of this bill conscription is to become the future permanent policy of the Republic. Nothing but a presidential veto can now prevent this basic change in our governmental policy. It has the O. K. stamp of the General Staff, and nothing short of a miracle, such as brought a change of heart to Saul of Tarsus, can be expected to divert the present head of the War Department from his purpose.

And suggestions against carrying out this resolution, if adopted, have been made on the floor of the House by one of the ablest leaders on the Democratic side, Mr. Fitzgerald, of New York, who expressed a hope that the President will ignore the Roosevelt resolution entirely and go on with conscription, overriding not only the expressed will of Congress, if it shall

adopt it, but the plain wishes of the plain people of America, who hope yet to avert the destruction of their cherished ideals of government by the abandonment on the part of their officials, high and low, of all militaristic leanings.

I have more faith in President Wilson than to think of him trying thus to usurp the powers of Congress and the people, although, led by the General Staff of the Army and by a civilian Secretary of War, his changing attitude on military questions since his re-election on the plea that he kept us out of war has been most strange and remarkable. I believe he wishes, in good faith, to stand with the plain people, and it is possible if this resolution be adopted he will heed the warning as a danger signal to stop, look, and listen as though approaching a dangerous railroad crossing, and thus save the Republic from disaster and government of, by, and for the people from perishing from the earth.

But, whether so or not, I feel it to be my duty, from every angle of reasoning, to vote for this resolution. It will preserve the volunteer system from total abandonment. It will keep before the American people the distinction between a volunteer and a conscript army; yea, more, when the war closes and the armies of the Republic face disbandment, the superiority of the former over the latter will have been so emphasized by achievements under Colonel Roosevelt that in the calm which follows war conditions there may be ready acquiescence in a safe, sane and sensible return to the traditions and ideals of the Republic, from which I fear we are now dangerously drifting.

I shall vote for the resolution because I believe in the right of every citizen of proper age and health to volunteer in defense of his country, without being compelled to submit to the haphazard chance of being drafted with unwilling shirks and slackers.

I shall vote for it because I believe Colonel Roosevelt to be the one incomparable character among the big men of the nation who unselfishly offers his services to the country in a war for which he is in no wise responsible by acts of commission or omission on his part.

I shall vote for him because he is a man among men, a leader of leaders, one whom neither slackers nor shirks can deceive. He knows men, and in accepting volunteers knows how to winnow the chaff from the grain, separate the thoroughbred from the cob. A slacker at home will be a shirk in the army; like an unruly horse, you can force him to the trough, but you

cannot make him drink. Roosevelt has no use for such men in or out of the army.

On the other hand, a willing citizen, alert at home to all the duties of good citizenship, will, if permitted to volunteer in defense of his country, carry with him all his manly, self-respecting attributes, and in the army will take pride in being at his post of duty all the time without slacking or shirking. Such is the ideal soldier of Colonel Roosevelt. Very little training is needed for such men; instinctively they seem to know what is expected of them, and if this resolution be adopted and Colonel Roosevelt's wishes be respected, I predict the people will cease complaining of the slowness of Congress and the War Department and the Roosevelt volunteer divisions will be on the firing line fighting, like intelligent American volunteer soldiers always do, long before the red-tape drafting machinery gets started, and, in my judgment, the war will be over before any drafted man ever gets to see a German in arms.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, I am for Colonel Roosevelt and a volunteer army.

The following excerpt from a letter received by Congressman Hollingsworth shortly after the President's turn-down of the Roosevelt resolution, is of interest:

"I wish to express my deep sense of obligation to you and to all those who volunteered under and in connection with this division.

As you doubtless know, I am very proud of the Rough Riders, the First Volunteer Cavalry, with whom I served in the Spanish-American war. It was raised, armed, equipped, drilled, mounted, dismounted, kept two weeks aboard transports and put through two victorious, aggressive fights in which it lost one-third of the officers and one-fifth of the men all within sixty days from the time I received my commission.

If the President had permitted me to raise the four divisions, I am certain that they would have equalled this record, only on a hundred-fold larger scale. They would have all been on the firing line before or shortly after the draft army had begun to assemble; and moreover they could have been indefinitely reinforced, so that they would have grown continually stronger and more efficient.

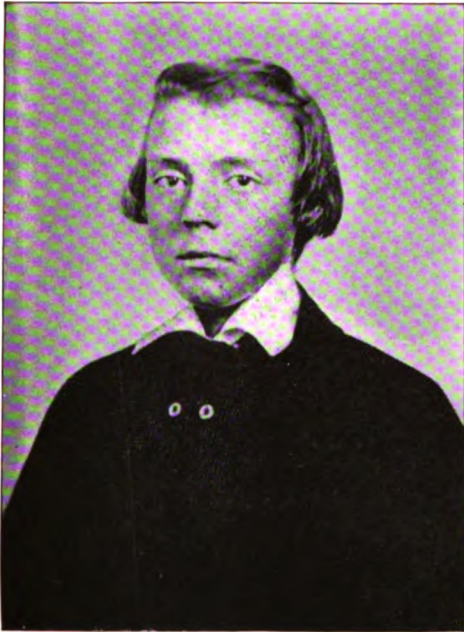
I regret from the standpoint of the country that your services were not utilized. But the country has every reason to be proud of the zeal, patriotism and business-like efficiency with which you came forward.

With all good wishes, Faithfully yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT."



DAVID A. HOLLINGSWORTH
*Lieut. of State Militia, commissioned by
Governor of Ohio to drill and prepare
troops for emergency service. 1863.*



DAVID A. HOLLINGSWORTH
(From an old daguerreotype)
AGE 8



DAVID A. HOLLINGSWORTH
Volunteer in Union Army
AGE 16

Perhaps the most radical disagreement of Congressman Hollingsworth with the policy of the Administration was as to the number and necessity of big battleships for our navy. The President in his campaign for election had claimed that the United States had an ample navy, but after election, and new influences had been brought to bear on the Presidential mind, he seemingly reversed his position and began to recommend, demand would be more accurate, of Congress, very large and continually increasing appropriations for the navy, designating the number of dreadnaughts and super-dreadnaughts to be included. In vain conservatives pointed out that ships of this class provided for by the Taft administration, had not yet been put in commission, and the construction of some not yet begun, and the impossibility of any new ones now ordered being ready for use during the existing war, yet such appropriations continued to be urged with the utmost force of executive energy. Even after the armistice was signed and the Versailles conference was in session considering a reduction of the naval forces of the world, congressional agitation did not cease. It seemed to be intensified, and as late as February, 1919, a bill was actually passed in the House, although it failed in the Senate, designed to increase the American Navy to a point rivaling that of the British Empire and explainable only on the theory of a severe attack of either Anglomania or Anglophobia in our navy department.

Mr. Hollingsworth unhesitatingly opposed the measure. Explaining his reasons at length, he said:

Naval Bill—Dreadnaughts Not a Defense Against Modern Submarines
and Similar Small Craft—Increase of Present Number
a Menace to National Treasury.

REMARKS OF HON. DAVID A. HOLLINGSWORTH
OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1919

On the bill (H. R. 15539) making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, and for other purposes.

Mr. Hollingsworth: Mr. Speaker, I shall not try to get into my head or discuss at length the stupendous figures of this bill, aggregating, in

appropriations and authorizations for the Naval Establishment for the year ending June 30, 1920, over \$1,000,000,000. My mind staggers at the immensity of details, staggers at the tax burdens thus to be imposed upon the country in a time of assured peace.

When I came to Congress a few years ago, the term "billion-dollar Congress" was a party reproach to be avoided, but now officials of the Government and Members of Congress on both sides talk glibly of single billion-dollar expenditures with apparent unconcern.

The tax-ridden people are ignored.

I do not, as I say, care to discuss the details of this bill, which has already been done and with great thoroughness by members of the committee and others in the confidence of the President, who is said to be asking for it. His reasons are given to members of the Naval Committee in confidence, and to which, perhaps, no objection should be made. But a number of other members have stated openly in their remarks on the floor that they also have been shown in confidence the President's secret-code message from the emergency White House at Paris. Why? Is this House classified into members who can be trusted and members who can not be trusted with official secrets? Are we all blacklisted except a favored few? Is there a sort of secret political freemasonry in this open forum of the people, where the people's representatives are supposed to meet upon a level and act and part upon the square?

Barring the propriety of members exploiting on the floor of the House their possession of secret confidences of the Executive in matters of public business, what inference does it furnish as to his estimate of other members not thus honored; black sheep, so to speak? Are they expected to meekly assume the role of "me, too," à la Senator Platt in the old days?

For myself, it is a matter of indifference; I have never sought individual recognition at the White House, and am leaving Congress soon, presumably not to return, but I protest against this official favoritism and practical ignoring of nine-tenths of the membership of the House, each one of whom represents an equal unit of the American people.

The President told us before the war that we had an ample Navy, and I believed him, and still think he spoke the unvarnished truth, and the naval battles of the war have not been sufficiently numerous or destructive to cause in me a doubt of his pre-war assurances. The British fleet easily kept the big German ships bottled up in the Kiel Canal before we entered the

conflict, and this same condition seems to have continued to the end, and that is about all that can be said of our naval heroics during the war, outside of the activities of a few small craft, torpedo boats, submarines, and submarine destroyers.

The Paul Joneses and the Admiral Deweys of this war are easily counted. When the naval program of 1916 was under consideration I was unable to convince myself that we needed the 10 new dreadnaughts proposed in the bill; believed, and so stated at the time, that they could not be constructed in time to be of service in the war if America should be, as it subsequently was, forced to enter it; and, further, that the number of so-called sea monsters already in commission was sufficient for all practical purposes. I felt then, as I feel now, that the millions of the people's money proposed to be thus expended was a useless waste, and, right or wrong, I declined to give it my support.

I was subsequently re-elected by a largely increased majority, although the friends of my Democratic opponent exploited him as a big navy man and, if elected, he would have been expected in party fealty to follow the President's lead with lamblike faith. On the contrary, I felt that, in a sense, I was instructed otherwise by the electorate of the district I have the honor of representing. As a matter of fact, none of the huge leviathans of the sea thus provided for have yet been completed, although the greatest and most costly war of history has been fought and won, leaving their bulky unfinished parts, if ever put together in finished dreadnaught form, liable to rust out and be in junk long before we have another war with any naval power.

I stated then, as appears in the *Record*—and I give it now as my non-expert opinion—that we do not need any great increase in our already efficient fleet of dreadnaughts and superdreadnaughts, unless we intend to sail into foreign waters in a defiant attitude and make of Uncle Sam a veritable jingo of the seas.

Ever since the Civil War, Mr. Speaker, when the little ironclad *Monitor* knocked out its apparently invincible assailant in the open sea, and thereby instantly revolutionized the naval science of the world, I have been an advocate of the smaller type of seagoing vessels for naval use. From the day of the *Monitor's* victory, the fleets of wooden vessels all over the world went rapidly out of commission and were replaced by ironclads, just as may soon be possible by a recently hinted-at invention to be perfected

by the electric wizard, Edison, and destined to render useless the ironclads of today.

The vicious little submarine of this war, undreamed of in Civil War days, may well be called the successor of the *Monitor*, and by reason of its disappearing qualities showing its possible efficiency against electrical discoveries may be looked forward to as replacing present ironclad naval armaments, except for coast or harbor defenses. The dreadnaughts of Germany lay idle in the Kiel Canal, while hundreds of small craft of the submarine type were sent out to prey for a time ruthlessly upon American and allied commerce, which they did disastrously until the small craft destroyers neglected in early naval programs, could be built and brought into defensive action. The huge dreadnaughts of our navy were a negligible quantity when it came to pursuing and destroying submarines. Like fabled leviathans they wobbled in their movements.

Small defense vessels, submarine destroyers, became a necessity in our naval defenses, and a want of them showed the worst possible lack of preparedness on the part of the government; it was inexcusable negligence. Hundreds of them, enough to have policed all German water connections and neutralized her submarines, could have been built at comparatively small cost, and thus millions of destroyed property and many precious lives would have been saved. But naval experts, in preparation days, seem to have been too busy in constructing big dreadnaughts, palacelike and cumbersome, but luxuriously fitted up with up-to-date salons and fashionable society promenade decks.

It takes much space in inspired newspaper headlines to explain to the ordinary tax-paying citizen any practical usefulness of these huge sea monsters during the war. They persist in remembering in their practical way of reasoning that the British fleet, before our entrance into the war, kept the German navy bottled up in the Kiel Canal, just the same and apparently just as easily as the combined fleets did afterwards. The massive floating palaces of both nations seem to have simply watched the open entrance to the canal where rode in safety the big German vessels, while German submarines played havoc in the open seas until checked by emergency built destroyers and other small craft.

And yet in this bill we are asked not only to complete the naval program of 1916, but to supplement it with another program carrying 10 new \$21,000,000 first class battleships and 8 scout cruisers of the \$8,000,000

type, exclusive of armor and armament, and to be begun "as soon as practicable."

But at what cost? I hesitate to make any personal answer to my tax-paying constituents, whose backs must bend and bear their share of the burdens, and so I quote from a statement made on the floor in argument by a member, with the expressed approval at the time of the chairman of the Naval Committee:

"Briefly stated, this naval bill seeks to appropriate \$746,000,000 and to authorize over \$415,000,000 additional, or over \$1,160,000,000 in all, in times of peace."

A billion dollar army bill also awaits action on the calendar. These are but samples of the huge demands being made from all sources upon this government. Help, help, help, is the cry from all quarters of the globe and the pity of it all is that an answering cry seems to have been started by high officials of give, give, give, in millions; and loan, loan, loan, in billions, until taxpayers in affright are helplessly asking congress whither are we drifting? Washington's warning against foreign entanglements, sacred in America since his farewell address at the close of the Revolutionary War, has been literally torn in pieces as ruthlessly as the rape of the Belgian treaty.

The minority leader on the Ways and Means Committee, for whose judgment we all have great respect, has issued a warning in this tragic hour of financial intoxication, little less important in my judgment than that of Washington after the Revolutionary War.

It can not be quoted too often:

"The extraordinary appropriations of money that the Congress of the United States will be called upon to collect from the people in taxes in the next 12 months amount to \$6,795,000,000. This does not include ordinary expenses of government. * * * Let me call your attention to the fact that all the money there is in the United States is, in round numbers, about \$6,000,000,000, and we are going to be called upon for \$10,000,000,000, in round numbers, in the next 12 months. * * * I caution you who represent the people, we are going wild in government expenditures."

Not only are we going wild in public expenditures, but the whole world seems to be in a turmoil and upheaval, socially, politically, economically, and in every other way tending to bring disaster and distress to the people, if not a return to prewar militaristic conditions.

Our plain duty, in my humble judgment, after the armistice was signed and victory with high honors had come to American armies in the field, was to get out of Europe as rapidly as possible with honor. The example set by Grant and Lee, at the close of the Civil War, in the prompt disbandment and return of their volunteer armies to civil pursuits was one entirely worthy of present-day imitation. It showed the inherent strength of American institutions.

And even when the assassination of President Lincoln and attempts upon the lives of individual members of his Cabinet had brought dismay and horror to the people, there was no demoralization or breaking up into fighting, fantastical, factional divisions, as in Russia, the Balkans, and certain small-fry countries overseas, never heard of by or at least little known to the American people.

I am old enough to remember that great crisis in our Nation's history, remember the blanched faces of the timid and the startling newspaper headlines on the day after the assassination telling of riots beginning in New York City and other congested centers, but above all the clamor and frenzy of the multitude there came in clear ringing tones, sinking deep into the hearts and minds of the people and expressive of the conservative common sense of the country, from one of Ohio's great statesmen, Gen. Garfield, afterwards President, then in New York City on a visit and attempting with other speakers to stem the rising tide of disorder, these noted words of heroic import.

"God reigns and the government at Washington still lives."

They were effective in stilling the frenzied clamor of an incensed populace over the foul murder of a beloved President and tragic attempt to wreck the government, and, now that peace is near in this greatest of all wars, I trust that some one of equal prominence at Washington, in this hour of world-encompassing history, may be able to send out to the country like satisfying assurance of speedy relief and a gradual reduction of the hideous burdens of taxation heaped upon a patient but patriotic people.

The duties and responsibilities of the 64th and 65th Congresses, especially the latter known as the World War Congress, were tremendous. Although nominally Democratic and organized strictly in the matter of committees and otherwise on a Democratic basis, lines between the majority and minority were quickly lost sight of when questions of American rights came up for consideration, and often the chief burden of supporting patriotic measures fell upon the Republican membership. The President, un-

doubtedly good intentioned, had no hesitancy in directly appealing to Republican members for support in his frequent disagreements with Democratic leaders and his appeals always received candid consideration, as in the instance when he asked the House through Representative Kahn, ranking Republican on the Military Committee, to oppose a majority report of the committee in favor of the volunteer instead of the army draft system.

The membership on both sides on all occasions seemed to feel the weight of responsibility and without exception realized that every day's business of the Congress was one of history-making for the republic. It was a time of unparalleled interest not only for the people of the United States but for the whole world. Individual activities were merged in the thought and action of the whole body and personal ambitions were forgotten by the most substantial and patriotic of the membership.

The limits of a volume of this kind are inadequate for even single individual detail, but the remarks of Mr. Hollingsworth on retiring, universally commended as they were by the House, are here given in full:

Welcome and Leave-Taking of Members of Congress as They Come and Go in the Highest Legislative Body in the World.

REMARKS OF HON. DAVID A. HOLLINGSWORTH
OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1918

Mr. Hollingsworth: Mr. Speaker, I have not been much impressed with the congressional leave-taking usually incident to the retirement of members as they come and go in this the greatest popular legislative body in the world. The lure and fascination of congressional life added to its honors and the opportunities it affords for great usefulness are generally sufficient to induce members to wish to prolong their term of service. Few members, indeed, whether they be distinctive leaders or of the average type, retire without some qualms of regret, unless it be to cross over, as many do, to the other end of the Capitol or possibly, as at least three members from my own state, now called the Modern Mother of Presidents, have done in recent years, gone to the great white mansion at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue. I should not expect full credence if I claimed otherwise or pretended to be indifferent, but, nevertheless, my con-

stituents know and I trust my friends here may believe that my retirement to private life is of my own free will and accord. Early in my present term I announced my purpose to follow a well-established third-term rule in my district, and adherence to this purpose has been to me quite a source of satisfaction. Security leagues, of which we have recently heard much and, I think, just complaint on the floor of the House, have not had any terrors for me. If critical of my official acts, they have not been offensive and have not even brought to my attention their self-conceived patriotic classification of the membership of the House. I have never seen or, if I did, never read one of their intended-to-be-fear-inspiring documents of this kind.

Self-sufficient individuals known as lobbyists have also been considerate, have uniformly treated me with respectful courtesy, assuming, evidently and very properly, that not being a candidate for reelection I was immune from the blandishment, abuse, and other questionable influences to which public men are too often subjected. I have been permitted in a quiet way to do my own thinking. My votes have not been viséed by any influence other than my own desire to be right.

Even when my own party has been in the majority I have not been of the rubber-stamp variety.

Orthodox in my republicanism, I have not always been lamblike in my following of would-be party leaders.

Cherishing to an extent my own individuality, I have recognized the same right in others and have not sought to unduly influence my fellow members to my way of thinking.

During two of my terms in Congress my party has been in the minority, as it is now, and yet I have been assigned congenial committee work sufficient to occupy my time. A crumb or two of voluntary nonpartisan official patronage also came my way, one of my best known Republican constituents having been appointed recently to an important post-office inspectorship in a distant state. In fact, I have had but little cause of complaint, and it has been difficult for me not to believe in the good faith and good intentions of the membership of both parties as I have met and associated with them in this House. I have tried on my part to avoid unjust criticism or fault-finding. Especially is this true of the present Congress, in which both parties, so far as I know, although at times differing in nonessentials, have in all real war-winning measures acted as one, so that, now that victory has come, all may claim to share in the credit and devoutly thank God and

the American army that there is glory enough for all. If any man, big or little, gets more than his share of the limelight glory of the present, he may be sure corresponding darker days of shadow will follow. Time is sure to thwart pretense and is a great leveler of human ambitions. And if any members have faltered in patriotic purpose, as charged by the Security League, or any have attempted to exploit their own importance by self-wrapping themselves in the American flag and vainly imagining themselves better than their fellow members, it is a good time to forget them, leave them to their own vanity and individual folly. They are harmless.

I trust, therefore, in retiring to private life, returning to my law office, where I have pleurably, if not profitably, spent much of my life, I may take with me the conscious good will and respect of every member of the House on either side of the Chamber, and in return I give assurance of my own profound regard and appreciation of all. I have felt honored in being permitted to associate with such a splendid body of representatives of the people, fearless as they have been in judgment, honest in conviction, and true as the stars to duty and the best interests of our common country.

It is an inspiring thought and gives one an individual distinction likely to be cherished to the end of time.

I count myself fortunate—honored, I may say, beyond my deserts—in having had a part, however humble, in the deliberations of this body, in the consideration and solution of the great, overwhelming problems which have come to the Sixty-fifth Congress and caused it to be known, as it will be in history, as the war Congress of the ages.

Without any touch of vanity or reflection on other districts, I claim to represent one of more than ordinary interest and historic fame, certainly one of the foremost in the great state of Ohio.

In early days it was called the "reservoir of genius," noted far and near for the fame of its public men and its private citizenship.

Let me briefly call the roll of my own little home town of Cadiz, with less than 2,000 population by the last Federal census:

Edwin M. Stanton, the great War Secretary of Lincoln's cabinet, commenced the practice of law here and was chosen and served as county prosecuting attorney before going to his larger fields of acknowledged leadership.

The far-famed Bishop Simpson, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, known throughout the world as a most wonderful orator, said by Lincoln to have been unexcelled in history, was born here and partially educated by

private tutors of the town. Afterwards, when the whole nation was in mourning, he officiated at the Lincoln obsequies in Springfield.

John A. Bingham, our most conspicuous citizen, distinguished as the "silver-tongued orator" in Congress during the Civil War, a veritable pillar of Lincoln's administration, judge advocate at the trial of the conspirators who planned his assassination, chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the House on the impeachment of President Johnson, and in charge of his trial before the United States Senate, where he delivered the final plea for loyalty to American institutions, and afterwards appointed minister plenipotentiary and ambassador extraordinary to Japan, where he did much to open up that land of the morning to the sunlight of modern civilization.

Major General George Armstrong Custer, Grant's dashing cavalry leader and personal attendant at the final scenes at Appomattox, and whose tragic death in 1876 at the Custer massacre startled the whole civilized world, was born and raised in Harrison county and was an appointee of Mr. Bingham to the Military Academy at West Point.

Other names of almost equal prominence might be mentioned, but an extended list might seem like vanity to those not acquainted with the good little town where most of my life has been spent and where I expect to end my days.

Go into Belmont County and the same high-class citizenship appears:

Benjamin Lundy, of St. Clairsville, early organizer of the abolition movement. He knew every station and conductor on the underground railroad in slavery days. He was a sort of McAdoo director general of the line.

Charles Hammond, lawyer, editorial writer of national fame, and statesman.

Wilson Shannon, twice Governor of Ohio, Minister to Mexico, Territorial Governor of Kansas, Congressman, able lawyer, born and long a resident in the county.

William Windom, a native, Secretary of the Treasury and twice United States Senator from a western state.

Benjamin Ruggles, United States Senator.

J. M. Thoburn, bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

William Dean Howells, native and to the manner born, known to the world perhaps best as America's leading writer of fiction.

Congressmen, judges, and high officials galore, "too numerous to mention," but readily recalled as prominent members of the early families of

Danfords, Kennons, Cowens, Carrolls, and many others of possibly greater eminence.

The county was for a time the center of civilization for the Northwest Territory, the town of St. Clairsville being named for Governor St. Clair, and being the headquarters of pioneer life and activity.

In Carroll County they point with pride to the old Dan McCook homestead, where he and his sturdy sons wrought and gave character to public thought before they became known to fame during the Civil War as the "tribe of Dan of the Fighting McCooks." The county is small in area and was late in organization, yet it counts among its early residents such citizens as Governor Potts; Mr. Archbold, of Standard Oil Co. fame; Major General William Crozier; General and Congressman Ephraim R. Eckley, and others of like distinction.

From Columbiana County came another branch of the "Fighting McCooks," the "Tribe of John." Together this noted family of a dozen or more high officials gave to the district a most enviable military reputation, supplementing, seemingly in a local way, the great labors of Secretary of War Stanton, and leaving an example of heroism which young men in the present day have not been slow to follow. Headed by a McCook, a direct descendant, who has since made the supreme sacrifice on the fields of France, they began rushing to the colors as volunteers as soon as war was declared, without waiting for the slow-moving and, in the minds of some, doubtful processes of the selective-draft system.

And in this connection it ought also to be said that the McCooks were not alone soldiers of distinction, but they occupied high civic positions and were by nature and training high-toned gentlemen, educated, refined and quite capable, as they did, of giving caste and dignity to their local surroundings.

Columbiana County was also rich in other respects, adding much to the fame and distinction of this so-called "reservoir of genius." The head and front of organized abolitionism centered at Salem, and to this day its citizens point with a degree of pride to a monument erected at the grave of an early enthusiast, Edwin Cappoct, who, leaving Salem, joined John Brown at Harpers Ferry and went with him to the scaffold at Charleston, a martyr to conscience and love of his fellow men.

The old town hall of Salem, still standing, was as famous in the days of anti-slavery agitation as Faneuil Hall at Boston in Revolutionary times. On its plain, wide platform eloquent and touching appeals on behalf of the

slave were made by William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Abby Kelly Foster, Parker Pillsbury, Horace Mann, Fred Douglass, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, Oliver Lovejoy, Joshua R. Giddings, Salmon P. Chase, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Benjamin F. Wade, James A. Garfield, and many others, magnificent men and women, whose souls burned with a desire to free the bondman. It was the beginning, the torch of liberty, starting a conflagration in the world destined in after years to end in the universal freedom of mankind, such as is now presaged by the great victory just won over autocracy and imperialism.

Columbiana County is also famous in other respects. It was the high-water mark of the Southern Confederacy, John Morgan's raid having ended in his surrender within its borders and his troopers being sent to the Ohio Penitentiary.

Its citizenship in early days and now was and is of a very high order, impossible of detailed mention in reasonable limits without obvious omissions.

I mention but one, feeling sure no other citizen at this day will object to not being associated with him in name. His old homestead is one of the show places in Lisbon, and the prejudice once existing against him, especially among his neighbors and those who knew him personally, has long since oozed out of local minds. Brilliant, honest, determined even when wrong, Clement L. Vallandigham certainly added to the notoriety if not the fame of this so-called "reservoir of genius."

Lincoln, wiser, it may be thought, than some recent war official, commuted a prison sentence against him for disloyalty to banishment among his friends, but this did not deter a great political party from nominating him for Governor in the darkest hours of the war for the Union. The contrast between that day and this, between the action of the minority party then and now, is worthy of profound thought and study.

Coming to Jefferson County, the only remaining county in the district and the home of my successor to be—a most worthy business man, for whom I bespeak merited consideration at the hands of the Sixty-sixth Congress—I find the same difficulty as in Columbiana in naming, on account of their numbers, its conspicuously worthy citizens.

Besides the Wilsons, father and grandfather of the President, Edwin M. Stanton, born in Steubenville; United States Senator Tappan; the "Fighting McCooks"; Lieutenant Governor Richards; and Congressmen Updegraff and Gill, who have given the county much distinc-

tion, there are really many others names of substantial and able citizens, too many for classification, who have been or are now shedding renown upon the county and giving to it unusual importance as a business and social center. The city of Steubenville, the largest of the district, has been made attractive to home seekers, and men and families of wealth, culture, and business attainments have moved from other sections and by their association and refining influences have enriched its citizenship, already of a high order.

No city in the district has done more to justify and vindicate the sobriquet "reservoir of genius" than Steubenville, picturesque gem, it may be said, of the upper Ohio Valley.

This picture, Mr. Speaker and fellow members, is not overdrawn.

I would not, however, have it understood that the importance of this section of Ohio has decreased in recent years. On the contrary, it has moved forward along all the lines of human progress and development. Education has become more general, good citizenship among the masses is held in higher esteem, and the rights of the individual man are more sacredly regarded.

Freedom and liberty of conscience have given to the people, the whole people, an uplift and dignity in marked contrast with earlier days when the Republic was young.

Industrial activity has advanced with marvelous rapidity, making of the district a veritable center of business life and progress.

It is the ceramic center of the universe, producing more pottery than any other like area in the world. In manufacture, mining, agriculture, grazing and other business pursuits it claims unsurpassed distinction.

Intellectually, socially and religiously its citizenship yields the palm to none. If occasion required, the district could, no doubt, easily furnish on short notice a full complement of well-equipped Congressmen, judges, Governors, Cabinet officers, and even Presidents of the type of Hayes, Garfield, McKinley and Taft.

Is it any wonder, therefore, that I am proud of my constituency? Is it any wonder that I am grateful for the opportunity I have had of representing them in this great war Congress? I ask no higher honor.

In taking leave of such a constituency and of the pleasant associations formed here in Congress I confess that as the time approaches regrets arise unbidden, but as the war is ended and permanent peace in sight I fully realize that my going or staying cannot have any appreciable effect on the

great upward and onward movements of mankind already forecasted and sure to follow the peace deliberations at Versailles.

The future of the American Republic, yea, of the whole world, is to me roseate with hope. Earth's millennial glory may dawn upon the world as suddenly as the war came and thus end for at least a thousand years the misery and wretchedness of mankind.

It is due, however, in parting that I make brief report of my stewardship to those at home whom I have tried to serve and to those in official life with whom I have had pleasant relations during my service in Congress.

Before the United States entered the conflict there was much and sharp controversy on the so-called subject of preparedness. Alarmists on the floor of the House and among the people expressed fears of an attack from one or the other of the belligerent powers, whichever one might be victor at the close of the war.

Serious-minded advocates divided on the subject.

Defining my own position on February 12, 1916, over a year before the United States was forced by German aggression to enter the war, in a public address at the Union League, in Philadelphia, printed in the Congressional Record on February 23, I used this language:

"A nation of 100,000,000 of freemen, with unlimited resources, situated between two ocean barriers, and these barriers equipped as they are, or should be, with adequate coast fortifications, mines, submarines and submarine destroyers, aircraft, good roads, as in Germany, connecting such ocean barriers and thus furnishing ready means of transportation for an army from one point of danger to another on inside lines, need not, in a just cause, fear a combined world in arms, even if our nation does not have a navy 'the strongest and most powerful in the world,' as suggested by an eminent but somewhat belated militarist.

"We are not an aggressive people; our real permanent defense must always be in the justice, sincerity and fair dealing of our government with all the world.

"A patriotic, God-fearing, level-headed, just citizenship is needed at this hour in America in both official and private life. The teachings of history, instead of hysteria, should guide the nation, uniformly successful as it has been in all its wars, two with Great Britain, one with Spain and another with Mexico.

"Meantime the United States and its citizens, at peace among themselves and with all nations, owe duties to the world, to the belligerents, and

to mankind—duties as positive and imperative and as delicate as those which confronted Abraham Lincoln in 1861, when Fort Sumter was fired upon and the smoldering fires of rebellion broke forth in all their fury. The warning of Washington against foreign entanglements must not be forgotten. Absolute neutrality with honor must be the American watchword. American citizenship at home or on the high seas, or anywhere else on earth where they have a right to live, must be respected. International rights and the broad claims of humanity must not be jeopardized or brushed aside lightly by any of the belligerent powers, and the Washington government, in contending for these safeguards, must be backed to the limit so long as it in good faith tries to deal fairly, justly and impartially with all the warring nations. Political scheming in an hour like this, in high or low places, is little less than treason to the Republic.

“A just and brave people can never be permanently conquered in this world, and, in my judgment, those who from timid fear or from honest judgment, or, worse, a contractor’s ugly greed, seek in advance to turn this country into a vast continental military camp and our harbors into mere ports of entry for big battleships, on the theory only of preparing for war possibilities, are making a mistake.

“A nation situated as we are, inland between two great oceans, with limitless resources and a patriotic, God-fearing, just citizenship, composite mixture of the best races of mankind, can in defensive warfare defy the world in arms.

“If there is a real danger of attack from any of the great powers, and those in high authority have secret information of the fact, as might be inferred from public acts and speeches, why does not the government instantly commandeer and seize, as it should, the ammunition plants and factories of the country and keep their products at home safely stored for the emergency? Why the shipment of immense quantities of arms and ammunition to Canada and out of the country by every outgoing steamer? Such an embargo would at least attest the sincerity of the extreme preparedists. It is not craven or unpatriotic, as suggested by some fierce advocates of militarism, for a nation of 100,000,000 free-born citizens, 10,000,000 of whom are subject to military duty in emergency, to feel secure against foreign invasion without keeping itself constantly on a war footing in time of peace.

“Such a nation is invincible unless it becomes the aggressor, and who is there among us, big or little, willing to admit such contingency? It was

war-mad preparedness, without reason or sense, that plunged Europe into the frightful struggle of today. A match carelessly dropped into a tinder box may cause instant explosion, but a dozen such lighted and thrown into cold storage only cause a little spluttering, a fizz, a flare-up, and then gradual burning out without harm. The suggested war parallel is perfect. Calm thought and coolness are of more value than hasty action.

Encroachments on the liberties of a free people come from military, not from civic, leaders. The man on horseback is always well groomed, booted and spurred. He comes as Napoleon came, after the people have grown weary and exhausted from the maintenance of big standing armies in times of peace.

"I do not believe in Bryan's peace-at-any-price patriotism, nor do I believe in the blood-and-thunder, chip-on-your-shoulder attitude of a few very big men in this country, some of whom were old enough to have taken part in the Civil War, but were at that time strangely docile. Eventualities are uncertain, and it may be the ungodly forces of European malice or the so-called yellow peril shall unexpectedly break loose upon our fair land, notwithstanding its justice and absolute neutrality, but if so it will be an instant call to arms, and soon the war cry of the sixties, 'We are coming, Father Abraham,' changed only to apply to the present Executive, will be heard in stern resolve throughout the length and breadth of the Republic, and the quick response will be an army so overwhelming in numbers as to crush and destroy any possible invading force. It is a misnomer to call such intelligent citizenship a mob, as has been done by some self-opinionated military critics. The undrilled riflemen of Lexington and Concord were effective against trained British redcoats, and later, at New Orleans, a small force of irregular raw recruits, hastily called together under General Jackson, were more than a 10-to-1 match for the trained veterans of England. So it has ever been and ever will be with the American volunteer when nerved to duty by an intelligent conviction of the righteousness of his cause.

"The 'common people,' as Lincoln loved to call them, still rule in this country, and they cannot be deceived or cajoled into leaving the plain beaten paths of the Republic; they prefer the safe landmarks of the fathers.

The contest, intensified by organizations among the people, pro and con, on the subject of militarism, grew in force and interest as the Presidential election of 1916 approached. The election centered largely upon this point.

The people were for peace. Whether, with or without reason, I do not undertake to say, they believed in the claims made by the friends of the President that he had kept us out of war, and, reasoning from this, they believed he intended to and would keep us out of threatening European complications.

They hailed him as a second George Washington warning his countrymen against foreign entanglements. Those who had watched his diplomacy in Mexico, and studied or knew of the secret John Lind hunt for Huerta's scalp, were incredulous, but they were not strong enough to turn the tide which had set in for the re-election of a "peace President."

Expecting myself to stand for re-election, as I did, and not wishing to be misquoted or misjudged, I sought opportunity to place on record my own views on the subject of militarism in general.

Accordingly, on the 23d of March, 1916, during the consideration of what was known as the Hay bill, to increase the military establishment, I submitted the following:

"Mr. Speaker—

" 'Four score and seven years ago'—

" Said Abraham Lincoln on the historic field of Gettysburg—

'our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.'

"Hitherto militarism in varying degrees had ruled the world and the power and influence of the nations had been reckoned by the number and strength of their standing armies. From feudal lords to Kaiser and King the course of empire had been marked by blood and iron. The army was a distinct class and often overthrew the government and humiliated the civic classes of the people. In early times the rank and file were quartered in private homes. It was the dominant force, a permanent military establishment, and ordinary citizenship seldom rose above the rank of serfdom. King and army were the government.

" But it was different with the new nation, thus brought forth on the American Continent. Its basic principle rested with the people. Its power and strength in peace was to depend upon the justice and fair dealing of its citizenship and those who might be temporarily selected to exercise the functions of government. In war its reliance was to be upon a volunteer army, called temporarily from the walks of civil life, and to be disbanded and again become an integral part of the citizenship on the passing of the exigencies of war.

"A big standing army in peace, eating up the substance of industry, was not to be thought of. It was a reproach in the eyes of the men of 1776.

"Thus was liberty and republican government established in the New World. The new nation, thus constituted, flourished and waxed strong. And at Yorktown, where the world's militarism received its first great shock in the surrender of British regulars and hired Hessians to the volunteer forces under Washington, its form of government and citizen soldiery were vindicated.

"Again and again, in the War of 1812, and in the Mexican War, this basic principle of free government was attacked and repeatedly vindicated.

"But the supreme test did not come until civil war shook to its foundation this new form of government, and caused President Lincoln, in this same speech at Gettysburg, to exclaim in sorrow:

" 'Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure.'

"It stood the test. 'A new birth of freedom' came to the nation at Appomattox. The lessons of that hour and the example of Grant and Lee, great leaders of volunteer armies, in at once disbanding their forces and retiring with them to the peaceful pursuits of civil life ought for all time to be a warning against militarism in every form.

"For a half century it seemed as if such warning would be world-wide and effective. The leaven of American liberty gradually worked itself upward and outward around the world. Absolute governments became constitutional, and in some notable instances, like that of France, purely democratic in form. The Russian Duma and the Republic of China may be extreme and to some extent doubtful experiments, but they show the clear tendency of modern thought away from the militarism of the past.

"But in an evil hour, seizing upon the unhappy war conditions in Europe, a new propaganda of militarism, under the specious name of 'preparedness,' has made its appearance in the land of Washington and Lincoln, of Grant and Lee. I shall not stop to discuss the cause. Be it hysteria or sense, it is here in such force as to dominate the executive and legislative branches of the government; and, very naturally, the favored few who have been retained in the military service, or at least on the payroll, during the years of peace, assume to possess all wisdom and knowledge on this subject. The ideas and example of Grant and Lee are forgotten in the words and seer-like suggestions of those who see conflagrations and 'sparks flying' everywhere.

"But details are unimportant. As members of Congress, in the consideration of the pending bill (H. R. 12766—Hay bill) we are up against a condition. The splendid response of Congress and the country to the recommendations of the President, now that actual war exists in Mexico, and the fact that Congress has already, by a practically unanimous vote, provided for a further enlistment of 20,000 volunteer citizen soldiers, and indicated its willingness by like unanimity to back the Executive to the limit with additional volunteers, now that American lives are in actual peril and 'Old Glory' has been wantonly insulted, does not seem to abate or modify the zeal of these propagandists of militarism.

"Their grip upon Congress and public sentiment seems to tighten.

"Leaders on both sides in Congress, in this wild movement to revolutionize our form of government, change and alter the basic principles of the new nation brought forth by the fathers in 1776, have grown excited, dictatorial, and arrogant, and even the President, on the theory of preparing for unknown possibilities, is understood to have demanded that all the business of the country in Congress be suspended until a huge army and navy of royal and monarchical size can be provided for as a permanent, voracious, tax-eating substitute for the volunteer citizen soldiery of the Republic, who have heretofore successfully defended our country when assailed by both foreign and domestic foes.

"We are asked to abandon the beacon lights of experience. We are asked to return to the iron age.

"Nine-tenths of the present American Congress, in my judgment, are ready to stand by the President and follow any so-called preparedness plans he and his advisers may submit, even though some of them may doubt his disinterested motives. They are not disposed to be critical or stop to inquire the cause of undesirable facts. Congress is moving rapidly, and, although much time is wasted in volunteer speech-making intended for use only in the districts, the time has come for every member to take his position and do his duty as he sees it. If he acts conscientiously, without personal or political considerations, looking only to the practical welfare of his country, he may, even if mistaken, calmly face the future conscious of his own integrity and without fear of those at home who may be hoping to see him submerged politically by a U-boat or mine set for the unwary.

"Under such conditions what is the duty of a patriotic citizenship, what the duty of their Representatives in Congress?

"Answering for myself, with due deference to those who are older than I am in the service in Congress and those at home who may not agree with me in sentiment, I believe it to be my duty to so vote and act as to get the best results possible for my country out of existing conditions, and keep the old ship of state, now rocked in angry seas, as far as possible away from the dangerous reefs and swift-moving currents of the present and as near as possible to the safe headlands and courses charted by the fathers.

"Accordingly, I shall vote against any and all amendments to the pending bill calculated to increase its tendency toward militarism and in favor of every one calculated to modify or minimize such tendency. Some amendments, like the Kahn proposition to more than double the present authorized strength of our standing army, have already been voted down by substantial majorities, thus giving hopeful promise of the future. The bill itself, as unanimously—in form, at least—recommended by the committee, is not a radical measure. It increases the peace footing of the army by only about 40,000 above the number at present allowed by law, and this increase is to be gradual. Other details, already fully discussed, might be referred to by me, but it would only be a waste of time. Suffice it to say that the bill as now amended and ready to be voted upon is, in my judgment, in the best possible form that anti-militarists can hope to have it. My fear is that, although on the floor of the House it has been repeatedly called the 'President's bill' by Chairman Hay, when it goes to the Senate the extreme militarists, self-styled preparedists, may be able to induce the Executive to look upon it from a different angle and demand that radical, almost revolutionary, changes be made."

My re-election followed in due course with an increased majority. A few voters of my own party with self-exploited patriotic ardor, but whose war-like desires seemed to cool off when questionnaire day came and they began to hunt for exemption or deferred military classification, called me a pacifist, but their votes were not missed or regretted by me on election day.

During the canvass, although, like other members, I remained on duty here, I had opportunity to speak on patriotic subjects.

Once, when the question was up of sending an army into Mexico to rescue the imperiled forces under Gen. Pershing, sent across the border in search of the bandit Villa, I said:

"Mr. Speaker, a grave blunder has been made in Mexico by the present administration as inexcusable, in my judgment, as that at Balaklava, when

the 'Light Brigade' was ordered to useless slaughter. Its 'watchful waiting' and its 'in-again-and-out-again' policy have shown a total want of any definite, well-considered purpose, and has been fruitful only of unhappy results.

"It is regrettable from any patriotic or dignified viewpoint. It is explicable only on the theory of seeking partisan advantage.

"But actual war exists, call it what we may, and this, with patriots, should silence party differences and political scheming. At such a time, like it was with the troopers of the Light Brigade when ordered to advance, it is not for American patriots 'to reason why.' 'Forward' is the order of the President, and this, to my mind, fixes the duty of citizenship. American blood has been drawn; American soldiers have been ambushed and shot; the American flag has been insulted and American citizenship has been outraged beyond endurance or decency. An inadequate American force is today in peril, if not already annihilated, on foreign soil, and the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, made so by the Constitution and the suffrages of the people, asks of Congress authority to call our state reserves to the colors. It is not a time for partisan thought or accusation.

"There is no middle ground for patriotism either at the White House or among the people.

"I am emphatically a man of peace. War is abhorrent. Although only a private soldier in the Civil War, I saw enough of its horrors to know that Gen. Sherman was right when in his blunt speech he said it was hell.

"But peace may be purchased too dearly. Loss of honor and self-respect in a nation or individual is the beginning of the end, and I shall not knowingly be a party to such a beginning.

"As for myself, I have no apologies to make for my support of this resolution. The tocsin of war has sounded for my country, and this is a signal to me to sink party differences, and, figuratively speaking at least, join the colors. What boots it if we have a Democratic administration? What boots it if the President has made serious mistakes in his past Mexican policy? What boots it if his partisan followers are seeking to coin political advantage out of the discharge of simple, plain, patriotic duties? What boots it to whom the honors of success shall fall when Old Glory returns in honor from Mexican soil? We are all Americans, and patriotism should not have any dividing party lines. Only the selfish and self-seeking think otherwise."

Again, May 1, 1916, when a determined effort was made in the House to fix a time for the withdrawal of American influences in the Philippines and haul down Old Glory in the Orient, I protested as follows:

"Humanity, national honor, and the solemn trust assumed by our Government at the close of the Spanish-American War forbid the abandonment of the Philippines at least until the nation shall have discharged its full duty to the native islanders as pointed out by President McKinley in his last message to Congress, in which he called the Philippines the 'wards of the nation,' and further explained that—

" 'Our obligation as guardian was not lightly assumed. It must not be otherwise than honestly fulfilled, aiming first of all to benefit those who have come under our fostering care. It is our duty so to treat them that our flag may be no less beloved in the mountains of Luzon and the fertile zones of Mindanao and Negros than it is at home, and that there as here it shall be the revered symbol of liberty, enlightenment, and progress in every avenue of development.' "

"With Old Glory thus raised in the Orient, we are asked today—almost commanded by the Executive—to order it hauled down, furled, and laid away, as was the first American flag raised in Hawaii and afterwards taken down by order of a former Chief Executive of the same party faith, only to be again raised in honor when the Republican party came into power. Gem of the Pacific, no American today with an ounce of red blood in his veins thinks of abandoning this island.

"I can not with my convictions of duty aid in the sacrifice of national honor proposed by this bill. The American flag, once raised in honor, shall never be lowered in dishonor by my vote while I remain a member of the American Congress. I would rather resign at once and let some one of easy conscience take my place who can substitute expediency and sycophancy for national honor and duty.

"I propose in my vote today to stand by the administration of President McKinley in its settlement of the Spanish-American War; stand by his soul, heart, and conscience, as I knew and understood them from intimate personal association with the man, and by the wise councilors of state whose advice he sought, and by the Congress of the people to whom, in a constitutional way, he made recommendations, but never sought to dominate or control."

As election day approached and signs of Republican success began to multiply, Democratic leaders grew apprehensive and, throwing civil-service rules to the wind, rushed the campaign with reckless energy.

As illustrating conditions in my own district, I quote from a speech in the *Record* of September 7, 1916:

"Mr. Speaker, the leading Democratic newspaper of my district, published by a corporation whose president is postmaster in its principal city, recently attacked my vote against the Senate amendment to the House naval bill, which, according to the statements of this paper, provided for the construction of 157 new American war vessels, suggesting further that the President, who not long ago said we already have an efficient navy, had his heart in the measure and used his influence to bring about its passage, adding with usual partisan zeal that I would be 'called to explain' my vote, and that I 'would have to step aside and let a younger man take my place,' indicating that such younger man was to be my present Democratic opponent.

"Believing it the right, in fact, duty, of every good citizen, whether friendly or otherwise, in or out of the Government service, to call upon his Congressman for an explanation of any of his votes, if desired, I promptly acted on the suggestion and sent to the paper my explanation, expecting naturally it would be given the same publicity as the attack on my vote, although in this expectation I was disappointed.

"It follows substantially:

" 'Whether or not the President is in favor of this colossal increase in naval expenditures, greater in amount than ever before proposed in any government on earth in war or peace, is not and can not be known until the bill reaches him for executive action.

" 'The army bill, just vetoed, was in like manner put forward by his friends in the House as one of his pet measures without any thought of a veto. Democratic leaders seemed to speak for him with authority, and, being a conservative measure, it met with little opposition on either side of the Chamber, or elsewhere until the Senate largely increased it, followed by a presidential veto.' "

" 'Anyone reading the details of this bill, with the added Senate amendments, must realize that by it a new and distinct un-American class, independent of the people, is formed in this country with a provision for its continuance years after the hoped-for change of administration shall take place by the inauguration of President Hughes in March of next year.

“ ‘A shade of doubt is also cast upon the sincerity of the President, if he really does favor this great and increasing naval expenditure, by the fact that the keels of a number of war ships, long ago authorized by Congress, have not been laid or begun by this administration, and the certainty that this program can not be completed until 1920. Facing this condition, and with this knowledge, with signs of peace on every hand, as stated by the President, how should I have voted? Of course, I could have dodged or not voted as did other members according to the Record, some doubtless for fear of just such newspaper attacks as have been made upon me. But I never dodged a duty in my life and am too old to begin. I admit mistakes, but no fair-minded man or woman ever charged me with evasion. The only choice, therefore, left to me was to follow my own convictions and vote as I did with the minority, including Mr. Kitchin, majority leader, and such sturdy Republican leaders as Campbell, of Kansas, and Lenroot, of Wisconsin, instead of with the majority, certain as it was of success, and exultant under the leadership of the Democratic chairman of the Naval Committee and the Republican minority leader. I am on record as a conservative and in favor of honest neutrality, but have supported every war measure asked for by the President without a thought of partisan advantage accruing to him, except the present proposition, if he be in fact in favor of it.’ ”

Election day came. The Republican slump in Ohio and California resulted disastrously to the party, but I was reelected in my district, plucked from the burning, so to speak, much to the chagrin of local Democrats and the few voters I have referred to of my own party who claimed I was too slow stepping for their war-like souls. German atrocities continued. Sparks from the European battle fields began to fly in every direction. The militant spirit of America was aroused as the Germans added horror to horror. The *Lusitania* was sunk. U-boat warfare was extended ruthlessly to noncombatants, women, and children. Honor, self-respect, and manly chivalry left but one course to pursue. The President followed that course and a very large majority of this Congress followed him. The result is glorious history.

That no one, friend or foe, in my district might longer pretend to be in doubt as to my views, I rose in the House April 5, 1917, when the declaration of war was under consideration, and in a brief speech explained the impossibility as I saw it of America attempting longer to play the rôle of neutrality. Further dalliance seemed like inviting attack; seemed like an admission that “we were too proud to fight.”

I quote substantially in full:

"Mr. Speaker, I shall vote for this resolution as a patriotic duty; I shall vote for it in the same spirit with which over a half century ago I offered my young manhood to my country on a similar call from President Lincoln.

"I shall vote for it because our present duly elected chief magistrate has said to us in effect that he has exhausted all proper means of avoiding war with a nation which happily heretofore has been at peace with us during all our national life. As the President has well said, 'It is a most fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war;' but his is the responsibility; our duty in a sense is of lesser degree — that common to all official and patriotic citizenship.

"I represent a district in which there are many so-called pacifists, sturdy, rugged, conscientious believers in the peaceful doctrines of William Penn; nonresistants, if you please, and yet men and women of the type of martyrs, unafraid in any human presence. I honor them. Family traditions and teaching point me in the same direction, and yet, as in the lurid days of the Civil War, placing country above family ties or personal considerations, I must respond to duty as I understand it — answer the call of the President and stand by him in matters of immediate concern, such as the resolution we are now considering, reserving only matters of conscience and the future exercise of deliberation and judgment on doubtful governmental policies which may or may not arise after the exigencies of the hour shall have passed.

"With me it is not a matter of excitement or hysteria caused by war propagandists or aroused by the more serious and burning words of the President. I do not agree in sentiment with all he has said. I have felt that absolute neutrality, even to the extent of an embargo on the shipment of arms and ammunition to belligerents, was the duty of this great Republic, and I am loth to waver in judgment in this respect. But I fear we are approaching a condition where not to stand by the President — elected for four years by the people and the only one we have or can have in the present emergency — would be like attempting to tie the hands and embarrass the executive branch of the Government, a thing which I feel no Member of Congress ought to be expected to do in such an hour of national peril.

"This does not mean that all Members of Congress should follow him in extreme ideas for the future, such as the construction of big battleships in large numbers which can not possibly be put in commission until after present dangers are past, or in big standing armies for the future formed

by compulsory military training; in other words, abandoning the ideals of the Republic for the reactionary ideals of monarchy. My hope has been that permanent peace and disarmament might come together."

The declaration was full and complete. It solemnly pledged to the winning of the war all the resources, men and money, of the most powerful Nation on earth, leaving details and methods of execution to the future action of the President and Congress.

Presumably the traditions of the Republic were to be preserved; they had stood the crucial tests of five successful wars.

The volunteer system of organizing armies was not an experiment with free, patriotic, self-governing peoples. It had been tried and not found wanting. It was based upon man as a responsible thinking being, while the opposite or conscript system reckons with him more as a physical force.

The inherent right of a free citizen to volunteer and fight in defense of his country had never before been questioned. It seemed as well recognized and as sacred as the right to defend one's person or family when attacked.

But new light and wisdom were professedly said to have come to the President and his advisers from "experts on both sides of the water," as they were aptly termed by the President himself, and thereupon the traditions of the Republic and the experience of its founders and defenders in past wars were ignored.

Congressional action was necessary to give sanction to this innovation, and a sharp controversy arose. It raged for days with rare earnestness in the House, backed by the administration, but finally the policy of conscription, sugar-coated as selection, won, and the volunteer system was discredited for the first time in the history of the Republic.

The new system, selective drafting, has proven a success, judged by the only standard permissible in war—success itself. It is not now a subject of discussion; believers in the old traditions of the fathers and the volunteer system are silenced.

But what it may lead to in the hazy realms of the future can not now be told. Whether or not it means the entering upon a broader, more liberal, and more genuinely republican policy than that of Washington and Lincoln, leading eventually to the consummation of the higher ideals of a free world, must for the present remain a matter of conjecture. He who rules and must reign, on earth as in heaven, alone can tell. My hope and prayer is for its success, although admitting a fear that some time in the years to come, in an unguarded moment, some imperialistic believer in big standing

armies and big military establishments, like Napoleon or Caesar, may appear on horseback and seek to lead a confiding people backward and wrench from them the fair fruits of liberty won by our armies of today at such fearful sacrifice.

Having, as stated, honestly and in good faith as a Representative in Congress contended for the volunteer system, I deem it only proper on this occasion to let the printed record fully explain. I have no apologies to make for my votes, nor desire to conceal my beliefs on this or any other public question.

On April 25, 1917, a few days after war was declared, the House having under consideration the bill (H. R. 3545) to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment by volunteer enlistments, which had been reported with a favorable recommendation by the Military Committee, a motion was made to strike out this volunteer feature and substitute in its place one authorizing conscription or compulsory military service, I said:

"Mr. Chairman, I can not vote for this bill if its volunteering features are stricken out as proposed. I will vote for it if such features are retained, out of deference to the judgment of the President, assuming that his wishes are correctly reported to us by the war journals and by those of our House leaders who are supposed to speak for him, although some of its other provisions, its colossal magnitude, its suggestions of close foreign cooperation and possible future entanglements, contrary to American ideals and contrary to the thought of many Members of the House when they voted for the declaration of war believing, as they did at the time, it was to be an American war, waged by American volunteer soldiers in defense of American rights ruthlessly invaded by the German Kaiser, as set forth in the President's address. Members of Congress of all parties were willing to trust the management of such a war to the President and his official advisers under American plans, not expecting them to resort to royal ways or royal advice.

"Consideration of my own duty, therefore, in regard to the measure has been largely confined to the question of conscription without first giving the citizen, able and willing to serve his country, an opportunity to volunteer in its defense whenever or however it may be attacked. Conscription, without such opportunity, is, in my judgment, un-republican and un-American. It is a stigma upon patriotism. Its advocates are fundamentally wrong in their basic conceptions. They declaim loudly about universal military service being the duty of every citizen of the State, but they strangely omit

to mention the fact that in a Republic the people are the State and that therefore the duty they proclaim is but the ordinary reciprocal obligations of good citizenship, universal and binding alike upon all who would enjoy the blessings of a republican form of government. It is a proud privilege, a free-man's heritage, a most sacredly guarded right of the citizen to voluntarily join his copatriots in defense of their common country when assailed without being conscripted or unjustly classed with the unwilling or unworthy. Conscription implies involuntary servitude by force, a stigma not to be put upon the patriotic citizenship of a Republic excepting only when the volunteer system fails to produce satisfactory results.

"This has been the rule of the Republic ever since its foundation. It has brought victory and never defeat to the Stars and Stripes. Its virtue has never heretofore been questioned. But it is now said a great emergency has arisen and that there is no time to study the historic lessons of our own Republic, founded by George Washington and his compeers, and that, therefore, American traditions and ideals must be abandoned and the old, old lights of the world invoked for our own immediate guidance.

"A great English general, hero of nine wars and first British officer to meet the German line, according to reports in our war journals, tells us that the volunteer system is a failure. But his viewpoint is from that of a monarchy; he speaks for the citizenship of a kingdom, not of a republic. A study of some of the great battles of our Civil War, fought by volunteer soldiers, Federals and Confederates, might tell a different story.

"The wheels of progress and thought are to be turned backward toward militarism, backward toward a condition which our modern Secretary of War, in his letter to Chairman Dent, calls a 'philosophy.' So be it. This bill with its elastic volunteering feature provides for just such supposed contingency, but it places the responsibility where it justly belongs—with the President. The House committee has wisely provided that —

"In the event the President decides that such additional force or forces shall not have been effectually raised under the call for volunteers as herein provided the President be, and he is hereby, authorized to raise by draft as herein provided, organize, and equip an additional force of 500,000 enlisted men, or such part or parts thereof as he may at any time deem necessary.

"No limitation as to time is put upon this power of the President. If in his judgment conditions exist warranting it, he has power to so order at

any time after volunteering begins. It is left discretionary with him; he is the sole judge, and the bill does not seek to restrain this exercise of Executive power.

"Early after the election of the President last fall, induced largely by the cry that 'he kept us out of war,' I resolved, as a matter of patriotic duty, to stand by his administration in so far as conscience would permit. I resolved in my humble way, waiving all conditions not vital to conscience, to follow his leadership. I have tried in this respect to be true to my country's best interest according to the light God has given me.

"In this spirit I voted approval of the ill-starred expeditions into Mexico, although not entirely convinced that the Taft policy was wrong in declaring an embargo on the shipment of arms and ammunition across the Rio Grande and keeping the American Army encamped on the north bank ready to protect and defend American life and property from any and all assailants.

"I voted without question for the President's modest recommendations, as originally made, for increasing our army, relying, like a majority of American voters, upon his campaign promises.

"I voted to sustain him in his German diplomatic letter writing, believing it to be in line with a well-considered policy of avoiding actual rupture with a great nation with which we had been at peace all our national life.

"I voted approval of his severance of diplomatic relations, although I felt some hesitation, thinking possibly the necessity might have been avoided by a little stricter adherence to our announced policy of neutrality and the exercise of more real diplomacy in dealing with the German embassy at Washington.

"I voted for the authority asked by the President and his advisers to arm American merchant vessels to defend against German submarines, which now on all hands seems to have been a useless waste of patriotism.

"I voted with confessed misgivings as to where it might lead us, but in accordance with my desire to patriotically stand by the President, for the \$7,000,000,000 appropriation asked to carry on the war, the immensity of which is staggering and has no parallel in history.

"I have expressed my willingness to vote for this bill giving, as it does, to the President an absolute war power greater than that ever conferred upon king or potentate, saving only that over the life and death of the subject, if only the ideals of the Republic and its founders can be preserved in a land where now none but free men live.

"I can not follow the President in this.

"I criticize no one who differs with me.

"I answer only to my conscience, to my ideas of an overruling Providence, feeling that I am immune from the embittered charge of political self-seeking hurled against Members of the House, not expecting again to be a candidate for Congress and having no ambition except to do my duty as God gives me to see it during this Congress, the most important parliamentary body ever assembled in the history of the world. I shall hope, however, if I live until March 4, 1919, to take home to my constituents a clear conscience and a pair of clean hands. (Applause.)"

A few days afterward when it became apparent that the motion to amend the bill would carry, April 28, the Record shows I made this further suggestion:

"As this discussion draws to a close it has become apparent that the American volunteer system, successful heretofore in all our wars, is to be stricken down. The conscription system is to be substituted in its place as the future military policy of the Republic by influences powerful enough in this House to override the earnest pleadings of our honored Speaker, former Speaker Cannon, the chairman of both the Military and Naval Committees, the majority leader, Mr. Kitchin, Dr. Fess, Mr. Mondell, Mr. Campbell of Kansas, and many other leaders of experience and conscience.

"I desire to say a last word on this subject to fellow Members of this House, whose good opinions I value, and to my constituents. If a law favoring conscription and leading to permanent militarism be enacted, I shall stand ready to vote full power to the President to exhaust, if necessary, all the resources of a brave, free people, all the resources of the Government in men and money, to bring the war to a successful conclusion."

The roll was called, the vote taken, and the record made up.

I stand by it, and, since then, following my expressed purpose, have consistently given support to the big army supply bills and other war measures asked for by the President. Some of them have been colossal and startling, staggering, in fact, to plain people like myself; but, like Stephen Decatur of old, I have tried to be for my country, right or wrong. His, however, in large measure has been the responsibility, and now that victory has come, is it remarkable that a corresponding feeling of personal triumph should affect the President himself, who after all is much like the rest of us, merely human? He is welcome, so far as I am concerned, to break all previous presidential records for absence from the country and sit for a time, if he

wishes, at the head of the most wonderful peace conference the world has ever known or will know again. His friends may well claim for him this honor and this distinction.

Perish, therefore, any thought that he goes abroad seeking on foreign soil only the plaudits and limelight glory of a world now wholly freed from bondage and not for the expressed object of finally achieving for mankind his high hopes and ideals.

Let us be just to the Executive head of the Nation even though we do not agree with him in politics or in matters of taste and official detail in the office he temporarily holds.

The decisions of this peace conference are likely to be just and be final for all time. It will no doubt seek to render to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's and may God in his wisdom be with America in her efforts to return to normal conditions. She did not enter the war for conquest; her public men are not now exploiting, as the newspapers report some of the representatives of the allied powers, the billions expected to be exacted as their separate indemnity from the German people, nor are we proclaiming in advance of the meeting of the peace conference that America will insist upon or accept any particular world privilege such as reported of England by King George's premier to the effect that her ancient claim of right will be revived and unalterably insisted upon to maintain in peace or war a fleet powerful enough to dominate the world. Shades of Valley Forge, Yorktown, and New Orleans! Can not such disquieting thoughts remain in the shadows where they belong and where they have been since 1812? It is an unhappy time to revive memories of the past. All questions between the allies or with America should be held in abeyance, at least until they can be discussed in friendly conference. The Talleyrand diplomacy of Vienna must not be repeated at Versailles. It might be fatal to the future peace of the world.

The pathway of America from temporary autocracy, from absolute war powers temporarily lodged in the Executive, back to plain republican simplicity is fraught with dangers seen and unseen; it is a long and rugged road, but in the final destiny of the world its success or failure must be the real test of human liberty. It will reveal the final strength or weakness of American institutions. We have reached the crossroads of destiny.

Partisan scheming for or selfish criticism of the President in an hour like this is little short of treason to American ideals.

Mr. Speaker, I have little further to add to the report of my stewardship. I have not, as you and my fellow Members of Congress know, sought

the limelight or had special hobbies to exploit on the floor of the House or in the public press. My individual acquaintance in the press gallery is almost negligible, although duly appreciative of this powerful third house of Congress. I have not sought notoriety in any way; my time has been fully occupied by the plain duties of a Congressman.

Besides necessary attention to the local requirements of a district of great and varied industrial interests, my general committee work has been sufficient to keep me busy, except when the House has been in session for business. My record of attendance on the daily sessions is good. I have been a willing, patient listener, but as a speaker I have been somewhat modest and unobtrusive—a rare combination, I may say, without intending offense in this House.

My committee work, although important and wholly selected by others for me, has not been of the kind conducive to floor prominence. The iron-bound rule of seniority in service, not in experience or years, has kept me off the only committee—the Judiciary—in harmony with my whole life work, but personally I can not say that I regret it. It may have been for the best in my case, certainly has been for many of my constituents, comrades of the old and comrades of the new army, for whom I have been able to labor with greater diligence; but I express the hope that in the Sixty-sixth Congress it will, like the autocracy of the kaiser, be utterly destroyed. It has no place in a free, open forum of the people. It is a relic of the old absolutism of the Speaker, happily and timely snuffed out in the Sixty-first Congress.

In this age cards must be played face upward on the table.

Modesty, Mr. Speaker, is said somewhere to bespeak one's merit; and if this be so, then I claim title to a certificate of merit from this House. Speech making merely for the sake of being heard has not been my rôle. By my acts and my votes I am willing to be judged by my constituents. My votes are of record; I have never dodged unless absent on account of sickness or other sufficient cause.

Outside of my support of war and patriotic measures, my votes will show that I have stood for the general uplift and encouragement of my fellow men, stood for moral righteousness and reform whenever or however presented.

Modestly I have tried to remember the unselfish dream of the poet:

Honor and shame from no condition rise;
Act well your part, there all the honor lies.



FAMILIAR SCENE NEAR COURT HOUSE,
CADIZ, OHIO

APPENDIX

This volume being intended only for family and special friends, the writers feel that it is not unseemly to add a few miscellaneous selections from printed remarks and newspaper clippings from the large number available for the purpose.

(From the 29th Annual Report of the Ohio State Bar Association, 1908.)

ANNUAL ADDRESS OF HON. D. A. HOLLINGSWORTH OF CADIZ

Acting President, Put-in-Bay, July 7th, 1908

Gentlemen of the State Bar Association—I sincerely regret, as I feel sure you do, the enforced absence of our worthy President, Hon. Thomas B. Paxton, of Cincinnati, and trust that the first resolution offered at this session may be one of greeting and good cheer to him with a wish for his speedy restoration to health and a safe return home.

His absence at this time will be a distinct loss in interest to the association.

The duties which have in consequence devolved upon me as the senior Vice President, are, I assure you, quite embarrassing and it is only in the hope that I shall have the generous indulgence and helpful assistance of the entire membership, and especially that of the Executive Committee, that I have obtained my own consent to assuming the responsible duties of a position heretofore occupied only by very able and very eminent lawyers, beginning in 1880, with that great jurist, Rufus P. Ranney.

The printed reports of our association will show that my membership and attendance upon its annual meetings have been continuous and faithful, but that I have taken only a modest part in the legal discussions and other speech-making oratory which have heretofore enlivened our proceedings.

I have been usually a listener; not a talker.

And in the few remarks I shall make today, I am tempted to violate precedent and depart from the usual beaten path of selfpraise and glorification of the bench and bar, especially the former, which have uniformly marked the able addresses to which, with conscious pride and satisfaction, we have listened at our former meetings.

ETHICS OF THE BENCH AND BAR

The bench and bar have reciprocal obligations toward each other of courtesy and frankness which ought never to be violated by either. The bench, like the placid waters of a mountain lake, can never rise above the level of its source higher up among the springs and rivulets on the mountain side. Its calm serenity and even poise may and should act as a restraining influence, but beyond this lies a danger line.

Arbitrary acts and shallow thoughts wherever found are believed to go hand in hand. The stamp of human weakness rests upon us all.

There are good lawyers and bad lawyers, good judges and bad judges, but the mark of distinction between the good and bad, gloss over and laud in self praise of our profession as we may, is the same as in any other profession or calling in life, simply the possession or lack of a generous, manly honest nature.

The fiction which draws a distinction between the judicial office and the occupant who for the time being discharges its functions may be and doubtless is all right, but is it not too exacting upon human nature to require a self-respecting lawyer to pay full respect to the position if the occupant be personally unworthy or himself non-observant of ordinary professional courtesy?

On the bench, a crusty, crabbed, arbitrary nature may sometimes pass as evidence of profound wisdom, not only in the imagination of the occupant but also with certain lawyers who habitually seek the sunny side of every judge before whom they practice. But the same crabbed traits of character in a practicing lawyer are sure to be resented sometimes quite arbitrarily, especially by immature as well as over-matured occupants of the bench.

Why is this difference?

In the administration of justice, no greater misfortune can befall our courts than for the judges to have, or even be unjustly suspected of having, a sunny side for special favorites at the bar. A juror who hobnobs with counsel during the progress of a trial becomes an object of suspicion, however innocent his motives. He may be challenged peremptorily without cause or explanation. A reprimand from the bench is not uncommon.

But why, I ask, should not the same rule in principle obtain with an occupant of the bench having a like weakness, assuming both the juror and

the judge to be honest and upright? Being human, their conceptions of right and wrong must naturally be the same.

In rare instances, especially in country districts, the juror may have an advantage of the judge. He comes from the unpolluted fields of pure living and upright thinking. He has no rival ambitions or a place in his rustic heart for secret envy or malice.

However, we must not anticipate the discussion of the report of our committee on Judicial Administration and Legal Reform which has recommended the repeal or practical emasculation of existing safeguards against a prejudiced judge, on the theory, possibly, of the Common Law in relation to the King, that he can do no wrong be he a Jeffreys or a George the Third.

No more important subject will come before us for discussion at this meeting.

The American Bar Association has recently formulated and sent out for discussion through a committee of eminent lawyers headed by Henry St. George Tucker, of Virginia, a code of professional ethics, the third canon of which, intended only for lawyers, seems to me equally applicable to judges, jurors, court officials and all others who in any manner have a part in the administration of justice. It reads:

"Marked attention and unusual hospitality on the part of a lawyer to a judge, uncalled for by the personal relations of the parties, subject both the judge and the lawyer to misconstruction of motive and should be avoided. A lawyer should not communicate or argue privately with any judge as to the merits of a pending case, and he deserves rebuke and denunciation for any device or attempt to gain from a judge special personal consideration or favor. A self-respecting independence in the discharge of professional duty, without denial or diminution of the courtesy and respect due the judge's station, is the only proper foundation for cordial personal and official relations between the bench and bar."

Let this canon be adopted. Let it apply universally in principle to all who enter the sacred precincts of the court room, and many of the ugly, half concealed scandals of our courts, especially in divorce cases, will disappear, and the crystal fountain of justice will cease to reflect anything discreditable or discourteous either to the bench or bar.

WORK OF THE BAR ASSOCIATION

I may also be pardoned, acting only temporarily as President, if I omit on this occasion the usual panegyric of praise of the work accomplished by

our Association and its influence in general in shaping the administration of the law. I have not in sentiment always been in accord with its recommendations. It would, however, be useless, possibly churlish, to particularize. He who has not spoken when he should is estopped from speaking when he would.

A learned writer on legal subjects once wrote, with somewhat mystic meaning, that "nothing is more to be dreaded than maxims of law and reasons of state blended together," and straightway, in the same spirit, many lawyers and most judges seem to have reasoned out that it is quite beneath their dignity and standing to take part in so-called party politics. As a result, they often find themselves in a class of mere obstructionists in the great forward movements of the government of which they should be an important factor.

I dissent from all such notions of judicial dignity.

Law and the science of statecraft naturally go hand in hand and the lawyer who fails to study deeply of the science of government, or the statesman, politician if you please, who fails in formative legislation to lay his lines deep in the foundation of the law, will fail in his career.

His place in history will be diminutive.

Had William McKinley, whose great fame as a lawyer-statesman encircled the globe in life and whose memory is a benediction to the whole nation, contented himself with being a dignified lawyer or judge at Canton, eschewing participation in politics, he would doubtless have prospered financially and gone quietly through life enjoying the respect and confidence of his neighbors, and had perhaps a self-conscious feeling of superior dignity among them. He might even have been a dignified critic of the great acts of the government which have placed the American Republic in the fore rank of all nations.

But he chose the wiser course. He recognized in full measure all the duties of good citizenship resting upon him as a typical American.

There are other Ohio lawyers of almost if not equal prominence in state and national affairs who do not seem to know that the state has a Bar Association. They are not attracted by its meetings, its discussions or its results. Why? Is the difficulty with them or with the Bar Association.

I submit that this inquiry is worthy the candid consideration of every member who has at heart the lasting good of the Association.

In this connection, while reviewing and commending the many acts of the Bar Association to which we all point with pride and satisfaction, it is well

to inquire whether or not its achievements as a whole have corresponded to the high aims and purposes of its founders. Have we in all instances come up to their lofty ideals?

At the time the Bar Association was organized, the present constitution of the state had been in operation a little more than a quarter of a century. Its provisions had from time to time been under review by the Supreme Court, composed of such jurists as Ranney, Thurman, Bartley, Swan, Kennon, Scott, Day, Welsh and others of equal ability—constitutional lawyers of great breadth and power, whose very presence on the bench was an inspiration. Intellectual giants, independent thinkers, they at first naturally divided in thought along the line of a liberal or strict construction of the new instrument. Masterfully, however, they reasoned with each other, conceding something here and there for sake of agreement, and endeavoring to elucidate and make plain its doubtful phases, until finally, after repeated decisions, a somewhat liberal meaning and effect became fairly well established. The bar generally and the intelligent people of the state acquiesced. Civil and property rights grew up under such construction and they were supposed to be fixed and secure.

The rule of stare decisis, in time, also seemed, to the average legal mind, to add something to such security.

But, presto change, soon after the State Bar Association was organized in 1880 and began the discussion of all kinds of legal questions at its annual meetings, sometimes, possibly, as much for the sake of argument as anything else, these old problems of the constitution, supposed to have been settled, reappeared and began again to be questioned.

The ball of discontent was set rolling. Able and distinguished jurists began to doubt. A speck on the judicial horizon, no bigger at first than one's hand, soon grew and grew until seemingly it overshadowed the entire judiciary of the state.

We all know the result.

Decisions, admittedly able but differing from the former rulings of the Supreme Court, were announced, and conditions were thereby so unsettled that a conservative governor deemed it necessary to call the General Assembly into extraordinary session to provide a remedy for the resulting chaos and confusion.

The result has been a municipal code and other hasty legislation which will require perhaps another quarter of a century of judicial interpretation to accurately define and fix their meaning.

Meantime, as a Bar Association we rejoice, and, as an original proposition, I am free to concede rightfully, in having at last found judges of sufficient courage and conviction to announce strict legal principles from the bench, letting the chips fall where they may.

But what of the people of the state? What of the great body of lawyers, numbering about nine-tenths of the bar of the state, who do not attend or thoroughly enter into the reform spirit of our Association? May they not seriously and pertinently inquire, considering the increasing number of decisions by a divided bench, what may happen if, after the lapse of another quarter of a century, our Supreme Court should find itself with a majority of new members, disciples of these old time jurists, imbued also, like our present excellent judges, with courage enough to inquire into and overturn established decisions not in accord with their own honest convictions of constitutional construction.

The thought of it is alarming. It suggests uncertainty and doubt, the most serious defects known to the modern administration of justice.

CERTAINTY IN DECISIONS

The law ought never to be a matter of see-sawing. Certainty is essential to confidence in our courts. The fewer dissenting opinions published the higher will be the respect and confidence of the bar, and especially intelligent laymen, in court reports. Greatly to be commended, therefore, is the present method of reporting divisions in our Supreme Court by indicating the names of concurring rather than dissenting judges.

But still intelligent people and disinterested lawyers will read between lines and inquire the meaning of the doubt and uncertainty thus clouding so many of our modern decisions. The number of three to three affirmances which determine, without right of appeal or reargument, important individual rights is attracting attention.

Of course, a conscientious judge can not concur in a decision at variance with his own honest convictions any more than an honest juror should be expected to assent to a verdict contrary to the facts as he sees them. Neither should be unduly influenced to agree with his fellows.

But what reason can be assigned for the great increase in modern practice in the number of decisions announced by divided courts, and in the number of disagreements in important jury trials?

It would be unjust to suggest haste in reaching conclusions or unusual tenacity in clinging to individual opinions, once formed.

But, I repeat, what is the cause?

I yield to no man in profound respect for our Supreme Court, or the present personnel of the judges, but as food for thought I trust we may, without the slightest reflection upon the judges, past or present, compare the record work of the court at different periods.

A single comparison will suffice to illustrate my meaning:

In the First Ohio St. Reports, covering 703 pages, there are seventy reported cases, the opinions being written by five judges, Ranney, Thurman, Corwin, Bartley and Caldwell, and all concurred in by a full bench except eleven, or about sixteen per cent of the whole number.

In the 74th Ohio St., the last full volume at hand, covering 421 pages, there are thirty-eight reported cases, the opinions being written by six judges, Shauck, Price, Crew, Summers, Spear and Davis, twenty-three of which, or about sixty per cent, not appearing to have received the concurrence of a full bench. This does not include the numerous unreported cases the memoranda of which cover over one hundred pages of the same volume, very few of which received such concurrence, and most of them seem only to have been considered by three judges.

The Supreme Court of Ohio is not an exception; practically the same conditions exist in the Supreme Court of the United States, the most dignified judicial body in the world.

Such uncertainty in the decisions of our higher courts is embarrassing to lawyers and mystifying to intelligent clients. It breeds distrust of the administration of law in general, and often begets confusion among courts of concurrent jurisdiction, and sometimes between State and Federal courts.

It is humiliating to the profession to have to advise a client that his rights depend on whether he seeks relief in a State or Federal court. A single instance in my own practice will serve as an illustration:

Two farmers, living on adjoining farms near Scio, Ohio, leased their respective farms for oil and gas production to the same lessee, using identical blank forms of lease.

The habendum of each read:

"To have and to hold the same unto the lessee, his heirs and assigns, for the period of two years from the date hereof and as long thereafter as oil or gas is found in paying quantities thereon, not exceeding in the whole the term of twenty-five years. * * * In case no well shall be drilled

on said premises within twelve months from the date thereof, this lease shall become null and void, unless the lessee shall pay for the further delay at the rate of one dollar per acre at or before the end of each year until a well shall be drilled."

No one connected with the leasing doubted the right of the lessee to extend the leases indefinitely by the payment of rentals.

No well was drilled on either farm within the year, but before "the end of the year thereafter," a tender in full under the rental clause was made by the lessee. The tender in each instance was refused under the advice of interested parties who induced the lessors to believe that the payment of rentals could not operate to extend the terms beyond the two years specifically mentioned.

Meantime, by reason of nearby oil development, the lands became very valuable as oil territory and the lessors each accepted a cash bonus and executed new leases to other parties.

Litigation ensued promptly between the first and second lessees. The first case (*Brown et al. vs. Fowler et al.*, as subsequently reported in 65th Ohio St., 509) was commenced in the State Common Pleas Court, and the other (*Allegheny Oil Co. vs. Snyder et al.*, 106 Federal Reporter, 764) in the Federal Circuit Court, at Columbus, Ohio.

In the State Court the holding was in favor of the first lessee and the case was appealed to the Circuit Court.

In the Federal Court, Judge Thompson made a similar holding and an appeal was taken to the Circuit Court of Appeals at Cincinnati.

The State Circuit Court next passed upon the question, reversing the Common Pleas in an elaborate opinion, and the case was at once taken on error to the Supreme Court.

The case in the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals then came up for hearing and a transcript copy of the opinion in the State Circuit Court was duly exploited by counsel without effect, the court unanimously affirming the decision of Judge Thompson in an opinion delivered by Justice William R. Day, now of the United States Supreme Court, wherein he reviewed the opinion of the Ohio Circuit Court and held that the first lease was valid and that the rental clause meant just what the average mind of a business man would understand it to mean.

Manifestly, to weaken the effect of a precedent of such high character when the other case should come on for final decision in the Ohio Supreme

Court, the losing party applied to the United States Supreme Court for a writ of certiorari and on the hearing the question was elaborately argued on its merits by able counsel, among whom was former President Harrison, but the writ was denied, leaving Justice Day's opinion to stand as the law of the case in the Federal Courts.

Oral argument had been requested in the State Supreme Court and in due time the case there came on for hearing. I had the affirmative and, with a confidence born of such high authority, I modestly departed from my own printed brief and simply called attention to the Federal decision on the same identical point, urging as forcibly as I could the great weight to which it was entitled as a precedent.

The case involved about \$100,000 to my client and we naturally awaited the result with high expectation.

It came in the usual course. See opinion beginning on page 520, 65th Ohio State Reports. It does not refer to the Federal decision in any way. It quotes elementary authorities to establish elementary principles in general, but seems to studiously avoid mentioning the opinion of Justice Day, backed by the full force and great ability of the United States Supreme Court.

A rehearing was denied. The question was settled, as well as my client, beyond a possibility of review, but it left me groping in the dark for an explanation satisfactory to my two clients why one should win and the other lose in important litigation involving the same facts and the same law. The dullest client in such a situation could see that it was a glaring fault in the administration of justice or an ordinary mistake made by one or the other of two great courts. But which? Aye, there is the rub of uncertainty.

I mention this special instance at some length only to illustrate the thought I have in mind that uncertainty of results where uniformity is supposed to exist, in the administration of justice, is the real cause of the want of confidence in both the bench and the bar, too common among intelligent as well as ignorant people.

Is there any remedy? Echo brings back no sufficient answer from the tomes of costly law reports constantly piling up in our already overcrowded law libraries.

Recently, a writer of some note has suggested the impractical idea that in courts constituted of more than one judge, they should be required by law to agree, like jurors, before announcing a decision.

Another writer, of perhaps a more practical turn of mind, has suggested that in every case of disagreement the judges, on their own motion, after

plainly stating the points of difference, should invite or allow re-argument by counsel.

Such suggestion may be folly, but they serve to emphasize and give point to a most grave criticism of the judiciary made by some lawyers and most of the intelligent people of the state.

If by reference to it I have set any one to thinking, I shall be content.

SCINTILLA RULE

Another matter of grave apprehension on the part of the people of the state, and some lawyers, is the subtle attacks and encroachments recently attempted and partially accomplished by the influence of our Bar Association, and other powerful forces, on the recognized province and organization of the Common Law jury.

It may not be orthodox to mention this subject in this presence, but I hope, nevertheless, it will be excused in a member from the rural sections, where both jurors and judges are supposed to be men of character and standing.

In consideration of this subject, it is well to revert to the original constitution of the jury system, and the scrupulous care with which it was safeguarded from undue influence from the judges or even from the crown itself.

All lawyers are supposed to be familiar with the history of the jury system and any extended remarks here would be out of place.

Sir William Blackstone speaks of it as "the glory of the English law." "The impartial administration of justice," said he, in his Oxford lectures on the Common Law, "which secures both our persons and our properties, is the great end of civil society. But if that be entirely entrusted to the magistracy, a select body of men, their decisions, in spite of their own natural integrity, will have frequently an involuntary bias towards those of their own rank and dignity; it is not to be expected from human nature that the few should always be attentive to the interests and good of the many."

He also gave warning against "secret machinations which may sap and undermine" the jury system.

Every precaution was taken to provide absolutely impartial and independent jurors. Challenges were allowed with great liberality and either party might demand a struck jury without question or cause.

Practically this same system was incorporated into the laws of Ohio, and, until recently, it remained in full force.

The trustees of the various townships of a county, generally intelligent men, were required by law to select from their well-informed neighbors a proportionate number of competent electors to serve as jurors and from their names the clerk of the court and sheriff selected the regular panel of jurors by lot.

If any litigant called for a struck jury, thirty-six names were selected by county officials having no connection with the courts, and from this list each party struck off twelve names and the remaining twelve constituted the panel. Even after this, a challenge might be made of any juror for cause.

Thus every litigant felt and was secure in his right to an absolutely impartial jury to try his cause.

How is it today? Have we not entirely departed from the ideal jury of the Common Law?

1. The struck jury is abolished. No litigant, however important his case, may call for a special panel.

I regard this as the worst blow the jury system ever received.

2. Instead of the selection of the regular jurors being independent of the courts, it is now placed almost directly in the control of the Common Pleas judges. They select in each county a jury commission of four and instruct them exactly what kind of jurors to select. Even the law itself is violated at times to secure desired results. All electors, for example, are eligible for jury service, made so by statute, and yet I have here a blank form of instruction, printed and sold by one of the leading blank publishing houses of the state, and used, I know, in some counties by the Common Pleas judges, in which, after the formal appointment of the commissioners and before the signature of the judges, the following additional order is inserted:

"The clerk of said Court of Common Pleas of _____ county will make a record of such appointment upon the journal of said court, and issue a certificate thereof to each of said commissioners, and direct them to meet in the office of the county auditor, on the Fourth Monday of May, 190—, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, and there select _____ judicious and disinterested free-holders having the qualifications of electors of said county to serve as jurors therein."

Free Holders! By what authority does any one, judge or layman, presume to exclude from jury service men of intelligence and character simply

because they do not own real estate? The suggestion is repugnant not only to the letter of the law but to the spirit of the Ohio constitution. Away with all such insidious attempts to "sap and undermine" the jury system. They are the very acts against which Blackstone gave early warning.

Is not our Bar Association directly responsible for such perversions of the law? Have we not, as an Association, openly and designedly, in the presence of the agents of such publishing houses, and even of the judges of the state, sought to discredit the jury system of the Common Law — the early jury system of Ohio, in fact, in the days of Ranney and Thurman?

If not, what is the meaning of certain inflammatory speeches heretofore indulged in against the so-called "scintilla rule," in the presence of judges whose duty it is to observe and obey all the laws of the state, written or unwritten, until repealed by the legislature?

Three years ago, one of our most honored presidents announced with emphasis, in speaking of the "scintilla rule" in his annual address, that "in Ohio, owing partly, if not wholly, to the sentiments developed in this body, it is in process of gradual and ultimate extinction by the decision of our appellate courts. It only remains for the Common Pleas judges to exercise intelligently the courage of their convictions, and thereby discourage the bringing of many actions of no merit, and whose success depends solely upon the ability of those who prosecute them to arouse sympathy or prejudice in the minds of jurors."

Now, in the name of all the sharp quilllets of the law at once, upon what meat doth this our legal Cæsar feed, that he has grown so sure in prophecy?

Modestly, I dissent from any such assumption of superior knowledge as to what our appellate courts may or may not decide in corporation or other cases pending before them. Such expressions, if true, are not creditable either to the judiciary or the Bar Association.

Better by far the modest suggestion of our worthy president last year, when, in referring to the same subject, he said he "did not propose to enter into a discussion of its merits, but only to go upon record as expressing my own judgment that the rule should in some way be eliminated from our practice."

And, better still, an opinion of the Fifth Circuit Court, delivered June 7, 1908, and filed at Carrollton, in Carroll county, reversing a Common Pleas decision in which the trial judge, a most excellent lawyer, possibly convinced as to his duty by reasoning heard at our annual meetings, had undertaken "to exercise intelligently the courage of his convictions" by di-

recting a verdict for defendant, but in reversing which the Circuit Court unanimously said:

"The scintilla rule is still in force in this state, and whilst there has been some conflict as to just what that rule is, and when a case falls within it, we think the consensus of opinion is that if men of rational judgment can draw but one conclusion from the evidence, then it is a question for the court; but, on the other hand, if rational minds may honestly draw different conclusions from the same state of facts, then the question is one of fact and the case should be submitted to the jury under the scintilla rule."

This, I believe, is the latest judicial utterance on the subject in Ohio, and as the Fifth Circuit Court judges, at least a majority of them, are members of this Association, it may be said to be the response of an honest judiciary to the somewhat revolutionary suggestions of some of our leaders.

The subject should be treated fairly by our Association. Let it, if desired, be presented to the General Assembly, where it belongs, in a manly, straightforward way. It is the only authority with power to act. If it approves of the abrogation of the rule, well and good; if not, let the matter rest without undue urging in the conscience of the judges of the state, who are sworn to enforce not make the laws. Let it rest as it is unless challenged by the law-making power of the state.

Apropos of the general subject of jury trials, I again quote from Sir William Blackstone:

"A competent number of sensible and upright jurymen, chosen by lot from among those of the middle class, will be found to be the best investigators of truth and the surest guardians of public justice.

"The most powerful individual in the state will be cautious of committing any flagrant invasion of another's rights when he knows that the fact of his oppression must be examined and decided by twelve indifferent men.

"This preserves in the hands of the people that share which they ought to have in the administration of public justice and prevents the encroachments of the more powerful and wealthy citizens.

"Every new tribunal erected for the decision of facts, without the intervention of a jury, is a step toward establishing aristocracy, the most oppressive of absolute governments."

Prophetic words of wisdom. Had this great light of the Common Law, instead of lecturing at the University of Oxford, been addressing this Association with a knowledge of its trend of thought on this important subject, he would doubtless have added his warning that any encroachments

upon the recognized province of the jury, such as that suggested by an arbitrary judicial abrogation of the "scintilla rule," would simply be a "step" in the same aristocratic direction.

The disparagement of jury trials in certain quarters is wrong. Modern encroachments on this sacred bulwark of our liberties are unjust and dangerous. Their insidious nature has become alarming even to conservatives, and any one who reads the signs of the times aright may well, instead of prophesying further encroachments by the judiciary, consider the probable force and effect of the gathering storm of protest among the people. Fortunately, the tide seems to be turning in influential quarters.

Only recently, June 5, 1908, in a public address at the Chicago-Kent College of Law, one of the judges of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, Hon. William H. Seaman, voiced an emphatic protest against this modern tendency to disparage the jury system. He pointed to the verdict acquitting William H. Haywood of complicity in the murder of Governor Steunenberg as a righteous one, and said that it was evidence that American juries could weigh the testimony in a case without being swayed by public clamor or intimidated by unfair denunciations in high quarters. "The verdict," said he, "was a remarkable vindication of the jury system in America."

He might also have cited other sensational trials. What was it but honest, sturdy, reasoning manhood that enabled the first Thaw jury to withstand the eloquent pleading of famous counsel, aided and abetted by a venal press, to acquit the prisoner on grounds abhorrent to plain common sense law?

What was it that caused the second jury to stand pat against the force and eloquence of the district attorney, aided by all the police and detective force of New York City, and refuse either to hang or release the crazy madcap whom they wisely consigned to an asylum for detention?

What is it but confidence in the jury system that induced the New York courts, a few days ago, after vainly trying to determine it themselves, to order a re-submission of his insanity to a jury to determine whether or not he has sufficiently recovered to be at large? It is a little difficult to understand the keen insight in reaching correct conclusions by a jury of twelve honest men, but to my mind the present situation in the Thaw case is a most wonderful vindication of their reasoning powers.

All now admit that the young man was, if he is not now, a dangerous lunatic, unsafe to be at large, just as both juries determined after months of

effort back and forth to confuse, mislead or convince them otherwise. Whither are we drifting in Ohio on this important subject? Are we preserving the old land-marks, the old safe-guards? If not, what is our duty as a Bar Association?

But enough. I beg pardon for allowing my remarks to run on at such length. I beg pardon also for suggestions not fully in accord with sentiments heretofore indorsed by the Association, possibly out of place in a temporary presiding official, but I plead in excuse that a lawyer, as much as a judge, should be true to his own convictions of right in the expression of any opinion on any subject.

There is one subject, however, one object of the Association, on which we can all agree, that is, as stated in the constitution, the "cultivation of cordial intercourse among the members of the bar."

The social gatherings and glad handshake at our annual meetings are to me of more consequence than all the legal disquisitions and disputations the executive committee can arrange for our edification.

It is restful to get away from the strife, the contention and the scrapping of the court room. It is pleasant to meet here, judge and lawyer, on an equality. It is good, in fact, to occasionally quit thinking.

Along these lines, I yield to no member of the Association, and, therefore, in closing, I most earnestly and confidently renew my request for your indulgence and assistance in the discharge of the active duties which have at this meeting unexpectedly devolved upon me.

This speech of Gen. Hollingsworth was printed in the law journals and widely circulated among lawyers.

(From the *Spirit of Democracy*, Woodsfield, Ohio, Oct. 11, 1906.)

COURT HOUSE CORNER STONE LAID

GENERAL D. A. HOLLINGSWORTH'S GREAT SPEECH

Saturday, October 6th, 1906, the corner stone of the new court house was laid under the auspices of the Monroe County Bar Association.

* * * * *

Following is Gen. Hollingsworth's speech which was attentively listened to and appreciated by all:

Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen of the Bar Association and Citizens of Monroe county:

The formal laying of this corner stone is in a sense the dedication of a temple to be erected thereon to justice and truth, terms synonymous with law in its truest and best sense.

Law is not a matter of simple legislative enactment. Like civilization, it is the gradual growth of the ages. Its development marks the growth and progress of a nation. Its maintenance is absolutely essential to the integrity of the state and the well-being of society. It is the distinguishing mark between barbarism and civilization; between organized society and anarchy.

When the northern barbarians in their wild freedom overran Southern Europe, they showed a superstitious animosity toward the polished laws and lawyers of the Roman provinces. Their ignorant venom seemed to have no bounds. As an illustration, history records that one legal advocate, noted for rare ability and uprightness, had his tongue cut out and his mouth sewed up at the instance of a burly conqueror who then remarked, with a satisfied expression, that "the viper could no longer hiss."

* * * * *

As a class, lawyers are supposed to venerate the law and be guided by its teachings. Their reputation for integrity and honesty is their capital, stock in trade so to speak, although it must be admitted that a little of this early prejudice against them still lingers in the minds of some people.

Ignorance and superstition have not entirely disappeared from the world.

* * * * *

Human nature is much the same the world over, whether in silken gown or peasant's garb. Individual man can not be judged by his calling or his clothing. Dishonesty is not confined to any one class of citizens. There are bad lawyers, bad preachers, bad doctors, bad bankers, bad merchants, bad farmers, bad men in every walk of life, but the worst one of all is the pessimist who, ignoring the beam in his own eyes, goes muck-raking after the trifling faults of his neighbors. The best of one class should never be compared with the worst of any other class. Better to always look up and lift up.

This corner stone is not laid nor is this temple to be erected alone for the benefit of lawyers. It belongs to the whole people. It is, however,

to be dedicated to the administration of the law, to the dealing out of even-handed justice among all classes of citizens, rich or poor, high or low, white or black, native or foreign born, the most sublime object to which any earthly building can be consecrated except the sanctuary itself. In early times this could not have been done without attendant horrors. A statute enacted August 21, 1792, provided for "the building and establishing of a court house, county jail, pillory, whipping post and stocks in every county." The law was compulsory.

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To what is this temple to be dedicated?

Law, both human and divine. Of the divine law little need be said. It is revealed to us in but one book and in that the inspired author intimates that its teachings are so plain that a fool need not err. We may all therefore feel encouraged to read the Holy Bible for ourselves. Its precepts are unchangeable. Its author is infallible, and the poet has well said of Him:

"God deigns not to discuss
With our impatient and o'erweening wills
His times, and ways of working out through us
Heaven's slow but sure redress of human ills."

As to human laws, much has been written and much might be said. They are not unchangeable and they were not written by infallible scribes. Their greatest certainty is their uncertainty.

I have, however, as all good citizens should have, unbounded veneration and respect for the laws of our country.

Of course some of those on the statute books are difficult to approve or understand. But as a whole they stand as a rock between anarchy and the state. Their observance by the citizen and enforcement by the courts are essential alike to capital and labor, to rich and poor.

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A divinity seems to have shaped its movements.

Law is the only sovereign to whom Americans bow. It has made this country great and prosperous. It has given to America unique distinction among the nations and stamped it as the leading power of the world. It has destroyed the isolation of the Republic.

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At any rate, it is clear that the American people, facing to the front, can not turn back if they would. Advancement is as much a necessity in our national life as it is to our physical well-being.

As a world power we seem to have crossed the rubicon.

Either this government must survive as the grandest exponent of Anglo-Saxon liberty and power on earth, leading upward all English speaking peoples and their dependencies, or, confessing the failure of republican forms as a governing influence in the world's affairs, it must inevitably degenerate, die and pass into history like the republics of Greece and Rome.

American manhood revolts at any suggestion of national cowardice. American love of justice and the quickened conscience of a free people make such a disgrace impossible. The heart of the Republic is steeled against tyranny. It stands for justice and fair dealing throughout the whole round world.

"Thrice is he armed that hath his quarrel just;
And he but naked, though locked up in steel,
Whose conscience with injustice is corrupted."

A LAWYER'S VIEW OF BIBLE STUDY

The following clipping is from a speech published in the Harrison News and delivered by Gen. Hollingsworth at a New Year's night banquet of the Loyal Men's Bible Class, at Cadiz, January 1914:

In veneration for the Holy Bible, I yield to no man on earth. I believe in its sacred precepts with that plain, simple, practical, evangelical, saving faith, without which, we are told in the 11th of Hebrews, it is impossible to please God.

Such faith with me is, as it was with Paul, the substance of things hoped for and the evidence of things not seen.

Quiet bible study, silent meditation, at home, in the office and workshop, any where, with a faith like this ought to be an inspiration and comfort to any one. It tends to make men better and more God-like. It never leads to doctrinal disputation or doubt. It never enters the realm of higher criticism.

In my law office, I have long kept and treasured a little bible, worn with age if not with use, given me as a Christmas present when a boy, and which, because of its associations, money could not buy. I do not read it perhaps

as often as I should, but, like the mariner on a storm-tossed sea seeking safety in a convenient harbor, I occasionally turn to its pages confidently seeking relief and guidance. It has never failed me.

It was with me in the stormy scenes of the Civil War and on more than one occasion, in the heat of battle, I have had reason to feel that in a double sense it might be to me a possible factor of safety. In the inside pocket of my blue army blouse, where I always carried it, it might accidentally stop a well-aimed Confederate bullet, and, if not stopped, and such shot proved fatal, there was in this same little volume the comforting assurance that on the other shore angels waited to welcome the upright in heart.

Such thoughts undoubtedly at times gave courage to the timid and strength to many who might otherwise have faltered in the presence of danger.

The modern method of studying the bible in large classes like this, with consecutive lessons well arranged in advance by human hands, is all right; it is safe; it is wise; it is intelligent, but who is there to gainsay or deny that quiet study and individual reflection on the revealed word of God, if sincere, are equally acceptable in His sight; and, finally, who among us is able, with all our bible reading and study, to say that individual man, faithfully answering to his own individual conscience, as the Divine Ruler himself has given him to understand its dictates, without deep study or bible research, shall not in the end, in the final analysis of good and evil, receive a crown of glory the same as is promised by our Master to all His faithful children?

In conclusion, I desire to congratulate this bible class, on its loyal name, its numbers and its success; you have certainly done your part in the revival of bible study in this country, the greatest moral reform, in my judgment, of this most remarkable age of human progress.

THE LAW AND THE TEACHER

Address by Gen. D. A. Hollingsworth at the Teacher's Institute,
Scio, O., Aug. 28th, 1895

(Published in the *Harrison News* by request of the teachers.)

Mr. President and Teachers—If I had been consulted in advance as to the subject of my remarks, I should have made a different selection, at least in terms. I do not believe in special laws or privileges of any kind. The laws of a republic should be applicable alike to all its citizens. It is the very

genius of American law that, like the elements of air and water, its benefits and its burdens rest on all alike, irrespective of position or calling. Brain and brawn are equally regarded by the law, and the man who lives by his wits, equally with the one who lives by his muscle, is expected to respond to the duties of citizenship in exact proportion to the protection afforded him by the government. We have, in theory at least, neither proscribed nor privileged classes, all titles of rank or nobility being expressly prohibited by the United States constitution. In practice, it is true, that some seem to have advantage of others in the race of life; the practical burdens of the world weigh more heavily upon one than upon another, but this is not the fault of the law. It results from the disparity and inherent differences in our own individual natures.

So with the varied occupations and callings of the people. All stand upon a level when gaged by the law. The legal rights of a teacher are precisely those of a farmer, a merchant, a mechanic, a lawyer, or a citizen of any other vocation. True, in his position, the teacher exercises certain functions and has certain privileges not allowed to others, but this arises not from any difference or favoritism in the law, but from the peculiarly sacred character of the trust necessarily reposed in him in the exercise of his calling. Standing in "*loco parentis*," he may inflict corporal punishment in moderation, a right not given to any other public functionary in America, except the petty officials of the state of Delaware who still wield the cat-o'-nine-tails.

But the necessity for care in its exercise, and the difficulty of determining exactly where reasonable correction ends and unlawful assault begins, have, in a great measure, abolished the practice. The law of corporal punishment, however, remains in full force, the same as when imported into this country with the great body of the unwritten or common law of England, although, in practice, our courts are careful to guard against its unreasonable infliction. The teacher may punish in reason, but must do nothing in malice.

The Revolution did not abrogate the laws in force in the colonies. The customs of our ancestors, crystallized into what is known as the Common Law, then in force, remain the same today, except in so far as they have been found inapplicable to our republican form of government, or have been modified or changed by statute.

Akin to this doctrine of corporal punishment in the public schools, is the old common law right, still existing, of the father to use the birch in moderation on both his children and his wife. I say "still existing," but he should

be a bold, brave man who would thus tackle one of our modern wives. He ought to have a good supply of court plaster and arnica laid in before undertaking to thus assert his legal rights.

The enlightened public conscience of America however, without any statutory enactment has effectually abolished this feature of the law and made wife beating odious, and, in the on-coming intelligence of the near future, it may be safely predicted that all forms of corporal punishment will become disreputable and cease. It is believed by our best educators that there is a better way of correcting children.

The public school teacher, on the theory that he is devoting himself to the general public good, is also given certain small advantages over his fellow citizens of other vocations. He and his business are supported by public taxation, a fact not true of any other calling, since the separation of church and state. The old bachelor with his millions pays the same school taxes as if blessed with a numerous progeny of his own to educate, and on the other hand, it is one of the crowning glories of America that the child of poverty, and even of sin, may claim the same public school privileges as its more fortunate neighbor. Compulsory education in fact is becoming general in this and other states.

But although the teacher's pay is certain, and he is otherwise the object of special solicitude on the part of the state, there are counter-balancing, adverse influences in other respects, which quite even up this score of advantage. His employment and his salary are too often left to parsimonious, if not incompetent, boards, whose members, failing to appreciate as they should either the necessity or value of his services, deal with him commercially like auctioneers and knock down positions in the school room to the lowest bidder. The law requires of the teacher, by previous examination, a fixed standard of qualification, and why, I ask, should there not be by law a minimum standard fixed for his pay, large enough at least to induce our bright young men and women who are constantly joining the ranks of the pedagogue, to look upon teaching as a life work and not a mere stepping stone to something else?

The world appreciates our several callings pretty much as we do ourselves. If we look upon them lightly, as temporary expedients, the world will do likewise but, however humble they may be, if we sincerely prize, and value, and cherish them ourselves, they will add to our personal dignity and character in any community where we live.

As a rule, therefore, teachers are to blame for any seeming discrimination against them, or want of appreciation of their calling. If their wages be too low, or the facilities furnished them at institutes or in the school room, inadequate, they have a complete remedy in their own hands. Instead of deserting their chosen work, let them, like other business organizations, fearlessly discuss their grievances in public meetings and in the public press, express themselves in resolutions, and if need be, enforce their resolutions by their ballots and legislators will be prompt to respond to all just demands. As a political force, the teacher should not permit himself to be ignored by those seeking political preferment. The school teacher and the political caucus are not antagonistic. The road to office is open to him the same as to others. And just as the teacher rises in his profession to its full measure of usefulness, his influence and power will increase, politically and socially; and if his ambition be onward and upward in his own chosen calling, still his influence and standing will broaden and deepen in all directions.

It is of the highest importance, therefore, that the teacher, who is a sort of quasi-public functionary, should fully recognize his obligations to the public. He occupies a position of trust and responsibility, and is of necessity from the very nature of his calling, an example either for good or evil to the rising generation. Hence the first duty of a young man or woman about to adopt teaching as a profession, is to prepare thoroughly for the work, not only by being able to pass the personal examinations, sometimes technical to the point of absurdity, (no reference to Harrison county examinations) but by such other moral and intellectual training as will fit him or her not only to impart instruction, but to adorn and dignify the sacred character to be assumed — a character corresponding to that of parent or guardian during the school hours of each day. But if teaching be contemplated as a temporary expedient, then it matters little what previous preparation is made, except to procure the requisite certificate; the best results can not be expected. A teacher wedded to his profession, one who intends to make it his life work, must not only be able to teach from the books, but he must be a leader and must know how to lead aright in all the opening lines of moral and intellectual thought. He can not hide his light under a bushel. He must teach both by precept and example. His life must be a daily object lesson. He, from the very nature of his surroundings, becomes temporarily, a model, an example, an ideal parent, faultless in the eyes of confiding pupils. His words and acts, implicitly relied upon in the school room, become, as they

impress themselves on the tender mind of youth, fixed forces for good or evil in future years. Nor is the teacher's influence confined alone to the school room. It is a mistake to suppose that a child, with mind able to grasp the A. B. C. of intellectual thought, does not receive lasting impressions from the daily walk and conversation of the teacher, in or out of the school room. Tender and alert, the child's mind is susceptible to the slightest touch of the teacher's influence; he, next to father and mother, is the architect of its growth and development.

The duty of a teacher, therefore, to his pupil, covers the whole range of human thought and action. The doctor ministers to our physical wants, the lawyer aids us in business, and the preacher is supposed to guard us from the sins and temptations of the world, but, in the teacher, all these duties are combined. It is his province, by wise counsel and example, while teaching the science of the books, to lay broad and deep, in the child, the foundations of health and character. Noblest, then, of all the professions, it stands unchallenged in dignity and character, except as teachers themselves may disparage it by their own conduct.

The teacher also has a responsibility to the state co-extensive with his duties in the school room. The future of the government depends upon his success. Individually he must make a right use of the talents God has given him, although, as of old, to some he has given one talent, to others five, and to others ten. As a class, the teacher is responsible for the up-building of the world, morally and intellectually. His standard is inevitably the standard of good citizenship in the age and country in which he lives. The distinction between the untutored savage and the high standard of civilization today, marks in exact measure the work of the school teacher in the past, and, as we look to the future, his influence and his consequent responsibility for good or evil, are bounded only by the possibilities of civilization itself.

To enumerate his varied duties and responsibilities would be an endless task. First and above all is his responsibility to the Creator for a faithful discharge of duty in guarding the tender mind of youth from evil thoughts and tendencies, and in turning its opening inspirations into proper channels. This does not imply sectarian teaching, far from it. Sectarian stumbling blocks are not found on the broad highway of truth and honor, but in by-paths and uncertain surroundings where doubt and distrust make miserable the human mind.

The teachers mission is also to reclaim the world from intellectual darkness. I use the words "reclaim" and "darkness" advisedly. In college pre-

cincts and pseudo cultured circles, I am aware there is much said of the enlightened wisdom and learning of the present age, but when we reflect seriously on our surroundings, such expressions become meaningless and we seem to be just on the threshold of knowledge. The marvels of modern science only point to mysteries beyond.

The practical use of electricity, for example, is no longer an experiment and yet, with all its varied and multiplied uses, who among scientists can tell us what it is, whence it comes, or measure even in mental vision, its possibilities in the future? We know that it exists as a force in nature, that it is capable of generation and control by costly machinery, and that, without control, it is an engine of destruction. But why, if an existing element of nature, common everywhere as claimed, is the knowledge of its character, its use, and its possibilities restricted? Future Edisons will doubtless make this so plain that the school children of the 20th century will laugh at the ignorance of the grave and learned professors of today.

Light, heat, air, and water seem to be better understood, but there are in them depths and treasures unsounded by human plummet and of which scientists, as yet, only conjecture. So with the long list of occult sciences, so-called; they each contain mysteries and treasures sure when discovered to revolutionize our present scientific knowledge. Why is crystallized carbon in the form of a diamond more valuable than a like amount of the same substance in other formation? Simply because the method of crystallization is yet beyond the range of our mental grasp. Let this discovery once be made and diamonds will become comparatively valueless.

Scientists are reaching out in this direction, and it is claimed that carbon in small particles has already been artificially crystallized, but certainly nothing of a practical nature has been discovered. No doubt the process of crystallizing carbon, if known, would prove to be as simple as the congealing of water by artificial means, but for the present it remains an unsolved mystery, and expectant purchasers of cheap diamonds must wait until a Prof. Beal or some other scientist makes the discovery and teaches it to the commercial world.

Young ladies, however, with small purses but with eyes longingly fixed on sparkling gems, need not despair; the alchemy of yesterday is the scientific chemistry of today. A veil only seems to separate the advanced knowledge of the present from the great mysteries and problems which lie beyond, and of which the scientific world is anxiously seeking a solution. Tomorrow these same mysteries will disappear and, under the touch of intelligent in-

vestigation, will become commonplace scientific facts for the school room.

But the search for truth will not cease in the order of nature, it must go on, and on, and on. Other mysteries will appear; other problems arise. There is no rest; scientific research is unending. As fast as one problem is solved, one veil removed from the eyes of science, others appear in the distance. Each generation has its mysteries and its discoveries, and the mysteries of one become the scientific facts of the next.

Only a few years ago, within the recollection of men now living, the stage coach and sailing vessel carried the traffic of the world; today, in their stead, we have the luxurious palace car, the magnificent ocean steamer, and steam navigation of all kinds, and in this respect would seem to have reached the limit of human ingenuity, but, tomorrow, we may as confidently anticipate aerial navigation and electric transportation, without the smoking engine and other disagreeable incidents of modern travel. The balloon and the electric street car are here, and their certain but gradual development, like that from the stage coach and sailing vessel, is in progress. Already, we see, in mental vision, the perfect air ship and great trans-continental lines of electric railway. But beyond these apparent realities of the near future, human conjecture is futile.

That there is, however, a beyond in this, as in other matters of the mysterious present, is shown by our finite natures, and, in the unexplored realms of mental thought, the scientist and teacher may expect to find rich truths of which our poor human nature can not now conceive.

It seems but a day since common intelligence traveled with snail-like pace along the lines of ordinary travel, but today we read the daily news of the world at the breakfast table. The marvels of the century just closing seem indeed to have carried us near to the limit of scientific discovery, but, in fact, this limit itself is the greatest of impenetrable mysteries. It is beyond the ken of human eyes. It is one of the unrevealed secrets of nature and nature's God, to be sought but never found by mortals.

Teaching, therefore, is progressive. The teacher of today has work to do to prepare for tomorrow. He must advance or quit. He can not remain stationary, nor can he, without a total abandonment of his calling, subordinate it to any other. It is not a stepping stone to anything else, except upward and onward in its own line. It is not a halfway station. Half hearted service will not satisfy its demands. On the contrary, it is an inexorable master, demanding of its votaries, self-consecration, self-sacrifice, and patient, unremitting toil, but, in return, the thoroughly capable teacher,

taking pleasure and delight in his calling, as he opens up and unfolds the beauties of known science to his scholars, and pushes onward himself toward the summit, will at times catch glimpses of the celestial city of knowledge and be permitted to approach as near as mortals can to the infinite source of all truth.

In this connection it is well to recall the oft-quoted words of Pope :

A little learning is a dangerous thing,
Drink deep or taste not the Pierian spring,
For shallow draughts intoxicate the brain,
And drinking largely sobers us again.

THE OHIO SOCIETY AT WASHINGTON

Washington City papers of Dec. 1915, mention Congressman Hollingsworth as having made quite a hit by the following short address last week at the Ohio Society banquet :

Mr. Justice Anderson and Members of the Ohio Society—The gracious introduction just given me is somewhat embarrassing to one whose experience in public life is as limited as my own has been, and were it not for the sturdy friendship long existing between Mr. Anderson and myself, I might doubt its sincerity. But perish all such thoughts.

At Washington, I have already learned that a statesman must never be a doubting Thomas as to his own merits if he expects to amount to anything. The rule seems to be to accept all compliments at their face value, and, if possible, add a little by his own self-sufficiency.

A shade of mystery seems also involved in just how my name happened to get on the program of this evening with that of the distinguished junior senator from Ohio, whose brilliant oratory, experience and sterling worth warrant me in the prediction that he is not long to remain junior to any man of either party in the State. Warren G. Harding is already one of the big men of Ohio, and he is a coming figure in national affairs to be reckoned with here at Washington in the future just as John Sherman, William McKinley and Marcus A. Hanna were reckoned with in the past.

Naturally, therefore, a modest man like myself, at a time when there is so much talk in high places, about deficits and dynamite, may be expected to seek an excuse for not undertaking to make an address following Ohio's most noted orator. All that needs to be said on this occasion has

been well said by Mr. Harding, but if it were not for my Quaker foot and modest eating capacity, I should contest honors with him in the dancing and eating part of the program yet to come.

Seriously speaking, however, I certainly appreciate and thank you for this opportunity of paying my respects to the Ohio Society at Washington. It has done so much through its organization and membership to give prominence and character at the national capital to the Buckeye State, that I for one feel that we are all indebted to it, as well those of us who remain at home in the State as those who are temporarily sojourning at the national capital.

Ohio, as the leading State of the Middle West, has long been conspicuous in the councils of the nation. As early as the Civil War, its influence was potent in shaping the destinies of the Republic. It was an Ohio governor, Salmon P. Chase, who as Secretary of the Treasury under Lincoln, in the darkest hours of the Civil War, now happily only a memory, smote the rock of financial credit as the government was drifting into bankruptcy, and caused to flow forth a steady stream of currency known as "Greenbacks," ample to meet the expenditures of a great war. He did not go to Europe, as Europe has come to us, to borrow money to finance its fighting. Likewise, it was Edwin M. Stanton, the great War Secretary, who, beginning his official life at the little village of Cadiz, as our county prosecuting attorney, became in later years the iron man of destiny upon whom Lincoln leaned with assured confidence as the dark clouds of war gathered around his devoted head and whose simple words after the President's assassination that he "now belongs to the ages" have become historic. From Ohio, also came Generals Sherman and Sheridan who, with Grant, also Ohio born, lead the Union armies triumphantly to victory at Appomattox. Since that important event, which signalized a new era in the world's history, the State of Ohio has furnished to the country four Presidents, Hayes, Garfield, McKinley and Taft, and if reports be true it is willing to undertake to furnish another one next year, either ex-Senator Burton or present Senator Harding, each of full Presidential size. It has already wrested the title of "Mother of Presidents" from the Old Dominion. Besides, two other recent Presidents, Grant and Harrison, were Ohio born, and at least one other just escaped by his ancestors moving out of the State before his advent into the world. I refer to the present Chief Executive whose White House biography as printed in the Congressional directory modestly suggests that this particular ancestor, a "distinguished scholar and clergyman of the Presbyterian Church

of the South" was a native of Ohio, without naming the city, town or county entitled to the honor. However, we of the 18th Ohio district claim him, at least in the court room at Steubenville, Jefferson county, they keep the picture of this "distinguished clergyman" hanging on the wall facing the judge and jury, with the information below that this particular ancestor of the "wonderful Woodrow," was formerly a resident of that city. It is a creditable city in which to be born or I should not mention the incident. So you see, my good Democratic friends from Eastern Ohio, whether members of this society or not, you ought to be right in it with this administration. The plum trees of official patronage seem to await your shaking, and, let me tell you a Republican secret, 1916 may be too late for you to act.

All in all Ohio is a great state. Its citizens, Democrats, Republicans, Progressives, and "what-nots," are, generally speaking, safe, sane, sound and solid. Buckeye fame encircles the globe. It was said in ancient Rome that to be a Roman citizen was greater than a king, and we of Ohio can now with equal truth boast that to be an Ohio citizen, an American sovereign, is greater than king, kaiser, emperor, czar, or sultan, or all five of them combined into one.

All hail, therefore, to the glorious Buckeye State, all hail to American sovereignty wherever "Old Glory" is raised in honor! And all hail and honor to the Ohio Society at Washington and to each and every member thereof, sincerely wishing for you, one and all, prosperity, happiness, long life, and an especially tenacious grip on the offices you now hold, at least, until promotion shall call you to higher service and better salaries, salaries more in consonance with the present high cost of living.

Again, I thank you.

(From *Belmont Chronicle*, Jan. 9, 1902.)

OUR FIRST CENTURY

A brief, yet Comprehensive Review of the History of Belmont County
for One Hundred Years

The following is the address delivered by Gen. Hollingsworth, of Cadiz, at the Centennial Exercises, on the subject, "Belmont County's First Century:"

A centennial celebration of organized government means more today than it ever did before. The world has passed more actual mile stones in

history during the current century than during any other half dozen centuries since the stars sang together at the dawn of creation. It is well, therefore, to pause and in retrospect note the growth and development of our own immediate surroundings.

Belmont county, not then organized, was a part of the great undivided territory northwest of the Ohio river, at the time of the adoption of the Ordinance of 1787 for its government. The ordinance itself indicated the character of the immigration expected. It provided for a God-fearing people. It laid the foundations of morality, justice, and religion, deep and strong in the fundamental law of the land, just as the civilization of the pale-face began to assert its supremacy over native savagery, just as the hardy pioneer began to encroach upon the happy hunting grounds of the Indians northwestward of the Ohio river.

A glance at its provisions shows it to have been prophetic of the wonderful realities of the present.

It is the most remarkable political document, with the possible exception of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, ever produced by uninspired man.

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Let us recall to mind a few of its more distinctive features which show the sturdy thought and purpose of our forefathers in seeking under its aegis new homes in the then primeval forests of this section of the new Republic, which they appropriately named Belmont—Beautiful Mountain.

The declared purpose of the ordinance was to fix and establish the principles of civil and religious liberty as the basis of all laws, constitutions, and governments which might be formed in the territory. Justice, tempered with mercy, was to be the guiding rule of the courts. The homely virtues and democratic ideas then and since common to all Anglo-Saxon governments were fully recognized and adopted. Knowledge, morality, and religion were declared to be necessary to good government and happiness of the people, and it was accordingly ordained that schools and other means of education should ever be encouraged.

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New and beneficent provisions, unknown to the Anglo-Saxon governments of that day, were added. The integrity of private contracts, justice in taxation, and good faith toward the native Indians were specifically enjoined. Human slavery was forever forbidden. The whole vast region

northwest of the Ohio river, in extent an empire of itself, was solemnly and forever dedicated to freedom, long before the Missouri compromise touching slavery was thought of as a temporary expedient and eighty-seven years before this monstrous curse was stricken from the constitution of the United States.

Such are a few of the attractive features of this remarkable document. They were beacon lights for all mankind. A steady tide of immigration at once set in from the better classes of the older states to this new elysium of the west.

Religious freedom attracted religious men and women from all sections of Christendom.

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Protestants and Catholics, in fact sturdy God-fearing men and women of all races and creeds, seemingly joined hands at the Ohio river and crossed over in harmony to an almost unbroken wilderness, resolved, God helping them, to build up a new commonwealth free from religious bigotry and from the aristocratic caste and decaying tendencies of the Old World.

We may well be proud of such ancestry.

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The history of Belmont county is the history of every enlightened community in America. Advancing always, her people have kept pace with the progress of the nation in every department of human endeavor. Statistics show that few counties in the United States have had a steadier growth. Its growth and history may be divided into three stages or periods — the pioneer, the pastoral and the commercial. They overlap each other but still remain distinctive. The pioneer age was a character-forming one. Its rugged features and its constant conflicts with nature and nature's forces are typical of the men and women who rose to prominence during this period.

Benjamin Lundy, the father of Abolitionism, under different circumstances and surroundings, might have remained the plain, simple mechanic he was at St. Clairsville, but instead, in the early days of the century, moved by pioneer conditions, he closed his little saddler shop across the way to become an inspiration and co-laborer of William Lloyd Garrison and other great anti-slavery leaders. His influence, like that of John Brown, is indelibly stamped upon our national life and history. It goes marching down the ages. Elizabeth Zane, famous as the pioneer heroine of the

Ohio Valley, was also an early resident of Belmont county and will long be remembered for her virtues and her daring. Willingly she offered her life to save others, and her sturdy, womanly example in other respects, does honor to her sex and will always remain a protest against the aimless lives of some of her modern sisters of fashion. She was a worthy and conspicuous figure when women were judged alone by actual merit, before paint and powder and furbelows came to heighten and prolong their beauty. Such types of the early manhood and womanhood of Belmont county reveal the true character of our pioneer population. It was surely of the sturdy variety.

In the same year of Governor St. Clair's proclamation establishing the county, Charles Hammond also came to make it his home. Plain, sensible, self reliant, honest and courageous, his high character and ability would have distinguished him in any age or country. He was par excellence in my judgment the best type of manhood that Belmont county ever knew. Others have held higher official positions, and, owing to different circumstances and surroundings, may have been more conspicuous, but none ever surpassed him in actual worth and ability. He adorned with grace and dignity his every walk in life. His touch enobled every occupation in which he engaged. As a lawyer, he was a leader at a bar conspicuous for its ability. His mind, however, was entirely too active to be limited by a single profession. As a journalist he was the equal of Horace Greeley in the terse use of expressive English, and, as early as 1812, by his publication of the *Federalist*, he made the little town of St. Clairsville famous in the eyes of the nation. As a political essayist on the Federal Constitution, he rivalled Thos. Jefferson, and his clear elucidation of that instrument in the Hampden letters published in 1820 not only attracted universal attention but did much to establish and fix its proper construction.

Pioneer conditions with such men as leaders could not long exist. Education, culture and refinement, radiating from such centers as St. Clairsville, soon spread over the entire county. The wilderness began to blossom as the rose and soon the pastoral age — the real, golden age of the county as I shall claim — was on in earnest.

Population, following up Captina, Wheeling and other creeks from the Ohio river, increased rapidly, extending out over hill and dale until, in 1820, over twenty thousand people claimed Belmont county as their home. Nature's ruggedness gave way before the woodman's axe. Fields of growing grain took the place of the Indian hunting grounds. Farm residences, the

village store and smith shop, school houses and churches sprang into existence as if by magic. Nature donned her loveliest garbs and soon verified the prophetic naming of the county — beautiful, picturesque, verdure crowned Belmont.

Each neighborhood had its distinctive features, but refinement and culture in all kept pace with the advancing conditions of civilization. The average intelligence of the county was undoubtedly raised by general education above the usual pioneer conditions, and it resulted, as soon as pioneer dangers were past, in an intelligent, homogeneous commingling of the people, on a social basis that made rural life both refining and elevating. Society in village and country was a blessing to the people and not a hollow mockery as in some of our larger cities. Honest labor was not a bar sinister to the so-called inner circles. Merit alone marked the distinctions between the upper and lower strata. Such conditions were calculated to inspire high ideals. No one, it is true, stood out prominently among all his fellows, like Charles Hammond in earlier days, but it resulted in mutual emulation and effort that brought forth the best endeavors of all. It developed not a few but many distinguished men and women, whose names will ever adorn the annals of the county and brighten the pages of history.

It seems invidious to mention any, where so many were worthy, and yet it would be inexcusable to omit all in the subject assigned me.

Casual recollection will recall to mind a number of men who have lived and died in the county, who, if given the requisite opportunity, would have become as distinguished as any of our most illustrious statesmen in public affairs and good works. Locally they were giants, but conditions cramped their energies and they were forced to content themselves in the "cool sequestered vale of life, far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife." No special monuments mark their fame, yet they should not be forgotten on an occasion like the present.

* * * * *

Belmont county citizens have filled the gamut of official life from United States Senator and members of the Cabinet down through state and county offices, and if there has been any failures, I have missed the record. Each has sized up to the opportunities afforded him. The same is true in relation to the church.

The county has furnished at least one bishop, a number of self-sacrificing missionaries of both sexes, conspicuous among whom we may mention Miss Thoburn, a former St. Clairsville girl of education and culture, whose re-

cent sad death in far away India, the whole missionary world deplores as a distinct loss to the Master's cause, and preachers and ordinary doctors of divinity by the scores, and few, if any, failures are recorded among them.

The local bar and medical profession have also been noted for surplus talent.

Of agriculture, manufacturing and mining, the basis of all the material prosperity of the county, we are to hear from practical representatives of each. It is sufficient, therefore, for me to suggest that these great underlying elements of wealth have kept pace with the advance of the county in other respects until they begin, especially manufacturing and mining, to border on commercialism.

The military spirit of the county has also been conspicuous in every war of the country. No great captain, like Grant, Sherman, or Sheridan, or naval hero like Farragut, Dewey or Schley-Sampson, has risen in our midst, but a braver, truer soldiery never followed the flag.

The pastoral age of the country has indeed been productive of many men and families of distinction, in all the various walks of life. An alphabetical roll-call of these might be made with scarcely a break in the letters. I undertook to prepare such, but the list grew and grew, until I found it impossible to include all who were worthy, in proper speech-making limit. The list is simply remarkable and not one of them owes his prominence to commercialism.

The days of rural simplicity, however, seem to be passing in some sections of the county. The old flouring mill, the small woolen factory, individual mechanics and independent individualism of all kinds seem to be giving way under trust competition. Commercialism is beginning to contend for the mastery in both the business and social relations of the county. It is relentless. It has no sympathy with the sentiment, the romance or the poetry of pastoral life. I confess to some pangs of regret at its coming. A personal incident, if I may be permitted, will illustrate what I mean by commercialism.

I recently visited the homestead farm which my grandfather carved out of the wilderness near Flushing, in 1804. Around it clustered the romance and sentiment of youthful days. Its beauty, however, was sadly changed. A railroad, with coal mine branches divided it into small sections. A coal tipple stood on the spot which childish fancy held sacred as play ground. A tramway crossed the meadow in front of the house and over it mules and men with lamps to guide them, were passing to and fro into the bowels of

the earth in search of wealth—not for themselves especially, but for the coffers of foreign corporations. Among these I recognized and shook hands with a few old acquaintances, sons of prosperous farmers, who had succumbed to misfortunes in the financial panic of 1893. The tenant house was gone. The old oaken bucket that hung in the well was no more. The surface of the soil, where once grew abundant harvests, seemed neglected. Its cultivation was a secondary consideration in the mad rush of modern money getting. The surroundings of other days and the happy scenes of childhood had vanished, and, in their stead, stood strange, ugly, money-getting appliances. Only a few of the old land marks remained and I voluntarily asked myself:

Is this the boasted progress of the 20th Century? Is there nothing sacred from commercialism and corporate greed? Is colossal fortune building to be the only ambitious aim in life?

It was only for a moment, however, that I suffered myself to thus commune with sentiment. I quickly remembered that this was only a counterpart of the boasted prosperity of other business centers of the country, the great river front and the mining regions already developed along our railroads. But it was plain that a contest was on and that commercialism, overlapping the pastoral age, was, like a juggernaut, threatening all the fertile valleys and productive uplands of beautiful Belmont. It was plain that the small independent farmer, heretofore the bulwark strength of the county, was, like the independent mechanic of a few years ago, in danger of being forced to the wall and his children compelled to go into the mines, factories and mills to grow up with the business, after the manner of Greeley's advice to young men to go west and grow up with the country.

Trusts in farm products and farming are not yet as marked as in other lines of business, but it is easy to realize that, in the future of the county, fame, distinction and leadership may go with combinations and wealth producing agencies, instead of along the lines which in the past distinguished such men as Charles Hammond, Benjamin Lundy, U. S. Senator Ruggles, Governor Shannon, Secretary William Windom, Judges Kennon and Cowen, Congressman Danford, Bishop Thoburn, William Dean Howells and others, who have made the county famous in literature, at the bar and in the church.

But this is the first centennial of the county and loyal Belmonsters must not indulge in despondent thoughts, but rejoice, not only in the accomplished results of the century, but in the prospective future of the county.

It may be and probably is all a dream, or a figment of the imagination, to think of future Goulds, Vanderbilts and Pierpont Morgans dominating the political, social and business life of the county. Commercialism if it comes may not be the unmixed evil some people fear. We have high authority in the President's recent message that it is not calculated to destroy individual effort or individual enterprise. Colossal fortunes, says the President, can only be accumulated by conferring immense incidental benefits upon others. It is not true, says this same high authority, that the rich are growing richer and the poor poorer under this new industrial system. "On the contrary," quoting from the message, "never before has the average man, the wage worker, the farmer, the small trader, been so well off as in this country and at this time."

Belmont county, as a part of this great country of which the President speaks, taken all-together, occupies a most favorable position. Pastoral and commercial conditions undoubtedly both exist and blend together in its social and business life, as did the pioneer and pastoral conditions in the earlier years of the century. Possibly this combination shall survive. Possibly it is to be the salvation of a rapidly increasing population. Let us hope and pray that it may.

The soil of Belmont county is admirably adapted to agriculture if not drained too closely by mining, and the present owners of the soil have yet the power to restrict its commercial use.

The factories, the mills, and the mines of the county, active with life and energy, furnish an ever increasing market for farm products. They are capable of indefinite expansion and at the same time, if properly safeguarded by appropriate anti-monopoly legislation, as the President recommends in his message, will continue as they do now to supplement and strengthen all the other industries of the county.

There is no good reason why pastoral and commercial conditions may not co-exist in Belmont county, each adding strength to the other, during the whole of the coming century. Population is not likely to become overcrowded. The people are yet the architects of their own fortunes, and if they shall act wisely, if peace, prudence, wisdom, justice and right shall prevail and guide them, in the future as in the past, then shall the wildest dreams of fancy fail to anticipate a tithe of the grandeur and glory, or the actual realities, sure to attend the second celebration of the county's centennial scheduled for the year 2001.

Let us resolve now, at the threshold of the second century, to wisely act our part. Let us do as our forefathers did at the opening of the first century, sow broadcast the seeds of harmony and good will, wisely and well, trusting that those who shall come after us may, in continued peace, be permitted to gather and garner the rich, perfect, fruitage of honest endeavor.

"Ours is the seed time; God alone
Beholds the end of what is sown;
Beyond our vision, weak and dim,
The harvest time is hid with Him."

HOLLINGSWORTH'S FOURTH OF JULY SPEECH, 1912 AT FREEPORT, OHIO

Our forefathers builded better than they knew when in 1776 they launched a new nation on the Western Continent. God himself, in infinite wisdom, seems to have baptized and christened it Free America, and, today, only 136 years after its birth, it is the one universally acknowledged world power of the Century, the one great free commonwealth on earth around which cluster the hopes and fears not only of our own ninety millions of people, but also of uncounted millions of oppressed humanity in other lands. Its pre-eminence in the family of nations is no longer challenged. England, proudest monarchy on earth, our fatherland, hostile for a century but now our friend, patriotically joins in celebrating our natal day.

Today, July 4th, 1912, the whole civilized world seems to rejoice in sympathy with us as we celebrate our national anniversary and acclaim our government imperial in the extent of its power and influence. There is nothing like it in history.

At peace with all the world, the American republic is as much the central figure of nations as is the sun in its course a central magnet around which other celestial planets revolve in space. It is the divinely appointed agency for the redemption of the world from oppression and misrule; a guaranty of justice to all mankind, rich or poor, high or low, black or white, native or foreign born.

It is the star of hope for every man and woman who bears a burden in this world. It would be interesting if time permitted to point out the various stages of progress in the wonderful growth and advancement of the

United States. Each year is an epoch; each period of time a national object lesson.

The 4th of July comes only once a year and it is the inalienable birth-right of every well-regulated American boy and girl to get as much innocent enjoyment out of the occasion as possible. It is the holiday of holidays. No man, woman or child should feel obliged to listen to a speech or even a sermon from any one. Police officers should be hobbled in a sense and not permitted to disturb the proud spirit of an American boy or unduly curb his patriotic jubilation. Absolute cessation of business, both of brawn and brain, may well characterize the day.

If I were President, or High-go Governor of the Universe, and had the authority, I should be delighted to proclaim a fire-cracker opening of the day about 3 o'clock in the morning and a grand finish of fireworks at midnight. Meantime, patriotic music, marching parades, racing contests, baseball, athletic sports of all kinds, the booming of cannon and rattle of musketry, ringing of bells, and other kinds of amusements, should rule the hour and have right of way over all other features of the celebration.

The Declaration of Independence might be read as an exception to the general hilarity and as a reminder of the ambitious hopes of our forefathers in their efforts to establish a permanent government of, for and by the people.

It is the document of documents and, with the constitution of the United States, should be made a compulsory study in every school in America. Together, they are veritable rocks of Gibraltar, shielding our form of government from enemies within and enemies without, and especially from the dangerous tendencies and ill-judged attacks of modern would-be reformers. Chaos and confusion would inevitably follow the abandonment or serious impairment of these great national safeguards except in the orderly manner provided for amendments.

Pessimism, or unworthy doubts of our form of government, should, if possible, be banished from our minds, and the thoughts of the people and our public servants be turned into channels of optimism and hope. It is superlative folly to talk of this great government, baptized and consecrated as it has been, being wrecked by individuals, big or little, in or out of office. Shadows and sunshine may succeed each other in our national life but the predestined course of the Republic is onward and upward until the end of time.

The silent thinking forces of the world, overlooking political turmoil and seeming chaos at times, realize the greatness and grandeur, the growth and marvelous possibilities, of the American republic, and, in shadow or sunshine, they know that dark clouds will rift and, as was said by the elder Garfield when President Lincoln was slain by unhallowed hands, "God reigns and the government at Washington still lives."

The crowned heads of Europe and the far East have noted with alarm the steady, forward movements of the world toward American thought and American ideals. They know that the world-wide unrest of the people is not without cause. Although astounded, they have learned that a republic can be strong and great and yet preserve to its citizens absolute civil and religious liberty. A continent dedicated to the equal rights of man stands before them, and, with prophetic eyes, they see visions of its influence gradually extending throughout Christendom and in its course turning and overturning the tottering thrones and royal ideals of the Old World. They look in awe as such ancient monarchies as China are seen to be joining in the forward movements of modern thought.

But the masses of mankind, the burden bearers of the world, see in it nothing but hope and courage. They realize as the star of American destiny rises toward the zenith, that in its wake ignorance, superstition, oppression, and all kinds of unfair and arbitrary distinctions among men, must vanish utterly from the face of the earth. They feel that the hour of their deliverance, the day of the universal brotherhood of man, is near at hand.

Away, therefore, with unworthy doubts and fears as to the form of the American government; away with foolish fads and fancies. The people of this country rule and will rule. They can not be deceived or cajoled out of their rights by designing demagogues or official weaklings.

Well has our great poet said of the certainty of our country's future:

"Behind the dim unknown, Standeth
"God within the shadow,
Keeping watch above his own."

(From Steubenville *Herald-Star*, April 28, 1919.)

BANQUET TO OUTGOING AND INCOMING POSTMASTERS
TENDERED BY EMPLOYEES OF THE OFFICE

CONGRESSMAN HOLLINGSWORTH'S FINE ADDRESS

The employees of the Steubenville postoffice gave a banquet last night in the Bower hotel in honor of retiring Postmaster Richard Gilson, and his successor, H. H. McFadden. Congressman D. A. Hollingsworth was the guest of honor at the banquet, and in a brief address paid a high tribute to the retiring postmaster and recommended the new postmaster as a man who will make good.

Seated at the banquet tables were 41 employees and guests. Charles Irwin, assistant postmaster, acting as toastmaster, said:

"Gentlemen and fellow employes, the object of this banquet is to pay our respect to the retiring Postmaster and to give a most hearty welcome to the new postmaster, and to him pledge the same fidelity as was given to Mr. Gilson."

Introducing Congressman Hollingsworth, Mr. Irwin said:

"Gentlemen, we have the honor this evening of having with us a citizen who needs no introduction, Hon. D. A. Hollingsworth."

Congressman Hollingsworth responded as follows:

"Friends and Fellow Office Holders—I am very glad to be with you tonight. This seems to be a sort of peaceful, lamb-like gathering of public servants without any antagonism or petty jealousies to mar the harmony and good will of the occasion, and it is therefore ideal to me.

"I have long known the two distinguished guests whom we have met to honor, known something of their individualities and differences in temperament, and I have, since receiving your invitation, naturally been a little curious to see two such political lions brought face to face at the festal board and to learn from personal observation whether or not they are the ferocious felines they are represented to be; whether or not they are capable of playing, in a political sense and figuratively speaking, the harmony act of the lion and the lamb lying down together without one or both doing a little crowding, or each undertaking to act as the lion devouring the other as the lamb.

"I have felt the mailed hand as well as the kindly hand-shake of each in my own political experiences and in my heart am glad to commend to both the words of Shakespeare, the beloved English bard:

" 'Do as adversaries in the law
Strive mightily, but eat and drink as friends.'

"Evidently our honored guests have, unaware to themselves, imbibed this Shakespearean advice, judging from their gastronomic efforts tonight.

"And, after all, what is there in life worth living for but friendship?

"Aristotle, the austere philosopher of Greece, said on this subject in a moment of despondency that 'there are no friends,' but he was mistaken. You and I, I trust, prefer the finer sentiments of Pollok:

" 'Sweeter none than voice of faithful friend;
Sweet always, sweetest when heard in loudest storm,
Some I remember and will ne'er forget.'

"Take away from man his friendships and he is like a barren waste; like a man without music in his soul, of whom it has been said he is fit for treasons, stratagems and spoils. 'Let no such man be trusted,' said the bard of Avon. I do not mean selfish, sordid, calculating friendship, but that which is real, genuine, responsive, God-like, and, when once mutually established, is as lasting as time. 'A true friend is a friend forever,' says McDonald, and Young, in his Night Thoughts, expresses this idea of friendship most happily:

" 'A foe to God was ne'er true friend to man,
Some sinister intent taints all he does.'

"And of genuine friends he adds: they 'are worth all hazards we can run.'

"George Washington, although more worldly, gives in his society maxims perhaps the most practical test of all:

" 'Actions, not words, are the true criterion of the attachments of friends; and the most liberal professions of good will are very far from being the surest marks of it.'

"Mortals like ourselves, therefore, may or may not doubt the assertion of Old Plato when he said: 'True friendship between man and man is infinite and immortal.'

"It may not with us always reach this God-like height, but the nearer we can attain to it with our friends, the better it will be for us in the present and the hereafter.

"But now specially as to our honored guests.

"The idea of this banquet, I assume, is to speed the parting and welcome the coming guest, the term guest being given the Indian meaning of friend, one who has eaten salt with you or smoked the pipe of peace.

"I have known our friends for many years.

"Mr. Gilson was sheriff of Jefferson county when I first met him. A younger man than he is now, he was just beginning his official and political career. To me from our first acquaintance he seemed well equipped for leadership in either business or political life. A natural born leader, the elements of strength and steadfastness were manifested in him to a marked degree. Not living in the same town, my acquaintance was not perhaps as intimate as some others, but certainly to me, even when on opposite sides of the primary political fence, he seemed a man worthy to be trusted. His word was an asset, valuable in both business and official life, never doubted by friend or foe so far as I know.

"A veritable Marcus A. Hanna, his advice and friendship in politics have often been wisely sought by successful candidates of his party. 'Where is Gilson?' has often been an inquiry in political campaigns, but when answered by himself none doubted where to find him. Staunch and steadfast; fair, faithful and just in the discharge of official duties, he retires today with a record as postmaster unexcelled by any of his predecessors and one which it will be difficult for his successor to match. Let us bid him good cheer as he doffs his official robes.

"I have also known Mr. McFadden for many years. The McFadden home at Cadiz when I moved to the little village was a real social center of marked refinement and unexceptional environment. Father and mother of Irish ancestry, cordial, courtly bearing, and with a house full of boys and girls away above the average, I counted it as a distinction to be remembered that I was early invited as a guest at this hospitable, Christian home.

"From that hour until our guest concluded to seek fortune and fame in the larger city of Steubenville we were young men together in the social but modestly gay life at Cadiz. I do not recall that we ever courted the same girl but, friendly with all, we attended together, social gatherings of all kinds, dances, picnics and parties, and we played the role of gallant to

the ladies as properly became a then young prosperous merchant and a young, struggling lawyer.

"I do not recall a single unpleasant incident.

"Since, therefore, Steubenville is to have a Democratic postmaster, I naturally, for old acquaintance sake, am glad it has fallen to the lot of my friend. He will make good; he has the honesty of purpose in his makeup, and, like that of Mr. Gilson, his word is an asset of value.

"Of course it would be a confession of obliquity on my part to pretend not to have noticed the attitude toward me at times assumed by the party organ controlled by him, but I have tried, under somewhat aggravating circumstances, by a quiet reserve, to comfort myself with the thought that in every newspaper office there is a sort of understudy, well named in press parlance, the devil, and on this distinguished and valuable press functionary I have, innocently or otherwise, tried to put the blame for unpleasant newspaper references, preferring in my heart of hearts to remember only in a personal way the earlier and pleasanter associations to which I have referred.

"And so, my fellow office holders, permit me in conclusion to repeat what I said in the beginning, I am glad to be with you this evening and join with you and our honored guests in mutual expressions of friendship and good will, conscious of my own sincerity and sincerely believing in the reciprocal friendship of all present.

"I feel that it has been good to be here, and I thank you for the opportunity.

"The flowers that grow above the garden walls of politics are often worth cultivating."

Mr. Gilson was next introduced and said in part:

"I am not a public speaker, and even if I was, I could not speak tonight. There is always a sadness in the parting. I want to thank you boys for your regard and your faithfulness. I want to bespeak to my successor the same loyalty to your duties as you have given to me in the past."

Mr. McFadden was next introduced. He said in part:

"I am free to confess that with all my experience, I now find it difficult to express myself. There have been things said tonight that touch the finer instincts of a man. When General Hollingsworth spoke of the old home, I could see that old home, and all the tender memories are again brought to my mind."

He spoke of the good times at Cadiz. Of the good times had together and where they spent many joyful evenings with the girls. "Cadiz girls

are all pretty and I happened to marry the prettiest girl in town and the General the next prettiest," said Mr. McFadden.

HOLLINGSWORTH'S FRONT-PORCH SPEECH AT THE
McKINLEY HOME, IN CANTON, DURING THE
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1896

(From *The Cadiz Republican*, W. B. Hearn, Editor,
Thursday, September 17, 1896.)

General Hollingsworth's speech at Canton on Monday, at McKinley's home, where he spoke for the wool growers and business men of Harrison county, was a great success. He said just what the crowd wanted to have said, and said it well.

HOLLINGSWORTH'S ADDRESS

Major McKinley—Your friends, both political and personal of Harrison county, Ohio, to the number of about one thousand, are here today to pay their respects to you and wish you God-speed in the manly fight you are making for American honor, American industries and American homes. All classes, if it be proper to speak of classes in this land of liberty and equal rights, are here represented — the wool grower, the farmer, the merchant, the mechanic, the banker, the teacher, the preacher, the doctor, the editor, the soldier and the civilian, the money lender and the money borrower, the mine owner and the mine operator — rich and poor alike, all anxious to attest by their presence and felicitation their high appreciation of your sturdy Americanism. They know of your high character and past public services. They recognize in you par excellence, the champion and friend of every American interest.

They do not believe in so called class legislation or in class distinctions of any kind. They are done with sectionalism. They regard as a public enemy any man, no matter what his motives, who seeks to array one section of our beloved country against another, or divide the people into imaginary classes of oppressed and oppressors, or crucified and crucifiers, to use the impassioned language of your most distinguished opponent. They are believers in law and order and have no patience with demagogues either of high or low degree.

In you, however, honored sir, these, your fellow citizens and friends, recognize an unselfish patriot, whose long experience, and broad statesman-like views on public questions, will, if you should be elected president, (cries of he will, and cheers,) as you surely will, form a safe guarantee of just and equal protection to every citizen of the Republic, high or low, rich or poor, black or white, from the shallow waters of the Platte at the "center" to the uttermost confines of our national domain. (Applause.) But, while recognizing the universal and all embracing character of your statesmanship, the people of Harrison county, here and at home, beg to call your special attention to the condition of their one leading industry the recent prostration, almost destruction of which by Democratic free trade, has paralyzed every business center of the country. The badges worn here today are not necessary to remind you who have so often honored our county by your presence, that, though one of the smallest, it is distinctively the most famous wool-growing county in the State, and probably in the United States. Under the beneficial influences of the act of 1867, known as the "Bingham wool tariff," the venerable author of which is still living in great respect and honor at Cadiz, and sends by us, to you, his greeting and assurances of support, Harrison county produced more sheep and wool than any other county in the United States of the same area. Its soil seems especially adapted to sheep husbandry. This prosperous condition of our wool industry was continued under the McKinley tariff of 1890, and it became, in fact, not only the leading industry, but a part and parcel, the woof and warp, of every industrial industry in the country.

But in an evil hour, in 1892, the electors of this great nation voted to place its destiny and its honor in the hands of the Democratic party. The Wilson-Gorman act, placing wool on the free list, swiftly followed, and, like a blighting, withering curse, it struck down this noble industry, and brought ruin and desolation in its wake.

In 1892, the last effective year of the McKinley tariff, the sheep of Harrison county numbered 159,246, and were valued for taxation at \$400,870. Their actual value was much more. They produced that year 912,422 pounds of wool which sold at an average of 28 cents per pound, thus netting its owners the sum of \$255,484. Since then the number of sheep has rapidly decreased, so that, in 1896, the statistics show only 92,134, valued at \$165,512, the wool clip of which amounts to only 512,265 pounds. At the ruling price of 14 cents per pound this amount will sell for \$71,717. In other words, there were 400,157 pounds less of wool produced in the county

in 1896 than in 1892, showing a loss at the ruling price per pound in 1892 of \$112,043.96. Add to this a loss in price of fourteen cents per pound on the amount produced in 1896, or the sum of \$71,717, and we have a total loss on account of the Wilson-Gorman act on the item of wool alone of \$183,766.96 in one year to the wool growers of Harrison county, or about \$10 for every man, woman and child in the county. The aggregate loss in the county on sheep and wool under free trade is fearful; in fact, it is destructive.

This is one of the object lessons which Mr. Bryan in his letter of acceptance says it is not necessary to discuss. He holds out to the wool growers of Harrison county no "hope or inspiration;" against them at least he seems determined to "shut the door of mercy." They have examined his congressional record and find that, like the "scarlet letter," free wool is stamped on every page. They have anxiously looked through his campaign utterances of the last few weeks for some sign of relenting, but in vain. The only words he has deigned to speak on the subject were in one of his rear car addresses en route from Chicago to the Platte, when asked about the tariff, he replied: "We are going to regulate that by international agreement." What? Submit to foreign nations the terms on which we shall open or close our custom houses. Go into partnership with Europe, on a question of our own sovereignty, like the half-civilized government of China, and collect our revenues on terms first agreed to by foreigners. Great Cæsar of the Platte, only this he promises and nothing more!

The people of Harrison county shudder at the possibility of a man who can utter such a sentiment, either in jest or in earnest, becoming President of our imperial republic; such words stamp the author as utterly unworthy to aspire to the exalted honors once conferred on Washington, on Lincoln, and on Grant. In this dilemma, Governor McKinley, the wool-growers of Harrison county, in fact of the whole country, irrespective of party, are turning to you. (Prolonged cheers.) In you they see life and hope and prosperity. They hail you as their leader, their Moses, and, having faith in the intelligence and common honesty of the American voter, they venture here and now in advance, to congratulate you on assured victory in November, over the allied hosts of free trade, anarchy, repudiation, and national dishonor. May your star of destiny, Governor McKinley, ever remain in the ascendant!

Hollingsworth's speech on restoration of the Republican Party to power, in 1897, following President McKinley's election.

(From *Cadiz Republican*.)

SPEECH BEFORE THE HARRISON COUNTY CONVENTION
AT CADIZ

Mr. Chairman and Delegates: I gratefully acknowledge this mark of confidence and thank you for the high honor of presiding over your temporary organization.

It is our first coming together as Republicans since the great victory of last fall, our first opportunity to congratulate each other on the emphatic endorsement then given to the doctrines of the Republican party.

We meet under most favorable auspices. For the first time in many years every department in the government, state and national, is under Republican management. This condition is not accidental, it is the result of the deliberate judgment of the American people after a thorough test of Democratic doctrines.

Four years of Grover Cleveland and his free trade heresies had well-nigh ruined the country and driven the people to desperation. Industrial paralysis had set in, in every business center, and the election became with many simply a question of home and self preservation. The people saw in a continuance of Democratic rule nothing but idleness, poverty, and grinding competition with foreign capital and labor. The dead ashes of hope lay plainly in view.

On the other hand, the Republican party, standing resolutely by its record as the friend and protector of every American interest, pointed a suffering people back to the broad highway of prosperity and plenty, which they had unfortunately abandoned in the election of Grover Cleveland. The Republican doctrine of protection to American industries, discredited and rejected at the elections of 1892, became the chief corner stone of the political structure in 1896. It was the political shibboleth of the people, the rallying cry of those who placed home and country above commercial greed.

As a factor in the campaign this doctrine of the Republican party was undoubtedly the most potent of the many influences contributing to the election of President McKinley, its greatest living exponent. It was his em-

bodiment of the policy of protection that designated him as the Republican candidate for President long before the meeting of the St. Louis convention gave him invincible courage and force in the succeeding canvass, and, today, crowns him as the most thoroughly American president since Washington.

As a result of his election, supported by a Republican congress, promptly called together for the purpose of adopting relief measures, the dark clouds of adversity which have hung like a pall over the country are beginning to rift, and in the clearer light of the future we see assured prosperity. It has not come all at once, in a night like the manna of the Israelites, as some of our Democratic newspaper friends seems to have expected, but slowly and surely it is coming. Prosperity first, all other questions can wait, is the motto of the McKinley administration. Like the swell of the ocean, the on-coming waves of a business revival are felt in the air we breathe; the hills, the valleys, and the highways all proclaim its approach.

In every industrial center, the people are awakening to new life and activity. Confidence, the great talisman of business, is restored, and, as a consequence, financial flurries and gold raids on the treasury have ceased.

Only a few months ago President Cleveland was frantically selling government bonds to favorite syndicates to keep the gold reserve in the treasury up to the legal minimum of one hundred millions, but since the inauguration of President McKinley, under the same laws, (for not one of them has been repealed,) the gold reserve has gradually increased from natural sources alone to about one hundred and fifty millions.

Meantime, every obligation of the government has been paid, as promised by the Republican platform, in gold or silver at the option of the holder.

But coming nearer home, for an illustration: One year ago, the sheep husbandry of Harrison county was absolutely paralyzed, sheep were a drug in the market at from twenty-five cents to one dollar per head. Today, notwithstanding the threatened treachery to the Dingley bill in the Senate, there is an active effort to replenish flocks and prices for the best grades of Harrison county sheep range from five dollars upward. Why? Simply because wool-growers have confidence in the friendly declaration of the St. Louis convention, and in the promise of adequate protection made to them by William McKinley on their campaign visit to him last fall.

They know that this declaration and promise will be sacredly kept by the President and Congress, whether wool lobbyists visit Washington or not, and even though dealers and importers get the first fruits of victory.

Calmly and hopefully, therefore, wool growers look to the future, knowing that, with President McKinley at the helm, all will be well with them in time.

Ohio has also, in this hour of Republican triumph, many other causes of felicitation.

A native born President, inaugurated with more universal good will than any chief magistrate since the foundation of the Republic, is first to be named.

Two distinguished Republicans, Senators Foraker and Hanna, both honored and respected as the foremost citizens of the state, now represent Ohio in the United States Senate, instead of one Republican and one Democrat as has been the rule for years.

Fifteen Republican members of the House of Representatives, out of a possible twenty-one, some of them real leaders, like Grosvenor, Danford, and others who might be named, add much to the standing and glory of Ohio at the Capitol.

Nor has the state been forgotten in the great departments of the government. Grand Old John Sherman, full of wisdom and diplomacy, the most illustrious premier the government has had since the days of Webster, is, at the head of the state department, a veritable sheet-anchor of safety in our dealings with foreign nations. A man of peace, yet ever ready to uphold American honor.

Truly the crown of leadership rests with Ohio. As the United States in the galaxy of nations, leads the world, so Ohio leads the United States.

Standing thus at the head of the general government, Ohio can congratulate herself on one of the best state administrations the country has ever known. Clean, clear-cut, able, impartial and statesman-like, the administration of Governor Bushnell will stand forth in history as a monument to his wisdom, business sense, and conscientious devotion to duty. He will, of course, be re-nominated and re-elected.

But our duties to-day relate mainly to county affairs: As delegates we are to place in nomination candidates for the various county offices, and, as a Republican nomination in Harrison county is equivalent to an election, this duty is of first importance to the people. They expect and demand at our hands a careful and conscientious consideration of the merits and demerits of every candidate whose name shall be presented to the convention. They demand that our selections be based upon actual merit, not the merit of the civil service humbug at Washington, which, as at present

administered, seems to be only a shield to keep Grover Cleveland's friends of both parties in office for life. It is a cardinal doctrine of the Republican party, never intentionally departed from in Harrison county, that its nominees must be men of high character, honest and capable, fitted in all respects to discharge the duties of the positions which they seek. They must also be Republicans, pure and simple, without the brand of a boss or the certificate of a faction.

Bossism and factional warfare have no abiding place in Harrison county. The people are not in sympathy with either, and, standing in this presence, facing the Republican leaders from all parts of the county, I venture the assertion that, in no other county in the state, can there be found more genuine harmony and good will among Republicans than exists in Harrison county. A generous and sharp rivalry may at times be found in our primary meetings, but the vanquished contestants never resort to guerrilla warfare. Personal malice and hatred are unknown in our political lexicon. A Republican nomination, fairly made, in state, district or county convention, is a certificate of character with the sturdy yeomanry of Harrison county.

Free of bosses and free of factions, Harrison county Republicans demand, as the only test of party fealty, pure unadulterated Republicanism, such Republicanism as inspired Lincoln, Grant, Garfield, Blaine, and other illustrious leaders of the past, in their unselfish and heroic devotion to duty.

At the opening of the Civil war, General John A. Dix, of New York, with patriotic emphasis, gave orders that if any man attempted to haul down the American flag to shoot him on the spot, and today, in something of the same spirit, the Republicans of Harrison county send greeting to the Republicans of the state, and suggest that, if any would-be boss in the party, big or little, at the state convention or elsewhere, undertakes to haul down the true party emblem, or run up the flag of a faction, he be shot on the spot, politically speaking, before his baleful influence injures the party, or retards the country in its onward march toward prosperity and promise.

In this spirit, fellow Republicans, let us enter upon the duties of the day.

UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE

(From the *Cleveland Gazette* of April 2, 1910, edited by Hon. Harry C. Smith, Colored Member of Ohio House of Representatives.)

A CENSUS OF THOSE DISFRANCHISED

The Honorable D. A. Hollingsworth, of this state, is again entitled to the warmest thanks of our people, the country over. He is gradually taking the place in congress made vacant by the Roosevelt-Taft elimination of our great and good friend, Senator Joseph Benson Foraker. His house joint resolution calling for a census of those citizens disfranchised, ought to be adopted by the large Republican majority in Congress almost without debate because it is the eminently proper and right thing to do and because the party is pledged to it.

Here is an opportunity that will not come again for a decade, to secure official information, and at a minimum cost to the government, that will not be wasted if the party was and is sincere in its pledge republished in the Honorable Mr. Hollingsworth's letter to Judge Crumpacker on our first page today. Our national organizations and leaders everywhere should take interest in Mr. Hollingsworth's effort and write or see Chairman Crumpacker and the House members of his committee, at once, urging favorable action, at the earliest possible date, on the resolution. It is far and away the most important thing to us now pending in either branch of Congress. General Hollingsworth is clearly entitled to this assistance from us and all else we can do.

HOLLINGSWORTH'S LETTER

March 24, 1910.

Hon. Edgar D. Crumpacker,
Chairman Committee on the Census,
House of Representatives.

My Dear Mr. Crumpacker—I have pending in your committee, introduced by me on request of an influential body of our citizenship, H. J. R., No. 175, to require a census to be taken of electors deprived of the privilege of voting in the several states, with a view of obtaining a proper basis for equalization of representation in Congress under the provisions of the 14th amendment, and would be very glad to have it considered and reported by the committee.

I do not care to be present or to make any special arguments. It may be pertinent, however, in view of the loud demand being made for the fulfillment of Republican pledges in certain quarters to remember that the Republican platform on which President Taft and the Republican members of the house were elected contains these words:

"We declare once more and without reservation for the enforcement in letter and spirit of the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution, which were designed for the protection and advancement of the Negro, and we condemn all devices which have for their real aim his disfranchisement, and that for reason of color alone, as unfair, un-American, and repugnant to the supreme law of the land."

You will also recall, Mr. Crumpacker, the pertinent parts of the 14th amendment as follows:

Section 2.—"Representatives shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers," etc. "But when the right to vote at any election is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such state, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced," etc.

And further that the same amendment provides that Congress shall have the power to enforce the same by appropriate legislation. It seems to me and to those requesting me to introduce this resolution that our duty as Republicans and the fulfillment of party pledges cannot be fully accomplished without attention also to this pledge of the party. It may not relate quite as much to commercial advantages as some features of the tariff and other pledges of the party but many of our citizens still regard it as of equal, if not greater importance. As an illustration of the present inequality of representation in the house you will find by reference to the Congressional Directory of the present session that more votes for Congress were cast in your own district in Indiana at the last election than were cast in the whole state of Mississippi which elects eight members. A like condition doubtless exists elsewhere.

Very respectfully,

D. A. HOLLINGSWORTH.

Manly speech of General Hollingsworth at a banquet in honor of the late John A. Bingham, on the evening of the dedication of the Bingham Monument.

(From *Cadiz Republican*.)

He said in part:

"To Judge Bingham, as a citizen and public man, I was always ready to take off my hat and bid him God-speed in any upward line of preferment, and it is with pleasure I recall on this occasion one of the pleasantest incidents of my own life. It occurred shortly after Mr. Bingham's return from Japan with high diplomatic honors added to his great fame as a jurist and statesman.

"Some of my friends, wise or unwise, it is not important to inquire, were urging my nomination for Congress, a position I confess that I coveted. But no sooner had the telegraph brought the word from Washington of Minister Bingham's recall by President Cleveland than a consensus of public opinion breaking out here and there over the district showed an unmistakable feeling in favor of his return to Congress. In this feeling I myself shared because of a belief that with his experience he could be useful to the people, and I had already written a letter of withdrawal, when, one day, imagine my surprise, Mr. Bingham said to me, without a word about the talk of himself: 'Hollingsworth, the office of Congressman is a very honorable one and as you are my neighbor and friend I would like to go to the Republican convention and help in your nomination.'

"He did go. He presented my name in a public address to the convention in terms that made my very blood tingle with pride, and although we missed the nomination I gained by his example something better, an exalted idea of true, manly, unselfish, political friendship, and from that time our friendship, thus sealed, continued unbroken until the shadows of the great beyond encompassed him."

(From *Belmont Chronicle*.)

HOLLINGSWORTH PAYS TRIBUTE

Former Sixteenth District Congressman Speaks of Late Judge Driggs

General Hollingsworth, of Cadiz, at the meeting of the bar at St. Clairsville on January 2, 1912, in memory of the late Judge Driggs, paid him a personal tribute as follows:

"I came here today expecting only to quietly join the Belmont County bar in paying suitable respect to the memory of a distinguished jurist whom we all honored and respected in life.

"To me personally Judge Driggs was more than this. He was a friend of long standing and I am especially grateful to you, Mr. Chairman, for this opportunity of placing on his bier, if I may, one little chaplet plucked, as it were, from the sacred garden of memory.

"As boys, he from Monroe County and somewhat my senior, and I from Belmont, we met for the first time early in 1861 and enlisted as private soldiers in the Union army, serving in the same company, eating at the same mess table, and sleeping in the same tent. We shared together the joys and sorrows, the dangers and conflicts of army life, and no estrangement ever chilled our friendship.

"After the war, our paths for many years lay in different directions and we never met again until here in St. Clairsville, he on the bench and I at the bar, but instinctively we felt and knew that all through the intervening years the silken cord, that mysterious, subtle something which binds together kindred spirits, had remained unbroken.

"On the bench, Judge Driggs always seemed to me to be of heroic mold, holding with rare impartiality the scales of justice in even balance. He would go in private life to the full extent of his ability to oblige a friend, but in official life nothing with him ever trenchd upon the domain of public duty.

"Even a facetious suggestion of bias or prejudice disturbed him.

"I recall an incident of this kind in the first case I tried before him. Our old commander, Colonel Charlesworth, came into the court room and, taking in the surroundings, laughingly remarked in an undertone to opposing counsel that he was sure to be beaten with a Twenty-fifth Ohio boy on the bench and another at the counsel table. But no responsive appreciation of the joke showed in the judge's countenance, and the trial proceeded with possibly a little added solemnity. I remember also that I lost my case before him, but in looking at it through a clearer vision, I realized that his decision was just and it further increased, if possible, my confidence in his integrity.

"Our paths also led in opposite directions politically, but our life-lines often touched in friendly greeting, and we each came to feel that the

sweetest friendships and the choicest flowers are often those which grow and blossom and bloom naturally above the garden walls of politics.

"Judge Driggs was a good man, a good friend, a good soldier, a good lawyer, and an upright, just judge. Peace to his ashes."

(From Steubenville *Herald-Star*, 1909.)

GENERAL HOLLINGSWORTH IS OPTIMISTIC IN SPEECH

Delivered Before the County Grange—Stands for Good Government

General Hollingsworth is an optimist who believes that Americans are a chosen people to lead the world up to higher and better things; he has no fear of the trusts, or the money power or progressives ruining the country. In an address on the subject of "Organization and Co-operation of Farmers," before the County Grange, he digressed somewhat in closing and said in part:

"As good citizens we must recognize conditions as they are. Reasonable combinations in business, such as recently defined by the Supreme Court of the United States, seem to have come to stay. The corporations of the country are so numerous and so strong that the thought is suggested of whether they or the general government shall control and regulate the business affairs of the people.

"Every thoughtful American is anxiously asking himself these questions: Is this government strong enough to control without destroying corporate power? Is it strong enough to restrain corporate greed? Is it strong enough to say to corporate aggression in its greedy encroachments on the rights of the people, thus far and no further?

"The fight for governmental control and regulation of trusts and great combinations of capital, began under Roosevelt and continued under Taft, is still on in earnest, and the decision of the Supreme Court dissolving the Standard Oil and Tobacco trusts is but one of the many hopeful signs of the future.

"Under the constitution, the court has drawn a distinction between good and bad trusts and if this decision shall stand and be enforced in letter and spirit, and be improved upon from time to time if found to be necessary, many, if not all the threatened ills of the republic will pass away and this nation, all powerful for good, will assuredly live to fulfill its destiny as

mapped out by Washington and his illustrious compeers; live as God intended it, the final arbiter among men and nations.

"The American people cannot, if they would, turn their backs upon destiny. God himself seems to have charted the future, laid the keel, and given assurance to the world's best thinkers that the final triumph of American ideals is near at hand.

"The recent successful negotiation of arbitral agreements on initiative of an American President, looking to the permanent peace of the world, is most far reaching, and assuming that they will be ratified by the United States Senate and be fairly carried out by the treaty powers, there has been nothing to equal it in moral uplift since the morning stars sang together at the dawn of creation. American ideas and American hopes, seemingly almost inspired, have turned the world's thoughts into new and better channels. Rapidly the nations of the Old World are moving forward; rapidly they are adopting the Republican ideals of the New World.

"The act of President Taft and Congress in abrogating the Russian treaty solely as a vindication of the American doctrine of the universal rights of man, without regard to race or creed, Jew or Gentile, must be accepted as a new world-wide declaration of freedom, destined to live in history along with the emancipation proclamation of Abraham Lincoln. It shows that human rights have not been wholly lost sight of in the wild saturnalia of modern commercialism. Even Oriental dynasties, like China, hermetically sealed for centuries, are beginning to feel the life-giving influence of liberal thought, and already negotiations are on for the establishment of a republic in the Celestial Empire. All over the world thrones are tottering and the people are coming into thier own. From the remotest corners of the earth comes in unison the joyous Christmas cry, all hail America, all hail Columbia, God's chosen instrument to lead the van of nations upward, upward, until in His own good time and way the brotherhood of man and the kinship of the world shall be acclaimed, and the selfishness and greed, the wickedness and sin, of men and nations disappear utterly and forever from the face of the earth."

(From *Wheeling Intelligencer*, December 3, 1915.)

EASTERN OHIO CONGRESSMAN FORSEES INDUSTRIAL
REACTION AT THE END OF THE GREAT WAR
PROBLEMS OF GREAT GRAVITY MUST BE SOLVED

Congressman D. A. Hollingsworth, of the Belmont-Columbiana district, was in Wheeling yesterday on his way to Washington to be present at the opening of Congress on Monday. He is an enthusiastic Republican but expects that many of the most important questions before congress this winter will be of a nonpartisan character.

WAR STIMULUS CAN'T LAST

"Just at present business is stimulated by European war orders and the demoralizing effects of the free trade features of the tariff laws of the last Congress are not felt in their full rigor but this war stimulus can not last long and in the end there must be a reaction and return to normal conditions. At the present rate of destruction all Europe will soon be bankrupt in both men and money. Exhaustion, if nothing else, will force an end to the conflict and then will begin in America an industrial struggle for the maintenance of American standards the like of which has not been seen in this country since the free-trade soup-house days of Grover Cleveland. The paralysis in business will be even greater on account of sharper foreign competition sure to result from cheaper labor conditions in Europe inevitable at the close of the war when millions of men, many of them maimed and crippled, will be thrown out of employment. Existence with them will be a problem and wage scales will certainly be abandoned and then only our tariff and immigration laws can be depended upon to safeguard the interests of American workmen.

"All admit the seriousness of this situation, and already a number of Democratic leaders are advocating, on the theory of 'preparedness' for the political battle of 1916, a repeal at the coming session of Congress of the most objectionable features of the Underwood law, without leaving it for a Republican President and Congress sure to be elected next year. The Republican minority, laying aside partisan feeling, will join in this, and will gladly go with them to the limit in any other proper movement for the relief and protection of the industrial classes, although they feel that only

by the election of a Republican President and Congress in 1916 can full and adequate relief and protection be afforded either to American labor or capital.

LESSONS FROM THE WAR

"Other changes of heart seem imminent among Democratic leaders. Ever since the Civil War they have been complaining of war taxes and war burdens, but recently the scales have been falling from their eyes and now it is quite the thing to advocate immense appropriations for army and navy increases, and our peace-loving President seems gradually yielding to the pressure. Dreadnaughts of the \$15,000,000 type are to be multiplied and private contractors are agog with expectation. The lesson taught by the European war that coast fortifications, torpedoes, mines, modern submarines and aeroplanes are, at moderate cost, adequate for all reasonable purposes of defense seems to have been forgotten, and nothing but a large military establishment, of royal size and permanency, seems sufficient to satisfy these new converts to militarism. The simplicity of the republic, victor in all its wars, three of them with European nations, does not count with newly formed army and navy leagues. Their ideas of military expansion are consistent with an aggressive self-seeking foreign policy, but not with the plain, simple, but entirely adequate means of defense for home and country, in which every patriotic American with red blood in his veins, in or out of Congress, should and will stand by the President without regard to party or cost. But we are not an aggressive nation, and Uncle Sam has no need of a big fleet of dreadnaughts rivaling, as proposed in some quarters, the combined navies of the world, unless it be to sail the seas in defiant attitude, as some President more militant than we now have might be tempted to do in the future. Or, more likely, furnish fashionable promenades for naval society aboard our men-o'-war during the peace years to follow the world's exhaustion.

"Besides, it is the belief of our best electric experts that soon there will be discovered a practical method of collecting, controlling and directing electric energy in such quantity and force as to instantly destroy any hostile battleship approaching our shores. Such an invention would not be more marvelous than the present wireless telephoning across the continent, and its success would at once render harmless every modern iron and steel ship afloat, just as the wooden navies of the world were put out of commission by the sudden discovery of the more destructive powers of Ericsson's little

iron Monitor during the Civil War. Nor would it compare with the horrible invention hinted at by America's greatest inventor, Thomas A. Edison, chairman of the United States Naval Advisory Board, in a recent interview at Denver, wherein, according to press reports, he declared that 'soon we can be mowing down men by the thousands, or even millions, almost by pressing a button.'

NEED FOOD SHIPS MORE

"This is truly an age of wonderful discoveries. Modern war experts, educated at government schools, may deem such ideas chimerical but their possibility, backed by such a genius as Mr. Edison, ought at least to suggest making haste slowly in the construction of big battleships at immense cost while half the world is at war and rapidly approaching exhaustion and bankruptcy.

"We are much more likely to need food ships than war ships to send to Europe at the close of the war as the relief of wretchedness and misery must fall upon the charitably disposed of all nations.

"In addition to these questions of vital concern to our own people, the present Congress is likely to be confronted with other problems of grave international importance. The coming year, in my judgment, will see the end of the war. The tension is too great to last much longer, and our government, as the one remaining neutral nation among the great powers, must be prepared to take a leading part in peace negotiations. The United States must extend its good offices impartially to all. It must lead with firm but tempered counsel in the great work of rescuing modern civilization from the tragic wreckage of the war. The natural lapse toward barbarism must be prevented if possible and a practical basis of settlement found on which all the warring nations can agree, and one which shall forever make war impossible. If this can not be done then the world's boasted civilization is a failure.

"But it can be done. The common sense, justice and right thinking of the Twentieth Century, shocked though it has been by war's desolation, needs only a strong power like the United States to point the way. The responsibility is ours and can not easily be shifted. Conditions have changed since Washington in his farewell address wisely admonished his countrymen to beware of foreign influences, and the new century in addition has brought to the Republic new and enlarged duties requiring individual

members of Congress and patriotic citizens generally, when war possibilities threaten, to sink partisan feeling in loyal devotion to American ideals and readiness to stand by the Republic in any and all emergencies.

"In this spirit and thought I shall try to do my part, humble though it may be, in the consideration of every war measure which President Wilson, under his constitutional duty, shall recommend to the present Congress."

(From *Belmont Chronicle*, June 3, 1886.)

The following presentation speech was made by Private D. A. Hollingsworth, of the 25th O. V. I., on Memorial Day, 1886, in presenting a flag to Drummond Post, G. A. R., at St. Clairsville, Ohio, the Commander thereof, at the time, being Colonel J. F. Charlesworth, who had formerly commanded the 25th Ohio, and had lead Hollingsworth into a number of engagements during the Civil War:

Mr. Post Commander and Comrades of Drummond Post, G. A. R.—I am with you this morning at the request of the venerable Rev. Dr. James Drummond, of Cadiz, father of the brave soldier who is honored with the name of your Post, to express to you his appreciation of the consideration thus shown to the memory of his deceased son, and to beg of you to accept a slight testimonial of his regard. He has commissioned me to present to you this emblem of our common country, as a token of esteem, and he ventures to hope that the hallowed associations which cluster around it will lead you to accept, and, if need be, guard and defend it with the same jealous fidelity and care you did the old tattered emblems of the Union which were furled in triumph at Appomattox, and have since been laid away as sacred mementos of the war. Its intrinsic value is small, but it is the representative of all that is good, and great, and grand on the American continent. It is the emblem of sixty millions of free Christian people. It is the ensign of a nation, invincible in war, and of a government whose foundation stones rest securely in the hearts and consciences of a sovereign people. As such it is deemed an appropriate gift to a Grand Army Post. No one but brave and loyal men are admitted to the order, consequently, the honor of the flag must ever remain unsullied in its keeping. Wealth cannot purchase its badge of membership. Good character and honorable service in the Union army are essential to admission. It does not, like some army societies, admit to its rites only those of official rank, but in a broad catholic spirit it opens wide its doors to all honorably discharged Union soldiers, who, on being

mustered out, take equal rank without regard to past distinctions. In this the order embodies the true spirit of our republican institutions, and is typical of a government wherein the humblest citizen is the political peer of every other citizen, and in which all are alike sovereign under the constitution.

But, my mission is not to make a speech, and I will only add, Mr. Post Commander, that it affords me personal pleasure to place this standard in the hands of one whose orders I had the honor to obey during the war, and whose courage and loyalty I have seen tested on more than one battle-field.

(From the Congressional Record.)

WAR AGAINST AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

REMARKS OF HON. DAVID A. HOLLINGSWORTH, OF OHIO,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, FRIDAY,

DECEMBER 7, 1917

Mr. Hollingsworth—Mr. Speaker, I shall vote for this resolution with less hesitation, fewer misgivings, and firmer faith than I voted for the initial declaration of war against the Imperial German Government. I regard this as a natural corollary of the former. The vote of April 6, last, was a crossing of the Rubicon for the Republic of Washington. America has in fact since then been entangled and at war with all the central powers, and just why the unspeakable Turk, still in Europe, the curse and menace of civilization for centuries, should be exempted from this formal declaration of a war is beyond my humble comprehension.

No doubt, however, our President—and for the time being I emphasize the word “our”—and his expert advisers have good and sufficient reasons for the distinction, and in my judgment no thought of opposition or criticism should today enter this House. Whatever differences of opinion may have existed among our constituents or ourselves before the war began, we now all represent a thoroughly Americanized constituency.

The world should know, now that our country is in the war, wisely or unwisely as it may have seemed at the outstart to sincere but different minds, America has now but one aim and one purpose, that of unitedly backing the President to the limit in all war measures until victory, complete and assured, shall come to the allies, and associate powers.

The necessity is imperative, retreat is impossible.

As to the Turk, I confess to a little of the crusading spirit of our ancestors, and rejoice to know that our allies now practically dominate Palestine, and that the holy city of Jerusalem, under the fire of British guns, is about to pass forever from the polluting touch of the infidel, about to embrace again the holy faith of the meek and lowly Prince of Peace. The cross must replace the crescent in the land of Bible story before the upbuilding of wrecked nations begins. God is with us; let us as a Nation go forward and fear not.

(From *Cadiz Republican*.)

WOOL AND ITS PRICE WAS ABLY DISCUSSED BY
EX-CONGRESSMAN HOLLINGSWORTH BEFORE
THE CASSVILLE GRANGE. THE WOOL
SCHEDULE

In an address Saturday evening before the Cassville Grange on the subject of "Organization and Co-operation Among Farmers," General Hollingsworth incidentally, among other general subjects, referred to the wool problem, about which his hearers seemed anxious. He said in part:

"As a rule those who produce anything claim the right to fix in reason its selling value. Organized labor so-called, common and skilled, fixes the price at which labor is furnished to the manufacturer. The manufacturer in turn fixes the price of his finished product. The miner in his organized capacity seeks to fix the price per ton for mining coal and the operator fixes the price at which it is sold. So it is practically with every important industry of the country except the one great foundation industry of farming.

"Is there any reason for this exception? Why may not the million of wool growers in the country each year fix the price of their wool without consulting or being controlled by arbitrary trust combinations, or being disturbed periodically by political agitation over the wool tariff? Manufacturers in their greed may lose sight of both producers and consumers; congressmen may unexpectedly fail their constituents, and even presidents are liable to be deceived when they depend upon others for detailed facts, but the man who raises and cares for the sheep and clips off the wool knows

to a fraction its cost, and to this he only needs to add, in fixing his selling price, a reasonable profit for himself and no injustice will be done to the consumer or any one else. Prices thus fixed would in my judgment be even more reliable than the figuring of so-called tariff board experts, for it would be knowledge at first hand honestly applied; anything less than this might mean the destruction of the industry.

"Impossible, says the doubting Thomas. Too many to consult. But why? Have not wool growers as much organizing capacity as the men who work in our mines and factories? Would they not with equal fidelity and honor adhere to a common fixed price if fairly considered and approved by a central or executive board? It is an impeachment of their high character and intelligence to think otherwise.

"The problem is easier than it looks. Stand together, fix your own prices in reason, be just and considerate in asserting your rights and, if possible, dispense with unnecessary middle men. Get as near to the consumer as you can and then, without sacrificing vital interests, follow the golden rule.

"Of course, a central executive board or committee would be necessary to consider all the elements of cost and value, including supply and demand, each year, and possibly a few storage warerooms and selling agents, but the cost would be only a trifle and by thus standing together all would be assured of fair and equal treatment.

"But it is said that such schemes have been tried and resulted in failures. Never. Farmers have had failures in so-called grange stores and in like business ventures where they have sought to control to some extent the prices fixed by other producers and purchase supplies for themselves at less than the general public. There have also been small failures where a few only have sought to combine in neighborhoods to control local prices.

"But, so far as I know, there has never been any general organization of wool growers to fix the price of their products on a fair business basis, and then, having agreed upon such reasonable prices and a practical method of marketing, stand by them at all hazards.

"It might be disastrous to so-called middlemen whom Secretary Wilson accuses of absorbing more than one-half of the farmer's earnings, but self preservation seems to be the first law of nature and it may be that the time has come for watchfulness and possibly defensive action on the part of wool growers."

SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

Although of Quaker ancestry and strongly anti-militaristic in sentiment, General Hollingsworth is a believer in the doctrine that every citizen, in war, owes a duty to assist in defense of his country to the extent of his ability.

Accordingly, when the Spanish-American war was forced upon this country by the Spanish menace and atrocities in Cuba, he promptly, although fifty-four years of age, sought authority of Governor Bushnell to organize a Cadiz company of volunteers for service, and, on being informed by the Governor that the Ohio National Guard would have the preference and would probably be sufficient to fill Ohio's quota of troops called for by the general government, he tendered his services to the President asking for a staff appointment, which, because of his previous army experience, he felt able to fill.

President McKinley, who knew him well and was his friend, recommended him for appointment to the Secretary of War, to whom he also wrote; but it turned out that the list of appointments for the army was already completed.

The following letters from the Governor, President, and Secretary of War, explain fully:

State of Ohio, Executive Department, Office of the Governor

Columbus, 22 April, 1898.

My Dear Sir:

I am in receipt of your favor of recent date, and have carefully noted the contents thereof.

In any military service that may be undertaken by volunteers of the state on behalf of the general government, the present Ohio National Guard will be employed until its strength is exhausted by quota asked for. Its officers and men will be given the first opportunity for duty as a portion of the volunteer army of the country.

For this reason, at this time, nothing more can be done than to file your communication, with the promise that when the necessity therefor arises it will be given prompt and full consideration.

I take this opportunity to express to you, and to all associated with you, my thanks on behalf of the state for the patriotism exhibited.

Very respectfully,

ASA S. BUSHNELL,
Governor.

Hon. D. A. Hollingsworth, Cadiz, Ohio.

Executive Mansion, Washington

July 8, 1898.

My Dear Sir:

The President directs me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 5th instant, relative to your desire to secure a commission in the army, and to state that what you say in this connection has had attention.

By direction of the President your communication has been brought to the notice of the Secretary of War for his consideration.

Very truly yours,

JOHN ADDISON PORTER,
Secretary to the President.

Mr. D. A. Hollingsworth, Cadiz, Ohio.

War Department, Washington

July 20, 1898.

My Dear Sir:

I have your letter of the 18th instant.

I regret to be compelled to write you that every appointment to be made in connection with the volunteer army has been filled.

This, therefore, will make it impossible for you to satisfy your ambition.

Very truly yours,

R. A. ALGER,
Secretary of War.

Hon. D. A. Hollingsworth, Cadiz, Ohio.

QUAKER RIVALS—INCIDENT OF 1914 CONGRESSIONAL PRIMARY

(From Steubenville *Herald-Star*.)

The business men of Flushing, in Belmont county, hold a monthly fair and market day at which they award prizes each month on some agricultural product, and on Saturday there was a large attendance, the chief prize being on raw milk.

Mr. Bailey, of Tacoma, an old and successful Jersey stock breeder, was invited to deliver an address on the dairy business, in which he was especially engaged. But as he was also a candidate for Congress it was thought proper to invite one of the other candidates to talk with him, and former Congressman Hollingsworth was invited.

Like Mr. Bailey, he chose to talk on his own occupation and followed Mr. Bailey's interesting address on the dairy business by speaking on the "law in its relation to good citizenship and good government."

Mr. Bailey and his friends, knowing the dry and uninteresting nature of the law as a matter of general discussion, were elated when they learned of his subject, but, from a report of the meeting in the *Wheeling Intelligencer* of Tuesday, it seems they were forced to change their views. Mr. Bailey was among the first to congratulate the ex-Congressman on his speech.

The report in part follows:

To those having a prejudice against the law Hollingsworth's speech was a revelation. He quoted from Blackstone and Justinian with such force as to interest the general listeners and they remained with him until he finished, although, as he remarked, it was about "milking time" when he commenced.

Like Justinian, he crystallized the whole doctrine of the law into three general precepts: "Live honorably, hurt nobody, and render to every one his due."

Liberalism cropped out strongly in his speech, as shown by the following excerpts caught by a reporter:

"The average citizen in this practical age is too often judged as Mr. Bailey judges his Jersey cows, on the basis of butter-fat producing qualities. The best of the herd, however, does not always produce the most butter-fat, nor does the successful gathering of gain by man always indicate the highest and best type of citizenship. Mind and conscience in man must be considered."

"The modern world is tending to specialism in every line of human endeavor. Only a few minds are able to grasp and fully master more than one calling; the happy-go-easy jack of all trades is at a discount in the active life of the present. Seldom, after years of mature thought and reflection along one line of work, can such line be dropped and great success be achieved in any other. Many a good farmer has been stunted and spoiled by trying to make a doctor, lawyer or preacher of himself, and many men who would have succeeded in the professions have made shipwrecks of their life work by undertaking to manage a farm. Natural inclination and the right use of the one five or ten talents God has given to man make for their individual success or failure in life."

"Special privileges to a select few or many, where the entire citizenship is interested, should not be sought or allowed merely because of calling or class distinctions. It causes resentment among those who honestly believe in the square deal."

"Public rights under a free government are for the equal benefit of all citizens without regard to private or special interests."

"Our constitutional law makers were right when they separated church and state; right in opposing class legislation, and right in the sentiment that all men are created equal and endowed by the Creator with the unalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

"Many problems of many kinds remain for solution in the public life of America. Liberty today needs to be as jealously guarded as in any hour of the world's history. Civic as well as military dangers, at times dark and threatening, still linger on our horizon. Lethargy and indifference among voters, and neglect of civic duties on the part of good citizens, undermining causes of weakness in all free governments, are undoubtedly serious problems of the future."

"Broad-minded, God-fearing officials are needed in American public life; real men in fact, sun-crowned and heroic, who will stand like a rock in civic contests for law and order, decency and an elevated citizenship in the world."

The call to duty is imperative upon all. No one is exempt, and no special class, high or low, many or few, should expect or seek extra privileges from the government. Its benefits, its blessings, its sunshine, are for us all. Conscience and character are not confined to any one class. Like the famed citizenship of Rome, to be an American citizen is greater than a king."

BAILEY TO HOLLINGSWORTH

Mr. Bailey was absent on business at Columbus when he learned the result of the primaries, but he promptly sent his congratulations to General Hollingsworth. He and Hollingsworth have long been friends in their associations at farmers' institutes, and farm meetings of different kinds, and his congratulations were quite cordial, predicting "a splendid Republican victory in November."

General Hollingsworth was equally cordial in his reply, giving assurance of his continued regards and friendship for Mr. Bailey and adding a quotation from Bobbie Burns:

"And surely ye'll be your pint-stowp,
And surely I'll be mine;
And we'll tak a cup o' kindness yet
For auld lang syne."

CONFEDERATE RENAISSANCE IN WASHINGTON IN 1917

During the week beginning June 4, 1917, the Survivors of the Confederate Army of the South held a reunion at the National Capital, practically under the auspices and favor of the national Government. A southern statesman occupied the White House; a Texan was Postmaster General and by his authority a notice giving the date fixed for the reunion and asking the citizenship of the Republic to attend, was stamped upon every outgoing letter from Washington City, and much other Government publicity given months before the meeting.

Congress paid its obeisance. General business was practically suspended and the record fairly stuffed by consent with copies of speeches delivered on the occasion and newspaper articles laudatory of the Lost Cause and its adherents.

General Hollingsworth, remembering the scant courtesies shown him by leading southern journals on his resolution of inquiry touching the placing of Jeff Davis' picture on a U. S. battleship, could not resist the temptation at the time to place also in the stuffed record a gentle reminder of Appomattox. It is believed to have had a wholesome effect and is as follows:

"Unconditional Surrender" Grant
EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DAVID A. HOLLINGSWORTH
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 6, 1917

Mr. Hollingsworth: Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the Record, I desire to insert a modest poem in memory of a modest soldier and statesman on this occasion, during the week beginning June 4, 1917, which, judging from the daily press of Washington and the speeches and remarks already authorized to be printed in the Record of today's proceedings, would seem to be a time of general jubilee for the Southern Confederacy, a final renaissance of southern thought and sentiment at Washington, and of restoration of control of the Government of the United States, long hoped for and prayed for and schemed for by those who stacked their arms at Appomattox after four years of war to destroy the Government, and accepted from this modest soldier and victor terms of surrender more generous than ever given to a vanquished foe on the field of honor.

Besides his great fame as a soldier, he was twice elected President of the Republic, and yet we have seen, during the last few days, pointed out with illy concealed satisfaction an unfinished foundation for a monument to his memory, commenced many years ago and in its present neglected condition a disgrace to the nation, but in sight of which on tomorrow we are told his ancient foes are to march as if in triumph amid the plaudits of all Washington.

The following poem in tribute to General U. S. Grant, by Dr. Thomas Calver, was read by the author at the exercises celebrating Grant's birthday at the Metropolitan Methodist Episcopal Church, C street and John Marshall place, Washington:

GRANT

When history uplifts her scroll
 Within the beams of Glory's blaze,
Few names are seen upon the roll
 Reflecting fully all the rays;
The stain of selfish thirst for fame,
 Undue ambition's fatal blight,
The itching palm's enclouding shame
 Too often dim the golden light.

But when the shining name appears
 Of one whose strength was truth and worth;
Who no ambition knew, nor fears,
 Save for the country of his birth;
Who had no thought of selfish ends,
 But fought to win his country's fight
And change her foes to loyal friends—
 That name shows full effulgence bright.

The youthful soldier's laurels green;
 The citizen's plain, useful ways;
The victor's glad, yet modest mien,
 When honored with a nation's praise;
The manly heart that could but feel
 Compassion for a fallen foe;
The statesman's patriotic zeal—
 All on his name their glory throw.

The soldier of immortal fame—
 The grandest chieftain of his day—
What title can precede his name
 And not due honors take away?
Oh, may that name throughout all time,
 Desire in youthful hearts implant
To emulate, in worth sublime,
 The soldier and the statesman, Grant!

Flowers on the Garden Wall
MEMORIAL ADDRESS
OF
HON. DAVID A. HOLLINGSWORTH
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Sunday, January 23, 1916

On House resolution (H. Res. 101) paying tribute to the memory of Hon. Joseph A. Goulden, late a Representative from the State of New York.

Mr. Hollingsworth: Mr. Speaker, I desire to place one little chaplet on the bier of my good friend and comrade, Colonel Goulden.

Others who knew him better and were more fortunate in long association with him have spoken at length of his merits, his lovable character, his courage, his tenderness, his genial, generous, forgiving nature, his broad humanity and universal love for his fellow men, coupled with lofty patriotism and love of country, and each and every sentiment expressed has found an echo in my own heart.

He was to me a real friend. I met him soon after the organization of the Sixty-first Congress under peculiar circumstances. I was a new member, one of the then dominant party, without acquaintance or experience in Washington; he, although on the other side, was just the kind of a mentor that I needed. Perhaps a feeling of army comradeship drew us together and taught us both to look over the garden wall of politics, on which bloom the sweetest and most fragrant flowers of friendship. At any rate, fortunately or unfortunately for me, before the committees of the House were named, I found myself unable to agree with a few strong leaders of my own party and especially on the old rules of the House, the adoption of which became a matter of serious controversy. I was conscientious in my convictions, and in my simplicity thought this a sufficient warrant for controlling my own vote, but that did not seem to excuse me with party leaders in a contest where a single vote might be and was decisive of the result. I had promised my vote to no interest and voted as I thought right, resulting in the defeat of a resolution of my party friends. But a combination of selfish

interests, a crossing, in fact, of party lines, quickly followed, by which the essential features of the old rules, absolute control of the important committees, was preserved.

I met the usual results of an independent. Very little congenial work fell to my lot; opportunities did not come my way, but I never complained. A few, however, who knew that I had been Attorney General of a great state and for years before on the judiciary committee of its highest legislative body, noticed, or thought they did, in me a shade of disappointment. Comrade Goulden was one of these. Crossing over the hall one day and taking me by the hand, he said, in substance: "Comrade, that was a brave act of yours to vote against these old arbitrary rules of your party, but come back to the next Congress, which will be Democratic, and, instead of punishment for independent thought and action, we will make amends."

It was, of course, only an idle thought, but somehow it was comforting, and the cordiality and warmth of his handshake started a friendship which though modest and undemonstrative, continued throughout the Sixty-first Congress.

When the whirligig of Ohio politics changed conditions and I found myself coming back, I naturally scanned the lists of the Sixty-fourth Congress to see if I could find the name of Colonel Goulden, and it was a real pleasure to learn that I was to meet him again in this House. But, alas for human expectations. The news of his sudden call by the Master, May 3 last, was a profound shock to me, and, of course, must have been a much greater one to his intimate associates.

He was a lovely character.

Personally, I feel like repeating the first verse of the beautiful poem found in his pocket after his death:

A little more tired at close of day,
A little less anxious to have our way,
A little less ready to scold and blame,
A little more care of a brother's name,
And so we are nearing the journey's end,
Where time and eternity meet and blend.

Excerpt from speech of Congressman Hollingsworth on death of Hon. W. C. Mooney, of Ohio, in Congressional Record, Sept. 17, 1918:

"The passing of such a soul truly challenges our deepest thought. Its course is over the gold-paved highway from earth to heaven. Death is but a forward movement; earth's activities cease, but in a fairer clime man's destiny works itself out to full fruition."

(From the *Cadiz Republican*, Nov. 1, 1917.)

LIBERTY BONDS AND THE 18TH DISTRICT

The Liberty Loan seemed to lag at Lisbon in Columbiana county and the local management staged a special rally for Wednesday of last week, as recommended by President Wilson.

Among others, an invitation was telephoned to Congressman Hollingsworth, who, because of sickness in his family, was unable to accept and wrote instead a letter of appreciation. It follows:

Cadiz, October 20, 1917.

Hon. L. T. Farr, Lisbon, O.

My Dear Judge: I certainly appreciate the honor of an invitation to attend the Columbiana County Liberty Loan rally at Lisbon, but I feel sure that you will, as a judge, recognize as valid the explanation telephoned you of my inability to be present.

Since the declaration by Congress accepting the conditions of war as forced by the Imperial German government, it has been with me a matter of grave concern that the 18th Ohio District which, for a brief time, I have the honor of representing, should in all matters of patriotic duty do its full share. Its citizens are not laggards in any sense and I am proud to be their representative in the present War Congress. Nobly have they responded to all military calls; their martial spirit after long years of peace is truly remarkable. In civic matters, such as the purchase of war bonds, the same determination should inspire them, and in a modest way I have tried to encourage this spirit in all of the counties, in some of them in a material way, and as an earnest of this fact I am enclosing herewith to you my check for one thousand dollars with which I wish you would purchase for me at Lisbon a Liberty Bond of like amount and have it sent to me by mail.

The purchase of these bonds is voluntary, like enlistment in the regular army, and is not only a patriotic service, but it is a plain, profitable, com-

mon-sense business proposition worthy of appeal to keen-sighted, sensible business men.

In the little county of Harrison, where I reside, the bank statements show of time deposits at 3 per cent interest about three million dollars, mostly owned by farmers, as there are no cities or large industrial centers in the county. Similar conditions doubtless exist elsewhere, and, under such circumstances, it seems to be an unworthy imputation on the intelligence of our farming classes to intimate a doubt of their willingness to patriotically respond to the call of their government and in a business way convert part of their tax-bearing 3 per cent certificates in private institutions into a like amount of gilt-edged, non-taxable 4 per cent government bonds secured by Congressional pledge of all the vast resources of our great Republic. It is a matter of mere business gumption if nothing else.

The farmers of the 18th District, so far as I know them, are neither fools nor slackers. They are patriotic and in a business way also know a good investment when they see it. Some of them may talk hesitatingly to the bright boy scouts sent out by good-intentioned enthusiasts to remind them of duty, but, ten chances to one, instead of discussing their business affairs with comparative strangers, they merely prefer to get into their automobiles and hike off to their trusted financial agents and arrange with them to discharge a patriotic duty by purchasing Liberty Bonds and at the same time make a valuable investment of their surplus funds.

The note therefore of doubt and pessimism expressed in some of our district papers and by a few assumptious leaders as to the success of this loan in the rural sections does not appeal to me. It is more likely to be oversubscribed. There is, in my judgment, a surprise coming for these doubting Thomases.

Nor do I share in the churlish suggestions of anti-capitalists who rail accusingly at the public spirit and patriotic motives of successful businessmen and institutions who are seeking to adequately serve their country in this hour of its greatest peril. As an illustration of such service, I have before me a copy of an agreement signed by thirteen of the strongest banks in Cincinnati, unselfishly and patriotically, with full knowledge of the effect it must have in reducing their deposit accounts, making the following offer to their customers:

"The undersigned banks pledge themselves to make loans on the 4 per cent government bonds at the same rate of interest paid to you by the gov-

ernment. Such loan will not interfere with any borrower's regular line of credit. We urge every bank in the United States to do likewise."

If the banks of the 18th Ohio District should follow this suggestion of the Cincinnati banks, the success of the district's quota of this Liberty loan would be at once assured.

It is truly a time for patriots to pull together; self-seeking spirits should remain in the shadows until the crisis is passed.

The average citizen is conservative; he is a thinking machine. Carefully he listens to good and bad advice but keenly discerns a real slogan when he hears it:

"Sink selfish scheming and supply Uncle Sam's Sammies with needed money and all equipments necessary to successfully win the war."

Delay costs blood—the blood of America's bravest and best sons.

With all good wishes, my dear Judge, for you and Mrs. Farr, I am, sincerely,

Your obedient servant,

D. A. HOLLINGSWORTH.

FEDERAL ROAD BUILDING MEETING WITH FAVOR

The suggestion of General Hollingsworth, of Cadiz, that the federal government, in establishing a system of good roads throughout the country, resume its original ownership and control of the old National turnpike, abandoned several years ago to the several states and complete it to the Pacific and Atlantic coasts with lateral lines connecting with important business centers, is meeting with enthusiastic support from good roads organizations. They claim such improvements can be made without extra taxation by doing away with some of the present useless expenditures of the government. Labor organizations also favor it as a means of furnishing relief for the congested conditions of labor.—*Washington News Item*.

A PATRIOTIC ADDRESS

The Decoration Day exercises were of unusual interest, in May, 1918, when the German armies, flushed with temporary successes, were making their final drive upon Paris and the Channel Ports. Tense excitement born

of uncertainty and waiting made the day notable. Speakers of note were in demand, and grim determination showed in the faces of the people as they gathered in silence at the graves of the heroes of long ago, to pay them fitting honors. Out of many invitations, General Hollingsworth accepted one from Columbus, Ohio, where he had enlisted early in the Sixties. The occasion was inspiring, the parade resembled a war-time gathering and was estimated at many thousands, all of whom, young and old, seemed ready for a call to the colors.

The speaker was at his best and city newspaper comment on his address was highly complimentary, and widely published.

Congressman Langley, of Kentucky, procured a copy and with unanimous consent of the House had it inserted in the Congressional Record of June 5, 1918:

MEMORIAL ADDRESS OF HON. DAVID A. HOLLINGSWORTH
AT COLUMBUS, OHIO, MAY 30, 1918

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF
HON. JOHN W. LANGLEY, OF KENTUCKY, IN THE
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 5, 1918

Mr. Langley—Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the Record I include an address delivered at Columbus, Ohio, on Memorial Day, by Honorable David A. Hollingsworth, a Civil War veteran.

The address is as follows:

ADDRESS OF HON. DAVID A. HOLLINGSWORTH, REPRESENTATIVE FROM OHIO, ON MEMORIAL DAY, 1918,
AT COLUMBUS, OHIO

Comrades of the Grand Army, soldiers of later wars, and friends, I am very glad to be with you on this memorial occasion at the capital city of the great State of Ohio, central Commonwealth of the great American

Republic, modern Mother of Presidents and of many illustrious statesmen whose names and fame have added luster and dignity to the Buckeye State. Here boyish memories crowd in upon me of a day long ago when, as a 16-year-old lad in uniform, after less than a month's training at Camp Chase, I marched with the Twenty-fifth Ohio Regiment down High Street early in July, 1861, to the old Pan Handle Station to entrain in cattle cars for the front in a war destined soon to shake the very foundations of civil liberty. The hard board seating of these cattle cars was not as inviting as the luxurious upholstery of the modern Pullman, but I trust it is not offensive in this presence to suggest that their blue-clad volunteer occupants were as courageous, patriotic, and determined as the khaki-clad lads of 1918 moving to the front in Pullmans and ocean liners with the same high resolve and purpose of defending home and country, liberty, and the sacred rights of freemen against autocratic power.

Both deserve the highest honors the American people can bestow upon brave men, and today, in this most crucial hour of our country's history, this fact is manifested by a patriotic, God-fearing, citizenship, laying aside business cares and, in a spirit of gratitude, assembling all over our broad land for the double purpose of honoring the soldier living and paying deserved tribute to the soldier dead of the Republic. Veterans of the Civil War do not claim exclusive honors. Recognizing the spirit of comradeship in patriotic endeavor wherever found they are proud to share honors equally with those of all other wars, from the red-coated attack on our colonial life in 1776 down to the present world-wide conflagration and upheaval, the end of which no human mind can fathom, and only the Infinite, in the clear sunlight of inspired wisdom, can read the horoscope of the future.

Tragedy follows tragedy in such sudden and heartbreaking desolation that in our blindness doubts arise unbidden as to wherein man, considering his bloodthirsty instincts, is superior to the brute creation. As in a maelstrom, modern civilization and humanity seem to be in a swirling current of darkness, with nothing but the merciful goodness of a just God to give light and hope to mankind. It is truly an hour for sober thought by a sober citizenship. The elements of horror and hatred are found everywhere. A supreme crisis is approaching; the powers of good and evil seem arrayed against each other in the modern world. It is backward to the jungle for mankind or onward and upward, sword in hand, along American lines, until the highest ideals of civilization shall be realized. Autocracy and self-

government are in a death grapple. There is no middle ground. Absolute loyalty to American institutions and American ideals is the only test of American worthiness in the individual citizen. It is vital to victory and peace such as must be secured before the sword of the Republic can again be sheathed in honor or safety.

Doubly significant, therefore, are the patriotic exercises of this holy day, teaching, as they do, to young and old alike, that in America duty and sacrifice are essential elements of good citizenship. They emphasize in this crucial hour, perhaps the most portentous in the world's history since the stars sang together at the dawn of creation, the fixed determination of the American people to defend at all hazards and to the death, if necessary, the blessings of civil and religious liberty won by our forefathers on the battle fields of the Revolution and which they and their children have enjoyed for more than a century under the protecting aegis of Old Glory, flag emblem of a free people, never lowered in defeat, and destined, if the patriotic outpouring of today be any augury of the future, never to be lowered in dishonor while brave men stand ready to defend it.

We are in a world war, at the "peak and crisis" of it, as the President has recently told us. The very ends of the earth are convulsed with war preparations, and the glad greeting of peace on earth, and good will to men, except at the point of the sword, seems to have been forgotten by both priest and laymen. German aggression has forced world-wide problems vital to civilization itself upon a peace-loving people, long accustomed to regard as sacred the warning of Washington to avoid foreign entanglements. Americans of good intentions may not have all agreed as to the original inception of the war, its causes, or its subsequent management; mishaps and misunderstandings, even blunders, may have occurred, but, nevertheless, the awful hour of destiny has struck for the Republic, and there must be no faltering or hesitancy among freemen. The basic principles of liberty, its very existence and the existence of freedom and righteousness in the world, are challenged, assailed, by ruthless warfare and treachery, so that united patriotic action has become a necessity for the safety and welfare of all self-governing peoples. There is no room now for laggards in the world.

Further dalliance with kaiserism is weakness, or worse. It is treachery to American ideals. Difference of opinion, if any exist, must be reconciled or subordinated to victory if we would defend our homes against would-be despoilers of the race. Human liberty, sacred honor, and all things that

make for peace and happiness in the world, all things dear to American hearts and homes, are at stake in the horrible holocaust of the present.

The call to duty, like the shot at Lexington, has been heard around the world. It will be answered as in 1776 as surely as God reigns in the hearts and consciences of freemen.

Congress has acted officially, partisan feeling has been stilled, and the last man and the last dollar, if necessary, pledged to the realization and rededication of republican aims and purposes. That pledge will be kept unless red blood has ceased to run in American veins, which God forbid.

As at Balaklava, it is not for loyal men to reason why, not to make reply, when called upon for service or sacrifice in defense of home and country. Forward must be the battle cry of a liberty-loving world if victory and safety are to be secured.

But, my comrades of the Grand Army, vanishing heroes, old men, as we are called by the thoughtless, while joining heart and soul in the intense loyalty and broad world views of the present day, a little retrospection and special pride on our part may be pardoned on this one day of the year long ago set apart and dedicated in the hearts of a grateful people, before the recent proclamation of the President giving double significance to the day, as peculiarly sacred to the memory of those who in the dark days of the sixties offered their young lives a willing sacrifice for God and country. Their heroism and devotion to liberty and republican ideals have never been and never will be excelled; they were the limit of unselfish devotion to duty. The struggle was of gigantic proportions. Anglo-Saxon faced Anglo-Saxon in battle with a fierceness never surpassed until the present brutal, poisonous, God-defying, ruthless warfare was conceived by our enemies to shock and horrify the civilized world.

The estrangements, bitter as they were, thus caused by the Civil War between the North and the South are happily of the past, vanished utterly as the followers of Grant and Lee, and their sons and grandsons have met together on later battle fields under one flag, the dear old Stars and Stripes, and mutually learned to respect American manhood, although still radically differing in some matters of principle supposed to have been settled by the arbitrament of the sword. We of the Northland are not expected, nor will we, even after the lapse of a half century, forget the boys in blue and their heroic sacrifices, or such leaders as Lincoln, Stanton, Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Logan, Hancock, Hayes, Garfield, Custer, and others long ago called

to their reward; nor do we object to southern loyalty to the memory of Confederate leaders or to southern eulogies being pronounced at the graves of Confederate dead, either in the Southland or the Northland, wherever they may be sleeping. Time, seemingly, has silenced passion and ill will between the sections, although strange exceptions occasionally arise and tend to cast doubts upon the good faith of some of the supposed settlements of the war.

They ought not to be reopened or referred to, especially on memorial occasion; but, as exceptions, I trust the mention of some of them may not be improper as reminders of never-to-be-forgotten historic facts.

As an illustration showing the tenacity of southern sentiment to southern ideals, the present Congress recently authorized the erection of a monument on one of the most conspicuous squares of the National Capital to the memory of James Buchanan, who, as President at the opening of the Civil War, sat complacently in the White House, without effective protest or effort, and saw the Government he had sworn to protect and defend, drift, rudderless and pilotless, into the vortex of rebellion only to be rescued by loyal sons of the Northland after four years of bloody warfare. Some objection, although futile, was naturally made to the passage of such a resolution and sharp discussion ensued. It could not well be otherwise in a Congress sitting in plain view of an unfinished monument, wholly neglected, to the memory of General Grant, successful leader of the Union Armies and twice elected President, and who had at Appomattox received from General Lee his sword in token of the surrender of the Southern Army, and with true knightly gallantry had at once returned it to him on the field of honor and at the same time granted terms of surrender to the vanquished legions of the Southland more generous than ever before given by victor to vanquished in any war in history.

Other incidents of like character which might be mentioned, such as fulsome prearranged eulogies of Jefferson Davis on the floor of the House and a denial by the same committee that reported the Buchanan resolution of a modest monument to General Custer, who led the last grand charge at Appomattox and received for his chief the white flag of Lee's army, and whose heroic death at the Custer massacre in 1876 shocked the entire civilized world.

But, comrades and friends, as the recital of such incidents may not seem in entire harmony with the patriotic purposes of the day, especially the prayerful suggestions of the President, let us banish them utterly from our minds and hearts. We are here to cherish only the memory of good deeds

and, if possible, to forget the evil designs of the enemies of our country in the long ago. The mantle of charity must cover the faults, if any there be, of both the Blue and the Gray and the Americanism of both must now give inspiration to their descendants as they battle together on foreign soil for God and humanity. The eternal verities of history are secure, and we of the Northland need not fear that any attempted perversion of history will make white appear black or black appear white in the essential elements of the peace entered into at the close of the Civil War.

It ended in a victory for humanity on the Western Continent just as the present war must and will end in a like victory over the whole wide world.

The battles of life are not ended for the surviving soldiers of the Civil War, who are especially honored today and pointed to as silent object lessons of patriotism for the emulation of millions of young men mustering for service in the present war. In reality they face more dangerous conditions from age and natural causes than in the most critical hours of their army life when youth and health and hope were with them. Death as suddenly as from a torpedo shell is not uncommon. The remnants of both armies are in fact in the trenches and on the firing line every day, all the time, unarmed and helpless against the grim reaper. The average fatality among them, based upon numbers, is simply appalling. It rivals the deadliest moments of Pickett's charge at Gettysburg or the recent death struggles in the trenches and on the western war sectors of Europe. It admonishes all who took part in the heroic scenes of the sixties that the final inevitable end of life's campaign draws near. Taps are constantly sounding in our ears. Soldierly courage and manly character are as essential to true Americanism today as they were when hydraheaded treason sought the life of the Nation.

Old men, it is true, with the silvery gray mark upon us all, and yet we know we have duties yet to perform here upon earth or we would not be here, spared monuments as we are, seemingly awaiting the final bugle call to service on the other shore. He who takes note of the sparrow's fall is not unmindful of His own children; the gracious lengthening of our days must be for some wise purpose. He knows, but His purposes are not revealed, and we can only stand at attention like true soldiers ready for duty when and where ordered, if it be only as living object lessons of loyalty and encouragement to American heroes in this frightful hour of destiny.

Hats off to the veterans both of the blue and the gray, noble sires of khaki-clad sons, on whom the real hopes of a bleeding world must rest today.

But comrades, and by comrades I mean the soldiers of all our wars and their descendants, in the natural enthusiasm and self-interest of occasions like this we must not forget that there are civic heroes as well as military heroes in the life of every nation.

The sainted mother who gives her only boy to her country, as thousands of them are doing today and as thousands have done in former wars, is as much a heroine in that act as he is a hero in the hour of battle. She does not have, as he has, the excitement and comradeship of glorious war to sustain her when gloomy thoughts gather and distracting heartaches come to her in the uncertain hours of battle. The anxious waiting for news, the suspense, and the final reality are nerve racking beyond compare. Silently and alone her tears are shed, silently but no less heroically; like the prophet of old, she places her young idol on the altar of God and country and only her prayers can follow him.

Sainted mother! God Himself asks no greater sacrifice. Hats off, therefore, to the mothers of the land.

Nor must we forget in the enthusiasm of Memorial Day that the Republic of our fathers has successfully weathered the storms of more than a century under their guidance. Its rich fruitage marks epochal periods in American history, and notwithstanding the present war excitement and tension it is well to stop and look backward for a moment in contemplation of the gradual progress of the country from a few struggling Colonies in 1776 to its present imperial domain, reaching as it does in influence and in fact around the whole habitable globe. Nations, like individuals, learn wisdom from observation as well as experience. Hermit nations are no longer possible.

It is well, therefore, for all nations at stated periods to take note or inventory of their own progress and development. In our own land we begin with the American Revolution. The great men of that day, plain Americans as they were, civilians and soldiers alike, deserve the gratitude of mankind for having left indelibly stamped upon the pages of history such matured thoughts and lofty ideals as to form beacon lights of progress for the world.

It is said, and present-day conditions confirm it, that out of our Revolutionary War England, proud foe of the Colonies and of liberty as she was

at that time, received more of actual good and future advancement than did the struggling Colonies themselves. The scales fell from imperial eyes at Yorktown, and although the struggle was half-heartedly renewed in 1812, the idea of autocratic control over free peoples seems to have become a barren ideality with England after the Battle of New Orleans. All her struggles since Pakenham's defeat down to the crossing of swords with the Kaiser have pointed in the direction of liberalism and away from autocracy. Freely admitting mistakes, she has seemingly crossed the rubicon of modern progress, and today, standing as an ally of the French Republic, locked arms in sentiment and instinct with her American Colonies of 1776, liberalizing gradually but certainly toward Ireland and all the other dissatisfied elements of her vast empire commonwealth on which the sun never sets, she is uninfluenced and unshackled today by past autocratic notions, honored among modern nations, and joined with America is leading the English-speaking world upward, upward, until, as recently seen in Jerusalem, the cross is to replace the crescent and civilization triumph over barbarism in every form.

Hats off to England and her allies.

As Americans we point with pride and satisfaction to our own national life, and although feeling keenly the horrors of the present foreign war we look to the future hopefully and without fear. It is as inspiring to American freemen as was Thermopylæ to the Spartans.

Aside, therefore, from the hallowed sentiments of Memorial Day and the special recognition of our obligations as a nation to all the soldiers of the Republic, we must be careful in our enthusiasm not to detract from the just meed of praise due to the great civilians who in colonial times formed and fashioned the Government itself; those who, in the dark days of British oppression, before the dawn of liberalism in Europe, conceived the idea of American independence, and who, after solemn deliberation, issued to the world that immortal document wherein they declared the colonies free and independent states and pledged "their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor" to establish and maintain the American idea that "all men are created equal; that they are endowed by the Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." These men deserve to be remembered by posterity, not only for the brave, bold stand they originally took against oppression, but for the statesmanlike manner in which they managed the civil affairs of the Government during the war which followed, until England, then the proud-

est monarchy in existence, still clinging to the autocratic notions of old King George, was compelled to acknowledge American independence. No less credit is due to those of our ancestors on whom devolved the task of utilizing the great victory won by the colonists, of organizing out of the chaotic elements existing at the close of the Revolutionary War a Government strong and compact, capable of resisting the shock of future wars, and yet one which should preserve and maintain the almost absolute freedom of its citizens.

There were few republican governments in those days as models to guide them. Since the efforts of Greece and Rome no nation of any considerable magnitude had ventured to try the experiment of government by the people for the people. True, Switzerland, the neutral gem of Europe, and perhaps some other small states, maintained a republican form of government, but they were almost useless as models because of their limited territorial extent and minor political importance.

A government suited to the wants of a few thousand people, living within a few square miles, was wholly inadequate for a nation of millions of people scattered over millions of square miles. Our ancestors were, therefore, left almost entirely without valuable precedent or guide in the formation of government, but by their own wisdom and far-seeing intelligence they founded it safely and firmly on the rock of the Constitution, a rock which has weathered the storms and tempests of many decades, growing stronger and stronger as each new test has been applied.

Equal honor is also due to those wise statesman who, directing the civic affairs of the Government, have successfully piloted our grand old ship of state safely through the perils of a century and more, guarding it from destruction by both foreign and domestic enemies, and shielding it in their wisdom from those dangers which have ever beset the pathway of republics until today Columbia's name in peace and war leads the world.

We must not, I say, in our enthusiasm for the soldiery of the Republic, detract unjustly from the fame and honor of those who in civil life have added or are now adding luster and dignity to the American name. Yet we cannot forget, and the 30th of May is the day set apart to remember and acknowledge our obligations as a Nation and a patriotic people to all the soldiers of the Republic who have been or are engaged in either our foreign or domestic conflicts, especially to those who by death have been called to join the triumphant army on the great unknown camping ground, where bugle calls summon them to battle no more.

To these men, one and all, we owe an incalculable debt of gratitude we can never, never pay.

To Washington and the Continental Army, under Providence, we are indebted for our independence and for our existence as a distinct nationality. True, they were largely aided by Dr. Franklin and his civil compeers, but it was their valor, their courage, their endurance, and their success that caused the proud legions of England to surrender and the British King to acknowledge a treaty that gave us peace and a place among the nations of the earth.

Hats off, therefore, to the soldiers of the Revolution, who have long since passed beyond the portals of time, and may their memory be as dear to our hearts today as if they had fallen in later wars or in the recent trench fighting of Europe.

We are also as a Nation and people largely indebted to those who on many a hard-fought battle field since the Revolution have defended and upheld the integrity of the Republic against the armed assaults of foreign powers—those who in 1812 again taught the proud mistress of the seas that the American flag, whether on land or sea, is potent to protect all who seek shelter beneath its folds; those who in 1803 accompanied Commodore Preble and, in 1815, Commodore Decatur to the Mediterranean, where they humbled the insolent pirates of Africa, who had for years preyed upon the commerce of the world; those who more recently, in 1846, on the plains of Mexico, and in 1898, in the Spanish-American War, vindicated the right of the United States Government to extend its dominion, if necessary, in defense of its own integrity and the rights of its citizens, whenever and however such territorial extension may become necessary.

But honorable as were the achievements of these men, and great and heroic and self-sacrificing as are and must be the services of those engaged in the present war, they are not as yet, in actual results, to be compared in magnitude or beneficent results with those of the Union Armies during the Civil War.

It was believed to be the final crucial test of republican government. Our political institutions, and with them republican institutions everywhere, seemed to be at stake. The world generally, in form of government, was autocratic. Foreign antagonisms and interference with American rights were threatened, and helpful alliances could not be formed such as now mark the strength of our allied armies. The contest was terrific; its sacri-

fices appalling. One hour at Chickamauga or in the Wilderness was more destructive than the entire Spanish-American War.

But all talk of distinctions among Americans in their patriotism or army service is invidious and should be avoided. There never was a truer sentiment uttered than one by President McKinley during the Spanish-American War, more recently attributed with slight variations to our present Chief Executive, when, in answer to the complaint of a Spanish War soldier that he had not been permitted to see an armed Spaniard, that it was not alone the fighting service of a soldier under orders of his superior officers, as that was his sworn duty, but it was the simple brave act of enlistment that marked the American soldier a hero. Hats off, therefore, today, my comrades, and fraternal greetings to every soldier living or dead whose name appears honorably on the muster rolls of the Republic.

But, my countrymen, what of the present? What of the future? Shall this dreadful crisis pass without injury to republican ideals or shall they be destroyed and German autocracy rule the world? No greater problem, one fraught with more momentous consequences to mankind, has ever been presented for solution to a liberty-loving people. Shall the forces of reaction prevail or shall they be driven backward by the sword of allied freemen and an aroused public conscience, further and further in the direction of modern thought and liberalism?

Concentration of power in great emergencies is as essential to liberty in a republic as in any other form of government. Its absence is inexcusable and seemingly disastrous at times, as it was in the recent enforced abdication of Czar Nicholas which brought ruin and chaos to the Russian people and just as it would now be in our own country had not Congress placed in the President's hands startling and almost unlimited powers looking to the winning of the war.

It is early to make predictions. The war may end as suddenly as it began, or it may be long drawn out. There is a divinity that shapes the course of nations as of individuals, but it seems impossible that the frightfully destructive forces of the war can last much longer. Appearances are kept up by our enemies; spasmodic, forceful, and demoniacal drives are made on all sectors of the battle line; but the barometer of fast-moving events after each assault shows everywhere the tightening coils of distress.

The collapse may come at any time, and with it after-war problems greater than those of the war itself, greater than any which have disturbed the world since the crucifixion.

American statesmanship and genius will be needed in the hour of victory as much as now in the war councils of the allies. Out of the wreck and carnage of the war, as out of the tragedies and exhaustion of our Civil War, there must come a higher and holier condition, world-wide and universal, heralding possibly the millennial period on earth.

A solid basis of adjustment must be found which shall forever make war impossible.

Shall the nations disarm? Shall the construction of big battleships and navies cease? Shall big standing armies be denied to civilized powers? Shall universal military training be made compulsory among freemen? These and other international problems touching every phase of humanity reach far beyond the present generation. Any mere temporary truce will fail; peace permanent as the ages is the only hope of mankind, the only hope of Christian civilization. A new birth of freedom such as inspired Lincoln in his great speech at Gettysburg may be necessary before celestial bugles can sound the truce of God to an awakened world.

God has certainly had the American Continent in his keeping for some wise purpose. The same star that pointed the way to Bethlehem seems to have guided our Pilgrim Fathers to Plymouth Rock, blazed in the heavens as the patriots marched to Lexington and Concord, was seen by Washington at Yorktown, by Jackson at New Orleans, by Scott and Taylor in Mexico, by Grant at Appomattox, and finally seemed almost to rest for a moment over the head of President McKinley as the protocol with Spain was signed ending the war, begun as no other war in history, solely in the interest of suffering humanity, and ending as all other wars of the United States, including the present one with the Kaiser, who talks of himself in lordly terms as the equal of the Savior of mankind, have or will end in the righteous triumph and advancement of American civilization.

Well may America's great poet exclaim of the future of our beloved country:

Behind the dim unknown
Standeth God within the shadow
Keeping watch above His own.

MENTIONED FOR GOVERNOR

His aptness for official details and his marked ability shown as State Senator and in the Attorney General's office, together with his conservatism on all public questions, early attracted attention to General Hollingsworth as a suitable candidate for Governor, and the files of the leading state papers, such as the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, *Commercial Gazette*, *Ohio State Journal*, *Cleveland Leader*, and others of less prominence, refer to the fact in a complimentary way. As early as May 17, 1883, the local Cadiz paper, quoting a sample of such items, said:

"The Republicans of Ohio have been engaged for some time in looking around for a candidate for Governor. A number of men have been spoken of, and out of this number, of course, a candidate will be chosen. But there is no rivalry in the matter, no particular contest, nothing but a sincere desire to agree on some representative Republican who at the same time will be a good and available candidate. Among those who have thus been spoken of is Senator Hollingsworth, of this place. The *Western Reserve Chronicle*, published at Warren, Ohio, says:

"'Hon. David A. Hollingsworth, Attorney General of the state, is being spoken of in certain quarters as a candidate for the office of Governor. Mr. Hollingsworth is a young man of excellent ability, familiar with public affairs of the state, and popular with the party. His record in the Senate, and his deliverances, upon all questions agitating the people at this time, render him eminently available. In the event of a nomination he would bring out the Republican forces and give us an enthusiastic campaign, such an one as would presage an old-time victory.'"

Complimentary references of this nature continued from time to time in the public press, especially during his service in Congress, but it is not known that he himself ever gave consideration to the subject, turning aside in fact a number of tempting offers of support. The *Wellsville Daily Union*, in its issue of August 9, 1917, quoting from a number of local papers, summarized the situation thus:

HOLLINGSWORTH WOULD MAKE SPLENDID TIMBER
FOR OHIO GOVERNOR

A political writer in the *Cincinnati Enquirer* has dug up the fact that Congressman D. A. Hollingsworth is a pioneer in the cause of prohibi-

tion. As State Senator in 1881 when there was no anti-saloon lobby, he proposed submission of a prohibition amendment to the constitution and as chairman of the Republican State convention the next year he emphasized his adherence to the doctrine. When Governor Foster made his fight to control the traffic by restrictive and taxation measures Hollingsworth, as Attorney General, handled the legal end of the program. He left on file in his office about a hundred opinions on various phases of the question none of which has ever been reversed. While "Your Uncle David" is not making any noise about his record in these bone dry days, he is in position to say to a lot of young chaps who are attempting to ride into Congress on that issue, "go and establish a real reputation before you tackle the question." The general is about as sly as a fox, as his youthful opponents have learned in congressional primaries after the counting of the votes.—*Carrollton Free Press Standard*.

Why not nominate him for Governor? The Republicans will need a real rallying cry if Governor Cox is to be unhorsed—*Cadiz Republican*.

And why not, also asks Flushing, his early home. Here, in 1867, he began his official career as mayor of the village and his nomination as a candidate for governor of the state, fifty years later, would not only be a local distinction but with such a candidate on a prohibition platform success for the Republican cause would be assured. It would be as inspiring to Republicans in the campaign as was the famous rallying cry of the democrats, in 1873, when, "Rise Up William Allen," a democratic octogenarian, was elected governor and his nephew, Allen G. Thurman, returned for a third time as United States Senator from Ohio.—*Flushing News-Advertiser*.

Hollingsworth would make an ideal governor of Ohio without any of the spectacular, limelight-seeking features of recent executives.

He is a man of reliability and dependability, and has accomplished more for the real good of his countrymen than any representative we have had for years.

As the time approached in 1918 for the nomination of a Republican candidate to run against Governor Cox, the Democratic governor who had beaten former Governor Willis for re-election in 1916, marked opposition developed to the renomination of Mr. Willis among a number of Republican state leaders and an earnest search was made for some available candidate to take his place, and in this connection, General Hollingsworth, who had early announced his purpose to voluntarily retire from congress, was

looked upon as a likely candidate and was regarded with much favor. He, however, declined to enter the list of candidates at the Republican primary as shown by the following clipping from the Cadiz Republican of Aug. 8th:

"Since the campaign for state officers has gotten under way and three candidates have declared themselves as aspirants for the Republican nomination for governor, it might not be amiss to mention the fact that Congressman Hollingsworth was importuned and urged to become a Republican candidate for that office by influential Republicans from all over the state who were of the opinion that he would make the strongest candidate to be found at the present time. However, General Hollingsworth turned down the excellent chance he had to be nominated and elected governor, as he has decided to retire from active political life at the end of his present term, which expires next March—*Columbus Item*.

"The above recently going the rounds of the city and local press is interesting. But the older politicians of the state remember that 'Rise-up' William Allen a few years ago was called from a similar voluntary retirement after conspicuous service in congress, and nominated for governor by the Democrats when much older than General Hollingsworth, and for the express purpose of leading as he did his party back to victory after a number of successive defeats in the state, and, should unexpected results follow at the election this fall and Cox be continued in power, the Republicans are likely to be looking for a real Moses in two years and a similar 'rise-up' call be made for our popular eastern Ohio congressman. History sometimes repeats itself."

(*Cincinnati Enquirer*—Washington Correspondent.)

After all, give us the Alphonse and Gaston act as against the "Dock" Cook and "Loot" Peary turn. It makes for merriment and gayety. Here a few weeks ago former Senator Foraker on his way west from a fishing trip suggested Honorable David Harrison County Hollingsworth, of Cadiz, Congressman from District Sixteen, as a fine candidate for Governor. One blast upon his bugle and all that, you know. Make no doubt that Honorable Hollingsworth was as pleased as a pig in a parlor. But he is a wise old gazook. With a low bow and his hand upon his manly heart he curtsies to the old Senator and says: "Nay, nay; far be it from me to become a candidate while there is such a blue-ribbon person as Senator Foraker on the premises. Of all the men in Ohio he's the one to lead the party, and

if the bugles blow loud enough he will consent to take the leadership, I know. In the meantime permit me, if you please, to defend the interest of the wool growers and farmers of my native heath!" Having said this, the crafty Congressman caught the next car. Neat, wasn't it?

(*Scio Herald.*)

Is there any other county in the state with a population of only 20,000 that can boast of four such distinguished men as little Harrison can boast of; Stanton, Simpson, Bingham and Custer? And we may add that she will soon have a fifth in the person of General Hollingsworth who has already achieved national distinction in the brief time that he has been in Congress by reason of the brave stand he has taken against the infamous acts of the powers that be in receiving the Jeff Davis silver service for the battleship Mississippi. Washington has already learned that Hollingsworth knows his rights and dares to maintain them even in the face of the most powerful opposition, and we believe it is the growing sentiment of the people of Ohio to reward him with the Governorship two years hence for his manly, sturdy independence.

MENTIONED FOR SUPREME JUDGE

(From *Cadiz Republican*, W. B. Hearn, editor.)

Frank B. Gessner, the noted political correspondent at Washington City, writing to the Ohio State Journal about the recent conference of Senators Foraker and Hanna, General Dick, Congressman Grosvenor and other Ohio leaders, with President McKinley at the White House, concerning the approaching Ohio campaign and the candidates likely to be nominated at the Republican State Convention, among other important political items, has the following of local interest:

It is possible that D. A. Hollingsworth, of Cadiz, will be the next Republican candidate for Supreme Judge of Ohio. It is well to keep this in mind.

Why not? It may not be exactly in line with General Hollingsworth's personal ambition, but it is a position of such recognized honor and distinction in his profession that no lawyer would care to decline it. He would make an admirable judge, and with his well known habits of industry would add greatly to the present working force of the Supreme Court.

(From *Ohio State Journal*.)

Since the famous White House conference the impression has gone out that it was decided to renominate all state officers save Caldwell. This impression is wrong. Not much attention was paid to the minor places on the ticket, though all were mentioned. Minshall has been on the bench 16 years and is now over 70. While no man was named for second place with Nash, it was about conceded that the candidate should come from north-western Ohio. There was also a suggestion that if General D. A. Hollingsworth, of Cadiz, would consent to run he would make a very acceptable candidate for supreme judge. Warren G. Harding, of Marion, now a state senator, and a very able young man, has been mentioned very favorably for lieutenant governor.

A PIONEER FRIEND OF AGRICULTURE AND LABOR
INDORSED BY THE "OHIO FARMER"

(From the *Harrison County News*.)

As showing the friendly attitude of Congressman Hollingsworth toward the agricultural, wool growing and labor interests of the people the Ohio Farmer, the leading farm journal of the state, in 1912, summarized one feature of an address delivered by General Hollingsworth, in part as follows:

"The producer is entitled to a fair compensation for his products and the consumer is entitled to have the necessary wants of himself and family supplied without unreasonable exactions."

"Why should not farmers, like other producing classes, having due and proper regard for the rights of the consumer, each year fix a general market price for their wheat, oats, corn, beef, bacon, wool, horses, cattle, sheep, hogs and other farm products, and then together, voluntarily adhere to such prices? Why may they not, if they find that the jobbers, wholesale dealers and other middle men, who absorb more than one-half of the farmers' earnings are unreasonably avaricious in their charges for marketing farm products, insist on arranging to sell direct to the retailer or the consumer himself?"

"It would place farming where it belongs, on a thoroughly independent basis, and would prove a veritable boon to the working classes by bringing to their doors at reasonable prices by parcels post, a market supply for the

breakfast table and dinner pail. It would do much toward solving the problem of the high cost of living without endangering the prosperity of the farmer.

"I am a consumer, pure and simple, and am as anxious as any one and need to buy my supplies at reasonable prices, but I feel that it would be better for both consumer and producer to trust to the aggregate wisdom, good sense and fairness of American farmers as a class to fix a scale of selling prices for their own products believed by them to be reasonable, rather than trust to the greedy fickleness of speculators whose profits must be added to the burdens of the consumer.

As a rule, American wage earners, whether organized or unorganized, and American farmers as a class, stand high in point of intelligence, honesty and fair dealings. They can be trusted implicitly, if undisturbed by avaricious middle men or speculators, to settle among themselves, on golden rule principles, the present serious problems of the high cost of living, and this without legislative tinkering or political wire pulling. Industrial peace is absolutely essential to the prosperity of both producer and consumer."

A SPECIAL CAMPAIGN DOCUMENT, 1916

During the political campaign of 1916, the personal and political friends of Congressman Hollingsworth asked him to write an open letter defining his position as candidate for re-election, which they might reduplicate and have circulated through the mails among individual voters, thus taking the place of a general personal canvass by him made impossible by his detention on official duties at Washington.

It proved an interesting feature of the canvass and is here quoted in full:

OFFICE OF
DAVID A. HOLLINGSWORTH
CADIZ, OHIO

November 1, 1916.

Esteemed Friend:

I have been representing you in the present Democratic Congress for the greater part of one term and am now a candidate for re-election to the

next Congress, which, I trust, may be Republican, and with such better opportunities for usefulness, I shall naturally hope to be of more service to my constituents.

In 1914, I was elected on the following personal platform to which, to the extent of my ability, I have tried to square my official conduct:

1. Don't vote for any bills which will injure the workmen or destroy legitimate industries of the American people. Boost business prosperity.

2. Look especially to the comfort and uplift of American farmers and workmen; capitalists are better able to take care of themselves, but do not unjustly discriminate against any class of our citizenship.

3. Guard against the entrance of undesirable immigrants to our shores but welcome all who come in good faith to assimilate good citizenship and American civilization.

4. Swat the fetich of free trade.

5. Vote for adequate protection to American industries and labor wherever brought into unjust or unequal foreign competition either through cheap labor or cheaper conditions of foreign production to the extent at least of equalizing the difference in cost of production at home and abroad, and provide also for expert information for the intelligent use of congress in removing, if possible, from the arena of partisan politics, the troublesome tariff problems which have too long vexed and disturbed the legitimate business of the country.

6. Oppose monopolies and illegal combinations and trusts of all kinds but be careful at all times to vote so as to foster instead of destroying the legitimate enterprises of the people.

7. Vote for economy in public expenditures and the collection of public revenues from sources least burdensome to the people, such as a graded income tax, corporation assessments, high duties on the luxuries rather than on the necessities of life, etc.

8. Vote for all measures calculated to conserve human life, the betterment of labor conditions, or the uplift of the people generally.

9. Vote for Federal Aid for good roads.

10. Don't dodge. If you cannot accomplish all the good you wish, get the best you can out of existing conditions.

Conscientiously feeling that I have made, in this congress, an honest endeavor to conform to this declaration of principles, I confidently submit my record to my constituents of all parties and promise, if re-elected, a continuance of the same policies in the future. Many of the provisions men-

tioned have not been acted upon because of the big Democratic majority, and these, together with new problems, some of them of world-wide importance, are sure to come up for early attention in the next congress.

The future is best judged by the past and in addressing you in this letter I invite the closest scrutiny of my official actions.

On purely political questions I have stood and expect to stand square-toed on the Republican platform.

Most of the duties of a congressman, however, are NON-PARTISAN OR LOCAL IN CHARACTER, and these I have attended to with scrupulous impartiality. I have not tried to build up a personal machine. In the distribution of government favors, when allotted to the district, such as public documents, etc., I have never inquired as to the politics of any one. All applicants have been treated alike and their requests complied with if possible.

I have been a pioneer in the matter of good roads building by the general government, being among the first to advocate the abandonment of the old rule of assessing the cost of road improvements against adjoining farm lands, and at the late session of Congress I advocated and voted for the act making large appropriation for this purpose from the National Treasury.

The records also show my consistent support of all measures in the interest of rural communities, such as the betterment of rural mail service, parcels post, conservation of the natural resources of the country, rigid economy in government expenditures wherever possible, etc., and also laws for the protection of labor, such as the workmen's compensation and child labor acts, restriction of immigration to conform to American standards, limitation in hours of labor, etc.

I have favored plain business methods in public affairs and have opposed grafting in every form, and many warm letters of approval have been sent to me by constituents of all parties.

Of greater immediate importance, possibly, are the world-wide problems of humanity and uplift sure to follow the close of the European war. Excepting the necessity for a prompt repeal of the free trade features of the Underwood tariff law, these problems are strictly non-partisan and it is unpatriotic for either party to think of making political capital out of them. As the foremost Christian nation in the world, the United States must at the proper time be ready to take the lead in the world's reorganization and

the consequent uplift and rescue of humanity and civilization from the wreckage of the war.

I have given much thought to this grave subject, being of English-German ancestry, and if re-elected to Congress shall hope to be helpful in bringing about permanent peace in the world.

Knowing, as a soldier, something of the real horrors and tragedy of war, I have during the present congress stood for peace and in every possible way short of national dishonor have tried to aid in keeping our beloved country and the President out of war, and, with me, to be useful, as a member of the American congress in the up-building processes sure to follow the final scenes of the conflict, is a cherished ambition, is in fact my chief reason for seeking another term. It is a perilous time and whatever of experience or ability I may have is, with your approval, at the service of the government.

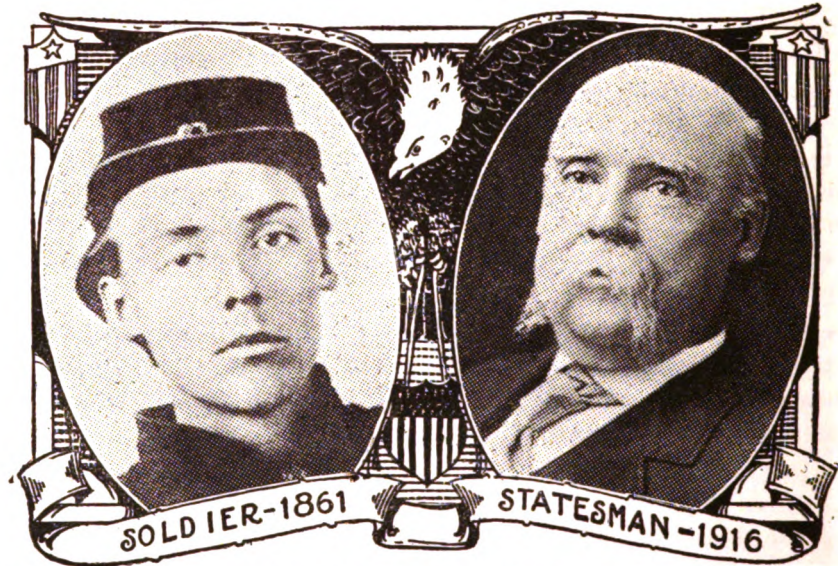
As a life long Republican, loyal always, I trust, to duty and country, I respectfully ask one and only one more term in congress, to the end that I may have part and aid in the settlement of the most profound problems of humanity the world has ever known since the crucifixion.

Sincerely,

D. A. HOLLINGSWORTH.

The beneficial results of this letter were marked at the election, but its good effects were somewhat lessened by a thoughtless mistake of the distributor, in allowing certain workers friendly to the candidate for Governor to insert in the same envelopes with it a large picture cut and separate printed circular specially boosting the candidacy of the Governor.

At the primary canvass the same year, the only actual campaign work for Hollingsworth was the circulation of an engraving showing him both as a soldier and statesman, which proved attractive to patriotic voters. It is here reproduced:



Hon. David A. Hollingsworth, of Cadiz, Ohio, Who Asks a Re-election to Congress

He is not an experiment. He has been tried in the crucible of both war and peace and the refining processes have left him a strong, healthful and vigorous statesman.

He stands square-toed on the Republican platform.

Think it over; there's a reason. Primaries August 8.

Sample clippings on miscellaneous subjects from leading newspapers:

(From Steubenville *Herald-Star*.)

"A CONGRESSMAN WHO DOES THINGS"

Today, Congressman Hollingsworth completes his two-year term of office and retires to private life with the universal esteem of his constituents. In his short term he has not only attracted national attention, taking an intelligent part in the settlement of all the big questions which come before Congress but he has paid especial attention to the needs of his district and

has secured more for his constituents than any other member of the Ohio delegation. Sixty-one bills offered by him have been enacted into law, including two for the erection of Federal post-office buildings in Steubenville and Bellaire, he being the only member of Congress to secure the enactment of more than one such bill, a record which should make his constituents very proud of his efforts. But greater than even this service is the fact that he has been true to the people in his every vote and has represented to the fullest extent their best thought and ideals.

* * * * *

Hollingsworth was one of the originators of the law which assures to the Ohio river a nine-foot stage of water the year round, a most valuable business asset for any city situated on its banks, and will in time be to Steubenville what the main artery is to a healthy human body.—*Steubenville News Item*.

PORK BARREL LEGISLATION

Ex-Congressman Francis, now a candidate to succeed General Hollingsworth, says in an article appearing in the Martins Ferry Times that Mr. Hollingsworth did not vote for the last Rivers and Harbors bill, which contained an appropriation for the Ohio river. By inference he leaves the impression that if he had been in Congress he would have voted for it. In order to be certain of his attitude the Herald-Star would be pleased to have him tell the people just how he would have voted on this measure. In our judgment, if there is one thing Mr. Hollingsworth did that he had a right to be prouder of than his vote on that pork-laden southern steal, then we haven't run across it, and proud as we are of an improved Ohio, we would rather have seen the whole project fail forever than to have voted millions out of the people's pockets for the so-called improvements of southern creeks. The Herald-Star does not always approve the stand taken by General Hollingsworth on public measures, but we do say that his vote on this bill marked him as a man of courage and that this district owes him a vote of confidence for his opposition to all pork barrel legislation. It takes a man to stand out against legislation of this character and when one is found he deserves your vote and your help for such men are few and far between.—*Steubenville Herald-Star*.

Both Ohio Senators, Harding, a Republican and Pomerene, a Democrat, voted and worked against the measure in the Senate.

BACKING UP THE PRESIDENT

Collier's Weekly, of New York, which claims to print more than a million copies a week, maintains a special Washington Bureau, whose function is to write up the work of Congress and its members with impartiality and fairness, in its current issue of June 2, gives the credit to Republican leaders for "backing up the President" in important matters of legislation, and, in special proof, quotes the words of Minority Leader Mann and two Ohio Congressmen, as follows:

"Just a few of literally hundreds of expressions give the key to the dominant spirit of Congress:

"Congressman Mann, Republican leader of the House—"The one thing left for us to do is to stand by the President.'

"Congressman Hollingsworth, of Ohio, Republican:—"I must respond to duty as I understand it, answer the call of the President and stand by him.'

"Congressman Longworth, of Ohio, Republican—"It is true that we give the President of the United States enormous powers under this resolution. It is true that we give him almost unlimited discretion, for we pledge to him the entire strength of the military and material resources of the American nation. We could hardly do more; but, gentlemen, we ought not to do less.' "

(*Belmont Chronicle*, September 19, 1918.)

WHY NOT COTTON, TOO?

General David A. Hollingsworth, speaking in the House of Representatives upon the McLaughlin amendment to Section 14 of the Fuel Administration bill, said in part:

"The law of supply and demand which regulates the price of agricultural products generally in this country seems to me to be a sufficient controlling factor for maintenance of reasonable prices for all products of the soil, except where the modern offense of "profiteering" by middlemen, speculators and hoarders needs to be prevented and which is now very properly done by criminal enactments.

It is satisfactory to thus fix the price of cotton for the cotton growers of the South, and equally so for the corn growers of the North, who seem to be enjoying abnormally good prices at present, and just why a different rule should be applied to the wheat growers is beyond my comprehension."

(From Steubenville *Herald-Star*.)

MARK OF ESTEEM

Congressman D. A. Hollingsworth has closed his earnest and helpful career as a Representative of this district and retired to his home in Cadiz, having been given a very complimentary and honored farewell among his colleagues in Washington without as well as within partisan lines. As a mark of esteem and to mark his earnest and untiring effort to get the bill passed for the new Federal Court building for Steubenville the entire membership, when the bill was brought up, voted for and passed the bill, while others were tabled. General Hollingsworth's retirement from the House leaves but one veteran of the Civil War as a member of this important legislative body who fought for the Union and one flag, now without peer in the world.

(From *Wheeling Intelligencer*, April 10, 1919.)

HON. D. A. HOLLINGSWORTH OF CADIZ SAYS IMMEDIATE CONCLUSION OF PEACE TREATY WAS ALL THAT WAS NEEDED

Talking of European complications in the city last evening, former Congressman D. A. Hollingsworth, of Cadiz, regretted the delay in the conclusion of peace after the great victory by the American and Allied forces. "The armistice was signed November 11 and by it every question included in the American declaration of war and for which American soldiers were sent overseas was accomplished. All that was necessary, so far as America was concerned, was an immediate conclusion of a peace treaty embodying American claims and fixing future American rights. This would have satisfied American honor and been satisfactory to 90 per cent of the American people. All, in fact, except those sentimentally or selfishly interested in the strife and bitterness engendered by long months of delay.

"A permanent peace league of nations, desired by all right-thinking peoples and people, must and should be the subject of patient, painstaking, open diplomacy by the treaty-making representatives of all nations, uninfluenced by the selfish considerations now cropping out at Versailles.

"The present conditions and the impending return of America's President suggest a diplomatic possibility like that of the Vienna peace conference of 1815, after the overthrow of Napoleon and the prostration of

France. The silent diplomacy of Talleyrand at that conference until the allied victors began to quarrel among themselves over the spoils of victory, then permitted Talleyrand to negotiate a peace treaty that substantially reversed the victory of the armies in the field, and this may be the thought and purpose of the silent German diplomacy of today. It is the real menace of present conditions."

CAPITAL GOSSIP

(Special to the *Wheeling Register*, Dem.)

Washington, June 1.—Hollingsworth, the Ohio member from the Bel-laïre district, has been getting into print a good deal of late, thanks to his outburst about putting the engraving of Jefferson Davis on silverware, presented to a battleship. While Hollingsworth is not a noisy man and not inclined to court notoriety, his fellow members from Ohio think he is making too much fuss and getting into the headlines rather more than a new member ought to without asking consent of those from the state who have been on the job much longer. Really it is distressing to see how actually torn up with jealousy the other Ohio men are that Hollingsworth, a new chap, should come along and get more newspaper space than the whole bunch of them have had in several terms of solitude here in Washington.

Hollingsworth has laughed at the threats of southern gentlemen, to annihilate him physically if he comes south. Can it be that the jabber comes from the friends of Speaker Cannon or from jealous members of the Ohio delegation, who have yearned long for some newspaper notice like Hollingsworth has gotten so suddenly?

Hollingsworth took his chances by going against Cannon early in the game.

(*Washington City News Item*)

FEDERAL COURT BUILDING

The Steubenville project was reported in a separate bill and placed on the House calendar for unanimous consent, but when it was reached for action a Mississippi congressman, named Sisson, who remembered the Hollingsworth resolution about the placing of Jeff Davis's picture on the battleship Mississippi, promptly objected and marched out of the hall refusing to hear Hollingsworth's explanation of the urgent needs of Steubenville.

One objection was sufficient and the chairman called the next bill on the calendar to which no objection was made, and it was passed unanimously. By this time Hollingsworth's old time fighting spirit was aroused, and, with the friendship of the chairman he was permitted to request unanimous consent to return to the Steubenville bill, which soon brought the big, six-foot Mississippian back on the floor with another loud "I object," but by this time Hollingsworth seems to have gotten his reserves ready for action, and, as the record shows, six southern members, two from Tennessee, one from Alabama, two from Texas, and one from Louisiana, came to the rescue and literally pounded enough sense into Sisson to cause him good naturedly to respond, "withdraw my objection;" and the bill was at once passed unanimously, after a motion to reduce the amount to \$100,000 had been voted down with only three votes in its favor.

Hollingsworth received quite a handshaking ovation and Mr. Sissons is reported to have said to his cronies afterward that he did not know it was loaded.

(From *Wheeling Intelligencer*.)

BY FRANCIS B. GESSNER

Intelligence Bureau,
Washington, D. C., April 12, 1909.

When General Hollingsworth, of Cadiz, Ohio, Congressman from the famous Sixteenth district, called at the White House the other day with his wife, he was greeted very cordially by President Taft. It was their first meeting since Taft, as a candidate, spoke at the Cadiz meeting and promised good things for the wool growers of the country. Almost the first remark of the President to Hollingsworth was concerning the action of Congress in keeping the wool tariff where it ought to be, and Taft added: "General Hollingsworth, you need not be ashamed to look sheep in the face when you go home." The President and General Hollingsworth had a talk on wool and other items of the tariff bill and also about Ohio, and it was evident that President Taft, with all the cares of state and the thousands of visitors who call, does not forget the incidents of his wonderful campaign tour. The little town of Cadiz, not far from Wheeling, had a peculiar interest for Taft and he welcomed the Cadiz member with the more cordiality because of the splendid meetings held all through the district.

OPTIMISTIC

Although voluntarily relinquishing public life to enjoy the quiet independence incident to private citizenship, Mr. Hollingsworth kept closely in touch with current events through the daily press, and took a deep interest in the great civic problems resulting from the World War, as is evidenced by the following interview with him in the *Wheeling Intelligencer* of October 9, 1919, a time when industrial unrest in the country seemed to have about reached the breaking point and was liable at any time to culminate in open disorder and violence:

Hon. D. A. Hollingsworth, of Cadiz, Ohio, former Congressman from the Belmont and Columbiana district of the "Buckeye State" was a visitor in the city yesterday, and in an interview with an *Intelligencer* reporter at the McLure hotel seemed very optimistic for an early settlement of the industrial conditions and also the after-war problems confronting the American people.

"In the final analysis," said he, "ordinary common sense and conservative thinking must rule this country, in both labor and capitalistic circles. However dark and threatening the present outlook may be, some sensible way will be found to avert the impending tragedy and despair and want sure to follow prolonged prostration of American industries. In a sense, ordinarily good men seem reckless of consequences but, as sure as God reigns and the Government at Washington lives, there will be halting and sensible conferring before the final dash into the Niagara of destruction. Divine guidance, if man's reasoning fails, will as in the past point the way.

"The American home, humble or high-placed, is too sacred to be imperiled by man's folly. Its destruction, however, may be possible unless the good sense of the people of America can stop and turn back at our shore line the foreign red fire of anarchy. It is a critical hour in history. Sacrifice and patience are as essential now, and as truly patriotic, as during the World War, on the part of good citizens, and bad ones should be sent out of the country. Any man, native or foreign born, who attempts to despoil American ideals of home and country should be imprisoned or promptly deported by legal process. There is no room for him in the Republic. It is a time for all men within our boundaries to think, talk and act, only along American lines.

"America owes a debt of gratitude to the United States Senate for its courage and efforts to clarify the involved issues presented by the peace

treaty and the proposed covenant of the league of nations. I have long been in favor of a league for the enforcement of permanent world peace, formed by the independent treaty-making powers of the world, and when in Congress, as early as September 7, 1916, advocated this in a speech in which I quoted from the public utterances of President Wilson, ex-President Taft, Senator Lodge and other leaders, none of whom then contemplated any infringement upon sovereignty of the treaty-making powers.

"Senator Lodge, now the zealous leader of those who seek to preserve American rights, was quoted at length and among other notable expressions said:

"'If we have reached the limit of voluntary arbitration, I think the next step is to put behind international peace, behind international league, or agreement, or tribunal, for peace—force.'

"His present attitude and purpose are wholly consistent with this position, and after he and his fellow senators shall have eliminated by proper reservations the doubtful and dangerous wording of the league of nations covenant, presented for confirmation, speedy ratification should follow and all good Americans can then rejoice in the continued sovereignty, dignity and assured prominence of the United States in the future diplomacy of the world. Isolation is no longer possible. The wisdom of Washington is not dimmed nor are the wise words of his farewell address forgotten, but the Twentieth Century seems to demand for its destined development, a world-wide field of common endeavor for all nations, all creeds, and all conditions of mankind.

"Let us recognize this fact hopefully but at the same time guard well the jewel of American citizenship. Danger signals can not be ignored; un-American organizations secretly plotting against the life of the Republic must be suppressed, and dangerous red-handed, individual conspirators, native or foreign-born, must be taken care of either by prison bars or deportation.

"In no other way can real ideal Americanism be preserved."

HOLLINGSWORTH'S KICK

During the now famous 30-hour session of the House of Representatives, when House warrants were issued for over one hundred absent members, Congressman D. A. Hollingsworth, who had taken the precau-

tion to be paired with a Democrat, was by the sergeant-at-arms disturbed while in bed at his hotel and notified to appear before the House.

Mr. Hollingsworth was naturally and justly indignant. He had taken all precaution to assure himself a night of undisturbed repose. To have his beauty sleep interrupted by the rough arm of the law was sufficient to anger even a man of Mr. Hollingsworth's well known peace-loving disposition. The outburst which followed this ordinarily quiet and dignified gentleman's arrival at the House was doubtless funny. We have read 57 varieties of accounts of the incident and all of them were funny as written, but all quite different except the text.

Our congressman's appearance may have suffered from a hasty toilet; his necktie may have ridden his collar, as one of the accounts stated, but that he gave as good as he took from the baiting Democrats there is no doubt, and it is altogether likely that his dignity suffered little in the operation. This we take from the different accounts sent out of the incident.

To digress slightly, Hollingsworth seems to be well liked by the scribes at Washington and in this he is fortunate. These men are quick to discern artificiality in a man, and if they write at all of one of this sort, do not attempt to hide his faults. On the other hand they are just as quick to notice a man of the right sort; hence Hollingsworth has been treated kindly by the newspaper men.—*Washington City Daily News Correspondent*.

A NARROW ESCAPE

On December 23, 1918, about midnight, the New Willard, the leading hotel of the City of Washington, took fire and, from some cause, all telephone connections in the building and the gong wire used to alarm guests ceased to operate. Bell boys and employees rushed from room to room awakening guests whom the noise and smoke failed to arouse, but notwithstanding this a number slept on through all the excitement.

Most of the guests, however, many of them of national prominence, fought their way through smoke-filled corridors and the operation and uproar of the fire companies to the lobby and thence to the streets in front of the hotel.

The following headlines copied from the Washington Post of the next day briefly tell the story:

FLEE WILLARD BLAZE
NOTED PATRONS TAKE TO STREETS WHEN SMOKE
FILLS HOTEL
ORIGINATES IN PALM ROOM
SHOOTS UP AIR SHAFT TO THE ROOF, DOING DAMAGE OF
\$100,000

Several Women Faint, and One Tries to Jump From Third Story Window
—Vice President Marshall Among Those to Quit Rooms Without
Waiting to Don Street Attire

General Hollingsworth was one of the guests who slept through it and not until he received his daily paper the next morning at breakfast did he learn of the danger he had passed through in the night, when he explained to an astonished table servant that his sound sleeping qualities were attributable to "early retirement and a clear conscience."

(From *Freeport Press*, August 14, 1919.)

HAD THE "WILSON VISION" IN 1904

A correspondent sends to the Press the following clipping from a printed reunion speech of General D. A. Hollingsworth, delivered at Bowerston, August 25, 1904, and asks if our former Congressman then had what is now called the Wilson Vision:

Somehow I have faith in the future; sooner or later, here or hereafter, in God's own appointed time and way, every loyal thought, every weary march, every wound, every sacrifice, and every good deed of the patriot soldier will find its just reward.

Our efforts gave to American civilization a new and broader significance, as seen in the enlarged patriotism of today, and perhaps, in a decade or two hence, the efforts of our present army and navy, their successes in Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines, China and the East, may ripen into a richer fruitage, and the Republic itself, grown strong and powerful, cosmopolitan in fact, advancing to higher and grander heights, shall form the central figure of a universal world-wide federation, in which, by that wisdom which cometh from on high, equal and exact justice shall be administered to

all the races of man, under one flag, and that the starry flag of the American Republic.

Who can tell? Who dares prophesy as to the future destiny of America?

STRIKES BACK AT OPPOSING CANDIDATE

(From Steubenville *Herald-Star*, November 1, 1912.)

HOLLINGSWORTH HANDS OPPONENT A VERY ARTISTIC SCUTCHING

A MANLY REPLY TO THE COMMUNICATION OF MISREPRESENTATION PUBLISHED LAST NIGHT

The following letter will ably explain itself:

Cadiz, Ohio, October 31, 1912.

Robert McGowan, Esq., Steubenville, Ohio.

My Dear Mr. McGowan: Your valued favor, enclosing to me a letter of this date received by you from my Democratic opponent and suggesting that I make answer to the false reference he makes to my connection with pension legislation is at hand, and I desire to personally thank you for your thoughtfulness.

You will notice that, like the Sherwood fake letter of 1910, it is timed so as to reach the voters too late for the truth to follow in our local weekly papers before election.

Ex-Congressman Cole, who was also a member of the 61st Congress, in speaking here last night, to a Republican meeting, read his charges against the action or rather alleged non-action of the invalid pension committee of the House, of which I was a member, and in words fully as emphatic as those of General Sherwood in denouncing the fraudulent use of his name in 1910, denounced the statements as absolutely false, stating in his remarks that "I know whereof I speak."

But, my dear Mr. McGowan, I must be excused personally from discussing this subject in any way with a man who does not seem to have any knowledge of what war was or any conception of the patriotism and love of country which actuated the Boys in Blue in 1861-5, judging from the sordid manner in which he treats the subject in calculating only on how many votes he can get out of it. I might, of course, put him in the

Ananias club, as did General Sherwood, when he learned of the fraudulent use of his name, but really I do not take pleasure in exposing the frailties of my fellow men. The author is at least entitled to credit for using his own name in this latest attempt at slander.

As illustrations of his recklessness in statement: In this circular it is said that the Invalid Pension Committee, of which I was a member, did not "report to the House any general pension bill during his (my) stay in Congress," and yet every soldier who receives this late day letter as you have done from him knows that my committee reported and had passed the famous "Suloway bill," a more liberal pension measure than the Sherwood bill, and that General Sherwood and I, one a Democrat and the other a Republican, stood side by side in voting for and supporting it on the floor of the House.

Again, this circular says that I was a delegate and was "placed upon the Resolution Committee at the Republican convention at Dayton, Ohio," etc. He may be an innocent victim of the "almanac" from which he professes to get his information, but nevertheless the record, which any one desiring to know the truth might have consulted, shows that I was not a member of that Resolution Committee. I admit that some of the Republican conventions of Ohio, seemingly with the same feeling as to his sincerity in pension matters that I have of my opponent's, somewhat drastically criticized General Sherwood in the platforms, but the General himself, as we stood in the House together battling for our comrades, often recognized and thanked me for assisting in his every measure.

No, Mr. McGowan, I do not care to dispute with a member of congress on the pension question, at least until General Sherwood, his present colleague, lets him out of the Ananias club, where he placed him in 1910.

I did the best I could for all my comrades when in Congress and shall do so again if returned.

I decline also, Mr. McGowan, to reply in kind to the absolute falsehoods published in my opponent's personal organ in Steubenville, in its issue of today. If for no other reason, it would be an unnecessary cruelty to his very estimable family and I do not believe the innocent should be made to suffer with the guilty.

I am not surprised at the Gazette, before publishing the infamous article reflecting on my record and upon me personally, requiring the reputed author to personally, by his own signature, become responsible for the statements he makes. Mr. McFadden knows me and he may know the

real author. If he does, as the Christian gentleman he is, it was only wise and fair for him to do so. My own belief is that my opponent knew as little about the statements as did Mr. McFadden, as I have been warned to expect such roorbacks to be put in circulation at the last moment by an imported high-priced clerk who has been for some time working in his office at Martins Ferry and sending out misleading statements. My friends at Martins Ferry do not seem to know him except that he is a recent importation evidently intending to "do his work" and disappear.

But as to the Gazette man, who carries at the head of his paper the Golden Rule: He probably knows, although he never published the fact in his paper, that in the Steubenville Carnegie Library is a regularly established "Government library," the only one in the 16th District, which I had established while in Congress. In this library, according to law, is kept every publication by the Government of any kind. If the Gazette man (I mean Mr. McFadden, not someone he might send for a purpose) will examine these documents, including the Congressional Records, and then state over his own signature that he believes five lines of this published statement undertaking to reflect on my record, I will admit that I am much mistaken in the character and integrity of his candidate for Congress.

Let me, however, answer his silly statement about me having been arrested at Washington, by the words of ex-Congressman Cole, who sits by me as I am writing this letter. "Why, Hollingsworth, that is infamous in your opponent. If he would tell the truth, he would give you great credit for the episode. After a long filibuster by the Democrats about midnight you, as I did, paired and went to our hotels to spend the night with our families. About four o'clock in the morning a roll call was had and your absence and mine, with that of about 200 others, was noted, and the sergeant-at-arms was sent to notify us all that pairs were off and we must go to the House. He came and notified us and all went to the House. I remember that you, at the time, as well as I, got credit out of it by your somewhat angry statement that you were glad to have been found at your hotel with your family instead of at places where it was believed some of the other absentees had taken up quarters for the night."

Mr. Cole merely states the truth, and, as the facts all appear in the Congressional Record of the same date, I would be glad to have the Gazette publish my remarks and the facts from authentic sources to show, if nothing else, the mendacity of the man who inspired the published statement to which my opponent's name appears.

No, Mr. McGowan, if my long life has not established for me a character proof against such last hour slanders, then my life has been a failure. On the other hand, what of a member of Congress who could himself or by hired clerks make a viciously false statement to secure votes at a time when too late to be fully exposed before the election?

Right or wrong, wise or unwise, I decline to be drawn into any kind of a personal controversy with mere scandal-mongers.

With sincere personal regards and again thanking you for your letter,
I am, Very truly,

D. A. HOLLINGSWORTH.

CAUSTIC REPLY TO THOUGHTLESS TELEGRAM

(From *Belmont Chronicle*, March 8, 1917.)

HOLLINGSWORTH'S REPLY

HE STANDS AS HE STOOD IN THE CIVIL WAR, BY THE STARS AND STRIPES

I Shall Stand Behind and Support President Wilson. He is My President

Upon reading a telegram purporting to come from fifty representative business men of East Liverpool to General Hollingsworth, requesting him to be patriotic, one of the editors of *The Chronicle* wrote General Hollingsworth as follows:

"General David A. Hollingsworth, M. C., Washington, D. C.

"Dear General: I am enclosing you herewith a clipping from today's Register. I wish, if you have time, you would write me as to what, if any, truth there is in this matter, or any explanation that you would care to make public. I would like to get this in time for next week's *Chronicle*, which goes to press Wednesday morning. The story is creating a somewhat false impression and I think it should be explained."

To which General Hollingsworth sent promptly the following reply:

"Washington, D. C., March 3, 1917.

"W. W. Cowen, Esq., St. Clairsville, Ohio.

"Dear Mr. Cowen: I thank you for your favor, with clipping, just received.

"This item, in large measure, comes from the same inspiration which after the primaries last fall sought by published insinuation to identify me with the wet element, who were said to have been in the market for sale, etc., and which inspiration led some of the same gentlemen to concoct a forged letter for circulation the night before the general election.

"These charges of wet affiliation having gone glimmering by my recent votes, I imagine the same influences are seeking other cause of complaint.

"I only know three or four of those who signed the telegram, and because of my regard for them I answered by a personal letter. It is not my desire or purpose to be driven into any newspaper controversy.

"I do not believe in \$20,000,000 dreadnaughts, in large numbers, in this new day of submarines, especially as they cannot be built until long after any possible war growing out of the present trouble will be ended, and this alone is the extent of my offending.

"The unfairness of this telegram you can see from my letter, the office copy of which I am sending you herewith, with the privilege of publishing it if you care to.

"Everything is in commotion here tonight as I write, or I would write more fully.

Sincerely,

"D. A. HOLLINGSWORTH."

A copy of the letter sent by General Hollingsworth to the authors of the East Liverpool dispatch reads as follows:

Washington, D. C., March 1, 1917.

Messrs. H. N. Parker and others,
East Liverpool, Ohio.

Gentlemen: I am very glad to receive your telegram dated February 28, but in the rush of business not delivered to me until today, and I assure you that I am very glad to know that in the event of our country drifting or being forced into war, you have in your veins the same patriotic blood that some of you had, and which produced patriotic results in 1861. I am, however, a bit surprised at the personal tone of your telegram, assuming that you have been readers of the daily press. On the same day that President Wilson appeared before Congress and notified it of the severance of diplomatic relations between our country and Germany, I gave to the press a brief interview, which was generally published, as follows:

Congressman Hollingsworth, after listening to the President's address on Saturday, gave the following interview to the press: "Woodrow Wilson is President under the Constitution and by the suffrage of the people. I did not vote for him, but he is now my President, and I shall stand behind and support him, in all war measures not involving vital questions of conscience. If he goes wrong, his will be the responsibility when history comes to be written. I stand as I stood in the Civil War, by the Government, by the Stars and Stripes, right or wrong. With an early admixture of both English and German blood in my veins, I am and hope to remain purely American.

"This is and has been my position, although I have tried to respect and consider the judgment of all my constituents, many of whom do not believe just the same as you and I do on war subjects.

"No one can tell, in the present excited condition of the public mind, just what a day may bring forth, and, worst of all, the attitude the President may take from day to day, so I must ask you to consider my above interview as full expression of my views on this subject.

"With very high regards, I beg to remain,

"Yours truly,

"D. A. HOLLINGSWORTH,

"M. C., 18th District, Ohio."

PRIVATE SECRETARY MOORE TAKES A RAP AT LISBON BANKER, FORMER CANDIDATE FOR CONGRESS

At the Congressional primary, in 1916, Mr. Hollingsworth had numerous opponents, among whom were three residents of Columbiana county, a banker, a lawyer, and one of the labor class. The banker was sanguine of success and succeeded in winning his own county by a fair margin, but seemed grievously disappointed over the result in the district.

Apparently, a grouchy spirit replaced his previous friendliness toward the nominee, which, unfortunately, seemed to linger and rankle after the election, forbidding friendly approaches on the part of his successful rival.

The World War coming on soon afterward, the labor candidate enlisted in the army and was congratulated by many friends, including General Hollingsworth. The banker candidate, although not offering to enlist, also showed his loyalty, and, in speech, manifested such an intense anti-

German spirit that he attracted public attention. But even in his patriotic effusions he could not forget or in his heart excuse, the man whom he thought stood in his way for Congress, and a year after his defeat, when Congress was bending every energy to win the war, in a public address at Harlem Springs, Carroll county, according to a friendly local paper, he incidentally mentioned as though he thought it genuine, the forged wet letter circulated among dry voters against Hollingsworth, late on the night before the election, and, with a flash of self-righteousness, said he was going to talk about the war "because there was nothing else under high heaven to talk about," adding that "President Wilson stood out as the greatest figure of the war," and then, as this newspaper report stated, "proceeded to turn his attention to Congress," saying:

"There are five pro-Germans in the Ohio delegation, and one of them introduced a bill to prevent an American army from being sent to France, and he doesn't live 20 miles from here."

Mr. Moore, private secretary to Congressman Hollingsworth, when the paper containing the report of this speech reached his office, not knowing the visionary nature of the speaker, but knowing the fairness of the editorial management of the paper, although Democratic, wrote the following reply, which was courteously printed in the next issue of the paper:

SECRETARY MOORE REPLIES TO CLARK FIRESTONE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Washington, D. C., August 25, 1917.

Messrs. E. F. and J. V. Lawler, Jr.,

Editors Carroll Chronicle, Carrollton, Ohio.

Gentlemen: I notice in the Chronicle this week your report of the Harlem picnic speech of Mr. Firestone has him filching from Congressman McCullough, of the Canton district, credit or discredit, just as one may think of it, for a bill offered in Congress by Mr. McCullough "to prevent an American army being sent to France," and giving the credit or discredit to a member said by him not "to live 20 miles from here," and as Mr. Hollingsworth is the only Congressman living within 20 miles of Harlem it may be proper for one who knows to suggest that never having offered such bill, he declines to accept its stolen credit or discredit even at the hands of a friendly picnic orator. Perhaps the imaginary trouble with Mr. Hollings-

worth in the eyes of the speaker relates more to his recently published letter of congratulation to Captain Percy Tetlow, one of his three Columbiana county competitors at the last Congressional primary, upon his patriotic course in volunteering in defense of Old Glory in the present World War instead of remaining inactive and in luxury at home.

Possibly also a slightly heated imagination may have conjured up in the mind of the speaker a thought of prophecy in these words quoted from the letter of General Hollingsworth: "No higher honor, in my judgment can come to any citizen. May the God of our Fathers go with you in the tragic perils of the future, and may victory, a glorious victory for the cause of humanity, soon come to bless the common people of our own and all lands, speedily enable you, if spared, to return to your home and loved ones, and to civil life where, I trust, in addition to the heartfelt gratitude of all patriotic people, you may find awaiting you civic honors and a welcome befitting a man who has worthily won his spurs in both civic and military life."

This is written alone in the interest of truth mainly because of the personal suggestion of the Chronicle reporter that the speech "was all true," and is for you or your readers also as you may think just and fair.

Very respectfully yours,

B. W. MOORE, Secretary.

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The other local Carrollton paper, Republican, which had supported Mr. Firestone at the primaries in 1914 and 1916, gave his speech scant notice, but the following quotation from an editorial seems significant:

"The Free Press-Standard has a high regard for Clark B. Firestone, but it cannot quite grasp his apparent zeal, in the public good, to rap some eminent Republicans. There are several ways, however, of accounting for his activity in these matters, and the chief one, to be charitable, is that he is a genius, and a genius is bound by no fixed rule."

At any rate, this proclaimed genius failed to reappear as a candidate at the Congressional primary of 1918, and, answering an inquiry as to his whereabouts, a Columbiana county Republican is said to have replied that the erstwhile Lisbon candidate, imitating Longfellow's Arabs, had "quietly folded his tent and stole away."

COMBINATION AGAINST GENERAL HOLLINGSWORTH'S RETURN TO CONGRESS IN 1914, AND ITS COLLAPSE

The campaign of 1914 was exciting from the start, as there seemed to be a combination among Congressional candidates to prevent General Hollingsworth's return to Congress, after his former defeats. Besides the Democratic incumbent, who was a candidate for re-election, there were three other regularly nominated candidates against him, Rev. W. K. Weaver, pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Salineville, Ohio, on the Progressive Party ticket headed by James R. Garfield for Governor; Valentine A. Schreiber, Mayor of East Liverpool, on the Prohibition ticket, and Fred White, on the Socialist ticket, and, as often happens in politics, the preacher seemed the most assuming and aggressive.

He early issued a general challenge to all the candidates to hold joint discussions with him over the district, but General Hollingsworth, somewhat wary lest it might be a ruse to distract attention from his canvass and really in the interest of either the Democratic or Prohibition nominee, or both, accepted his challenge by letter in a modified form. It follows:

Cadiz, Ohio, September 18, 1914.

Rev. W. K. Weaver, Salineville, Ohio.

Dear Mr. Weaver: I really must be permitted, in answer to your letter of 14th instant, mailed the 17th, and signed by you as the "Progressive candidate for Congress" in this district, to express surprise at its contents, especially in the light of your personal letter to me of September 5th and my reply thereto. But for the high appreciation I have for the clergy generally I should be forced to entertain a doubt of the sincerity of this last communication; either this or worse.

In your former letter you elicited my warm appreciation and thanks by highly commending what you were pleased to call my "past clean moral record, and regard for sobriety and decency," and to this I answered promptly and fully in the same spirit of sincerity which I assumed had actuated you.

Imagine my surprise, therefore, at receiving this second letter in which as a candidate you state, with the same apparent sincerity, that you propose, notwithstanding your party cast less than 200 votes at the Congressional primary, which nominated you, and at the same primary the Republican party, which nominated me, cast over 16,000 votes and the Democratic party over 5,000 votes, to have me abandon my own plans for the campaign and

ignore all other Congressional candidates but yourself, although at least two of them, the Democratic and Socialist, received more votes than you did, and discuss solely with you "in the various county seats and other larger towns of the district" the following "statements," which you say you expect to make during the campaign:

"Mr. Hollingsworth stands upon a liquor platform."

"Mr. Hollingsworth is the candidate of a liquor party."

"Mr. Hollingsworth stands shoulder to shoulder with brewers, distillers and saloon keepers."

Waiving the offence implied in your wording, not only do I dispute your right to set up such an imaginary straw-man to fight, but I feel that I ought not to abandon my own plan of campaigning, or forget the large number, 3,442, of earnest citizens who voted for me at the primary, and the other Republicans of the district who may wish to hear their nominee for Congress discuss not only one but all the great questions now agitating the public mind, an impossibility if I devote to you the time and attention necessary to enable us to attend the various joint meetings suggested by you for the sole purpose of discussing with you one question, however important it may be.

I therefore respectfully decline both the honor and vanity implied in your proposition.

But I have no objection, Mr. Weaver, to accepting your challenge in a somewhat modified and restricted form, reserving, under the code, my right, as the challenged party, to name the time and place for our meeting.

If you will get all the other candidates for Congress in the district, now duly nominated and registered, Democratic, Socialist, Social Labor and Independent Prohibitionist, to agree to meet with us to discuss all and any phases of the prohibition or temperance question, I will gladly meet with you and them one time for such purpose, and, on notice from you that you have their consent and agreement to the arrangement, I will promptly name the time and place.

Again, if you fail to get the consent of the various candidates and think it would really be edifying to the people to hear such a discussion between us alone, I will at once name the time and place on this further condition:

You shall first read, in full, without comment, to your congregation, your letter to me of September 5th, and my reply of the same date, and then if any considerable number of your membership desires to hear further from me on the subject of prohibition or temperance, I will promptly name the time for a discussion with you and your own church as the place, and such

discussion may, if you desire, cover all phases of this most important subject including as well your own as my personal record, public and private, in regard to it, or any other moral question, and the judges may consist of three members of your own congregation, one to be selected by you and one by me, and they to choose an umpire.

I am not anxious, my dear Mr. Weaver, for any kind of a controversy, especially with men of the holy cloth, as I expect to be elected to Congress and shall hope to be in a position to faithfully and honestly serve the whole people, with fidelity and candor, but, my father being English and my mother German, I cannot at this time allow you or any one else to think of me as running away from a fight.

Therefore, your challenge is accepted on above conditions.

The further positive assurance in your letter that my chief opponent, the Democratic candidate, "is a total abstainer," excites also a surprising but definite suspicion that there is an understanding, or at least a sort of umbilical connection of some kind, without which you could not thus speak of him with such positiveness, and which may even point to you, consciously or unconsciously, playing a cat's paw role for the benefit of the Democratic candidate, quite abhorrent to the professional principles of your party and especially its sturdy anti-boss leaders whom I might name, and for whom I have much respect.

Failure to accept one or the other of my modifications of your challenge will convince me that you, as the candidate of the Progressive party, a party whose general sincerity and good faith are believed in by many good citizens, are only seeking on your part to operate it as a Democratic side-show.

All questions this year are important and no sound Republican doctrine should be endangered by unhappy party dissensions.

With proper appreciation, I am,

Very truly yours,

D. A. HOLLINGSWORTH.

Mr. Weaver never replied. He did not seem to relish Hollingsworth's proposal to bring home to his own congregation a political discussion, especially if made to cover all moral questions and personal records.

Soon afterward, however, presumably with Rev. Weaver's consent, Mayor Schreiber, the Prohibition candidate, issued a flaming appeal to the voters of the district, with big headlines as follows:



REUNION OF DESCENDANTS OF ELIHU AND LYDIA ANN HOLLINGSWORTH, JULY 5, 1919.

"OUT TO WIN! WILL YOU HELP?"

"W. K. Weaver, the Progressive candidate has withdrawn in my favor, so as to unite the dry vote."

"Give me the chance to stand in Congress and sound the call."

Mr. Schreiber was a sincere man, but the voters knew Hollingsworth's temperance record, and, although on the Prohibition ticket with Rev. Weaver as a booster, the doughty Mayor found himself up against a stone wall, politically speaking.

(From *Martins Ferry Times*, July 7, 1919.)

HOLLINGSWORTH REUNION, JULY 5, 1919

A most enjoyable event was the Hollingsworth reunion held Saturday on the lawn of the home of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Burtoft, of St. Clairsville. The meeting was planned by the descendants of Elihu Hollingsworth, who lived for many years in Flushing, and in honor of ex-Congressman D. A. Hollingsworth and sister, Mrs. Thomas Burtoft, the only surviving children. A picnic dinner was served by Mrs. R. D. Judkins, Mrs. Carl Kirk and Mrs. W. S. Holloway, of Flushing. Following the dinner an interesting program was rendered. It included a biographical sketch of the Hollingsworth family, which was given by Mrs. Ada F. Dever, of Alliance, and was one of the features of the program.

A number of articles were also displayed which had been handed down in the family from the time the first good old Quaker Hollingsworths came over in the ship *Welcome* with "Broadbrim" William Penn.

Those present were:

Mr. and Mrs. W. E. Judkins and family, of Cadiz; Mr. and Mrs. C. H. Judkins and family, Mr. and Mrs. F. H. Farmer and family, of Cleveland; Mr. and Mrs. F. E. Farmer and family, Mr. and Mrs. D. T. Farmer and family, Mr. and Mrs. Dwight Leffingwell, Mrs. Ruth Leffingwell and son, of Alliance; Mrs. Ada F. Dever and two daughters, of Alliance; Mr. and Mrs. R. D. Judkins and family, Mr. and Mrs. W. S. Holloway and family, Mr. and Mrs. Carl Kirk and family, of Flushing; D. A. Hollingsworth, of Cadiz; W. H. Boyd and daughter, Mary Gertrude, of Cleveland; Mrs. Annie Hollingsworth, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Burtoft, St. Clairsville.

