

TRIUMPHANT PLUTOCRACY

The Story of
American Public Life
from 1870 to 1920

By
R. F. PETTIGREW
Formerly United States Senator
from South Dakota



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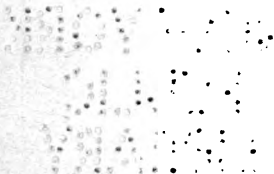
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ASTOR. LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS
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XIV. SENATES AND SENATORS

The control of the machinery of the Government by the business interests of the United States is nowhere better exemplified than in the Senate of the United States. I was a member of the Senate for twelve years. During that time the Senate never legislated for the American people and had not the slightest regard for their interests. I was intimately acquainted with many of the Senators. I came into daily contact with them, until I learned how they acted, under a given set of circumstances, and why.

During my term of service in the Senate, lawyers always made up the majority of the senators. At times as many as three-quarters were lawyers. Hence follows that everything I have said about lawyers applies generally to United States senators. Indeed, it was my two terms in the Senate that helped me to form my opinion of lawyers and their practices.

The representatives of business, who held seats in the Senate, were not satisfied to pass the laws that their clients demanded. They went out of their way to attacked any other senator who held a brief for the interests of the American people. After I had gained the reputation of being anti-privilege and in favor of human rights above property rights, they came at me again and again.

From the moment that I took sides against the railroads, the trusts and other forces of imperialism, I was a marked man. Senator after senator felt it his duty to go on record against me personally, as well as everything that I stood for. Depew, representing the New York Central; Lodge, representing the conservative propertied interests of New England; Wolcott, representing every interest that would buy him, and David B. Hill, a representative of the New York business interests, scored and denounced me.

Chauncey Depew, as one of his first acts in the Senate, delivered a speech (February 7, 1900, p. 1602), in

which he denounced my attitude toward the Philippines.

Even more personal and vindictive was the attack of Senator Wolcott (January 15, 1900, pp. 810-12).

In reply, I merely said:

"Mr. President, the senator from Colorado says that I never speak a kind word of my fellow-senators. I am not going to dispute that assertion except to say that my relations are most pleasant with almost all of my fellow-senators, and I hope he will not undertake to hide the whole Senate behind his large personality. I have not spent much time in laudation of him because I never saw anything in his public career or private life worthy of praise; but I will confess one thing, and that now, which ought to be his praise and his advantage—he has a loud voice. It seems to me that his attack upon me is not worthy of a reply, and I shall not reply to it."

With most of these men, personally, I was on good terms, but when it came to political and economic views, we were enemies. Probably under such circumstances I may judge the Senate and the senators more harshly than they deserve. At the same time, I do not see how it would be possible to exaggerate their utter fealty to business, and their supreme failure to do anything or even think of anything that was in the public interest.

Naturally, to such a generalization, there were a number of honorable exceptions as, for example, that furnished by Senator John P. Jones, of Nevada, and Senator Butler, of North Carolina.

Marion Butler was elected to the Senate of the United States in 1894 and took his seat in 1895, which was the beginning of my second term. So he served with me for six full years. He was elected on the people's ticket as a Populist. He was but 30 years of age, a lawyer by profession, having graduated from the University of Virginia, and was the youngest man in the Senate at that time.

Butler was a man of very decided ability and of strict integrity. He discharged the duties of his office with great credit to himself and to the state that he represented. He voted with me on almost every question, always against the predatory interests. He made really the most brilliant career of any man I ever knew in the Senate during his first term. He was the author of the Rural Free Delivery service of the Post Office Department, which he secured; also the appropriation for the building of the first submarine. He attacked and exposed the infamy of Cleveland's administration, and his bond sales, and also assisted me in the fight with regard to the railway mail pay, and in the armor-plate controversy he showed up many remarkable and startling facts. He was a member of the Committee on Naval Affairs, and was a sturdy opponent of graft and extravagance.

John P. Jones was one of the American delegates to the "International Monetary Conference," held at Brussels in 1892. His fellow-commissioners were James B. McCreary, Henry W. Cannon, president of the Chase National Bank of New York, and E. Benjamin Andrews. These gentlemen knew more or less about money and finance, and they signed the report. There were other members of the commission, among them Senator Allison of Iowa. He did not sign the report. If he attended the Brussels Conference it must have been as an onlooker, for, if he had undertaken to discuss the question, he certainly would have been the laughing stock of the financiers of Europe.

The great speech of that conference was made by John P. Jones of Nevada, who was the ablest man in the Senate of the United States during the twelve years that I was there. He was a careful student, had a great intellect, and understood the science of political economy and the money question. His speech in the Senate of the United States, delivered in October, 1893, is by all odds the greatest contribution to the science of political economy now in print. He was seven days

delivering that speech, which is a marvel of eloquence, composition and logic, and yet there were never more than three or four senators listening to it. As soon as Jones arose to speak, everyone would leave the Senate chamber in order to be sure not to possess any knowledge upon the question which he was presenting. Statesmen or scholars are rare in the Senate of the United States and when, by accident, one does get in there he is treated like a pariah. He is "not their kind" to the rest of the senators who are typical products of a political system under which it is impossible to produce scholars, for the senators, as the representatives of the great industrial and financial combinations who own and run the Government entirely, are expected to have, not scholarship, but facility in managing public affairs in the interests of the classes. The rights of the people are never considered. Few senators ever stop to ask the question, "What is the public welfare?" Rather, they ask, "What does my client want?"

Senator Jones was brought up on a farm near Cleveland, Ohio. When about twenty years of age he joined with others, secured a sailing vessel of 250 tons, sailed down Lake Erie through the Welland Canal, across Lake Ontario, and out into the ocean through the St. Lawrence River, and went around the south end of South America to California in search of gold.

It was fortunate that Jones did not have a college education; he had less to forget. Our colleges do not develop to any great degree the only human faculty that distinguishes men from the animals—the power to reason. On the contrary, the college cultivates the memory and develops a veneration for the past. Jones attended the "University of Hard Knocks," which is a pretty good school for a man who possesses any genius, because his mind is not filled up with the doings of the dead past, and he has not learned to venerate war by reading Caesar until he thinks that war is the only road to fame. Jones was a self-made man if ever there was one, and he surely did an excellent job.

After the bill had passed, authorizing the sending of commissioners to the Brussels Monetary Conference, I was in New York and the president of the Chase National Bank, Mr. Cannon, whom I had known in the West, told me that President Harrison had offered to appoint him one of the commissioners to the Brussels Monetary Conference. He wanted to consult with me as to whether he could afford to lower his dignity by accepting the appointment in view of the fact that "the cowboy senator from Nevada" (Jones) was to be one of the commissioners. In reply I told Cannon that he would do well, before going to Brussels, to read Jones' report on the Brussels Monetary Conference of 1876. This, I told him, would give him some information on the subject. If he could not find time to read that report, I advised him to make the acquaintance of Jones at the earliest moment and to talk with him all he possibly could on the trip, so that he would not make himself ridiculous when he came to speak at the conference. I told him, further, that Jones knew far more about the subject than any other man in the United States, and that he could express what he knew more logically than anybody else.

I did not tell Senator Jones until after he had returned to this country what Cannon had said, because I wanted to give Cannon a show, but, after our commissioners had returned and had made their report (and the report was written by Jones), I asked the senator one day what he thought of Cannon.

"Well," he replied, "Cannon, you know, like all bankers, has no knowledge of the subject of money; but then I got along all right."

Then I told Jones that Cannon had consulted with me before they went to Brussels as to whether it would comport with his position as president of the Chase National Bank to accept an appointment as a commissioner to the Brussels conference in company with the cowboy senator from Nevada.

Jones simply smiled. "Well," said he, "you know a

banker has no time to spend informing himself on the money question. Cannon probably went into a bank when he was a boy and grew up there. He learned, or knew as much about the money question, as the average banker, but he is not to blame for that." Jones chuckled, and then added: "A little incident occurred after we returned to London, at the close of the Brussels conference, which, in this connection, might amuse you. Rothschild, the great London banker, was a delegate to the conference, listened to my speech and, immediately upon our return to London, gave a dinner in my honor. The guests were the great financiers and economists of England—and Cannon was not invited. In introducing me at the dinner, Rothschild referred to my speech on the money question at the Brussels Monetary Conference as "the greatest recent contribution to the science of political economy.'"

The next time I saw Cannon I questioned him about the Brussels conference and his relations with Jones. He said that Jones was a very pleasant and agreeable gentleman, but that he was of the opinion that there were other men at the conference far better informed upon the question than Jones. I finally said: "By the way, Cannon, did you attend the dinner given by Rothschild in London to Jones, at which he, in introducing Jones to the guests, said that Jones' speech was the greatest recent contribution to the science of political economy?"

"Why, no," answered Cannon, "I didn't know there was such a dinner."

I relate this incident to show that even in the United States Senate there are men whose attainments can command respect in the capitals of Europe. But such men are as rare as genius. The rank and file members of the Senate are such stuff as political bosses and political henchmen are made of. Of this Knute Nelson, of Minnesota, is an excellent example.

Knute Nelson was elected to the United States Senate from a country town of Minnesota, where he was

practicing law and earning about \$500 a year by patching out with insurance and writing deeds. He took his seat in 1895 at the commencement of my second term in that body.

Since he arrived in the Senate he has been a subservient tool of the exploiters, never failing to vote in their interest. He is a representative of the two per cent of our population who own sixty per cent of the wealth. Needless to say, he has done better in the Senate than he did practicing law in the Minnesota village.

In 1897, when the McKinley tariff was under consideration in the Senate, I introduced an amendment providing for the admission, free of duty, of all articles that competed with trust-made products. This amendment was printed and laid upon the tables of the senators to be called up at the proper time. About a week afterwards, Knute Nelson introduced an amendment of the same import as my amendment, and had it printed and laid upon the tables. He waited for a few days and then came over to my seat and said that he would like to have me withdraw my amendment and have the vote taken on his amendment.

"Nelson," I said, "why not let my amendment be voted down, for it surely will be, and then call up yours, and I shall surely vote for it."

"But I want you to withdraw yours so that I can have the credit of this effort to break the trust."

I looked at him for a moment and said: "Nelson, I would withdraw my amendment if I felt certain that after I had done so, you would ever offer yours or bring it up for consideration."

He seemed offended at this and turned away.

When the time came to call up my amendment there was a long discussion on the whole question of tariffs and protection. During this discussion I showed that the duty in the McKinley bill on oil and sugar was a special duty intended to raise the price of both of these commodities in the interest of the trust magnates. I

read from Havemeyer's testimony passages showing that they controlled the price completely. I also showed that the oil trust was in the same situation, and I charged that these two trusts received the special fostering care of the Republican party because of their large campaign contributions and because of the fact that their stocks could be manipulated to buy the votes of the lawyers in the Senate.

My amendment to the McKinley Tariff Bill finally came up for a vote and was defeated and Nelson voted against my amendment. I then went to Nelson and asked him if he was going to offer his amendment. I stated that I would like to have him do so and I would like to discuss it and urge its adoption, but he would give me no answer; I waited until the next day and then I offered Nelson's amendment.

Nelson voted against his own amendment and it also was defeated.

It was as I had suspected. He offered his amendment as a means of getting me to withdraw mine. He had no intention of fighting any trust. On the contrary, he was as favorably inclined toward them as any one I ever knew.

During the same debate on the tariff, ex-Governor Grier, of Iowa, showed himself a special champion of the sugar-oil combination. He was outshone, however, in this role, by Senator Wolcott, of Colorado, a lawyer with little knowledge of the law and a great reputation as a phrase-maker. Wolcott was also a special champion of all railroads.

Wolcott entered the Senate without property. He had extravagant tastes and habits. His salary was far less than enough to pay his current bills. Yet, when he died, he left a large fortune.

I was on the committee charged with deciding the membership of the committees of the Senate. Senator Teller, of Colorado, an old senator and a man of integrity and character, came to me and insisted upon having Wolcott placed upon the Committee on Finance, which

was the most important committee in the Senate for a lawyer wishing to make a fortune. Although Wolcott had just entered the Senate, I knew something of his character and caliber and I told Teller that I would not put him on that committee, because I believed that he would use that position for corrupt purposes. I stated that I should be very much pleased to put him (Teller) on the committee, but that Wolcott should not go on. But Teller insisted, explaining that he was a candidate for re-election and that Wolcott would help him, and that he vouched for his character and integrity.

As a result of Teller's guarantee, Wolcott went on the Interstate Commerce Committee and the Finance Committee, which possibly accounts for the great fortune he accumulated while he was in the Senate.

Nelson and Wolcott were individuals. Their treason to the best interests of the American people was not confined to them. It was a part of the atmosphere in which senators lived.

The disgraceful lengths to which the Senate was used as a bulwark of the vested interests is well illustrated in the fight over the ratification of the Spanish Peace Treaty.

While the Spanish treaty was pending, there was bitter opposition to it because, under it, we were to acquire the Philippine Islands. So strong was the protest against annexing the Philippines that the administration leaders were unable to round up the two-thirds vote necessary to pass the treaty.

I, as leader of the opposition, had canvassed the field thoroughly, and knew that they would have to use some means to secure votes in order to pass the bill. Aldrich, who was paymaster of the financial combinations, the trusts and the railroads, was exceedingly active, moving around among the senators and talking to them at their desks.

One day Senator Hoar of Massachusetts, a lawyer, came to me and said that he thought we had better

ratify the treaty and then we could give the Philippines their independence afterwards. He had made a speech against the treaty and had promised to fight it to the end. John Spooner, of Wisconsin, had made speeches against the treaty and promised to help me fight it to the bitter end, and even to filibuster if that proved necessary. He voted for the treaty. When his term expired, he went to New York and began the practice of law. The next time he appeared in Washington it was as the attorney for J. Pierpont Morgan & Co.

Senator Hoar voted against ratifying the treaty with Spain after everybody knew that Aldrich had votes enough to pass the treaty. In order to give Hoar an excuse for voting against the treaty, it was agreed that he should offer an amendment to the treaty which would be rejected, and then he could vote against the treaty because of the rejection of this amendment. In pursuance of this agreement, Hoar offered an inconsequential amendment which was rejected by the Senate without debate or even a roll call. Immediately thereafter the vote was taken on the treaty and Hoar voted against the treaty and gave as his reason that his amendment had been rejected.

Billy Mason, of Illinois, and McLaurin, of South Carolina, had both made long speeches against the ratification of the treaty. Both of them finally voted in favor of it. Aldrich used to go and talk with them over their desks and he evidently succeeded in convincing them. The day before the vote was taken on the ratification of the treaty, I went to Davis, who was chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and who had represented the United States at Paris when the treaty was drawn up. Of course, he was pushing for the ratification of his work.

"Davis," I said to him over his desk in the Senate, "you are going to ratify this treaty, but it is the most terrible thing I have seen in my twelve years' service in this body."

"What do you mean?" he asked.

"I mean," I replied, "the open purchase of votes to ratify this treaty right on the floor of the Senate and before the eyes of the senators and all the world."

Davis became decidedly serious. He looked at me and said in a steady voice, "They came into my office and tried to tell me about it and I said, 'Gentlemen, get out of here. You cannot open your stinkpot in my presence.'"

"Well," I said, "I can guess who came to your room and whom you ordered out. It was Aldrich, of Rhode Island."

To this Davis did not reply. The next day the treaty was ratified by a majority of one.

Great crises like this one seldom arise in the Senate, but when they do there are always enough lawyers on hand to do the work that the corporations want done. Spooner, Mason, McLaurin were all of them lawyers.

The Senate is as safe for plutocracy and imperialism on small issues as it is on big ones—even to the alteration of the record of official and Senate proceedings.

In February, 1901, Queen Victoria died. When the news was transmitted officially to the Senate of the United States, Senator Cockrell, of Missouri, a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations, came to me with the following resolution:

"RESOLVED, That the death of her Royal and Imperial Majesty Queen Victoria, of noble virtue and great renown, is sincerely deplored by the Senate of the United States."

I read the resolution and then told Cockrell that I certainly did object to it. I added that if it were offered I would tell the whole story of the opium war and all its infamies on the floor of the Senate. I proposed to show how the English Government had forced opium upon China at the point of the cannon; had bombarded and captured her ports and murdered her people, in order to compel the Chinese Government to allow the English Government opium monopoly to carry on its nefarious business among the Chinese people. I pro-

posed to show, further, that every package of opium had upon it the coat of arms of Victoria, Queen of England. In consequence of this opposition, the resolution was not presented by the Committee on Foreign Relations and never was passed, at least as long as I was a member of that body.

However, the following appears in the Congressional Record of January 28, 1901 (p. 1288):

"Death of Queen Victoria."

Mr. ALLISON: "Mr. President, I offer a resolution and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration. The resolution will be read."

The secretary read as follows:

"RESOLVED, That the death of Her Royal and Imperial Majesty, of noble virtue and great renown, is sincerely deplored by the Senate of the United States of America."

THE PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE: "Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution? The Chair hears none. The question is on agreeing to the resolution."

Mr. Allison submitted the following resolution which was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to.

"RESOLVED, That the President pro tempore of the Senate causes to be conveyed to the Prime Minister of Great Britain a suitably engrossed and duly authenticated copy of the foregoing resolution."

The above proceedings never occurred in the Senate and Allison never asked or received unanimous consent to pass the above resolution in relation to Queen Victoria. The Senate had a practice of allowing any member to make any correction in the record, which he might desire to make, at any time within three days, and the bound volumes or permanent record are made up from this corrected record. Allison, of Iowa, who was known as a "pussyfoot" among his fellow-senators, evidently had that item put into the permanent record in this way, and then notified the English Government that we had passed the above resolution in relation to

the death of Queen Victoria, and thus prevented me from exposing to the world her infamy and the infamy of the British Empire.

These are but instances of the manipulation that I have witnessed in the Senate. I have seen senators change long-held convictions over night; I have seen men enter the Senate poor and leave it rich; I have seen situations saved by money, and imperialism protected by an altered record. Each time that these changes of mind have occurred over some momentous issue, the change has taken place in the direction of the wealth-owners and other interests. Not once was the public weal ever so much as an alleged cause of action.

The Senate is declining in importance. It can now be ignored by business, whereas, twenty years ago, it had to be reckoned with. It had become a sort of storage plant for the preservation of mediocre intellects and threadbare reputations. The senators themselves proclaim this. I quote from the official record of a United States Senate Committee:

SENATOR OVERMAN: "The Committee will come to order. Miss Bryant, do you believe in God and in the sanctity of the oath?"

Miss BRYANT: "Certainly, I believe in the sanctity of the oath."

SENATOR KING: "Do you believe in God?"

Miss BRYANT: "I suppose there is a God. There is no way of knowing."

SENATOR NELSON: "Do you believe in the Christian religion?"

Miss BRYANT: "I believe all people should have any sort of religion they wish."

SENATOR NELSON: "You are not a Christian, then?"

Miss BRYANT: "I was christened in the Catholic Church."

SENATOR NELSON: "What are you now—a Christian?"

Miss BRYANT: "Yes, I suppose I am."

SENATOR NELSON: "And do you believe in Christ?"

Miss BRYANT: "I believe in the teachings of Christ."

SENATOR OVERMAN: "Do you believe in God?"

Miss BRYANT: "Yes, I will concede that I believe in God, Senator Overman."

SENATOR KING: "This is important, because a person who has no conception of God does not have an idea of the sanctity of the oath, and the oath would be meaningless."

SENATOR WOLCOTT: "Do you believe in a punishment hereafter and a reward for duty?"

Miss BRYANT: "It seems to me as if I were being tried for witchcraft."

SENATOR OVERMAN: "That is not so at all."

Miss BRYANT: "Very well, I will concede even that there is a hell."

SENATOR OVERMAN: "Now, I want to find out about matters in Russia and what you have observed there. What is your name? Where have you been living since you have been in Washington?"

Miss BRYANT: "I stopped for a while at the National Woman's Party Headquarters. . . ."

SENATOR NELSON: "Did you belong to the picket squad?"

Miss BRYANT: "I do not know what that had to do with Russia, but I did. I believe in equality for women as well as for men, even in my own country."

SENATOR NELSON: "Did you participate in the burning of the President's message?"

Miss BRYANT: "I DID."

SENATOR NELSON: "Did you participate in the burning of the effigy?"

Miss BRYANT: "I did, and went on a hunger-strike."

SENATOR OVERMAN: "What do you mean by that?"

(The Senators are told just what a hunger-strike is.)

SENATOR KING: "Where did you live before you lived in New York? You lived in Oregon, did you not?"

Miss BRYANT: "Yes, sir, but I do wish you would let me tell you something about Russia."

SENATOR KING: "And your husband and Mr. Rhys Williams were on the staff of the Bolsheviki for the purpose of preparing propaganda for——"

Miss BRYANT: "A revolution in Germany."

SENATOR KING (Shouting): "For the Bolsheviki!"

Miss BRYANT: "No, for a revolution in Germany. . . . If you will allow me, I will show you the kind of papers they printed there. There has never been any secret about this propaganda. For instance——"

SENATOR NELSON: "We do not care about that."

Miss BRYANT: "You do not care about it?"

SENATOR NELSON: "About those papers. We want facts!"

Miss BRYANT: "These papers are facts and you must admit the facts. Here is an illustrated paper in German prepared for sending into the German lines in order to make——"

SENATOR NELSON: "Don't be so impertinent."

Woodrow Wilson must have had episodes like this in mind when, on his return from Paris in the spring of 1919, he said: "The senators of the United States have no use for their heads except to serve as a knot to keep their bodies from unraveling."

During the winter of 1918 I went upon the floor of the Senate, and Lodge, of Massachusetts, who had served with me in the Senate for several years, got up from his seat and came over and shook hands with me.

"Pettigrew," he said, "I wish you were here."

"What for?" I asked.

"Why," he answered, "I would like to have you here to shake up this rotten and contemptible Democratic administration."

That rather amused me, because I was not prepared

to hear so emphatic and pronounced an expression from the historian of Harvard.

A few minutes afterwards I went over to the Democratic side to shake hands with Senator Tillman, of South Carolina, who had also served several years with me in the Senate. Tillman was at that time an invalid and unable to stand upon his feet. When I shook hands with him he pulled me down near to him and said: "Pettigrew, I wish you were back here."

"What for?" I asked.

"We need you to shake up this rotten and corrupt Republican party in the Senate," he replied.

Then I went over to Lodge and brought him to Tillman's chair. First I told Lodge what Tillman had said to me and then I told Tillman what Lodge had said to me. "Gentlemen," I concluded, "if I were back here I am sure you would both be entirely satisfied."

Perhaps I can best conclude what I have to say about the United States Senate by quoting an item from the Washington "Post" of May 29, 1902:

"SENATE PASSES WATER POWER BILL WITH 25 MILLION LOCAL ITEM OMITTED

The Senate yesterday approved the conference report on the water power bill without the appropriation for \$25,000,000 for the development of the Great Falls water power project. The conference report, however, carries \$25,000 for further investigation of the project. The vote was 45 to 21. The measure now goes to the President."

A determined, though futile, attempt was made by Senator Norris to have the Great Falls item restored in the conference report. He said that since 1894 eleven investigations had been made, the most comprehensive by Colonel Langfitt, now General, in 1913, and, in his opinion, Congress should authorize the development of the project at once.

Senator Norris said that, with the development of the Great Falls project, there would be twice as much

power as would be needed to light every home and turn every wheel in the District of Columbia. He added that there should have been no coal shortage during the war or last winter, nor would there have been a water shortage if the work recommended in 1913 had been pushed.

At this juncture of his speech, Senator Norris was interrupted by Senator Nugent, who asked why Colonel Langfitt's report had not been followed.

"In my opinion, the first reason is the Potomac Electric Power Company," replied Senator Norris. "The second reason is the Potomac Electric Power Company, and the third reason is the Potomac Electric Power Company. There were certain other outside interests opposed to it also."

Senator Nugent then asked if it was not a fact that the Washington Railway and Electric Company and its allied corporation, the power company, have blocked every effort of Congress to develop the Great Falls project.

"Yes, that is my opinion," replied Senator Norris.

It is the old story. The august Senate of the United States in leading-strings to a public utility company that has held its grip on the city of Washington for a generation. In this little thing, as in many a greater thing, the Senate of the United States has proved itself a faithful servant of predatory wealth.

Charles Francis Adams had some experience with the United States Senate, as he was elected president of the Union Pacific Railroad by the Goulds and other gamblers who controlled the road in 1884. These men chose Adams to go to Washington and make a settlement with the Government for the second mortgage which the Government held on the road. Ames had been in Washington before and had organized the Credit Mobilier and had bought both the House and Senate when the bill was passed giving the Union Pacific Road the land grant and the money to build the road, and so it would not do for Ames to go to Washington.

The Goulds, who owned the road with Ames, were the most disreputable gamblers in the United States. They could do nothing in Washington, so the scamps—these leading financiers—selected Charles Francis Adams to go to Washington and see what could be done.

Adams failed because he refused to corrupt the Houses of Congress or the members thereof, and because he would not do their kind of work. He was at once removed as president of the Union Pacific Railroad.

I quote from page 192 of Charles Francis Adams' autobiography:

"I was sent over to Washington to avert the threatened action of the Government, and then and there I had my first experience in the most hopeless and repulsive work in which I ever was engaged—transacting business with the United States Government and trying to accomplish something through congressional action. My initial episode was with a prominent member of the United States Senate. This senator is still (1912) alive, though long retired. He had a great reputation for ability and a certain reputation, somewhat fly-blown, it is true, for rugged honesty. I can only say that I found him an ill-mannered bully and by all odds the most covertly and dangerously corrupt man I ever had opportunity and occasion carefully to observe in public life. His grudge against the Union Pacific was that it had not retained him. While he took excellent care of those competing concerns which had been wiser in this respect, he never lost an opportunity of posing as the fearless antagonist of corporations when the Union Pacific came to the front. For that man, on good and sufficient grounds, I entertained a deep dislike. He was distinctly dishonest—a senatorial bribe-taker."

I have tried to decide who this senator was and I am of the opinion it was Edmunds of Vermont. Adams should have given the name of the man, but I do Ed-

munds no injustice by stating that, in my opinion, he was the man, although there were many other lawyers in the Senate at that time that would answer Adams' description, and would do just what Adams describes—and I know them all personally.

Marion Butler was elected to the Senate of the United States in 1894 and took his seat in 1895, which was the beginning of my second term. So he served with me for six full years. He was elected on the people's ticket as a Populist. He was but 30 years of age, a lawyer by profession, having graduated from the University of Virginia, and was the youngest man in the Senate at that time.

Butler was a man of very decided ability and of strict integrity. He discharged the duties of his office with great credit to himself and to the state that he represented. He voted with me on almost every question, always against the predatory interests. He made really the most brilliant career of any man I ever knew in the Senate during his first term. He was the author of the Rural Free Delivery service of the Post Office Department; he secured the appropriation for the building of the first submarine. He attacked and exposed the infamy of Cleveland's administration, and his bond sales, and also assisted me in the fight with regard to the railway mail pay, and in the armor-plate controversy he showed up many remarkable and startling facts. He was a member of the Committee on Naval Affairs, and was a sturdy opponent of graft and extravagance.