Mr. King on the 6th. On the first ballot in the House the vote was as follows:

King (Republican caucus nominee)	55
Shurtleff (bolting Republican)	
Troyer (bolting Republican)	6
Kleeman (bolting Republican)	2
Browne (Democratic caucus nominee)	62
Absent or not voting	4

On the third ballot Mr. Shurtleff was elected temporary speaker, and on the fourth he was elected perm anent speaker by the following vote:

Shurtleff (bolting Republican):

Republicans	
Democrats	85
King (caucus Republican):	
Republicans	
Democrats 1	54
Troyer (bolting Republican):	
Republicans	5
Browne (caucus Democrat):	
Democrats	2
Absent or not voting	7
Total	153
Shuntloff's binantisan majority	0

Shurtleff's bi-partisan majority......

It is widely believed that this bi-partisan organization is part of a deal between Roger Sullivan Democrats and anti-Deneen Republicans, involving a recount of the votes for Governor at the Fall elections, and the seating of Adlai E. Stevenson as Governor in place of Deneen. Governor Deneen declares his willingness to have a recount, provided it is honestly made; Speaker Shurtleff denies that a recount is contemplated. The especial reason for the disruption is reported to rise out of a contest in the Republican party over the control of deep waterway expenditures amounting to \$20,000,000. The Deneen Republicans charge that the bi-partisan organization of the House portends a union of corrupt politicians of both parties for the purpose of making spoils of this · huge fund.

÷

After electing its speaker the House adopted the usual resolution providing for the canvas of the votes for State officers in joint session on the 8th, but the Senate referred the resolution to a committee and adjourned to the 12th.

Ł

The Republican State Central Committee was promptly called to meet at the capital, Springfield, at noon on the 12th, the day of the reassembling of the legislature, with a view evidently to adjusting the dangerous difficulty in the party organization.

÷

When the two Houses reassembled on the 12th, the lower House adopted another resolution for canvassing the vote for State officers. It fixed the

13th at 11 o'clock for a joint session for that purpose. Upon the coming into the Senate of this resolution, the Senate responded with a notice to the lower House (passed by 36 Republican Senators against 13 Democratic Senators) that—

on the 13th day of January, A. D., 1909, at 11 o'clock, the Senate will attend and be present in the hall of the House of Representatives so that the returns of the election for State officers held on the 3d day of November, A. D. 1908, sealed up and transmitted by the returning officers to the Secretary of State, directed to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, be opened and published in the presence of a majority of each House, who shall for that purpose be there assembled as required by the Constitution.

The purpose of this peculiar action by the Senate was to avoid getting into a joint session at which a contest could be made in behalf of Adlai E. Stevenson, the Democratic candidate for Governor, aganist Governor Deneen's re-election. The Deneen Republicans claim that any other business than perfunctorily witnessing the presentation of the election returns will be void.

t t

Senator Tillman and President Roosevelt.

A sensational attack was made upon Senator Tillman on the 8th by President Roosevelt, to which Mr. Tillman replied from the floor of the Senate on the 11th.

÷

Some days earlier, President Roosevelt had written to Senator Hale a letter regarding the use of secret service agents, in which he incidentally made accusations against Senator Tillman. Senator Hale having refused to make the letter public, the President himself released it to the newspapers for publication on the 8th, and it appeared, together with its exhibits, in the morning press of the country on the 9th. The subject matter of the correspondence is a tract of 100,000 acres of land granted to the State of Oregon by Congress in 1868 in aid of the construction of a military road from Coos Bay to Roseburg, Oregon. The grant required that the land should be applied exclusively to the construction of the road, should be disposed of only as the work progressed, and should be sold to any person in quantities not greater than a quarter-section, and for a price not exceeding \$2.50 per acre. The State of Oregon transferred this grant, on the same conditions, to the Coos Bay Wagon Road Company, which constructed the road but held to the land, refusing to sell any of it in accordance with the terms of the grant. It did, however, transfer the land as a whole to the Southern Oregon Company, which has also refused to sell in accordance with the terms of the grant. Consequently real estate agents have made applications in behalf of clients for quarter-

Digitized by Google

sections in order to establish a basis for litigation to recover the lands, altho litigation could be made only by the government. Among those real estate agents were Reeder and Watkins, of Marshfield, Oregon, with whom it appears that one Bryan D. Dorr, of Portland, became associated; and it is in connection with these persons that President Roosevelt makes charges of attempted grafting and actual lying against Senator Tillman.

÷

Referring to the facts noted above, the President's letter cites a speech by Senator Tillman in the Senate on the 19th of February, 1908, calling the attention of the Senate to a circular put out by Dorr, which declared—

that the company in possession of the lands was bound to sell them for \$2.50 an acre, or upon their refusal would be prosecuted by the government, and that "among those who have spoken for a part of this land is Senator Tillman of South Carolina, the leader of the Democratic party in the Senate, a man who usually gets what he goes after." Senator Tillman denied the statement of this circular and expressed a wish for an investigation, and upon his request the Postoffice Department, through its inspectors, made an investigation. He stated in reference to this circular: "I have not bought any land anywhere in the West nor undertaken to buy any. I have made some inquiries, as one naturally would, in roaming through the West. I simply want the people of this country to be put on notice that this swindler at Portland has no warrant whatever for endeavoring to inveigle others into his game."

The lying which the President charges against Senator Tillman consists in the above statement by the latter to the effect that he had not "undertaken to buy any land" anywhere in the West. In proof of this charge and also as proof of bad faith or attempted "grafting" on the part of Senator Tillman, the President transmitted to Senator Hale several letters. In one of these, dated October 19, 1907, from Mr. Tillman to Reeder and Watkins, Mr. Tillman says:

I wired you from Wausau, Wis., as follows, and write to confirm it: "William E. Lee, my agent, will see you about land. I want nine quarters reserved. Will forward signed applications and money at once. Members of my family are entrymen. Letter follows. [Signed] B. R. T." I write now to say I wired Mr. Lee, who resides at Moscow, Idaho, to go at once to Marshfield and see you about the land, to locate quarters for the seven members of my family who are of age and one for my private secretary, J. B. Knight, whom I desire to let into the deal, and of course he wants a quarter for himself.

A letter of December 7, 1907, from the Lee mentioned above, advised Reeder and Watkins that—

In case Senator Tillman gets in on this deal, with some good land in the eight quarters we want, I am satisfied that he can be of great help in getting matters started from Washington, and cause the government to get busy and do something along the line you desire. He will set up such a howl that it will be impossible to do otherwise. This will be important for your whole scheme, to have a man of his influence here to aid you at this end of the the line. By all means save a lot of good land for us, as we intend to be of more value than any one of the others in this matter.

On the 31st of January, 1908, Senator Tillman introduced a resolution in the Senate calling upon the President for information as to any action taken to recover from land-grant corporations, for the use of actual settlers, lands which the corporations held contrary to the terms of their grant. On the same day, he introduced a joint resolution directing the Attorney General to institute suits for the recovery of all such lands. On February 15, 1908, Senator Tillman wrote to Reeder and Watkins saying:

If I can succeed in causing the government to institute suit for the recovery of the land and make it easier for others as well as myself, I shall do it without regard to the dealings with your firm. I still want to get some of the timber land, if it is possible, and as it is probable that Mr. Lee or some other representative of mine will be in your country in the next two months we will leave the matter of payment for the initiatory steps and subsequent proceedings in abeyance for the present. Any contract we might make will be entirely apart from and independent of my work here in the Senate. I will be glad for you to hold in reserve eight of the best quarter sections of which you have definite information, and I will in the meantime press the investigation and other work here which will facilitate the final purchase and in effect obviate the necessity of your making any case in the courts at all.

It was four days after this that Senator Tillman stated on the floor of the Senate, as noted above, in denouncing Dorr as a swindler, that he had 'not bought any land anywhere in the West nor undertaken to buy any."

In his answer in the Senate on the 11th, Senator Tillman summarized the President's accusations in these terms:

First, he promotes me to membership in the Ananias club, and charges in effect that I have deliberately lied to the Senate.

Second, he charges that I have exerted my official influence and work as a Senator for my personal benefit alone, to secure the passage of a resolution and to press the Department of Justice to bring suit against the corporations which hold so much of the public domain in the West, and will not sell it to settlers under the terms of their grants from the government.

In the course of his answer Mr. Tillman announced that he would deal directly with President Roosevelt in a later speech, but that he would confine his present one—incidental observations excepted

Digitized by Google

My attention was called to this land while at Spokane, Washington, in October, 1907, and thereupon I wrote the letter of October 19, 1907, to Reeder and Watkins. I met Mr. Lee at Moscow, Idaho, and talked with him on the subject, arranging that he go to Marshfield and investigate in person, and authorizing him to draw on me if he found that the lands were what they were represented to be. Lee's authority as my agent never went beyond an examination of the land, and if the application was filed to see that I got good timbered lands instead of rocks and marshes. After returning to Washington in December, 1907, I let the matter drop, believing it to be a very doubtful proposition, until Mr. Lee showed me a letter from Reeder & Watkins, which has been stolen from the desk in my committee room, along with other papers in this case, probably by some of the secret-service sleuths. When Reeder & Watkins indicated their desire that I should exert my influence in the Senate, I wrote the letter of February 15. Meantime, and before that letter was written, from my investigations and after a conference with the Attorney General, I introduced the two resolutions of January 31, one calling on the Attorney General for information, and the other, which became a law, instructing him to institute suits. My official activity then is thus shown to have taken form in the Senate before I knew anything about Reeder & Watkins' attitude or expectations, and I was in no way influenced by them. I was still anxious to obtain some of the land, if it could be done legally, and wrote Reeder & Watkins to that effect, but my faith in them, and in the whole scheme, died when I received the .circulars of Dorr, which came to me February 17 and 18, from three different directions, showing their widespread circulation. Dorr, of whom I had never heard before, was evidently pushing his scheme of getting suckers to invest, and using my name without authority. I had not paid any fees to him, or written to him, or filed any applications. I therefore felt it incumbent on me to expose the swindle, which I did in the Senate, February 19, and asked the postoffice authorities to issue a fraud order. I pressed the passage of the joint resolution in the Senate, directing proceedings for the recovery of lands from the land-grant corporations, and April 30 it became a law. March 18 I was taken ill, and May 16, after a partial recuperation, I sailed for Europe, returning October 21. I have not attempted to deceive anybody. I have not told any falsehoods. I have not broken any law. I have not been guilty of any immoral conduct. I had the right to purchase the land if I could. I would like to get some of it yet, and if the Attorney General and his successors shall not die of old age before anything is done, it may be possible that I may have the opportunity to purchase some of those timber lands of which he made mention in his report. Through my action attention has been directed in a compelling way to the need of prompt action by the Department of Justice. Whether I ever get any of the land or not does not matter if Harriman and others of that ilk are made to disgorge the large holdings, which they have stolen and are attempting

to hold. And if they are made to disgorge by reason of these suits, shall the fact that I was endeavoring to buy a little pittance of the land be used as the basis of a charge of being a liar and a corrupt Senator to be disgraced? In conclusion I court the most searching investigation. Nay, I demand it. I declare most emphatically I have never sought to conceal my effort to buy land: I spoke to the Attorney General about it; I explained to the agent of the secret service the whole transaction when I gave him the Dorr circular and the letters which had been sent me concerning it. The question of the motive will at last control, and it cannot be shown that I have any reason to conceal anything. I invite comparison of my private life and my public work as a man and a Senator, with Theodore Roosevelt or any other man, and feel absolutely sure of the ground upon which I stand.

. 4

The President and the Steel Trust.

In response to a resolution offered by Senator Culberson and adopted by the Senate, requesting Attorney General Bonaparte either to prosecute the United States Steel trust for unlawfully absorbing the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company (vol. xi, p. 678), or explain his reasons for not doing so, President Roosevelt submitted a message on the 6th. In the course of his message the President said—

As to the transaction in question, I was personally cognizant of and responsible for its every detail.

Along with the message he sent a copy of a letter addressed by himself to the Attorney General under date of November 4, 1907, which gave the following history of his part in the transaction:

Judge E. H. Gary and Mr. H. C. Frick, on behalf of the Steel Corporation, have just called upon me. They state that there is a certain business firm (the name of which I have not been told, but which is of real importance in New York business circles) which will undoubtedly fail this week if help is not given. Among its assets are a majority of the securities of the Tennessee Coal Company. Application has been urgently made to the Steel Corporation to purchase this stock as the only means of avoiding a failure. Judge Gary and Mr. Frick informed me that as a mere business transaction they do not care to purchase the stock; that under ordinary circumstances they would not consider purchasing the stock, because but little benefit will come to the Steel Corporation from the purchase; that they are aware that the purchase will be used as a handle for attack upon them on the ground that they are striving to secure a monopoly of the business and prevent competition-not that this would represent what could honestly be said, but what might recklessly and untruthfully be said. They inform me that, as a matter of fact, the policy of the company has been to decline to acquire more than 60 per cent of the steel properties, and that this purpose has been persevered in for several years past, with the object of preventing these accusations, and as a matter of fact their proportion of steel properties