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ARMY of the CUMBERLAND AND THE Great Central Campaign

The Important Position of Kentucky and Tennessee.

By JOHN McELROY.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE DAY AFTER THE BATTLE.

Thomas Stands All Day Offering a Renewal of the Fight—Bragg Makes No Show of Pursuit—Shattered Condition of His Army—Bragg Made a Scapegoat—Severity of the Fighting, and Losses.

Dana Recovers His Nerve.

At 8 p. m., Sept. 20, four hours after sending his first panic-stricken dispatch, Assistant Secretary Dana recovered his nerve sufficiently to send the following more confident dispatch to the Secretary of War:

"Chattanooga, Sept. 20, 1863; 8 p. m.

"I am happy to report that my dispatch of 4 p. m. to-day proves to have given too dark a view of our disaster. Having been myself swept bodily off the battlefield by the panic-stricken rabble into which the divisions of Davis and Sheridan were temporarily converted, my own impressions were naturally colored by the aspect of that part of the field. It appears, however, that only those two divisions were actually routed, and that Thomas, with the remainder of the army, still holds his part of the field. Beside the two divisions of Davis and Sheridan, those of Negley and Van Cleve were thrown into confusion, but were soon rallied and held their places, the first on the left, the second on the right of Thomas's fighting column. In addition to this, Davis and Sheridan have succeeded in rallying some 8,000 or 10,000 of the fugitives, and have also joined Thomas. This corps consisting, after all losses, of at least 30,000 men, has still further been strengthened by the addition of that portion of the reserve lately stationed at Rossville under Granger. It has changed its front from the nearly north-and-south line of this morning and faces the enemy in an east-and-west line. It will at once fall back to the strongest line of defense, for the purpose of defeating the enemy's design of regaining Chattanooga and the Tennessee.

"The latest report from Thomas is that he was driving back the advance of the rebels. In addition to these forces we have the cavalry and mounted infantry, not less than 10,000 in number, who are perfectly intact, and with this army it is not difficult to make good our lines until reinforcements can arrive. The cavalry at our last advices had their headquarters at Crawfish Spring, where they will perhaps be able to protect our main hospital until the wounded can be brought here by the Chattanooga Valley road, which still is free from rebels.

"The number of the enemy yesterday and to-day I estimate at not less than 70,000. He was able to touch and threaten our lines at all points, and still form the tremendous columns whose onset drove Thomas back and dissolved Sheridan and Davis in panic. I learn from Gen. Rosecrans, who himself took part in the effort previously to the final stampede of Sheridan's Division, that that General charged the advancing columns of the enemy in flank. The charge was too spasmodic to be effectual; our men became involved in the rushing mass and did not break it. Rosecrans has telegraphed Burnside to hurry forward his reinforcements. The advance of his cavalry is reported as having reached Cleveland yesterday morning.

"Some gentlemen of Rosecrans's staff say Chickamauga is not very much worse than was Murfreesboro. I can testify to the conspicuous and steady gallantry of Rosecrans on the field. He made all possible effort to rally the broken columns; nor do I see that there was any fault in the disposition of his forces.

"The disaster might perhaps have been avoided but for the blunder of McCook in marching back from his previous advanced position. That blunder cost us four days of precious time.

"C. A. Dana."

Victory and Defeat for Both Sides.

The greatest battle of the world west of the Alleghanies, and one of the very bloodiest in history, had ended with the Union army in possession of the goal for which the contest had been fought. In several senses the battle was a Confederate victory, and equally in several senses it was a Union victory. Bragg's purpose in delivering the battle was twofold; to destroy the Union army and recover Chattanooga. He had done neither, and in this respect the battle was a severe defeat for him. It was also a defeat in that the final attacks upon the Union army had every one been so decisively repulsed that all the fight was taken out of the assailants, and they recoiled from any further useless slaughter. It was a victory for Bragg because the Confederates were left in possession of the battlefield; they had made immense captures of prisoners, cannon, wagons and small arms, and they had routed a large portion of the Union army and driven it in disorder from the field. But the remaining part had, after repulsing every attack, retired unmolested.

It was a victory for the Union army, because the battle was fought to save that army from destruction and to retain its hold upon the great gateway of the Confederacy—Chattanooga. This it did.

Bragg was severely condemned in after years for not following up his victory and destroying the Union army. This condemnation counts for little, because it became the fashion to make Bragg a scapegoat. Longstreet, Polk, Hood and others of lesser grade were quite free in their strictures upon Bragg for this failure. It is the commonest trait of humanity to blame some one else for our failures and misfortunes, and Bragg suffered from this universal tendency possibly stronger among Southerners than others. The Southerner seems more likely than other men to exculpate himself from all blame for what goes wrong and to lay the fault at the door of another. Bragg has certainly enough to answer for without this additional burden.

There was no active pursuit made of the Union army, for the very good and sufficient reason that it was an impossibility. Bragg's army was spent, morally and physically. It was incapable of further exertion. The days of marching, the two days of terrific fighting with its exhausting excitement, the lack of water and food and the awful losses sustained, had drained both physique and morale to the very dregs. Very many, if not most, of the regiments in Bragg's army had more killed and wounded than they had living and unhurt. Caring for the wounded was in itself a task of the greatest magnitude for those who were able to do anything, and they had to perform this task with bodies enfeebled by hunger, thirst, fatigue and loss of sleep.

There was nothing to prevent Longstreet, Polk and their subordinates from making the pursuit had they been so minded. They had been fighting for hours without orders from Bragg, and if they had felt capable of making a pursuit they would have done so without waiting for the impulse from him. Even Forrest, who had done comparatively little fighting during the day, made but feeble show of pursuit, tho it would have seemed that the time was ripe for a bold cavalryman like himself to reap a rich harvest. Forrest, too, joins in blaming Bragg for not giving orders to follow up the Union troops, but Forrest was one of the last men to wait for orders to do a thing which he saw ought to be done and which he could do.

Some Useless "Ifs."

Among the most useless things in this world is that of discussing the "ifs" of a great battle. There are more "ifs" argued about Chickamauga than of any battle of the war, even Gettysburg, and the Confederates have been particularly prolific and persistent in this. The special uselessness of the "if" is that the man who makes it assumes that if his particular thing had occurred other things would not; if, on the contrary, his "if" had realized, the probabilities are much greater that other even more potential "ifs" would arise and nullify it. For example, Lieut.-Gen. D. H. Hill makes a very powerful "if" which the Confederates cling to with special affection. He says that "if" they had had another hour of daylight they would have surrounded and destroyed Thomas's army. If there had been another hour of daylight, Davis and Sheridan, possibly Negley, would have reached Thomas with troops, reorganized and comparatively fresh, which if thrown upon the wornout Confederates would have sent them back across the Chickamauga in hopeless rout. This illustrates the remark we made above. There are a great many equally important "ifs" on the Union side. If Longstreet had made the charge, which scattered the right, 30 minutes before, he would have encountered a solid line of battle; if he had made it 30 minutes later he would have found the Union right thrown back in order to receive him, and the fate of his assault would have been quite different. If Rosecrans instead of going to Chattanooga, had stopped at Rossville, and collected and reorganized Negley's, Van Cleve's, Sheridan's and Davis's Divisions and led them back to Thomas, the end of the battle would have been vastly different for the Union army; and so one might go on, worlds without end.

The Fighting and the Losses.

All accounts concur in the statement that the fighting at Chickamauga on both sides was the most desperate of any battle in the West, and that the losses, especially on the enemy's side, were far heavier. From first to last the engagements were all at unusually close range, where the firing was necessarily deadly. This was because so much of the field was densely covered with timber and brushwood and where the openings occurred the fields were small. Therefore, the two opposing ranks had to come into close contact whenever they engaged. Gen. Hindman says that he had "never known Federal troops to fight so well and never saw Confederate soldiers fight better." Lieut.-Gen. D. H. Hill says that the clan of the Confederate soldier was broken at Chickamauga—"he never fought again as he did there." To the Union troops no less credit is due. The two divisions and parts of two others were caught at a disadvantage and rushed off the field without having a fair show, they all the time exhibited unexpected courage and resolution, and the fighting, especially on the left under Thomas, was not only desperate to the last degree, but it exhibited the highest skill in soldiership. Brigades encountered the enemy with a shrewdness equal to their boldness and which took advantage of every accident and favoring condition. They flung themselves around the rebel flanks, and they lay in wait in unexpected places until their enemies were at short range, when they would rise and deliver a volley into the very breasts of the Confederates which was shattering in the extreme.

No complete report was ever made of the Confederate losses, and those of the subordinate commanders which are accessible show that if their losses were no heavier than those commands which did not make reports that the aggregate must have swelled up toward 30,000. Gen. Bragg admitted that he had lost 18,000. This was undoubtedly far below the real figure, and some estimates based upon the reports made make his total 20,950, of whom 2,673 were killed, 16,274 wounded and 2,003 missing.

Bragg admitted as early as 3 o'clock in the afternoon of Sept. 20, and long before a great portion of the loss had occurred, that all the fight had been beaten out of the most of his army. This would imply a still higher loss than 20,000 out of 70,000. We have fuller reports of the Left Wing, commanded by Lieut.-Gen. Longstreet, than of Polk's wing, the right. Gen. Longstreet reports that on the morning of the 20th he had 22,885 effectives, exclusive of cavalry. Of these he lost in the aggregate, excluding one brigade from which he could not obtain reports, 7,856, or more than one-third. Of these 1,080 were killed, 6,506 wounded and 270 captured.

A number of Longstreet's regiments reported a loss as high as 70 per cent of the number they took into action. The larger part of this occurred in the last hour of the fighting and the attacks upon Snodgrass Hill. Gen. B. H. Helm's Kentucky Brigade went into the fight 1,763 strong and came out with only 432. Gen. Helm himself being among the killed. Gen. Bate's Brigade lost 608 out of 1,085.

Gen. Gregg, who commanded a brigade of Tennesseeans, reports that he took 1,425 men into action and lost 107 killed, 475 wounded and 70 missing; a total of 652, or more than three-sevenths of his force.

Col. John S. Fulton, who commanded Johnson's Brigade of Tennesseeans, reported that he had taken 954 men into action, of whom he lost 400.

Bushrod Johnson reports that he had about 4,000 men in his division, of whom he lost 1,449.

Maj. McClennan, commanding the 4th Ala. battalion, reports that he took 205 men into the fight and lost, killed and wounded, 110.

Gen. Preston, whose division was kept in reserve until late on Sunday afternoon, reports that he had something over 4,000 men in his three brigades, of whom he lost 200 killed, 1,077 wounded and 61 missing, making a total of 1,336.

Gen. H. D. Clayton reports that his brigade went into action with 1,352 muskets and 94 officers and lost, killed, 12 officers and 119 men, with 34 officers and 449 men wounded. This did not include the slightly wounded who were still able to keep the field.

The Union army lost out of the 55,000 men it had on the field 1,687 killed, 9,394 wounded and 5,255 missing; total, 16,366.

That the Confederates lost 1,000 more killed and 8,000 more wounded than the Union troops is due to the sanguinary assaults on the left. On the right the Union forces suffered more than the Confederates, but this was compensated for on the left, where the rebel divisions battered themselves into wrecks against the barricades east of the Lafayette road and on the slopes of Snodgrass Hill. The heaviest losses among the Union troops were in Baird's Division, 2,212; next came Brannan's loss of 2,144, with Johnson's 1,629 and Palmer's 1,349. All the divisions suffered proportionately, none escaping without such punishment as would have been regarded in European armies as practical annihilation. For example, Steedman's Division lost 49 per cent inside four hours of killed and wounded. Brannan's Division lost on an average 38 per cent, while Van Derveer's Brigade lost within a small fraction of 50 per cent.

Comparisons With European Battles.

At the meeting of the societies of the contending armies at Chattanooga in 1881 Gen. Joe Wheeler made some comparisons between the losses in our battles and those of the noted ones in Europe, in the course of which he said:

"Waterloo was one of the most desperate and bloody fields chronicled in European history. Wellington's casualties were much below the rate for either side at Chickamauga or Gettysburg. At Shiloh, the first great battle in which Gen. Grant was engaged, one side lost in killed and wounded 9,740 out of 33,000, while their opponents reported their killed and wounded at 9,616, making the casualties about 30 per cent. At the great battle of Wagram Napoleon lost but about five per cent. At Wurzburg the French lost but three and a half per cent, and yet the army gave up the field and retreated to the Rhine. At Racour Marshal Saxe lost but two and a half per cent. At Zurich Massena lost but eight per cent. At Lagriz Frederick lost but six and a half per cent. At Malplaquet Marlboro lost but 10 per cent, and at Ramillies the same intrepid commander lost but six per cent. At Contras Henry of Navarre was reported as cut to pieces, yet his loss was less than 10 per cent. At Lodi Napoleon lost one and a fourth per cent, and at the great battles of Marengo and Austerlitz, sanguinary as they were, Napoleon lost an average of less than 14½ per cent. At Magenta and Solferino, in 1859, the average loss of both armies was less than nine per cent. At Worth, Specheren, Mars, La Tour, Gravelotte and Sedan, in 1870, the average loss was 12 per cent. At Linden Gen. Moreau lost but four per cent, and the Archduke John lost seven per cent in killed and wounded. Americans scarcely call this a lively skirmish. At Perryville, Murfreesboro, Chickamauga, Atlanta, Gettysburg, Missionary Ridge, the Wilderness and Spotsylvania the loss requently peached, and sometimes exceeded, 40 per cent, and the average of killed and wounded on one side or the other was over 30 per cent."

Other Features of the Loss.

There were four brigade commanders killed on each side—Lytle, E. A. King, Heg and Baldwin, on the Union side, and Preston Smith, Deshler, Helm and P. H. Colquitt, on the Confederate side. All of these were officers of much promise, and had been prominent in their several communities before the war.

The death of William H. Lytle, of Ohio, was particularly mourned in that State, inasmuch as he had held the office of Lieutenant-Governor, and had written much successful poetry, of which the best known is the poem—

"I am dying, Egypt, dying."

Hans C. Heg was one of the finest representatives of the Norwegian element, which was then commending itself strongly to our people in Wisconsin and Minnesota for its many qualities of high citizenship.

On the Confederate side the fall of Ben. Hardin Helm was perhaps the most mourned. He was a brother-in-law of President Lincoln, a young Kentucky lawyer of brilliance who was rising rapidly in politics when he made the unfortunate decision of siding with the Secession element in his native State.

Bragg claimed to have captured over 8,000 prisoners, 51 pieces of artillery, 15,000 stand of arms and a large number of wagons laden with much-needed stores. Rosecrans's report admits the loss of 36 cannon, 20 caissons, 8,400 stand of arms and 4,500 prisoners. Capt. Horace Porter, Ordnance Officer, reported that the army had fired 2,650,000 musket cartridges, or 650,000 more than at Stone River, and 7,326 rounds of cannon ammunition, or 12,000 less than at Stone River. From the Confederate loss a much greater proportion of bullets had found their billets than

(Continued on page six.)

THE LINE UPON WHICH GEN. THOMAS OFFERED BATTLE ALL DAY SEPT. 2

THE VIEW FROM THE CAPITAL.

NEW SONGS MUST BE SUNG IN POLITICS.

People Have Tired of the Old Catches—Disintegration in Both Parties—The President's Independent Attitude—Yet He Earnestly Desires a Republican House—Republican Booms.

Self-Praise Don't Go Any More.

With all the high Republican clatter about what voters are going to do Nov. 6 what a spectacle of popular distrust in that party the campaign is proving to be! Senator Beveridge, of Indiana, irrepressible in oratory, already the hero of eight State campaign openings this year, came to Washington the other day to see the President. In an interview the Indianian complained because spellbinders could no longer arouse the enthusiasm of audiences by appeals to party spirit. The achievements of the great leaders cannot be recited to an accompaniment of "great applause." Party lines have been demolished. Audiences want talk about the present.

All campaign orators that flit in and out of Washington during this last month of the campaign bring the same report. The country is tired of Republican self-glorification. It has had a fill of that, just as proved to be the case in the memorable campaign of 1884, when Cleveland was first elected. Some historians say the popular disgust with constant eulogy of Republicanism was a very potent factor that year in swinging independents to the Democratic ticket.

Probably that accounts in large part for Roosevelt's strength. He has devoted himself less to glorification of his party than any former Republican President and is striking out on new lines without regard to the past. Without his personality and the lively hope of officeholders to retain their jobs the Republican Party would be quite as lacking in cohesiveness to-day as their opponents are.

Political clap-trap and slight-of-hand in appropriating credit are not as valuable in campaigning as they once were. There are excellent men in both parties, men capable of administering public affairs well. No one recognizes that more than President Roosevelt, who often the last five years has placed his reliance on Democratic leaders and Democratic sentiment. Out of gratitude for honors his party has bestowed upon him the President asserts his fealty when an important campaign like the present one is on. But no one more than the President has contributed to the obliteration of strict party lines.

There are several persons in Washington who remember vividly his statement at a critical stage of the railroad-rate legislation last Winter that he did not care a snap whether that measure passed the Senate by Democratic or Republican votes. He did not care what color the house was painted if it was only red. The statement was made with a deal of earnestness, altho the President undoubtedly was gratified when his own party swung into line for his ideas and made it of little consequence how the minority party voted. Still, the President could not forget the moral effect this minority had in helping his legislative plans along. But for it he might have secured no legislation at all, or something far short of what he wanted.

The President's Independence.

More recently, in fact, since his return from Oyster Bay, the President has said that in naming Supreme Court Judges he intends to select lawyers who are sound on the questions of the day, sound on corporate and labor questions and sound with reference to the rights of the negro race, rather than lawyers who are Republicans or residents of a certain section. He has said that he will nominate a Democrat as quickly as a Republican to the Supreme Court of the United States, provided the man has the desirable qualifications. Circuit Judge Horace H. Lurton, whose qualifications for promotion to the Supreme Bench the President has considered and whom many think the President will appoint next December to fill the vacancy caused by the retirement of Justice Brown, is a Democrat. He was appointed by President Cleveland in March, 1893.

The President has observed the same policy in other appointments. Last December he nominated to the Interstate Commerce Commission Franklin K. Lane, a California Democrat, who lost the Governorship of California in 1902 because of a quibble over the ballot law, which the California court sustained. That shocked the Republicans, because it made a majority of that Commission, then consisting of only five members, Democratic.

Other instances might be cited, in the light of which it is little wonder that party ties rest loosely upon voters. Their memories are too long to forget what the President, a popular idol, has been doing in ignoring partisanship. Hence the appeal for a Republican House of Representatives for the next two years is more effective when made on the basis that Roosevelt wants it than that the Republicans by their record merit a continuance in control of the popular legislative branch.

Men familiar with White House doings know that the President was overwhelmed during the earlier stages of the campaign with appeals for personal indorsements of candidates. The Oregon Republicans were first. Three of the Congressional delegation of two Senators and two members were either under indictment or conviction for land frauds. The party out there was in a deplorable condition, and only the hardest kind of work could save it from general defeat. The President turned a deaf ear to these entreaties for a time, but eventually yielded to a degree and gave his countenance to the ticket. Even then a Democratic Governor was elected, and a Republican candidate for the United States Senate pulled through with a majority one-tenth the usual Republican margin.

A few weeks later the Maine campaign came on. Republican mismanagement in that State had not been quite as bad as in Oregon, but the President was appealed to for help. He gave it reluctantly, finally allowed his indorsement of certain candidates to be made public and sent his Secretary of War to Maine to make a speech in his name.

The Republican Congressional campaign was on soon afterward, and the Congressional Committee swooped down upon him for more indorsements, and, of course, he could not well refuse, after all that had been done. The Watson letter was the result of several conferences, and then the Republican leaders had the President on a platform of complete accord. The record was complete for their purposes.

Let no one doubt, however, the President's sincerity in asking for a Republican House. He knows he can club its members into voting the important legislation he wants. His experience with the 58th and 59th Congresses has proven to him what he can do. A Democratic House might "do things," but these might not be along the particular lines the President has mapped out. A Democratic House would probably divert public attention to a degree in digging out misconduct of Republicans that the President has been too busy to reach. Perhaps it would enact the income-tax law the President wants, but be very unwilling to do this the President's way. He believes he could hold a Republican House in better control and better mold it to his own ideas. A Democratic House would undoubtedly start at once about revising the tariff. The President now regards revision as a secondary matter, and does not figure upon it as one of the achievements of his Administration.

It is already plain that there is to be an Autumn revival of striving among Presidential candidates. Booms seem to have been in the background a little of late. The people, of course, must not be allowed to forget that there are several eminent Republicans grooming.

Taft's Boom.

A recent dispatch says that Taft's boom may be formally lanched in Ohio this Autumn. There is much more behind this than one might think. Foraker may also lanch his Presidential boom this Autumn. Weeks ago he was East, and there was much influential talk in inside circles about his availability. An array of strong men would "get in behind" Senator Foraker, Presidentially, if he would give the word.

There is no question that Secretary Taft has had his eye on the White House for many months, and begins to look as though he had at last yielded to the appeals of his family and began active but quiet work toward the gratification of his ambition. His brothers want him to run. They believe he could be nominated. It has not been announced yet that he will decline the President's proffer of a seat on the United States Supreme Bench, but it seems to be accepted as certain that he will do so.

The Secretary undoubtedly returns from Cuba with fresh laurels. He did not succeed in taming the insurgents without overturning the Cuban Government. That was what he was expected to do at the outset. But the public seems to have become reconciled to his failure in that particular and to hold in lively remembrance his tactfulness in setting the Provisional Government going with a minimum of friction. The Secretary grows in the public eye by his achievements in that direction.

It is a matter for speculation what the result will be if Mr. Taft, aided and abetted by Representative Theodore E. Burton, of Cleveland, undertakes openly to capture Ohio in defiance of Foraker. Burton, and inferentially the President and Secretary Taft, were thrown down by the Republican State Convention. The two Ohio Senators are in absolute control of the State organization, and apparently will be when the convention meets in a little less than two years to nominate delegates to the National Convention. It is outside of all precedents for a candidate to win in a National Convention without his own State delegation. Therefore, as things look now, Secretary Taft will be risking a great deal if he throws down the gage to Senator Foraker, as he would do by formally or informally launching a Presidential boom.

Frosty Air.

Of course, aspirants for the Presidency are aware that this is frosty weather. The air is nipping, but there can be no harm in the candidates keeping before the people. Every man of them is getting out on the stump to put himself on record as in active sympathy with the campaign.

Perhaps Secretary Root should not, in fairness, be reckoned as an aspirant, but he has been much mentioned in that connection. He does not like stumping. The President would like to send him out often with messages before popular audiences, but Mr. Root simply won't "stand for it," as a rule. However, he is going to New York to speak—at the President's solicitation. Primarily he is going to help along in the Gubernatorial struggle. If there is one thing the President is anxious about these days it is that William Randolph Hearst shall not be elected Governor of New York. Some of the things the President says in private conversation about Hearst would make what Horace Greeley called "mighty interesting reading."

At first it was announced that Mr. Root would make but one speech, and that in New York City. Since then it has been determined that Mr. Root shall make two speeches—one in New York City and another up the State. The President is afraid the up-State Republicans may go back on the party this year. General apathy up the State has defeated Republican candidates in years gone by. Mr. Root ought to be able to stir up the sober, conservative sentiment, for he is a strong speaker when once he consents to an effort on the hustings. The Hearst newspapers, of course, will parade his corporation connections, but that is not likely to be heeded by the class of voters Mr. Root reaches.

There will be others of the Cabinet contingent in New York before the campaign there is over. In fact, President Roosevelt is sending every good speaker in his official family to the Empire State, excepting only Secretary of the Navy Bonaparte and Secretary of Agriculture Wilson. The latter is a power with the farmers, and has been hustled out by the Administration on numerous political occasions, but for some reason he is doing no campaign stunts this year. His own explanation is that he is too busy with the enforcement of the meat-inspection and pure-food laws to dip into politics.

Cabinet Stumpers.

One of the latest announcements is that Secretary Taft is expected to deliver a speech or two in New York, apart from his itinerary in the distant West. It is mighty hard on the public business to crowd Secretary Taft and his other colleagues in the Cabinet with so much speaking. The members of the Cabinet have spent little time in Washington since last June, and all work of importance, save what they could dispose of on their vacations, remains piled up on their desks. What a scramble there will be shortly after the November voting to climb on top of this work and get out the annual reports for Congress!

Most of the good Cabinet speakers are to be kept at it, drilling Republican doctrines into the heads of voters, right up to the last Saturday before the election. The cause must be eloquently pleaded by influential officials, which means that no others can take the place of Cabinet members as stumpers. With such a regime in operation it begins to look as though Secretary Taft must soon have a deputy as Secretary of War. He is not to have any time worth mentioning between now and election, and immediately after election the President intends going to Panama. Cuban affairs are in such satisfactory shape that the President sees no reason for postponing his Panama trip. Furthermore, he wants Secretary Taft to accompany him on that voyage, calculated to occupy the best part of three weeks.

Reverting to Cabinet stumpers in New York, there is Secretary Shaw, who has been raising a big dust out West, and who has gradually been working his way across the Alleghanies, having the Empire State as his destination. The Treasury Department has been run by subordinates for several weeks while Secretary Shaw was out disseminating sound doctrine, and, of course, encouraging that Presidential boom. By common consent he is voted far and away the most effective stumper the Republicans now have at command. He has been growing in power to entertain and instruct voters ever since he had his first trial in his home town in the early '90's, his neighbors having put him forward as the man who must try to answer a free-silver speech by Bryan. There will be a quickening of interest politically when the Secretary strikes the Empire State circuit.

Like Mr. Root, Attorney-General Moody will confine his stumping efforts to his home State of Massachusetts. He is billed for a couple of speeches within the boundaries of his old Congressional district. There has been occasional mention of Mr. Moody as Presidential timber, but that was only desultory and many months ago. His qualifications are being reviewed anew by the President makers, and more may be heard before long of the Attorney-General as Roosevelt's successor. He is going to leave the Cabinet about Jan. 1 to resume the practice of law in Boston. While he entertains no lively expectations of participating in politics after he thus retires from public life to earn a competence, Mr. Moody will remain as one of the leading figures in Massachusetts affairs. He is bound to be remembered as the man who has stood exceedingly close to the President for the last four or five years and who has invariably been in sympathy with all the President has been doing.

The Next Candidate.

No other member of the Cabinet, probably, is better suited to carry out the policies the President has inaugurated. Mr. Moody agreed with the President about railroad-rate legislation when both Secretary Root and Secretary Taft were disagreeing with him. He has had intimate knowledge of all the anti-trust work the President has been doing and, as Attorney-General, has done some very important and effective work in prosecuting the trusts.

Likely enough the West will demand the Republican candidate next time, for the East has had the Presidency almost eight years. But it is to be noted that the hotbeds of radicalism now are east of the Alleghanies, "in the enemy's country." New York and Massachusetts, which were in the very heart of the conservative country in 1896, are now as radical in their tendencies, apparently, as Kansas and Nebraska were in 1896. Kansas and Nebraska are very calm under present conditions and apparently well satisfied.

Suppose the radicals poll a big vote in New York and Massachusetts, or suppose that Moran is elected Governor of the Bay State and Hearst of the Empire State. Those two States have 55 votes in the Electoral College and the Republicans cannot do without them. The very logic of the situation would call for a candidate who could command confidence with the radicals of those two States and assure them of a distinct and positive corrective policy for the cure of trust evils. Perhaps President Roosevelt would run again? Yes, but that is very doubtful, and in all the Eastern territory there is at present no man more likely to be acceptable than the present Attorney-General.

Postmaster-General Cortelyou is playing an interesting role in the present campaign. He makes no pretensions of being an orator and does not try to help the ticket by work on the stump, but he has taken off his coat, and is probably doing as effective work for the ticket in New York as any other Republican. Many look upon him as the President's personal representative and, through him, the President is undoubtedly gaining much of his information about the New York situation. Mr. Cortelyou is still Chairman of the Republican National Committee, and he knows where to pull the strings to bring results in New York.

Vice President Fairbanks.

It should not be overlooked that Vice President Fairbanks has been taking part of late in the political canvas. Some weeks ago it was the opinion that he would stand aloof this year and confine himself to non-partisan addresses on civic occasions. Mr. Fairbanks has done much of that kind of speaking in recent years, aside from the vast amount of stumping that has fallen to his lot. Soon after he was elected to the Senate in 1897 he began to devote much of his time to these addresses, and he has spoken at anniversaries, picnics and fairs in almost every Northern State. This year he went to Kansas for a John Brown celebration and to Idaho for an Irrigation Congress, to New Hampshire for a State Fair, and so on. But now he is on the stump for the Republican ticket, and is in his old-time form—not a cold, unattractive speaker, as his critics are fond of picturing him, but a tactful, careful, considerate speaker, who warms up his hearers with stirring eloquence and unfailing courtesy to the opposition party.

Easterners have not had Mr. Fairbanks much in their Presidential calculations, perhaps, but the Vice President is coming down the road rapidly. He is the McKinley type of politician, does not herald his political achievements far and wide, and has a faculty for rounding up surprising strength on test occasions.

As a matter of fact, the present campaign in oratory is very much of a duplicate of the oratory of two years ago, as far as persons are concerned. Shaw, Taft and Cannon were the big guns that year. Vice President Fairbanks, too, went on a long Western trip, during which he filled every date and never missed a train. The Republican speakers' bureau found him a model spellbinder to handle.

The bushes are being beaten for votes in many of the same localities as in 1904. This is especially noticeable with Missouri, where the herculean efforts of the campaign, as far as Congressmen are concerned, are being made.

Work for Congress.

With a session of Congress less than

(Continued on page five.)