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ASSASSIN AND HERO: THE MAKING OF MEN

A NEW ANALYSIS OF THE ATTEMPTED

ASSASSINATION OF

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

by

Beverly Brown Grabow

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree

of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

in

History

UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY
Logan, Utah

1973

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Beverly Brown Grabow

"Whether or not he was a great man is unimportant. It is enough that the contributions he made to American life, particularly public life, and the ways in which he made them were often magnificent."

--John Morton Blum, 1954

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A thesis might be researched and written by one person, but it cannot be done without help. This is no exception. The interest, patience, and help given me by the head of the Department of History, my committee members, and my professors at Utah State University have made my work on this paper a most pleasant and rewarding experience. The extraordinary encouragement which they have given me has spurred me on with this project. The support given to me by my three teenage children during three summers of work on this thesis, and allied areas, cannot be overemphasized. The time, effort, and material furnished by Mrs. Helen Higley, daughter of Elbert E. Martin, Roosevelt's stenographer, is most lovingly acknowledged. The interest shown by my friends and associates is also greatly appreciated.

In the final analysis, there is one particular person whom I wish to recognize and acknowledge, the person who first fired my interest in this subject, and who was always there with help, encouragement and ideas. I wish to dedicate this thesis to him--my friend, editor, proofreader, critic, and occasionally my goad--Reginald R. Reeves--without whom it could not have been done.

Beverly Brown Grabow

PREFACE

When George Washington was asked to run for a third term as president of the United States, he declined. Washington's decision was reinforced by Thomas Jefferson, who wrote firmly and extensively of the desirability of a president serving a maximum of two terms. In this way the precedent of a two term presidency was established.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt was the first president to be elected to more than two terms of office. There was considerable discussion and contention when he ran for his third and fourth terms, but the prevailing opinion was that it was necessary to continue the administration then in office for the duration of the Second World War. Politicians, political analysts, and the "average" voter have often been concerned regarding the possibilities of an executive remaining in office so long that he would amass so much power that he would be a dictator, in fact if not in the legal sense of the word.

The 1912 campaign was different from most presidential campaigns in that one of the leading contenders for the office was a former president who had bolted his party and was running on a third-party ticket. It had been evident throughout the campaign that William Howard Taft could not be re-elected, with Theodore Roosevelt, another Republican, now running on the Progressive ticket. Many people were concerned about the enmity which resulted from the formation of the

Progressive Party. At least one of them, John Schrank, thought that the third term which Roosevelt was seeking, and the third-party ticket, were dangerous to the well-being of the United States and might lead to civil disturbance--even civil war. Schrank was sufficiently concerned to attempt to assassinate Roosevelt.

Americans have traditionally looked askance at one man having a great deal of power within the political structure of the United States. It is easy to trace back the attitudes to the earliest settlers in what later became the United States. The local governments and the people living in small areas were jealous of the central government having so much power that it might be able to dictate local policy. This attitude continues even today, at a time of the federal government's unprecedented involvement in the life of every citizen. We still hear arguments over states rights as opposed to the desirability of strengthening federal controls.

Inherent in these discussions has been concern over the length of the presidential term of office. These arguments were finally resolved, in 1951, by Amendment Twenty-Two to the U. S. Constitution, as follows:

Section 1. No person shall be elected to the office of the President more than twice, and no person who has held the office of President, or acted as President, for more than two years of a term to which some other person was elected President shall be elected to the office of President more than once.

If this amendment had been a part of the Constitution in 1912, Roosevelt would not have been able to run. It was not, however, so the

legality of his effort to gain the presidency was not in question.

The morality of it was, by some people.

How much the attempt on his life had to do with the result of the election would be impossible to determine now. It is enough to realize that he had no real hope of winning the election either before or after the shooting.

Roosevelt's behavior at the time of the shooting and following it, was exemplary. He certainly followed the precepts of courage and manliness which he had made part of his life. The other candidates for the presidency reacted to the shooting in the manner expected of gentlemen. Campaigning was suspended until Roosevelt was able to return to the political arena. Despite this "Alphonse-Gaston" politeness, Roosevelt lost the election.

This paper attempts to shed light upon the shooting in Milwaukee on October 14, 1912, and the reasons behind it. All available material was investigated and analyzed. During the course of this research, it became apparent that there are numerous sources which might be explored during further research, and which should prove to be enlightening. The scope of this thesis precluded using these materials. This is an investigation of the events leading to the assassination attempt on Theodore Roosevelt, the event itself, and three of the persons most closely involved in the shooting--Roosevelt, Schrank (the would-be-assassin) and Elbert E. Martin, who stopped Schrank from firing the second shot.

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ABSTRACT

Assassin and Hero: The Making of Men

A New Analysis of the Attempted

Assassination of

Theodore Roosevelt

by

Beverly Brown Grabow, Master of Science

Utah State University, 1973

Major Professor: Dr. S. George Ellsworth

Department: History

The purpose of this paper is to explain the events leading to and events of the attempted assassination of Theodore Roosevelt in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, October 14, 1912. A comparison and contrast is made between information gained through the study of previously undiscovered primary sources and what has been accepted by and written about by historians. The background of the would-be-assassin and his motives in shooting Theodore Roosevelt have been investigated. The paper is divided into six major parts: Introduction, Nominating Conventions--1912, Milwaukee, October 14, 1912, Elbert E. Martin, John F. Schrank and Conclusion.

(138 pages)

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

It is readily apparent to even the occasional reader of history, that often there is very little resemblance between what really happened to a specific person at a particular time, and the stories which have grown and have been told and have become legends which are not questioned by any save a few devotees of fact. Distortions of fact are not confined to relatively obscure persons; for example, the story of George Washington and the cherry tree has been taught to and believed by generations of American school children, who have in turn, preserved and embellished this untruth.

This thesis is concerned with an incident in the life of one of the former presidents of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt. An incident which has been ignored, at worst, or casually glossed over, at best, by many of our most respected historians. It would be less difficult to understand why the dramatic events of October 14, 1912, have been ignored by historians if Roosevelt were one of the presidents about whom little is written. But his life has been considered and analyzed by many writers.

It is particularly puzzling, that the events surrounding an assassination attempt could have been ignored by historians, especially when the attack came at the height of one of the most bitterly contested presidential elections in the history of our country. The

flamboyance of the Roosevelt personality alone should have made it impossible to ignore this attempt upon his life. Why this event has been ignored and forgotten by historians writing textbooks is not the subject under investigation. It is the author's intent to show that the incident has been ignored by many historians, and that in those cases where some mention is made of it by historians and biographers, almost without exception, some error is made in the telling of the story; to give the background of the formation of the Progressive Party by relating the events of the nominating conventions; to tell something of the person who attacked Roosevelt; and finally to explore briefly the life and personality of the man who kept the assassin from firing the second shot.

In order to understand the motive behind the shooting of Roosevelt, it is necessary to investigate the background of Roosevelt's presidency. On September 5, 1901, President William McKinley, just six months into his second term, visited the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo, New York. He delivered a speech there, and the next day, during a reception at the exposition, was shot by an anarchist, Leon Czolgosz. At McKinley's death on September 14, Theodore Roosevelt, who had been pushed into the vice-presidency (ostensibly as a reward for his service, but in reality to put an effective end to his political life) became the twenty-sixth president of the United States.¹

¹Charles S. Olcott, Life of William McKinley, 2 Vols. (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1916), 315.

At forty-three, Theodore Roosevelt had already made his mark on American politics. He had served as New York state assemblyman, New York City Police Commissioner, assistant secretary of the navy, Civil Service Commissioner for the United States, and governor of New York. His unorthodox approach to practical political action made for him a myriad of devoted admirers, and a host of implacable enemies.

He was an organization Republican, but refused to bow to the wishes of the party bosses when those wishes were in opposition to his moral principles. Theodore Roosevelt's nomination for the vice-presidency was deliberate, and against his wishes, to push him into the oblivion and political suicide of this "unnoticed" and "unimportant" office. Few people were concerned about the possibility of his succeeding to the presidency, although Mark Hanna has often been quoted as saying, "Don't you realize that there is only one life between that madman and the Presidency?"² Roosevelt served out McKinley's term, and ran for election on his own in 1904. He was elected by a sizeable majority. Immediately after this election he announced that he would under no circumstances be a candidate for election in 1908. At the end of what he considered his second term (only his first, by election), he declined, again, to run, indicating that two consecutive terms were quite enough.

William Howard Taft, secretary of war, was Roosevelt's hand-picked successor, and apparently was chosen because Theodore Roosevelt felt that Taft would carry out his, Theodore Roosevelt's policies. As it

²William Manners, TR & Will (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1969), 39.

worked out, Taft out-did Roosevelt in many areas of reform, though he was misunderstood and it was popularly thought that Taft betrayed Roosevelt's policies. When the election of 1912 came near, the Republican party split into two factions over which man would be the Republican nominee for president--Roosevelt or Taft. Taft was nominated and Roosevelt and his followers, feeling that the will of the people had not been carried out, organized the Progressive Party (more popularly known as the Bull Moose Party) and entered the campaign.

This campaign of 1912 was a particularly bitter one, one which brought old half-concealed enmities into the open, one which made the most bitter of opponents of old friends, and one which was characterized by some particularly florid and caustic accusations and counter-accusations between Taft and Roosevelt.³

Former President Roosevelt, known to his familiars as "the Colonel," and his entourage spent much time touring the country, presenting the case of the Progressive Party to the electorate. Roosevelt apparently had no illusions regarding the possibility of his winning the presidency. One of his biographers, Joseph Bucklin Bishop wrote:

The campaign which followed the convention was one of the most exciting and remarkable that the country had ever witnessed. Its result was virtually certain from the outset, for with two Republican candidates in the field, the success of the Democratic candidate was reasonably well assured. The Republican leaders who had brought about the renomination of President Taft admitted frankly among themselves that they had no hope of his election. They had deliberately chosen defeat for their party in preference to success for it with Roosevelt. As his letters show, Roosevelt had no hope of election when he consented to run as the Progressive candidate. He was not making the fight for personal success but in defense of the principles for which he stood. He took the stump and made a vigorous campaign, and almost from the outset

³Joseph Bucklin Bishop, Theodore Roosevelt and his Time, 2 Vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920), passim.

it was generally recognized that although he was the nominee of a new party, and was called a third party candidate, the contest⁴ was between him and the Democratic candidate, Woodrow Wilson.

The Roosevelt party made three long tours during the campaign. It traveled by train, and during the period between September 2 and the abrupt end of campaigning by Roosevelt (after the shooting in Milwaukee on October 14) was able to visit nearly every state in the Union.

Theodore Roosevelt is a man about whom it is difficult to be indifferent. It was impossible for this author to find a biography which was written from a completely objective point of view. During the first decades of the twentieth century, he was the object of almost universal adulation. It became fashionable during the thirties and forties, to regard him as a rather dictatorial figure, but during the past two decades, reassessment of his character and objectives, as well as his actions, has taken place, and it seems that now he is being viewed more sympathetically.

The incidents surrounding the attempted assassination have been ignored by historians.⁵ Perhaps the reason for this is that he was not president at the time of the shooting. A more reasonable explanation would appear to be that he minimized the importance of this happening, both at the time and later. In American history textbooks, it is seldom that one finds even a passing reference to the shooting. Even in the light of the recent rash of assassinations of public figures in the United States, few, if any, references are made to the rationale behind

⁴Bishop, 336.

⁵See chart in appendix.

and the events of the shooting of Theodore Roosevelt in Milwaukee in 1912.⁶ This is strange, since Theodore Roosevelt is one of the more intensively analyzed public figures of our century. It is almost impossible to over-emphasize the effect of the personality of Theodore Roosevelt upon the character and attitudes of the average American, even today. For example he had a great effect upon writers--notably Ernest Hemingway, certainly one of the most influential authors of the early twentieth century, whose strenuous philosophy can be traced to Roosevelt as easily as can his passion for shooting big game in Africa.

Theodore Roosevelt was a man who wore many hats. He was, at various times during his life president, explorer, rancher, historian, biographer, and reformer. His wife found him to be a devoted husband and his children recall him as a delightful father. He was certainly an extraordinary politician and orator. His personal diplomacy brought him the Nobel Peace Prize. But not all who knew him admired him. Mark Hanna was wont to refer to him as "that damned cowboy." Even his most severe critic would have to admit that he left an indelible mark upon America and Americans.

⁶See following chapters for additional information. Also chart in appendix.

CHAPTER II
NOMINATING CONVENTIONS, 1912

William Howard Taft and Theodore Roosevelt had been friends since Taft first came to Washington and became involved in the federal government. Taft graduated from Yale with the class of 1878, became a law reporter, and was appointed assistant prosecuting attorney for Hamilton County, Ohio, in 1881. He resigned this position the next year to become collector of internal revenue for Cincinnati, but quit a few months later because he could not go along with the demands of the Republican party bosses on the issue of patronage. At this time, he returned to private law practice and distinguished himself by participating vigorously in disbarment proceedings against a Cincinnati criminal lawyer, married Helen (Nellie) Herron, and returned to public life at the age of twenty-nine as a judge of the superior court of Ohio--the youngest jurist ever appointed to that bench. He was appointed solicitor general in 1890, by President Benjamin Harrison. In 1900, President McKinley appointed Taft head of the United States commission to the Philippines. He remained in this office until his appointment, effective February 1, 1904, to become secretary of war, during the administration of Theodore Roosevelt. During Taft's term as civil governor of the Philippines, Roosevelt had repeatedly asked him to accept appointment to the

United States Supreme Court, but Taft's wife dissuaded him from accepting this appointment, as she wanted him to become president.¹

Taft was named by Theodore Roosevelt as the person he wanted to succeed him as president of the United States. Roosevelt felt that two consecutive terms was enough for any man to serve as president, and since McKinley had lived to fill only six months of his second term, Theodore Roosevelt considered the term he spent after McKinley's death as his first term. He had even gone so far as to announce, after the returns were in on election night of 1904, that he would on no account be a candidate for the presidency in 1908. He reiterated this to the party leaders frequently after that. However, Theodore Roosevelt had no doubt that it was necessary for his policies to be continued after his retirement from the presidency, and William Howard Taft indicated that he would certainly follow them after his election. Apparently Taft did intend to follow the policies set by Roosevelt during his administration, but Taft was easily swayed by the people around him, and Theodore Roosevelt had left for his African trip shortly after the inauguration, and was not available to use the force of his personality to keep Taft to his promise.

"Down at the bottom," Theodore Roosevelt had written William Allen White the previous August, "my main reason for wishing to go to Africa for a year is so that I can get where no one can accuse me of running, nor do Taft the injustice of accusing him of permitting me to run, the job."²

¹Ishbel Ross, An American Family, The Tafts - 1678 to 1964 (Cleveland: The World Publishing Co., 1964), 149.

²Manners, 79.

Frank Kelly has suggested that William Howard Taft had always wanted to be Judge Taft and had neither sought nor enjoyed his terms as solicitor general and civil governor of the Philippines and secretary of war. He had not even wanted to become president, as he loved the dignity, comfort and power which went with being a judge. It was his wife and friends who had drawn him into the political arena, against his wishes and judgment.³

There had always been a feeling of antipathy, if not active dislike, between Mrs. Taft and Roosevelt, so she would have been more interested in supporting some of Roosevelt's opponents than in reminding Taft of his promise to Roosevelt. Nellie Taft had considerable influence with her husband. There have been many attempts to determine what specific event caused the end of the friendship between Taft and Roosevelt. What seems more significant is to realize that the primary force behind the dissolution of the friendship was the Taft family.

Purely personal antipathy was a factor; Horace T Taft, his brother⁷, gentle and usually trenchantly witty, expressed the basis for it, seriously, succinctly, when he told Will that he did not like Theodore Roosevelt "because he was so conceited and self-centered."⁴

Roosevelt was aware of the force of his personality. He felt it was unfair to Taft for him to be readily available to the newspapers and politicians for comment upon Taft's policies. He was aware, too, of his penchant for interfering, simply because he could not bear to see things done in a way he would not have done them; or to see things

³Frank K. Kelly, The Fight for the White House (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1961), 16.

⁴Manners, 56.

which he felt were important, not done at all. It is likely that this tendency to interfere and his awareness of it was the primary reason for Roosevelt's decision to leave this country shortly after Taft's inauguration.

One of Roosevelt's pet projects was conservation. It was not long after Taft's inauguration that Taft became embroiled in a controversy with Gifford Pinchot, who had been one of Theodore Roosevelt's most highly regarded advisors, regarding conservation. It seems probable that this disagreement was the issue which led to the very early disenchantment of Roosevelt with Taft.

Roosevelt had appointed Gifford Pinchot the chief of the United States Forest Service because he knew that Pinchot was devoted to conservation. Pinchot was constantly on guard against the efforts of private groups to get control of the forests and public lands. All went well, so long as James Garfield, son of the former President, was secretary of the interior. Taft decided, by the end of January, 1909, to replace Garfield in the Cabinet. This made things extremely awkward since before the election Taft had assured Theodore Roosevelt that Garfield would be retained. On the basis of this premise, Garfield had renewed his lease on his home in Washington and had made other plans for remaining there. It was very humiliating for Garfield, whose law practice had been abandoned during his cabinet term. To make matters worse, Taft appointed Richard A. Ballinger as his secretary of the interior.

When the news of Ballinger's appointment was made public, it was evident to Pinchot that he had a fight on his hands. And so he had. Pinchot did not back away from the fight any more than his idol, Theodore Roosevelt, would have done. Taft investigated Pinchot's charges that Ballinger was taking certain lands and resources from the public reserve for the use of private interests, and declared that the charges had no sound basis. Taft then fired Pinchot. When Roosevelt heard, via a native runner, that Pinchot had been dismissed, he wrote to Pinchot:

Dear Gifford: We have just heard by special runner that you have been removed. I cannot believe it. I do not know any man in public life who has rendered quite the service you have rendered; and it seems to me absolutely impossible that there can be any truth in this statement. But of course it makes me very uneasy. Do write me, care of the American Embassy at Paris, just what the real situation is. I have only been able to follow things very imperfectly while out here.⁵

Then, to make matters worse, Taft supported the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill as "the best ever passed by the Republican Party."⁶ This bill had raised the tariff levels on many items to the highest rates to date. Theodore Roosevelt was firmly convinced that the United States could not build up its world trade by using high tariffs to protect the interests of certain manufacturers. Taft had gone far from the Rooseveltian policies which he had promised to follow. In fact, he had gone over to the side of the conservative wing of the Republican party and was far too friendly with the millionaires. Roosevelt felt that Taft had fallen into the wrong company.

⁵Manners, 122.

⁶Kelly, 31.

When, in 1910, Roosevelt returned from his trip to Africa and Europe, many members of the Republican Party approached him regarding his running for president in 1912. Roosevelt went through a period of investigation by himself, a period of contemplation, and a period of consultations with his family concerning what he should do. Finally, on February 24, 1912, he wrote a letter which he sent to seven Republican governors, in which he said: "... I will accept the nomination for President if it is tendered to me and I will adhere to this decision until the convention has expressed its preference."⁷ After the publication of this letter, Taft no longer was in suspense concerning what Roosevelt would do, and he could make his plans. The Republican convention was to be held in Chicago in June. With both incumbent President Taft and the man who was the idol of many Americans, Roosevelt, seeking the nomination, it was evident that the convention would be exciting and notable for the back-room strategy of the supporters of each candidate.

The Taft men controlled the Republican convention. The GOP rules provided for the members of the committee, who had been picked at the closing session of the 1908 convention, to hold office until the close of the 1912 session. Roosevelt's followers knew that if this rule were not broken, they had little chance to get the nomination for their candidate. The Roosevelt faction was not successful in its attempt to change the rules, therefore the Taft men were able to seat their candidates and secure the presidential nomination for Taft.

⁷Manners, 215.

Roosevelt's presence in Chicago was not able to stem the tide of the Taft forces. Taft and his men had stopped Theodore Roosevelt from gaining the Republican nomination for the presidency of the United States and had succeeded also in effectively killing the possibility of the Republicans being victorious in November. Almost without exception, political analysts looked to the Democratic Convention to see who the next president would be, since with a split in the Republican party, only a gross mismanagement by the Democrats could give either Taft or Roosevelt, if he ran on a third party ticket, even a fighting chance at winning the election. If the Democrats would nominate what William Jennings Bryan suggested they must, a "real progressive,"⁸ the election of 1912 would be firmly in the hands of the Democrats.

In his dispatch to the afternoon papers of June 21, Bryan declared: "If the Democrats are guilty of the criminal folly of nominating a reactionary, they will supply Mr. Roosevelt with the one thing needful in case he becomes an independent candidate, namely, an issue, and with two reactionaries running for President he might run and thus entrench himself in power."⁹

The two leading candidates for the Democratic nomination were Champ Clark, speaker of the House of Representatives, and Woodrow Wilson, governor of New Jersey. While Bryan kept talking of a "real progressive," he did not indicate which of the two leading contenders he supported, and there were those who suspected that although he had been defeated three times--in 1896, in 1900, and 1908--Bryan would like to have the nomination for himself.

⁸Kelly, 145.

⁹Kelly, 171.

The primaries and the state conventions had indicated that Champ Clark was the choice of the majority of the Democratic voters. Clark did not have enough delegates pledged to him to insure his nomination, however. There were several "favorite son" candidates who controlled large blocs of delegates. The largest bloc was the ninety votes controlled by New York's Tammany Hall. It seemed probable that the candidate who was able to gain Tammany's support would receive the nomination, and Wilson had to decide whether to make a deal for them.

The temporary chairman of the Democratic convention, as selected by the Democratic National Committee, was Alton B. Parker, the conservative who had been the presidential nominee in 1904. Bryan was infuriated by this choice and declared that he would oppose Parker at the convention. He sent telegrams to Clark, Wilson and other contestants asking them to take a stand for or against Parker and asking for replies by return telegraph.

Wilson's telegram to Bryan expressed his conviction that the Baltimore convention would be a convention of progressives, and should have as its spokesmen men who shared the attitudes of the majority of the delegates. He suggested that as a member of the convention, Bryan was entirely within his rights in doing everything in his power to bring about that result.

Understandably, this reply delighted Bryan. Clark's reply was equivocal--a call for harmony. Oscar Underwood and Governor Judson Harmon of Ohio backed Parker. When Bryan released the texts of the telegrams he had received, it appeared to the country that Wilson and Bryan were standing together on the progressive side and that the other

candidates were either trying to straddle the fence, or were firmly entrenched on the other side.

When the convention opened, Bryan's efforts to block the selection of Parker as temporary chairman were unsuccessful, and Parker was elected. It appeared to many of the delegates that Bryan was making a move to stampede the convention into nominating him for the fourth time. The inevitable result of Bryan's pressure upon Clark and Wilson was to drive Clark more firmly into the camp of the conservatives and Wilson into the liberal wing of the party.

The liberal faction of the Democratic party was aware that if it were to nominate the presidential candidate, the unit rule, a regulation providing that all members of state delegations must vote as a unit, must be overthrown. The argument propounded by those seeking to overthrow the unit rule was that it could have no legitimate place in a convention where the delegates were elected by the direct primary, since it would often prevent individual delegates from voting as their constituents had instructed them to vote. The rule was overthrown, enhancing Wilson's chances.

History was made at the Democratic convention of 1912. Champ Clark obtained a majority of the votes, although not enough for nomination, when Tammany supported him midway in the balloting. No Democratic convention since 1884 had failed to nominate the man who gained a majority of the votes--until 1912.

Sunday, June 30, Wilson, who was steadily gaining votes, was urged to state publicly that if he were nominated and elected, under

no circumstances would he appoint Bryan secretary of state. Wilson refused to issue such a statement, since he felt that it was foolish to consider cabinet officers at that time and it would be "outrageous to eliminate anybody from consideration now, particularly Mr. Bryan, who has rendered such fine service to the party in all seasons."¹⁰

When the delegates returned from the Sunday recess, many had been convinced that Wilson was the choice of the ordinary people. At three-thirty in the afternoon of July 2, 1912, Woodrow Wilson was nominated for president of the United States by the Democratic National Convention.

With the Republican and Democratic candidates for the presidency decided, the only question remaining in the minds of the politicians and other interested citizens was, "What will Teddy Roosevelt do?" No third-party candidate had come even near to being elected, but Roosevelt made his own rules. Would Roosevelt decide to kill the possibility of Taft's reelection, at the possible price of his own defeat? Now that a liberal candidate--Wilson--had been nominated, would he feel the necessity of competing? It was tacitly agreed that if Roosevelt chose to bolt the Republican party and run on a third-party ticket, the fight would be between him and Wilson. Taft was not the sort of politician to inspire great personal devotion from his supporters. They might agree with his policies and decisions, but he lacked the personal magnetism of Roosevelt. Wilson was not a particularly dynamic and exciting person. He seemed, to many, to be the cold pedagogue.

¹⁰Manners, 11.

Roosevelt certainly came out ahead so far as personality was concerned. Whether the devotion and admiration which the citizens felt for him personally would be enough to convince them to vote for him as a third-party candidate was yet to be seen. In fact, it was yet to be seen if he would be a third-party candidate for the presidency. Many of his adherents felt that a progressive platform having been adopted by the Democrats and Wilson nominated, the Republican progressives might better unite with the Wilson forces. Roosevelt's most intelligent advisors, as well as those with the most political expertise, suggested that the most sensible thing for him to do would be to announce that he would vote for the candidate nominated by his party, retire to Sagamore Hill and wait for Taft's inevitable defeat after which he would be the undisputed leader of the Republican party and a shoo-in for the nomination in 1916. Most of the fire-breathing progressives wanted him to lead a new party in a smashing campaign against Taft and the conservative Republicans, even though the progressives were unlikely to win. Roosevelt indicated to a number of his friends that he was doubtful that the new party, if formed, could win the election. And it was apparent that a defeat at the polls in 1912 would be the end of the political career of Theodore Roosevelt.

The Colonel listened to his friends and advisors, and agreed that perhaps it would be folly to embark upon a campaign that summer of 1912, but did not heed them. He was fighting a holy war, and a crusader does not retreat even in the face of certain defeat. On July 3, he informed the press that he was in the fight even if he failed to win a single electoral vote.

While he was supported in his decision by Mrs. Roosevelt and the children, two of the Roosevelt family were placed in a most awkward position by the formation of the new party--Nicholas and Alice Roosevelt Longworth. Mrs. Longworth, the only child of Roosevelt's first marriage, was very interested in politics and highly partisan so far as her father was concerned. In 1905 when William H. Taft, then secretary of war, prepared to head an expedition to the Philippines, it was arranged that Alice should be in the party. Nicholas Longworth, a thirty-five-year-old congressman from Ohio was also in the party.

The Taft family and the Longworths had been friends for many years; so Will Taft remarked to old Mrs. Longworth, Nick's mother, that he was certain that if Nick and Alice went on the expedition together they would return engaged. Mrs. Longworth, however, complacently assured Taft that Nick was a confirmed bachelor.¹¹

Alice and Nick did indeed return from the expedition engaged, and they were married in the White House while Theodore Roosevelt was president. Nicholas Longworth was a candidate for the United States Senate from Ohio, running on the Republican ticket. This led to many extremely awkward situations for the Longworths, considering Alice's highly partisan attitudes toward her father and Nick's admiration and respect for him. Theodore Roosevelt consulted with the Longworths before making his decision known and made it clear to Alice and Nicholas that he understood the peculiar situation in which they found themselves, and that he sympathized with them. They would support him privately, of course, but were instructed to maintain their position in the Republican party and to work for Nicholas' election.

¹¹ Manners, 273.

Many uncomfortable situations arose during the campaign, and were made worse by the fact that the Longworths and the Tafts, were very close friends. Indeed, it was decided later that Alice was not to attend the Progressive Party convention, since it would be unfair to Nick. "Alice spent the following weeks in Washington, 'trying not to be too unpleasant,' she said, 'with, I think, only intermittent success.'"¹² Nicholas Longworth lost the election for the senate by less than one hundred votes. What effect his association with the Roosevelts had to do with this is not definite, but it is reasonable to conclude that it did not help him. In 1914, he ran for election to the United States House of Representatives and was elected. He was consistently re-elected from then on and served as speaker of the House from 1925 until his death in 1931. It is apparent that his career was not permanently blighted by his association with the Roosevelts.

On July 7, over the signatures of sixty-three of Roosevelt's most influential friends from forty states, the notice of the Progressive party convention was sent throughout the nation. The announcement suggested that the two old parties no longer represented America--they were too tired and cynical--and a new party must be formed to do the bidding of the American public. The response to the summons to the National Progressive Convention, opening August 5, in Chicago, startled and frightened the old guard in both the major parties. Several newspapers which had supported Wilson abandoned him because

¹²Kelly, 196.

they felt he could not make the Democratic party into a truly progressive organization. They supported Roosevelt. The Democratic party was having trouble dispelling its image of a boss-ridden party out only for the personal aggrandizement of the leaders.

Roosevelt's supporters were aware that it would be impossible to organize a nationwide party before November, so they had to rely on the dissident members of the two major parties to be their strength. During the month of July, the Colonel worked furiously and almost inexhaustibly, attacking Taft and Wilson, directing the activities of his lieutenants, writing letters and articles and news releases, and adding recruits to the progressive cause every day.

Taft found himself in somewhat of a dilemma during July of 1912. After his victory in Chicago, he had been swamped with hundreds of letters and telegrams from his supporters congratulating him on his triumph over Roosevelt. Nevertheless he found it difficult to get workers for his campaign. Then, too, many of his adherents criticized him for not using the office of the president to get more publicity for his campaign. Taft's campaign of 1908 had been stage-managed by Roosevelt, who saw that Taft presented his best face to the American public. Without Roosevelt to suggest and insist upon his doing these things, Taft neglected the attention-getting, publicity-making personal appearances which he detested. Finally, Taft asked Elihu Root to go to the large cities and make speeches for him. Root declined to do so, giving the reason that his health would not permit him to take a leading role in the campaign. Neither Senator Borah of Idaho nor

Governor Hadley of Missouri was inclined to campaign for Taft. He could not understand why he had suddenly become so unpopular. Another blow came to the president when he learned that the wealthy New Yorkers who had been the primary contributors to earlier GOP campaigns had turned to Wilson as the candidate to defeat Roosevelt.

The Progressive party's national convention began its sessions on August 5 in Chicago. While it had the outward appearance of a political convention--bands, banners, placards, delegates wearing badges, onlookers in the galleries--it also had the exalted excitement of a religious revival. The keynote speaker, Senator Beveridge, explained the attitude of the ten thousand progressives in attendance, as well as the citizens throughout the country who were disenchanted with the two old parties. He explained that the Republican and Democratic parties had been corrupted by evil bosses and evil combinations of wealth. He assured decent businessmen that they had nothing to fear from the progressives, for they would attempt to "make little business big, and all business honest, instead of striving to make Big Business little, and yet letting it remain dishonest."¹³ Towards the end of his speech, Beveridge called for social security for the aged. He indicated that such a program could be properly created under the Constitution, if the Constitution was considered a living thing, a growing thing, instead of a document which it was heretical to change. Roosevelt was nominated by acclamation, with Governor Hiram Johnson of California as his running mate.

¹³ibid.

During the last of August and into September, it became apparent to Theodore Roosevelt and the others involved in his campaign that Wilson was making a great deal of headway with the voters. Roosevelt found this incomprehensible. He could not understand how and why many of the progressive thinkers of the United States could reject his platform and candidacy and embrace that of Wilson. It was equally puzzling to him to see the kind of campaign which Taft was conducting; or, perhaps more to the point, was not conducting. If Roosevelt had been president, he certainly would not have sat in the White House doing nothing. He would have swamped the nation with news releases and interviews, and would have toured the country making speech after speech explaining and exhorting.

During the first week in September, the Colonel and his entourage left on a swing throughout the western half of the United States. He was well received most of the places he went, but the attitude of the audiences was not that of listening to what he had to say, with the idea of perhaps voting for him; it seemed that they were coming to hear and to meet him as someone they had admired and respected but who had become somewhat of a curiosity. As the attitude of the people began to seep into Roosevelt's consciousness, his speeches attacking Wilson and Taft became more and more vitriolic, and at times verged upon being irrational. Not only was it frustrating to have the electorate not see the points which he was trying to make, but he could not understand people's preference for Wilson's brand of progressivism over his. Toward the end of September, Roosevelt's voice began to

give out. His doctor suggested that he ought to give it a rest, before he lost it entirely. Consequently, the later speeches of the western tour were cancelled, and Theodore Roosevelt began to prepare for the rest of his campaign.

CHAPTER III

MILWAUKEE, OCTOBER 14, 1912

Theodore Roosevelt made three long tours during September and October of the 1912 campaign. The first, beginning September 2, took him across the northern part of the United States and into the West. He spent time in New York, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, and North Dakota; from there he went into Montana, Washington, Idaho, Utah, California, Arizona, and New Mexico, ending in Colorado, on September 19. He then returned to the east. On September 22, he began a second tour, covering 10,600 miles by October 2.¹ During this second tour, which was primarily through the Gulf and Southern States, he spoke in Missouri, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Louisiana, Alabama, and Georgia. His third tour, which ended so disastrously, began October 7, and was to have included the Great Lakes area (Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania) and Maryland before returning to New Jersey on October 23.

During the course of his last tour, Roosevelt was followed around the country by a fanatical opponent of the third term, one John Schrank. Schrank, a resident of New York City, left there in late September, in pursuit of Roosevelt. Going first to Charleston, he followed the campaign train to Augusta, Atlanta, Birmingham, Chattanooga, Nashville, Evansville, Louisville, Chicago, and Madison trying to intercept and

¹New York Times, September 2-October 22, 1912.

to shoot Roosevelt. When he was unable to do so, he determined to go to Milwaukee in time to arrive before Roosevelt, and to make his plans more carefully this time, so he would not fail.² There, at last, he achieved a partial success. Outside the Hotel Gilpatrick, after an almost unbelievable tangle of mistaken times and places of Roosevelt appearances, Schrank came face to face with Roosevelt. With the pistol he had carried since leaving New York, he shot Roosevelt, wounding, but not killing him.

According to many historians who mention the Milwaukee incident, Roosevelt's throat had become more painful and he had been forced to cancel speeches in Indiana and Wisconsin, because he could not be heard.³ He did intend to complete his commitment to speak in Milwaukee, since this was to be a major speech, which would not be cancelled. The party arrived in Milwaukee at about 5 o'clock p.m. and proceeded to the Hotel Gilpatrick to have dinner and to rest before the speech, which was to be given at the Coliseum.

Several accounts of the happenings of the next few hours are available. The most authentic account is in the text of a speech delivered by Elbert E. Martin.⁴

²Chapter 5, hereafter.

³Kelly, 244; also Henry F. Pringle, Theodore Roosevelt (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1931), 568; and Noel F. Busch, TR--The Story of Theodore Roosevelt and his Influence on our Times. (New York: Reynal and Co., 1963), 273.

⁴Elbert E. Martin, Untitled speech (typewritten), in hands of author. See appendix.

In attendance at the early dinner at the Gilpatrick were Colonel Roosevelt's cousin, Philip J. Roosevelt; Colonel Cecil A. Lyon, Texas progressive leader; Dr. Scurry L. Terrell,⁵ Roosevelt's physician; O. K. Davis, secretary of the Progressive National Committee; John McGrath, one of Roosevelt's secretaries; and Martin, also a secretary to Roosevelt. During dinner, word was sent to Roosevelt that there was a man from New York who wanted to see him; admission was denied. Martin implied that this man was Schrank. At about 7:45 p.m., Roosevelt and his party went to their rooms to prepare for the meeting at the Coliseum.

At the last minute, Davis decided to return to the private railway car to clear up some accumulated work, and the doctor, Terrell, was stricken with nosebleed and decided to remain at the hotel until he was feeling better, and to proceed to the railway car later, in time to meet the rest of the party as they returned from the Coliseum. Henry F. Cochems, Wisconsin progressive leader, had joined the Roosevelt party and would go to the auditorium with them.

Earlier on this tour, Colonel Roosevelt had been bothered by the crowds blocking his way as he attempted to move from one place to another, so arrangements had been made to provide for more police protection at Milwaukee. Martin's narrative states:

... There was some cheering as we passed down the stairs and through the lobby of the hotel to the street. The police had the place exceptionally clear. Henry F. Cochems had joined the party as we were finishing dinner and accompanied us. We were not troubled with the crowd on the sidewalk and as we got

⁵At various places Dr. Terrell's name is spelled, Terril, Terrell, or Terrill.

to the automobile I opened the door and told Cochems to get in first. This he refused to do through courtesy to the Colonel. It has been customary with McGrath and myself to do this and Colonel Roosevelt usually took it as a matter of course. This time a small deviation of the manner of entering the car undoubtedly made history. Colonel Roosevelt got into the car first and Cochems followed. At this moment the crowd began to cheer and Colonel Roosevelt stood up, lifted his hat and bowed. Colonel Cecil A. Lyon having safely seen Colonel Roosevelt into his car was making toward the front of the machine to get into another car and I was stepping up to enter the tonneau.

It was not very well lighted. Philip Roosevelt had started to get into the car, behind me. As Colonel Roosevelt raised his arm with his hat in his hand, I suddenly noticed a man stand forth from the crowd, rush to the automobile and as I caught the glint of the blue from his gun as he raised it to fire I leaped with all my power on the impulse to intercept the bullet or knock the gun out of his hand. I was a fraction of a second too late for he fired as I leaped.

There are some impressions that last a lifetime and the glint of that gun as he raised it to assassinate Colonel Roosevelt will be with me always. Clearing the automobile I landed directly on the man. As I tackled him and bore him to the pavement face downward my arm locked around his neck. He had the gun in his right hand and tried to force it between his body and left arm in an endeavor to shoot. I met the muzzle with my left hand which then went to his wrist and with a wrench from me he dropped his gun. It was all over.

Colonel Roosevelt sank back to the seat after being shot and Cochems asked if he was hurt badly. The Colonel said, "They pinked me." Immediately however, he stood up and saw me handling the assassin and cried, "Don't hurt him, bring him to me." To this Cochems added his voice and Fred Lettish /sic/ and the Chief of Police who had jumped on my back in an endeavor to get at him was forced to one side as I jerked Schrank to his feet; dragged him to the car and first handed Colonel Roosevelt the gun which was a thirty eight Colt, and then turned the man's face so that the Colonel might look at it. In the meantime the police had occupied themselves chiefly in keeping the crowd back. One or two cops had tried to get in but had retired on Lyon's threat to instantly shoot anybody that came near. Colonel Roosevelt handed the gun to Cochems and asked me to give the man to the police, which I did at once.

Immediately on hearing the shot Dr. Terrill /sic/, McGrath, and O. K. Davis rushed down stairs and made their way through the crowd to the car. A great crowd had gathered and although they knew Colonel Roosevelt had been shot some of them attempted to try to grab his hand and shake it despite our efforts. Colonel sat down again and directed that the car proceed at once to the

Auditorium, and it started out with the entire party aboard, except myself. I walked on the side of the car nearest the Colonel.⁶ Dr. Terrill /sic/ at once suggested that we go to the hospital, and Mr. McGrath noticed the bullet hole through the Colonel's army coat as we passed under an electric arc. We stopped the car and Colonel Roosevelt unbuttoned his overcoat, coat and vest, and there before us we saw a stain of blood as large as a man's hand on his white shirt.⁷ His vest was also blood stained. Philip Roosevelt and Cochems added their voice to the appeal for him to go to the hospital the Colonel said, "You get me to that speech, it may be the last one I shall deliver, but I am going to deliver this one." We proceeded slowly through the streets, the crowds constantly cheering the Colonel. Dr. Terrill /sic/ insisted that he must see the wound. He /Roosevelt/ said, "No, this is my big chance, and I am going to make that speech if I die doing it."⁸

There are numerous inconsistencies between Martin's account and the accounts of historians, newspaper and magazine reporters, and other writers about the event. It is interesting to compare the various versions. Although agreeing with Martin, in general, many of them contain mistakes in matters of detail which are so obvious as to be ludicrous.

The account which most closely parallels that of Martin was written by William Manners, in his book, TR and Will. Manners does have some details regarding the preparations made for Roosevelt's appearance, which Martin ignored, or perhaps of which he was unaware.

One individual, a former New York saloonkeeper named John Schrank, had a singular reason for looking forward to TR's arrival. On September 21, Schrank had purchased a revolver in a gun store on Broadway and started following TR from city to city--traveling under the name of Walter Ross waiting for a chance to kill him. In Chicago, he had wanted to do it at the railway station and again when TR had spoken at the Coliseum. Now he was waiting for his chance in Milwaukee; he was not noticeable in the crowd,

⁶This is the only place where it is suggested that Martin did not ride in the car.

⁷This is the only reference to the party having stopped en route to investigate Roosevelt's injury.

⁸Martin, 3.

a bald, light-complexioned, stocky man, fairly well-dressed. But anonymity did not alter his uniqueness; he believed "any man looking for a third term ought to be shot" and imagined that McKinley had appeared before him in a dream one night in the middle of September and said of Roosevelt, "This is my murderer; avenge my death."

Every detail of that evening worked with a fine precision for the benefit of the would-be-assassin. Incidents and decision aligned themselves so that TR received maximum police protection, and this, paradoxically, made possible the point-blank, deadly shot at TR at a distance of only a few feet.

After the stop in Racine, the last one before Milwaukee, the members of the TR party met and decided that TR shouldn't go to the hotel as originally planned. Instead, to conserve his energy--and his voice--he was to dine on the train and then go directly to the Auditorium, where he would say a few words and have someone read the rest of his speech.

At Milwaukee, a large civically dedicated committee boarded the train and was very upset to hear about the change in plans. All their arrangements meant much to them and to Milwaukee, and to the state of Wisconsin. After all, people lined the streets, waiting for the scheduled parade from the train to the Hotel Gilpatrick, where reservations had already been made.

No argument diminished their vehemence, and TR finally surrendered, saying he wanted to be a "good Indian." Dr. Terrell, as opposed as ever, hoped to salvage something. He would consent, but only on one condition: There must be extra police protection to save TR from the strain of pushing through crowds on entering and leaving the hotel, even in going to and from the hotel dining room. The committee agreed, and unfortunately, as it turned out--kept its word.

TR--obeying Dr. Terrell only because of extreme weariness--did not stand up or greet the crowds that stretched for more than a mile, from the station to the hotel. He merely lifted his hat. At the hotel he napped briefly before dinner--unusual for him--in a rocking chair.⁹ After dinner he rested again before going down to the seven-passenger car waiting at the hotel door.

The committee, in keeping its promise, had done a thorough job; the hotel lobby and the sidewalks had been cleared by the police. Shortly before eight, TR and his party walked easily and directly to the waiting car. Ordinarily, TR would have been preceded into the car by two men, to shield him from the crowd, but now, because of the cleared sidewalk and street, the door of the car was courteously held open for TR, who was followed into the car by Elbert Martin, one of his secretaries. TR, wearing a big brown army overcoat, sat down, but a cheer from the

⁹Manners, 280. This is the only reference to Roosevelt's napping in rocking chair.

crowd caused him to pop right up. As he faced the rear of the car and raised his right hand, holding up his hat, he made a perfect target. Having just left the lighted hotel, he could not see the man in the dark who lifted his gun and fired at him. But a flash of metal caught Martin's eye; reflexively, he dove over the side of the car.

The bullet's impact, which he later described as being like the kick of a mule, staggered TR and caused him to sink to the seat of the car. However, he told Henry Cochems, a Wisconsin member of the Progressive National Committee, who had put his arms around TR's shoulders and asked if he had been badly hurt, "He pinked me." TR rose after saying that and coughed. Quickly he put his hand to his mouth to see if there was any blood. When he saw there was none, he deduced instantaneously that the bullet was in his chest and the "chances were twenty to one that it was not fatal."

TR also saw that Martin had the would-be assassin on the ground, locked in a half nelson, and was angrily doing his utmost to break the man's neck. Martin, a muscular former football player, had struck Schrank in leaping from the car and knocked him down. Then, as in a football scrimmage, another member of TR's party had jumped on top of Martin. Cecil Lyon, a Texas Republican and leader and a very close friend of TR's tried to shoot Schrank, but he couldn't find a clear passage to his target between the struggling bodies. Before Martin and Schrank had gone down together, Schrank had tried to take another shot at TR, but Martin had wrested the gun from him with his left hand while he held him around the neck with his right.

Angry cries arose in the crowd: "Lynch him! Kill him!"

Just as TR had calmly decided the bullet was not fatal, he continued to be master of the situation. In the emergency his voice returned, "Don't hurt him," he ordered Martin. "Bring him to me."

Martin arose, pulling the would-be assassin to his feet and twisting his face around so that TR could get a look at him. TR did not know the man. Standing in the car, he directed the police in the matter of taking his attacker into custody. Although TR had to save Schrank from Martin and the incensed crowd, he later candidly admitted, "I would not have objected to the man's being killed at the very instant, but I did not deem it wise or proper that he should be killed before my eyes if I was going to recover."

After the crowd had been pushed away from the car, Dr. Terrell told TR he wanted to see the wound. He also ordered the driver of the car to go to the hospital at once. Before the driver had a chance to obey, TR told the driver to take him to the Auditorium.

"No Colonel," one of TR's secretaries said. "Let's go to the Hospital."

"You get me to that speech," TR shot back angrily. "It may be the last one I shall ever deliver, but I am going to deliver this one."

All the way to the Auditorium, Dr. Terrell pleaded with TR that he allow them to examine the wound, that they turn around, go back to the hotel.

"No," TR said adamantly, "this is my big chance, and I am going to make that speech if I die doing it."¹⁰

Further agreement with Martin's story is found in an article written by Oscar King Davis, secretary of the Progressive National Committee, and one of the members of the Roosevelt party. He confirms the members of the party as given by Martin, except that he mentions a man named Fred Luettich, a member of the staff at the Progressive headquarters in Chicago. It is probable that this is the man whose name Martin spells "Lettish."¹¹ Mr. Davis gives an explanation which possibly accounts for the discrepancy in some of the accounts over whether or not the force of the shot caused Colonel Roosevelt to sink to the seat of the car. He says:

Martin, beside the open door of the automobile, saw that arm come up and saw the revolver before it flashed. Literally on the instant, he sprang directly across the big automobile at the assassin. He does not know to-day how he got across. He is a powerful chap, strong of arm and leg, and every muscle that would help propel or pull him over undoubtedly went into play.

At any rate, over the car he went, and landed full on the assassin before the trigger of the repeating gun could be pulled a second time. And behind Martin, by the same route, followed Fred Luettich, landing full on Martin and Schrank as they went down together. As he fell, the assassin twisted the gun under his left arm and tried to fire again; but Martin caught the weapon and wrenched it out of his hand. Then realizing blindly

¹⁰Manners, 279-281.

¹¹See above, 27.

that Colonel Roosevelt had been shot, and frantic with the fear that it was mortal, Martin got his arm under the man's neck then and there.

The blow fairly staggered Colonel Roosevelt, and for a fraction of a second he sank back in the automobile. To Cochem's anxious question he replied: "He pinked me."

Then he stood up again, so quickly that at first even those close to him did not realize that he had been off his feet.¹²

Davis goes on to explain that the party proceeded to the auditorium with Roosevelt's aides pleading with him to go to the hospital, and with Roosevelt adamantly refusing to be diverted from his intention of giving what might be his last speech. After arriving at the auditorium, a makeshift bandage was made by Dr. Terrell from a clean handkerchief, and Roosevelt went to the stand. He was introduced by Cochems, and took the manuscript from his pocket. When he, Roosevelt, saw that "bullet-torn paper which gave ocular proof of the assassin's work,"¹³

... then, for the first time, Colonel Roosevelt himself seemed to comprehend how close the call had been. He knew the stopping power of paper. For a moment or two even his indomitable will seemed unable to make his mind obey orders, and his sentences strayed a little from the predetermined path. Then it was over, and he went straight to the end of his speech.

Almost every page of the stenographic notes of that speech shows where some member of his party strove to have him stop, or some friend in the audience begged him to cease speaking and submit to examination. But not until he had covered the last page did he stop. Then as the cheers burst out on the conclusion of peroration, he turned to Terrell and said: "Now I'll go with the doctors."

It was not until the hospital was reached that it was found that besides passing through those one hundred sheets of tough paper, the bullet had penetrated three flaps of the steel spectacle-case.¹⁴

¹²Oscar King Davis, "Roosevelt's Marvelous Escape From Death," Munsey's Magazine, January 13, 1913, 606-609.

¹³Davis, 609.

¹⁴Ibid.

Frank K. Kelly, in The Fight for the White House, The Story of 1912, has a short report of the shooting incident, which does not agree in detail with Martin's or with Manners' narrative in all instances. He says:

With a raw throat that made it difficult for him to lift his voice above a whisper, Theodore Roosevelt arrived in Milwaukee on the 14th of October. He had been forced to cancel several speeches in Indiana and Wisconsin because he could not make himself heard. But the Milwaukee speech was a major one. He felt that he had to give it.

That frosty October evening, wearing his overcoat to keep his chest and body warm, Roosevelt left the Gilpatrick Hotel. He waved to a group of admirers, stepped into an open automobile, and turned to sit down. At that moment he was struck by a bullet from a pistol thrust at him by a man who sprang suddenly from the darkness.

The man, eyes glaring, screamed something that sounded like "No third term!" Later under police questioning, he said he had tried to kill Roosevelt because he thought the Colonel intended to become a dictator.

Roosevelt slumped back into the car seat. Elbert Martin, one of the Colonel's secretaries, prevented the firing of a second shot by seizing the would-be assassin and shoving him away from the car. Roosevelt's admirers around the automobile then pounded the man on the head and shoulders, and shouts went up: "Lynch him! He shot Roosevelt! Get him, lynch him!"

The Colonel rose immediately and ordered the wild-eyed man brought to him. "Mad," the Colonel said, looking into the man's face. "Don't hurt the poor creature." Policemen seized the man and removed him quickly.

"I've got to make my speech," Roosevelt said, ordering the driver of the car to take him at once to the Milwaukee auditorium. When he reached the hall, physicians there wanted to send him to a hospital.¹⁵

Henry F. Pringle, in his biography of Roosevelt, also described the shooting incident. It is interesting to note that he did not spell the name of the assailant correctly, although most of his account corresponds

¹⁵Kelly, 244-245.

with what this author has found to be correct. The editorializing about Roosevelt's character and motives, too, is typical.

Roosevelt reached Chicago on Sunday October 13, from Iowa. It had been necessary to cancel addresses in Indiana and Wisconsin because of the candidates throat. He insisted, however, upon making a scheduled speech in Milwaukee on Monday, October 14, and on the evening of that day, as he was leaving the Gilpatrick Hotel to go to the hall, Roosevelt was shot in the right breast by a fanatic, John Chrank Asic, who shouted something about a third term. The crowd fell on the assassin and would probably have lynched him had not Roosevelt directed that the man be brought before him. "The poor creature," he said, and turned away.

The extent of the wound was not known, it might have been fatal, as far as Roosevelt knew. All his life, however, from the days of his struggle against boyhood infirmities, he had maintained a rigid conviction as to the way in which men should act--strong and rugged men--in the face of sudden physical disaster. The manly man, struck down, arose and staggered on. The soldier, wounded, crawled on toward the guns. Roosevelt was very white, as the crowd pressed about him, but when physicians said that he must go at once to the hospital, he brushed them aside and ordered the automobile, in which he had been standing when he was shot, to proceed to the hall.

"I will make this speech or die," he said. "It is one thing or the other."¹⁶

Joseph Bucklin Bishop, in what was for years considered the definitive biography of Roosevelt, has an extremely short account of the shooting. He disagrees with the others about whether Roosevelt was knocked to the seat of the car by the force of the shot. He also relates that Roosevelt did not know that he had been struck by the bullet until he reached the auditorium.

When the campaign was at its height in October its progress was arrested and the whole country was shocked by the attempted assassination of Roosevelt while he was on a speaking tour of the West. As he was leaving his hotel in Milwaukee, on the evening

¹⁶Pringle, 568-570.

of October 14, a half-crazed fanatic shot him as he stood in an automobile bowing to a cheering crowd. His assailant was only a few feet away when he fired the shot which under ordinary conditions would have been fatal. One of Roosevelt's secretaries, Elbert E. Martin, who had been a football player, immediately sprang upon the assailant and forced him to the ground. The crowd, thoroughly incensed, was crying out, "Lynch him, lynch him," but Roosevelt, who had not been thrown down by the shot, calmed the crowd by saying: "Don't hurt him! Bring him here. I want to look at him." When one of his secretaries suggested that Roosevelt be taken at once to a hospital, he said: "You get me to that speech; it may be the last I shall deliver, but I am going to deliver this one."

He rode at once to the hall where he was to speak, and on arriving there one of his companions exclaimed as soon as they came into a lighted room: "Look, Colonel, there's a hole in your overcoat!" Roosevelt looked down, saw the hole, and putting his hand inside his coat, withdrew it with blood upon it. Not at all dismayed, he said: "it looks as though I had been hit, but I don't think it is anything serious."¹⁷

One account of the shooting has Roosevelt pushing to the side of Schrank to protect him from the crowd.

October 14. While bowing to a cheering crowd in front of a Milwaukee hotel, Theodore Roosevelt was shot in the breast by John Schrank of New York. The would-be assassin fired from a distance of only six feet, the bullet striking the bulky manuscript of the speech which Colonel Roosevelt was about to deliver, and passed through it into his breast. Roosevelt was thrown back a step or two by the force of the heavy bullet, but did not fall nor lose his presence of mind. Seeing that the crowd was about to mob the would-be assassin, he pushed to his side and protected him until the arrival of the police. Then, with the bullet still in his body and the wound unstanched, he went to a political rally and spoke for an hour and a half. What happened after the shooting was described by O. K. Davis, veteran newspaperman,¹⁸ who was accompanying Roosevelt on his trip: "Cochems asked him to go to the hospital, and Dr. Terrill sic insisted upon it. The Colonel peremptorily refused. He declared that he was not hurt; that he would permit nothing to prevent his delivering his speech. When Cochems said, "Let's get to the hospital,"

¹⁷Bishop, 336.

¹⁸Mr. Davis was secretary of the Progressive National Committee. This is the only source which identifies him as a newspaperman. I have been unable to confirm or disprove this allegation.

the Colonel said: "You get me to that speech. It may be the last one I shall deliver, but I am going to deliver this one."¹⁹

The implication in the above quotation was that Roosevelt was standing on the sidewalk when the shot was fired, and further that there were no policemen around, but that they had to be brought to the scene of the shooting.

One of Roosevelt's close friends, William R. Thayer, in his biography published in 1919, has several obvious mistakes in telling of the incident in front of the Hotel Gilpatrick.

In September he swept through New England, and he was making a final tour through the Middle West, when, on October 14, just as he was leaving his hotel to make a speech in the auditorium in Milwaukee, a lunatic named John Schranck [sic] shot him with a revolver. The bullet entered his body about an inch below the right nipple and would have probably been fatal but for an eye-glass case and a roll of manuscript he had in his pocket. Before the assassin could shoot again, his hand was caught and deflected by the Colonel's secretary. "Don't hurt the poor creature," Roosevelt said, when Schranck was overpowered and brought before him. Not knowing the extent of his wound, and waiting only long enough to return to his hotel room and change his white shirt, as the bosom of the one he had on was soaked with blood, and disregarding the entreaties of his companions to stay quiet, he went to the Auditorium and spoke for more than an hour.²⁰

It is only in this account that any mention is made of Roosevelt's returning to his hotel room to change his clothes. Since Thayer, however intimate a friend of Roosevelt's, was not an eyewitness, and since the eyewitnesses, without exception, make no mention of his leaving the car, or changing his shirt at this time, it seems that Thayer has added this detail without any basis.

¹⁹Mark Sullivan, Our Times (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937), 599-600.

²⁰William Roscoe Thayer, Theodore Roosevelt (Cambridge: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1919), 378-380.

The narrative given by Noel F. Busch²¹ agrees in essence with those of Martin and Manners. Abbott's account in his biography of Roosevelt²² also agrees with those of Martin and Manners, as does Howland in Theodore Roosevelt and His Times.²³ The accounts by Wagenknecht²⁴ and Lewis²⁵ agree, too. In his book, Facts About the Presidents, Joseph Kane makes a mistake which is amusing. According to the New York Times report of the death of Schrank, his name was John Flammang Schrank²⁶ but Kane says: "When President Roosevelt was leaving the Hotel Gilpatrick in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, on October 14, 1912, during a presidential campaign, John Nepomuk Schrank, a saloon keeper, attempted to assassinate him."²⁷

The accounts which seem to be the most reliable, therefore, have Roosevelt, while touring Indiana and Wisconsin, suffering from a sore throat and loss of voice which necessitated the cancellation of some scheduled speeches, but have him insisting upon giving the Milwaukee speech, since it was so important. These narratives agree upon the facts of his leaving the Hotel Gilpatrick and that he was actually in

²¹Busch, 273-274.

²²Lawrence F. Abbott, Impressions of Theodore Roosevelt (Garden City: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1919), 276-280.

²³Harold Howland, Theodore Roosevelt and His Times--A Chronicle of the Progressive Movement, 56 Vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921), 229-230.

²⁴Edward Wagenknecht, The Seven Worlds of Theodore Roosevelt (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1958), 150-151.

²⁵William Draper Lewis, The Life of Theodore Roosevelt (United States and Canada: United Publishers, 1919), 380-382.

²⁶New York Times, 15 October 1912.

²⁷Joseph Nathan Kane, Facts About the Presidents (New York: H. W. Wilson, 1960), 284.

the car when the shot was fired. There seems to be no disagreement that it was Martin who threw Schrank to the sidewalk after the shot was fired, or that he was the one who prevented Schrank from firing a second shot. The most reasonable conclusions concerning what happened next, are that Roosevelt did know he had been hit, that he coughed--perhaps to confirm that his lungs were untouched--and then insisted, against the advice of his companions, upon going to the auditorium to make the speech. There seems to be overwhelming evidence that he did not go back into the hotel to change his shirt and also that he did know that he had been wounded, before he arrived at the auditorium. Martin is the only one who mentioned the party's stopping under an arc light along the route to the auditorium to inspect the external damage. To be sure, thirty years later, a news release, issued while Martin was campaigning for elective office, embellished his role, making him seem more of a hero.²⁸ What Martin reported immediately after the shooting can reasonably be deemed to be more accurate than any other source, primarily because he is not contradicted by any of the newspaper accounts or magazine articles, or by other participants in the affair.

Current Literature: November, 1912, says:

... He did drop to his seat in a crouching posture, but he neither gasped nor turned pale, and a moment later he was on his feet again. Albert Sic E. Martin, his stenographer, formerly a football player, made a flying tackle straight over the car, catching the would-be assassin around the neck and bearing him to the ground as he was trying to fire a second shot. "Don't

²⁸News release, Republican Party, Putney, Vt. in hands of author. See appendix.

hurt him," cried the Colonel, "bring him to me." Martin dragged the man to his feet and turned his face around. By that time the police had the man.²⁹

The New York Times account of the shooting is as follows:

... The man who did the shooting said he was John Schrank of 370 East Tenth Street, New York City. Papers found on him showed he had been following Col. Roosevelt for some time, and that he was a crank on the subject of the third term.

As no secret had been made of the plans of Col. Roosevelt, a crowd was in front of the hotel to see him leave for the Auditorium. When he came out a cheer was set up and to it he responded smilingly, raising his hat and bowing. Several persons pushed to the front to see him better or to try to shake his hand, as is usual. There were cries of encouragement from all sides.

No special pains had been undertaken to protect the Colonel under the circumstances, and the members of his party--Philip Roosevelt, a cousin; Henry F. Cochems, the Bull Moose leader here; Albert (sic) H. Martin, one of his secretaries; and Capt. A. O. Girard of this city /Milwaukee/ were not on guard.

When the party had crossed the sidewalk to the automobile Col. Roosevelt's companions stood aside and let him step in. Mr. Martin entered immediately after him. There was another cheer and Col. Roosevelt faced the crowd and raised his hat, smiling.

A stocky man had been standing at the edge of the sidewalk only a few feet from the Colonel. When he pushed his way forward little attention was paid to him because many admirers of the Colonel have done such things. Col. Roosevelt, in fact, looked benevolently upon him and smiled. The man suddenly produced a pistol and fired point-blank.

The fellow still had his pistol raised and seemed about to fire again, but here Mr. Martin saved his chief. He had seen the pistol and had leaped forward to shield the Colonel. Too late for that, he jumped just as the shot was fired and landed on the assailant.

Martin, who is six feet tall and a former football player struck squarely on the man's shoulders and bore him to the ground. He threw his right arm about the man's neck with a deathlike grip and with his left arm seized the hand that held the pistol. In another second he had disarmed the fellow.

²⁹"A Review of the World," Current Literature, November 1912, 483.

Col. Roosevelt had barely moved when the shot was fired, and stood calmly looking on, as though nothing had happened. Martin picked the man up as though he were a child and carried him the few feet which separated them from the car, almost to the side of the Colonel.³⁰

In order to ascertain what sort of newspaper coverage was given to the assassination attempt by the press in a relatively isolated area, several of the papers published in southern Idaho, in 1912, were investigated. The account in the Idaho Daily Statesman,³¹ Boise, is very similar to that of the New York Times. These two newspapers, as well as two others--The Idaho Register³² and the Idaho Falls Times³³--reported one thing which was incorrect. Each of these papers reported that, when asked if he was hurt, Roosevelt replied, "He missed me this time."³⁴ This statement, of course, disagrees categorically with his words as reported by his companions, "He pinked me." In all else, the stories from these Idaho newspapers agree with the eyewitness accounts.

These are some of the accounts of the actual shooting and the events which took place immediately afterward. The stories reporting what happened after Theodore Roosevelt reached the auditorium are no less intriguing.

³⁰New York Times, 15 October 1912.

³¹Idaho Daily Statesman, (Boise), 15-23 October 1912.

³²Idaho Register, (Idaho Falls), 15 October 1912.

³³Idaho Falls Times, 15 October 1912.

³⁴New York Times, Idaho Daily Statesman, Idaho Register, Idaho Falls Times, 15 October 1912.

Martin said that once the party arrived at the auditorium, Colonel Roosevelt and the men accompanying him went into one of the retiring rooms and a call was made to the audience to see if there were any doctors there. It is difficult to understand why, since Roosevelt's own physician, Dr. Terrell was with him. Nevertheless, Martin reported that two doctors responded and the three examined TR's wound to determine whether the bullet had entered any vital part of the body. Martin reported:

... The Colonel said he felt no pain and was absolutely determined to deliver his speech. Dr. Terrill sic made a temporary bandage with his handkerchief and the Colonel immediately went upon the stage, the party being very careful that no person should touch him. Mr. Cochems made the introduction to the audience and said "The Colonel speaks to you to-night as a soldier would, with a bullet somewhere in his body, we do not know where." At the mention of the word "Colonel" the vast audience commenced to cheer and so lost the full significance of Cochem's words. As the Colonel arose and advanced to a position beside a small table, the audience seemed to sense that something was wrong for it became at once quiet and he said "Friends, I shall have to ask you to be as quiet as possible. I do not know whether you fully understand that I have just been shot, but it takes more than that to kill a Bull Moose." Here he reached inside his breast pocket and took out his manuscript which consisted of fifty pages which we usually write for him on a peculiar shaped paper six by eight. He also drew forth his spectacle case and as he glanced at the manuscript and the spectacle case for the first time and noticed the jagged hole which the bullet had cut through the folded papers and case the full seriousness of the attempt on his life seemed to dawn on him and he was staggered for a second. He held the manuscript up to the audience that they might see what had perhaps stood between him and death. The silence was intense as he continued his speech.³⁵

³⁵ Martin, 3-4.

News stories in the New York Times,³⁶ the Idaho newspapers,³⁷ Current Literature,³⁸ Outlook,³⁹ The Independent,⁴⁰ and the Literary Digest,⁴¹ all agree with Martin's version. The speech which Roosevelt actually delivered,⁴² as taken from the stenographic record made by his secretaries at the time, is identical with the texts released by the news media of that day. He digressed from the prepared text (now modified by a bullet hole), to refer to the shooting, exactly in the manner described by Martin.

Roosevelt, at the beginning of his speech, asked the audience to forgive him for not giving a long speech, since he had a bullet in his body, but nevertheless he spoke for ninety minutes. Several times during the speech, his aides tried to get him to stop, since it was apparent that he was growing weaker, but each time he brushed them aside. Martin reports:

... McGrath and I even snatched his manuscript up from the table on which he had laid it, while he wasn't looking, so that he might quit; but he stopped his speech and turned to us and made us both dig it out of our pockets and hand it to him.⁴³

³⁶New York Times, 15 October 1912.

³⁷Idaho Daily Statesman, Idaho Register, Idaho Falls Times, 15 October 1912.

³⁸Current Literature, November 1912, 483-488.

³⁹"The Assault on Theodore Roosevelt," Outlook, October 26, 1912, 357-368.

⁴⁰"A Survey of the World," Independent, October 24, 1912, 923-924.

⁴¹"Colonel Roosevelt's Escape," Literary Digest, October 26, 1912, 701-704.

⁴²See appendix.

⁴³Martin, 5.

After the completion of the speech, several people from the audience tried to get onto the stage to shake Roosevelt's hand. He was understandably annoyed at their thoughtlessness and said later, "Didn't they know that it is impossible for a man who has just been shot to shake hands with genuine cordiality."⁴⁴

Finally Roosevelt was taken to Emergency Hospital in Milwaukee where he allowed Dr. Terrell and others to examine him. The doctors requested that X-ray pictures be made, in order that they might determine how deeply the bullet had penetrated. Manners reports that Roosevelt said to Dr. Joseph C. Bloodgood, one of the attending physicians, "I do not want to fall into the hands of too many doctors and have the same experience that McKinley and Garfield had."⁴⁵ While he was waiting, he dictated messages to some of his family and friends.

After the arrival of the X-ray equipment, two pictures of Roosevelt's chest were taken. "It had been decided, meanwhile, that he would make the short trip to Chicago, where he could be cared for by the famous surgeon, John B. Murphy."⁴⁶ Roosevelt left Emergency Hospital at 11:25 p.m., walked to his automobile unassisted, and was taken to his private railway car.

On the train, the Mayflower, the two doctors who had accompanied TR tried to persuade him to go to bed immediately. He wouldn't hear of it; he was accustomed to shave before retiring, and he saw no reason for changing that practice. By

⁴⁴ Manners, 283.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

this time, the doctors had come to realize the futility of trying to persuade TR by mere argument. Soon he was shaving, humming as he made the brisk razor strokes; his humming had all the contentment of a cat's purr.

Having finished shaving, he still did not lie down. He removed the studs and buttons from his bloody shirt and put them in a fresh shirt, for he thought doing this might be difficult if he became stiff.

The anxious, impatient doctors were happy that he finally lay down in his bunk. His activity in the train had further tired him, and his rapid heartbeat and shortness of breath made him feel somewhat uncomfortable. After resting a short time, he carefully turned onto his unwounded side, and having made himself comfortable, he slept.⁴⁷

Roosevelt left the Mayflower shortly after 6 a.m. the next morning, October 15. He walked to the ambulance, annoyed at the thought of going to the hospital in "that thing."⁴⁸ The New York Times, October 16, published a special bulletin sent from Chicago the evening of the fifteenth:

Chicago, Ill. Oct. 15, (11 p.m.)--Col. Roosevelt spent a very comfortable day. He suffered less in breathing as the hours advanced. There is no evidence of complications. A prophylactic injection of anti-tetanic serum was administered to-night, thus lessening the likelihood of tetanus or lockjaw. The leucocyte (white corpuscle) count is 8,800, showing that no blood poisoning is present at this time. Col. Roosevelt's abstinence from liquor and tobacco, as well as his simplicity of diet, account for the small effect produced on him during his long speech, while suffering from such a severe wound.

(signed) J. B. Murphy

The day's bulletins of the physicians, included in the same news release, said:

The following official bulletins were issued to-day by the surgeons attending Col. Roosevelt:

⁴⁷Ibid., 285.

⁴⁸Ibid., 285-286.

10:30 A.M.--Col. Roosevelt's hurt is a deep wound of the chest wall, without striking any vital organ in transit. The wound was not probed. The point of entrance was to the right of and one inch below the level of the right nipple. The range of the bullet was upward and inward, a distance of four inches on the chest wall. There was no evidence of the bullet penetrating the lung.

Pulse, 90; temperature, 99.2; respiration, 20; leucocyte count, 8,200 at 10 a.m. No operation to remove bullet is indicated at present time. Conditions hopeful, but wound so important as to demand absolute rest for a number of days.

(signed)

Dr. John B. Murphy
Dr. Arthur D. Bevan
Dr. Scurry L. Terrell
Dr. R. J. Sayler

1:05 P.M.--The examination of Col. Roosevelt at 1 P.M. showed that his temperature was 98.0; his pulse, 92; his respiration, normal. It pains him to breathe. He must have absolute quiet; must cease from talking, and must not see any one until we give permission.

This is not a mere flesh wound, but is a serious wound in the chest and quietude is essential.

(signed)

J. B. Murphy
Arthur Dean Bevan
S. L. Terrell

6:25 P.M.--Records show that Col. Roosevelt's pulse is 86, his temperature 99.2, respiration is 18, that he has less pain in breathing than he had in the forenoon; that he has practically no cough, that there has been no bloody expectoration.

We find him in magnificent physical condition, due to his regular physical exercise, his habitual abstinence from tobacco and liquor. As a precautionary measure he has been given a prophylactic dose of anti-tetanic serum to guard against occurrence of lockjaw. Leucocyte count 8,800; lymphocytes, 11.5.

(signed)

J. B. Murphy
Arthur Dean Bevan⁴⁹
Scurry L. Terrell

It is interesting to note that while many of the sources consulted had obvious errors concerning the events of the shooting, only one of the textbooks reviewed incorrectly related the position of the bullet.

⁴⁹New York Times, 16 October 1912.

One exciting event in the campaign occurred in Milwaukee on October 14, when Roosevelt was shot by a fanatic who was opposed to a third term. This failed to stop the ex-President, however. He proceeded to make a speech with a bullet lodged in his right lung.⁵⁰

What had happened to Schrank during this time? Roosevelt had supervised the police in their taking Schrank into custody, before leaving for the auditorium.⁵¹ Apparently, Roosevelt had given little thought to him after that, but the members of the Roosevelt party were understandably concerned about what would happen to him. Martin reported that while the doctors were examining Roosevelt at Emergency Hospital:

... Mr. Duell in the meantime sent for Harry Cochems, whereupon we three discussed the legal aspects of the case and what was best to do regarding Schrank /sic/ before leaving Milwaukee for Chicago. It was here that I surrendered Schrank's /sic/ gun which I had been carrying to Duell and Cochems, with the understanding that it was to be used in the criminal prosecution of the would-be-assassin and returned to me at the completion of the trial. Mr. Duell stated that it was absolutely necessary to have an immediate examination of Schrank /sic/ and have me identify him as the would-be-assassin of Colonel Roosevelt before leaving Milwaukee. Mr. Duell pointed out that even though Schrank /sic/ should admit his guilt, it would make it more easy for him to change his plea and generally face about in later statements as to what happened, if he were not identified by the person who actually took the gun from him, and who recognized him and identified him as such, as a matter of record. Colonel Lyon who had been present a few moments before had gone to the Police Station to make the necessary preparation for the examination of Schrank /sic/ by the time we arrived there.⁵²

Duell, Cochems and Martin then went to the police station and the formality of Martin's identification of Schrank was soon completed. Following that, the men went to the hospital to join Roosevelt.

⁵⁰Fremont P. Wirth, United States History (New York: American Book Co., 1961), 600.

⁵¹Manners, 281.

⁵²Martin, 5-6.

CHAPTER IV

ELBERT B. MARTIN

The Horatio Alger stories which were read by the youth of two or three generations ago concerning the clean-cut American boy, struggling from humble beginnings to become rich and famous through his unselfish deeds, are not always to be scoffed at. The sophisticate, in the latter half of the twentieth century, tends to look askance at any such tradition or accomplishment. The fact remains, that occasionally there has been such a man, or woman, who had become well-known through an heroic deed. Elbert E. Martin was such a man.

Born in Manchester, New Hampshire, January 22, 1881, his paternal ancestry was French-Canadian, and the family surname was Provencher. Mr. Martin's father fell in love with a New England girl who refused to marry him unless he changed his name from the foreign "Provencher" to her maiden name "Martin." He did so and they were married. Family tradition credits Elbert's mother with a "whim of iron."¹

It is possible to trace Mr. Martin's whereabouts from about 1899, by using a series of letters of recommendation which have been kept by his daughter.² Martin lived in Rhineland, Wisconsin, and went west the spring of 1899 to work as a rodman in a surveying party in the Bighorn Mountains of Wyoming during the summer and fall of 1899.

¹Helen Martin Higley to Beverly Grabow, 15 June 1971.

²See appendix for letters cited here.

A year later, he was granted a teaching certificate for the common schools in Oneida County, Wisconsin, and recommended for a teaching position in Jeffris, Wisconsin, by the superintendent of the Oneida County schools.

Martin moved to Chicago soon after that, and in August 1903 moved to Colorado because of his mother's health. He was employed as a "stenographer and typewriter" in Denver, Colorado, during 1903-1904. In 1904, he was granted a probational civil service commission and was assigned to the pension office as a typist. He worked for the civil service until September 1905, at which time he moved to Detroit to study law. During the time that he was attending law school, Mr. Martin worked for the Detroit Seamless Steel Tubes Co., and left there in December 1909 to go to work for the United States Motor Co.

Sometime during the summer of 1912, during the progressive campaign, Martin went to work for Theodore Roosevelt as one of his stenographers. Having saved the life³ of the Colonel, he remained with him until after the election that fall. In January 1913 Martin was working for the Vanderbilt Hotel in New York City. He stayed with this employer for a number of years until he retired from the hotel business.

By reading the various letters of recommendation which are part of the Martin papers, it is easy to build a picture of Martin's

³New York Times, 27 September 1914.

character. The most outstanding similarity in these letters is the use, by each writer, of superlatives, in describing Martin's honesty, ambition, and ability.

It is apparent to anyone reading of his conduct in Milwaukee on the evening of October 14, 1912, that Elbert Martin was brave. Without stopping to think of the possible consequences to himself, he threw himself upon, subdued, and disarmed, the man who had just shot former President Roosevelt. There was no time for reflection. He just reacted. The accounts of the day are unanimous in attributing qualities of great heroism to him. From Martin's writing, it is apparent that he had great affection for "the Colonel" and that his primary concern was that Schrank be prevented from firing the revolver again. Martin's devotion to Roosevelt seems to be truly selfless. The personal praise heaped upon him might have turned the head of a lesser man. Samples of the accolade (letters and telegrams) may be found in the appendix.⁴

How much Martin's conduct in Milwaukee had to do with his being employed later, in New York, by the Vanderbilt Hotel, is impossible to ascertain. His courage and resourcefulness at this time, however, must have played a large role in his being the choice of the Vanderbilt managerial staff for his next well-publicized adventure.

The Vanderbilt catered to the affluent. In 1914, with the outbreak of hostilities in Europe, many patrons of the Vanderbilt chain were traveling in Europe, particularly in France. Mr. Martin was

⁴See appendix for copies of letters.

sent by the hotel, as an envoy, to rescue patrons who failed to recognize the dangers inherent in the invasion of France. He was to see them to safety, and, if possible, arrange for their passage to England or to the United States.⁵ For those who refused to be "rescued," he was to "persuade" (or, perhaps, to kidnap) them. It was under these circumstances that some of the most glowing complimentary letters about Martin were written.

Theodore Roosevelt, in a letter dated August 13, 1914, to Walter H. Page, American ambassador to the Court of St. James said:

My Dear Mr. Page;

This is to introduce to you my friend Mr. Elbert E. Martin. He was the man who seized my would-be-assassin after the latter had shot me at Milwaukee; Martin showing the utmost nerve, coolness, and presence of mind on the occasion.

He is a fine fellow in every way, absolutely trustworthy, and I most cordially commend him to your courtesy.

Very sincerely yours,

/s/ Theodore Roosevelt⁶

Another letter of introduction which Martin carried with him on this trip to Europe, was written by another former employer, Frank Briscoe, on August 14, 1914. It was addressed to a Mr. Fred B. Tyler, in Paris, and read:

My dear Mr. Tyler:

This will introduce to you Mr. Elbert E. Martin, who is leaving to-morrow morning for London on a mission for the Vanderbilt Hotel, New York, of which he is assistant manager.

Mr. Martin used to be my confidential assistant, since which time he has gained prominence in other lines. I am

⁵New York Times, 27 September 1914.

⁶Theodore Roosevelt to Walter H. Page, 13 August 1914, in possession of author. See appendix for copy.

giving him this letter to you so that if he goes to Paris he can get a few good steers from you and I am also anxious that you should make his acquaintance.

I will guarantee Mr. Martin in every way and you can trust him, confidentially or otherwise, in any way. Anything that he says or asks is the same as if it came from me.

We are all wondering here what you are doing in the present crisis which is so terrible and we are hoping that in some way you will get through it all right. If we over here can in any way help you, you have only to call on us.

Yours very sincerely,

/s/ Frank Briscoe⁷

Martin was sent to Europe with these various letters of introduction and perhaps as much as \$100,000 in gold, some of which he carried in coin, in a money belt or vest. He was to use the gold, at his discretion, to rescue stranded patrons of the Vanderbilt.

An article in the New York Times, September 27, 1914, describes his exploits.

Sing, O Muse, not of a Homeric Ulysses, but of an American knight errant, who from a strange land had fared forth to brave the terrors of an unknown sea and a temporarily hostile shore, the perils of an unknown tongue, and last, but not least, the real dangers of invading a beleaguered country in war time; his armor, in truth, a jacket of golden sovereigns, but his weapons merely a stock of nerve and genuine American bluff; yet who achieved his quest, and, what is more, got back to his base on schedule time!⁸

This article relates how Elbert Martin, after the election of 1912, had gone to work for the Hotel Vanderbilt, first as a stenographer and writer of society notes and later as confidential assistant to the manager, was sent to Europe in August of 1914 to aid American patrons of that hotel who had been stranded abroad because

⁷Frank Briscoe to Fred B. Tyler, 14 August 1914, in possession of author. See appendix for copy.

⁸New York Times, 27 September 1914.

of the war activities and might need funds to return home. After completing his mission in England, Martin went to France to try to convince Mrs. Henry E. Huntington to leave France and return to England where her son, Archer M. Huntington was waiting.

Mr. Martin's exploits during the next few days were extraordinary. He did not speak a word of French, and had to find someone to accompany him who would be able to interpret for him. A courier from Cook's was located who was willing to undertake this journey, and they left London, and were able to get on the last boat which was scheduled to go to Boulogne. When they arrived there, the French officials discovered that Mr. Martin's passport was not valid for entry into France, since he had not obtained a visa in London. For a time it was unlikely that he would be allowed to land, but Martin produced his letter of introduction from Theodore Roosevelt and was immediately allowed to land. Martin and his interpreter were just ahead of the German advance all the way into Paris. They passed through Amiens at one-thirty a.m. and the Germans arrived there later that same day.

Martin reached Paris about daylight, obtained a hotel room with some difficulty apparently because of his lack of luggage and immediately went to call upon the Chief of Police, who gave him a pass enabling him to leave the city of Paris. After some difficulty getting a car, Martin was able to leave Paris for Mrs. Huntington's chateau near Versailles.

Mrs. Huntington did not want to leave France, but Martin was able to convince her of her danger, arranged for the transportation

of her luggage, and extracted a promise from her that she would leave immediately.

Following this, Martin and his interpreter decided that they should leave France immediately since the fighting was intensifying in their vicinity. They traveled to Dieppe and discovered a steamer on the quay which was being held for Sir Maurice de Bensen, the British Ambassador to France. Martin then strolled casually up the gangplank and when he was stopped and questioned by one of the sailors, bribed him and the first officer so they would not challenge him later. He then retreated down the gangplank and waited until the Ambassador and his party arrived. Martin joined the Ambassador's party unobtrusively and was able to board the ship and remained hidden below until they reached Folkestone.⁹

In addition to the New York Times article, there were numerous other newspapers which gave coverage to Martin's latest exploit. In an earlier, shorter, release in the New York Times, it was said:

Manager Walton Marshall, of the Vanderbilt, heard yesterday from the relief expedition which he recently sent to Europe to rescue patrons of his hotel who might be in distress over there, supply them with funds and assist them in getting back to New York. Elbert Martin, who comprised the expedition, sent messages that he had succeeded in finding a lot of stranded Americans whose names and identifications coincided with the data in the huge packing case he took to Europe with him.

While Mr. Martin went aboard armed with the revolver with which Col. Roosevelt was shot in Milwaukee, there was nothing in his messages which indicated that he had been compelled to use it.

The Boston Transcript, August 28, 1914, mentions:

An example of American enterprise as well as up-to-dateness on the part of a New York hotel was given by Walton H. Marshall,

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ New York Times, 27 August 1914.

manager of the Vanderbilt Hotel, in sending a special emissary abroad on the New York of the American Line, bearing over \$100,000 in gold to assist stranded Americans home and cash their drafts. The editor of the Club Fellow and Washington Mirror believes this token of enterprise to be unique as it is patriotic in the history of hoteldom anywhere in the world.¹¹

There are other facets to the personality of Elbert Martin which seem to the author to indicate his concern of others. He and his wife, Mabel, never had any children, and when Mrs. Martin's sister, Cora, died at the age of twenty-six, leaving an orphan daughter, Helen, Elbert and Mabel Martin legally adopted her. Helen, now Mrs. Ellis Higley, of Salmon, Idaho, and Poteau, Oklahoma, speaks of Mr. Martin with much affection. To her he was in every way the best kind of father, and treated her with much concern and affection.¹² In a letter to the author, Mrs. Higley says:

... I am sure you can form a fairly clear picture of the sort of man Mr. Martin was both before and after the Roosevelt incident. Apparently everyone he was associated with liked and admired him for his abilities, integrity, and tact. Personally, I found him everything a good father could be and although he had a swift and hot temper he was completely fair.¹³ I am not saying he was without faults--that would be foolish and dishonest. I am saying he was a fine and loving husband and father with a tremendous pride in himself as a breadwinner and man and a pride as big for his wife (my aunt) and myself as his daughter.¹⁴

After retiring from the hotel business, Mr. Martin moved to Putney, Vermont. Here he ran for the state legislature on the Republican ticket, and was elected to five consecutive terms, beginning in 1943.

¹¹Boston Transcript, 28 August 1914.

¹²Helen Martin Higley to Beverly Grabow, 22 July 1971.

¹³Elbert E. Martin to Russell Howard, 14 July 1954, in possession of author. See appendix for copy. Mr. Martin's quick temper is evident to the reader of this letter. Some of his statements are a bit more than blunt.

¹⁴Helen Martin Higley to Beverly Grabow, 22 July 1971.

He lived in Putney for nineteen years, leaving there to move to Detroit, Michigan, where he resided only briefly. In 1955 he moved to Salmon, Idaho, in order to be near his only child, who had been living there for a number of years. He was accompanied in this move by his wife, Mabel. Mr. Martin died in Salmon on September 1, 1956.¹⁵ He had lived an exciting life, known many of the great men of America and had had his moments of glory, only to end his life in a little mountain town in southeastern Idaho, where literally no one but his daughter knew or cared that he had saved the life of "the uncrowned King of America."¹⁶

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Elish A. Fraser to Elbert E. Martin, 16 October 1912, in possession of author. See appendix for copy.

CHAPTER V

JOHN F. SCHRANK

The shooting of Roosevelt has not received a great deal of attention from historians, and the life and motives of Schrank have been almost completely ignored. The available information is sketchy, and so far as the author has been able to ascertain, no analysis has been published. The information which we have is that which was given to the police and the "alienists" who examined Schrank in 1912.

John Flammang Schrank was a small, nondescript man who led an ordinary, unexciting life--until he decided to shoot Theodore Roosevelt. Schrank was born in Erding, Bavaria, and emigrated to the United States with his uncle and aunt, Dominick and Anna Flammang, who treated him as their foster-son.¹ In the various accounts of his life, as published in the newspapers shortly after the shooting, there were discrepancies in the statements regarding his age at the time of his emigration. At one time, Schrank indicated that he had come to the United States when he was nine years old; another version has the move taking place when he was twelve.² Schrank's father died of "consumption" when he was thirty-eight years old, and his mother lived until she was either fifty-six or fifty-seven. The insanity in

¹New York Times, 15 October 1912.

²Ibid. In other interviews Schrank said he was twelve when he emigrated to the United States.

Schrank's family was that of a sister of his mother who suffered from "delusions of persecution" and died of what was then called "softening of the brain" in Gabersee Asylum, Bavaria. Schrank had one brother and one sister, living and in good health at the time of the shooting. He had one sister and one brother who had died in infancy.³

Schrank had lived with his grandparents from the time he was three until he was nine years old. He helped them in their vegetable garden while living with them, and at age nine, returned to his parent's home. He attended the common schools in Bavaria from his seventh to his twelfth year, at which time he emigrated to the United States.⁴

Sometime after the move to New York City where the Flammang's settled, Schrank attended three or four years of night school.⁶ In early life he showed a fondness for the study of the history of the United States and other countries. He also read and composed poetry. Schrank's knowledge of history and prominent leaders of nations far exceeded what would have been expected of one whose formal education had been so limited.

Schrank never married, but was engaged to Emily Ziegler, who died in the Slocum disaster, when more than one thousand persons were

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵New York Times, 16 October 1912.

⁶Ibid.

killed when that boat burned off North Brothers Island.⁷ Miss Ziegler had been with a group of women and children who had been going to a Sunday school excursion of Saint Marks Evangelical Lutheran German Church when the tragedy occurred. Schrank was a non-practicing Roman Catholic,⁸ according to his statements made to the court,⁹ even though it was reported that he was a German Lutheran.¹⁰

Schrank spent his youth helping his uncle in the family saloon. When his uncle died, the property which he and his wife had accumulated was left to Schrank. How Schrank arrived at the financial straits in which he found himself in 1912 is difficult to determine; but from the reports of his friends and acquaintances, he had been going down steadily for some months so far as his money matters were concerned.¹¹

The picture which one builds of Schrank is that of a quiet, lonely man whose fiance had died horribly; a man who spent much time reading history--much concerning those men who, if not dictators in name, were dictators in fact; a man who was concerned for his adopted country and read voraciously of the lives of the presidents, with special emphasis upon George Washington. Schrank appears to be greatly concerned with tradition and the role which each individual must play in maintaining the American republic. He was a visionary, reading of Jeanne d'Arc, writing poetry, dreaming dreams.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Milwaukee Free Press quotes him as saying he was a Roman Catholic. See p. 56, Chapter 5.

⁹New York Times, 15 October 1912.

¹⁰New York Times, 16 October 1912.

¹¹Ibid.

Somehow, during the Republican convention, Schrank became convinced that Roosevelt was a menace to his country and when the third party was formed and Roosevelt became the presidential candidate for it, he was convinced that Roosevelt's actions would plunge the United States into a civil war.

At about this time, Schrank had a dream in which President McKinley appeared to him. During this dream, McKinley, according to Schrank, "told me that his blood was on Roosevelt's hand, and that Roosevelt had killed him so that he might become President."¹² It was after this dream that Schrank determined to kill Roosevelt.

Roosevelt was touring the country campaigning for the election, so Schrank decided to leave New York City and intercept Roosevelt at one of his stops, so that he could shoot him. As the first step in his plan of assassination, Schrank moved from his home to lodgings in the White Hotel. He borrowed three hundred dollars from a friend, purchased a revolver, and then left New York City for Charleston, South Carolina, traveling by steamer. Roosevelt was not in Charleston when Schrank arrived there, so Schrank decided to try to intercept Roosevelt in some other city. Schrank traveled to Atlanta, to Chattanooga, to Evansville and Indianapolis, somehow missing Roosevelt in each city. From Indianapolis, Schrank went to Chicago and from there to Milwaukee. During most of this trip Schrank traveled under the name of Walter Ross.¹³

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid.

Schrank's attempts to intercept and shoot Roosevelt seem to have been a comedy of errors from the beginning to the time of the shooting. The frustrations which must have plagued this man, who to all appearance, was sincere in his desire to save his country, were fierce. After the shooting, Schrank was traced to several places where he had stayed while trailing Roosevelt around the country.

At various places it was reported that Schrank was traveling as Walter Roos, and in other sources the name was given as Walter Ross. It is conceivable that either spelling might be a typographical error, or that Schrank might have used each name. In one of the statements which Schrank made to the police during the questioning period after the shooting, he explained how and why he had not been able to shoot Roosevelt before he reached Milwaukee. According to these statements, there were several times that Schrank reached the city where Roosevelt was speaking before Roosevelt left, but missed getting near him. In one place, Roosevelt left the auditorium by a different door than the one Schrank had expected him to use, and in Chicago, Schrank had stationed himself at the wrong railway station. According to Schrank, the papers had announced that Roosevelt would arrive on the Northwestern Railway, but instead he came on the St. Paul.¹⁴

The person interviewing Schrank asked him questions regarding where he purchased the revolver, whether he had discussed his plans with anyone, or if he had been acquainted with various socialists who

¹⁴ Ibid.

were well known at that time. Schrank indicated that he had discussed his plans with no one and that he did not know the socialists.¹⁵ Parts of Schrank's confession seem rather irrational, perhaps because of the tension he was under and perhaps because of lack of sleep. Schrank was no "screaming maniac." To the observer he was quiet and well-behaved. But he had just attempted to shoot one of the candidates for the presidency. Was he mad, or was it a plot of some sort, were questions which needed to be answered.

When the questioner asked him about his political affiliations, Schrank informed him, that he was a member of no political party.

Schrank said:

I am not an Anarchist or Socialist or Democrat or Republican. I just took up the thing the way I thought it was best to do. ... I thought there should be an example of the third term if it should exist any longer. Mr. Grant was refused and he was satisfied, this man was refused, and he is not satisfied. It's gone beyond limits, if he keeps on doing this after election. He can't possibly carry a solid Western State. The next thing we will have is a civil war, because he will say the scoundrels and thieves and crooks stole my nomination, and now they will steal my election, and they will take up arms in all the Western States. We are facing a civil war just to keep him in a third term, in an illegitimate place.¹⁶

It was brought out that Schrank's uncle's saloon was closed by Roosevelt during his term as police commissioner, but Schrank indicated that he felt no ill will because of this. He even said that he felt kindly towards Roosevelt until the formation of the Progressive Party. Schrank indicated in this interrogation that he had been in good health, and was sane. However, he shot Roosevelt, shot to kill

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Ibid.

him, and did it with the expectation that he would immediately be killed by those guarding Roosevelt.

A note was found in Schrank's pocket which read:

So long as Japan could rise to the greatest power of the world despite her surviving a tradition more than 2,000 years old, as General Nogi so nobly demonstrated, it is the duty of the United States of America to uphold the third-term tradition. Let every third-termer be regarded as a traitor to the American cause. Let it be the right and duty of every citizen to forcibly remove a third-termer. Never let a third-term party emblem appear on the official ballot.

I am willing to die for my country. God has called me to be his instrument, so help me God. Innocent Guilty.

At the end of this was the line written in German: "A strong tower is our God."¹⁷

The morning after the assassination attempt, Schrank was bound over for trial to the December sitting of the Criminal Court. At this arraignment, when Schrank was asked for his plea, he pleaded guilty. He was taken from the courtroom to the county jail, where he was confined.¹⁸

There seemed to be some little consternation among the investigating officers concerning the possibility of Schrank's having used poisoned bullets in his gun, and Schrank reassured them that he had not done so. The District Attorney, Mr. Zabel, gave three reasons for postponing Schrank's trial. He indicated first, that it was reasonable to await the results of the shooting, so far as Colonel Roosevelt was concerned; second, that he had no desire to hurry the defendant into a premature trial without his attorney having adequate

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid.

time to prepare a defense; and third, that he felt it would be more sensible to wait until after the election before holding the trial.¹⁹

Following their examinations and deliberations, the commission of alienists reported to the court that Schrank was incompetent to confer with his attorney, and thus unable to stand trial for the attempted assassination. This report was given in court on November 22, 1912, and Schrank was pronounced insane, and committed to confinement in a state hospital until cured. A failure to effect a cure of Schrank's insanity would mean that he would have to spend the rest of his life in an asylum.²⁰

The usual mental picture which one has of an assassin or would-be assassin is of a wild-eyed irrational individual. Except for a few parts of his confession, the statements which Schrank made to the police and those made in the courtroom, seem to indicate that Schrank, while misguided, was certainly not a "raving lunatic." The statements which Schrank made at the time of the sanity hearing show that during the hearing, at least, he was able to speak lucidly and express his motives rationally.

The commission which pronounced Schrank insane made a thorough investigation of both his physical and mental condition. The investigators also probed into his family background and the events of his youth. They found that Schrank was thirty-six years of age at the

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ New York Times, 23 November 1912.

time of the attack upon Roosevelt. He was born in Erding, Bavaria, in 1876. He had been educated in the common schools in Bavaria from his seventh to his twelfth year and after his emigration to the United States had attended three or four years of night school in New York City. Schrank was a Roman Catholic, but had not practiced this religion for the past fifteen years.

According to Schrank, he had never been seriously ill, was aware of no serious accident or injury, and had never suffered from headaches. During his early youth, Schrank had lived with his grandparents for six years and had helped them by working in a vegetable garden. When the investigators asked him about his personal habits, he indicated that he had not used tobacco until about two years before the attempted assassination, and never smoked more than five or six cigars a day, with his average use being two or three cigars daily. For two years, 1902-1903, he drank no intoxicants at all. Mr. Schrank stated he had drunk to slight excess at most half a dozen times a year. He denied using any kind of drugs. There was no evidence of venereal disease, and Schrank swore that he had never been afflicted by them. The report discusses in great detail Schrank's physical state. It appeared, to the commission, that his physical condition was normal. In analyzing his mental state, the report was given that the tests administered for attention showed normal conditions; and that those given for memory, general and special, showed normal conditions. However, tests for association of ideas and words showed special bearing upon his delusional state. Schrank's logical power was good,

except where limited by his delusions. Their assessment of his judgment was the same as of his logical power. The commission reported that he "Has no 'insight' as to his own mental condition. Emotional tests show tone of feeling exalted. Orientation correct as to time and place. Delusions present."²¹

Schrank related to the commission his dream, which took place between one and two o'clock in the morning of the day after President McKinley's death. According to Schrank, he appeared to be in a room with many flowers and a casket. He saw a figure sit upon the casket and indicated that this figure was of the assassinated President McKinley. This figure pointed to a corner of the room and said, "Avenge my death!" Schrank then looked where the finger pointed and saw a form clad in monks robes, and recognized this second form as that of Theodore Roosevelt. Schrank maintained that this dream made a strong impression upon him, but that he did not dwell upon it especially at the time.

Prior to the nomination of Roosevelt for the presidency, Schrank had felt great interest in the presidential campaign and had read articles in newspapers expressing great bitterness toward the idea of Roosevelt's running for a third term and toward Roosevelt personally. After Roosevelt's nomination by the Progressive party, Schrank became actively agitated and spent a great deal of his time meditating on this subject. From his meditations he compiled what he called the

²¹Ibid.

unwritten laws of the republic of the United States or what he called "The Four Pillars of Our Republic." These unwritten laws were: (1) the third term tradition, (2) the Monroe doctrine, (3) the limiting of those eligible for the presidency to men of Protestant creed, and (4) the United States embarking upon no wars of conquest.

Schrank wrote extensively concerning his "unwritten laws" and explained to those examining him his concern for the United States in the light of Roosevelt's nomination. He called tradition an unwritten law and indicated that the tradition of not running for a third term as president was one of the most sacred of American traditions. He also doubted the right of any court to jurisdiction over a man who had defended this tradition against violation. He further wrote that the third term tradition "is an effective safeguard against unscrupulous ambition, but never before has been established a test case of its inviolability as a warning to coming adventurers."²² Schrank accused Roosevelt of holding nothing sacred and yet pretending to stand upon tradition. He suggested that any person financing a third term movement should have his wealth confiscated and himself expatriated.

Schrank saw a danger in Roosevelt's conviction that the nomination by the Republican party had been stolen from him. He indicated that he felt if Roosevelt was honestly defeated in the election, he would maintain that dishonest members of both parties had stolen the

²²Milwaukee Free Press, 23 November 1912.

election and feared that if Roosevelt would carry a solid west, he and "hungry office seekers" would not hesitate to take by force the presidency which had been denied him by the people. This prospect of Roosevelt leading his forces in another civil war was, according to Schrank, what finally convinced him to shoot Theodore Roosevelt.

In his writing to explain and justify his action in shooting Roosevelt, Schrank related another dream he had. On August 7, 1912, he began to think of the dream he had had at the time of McKinley's death. This dream began to assume more and more importance to him and he began to be continuously agitated on the subject. Early in the morning of September 15, 1912, he awakened and was sitting writing when, "he suddenly became aware of a voice speaking in a low and sad tone, 'Let no murderer occupy the presidential chair for a third term. Avenge my death!'"²³ He then felt a light touch on his left shoulder, and turning, saw the face of the late President McKinley. This face was ghostlike in appearance.

Schrank said that this experience had a decisive effect in fixing in his mind the iniquity of the third term, and after questioning himself concerning his duty in the matter, came to the conclusion that the dream was a command to kill Roosevelt. When asked by the questioners if he considered the vision as an inspiration, he answered that he did. Those examining Schrank inquired of him whether a man had a right to take a weapon and hunt down a man who had violated tradition. Schrank

²³Ibid.

submitted a written statement to this question in which he said his self-sacrifice was only a means to an end and was sorry that his life had been spared, since he felt his death during his act of shooting Roosevelt would have made the third term tradition more sacred. Schrank, in denying that he was insane, compared himself and his visions with those of Joan d'Arc and Moses. He said, "I presume you men would declare Joan d'Arc, the maid of Orleans insane because the Holy Virgin appeared to her in a vision," and

When we read that God appeared to Moses in the shape of a burning thorn bush, then again as a cloud, we will find many people who doubt the appearance of God to man in human or other shape. Why then in cases of dire national needs should not the God appear to one of us in vision."²⁴

When asked if anyone knew of his intention to follow and shoot Roosevelt, Schrank stated that he had communicated his intentions to no one, and had taken steps to mislead any one who might have inquired about his leaving New York City. He felt that perhaps someone might think he had been hired by Wall Street interests and that if this allegation were made, the real motive behind the shooting might be obscured. Schrank was most anxious for the general public of the United States to understand his motives in shooting Roosevelt.

The evening of October 14, 1912, Schrank arrived at the Hotel Gilpatrick, where Roosevelt was to stay until time for the rally at the Coliseum. When a crowd began to collect around the automobile waiting for Roosevelt to appear, Schrank went into the street and

²⁴ Ibid.

stood near the automobile. In his statement Schrank said:

Seeing him enter the automobile and just about to seat himself, I fired. I did not pick any particular spot on his body. The crowd was all around me and in front of me. The next minute I was knocked down, but was not rendered insensible, and the gun was knocked out of my hands.²⁵

During the examination of Schrank by the doctors to determine if he was sane, he expressed his regret at not having died at the hands of the mob, if this would have been of benefit to the United States.

Schrank fully expected to come to trial for the shooting of Roosevelt, and intended to serve as his own counsel. To prepare for this eventuality, he prepared a statement which he intended to read to the jury. The committee of doctors which examined Schrank found him not to be sane, therefore he was never tried for the attempted assassination. His statement, written for the trial does give insight into his motives and to the overwhelming concern which he felt for the necessity of continuing some of the traditions which had been developed (or which he felt had been developed) in the political affairs of the United States.

Much of this document written by Schrank, with the intent of using it as his defense, is a statement of the background of what he calls the "third term tradition." In this, Schrank defends his act of shooting Roosevelt as an act calculated to preserve the Union and

²⁵Ibid.

defend the political traditions of the United States. Statements were given which allegedly proved that Roosevelt intended to establish himself as monarch or at least as perpetual president. Schrank's reasoning in this instance certainly was not clear. He said:

Gentlemen of the jury, when we inquire into the past of that man, we will find that his ambitious plans have all been filed and laid down long before he has been president. All doubt that these plans were towards establishing at the least a perpetual presidency in the United States have been removed during last summer, when a certain senator unearthed from within the library of the white house a written document deposited there during the third term's presidency. This document was an order for repairing to be done in the white house, and this order closed with the following words: "These alterations should be done, to last during my lifetime." When the third term was informed of the finding of this document, he admitted and absorbed the all-important matter by simply saying: "Some people have no more brains than guinea pigs."²⁶

It is unlikely that many people would infer the planning of a perpetual presidency from such a statement. Schrank was indeed convinced of Roosevelt's duplicity and ambition. The major part of his statement consisted of incidents related from Roosevelt's life and actions and suggested motives behind them. Schrank compared Roosevelt's actions with those of Julius Caesar when Caesar manipulated the people into offering him the crown. However, the statement is well-written and shows intelligence and the presence of mind.

SORRY I DID NOT DIE

I hope that the shot at Milwaukee has awakened the patriotism of the American nation, that it has opened their eyes to the real danger and shown them the only safe way out of it as is proven by election returns in the great Democratic party the north, south, east and west is once more and more solidly united

²⁶ Ibid.

and proudly can we prove to the nations of the world that the spirit of 1776 is still alive and shall never die, and that self-government is an established fact and a success.

I have been accused of having selected a state where capital punishment is abolished. I would say that I did not know the laws of any state I traveled through, it would be ridiculous for me to fear death after the act, as I expected to die during the act and not live to tell the story and if I knew that my death would have made the third term tradition more sacred, I am sorry I could not die for my country.

Now, honorable men of the jury, I wish to say no more, in the name of God, go and do your duty, and only countries who ask admission by popular vote and accept the popular vote never wage a war of conquest, murder for to steal abolished opportunity for ambitious adventurers, for all political adventurers and military leaders have adopted the career of conquering heroes, wholesale murder, wholesale robbers called national aggrandizement. Prison for me is like martyrdom to me, like going to war.

Before me is the spirit of George Washington, behind me that of McKinley.²⁷

When one reads Schrank's prepared statement, for a jury whom he never did face, it is apparent that although his reasoning is irrational, he had spent much time in contemplation before shooting Roosevelt, and that he desired to explain his motives to the jury. For a self-educated man, he had made himself conversant with many facts, but had certainly drawn unfortunate conclusions from them.

The final bit of information found by the author is a clipping from the New York Times, September 17, 1943. Dated Waupun, Wisconsin, it said:

John Flammang Schrank, 67, who attempted to kill Theodore Roosevelt in Milwaukee in 1912, died at the Central State Hospital here last night.

²⁷ Ibid.

Schrank was found insane by a sanity commission in Milwaukee Municipal Court in November, 1912, when tried on a charge of assault with intent to kill and murder. He was committed to the Winnebago State Hospital that month and transferred to the hospital here two years later.

Theodore Roosevelt was shot in the chest in front of a Milwaukee hotel a little while before he was to address a rally in his Bull Moose campaign for President. A spectacle case deflected the bullet, but it entered his body. He insisted on making his address and did so, highlighting it with a dramatic gesture as he pulled open his coat to show his bloodstained shirt and pad that covered the wound.

Dr. A. R. Remley of the State hospital said that Schrank's illness was diagnosed as dementia praecox paranoia. Four days ago he contracted bronchial pneumonia.

Schrank had been a model prisoner, Dr. Remley said, but would have nothing to do with other inmates. He had had no visitors in the thirty-one years that he was confined in institutions and as far as officials knew he had no relatives. Schrank was a native of New York.²⁸

The author inevitably wonders, "What was Schrank's reaction to the political career of Franklin D. Roosevelt?"

²⁸New York Times, 17 September 1943.

John Wilkes Booth, Lincoln's assassin, seemed to feel that Lincoln had become a tyrant. Booth was a sympathizer with the cause of the Confederacy, and had devised a plot to kill several members of Lincoln's administration. Lincoln was the only one upon whom an attempt was successful. Booth was killed during his flight after the assassination; and as a result, his motives for having shot Lincoln were never fully understood. Speculation continues even today over whether some highly placed government officials were involved in this crime.

President Garfield was killed by Charles J. Guiteau, whose stated reason for the attack was that he had failed to gain a political appointment which he coveted. Although he pleaded insanity, and was obviously unstable during the trial, he was convicted of murder and hanged.

McKinley was shot by an anarchist, Leon Czolgosz, who gave, as his only reason, his great urge to kill a "great ruler." Czolgosz was tried, convicted, and electrocuted.

John F. Kennedy's assassination has been the subject of many books and reports; yet the motives behind it--and even the persons involved--remain a mystery. His accused assassin, Lee Harvey Oswald, was killed before he could be questioned by the police. A great deal of speculation has come from this shooting. It is probable that the American public will never know the full story.

One thing which makes the attempted assassination of Theodore Roosevelt different from all of these others, is that Schrank seemed

eager to disclose his modus operandi and his motives. Consequently, we have more than speculation upon which to build an analysis of this shooting. Schrank's statement to the court dwells greatly upon his overwhelming concern with Roosevelt's seeking a third term. He saw historical parallels which, as he dwelled upon them, convinced him that Roosevelt was intending to become a dictator. It is not really pertinent to concern oneself with Roosevelt's ambitions. Schrank saw him as an oppressor and a danger to American life, and, therefore, shot him.

It may be enlightening if as complete a documentation were available on all of the assassinations as is available on the attempt against Roosevelt's life. Much pleasant speculation might be curtailed, but knowledge would be there.

One sidelight which has been of interest to the author, is the physical resemblance between Oswald and Schrank. Their features are similar. A comparison of photographs of the two is almost frightening.

Perhaps through further investigation of the various assassinations, information could be amassed which might lead to a better understanding of the motives behind them. If this were done, public servants might lead more secure lives; for if we understood why presidents and presidential candidates have so often been targets, we might be able to end our national habit of shooting them.

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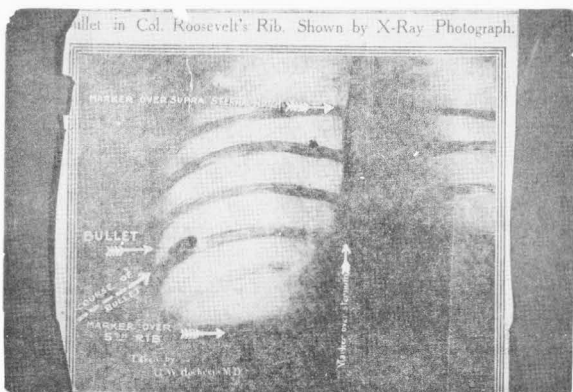
APPENDIX

APPENDIX

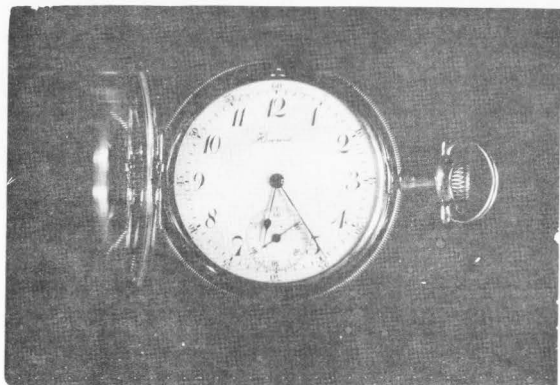
1. Photographs.
2. Martin's speech.
3. Stenographer's transcript of speech delivered by Roosevelt after shooting.
4. Copies of pages of speech with bullet holes.
5. Report issued by doctors--Mercy Hospital, Chicago, October 15, 1912.
6. Letters received by Mr. Martin after shooting.
7. Pictures of Roosevelt Aides.
8. Pictures of Schrank and Martin from Paris Edition, New York Herald, October 25, 1912.
9. Copy of page in Munsey's Magazine showing spectacle case pierced by bullet.
10. Letters carried by Martin on trip to Europe for Vanderbilt Hotel.
11. Official documents carried by Martin on trip to Europe for Vanderbilt.
12. News release, Putney Vermont Republican Party.
13. Letter to author from Alice Roosevelt Longworth.
14. Chart showing books consulted on shooting.



Gun used to shoot Roosevelt



X-Ray of Roosevelt showing bullet



Watch presented to Martin
by
Roosevelt

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~
especially

Colonel Roosevelt ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~entertaining~~ ^{entertaining} at dinner ~~at~~ ^{at} the Hotel Gilpatrick, ^{McCrang Oct 12 1912} telling many amusing ~~xxx~~ experiences to his party. ~~These were~~ ^{with} present, Mr. Philip J. Roosevelt, the Colonel's cousin, Colonel Cecil A. Lyon, Dr. Scarry L. Terrill, the Colonel's physician, ^{newly} O. K. Davis, Secretary of the National Committee, who ~~has~~ ^{had} accompanied the Party ~~for~~ ^{for} the past week and Secretary Elbert E. Martin. During the latter part of the ~~dinner~~ ^{meal} somebody sent in word that there was a man from New York who wanted to see the Colonel. Admission was denied on this ~~more~~ ^{for little} information. Colonel Roosevelt left the table at about seven forty five and with his party went to his ~~quarters~~ ^{room} in the Hotel. Here Chairman Davidson met ~~them~~ ^{us} and asked if we were ready. Colonel Lyon said we were and asked if the police protection was adequate, and on being assured everything was all right we ~~got~~ started for the automobiles which were to take the party to the Auditorium. O. K. Davis decided at the last minute to go to the car and clear up a large amount of accumulated work, and ~~Dr.~~ Dr. Terrill was taken with nosebleed at the same time and decided not to go to the speech but remain at the Hotel and go to ~~the~~ ^{the} car later. There was some cheering as we passed down ~~the~~ ^{the} stairs and through the lobby ~~to~~ ^{of the hotel} to the street, ~~but~~ ^{the} the police had the place exceptionally clear. ~~Mr.~~ Henry F. Cochems had joined the party as we were finishing dinner and accompanied us. We were not troubled with the crowd on the sidewalk and as we got to the automobile I opened the door and ~~told~~ told Cochems to get in first. This he refused to do through courtesy to the Colonel. It has been customary with McGrath and myself to ~~always~~ ^{do} this and Colonel Roosevelt usually ~~takes~~ ^{took} it as a matter of course. This time a small deviation of the manner of entering the car undoubtedly made history. Colonel Roosevelt got into the car first and Cochems followed. At this moment the crowd began to cheer and Colonel Roosevelt stood up, ~~lifted~~ ^{lifted} his hat and bowed. ~~xxxxx~~ Colonel Cecil A. Lyon having safely seen Colonel Roosevelt ~~to~~ ^{to} his car was making toward the front of the machine to get into another car and I was ~~about~~ ^{about} to enter the tonneau.

It was not very well lighted. Philip Roosevelt ^{had} started to get into the car, behind me. As Colonel Roosevelt raised his arm with his hat in his hand, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ I suddenly noticed a ~~man~~ stand forth from the crowd, rush to the automobile and as I caught the glint of ^{the} blue from ^{the} gun as he raised it to fire I leaped with all ^{the} power there was in me with the wild impulse ^{on me} and desire to either intercept the bullet or knock the gun out of his hand. I was a fraction of a second too late for he fired as I leaped. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ~~They~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ There are some impressions that ^{fast as lightning} ~~are burned into one's~~ soul and the glint of that gun ~~will~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~ he raised it to assassinate Colonel Roosevelt will ^{as well as a picture} ~~never~~ ~~leave~~ ~~me~~. I ^{clearly} ~~cleared~~ the automobile and landed directly on the man. As I ^{crashed} ~~crashed~~ into him and bore him to the pavement, my arm from ^{years of} ~~old~~ ~~practice~~ at ~~wrestling~~ ^{naturally} ~~wrestling~~ ^{rolled} ~~rolled~~ around his neck in a half-nelson. He ~~still~~ had the gun in his right hand and tried to force it between his body and left arm in an endeavor to shoot again. I met the muzzle with my left hand which ^{then} went to his wrist and ^{fierce} ~~from~~ ~~me~~ with a wrench ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ he dropped ~~it~~. With the gun in my left hand and a half-nelson on ~~my~~ the ~~xxxxxxx~~ would-be assassin with my right I placed my knee in the small of his back and then commenced to force his head back in an endeavor to break his neck, for I ~~had~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ wanted to kill him. ^{and} ~~the~~ ~~Colonel~~ ^{sank} ~~sank~~ back on the seat after being shot ^{and} ~~Cochems~~ ~~throw~~ ~~his~~ ~~arms~~ ~~around~~ ~~him~~ and asked if he was hurt badly. The Colonel said "They pinked me." Immediately however, he stood up and saw me handling the assassin in a way that ~~might~~ ~~kill~~ ~~him~~, and cried "Don't hurt him, bring him to me." To this Cochems added his voice and Lettish, who had jumped on my back in an endeavor to get at him was forced to one side ~~as~~ I jerked the ~~murderer~~ to his feet, ~~dragged~~ ~~him~~ to the car and first handed Colonel Roosevelt the gun which was a thirty eight Colt, and then ~~twisted~~ ~~the~~ ~~man's~~ ~~face~~ ~~around~~ so that the Colonel might look at it. In the meantime the police had occupied themselves chiefly in keeping the crowd back. One or two ~~fly~~ cops had tried to get in but had retired on Lyon's threat to instantly shoot ~~anybody~~ ~~that~~ ~~came~~ ~~near~~. Colonel Roosevelt handed the gun to Cochems and asked me to give the man to the police, which I did at once.

Immediately on hearing the shot Dr. Terrill, McGrath and O. E. Davis rushed down stairs and ~~heard~~ their way through the crowd to the car. A great crowd had gathered and although they knew Colonel Roosevelt had been shot some of them attempted to try to grab his hand and shake it despite our efforts. Colonel sat down again and directed that the car proceed at once to the Auditorium, and it started out with the entire party aboard, except myself. I walked on the side of the ~~car~~ nearest the Colonel. Dr. Terrill at once suggested that we go to the Hospital, and Mr. McGrath noticed the bullet hole through the Colonel's army coat as we passed under an electric ~~car~~ arc. We stopped the car and Colonel Roosevelt unbuttoned his overcoat, coat and vest, and there before us we saw a stain of blood as large as a man's hand on his white shirt. His vest was also blood stained. Philip Roosevelt and Cochems added their voice to the appeal for him to go to the Hospital but The Colonel said "You get me to that speech, it may be the last one I shall deliver, but I am going to deliver this one." We proceeded slowly through the streets, the crowds constantly cheering the Colonel. Dr. Terrill and Cochems continued to ~~urge~~ urge that the Colonel should have an immediate examination. Dr. Terrill insisted that he must see the wound. He said "No, this is my big chance, and I am going to make that speech if I die doing it. On our arrival at the Auditorium the Colonel and his party went to one of the retiring rooms and ~~and~~ and a hurry call was sent for physicians and surgeons. Two responded from the audience, Dr. Sayre and another whose name I do not now recall. With great care we helped the Colonel remove his ~~army~~ army coat and took off his coat and vest. ~~The bullet~~ The bullet had entered his body at a point just below the right nipple in a slanting direction upward. The Doctors examined the wound and asked several questions to determine if the bullet had penetrated the lung ~~or~~ or any vital part of the body. The Colonel said he felt no pain and was absolutely determined to deliver his speech. Dr. Terrill ~~made~~ made a temporary bandage with his handkerchief and the Colonel immediately went upon the stage, the party being very careful that no

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person should touch him. Mr. Cochems made the introduction to the audience and said "The Colonel speaks to you to-night as a soldier would, with a bullet somewhere in his body, we do not know where." At the mention of the word "Colonel" the vast audience commenced to cheer and so lost the full significance of Chochem's words. As the Colonel arose and advanced to a position beside a small table, the audience seemed to sense that something was wrong for it became at once quiet and he ~~started to say something to the effect~~ said "Friends, I shall have to ask you to be as quiet as possible. I do not know whether you fully understand that I have just been shot, but it takes more than that to kill a Bull Moose." The silence was intense as he continued with his speech. McGrath and I sat directly behind him and as he would seem to sway we would lean forward to catch him, while Cochems had taken a position directly in front of the foot-lights to catch him should he fall in that direction. He made a magnificent appeal to the manhood and womanhood of America stating that the newspapers representing the Republican, Democratic and Socialistic parties were morally if not legally as much to blame for the attempt on his life as the actual assassin for they had published month in and month out lying, slanderous and abusive statements about him which would inflame the minds of the weak to acts of violence. This was borne out later by Shrank's ~~own testimony~~ own testimony which was in effect that his mind had been fired by reading the highly colored and inflammatory articles in the New York World and New York Herald. After he had been talking for fifteen minutes, he said "He shot to kill me; he shot the bullet - well, I am just going to show you." With difficulty he unbuttoned his coat and vest and turned first to one side of the vast audience and then the other, showing the big patch of blood on his white shirt and the inside of his vest. It was an exceedingly dramatic moment. We all rushed about him for he seemed to stagger and we were afraid lest he should fall.

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At various times throughout his speech first one of ~~xi~~ us and then the other would advance and asked him to stop. He was adamant in his purpose. McGrath and I even snatched his manuscript up from the table on which he had laid it, while he wasn't looking, so that he might quit; but he stopped his speech and turned to us and made us both dig it out of our pockets and hand it to him. A lady in the audience got up and said "Oh, Colonel Roosevelt we will be quiet, please go and let the Doctors examine you." to which he replied "My dear Madam I am not hurt a bit. Please do not trouble, if you saw me on horseback you would not think I needed those Doctors." After speaking for an hour and a half even minute of which must have been ~~suffering~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~to him~~ and which was positively ~~xxxxxx~~ to each of his party he said, "How I am ready for the Doctors." We rushed him to the Emergency Hospital. On reaching the Hospital the Colonel was taken immediately upstairs where the waiting physicians made an examination of the wound. Philip Roosevelt and O. K. Davis were present at the examination with Dr. Ferrill. McGrath and I were in the office of the Hospital answering telegrams which had commenced to pour in, and supplying the press with the verbatim report of his speech from our shorthand notes. At this point while the examination on the floor above was in progress I went into conference in one of the private rooms with Mr. Charles H. Duell Junior, a New York lawyer and the son of Judge Duell and ~~xxxxxxx~~ also a cousin of ^{the} Senator Elinu Root of that city. ^{who} Mr. Duell was a member of the Colonel's Party had upon arrival of the Gilpatrick Hotel left us to go over to the Milwaukee Club in order to confer with the members of the Wisconsin Central Committee regarding their state finances. At this point word was sent in that Colonel Roosevelt would leave the Hospital in less than an hour and would go back to the Car Mayflower. Mr. Duell in the meantime had sent for Harry Cochems, whereupon we three discussed the legal aspects of the case and what was best to do regarding Shrank before leaving Milwaukee for Chicago. It was here that I surrendered Shrank's gun which I had been carrying to Duell and Cochems, with the understanding that it

was to be used in the criminal prosecution of the would-assassin and returned to me at the completion of the trial. Mr. Duell stated that it was absolutely necessary to hold an immediate examination of Shrank and have me identify him as the would-be-assassin of Colonel Roosevelt before leaving Milwaukee. Mr. Duell pointed out that even though Shrank should admit his guilt it would make it more easy for him to change his plea and generally face about in later statements as to what happened, if he were not identified by the person who actually took the gun from him, and who recognized him and identified him as such, as a matter of record. Colonel Lyon who had been present a few moments before had gone to the Police Station to make the necessary preparation for the examination of Shrank by the time we arrived there. In this examination Colonel Lyon played a very important part after the necessary identification had been made and Duell, Cochems and myself had left the police station and gone back to the Hospital to help out in the final preparation for the trip that was to shortly be made from the Hospital to the Mayflower.

Whereupon Duell, Cochems and myself jumped in an automobile and started immediately for the police station. Upon arrival we found the prisoner/ ~~xxxxxx~~ in a private room waiting under the guard of the police captain and his assistants. Mr. Duell thereupon arranged and carried through the necessary identification with Colonel Lyon Cochems and McGrath as witnesses. Rumor had informed us that the prisoner had showed indication of admitting the crime but under the circumstances as already stated Mr. Duell considered it as absolutely essential to have an absolute identification made by ~~xxxxxx~~ me as a matter of record, as the man who had witnessed close at hand the shooting of Colonel Roosevelt and as the man who had overpowered him after the shot was fired. Upon the completion of this formality this important formality we hurried back in the auto to the Hospital. Colonel Lyon returned shortly after and joined the party. Colonel Roosevelt walked from the Hospital to the car and as we slowly and care-

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Here he reached inside his breast pocket and took out his manuscript which consisted of fifty pages which we usually write for him on a peculiar shaped paper six by eight. He also drew forth his spectacle case and as he glanced at ~~it~~ the manuscript and the spectacle case for the first time and noticed the jagged hole which the bullet had cut through the folded papers and ~~the~~ case the full seriousness of the attempt on his life seemed to dawn on him and he was staggered for a second. He held the manuscript up to the audience that they might see what had perhaps stood between him and death.

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fully proceeded to the Mayflower ~~tax~~ with O. K. Davis standing on one side McGrath, Philip Roosevelt and myself in the tonneau ~~with~~ Colonel Lyon in the front seat and Duell on the other side, the shrill cries of the newsboys ~~filled the air~~ ~~ringing in our ears~~ ~~the stillness of the night~~ ~~echoed~~ ~~the~~ the stillness of the night "Roosevelt Shot", "Roosevelt Shot".

Elbert H. Martin

SPEECH DELIVERED AT MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN, OCTOBER 14th, 1912
BY COLONEL ROOSEVELT AFTER HIS ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION

Friends, I shall have to ask you to be as quiet as possible; for I have just been shot and the bullet is in me. I wish to take advantage of the incident to say as solemn a word of warning as I know how, to my fellow Americans.

First of all, this about myself. I have altogether too many important things to think of to pay any heed to or feel any concern over my own death. Now I would not speak to you insincerely within five minutes of being shot. I am telling you the literal truth when I say that my concern is for many other things; it is for the success of various causes; it is for the accomplishment of various purposes. It is not in the least for my own life. I want you to understand that I am ahead of the game anyway. No man has had a happier life than I have had--a happier life in any way.

I am in this cause with my whole heart and soul; I believe in the Progressive movement--a movement for the betterment of mankind, a movement for making life a little easier for all our people, a movement to try to take the burdens off the man and especially the woman in this country who is most oppressed. I am absorbed in the success of that movement. I feel proud to belong to that movement. Friends, I ask you now this evening to accept what I am saying as absolute truth when I tell you that I am not thinking of my own success, I am not thinking

of my own life or of anything connected with me personally. I am thinking of the movement, and of what it means to my country, and to my people, to the people to whom I belong.

I am saying this by way of introduction because I want to say something very serious to our people, and especially to the newspapers. I don't know who the man was who shot me tonight. He was seized by one of my stenographers, Mr. Martin, and I suppose is in the hands of the police now. He shot to kill me. I do not know who he was or what party he represented. He was a coward. He stood in the darkness in the crowd around the automobile and when they cheered me and I got up to bow he stepped forward and shot me in the breast. I do not know who he was or anything about him. But it is a very natural thing that weak and vicious minds should be inflamed to acts of violence by the kind of foul mendacity and abuse that have been heaped on me for the last three months by the papers in the interests not only of Mr. Debs but of Mr. Wilson and Mr. Taft. Friends, I would indignantly disown and repudiate any man of my party who attacked with such vile and foul slander and abuse any of my opponents of any other party.

Now I wish to say seriously to the speakers and to the newspapers representing the Republican, Democratic and Socialist parties that they cannot, month in and month out, year in and year out, make the kind of slanderous, bitter and malevolent assaults that they have made on me and not expect that brutal and violent characters--especially when the brutality is accompanied by a not too strong mind--will remain unaffected by it.

I am not speaking for myself at all, I give you my word. I do not care a rap about being shot--not a rap. I have had a good many experiences in my time and this is only one of them. What I care for is this country of ours. I wish I were able to impress upon our people the duty to feel strongly but to speak truthfully of their opponents. I have not said on the stump one word against any opponent that I would not defend in the study or at the bar of history. I have said nothing that I could not substantiate and nothing that I ought not to have said, nothing that, looking back, I would not say again. Now, friends, it ought not to be too much to ask that my opponents do the same--this is not for my sake at all. I have nothing to ask. I cannot tell you of what infinitesimal importance I regard whatever may befall me as compared to the great issues at stake in this campaign. What I ask I ask not for my sake, not the least bit in the world, but for the sake of our common country. I ask that our newspapers and our public speakers make up their minds to speak only the truth and not to use that kind of slander and mendacity which, if taken seriously, must incite men of low intelligence and murderous temper to crimes of violence.

And now, friends, this incident that has just occurred, this effort to assassinate me, emphasizes to a peculiar degree the need of this Progressive movement. Every good citizen ought to do everything in his or her power to prevent the coming of the day when in this country two organized greeds shall be fighting one another; when we shall see the greed of the "have-nots" arrayed against the greed of the "haves." If ever that day comes such incidents as this tonight will be common

place in our history. When you make, when you permit the conditions to grow such that finally the poor men as such, good and bad alike, join together sullenly with a sense of injury and wrong, and against them the men of means gather, eager to hold what they properly or improperly have, so that each side is in the wrong and each inflamed with evil passions--when that day comes it will be a day when all evil passions in the community will be let loose, and it will be an ill day for our country.

Now, friends, nine-tenths of wisdom is to be wise in time. What we who are in this movement are endeavoring to do is to forestall any such evil movement. We wish to do so by making this a movement for justice now, a movement in which we ask all just men of generous heart to join--all men who feel in their souls that lift upwards which bids them refuse to be satisfied themselves while their fellow countrymen and countrywomen suffer from avoidable injustice and misery. Friends, what we Progressives are trying to do is to rally decent men, rich or poor, whatever their social or industrial position, to stand together for these elementary rights of good-citizenship, and for those elementary duties which must underlie good citizenship, in this great Republic of ours.

Do not waste any sympathy on me. I have had an A-1 time in life and I am having it now; and never in my life was I in any movement in which I was able to serve with such whole-hearted devotion as in this--in which I was able to feel as I do in this, that, come weal, come woe, we have fought for the good of our common country.

Friends, I shall have to cut short much of the speech that I meant to give you. But I want to touch on just two or three of the points. In the first place, speaking to you here in Milwaukee, I wish to say that the Progressive Party is making its appeal to all our fellow citizens without regard to their creed or their birthplace. We do not regard Americanism as a matter of the way in which a man worships his God or as being affected by where he was born. We regard it as a matter of spirit and purpose. In New York while I was Police Commissioner the two men from whom I got most assistance were Jacob Riis, who was born in Denmark, and Arthur von Briesen, who was born in Germany--and both of them as fine examples of the best and highest American citizenship as you can find in any part of this country. In my regiment my two best captains were both killed under me in action. One of them was Allan Capron, who was the fifth in line from father to son who had served in the United States Army. His people had served in every war in which this country had been engaged from the days of the Revolution to our own times. The other was "Bucky" O'Neil whose father served in Meagher's Brigade on the day when that Brigade left its dead nearest the stone wall at Fredericksburg. What decent man could have discriminated between those two men on account of creed or birthplace? Who that was a decent man could fail to pay the tribute that was owing to each because of his life and because of his death, the tribute due to a man who typified what was best in American citizenship, who had the qualities that made him an ideal American soldier? I have just been introduced by one of your own citizens, Harry Cochems. His grand-father,

father and that father's seven brothers all served in the Union Army and they entered it four years after they had come to this country from Germany. Two of them died in battle. (Dr. Terrell asked the Colonel to stop speaking. "No" he said, "I am all right; I am a little sore, but anybody has got a right to be sore with a bullet in him. You would find if I were in battle now I would be commanding my men just the same; and in just the same way I am going to make this speech.") Once, after a fight in Cuba, I promoted five men for gallantry in battle. Afterwards it happened that I made some inquiries about them and found that two were Protestants, two Catholics and one a Jew, one Protestant having been born in Germany and one of the Catholics in Ireland. Now, friends, I did not promote them because of the way they happened to be divided up. If all five had been Jews I would have promoted them; if all five had been Catholics or Protestants, if all five had been born here or born abroad, I would have promoted them. In that regiment I had a man born in Italy who distinguished himself by gallantry; another was the son of Polish parents; another a young fellow who had come here from Bohemia when a child. Friends, I was incapable of considering, and they were incapable of considering, any questions whatever but the worth of each individual as a fighting man. If he was a good fighting man then I saw that Uncle Sam got the benefit of him, that was all.

We should have the same test of citizenship in our civic life. In the same way we should pay heed only to a man's quality of citizenship. The worst enemy we can have is the man who tries to get us to discriminate for or against any man because of his creed or his birthplace. Treat

every man on his worth as a man. In the same way I want our people to stand by one another without regard to difference of class. I have always stood by the laboring man. The most important plank of our Progressive platform is that in which we explicitly and in detail demand social and industrial justice for the wageworker, and above all for the wageworker's wife and children. It is essential that there should be organization of labor. Capital organizes and therefore labor must organize. I make the same appeal to organized labor that I make to organized capital--that there must be justice, justice for each and justice by each. (At this point Mr. O. K. Davis asked the Colonel to stop but the Colonel told him that he would not stop and asked him kindly to sit down.) That the laboring man must organize for the sake of protection and that it is the duty of the rest of us to help him and not hinder him in organizing that is one-half of the appeal I make. And now the other half is to the laboring man himself. My appeal to him is to remember that as he wants justice so he must do justice. Wrong is wrong, by whomever committed; and to do injustice to others is a mean and sorry thing in a man who is asking for justice to himself. I want every laboring man, every labor leader, every organized union man, to take the lead in denouncing crimes of murderous violence and in denouncing all appeals to violence. I want them to take the lead in denouncing such crimes, in insisting that in this country we shall proceed under and through the laws and with all respect to the laws. I wish the laboring men to feel in their turn that exactly as justice must be done them so must they do justice, that they must remember their duty as citizens, their duty to this great

country of ours and that they must not rest content unless they do that duty to their fellows. (At this point an old gray-haired lady in the audience arose and said, "We will all keep still, please let the doctor examine you." "I am not hurt a bit," replied the Colonel. "Thank you, madame, please do not trouble. If you saw me on horseback now, you would think I sat strong in the saddle.")

I will give you one comparison between Mr. Wilson and myself, because he has invited it and he cannot shrink from it. Mr. Wilson has seen fit to attack me, because, as he says, I did not do much against the trusts when I was President. I have got two answers. First, I did everything possible and proper against the trusts. Next, I want you to compare what I did when I was President with what Mr. Wilson did not do when he was Governor. When I first took office, the anti-trust law was practically a dead letter; and the Inter-state Commerce law was in as poor condition. I had to revive both laws. I did. I enforced both. It would be easy enough to do now what I did then, but the reason that it would be easy now is because I did it then when it was hard. Nobody was doing it then. I speedily found that the Inter-state Commerce Law by amendment and improvement could be made a most useful instrument for helping solve some of our industrial problems. With the anti-trust law I speedily found that almost the only positive good achieved even by such a successful law-suit as the Northern Securities case, for instance, was establishing the principle that the government was supreme over the big corporation. I found that by itself the law did not tend to accomplish any of the things that we ought to have accomplished. So I began to

fight for the improvement of the law by supplementing the anti-trust Law with legislation along the lines of the Inter-state Commerce Law. And now we propose to establish an Industrial Commission, similar to the Commission which has power over the railroads.

Our opponents have said that we intend to legalize monopoly. Nonsense. They have legalized monopoly, for at this moment the Standard Oil and Tobacco Trust monopolies are legalized under the decree of the Supreme Court. Our proposition is really to break up monopoly. Our proposal is in the law to lay down certain requirements and then require the Industrial Commission to see that the Trusts live up to those requirements. Our opponents have spoken as if we were going to let the Commission declare what the requirements should be. Not at all. We intend to put requirements in the law. Mr. Wilson has said that the State is the proper authority to deal with the Trusts. Well, about eighty per cent of the Trusts are organized in New Jersey--the Standard Oil Trust, the Tobacco Trust, the Sugar Trust, the Beef Trust, all these are organized in New Jersey. The laws of New Jersey say that the charters can at any time be amended or repealed if they mis-behave themselves, and the laws also give the Governor ample power to act. Yet although Mr. Wilson has been Governor a year and nine months, he has not opened his lips on the subject. The chapter describing what Mr. Wilson has done to the trusts in New Jersey would read precisely like the chapter describing the "Snakes in Ireland" which ran "There are no snakes in Ireland." Mr. Wilson has done precisely and exactly nothing about the trusts. And now, friends, I tell you as I told you before tonight, I do not say on the stump anything

I do not believe; I do not say anything I do not know. Let any of Mr. Wilson's friends tomorrow point out one thing or let Mr. Wilson point out one thing he has done about the Trusts as Governor of New Jersey.

Friends, I wish to say one special word. (Here we told the Colonel that he had been talking nearly an hour, to which he replied "I will finish in just a minute"). There is one thing that I wish to say specially to you people here in Wisconsin. All that I have said so far is what I would say in any part of the Union. But I have a peculiar right to ask that in this great contest you men and women of Wisconsin shall stand with us. Friends, you have taken the lead in Progressive movements here in Wisconsin. You have led the rest of us, and we look to you for inspiration and leadership. Now, friends, you have made this a movement here locally; you will be doing a terrible injustice to the rest of us throughout this Union if you fail to stand with us now that we are making this a national movement.

When I speak of Mr. Wilson I wish you to understand that I am speaking with no bitterness. I am merely discussing the difference in policy between the Progressive and the Democratic parties, and asking you to think for yourselves which party you will follow. I say little of the Republican Party because the Republican Party is already beaten out. When the Republican Party last June, or rather when the bosses in control of the Republican Party, the Barneses and the Penroses, last June stole the nomination, they wrecked the Republican Party for good and all. And I wish to point out one thing especially to you. Nominally they stole that nomination from me; but really it was stolen from you. They did not

like me; and the longer that I live the less cause they will have to like me. Yet while they do not like me, they dread you. It is you, the people, whom they dread. They dread the people themselves. Those bosses and the big special interests behind them made up their mind that they would rather see the Republican Party wrecked than see it come under the control of the people themselves.

There are only two ways you can vote this year; you can vote as a Progressive or as a reactionary. Whether you vote the Democratic or the Republican ticket does not make any difference; in either case you are voting as a reactionary. (At this point Dr. Terrell again advanced to where the Colonel stood and told him it was 9:05 and that he had talked an hour and must stop. He said "Doctor, I feel better and better as time goes on." Then turning to the audience, "If these members of my party don't behave themselves I will not let the doctors look at me at all!") The Democratic Party in its platform and through the utterances of Mr. Wilson has definitely committed itself to outworn, muzzle-loading, flintlock theories of government, such as the doctrine of States' Rights, treated from the fetish standpoint. We have said definitely that we are for the people's rights. We are for the rights of the people; if they can best be obtained through State action, then we are for States' rights. If they can best be obtained through the National Government then we are for National rights. In either case we are for the people's rights. Mr. Wilson has devoted a long essay against Senator Beveridge's appeal to abolish Child Labor. It is the same kind of an argument that would necessarily also be made against our appeal to prohibit women from working

more than eight hours a day in industry; it is the same kind of an argument that would have to be made (Here Colonel Roosevelt paused as Mr. McGrath told him he had been speaking considerably over an hour, and said "In just a moment") If it is true, it would apply equally against our proposal to insist that in continuous industry there shall be by law one day's rest in seven and a three shift eight-hour day. You have good labor laws here in Wisconsin and any Chamber of Commerce will tell you that because of this very fact there are industries that will not come into Wisconsin. They prefer to stay outside where they can work children of tender years, where they can work women from fourteen to sixteen hours a day, where in continuous industry they can work men twelve hours a day and a seven day week of work. Now, friends, I know that you of Wisconsin would never repeal those laws even if they are to your commercial hurt, just as I am trying my best to get New York to adopt such laws, even if it is to New York's commercial hurt. But if possible I want to arrange it so that we can have justice without commercial hurt, enforced nationally. You won't be threatened in Wisconsin with industries not coming to the state if the same laws are extended all over the other states. Do you see what I mean? The states all compete in a common market and it is not just to the employer of a state which in force the proper laws to be exposed to the competition of states where they have no such laws in force. Now the Democratic national platform distinctly declares that we shall not have such national laws. Mr. Wilson had distinctly declared that we shall not have national law to prohibit child labor. He distinctly declared that we shall not have any law to establish

a minimum wage for women. I ask you to look at our declarations and his. Read our platform about social and industrial justice; and then, friends, vote for the Progressive ticket without regard to me, without regard to my personality, for only by voting for that platform can you be true to your own past and true to the cause of progress throughout this union.

And, friends, I am sorry that Senator LaFollette, because of his antagonism for me, should be drawn into antagonizing the cause which is the cause that he has so long and so ably championed. Remember, friends, that when Senator LaFollette ranged himself against the Progressive movement in this campaign, he gave to his old-time enemies, the reactionaries, a need support which has drawn from them their first praise of him in twenty years. It has been asserted that I did not take sides with the LaFollette people in their campaign in 1904. This is not true. In that year I wrote to Mr. Cortelyou, the Chairman of the National Committee, a letter, running in part as follows:

I think that Babcock and his people should be told that especially in view of the decision of the Supreme Court, there must not be any kind of favoritism shown by us toward the "Stalwarts." Under the decision of the Supreme Court any weakening of the LaFollette ticket is a weakening of the national ticket. I should assume that Spooner, Quarles and the rest would at once withdraw their state ticket and leave but one Republican ticket in the field. This certainly ought to be done. If Foraker has gone to Wisconsin under the auspices of the "Stalwart" Committee, he should be recalled at once. If Babcock will not be reasonable then can't you take everything concerning Wisconsin out of his hands?

Again and again I have borne testimony in speech and in writings to the service Mr. LaFollette has rendered the Progressive cause.

Now, friends, I almost hesitate to quote what Senator LaFollette has said about me in the past, but it is so favorable that I am going

to read you this from LaFollette's Magazine for March 13th, 1909. (Mr. Maham read the article for Colonel Roosevelt while the Colonel sat down.) It is as follows:

Roosevelt steps from the stage gracefully. He has ruled his party to a large extent against its will. He has played a large part in the world's work for seven years. The activities of his remarkable forceful personality have been so manifold that it will be long before his true rating will be fixed in the opinion of the race.

He is said to think that the three great things done by him are the undertaking of the construction of the Panama Canal and its rapid and successful carrying forward, the making of the peace between Russia and Japan, and the sending around the world of the fleet.

These are important things; but many will be slow to think them his great services. The Panama Canal will surely serve mankind when successfully in operation; and the manner of organizing the work seems to have been fine. But no one can yet say whether this project will be a gigantic success or a gigantic failure; and the task is one which must in the nature of things have been undertaken and carried through some time soon, as historic periods go, anyhow. The peace of Portsmouth was a great thing to be responsible for, and Roosevelt's good offices undoubtedly saved a great and bloody battle in Manchuria. But the war was fought out and the parties ready to quit and there is reason to think that it was only when this situation had been arrived at that the good graces of the President of the United States were, more or less directly, invited. The fleet's cruise was a strong piece of diplomacy, by which we informed Japan that we will send our fleet wherever we please and whenever we please. It worked out well.

But none of these things it will seem to many can compare with some of Roosevelt's other achievements. Perhaps he is loath to take credit as a reformer, for he is prone to spell the word with quotation marks and speak disparagingly of "reform."

But, for all that, this contemner of "reformers" made reform respectable in the United States, and this rebuker of "Muckrakers" has been the chief agent in making the industry of "muckraking" a national one, conceded to be most useful. He has preached from the White House many doctrines; but among them, he has left impressed on the American mind the one great truth of economic justice couched in the pithy and stinging phrase "the square deal." The task of making reform respectable in a commercialized world, and of giving the nation a slogan in a phrase, is greater than the man who performed it is likely to think.

And then there is the great and statesmanlike movement, for the conservation of our national resources, into which Roosevelt so energetically threw himself at a time when the nation as a whole knew not that we are ruining and bankrupting ourselves as fast as we can. This is probably the greatest thing that Roosevelt did, by all means. This globe is the capital stock of the race? It has just so much coal and oil and gas. These may be economized or wasted. The same thing is true of phosphates and many other minerals. Our water resources are immense, and we are only just beginning to use them. Our forests have been destroyed; they must be restored. Our soils are being depleted; they must be built up and conserved.

These questions are not of this day only; or of this generation. They belong to all the future. Their consideration requires that high moral tone which regards the earth as the home of a posterity to whom we owe a sacred duty. The idea will ennoble any people upon which its real significance once fully dawns.

This immense idea, Roosevelt, with high statesmanship, dinned into the indifferent ears of the nation until the nation heeded. He held it so high that it attracted the attention of the neighboring nations of the continent, and will so spread and intensify that we shall soon see world's conferences devoted to it.

Nothing could be greater or finer than this. It is so great and so fine that when the historian of the future shall speak of Theodore Roosevelt, he is likely to say that he did many notable things, among them that of inaugurating the "square deal" but that his greatest work was inspiring and actually beginning a world movement for staying terrestrial waste and saving for the human race the things upon which, and upon which alone, a great and peaceful and progressive and happy race life can be founded. What statesman in all history has done anything calling for so wide a view and for a purpose more lofty?

This was on March 13th, 1909. On July 19th, 1911, Senator LaFollette in the senate in a speech more than kindly and appreciative of me, said as follows:

The great issue for which Roosevelt appealed to the public conscience, for which the Progressives had been fighting for years, is not primarily the Tariff, Railway Regulation or Conservation; it is these but it is more than all these combined. It is justice, plain, simple justice, for every human being against organized selfishness and power.

Now friends, nobody is better aware than I am of the stumblings and halt-ings and shortcomings with which I pressed on towards the goal; but

conscientiously I can say that I did strive toward the goal just as Senator LaFollette in 1909 and 1911 describes me as striving--and 1911 is not a long distance back. What I was then I am now; and I have not been President since March 4th, 1909, so what I was described as being while President then, must be true now. Friends, I wish it had come to be some one else's duty to have led this fight; but nine tenths of the leaders of Progressive sentiment throughout the country last February came to me and said that unless I made the fight the fight would not be made and that I had to lead it. I am leading it now. I do not ask anything for myself but I do make an earnest plea for the cause that I represent, for at the moment I happen to represent the cause of every overburdened child and woman and workingman. At the moment I happen to represent the cause of social and industrial justice.

I ask you men to think of the curious analogy between the situation now and the situation forty-eight years ago in 1864. In our day the issues are smaller and the men are smaller; but the comparison is the same in kind. Lincoln was for his second election. He had been nominated by the then Progressive Party, the Republican Party. Against him was a worthy high-minded man, General McLeland, running on a reactionary ticket, on a reactionary platform. His success would have meant ruin to this nation. In that year certain of the then Progressives, well-meaning men, Wendell Philips and John C. Fremont, for instance, (you Comrade over there will remember the '64 incident) actually antagonized Lincoln. They started a separate ticket against him and advocated voting against him; because they thought he was not Progressive enough: because

they thought that he was not doing all that could be done! Friends, if they had won, if those misguided Progressives of that day, the Wendell Philips and the Fremonts, could have won, all they could have done would be to defeat Lincoln and put the reactionaries in power. Friends, all that can be done by any Progressive this year who fails to support the Progressive ticket is to help the cause of reaction. They will either put off the day when Progressive principles will triumph or, perhaps, render abortive this movement of simple justice without regard to class, in which case the next time the people are stirred the movement may be merely one of greed against greed, a movement of the "have nots" against the "haves." Friends, I cannot overstate how serious I think the responsibility of those Progressives who are antagonizing this ticket now. I cannot help thinking that in after years they will deeply regret what they are doing, because they are missing the chance to make this nation show what has been called nine-tenths of wisdom--being wise in time. Friends, I appeal to you here in Wisconsin, to you who have taken the lead in the Progressive movement in the past, to stand with us; for we stand for the elementary rights of American citizenship. With kindness, charity and generosity for all, we contend for the elementary rights and duties of elementary citizenship; the right of the people to rule themselves; and their duty so to rule as to bring nearer the day when there shall be social and industrial justice for every man and every woman and every child within the borders of this great land of ours. Friends, I thank you for having been so patient.

"The railroad will force him to become a candidate if I am correctly informed as to the action of Morrison and his associates. About the President will persist in Roosevelt renouncing his declaration not to run again. The President is entitled to another term and the people are entitled to Roosevelt. We must have Roosevelt again".

His speech in the Senate on July 17th, 1911, Senator LaFollette said "President Roosevelt was so strongly entombed in the confidence of the American people that they were ready to elect him for a third term as their President". Then quoting with approval what President Taft had said of me, he continued, "He (Roosevelt) demonstrated to the people by what he said and by what he recommended to Congress and by what he did the strength of his efforts to demand respect for the law and to save the country from the domination of a plutocratic government toward which we were fast heading," and he continued

LaFollette.

Pages of speech with bullet-holes

"The railroads will force him to become a candidate
if I am correctly informed as to the action of
Harriman and his associates. Abusing the President
will result in Roosevelt renouncing his declaration
not to run again. The President is entitled to another
term and the people are entitled to Roosevelt. We must
have Roosevelt again".

Sua
In a speech in the Senate on July 19th, 1911, Senator
LaFollette said "President Roosevelt was so strongly entrenched

LaFollette.

Bulletin

6:25 p.m. Oct 15, 1912.

The Records show that his pulse is 86, his temperature 99.3, respiration is 18; that he has less pain in breathing than he had in the forenoon; that he has practically no cough, that there has been no bloody expectoration. We find him in magnificent physical condition due to his regular physical exercise, his habitual ~~his~~ abstinence from tobacco and liquor. As a precautionary measure he has been given tonight a prophylactic dose of anti-tetanic serum to ^{guard against} ~~avoid~~ the development or occurrence of lock jaw later.

Leucocyte count ——— 8800
Lymphocytes ——— 11.5

Dr. J. B. Murphy
Dr. Arthur Dean Bevan
Dr. Harry L. Jewell

Mr E E Martin

Dear Sir,

you are
a Hero alright. and i
Hop. God. Will take good
Care of you for saving our.
Dear Colonel i also hope he is
getting well. Will you please
give him my Best regards. and
tell him i have 3 Brothers to vote
for him.

yours Truly

Miss M. E. Cogam

Mattawan

Main St. N.J.



ELISHA A. FRASER,
LAWYER

OFFICES: 16-17 MCGRAW BUILDING
PHONE MAIN 471

DETROIT, MICH. Oct. 16 '12

My dear Blodgett -

The Detroit College of Law is
proud of her graduate - the praise of your
prompt and heroic deed is now spoken in every
language of the civilized world -

You undoubtedly saved the life
of America's greatest son - or as a London paper
puts - "Mr Roosevelt not only becomes the un-
crowned King of America but the most remark-
able man in the world" - Thanks - We are
all praying for Mr Roosevelt's speedy recovery

Yours truly
E. A. Fraser

FRANK H. CROUL
COMMISSIONER
GEO. A. WALTERS
SECRETARY

City of Detroit
DEPARTMENT OF POLICE

Detroit, Mich., October 16, /12.

Mr. Elbert E. Martin (Hero !)

Chicago, Ill.

My dear friend Elbert,

Many times my pulse has tingled as I have read repeatedly of your brave act in saving Col. Roosevelt's life. I am proud of you and I have met many of the boys of our mutual acquaintance and they are all proud of you. As the papers say you have engraved your name on the roll of fame.

This morning I called up one of the editorial writers of the Detroit Evening News and suggested that they print an editorial on you as a typical American, contrasting your wholesome character developed in true American environment, with that of the misguided fanatic void of common sense. Your spontaneity of action in leaping instantly upon the would-be assassin comes from inherent courage that needed no deliberation to rise to the emergency. And when we think how many millions of Bert Martins would rise up to respond to the call of Roosevelt and duty in this country, it makes one pause at the thought of what a great man the colonel is and great is his influence upon the welfare of this nation.

Again complimenting you,

FRANK H. CROLL
COMMISSIONER
GEO. A. WALTERS
SECRETARY

City of Detroit
DEPARTMENT OF POLICE

and also extending the congratulations of the many friends who have praised your excellent deportment on that never-to-be forgotten occasion, I remain, dear friend Bert, with kindest personal regards,

Yours sincerely,

G. A. Walters

Detroit Mich.

89 Selden Ave.

23rd Oct. 1912

Dear Mr. Martin -

Let me add my
congratulations and thanks
for your noble act in saving
the life of Mr. Roosevelt and
thank you also for your
acknowledgment of the
telegram sent by our Club
the Political Equality and
Civil League and may
I ask you to please
show the enclosed
letter and editorial to
Mr. Roosevelt. This is
a great favor but the
Detroit News and our
Club are working
hard for the Progressives.

Sincerely yours
Emma Halley Black



Mr. Roosevelt, center of the ex-President, Colonel
and E. W. Martin, his stenographer.

**PORT E. MERRILL, ROOSEVELT'S
STENOGRAPHER, GETS CREDIT FOR
PREVENTING FIRING OF SECOND**



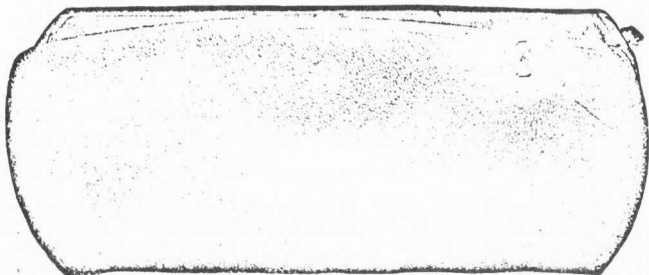
NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1901
Roosevelt's Assailant, His Weapon and His Capt

The Revolver Used to Shoot
the President

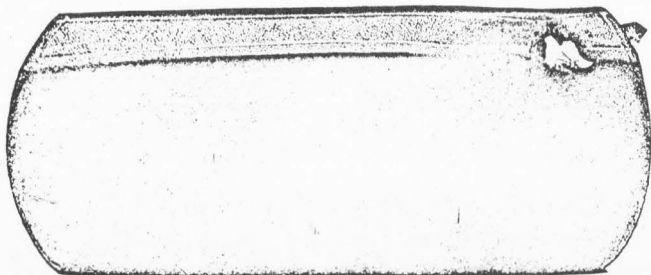
Port E. Merrill Holding the Sheet
of Paper on Which Col. Roosevelt
Had Written the Address of the
Spencer and White House, the
Bullet Hole.

General John M. Edwards
Owner of White House
New York

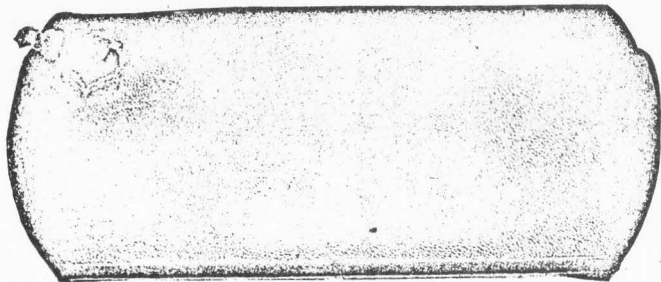
MUNSEY'S MAGAZINE



THE FRONT OF THE CLOSED SPECTACLE-CASE, SHOWING THE POINT STRUCK BY THE BULLET



THE CASE WITH THE FRONT REMOVED, SHOWING THE BULLET'S PATH THROUGH THE SIDE AND THE BACK OF THE CASE.



THE BACK OF THE CASE, SHOWING THE POINT AT WHICH THE BULLET PASSED THROUGH AND OUT

COLONEL ROOSEVELT'S SPECTACLE-CASE, SHOWING HOW THE BULLET PASSED THROUGH THREE THICKNESSES OF STEEL

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

THIRTY EAST FORTY SECOND STREET
NEW YORK CITY

August 13, 1914.

My dear Mr. Page;-

This is to introduce to you my friend Mr. Elbert E. Martin. He was the man who seized my would-be-assassin after the latter had shot me at Milwaukee; Martin showing the utmost nerve, coolness, and presence of mind on the occasion.

He is a fine fellow in every way, absolutely trustworthy, and I must cordially commend him to your courtesy.

Very sincerely yours,

Theodore Roosevelt

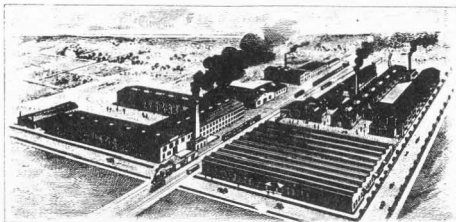
Hon. Walter H. Page,
American Ambassador,
London, England.



Briscoe Motor Company

Incorporated

The
Briscoe
Car \$750



Manufacturing Plants, Jackson, Michigan

OFFICERS

Benjamin Briscoe
President

Horace De Lisser
Vice President & Genl. Manager

William F. Smith
Secretary & Sales Manager

General Offices Broadway & 59th St.
New York City August 14, 1914.

Mr. Fred B. Tyler,
12 rue de la Chaussee d'Antin,
Paris, France.

My dear Mr. Tyler:-

This will introduce to you Mr. Elbert E. Martin, who is leaving to-morrow morning for London on a mission for the Vanderbilt Hotel, New York, of which he is assistant manager.

Mr. Martin used to be my confidential assistant, since which time he has gained prominence in other lines. I am giving him this letter to you so that if he goes to Paris he can get a few good steers from you and I am also anxious that you should make his acquaintance.

I will guarantee Mr. Martin in every way and you can trust him, confidentially or otherwise, in any way. Anything that he says or asks is the same as if it came from me.

We are all wondering here what you are doing in the present crisis which is so terrible and we are hoping that in some way you will get through it all right. If we over here can in any way help you, you have only to call on us.

Yours very sincerely,

Frank Briscoe

FB..H.

RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE

GOUVERNEMENT MILITAIRE DE PARIS

PRÉFECTURE DE POLICE

SAUF-CONDUIT (1)

Pour les personnes voyageant :

à bicyclette.
en tramway,
en bateau.
en chemin de fer,

pour obtenir un sauf-conduit automobile 11 rue de Rouen.

Nom H. Martin
Prénoms Albert
Profession banquier
Domicile 9 place Vendôme

Signalement :

Age 35 ans
Cheveux châtains
Barbe rase

Signature du porteur :

Albert H. Martin

Signes particuliers apparents :

Destination pour les voyageurs en chemin de fer :

La. Steyr par la l. de St. Cloud. et retour
Delivré à *Paris*, le *29 août* 1914



Emploiment du titulaire
du Commissariat de Police.

Le Commissaire de Police,

Meynard

(1) Rayer les mentions inutiles.

Je soussigné, déclare que d'après les pièces qui m'ont été
produites, M Albert E. Martin
est ~~sujet Britannique~~, étant né à Etats Unis
citoyen américain

BON pour L'ANGLETERRE

ou pour la Régistration en FRANCE



CONSULAT GÉNÉRAL BRITANNIQUE, Paris, le 29 Août 1914

Graham

Actg. British Consul-General,
Paris.

(*Aug 61*) Personne)

Signature,

Albert E. Martin



Good only for
two years from date.

United States of America,
Department of State.

To all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting:

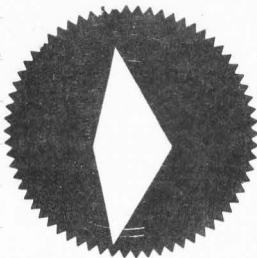
I the undersigned, Secretary of State of the United States of America,
hereby request all whom it may concern to permit

Albert E. Martin

a Citizen of the United States accompanied
by his wife _____ safely
and freely to pass and in case of need to give
them all lawful Aid and Protection.

Description.

Age 33 Years
Height 5' 10 ³/₄ Inches Eng.
Build Broad
Eyes Brown
Nose Straight
Mouth Medium Size
Chin Round
Hair Dark Brown
Complexion Dark
Face Full



Given under my hand and the
Seal of the Department of State,
at the City of Washington,
the 12th day of August
in the year 1914, and of the
Independence of the United States
the one hundred and thirty ~~first~~^{ninth}.

Signature of the Bearer

Albert E. Martin

N. J. Bryan

SEPTEMBER 10, 1942.
PUTNEY, VERMONT.
ELBERT E. MARTIN
CANDIDATE FOR REPUBLICAN PARTY FROM PUTNEY AS REPRESENTATIVE IN
VERMONT LEGISLATURE

I will make every effort for harmonious relations with my fellow legislators. My record at all times will be open and constructive criticisms welcomed. My aim is to support our Governor and serve my town, state and Country to the best of my ability.

Born in Manchester, New Hampshire, January 22, 1881. Mr. Martin comes from a family whose members are numbered among the earliest settlers in Vermont. At present a real-estate salesman associated with Herbert L. Bailey of Putney, he started his business career in the early days of the motor industry in Detroit as assistant to the president of the Brush Runabout Company. Later he became secretary of the Detroit Section of the Society of Automobile Engineers and through his lively interest in this group increased its membership from 600 to 1500. A graduate of the Detroit College of Law he was admitted to practice before the Supreme Court of Michigan and with two classmates established the law firm of Erwin, Cole and Martin with offices in the Free Press building, Detroit. Erwin was the prosecuting attorney for Detroit and Wayne County.

During the Presidential campaign of 1912 Mr. Martin was secretary to the late Colonel Theodore Roosevelt and came to public attention in connection with the attack on Colonel Roosevelt in Milwaukee in October of that year. It was he who frustrated the attempt on the life of the

former President. When the first shot was fired, wounding the Colonel, Mr. Martin leaped across the automobile from the sidewalk and seized John Schrank, the would-be assassin, as he was about to shoot again at the Colonel. During the struggle that followed Martin was grazed by a bullet but overcame Schrank and wrested the gun from him. Colonel Roosevelt was pleased with Mr. Martin's action and at a dinner in his honor at the Roosevelt home in Oyster Bay presented Martin with a gold watch as a token of his high regard of him.

Later through his success in publicizing the Vanderbilt Hotel in New York City Mr. Martin is best known. Alfred Gwynne Vanderbilt, who was lost in the Lusitania in the first World War, built the Vanderbilt Hotel on the site of his former home and Mr. Martin served in practically every position of importance in that institution. For many years he was executive assistant manager and helped to establish Vanderbilt Hotels in San Juan, Porto Rico; Old Point Comfort, Virginia; and Augusta, Georgia.

Mr. Martin is a member of the Sons of the American Revolution and of the Golden Rule Lodge F. & A. M. of Putney, Vermont.

2009 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

July 7, 1971

Dear Miss Grabow,

I don't think I know any details
of the shooting that haven't been
in the papers of the period.

What would be best is that if you
should come East you might stop off
in Washington and we could have a
talk about it.

As it is, I think you know more
about it than I do.

Very sincerely yours,

Alice Roosevelt Longworth

Mrs. Nicholas Longworth

CHART - BOOKS CONSULTED ON SHOOTING

Abbott	biography	narration--accurate
Beard	textbook	no mention
Bishop, ed.	letters	no mention
Bishop	biography	narrative, with inaccuracies
Blum	biography	no mention
Bowers	biography of Beveridge	paragraph
Bradford	biographical sketches	one sentence
Busch	biography	mentioned briefly--accurate
Canfield & Wilder	high school text	one sentence
Dulles	text	no mention
Frost, <u>et al</u>	high school text	no mention
Garraty	college text	no mention
Goldman	history of reform	no mention
Hagendorn	collected writings--TR	statement from sickbed only
Hicks & Mowry	textbook	no mention
Hofstadter, Miller and Aaron	college text	no mention
Hofstadter	document collection	no mention
Howland	text	narrative--accurate
Kane	encyclopedic reference	two paragraphs--inaccurate
Kelly	story of 1912 campaign	extensive narrative--mostly accurate
Leary	talks with TR	short mention
Lewis	biography	short narrative
Manners	TR-Taft friendship	long narrative--one pos- sible mistake

Morison & Commager	text	no mention
Mowry	text	no mention
Muzzey & Link	high school text	no mention
Pringle	biography	narrative of shooting--some errors
Robinson	biography	short paragraph--few details
Roosevelt	speeches, etc.	no mention
Roosevelt	autobiography	ends with his leaving White House
Sullivan	text	mention--accurate
Thayer	biography	several paragraphs--several obvious errors
Wagenknecht	biography	mention--accurate
Wirth	high school text	three sentences--one error
Wister	biography	one sentence

VITA

Beverly Brown Grabow

Candidate for the Degree of

Master of Science

Thesis: Assassin and Hero: The Making of Men. A New Analysis
of the Attempted Assassination of Theodore Roosevelt

Major Field: History

Biographical Information:

Personal Data: Born at Ogden, Utah, February 20, 1932, daughter
of Almon L. and Gladys Watson Brown; mother of three children--
Elizabeth, Charles, and Susan.

Education: Attended elementary schools in Aberdeen and Ammon,
Idaho; high schools at Ammon and Ucon, Idaho; graduated from
Ucon High School in 1949; attended Brigham Young University
and Ricks College; received the Bachelor of Science degree
from Ricks College, with a major in Speech and Drama and a
double minor in history and education, in 1954; did graduate
work in history at University of Puget Sound, 1965; com-
pleted requirements for the Master of Science degree in
history at Utah State University in 1973.

Professional Experience: 1970 to present, teacher of American
Government at Bonneville High School, Idaho Falls, Idaho;
1970 to present, acting head, social studies department,
Bonneville High School; 1960-70, teacher of social studies
and speech and drama at Ammon Junior High School, Ammon,
Idaho; 1954-60, teacher at Marlin High School, Marlin,
Washington.