

# George Higgins Moses

## 1869 —1944



Phillips Exeter Academy, 1887

Dartmouth, 1890

Private Secretary to NH Governor David H. Goodell, 1889-1891

Reporter, Editor, Managing Editor, Concord Evening Monitor, 1909-1912

Member, Secretary, New Hampshire Forestry Commission, 1893-1907

Governor John McLane's liaison to Russo-Japanese Peace Delegation,  
Portsmouth, 1905

US Minister to Greece and Montenegro, 1909-1912

US Senator, 1918-1933

(Elected November 6, 1918 to fill vacancy upon death of  
Senator Jacob H. Gallinger, re-elected, 1920, 1926)

President Pro-Tempore, US Senate, 1925-1933

Chairman, Republican National Convention, Kansas City Missouri, 1928



## Fastest Man With Gavel They Ever Saw

"Al" Baker in Concord Monitor May 12, 1938:  
Opening day of the Constitutional Convention was certainly a Moses day. Elected President without so much as a yip in opposition he proceeded to show that he has lost none of the skill as a presiding officer which made him so popular as president pro tempore of the United States Senate. The Senate, of course, is a Concord Kiwanis Club compared to the constitutional convention. Moses had the nays put and the resolutions agreed to before the echoes of the ayes had died down in Representatives Hall but there were no objections. The result was that a body of 479 delegates which met without a formal procedure outlined for them had completed their own organization and were ready to proceed with the business of the session which ought to be some kind of a record.

Norris Cotton: You have done such a magnificent job of spreading George H. Moses' unique personality on the printed page that to attempt to add to it would be like "carrying coals to Newcastle."

E. J. GALLAGHER — George H. Moses: a profile — CITIZEN

# George H. Moses: a profile

By Edward J. Gallagher



U. S. Senator, 1918-1933







The Associated Press, reporting death of George H. Moses: Once described as "the most exciting man in American public life" he served three terms in the United States Senate. He lost his seat in the Democratic landslide in 1932.

William N. Brigance in "Back Stage in Washington", The Independent, vol. 188, February 19, 1927, pp. 215-216, discussed Moses as a "rara avis" in the Senate and stated that the Senator was offered the Vice Presidency by the Harding group but refused it.

## **'Intolerable' Taxes**

Excerpt from Moses Address to Constitutional Convention May 11, 1938: The burden of taxation now laid upon real property in New Hampshire is already intolerable and is likely to become increasingly so. It is not for me certainly at this moment to attempt to impose my personal views upon you, but it is for you to consider the problem inherent in this question of taxation and to find a solution, which we hope will be of maximum benefit to the people of this state we love so well and whose people have now given us so signal an opportunity to render them service.



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mos

## George H. Moses: a profile



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By same author

- 1946 **Luther Roby**, early printer of Bibles at Concord
- 1966 **Stilson Hutchins**, native of Whitefield, N.H., founder,  
The Washington Post
- 1967 **Robber Baron**, includes author's day-long interview  
with legendary criminal Mark Shinburn who, after  
escaping from N.H. State Prison, bought castle in  
Belgium, posed as Baron Shindle

For information, address  
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To Robert Jackson and Harlan Pearson  
in grateful remembrance





President Theodore Roosevelt held press conference at Corbin Park, N.H., August, 1902. Moses, in straw hat, close at T.R.'s right, poses question.



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## Acknowledgment

I would have been hopelessly adrift in research for this project without the assistance of Barbara Cotton and Pauline Hobbs of the Laconia Public Library. A big Thank-you to them. Also gratitude is expressed to Marion Henderson of Clark University Library for loan of essential material.

Some may ask why this book was written.

Letters of friends were responsible in considerable part. James M. Langley (1967) "... the kind of writing you are doing will add color and flavor to the story of the past century. This is lost to some extent if not done while personal recollections are still available. Too often the best sources die silent. Keep up the good work."

Following are quotations from Robert Jackson letters:

March 19, 1957: In retrospect it strikes me that New Hampshire no longer produces the salient types so numerous in the old days. Perhaps they should be called eccentrics. The spread of education and convention via the movies, television and radio plus Emily Post is probably responsible. These all exert unifying influence on young people. They all want to conform. Sherman Adams comes closer to the old "characters" than any I can think of at the moment.

March 27, 1957: Someone should do a book on George Moses. He was far and away the most colorful figure in New Hampshire politics in my lifetime and perhaps in several lifetimes. You could do it and it should be by one who knew him.

Nov. 11, 1967: Once more I am impelled to urge you to continue your contributions to the history of New Hampshire. May I suggest that a biography of George Moses is overdue. You could do justice to his unique personality as could no other.

June 22, 1959: Many thanks for your thoughtfulness in mailing me the clipping about Ben Prescott. I have known Ben for 63 years and in character and personality he is little, if at all, changed from the youth he was in 1896. He is a Yankee raised to the nth power, honest, competent, generous, kind and with a dry wit and keen sense of humor. He is a conservative conservative Republican in his political views but so scornful of pretenders that he refused to support some of the demagogues you and I have known, although they were candidates of his party. He is one of the few surviving "characters" I have known in New Hampshire. As municipal judge he administered



the law with discretion and sympathy for the unfortunates who came before him. At the same time, he was stern and just with those whose offenses had forfeited all claims to mercy. Although he was pressing 80 years of age, he sat with me and Arthur Rotch through a rainstorm in the Yale Bowl three years ago and watched Dartmouth lose a football game. I believe he has seen every Dartmouth-Harvard game since 1899. Quite a record! Speaking of reminiscences, has anyone ever considered doing a biography of George Moses? He was *sui generis* among New Hampshire's political figures. Was he not the most interesting, if not the ablest, of the 1900-1932 era?

Oct. 29, 1962: . . . But what I would emphasize is that beyond the borders of New Hampshire, men knew no political differences. Senator Gallinger, Senator William E. Chandler, Congressmen Currier and Ed Wason, as well as Styles Bridges, George Moses and Harry Keyes, at one time or another have given me assistance in Washington for which I owe them a profound debt of gratitude. Perhaps my vision is clouded by the years, but it seems to me our public men of today lack something of the verbal virtuosity that characterized men like John Hay, George Moses and William E. Chandler. Senator Gallinger, too, had a pretty wit. They were imaginative, erudite, and bold. They added interest and sparkle to every dinner table where they were guests, and their *mots* are still quoted in Washington.

Oct. 31, 1962: You ought to write a history of your times and New Hampshire's part. I know of no one so well qualified for that assignment.

Who could fail to succumb to such blandishment?

E. J. G.

## Commentary

By

Norris Cotton

U.S. Senator, 1954-1975

Lebanon, N.H., June 18, 1975.

Dear Ed:

It was most interesting to receive the galley proof, which though only a portion of the book you are preparing on George H. Moses, reflects clearly the style and the manner of your approach to one of New Hampshire's most interesting and striking personalities.

I feel highly complimented that you would suggest that I attempt to write something to use for a preface or introduction. Frankly, I do not feel competent to undertake such a task. You have done such a magnificent job of spreading George H. Moses' unique personality on the printed page that to attempt to add to it would be like "carrying coals to Newcastle."

However, I would like to make one observation. I was delighted, though perhaps an even better word is comforted, by the fact that you picture Senator Moses as fundamentally a kindhearted man. As you know, in the campaign of 1924 when he found that I had come out of college not only broke, but saddled with debt for my education and utterly without means to go on to law school as I desired, he immediately made a place for me as one of the clerks for his committee and enabled me to get my legal training at George Washington University Law School in Washington while working for him.

I was not the only one. At the time I was there, he had at least five young men from New Hampshire in various patronage capacities, some of them operating Capitol elevators, and all going to school either as undergraduates or in professional school. He found time amidst all his duties and responsibilities to watch our progress and insist on our taking



full advantage of our opportunities. To the world, he gave the impression of a cynical, sarcastic, though brilliant individual with a biting tongue. I came to suspect that he enjoyed that role, indeed that he almost reveled in it, but I can testify as can many others that he was warm and sympathetic to all who needed help and encouragement, and to the last hour of my life, I shall be grateful to him for all that he did for me.

It was amusing to read your quotation from Editor Caswell of the little Town of Warren, regarding the impediment of speech with which I was afflicted in my youth. I was utterly unable to sound my "Rs". George Moses helped remedy that. He used to make me repeat over and over again, "Around the rugged rock the ragged rascal ran", rolling the Rs as much as possible. This is an example of the interest he took in his "boys". Thanks to his kindness and training, it was my great honor in afterlife to occupy his seat in the United States Senate for twenty years, but never with his brilliance and national reputation.

In your characteristic manner, you are not only writing a book, but doing justice to a great and unique man. God bless you for it.

Sincerely,

NORRIS.

## CHAPTER ONE

### Epigrams

We have come to a period in which making people laugh is an immensely profitable business. Masters of the art of the one-liners have struck it rich. The telephone company in New York City inaugurated Dial-a-Smile service. A call brings the recorded voice of a nationally-known comedian uttering a sentence or two well calculated to evoke laughter. "It helps to start the day in the best of humor", grateful customers inform Ma Bell.

On television, entertainers follow an opening ritual—a sparkling monologue. Performers acknowledge dependence on cue cards, plus writers expert in epigrams.

George Higgins Moses, United States senator, 1918-1933, scintillated as a one-liner. His extraordinary facility for the apt phrase was an added dividend in prepared speeches and off-the-cuff interviews. Unlike the greats of television he did not rely on cue cards. On the tube he would be an instant success.

Washington Correspondent Ray Tucker, in "The Outlook" in 1930 identified Moses as "the Senate's Bad Boy". At another time, writing of Moses as ambassador to Greece, Tucker, without qualification, declared he was "the most popular and influential minister the United States has ever sent to the Balkans."

Hundreds of Moses' pithy deliverances turn up on pages of the Congressional Record. Joining the League of Nations he said would make the United States an umpire in international disputes "and I don't want to see the umpire beamed with a pop bottle." President Wilson, he censured for "gluttony for the limelight."

Moses campaigned dutifully as a card-carrying Republican and went through the motions to produce a Coolidge victory in 1924, then reverted to type when Time Magazine requested a post-election statement. His tart reply: "It means four years more of diminuendo." Unhappy over the



President's plan to visit Paris at the close of World War I, he predicted on the basis of his personal experience with international statesmen as ambassador to Athens: "Clemenceau and Lloyd George will flatter him to death."

Years later Moses told the Boston Herald's Bill Cunningham the League of Nations covenant was "a territorial hodgepodge that couldn't fail to lead to another war. England had six votes to our one. It was a charter to banditry."

Dr. Copeland was elected senator from New York, his name a household word by virtue of his newspaper column, advising home treatment for physical ailments. Copeland took his seat and Moses was in good form. "The doctor," he declaimed, "is the Lydia Pinkham of the Democratic party."

Addressing the N. H. Mayors' Club at Laconia (1938) Moses said he was "emerging from an obscurity" he did not seek. He promised not to speak of that chamber, meaning the Senate, "where speech was unlimited and where it was given without respect to the subject under consideration."

Father of Moses was a country clergyman. Said the senator: "He was one of the 57 varieties of Baptists. But he could give J. P. Morgan cards and spades as a financier, inasmuch as he fed, clothed and educated his brood on a salary less than \$1,000 a year."

William Eaton Chandler owned the Concord Monitor and employed Moses, first as a \$9 a week reporter and later as managing editor. Chandler waged a long, bitter fight against railroad domination of state government, and died one year before Moses' election to the Senate. Chandler's attempt to impeach New Hampshire's Chief Justice Doe, who, Roscoe Pound decided, was "one of the ten greatest jurists in American history" and Chandler law suits initiated against Mary Baker Eddy, founder of Christian Science, lacked popular support. Chandler constantly espoused lost causes. Moses apologizing, referred to Chandler's frail health, his fits of depression "something of a hypochondriac."

Senator Wheeler of Montana confessed he loved to needle Moses "a charming, sharp-tongued Old Guard Republican leader." Wheeler and others replied in the Senate to Moses' address delivered in Boston in which he asserted a Senate coalition dominating the tariff debate was led by the "sons of the wild jackass." "Senator Thaddeus H. Cara-

way, the perfect exponent of wit and sarcasm from Arkansas joined in the sport," Wheeler recalled. Not in that barrage of stinging oratory while the target was presiding, but on a later date when suitable opportunity was afforded, did Moses reply in kind, labelling Caraway a man apart from the rest of his fellows. "The distinguished senator from Arkansas," Moses intoned, "parts his hair under his arms."

Robert Jackson, state chairman, and secretary of the Democratic National Committee in FDR's first successful presidential campaign, said Moses was one of the leaders who made politics a "fascinating diversion" in New Hampshire from 1905 to 1930. "There were joint debates and personal confrontations," Jackson wrote, "'truth squads' taking advantage of opponents' scheduled meetings, and paid advertisements that barely avoided liability for libel."

In a letter to this chronicler Jackson recalled:

In the 1920s Jules Bache, head of the brokerage firm of Bache & Co., and a collector of distinguished paintings, gave a dinner in honor of George Moses. I was invited and to my dismay was called upon by the host to give the gathering my impression of the guest of honor as a political opponent. I was quite unprepared but did manage to extol George's good qualities as a wit, a charming companion and a good neighbor. I quoted two or three of his witticisms and added that I suspected he would rather utter a memorable epigram than build a city.

When George spoke, he referred to my remark and confirmed what I had said. "And why not?" he asked. "We still quote the epigrams of Plato, Aristotle and Socrates, but the cities in which they spoke, with a few exceptions, are ruins."

When I contemplate the plight of our huge cities and the lack of any suggested remedy of their troubles that has real promise, I recall George's statement of forty years ago.

Bernard Belush, author of the biography of John Winant, paid tribute to Robert P. Bass in a letter to the Hanover Gazette, following Bass' death in 1960, listing Bass' many accomplishments as member of the legislature from Peterborough and Governor 1911-12. Belush wrote: "While the G.O.P. Old Guard sought to relegate Bass to purgatory, and replaced his leadership eventually with that of a cynical, conservative isolationist in the person of 'Sons of the Wild Jackass' George H. Moses, the Peterborough patrician would not remain buried."

It was our privilege to know Moses.

As owner of the N.H. Patriot, 1910 to 1923, we tried



to provide competition for Messrs. Moses and William Dwight Chandler, Monitor proprietors. Was Moses cynical as Belush suggested? Not 100% of the time is our response.

Merrill Symonds in "George Higgins Moses—The Man and the Era", a 381-page dissertation for Clark University, did not edge away from things the timid would have left unsaid. Symonds found his subject had a softer side than was generally known:—Moses' face was "thick set, with a high forehead, bold blue eyes, broad nostrils, a small set mouth. Beyond the facade of the austere face could be found a kindly man, a prankster and jokester, a man who liked people and wanted people to like him. In many ways it is a tragedy that he was misinterpreted and misunderstood by many people of his day."

After Ex-Senator Chandler passed away in 1917, Moses maintained editorially that redoubtable foe of monopolists had a streak of tenderness and compassion most of the public failed to observe. The Moses tribute:

His (Chandler's) spirit ever young, looked up and kept the step of the advancing world. About him always was gathered a group of alert minds to whom his wisdom and charm were a constant allure-ment. Those will miss him most and among them there will be many who were privileged, as I was, to know the other side of his nature, wherein his wealth of sympathy, which broadened into enduring friendships expressed by constant kindness, marked him in private life, as he was in public, as indeed a man in whom the generous forces of heart and mind were unrestrained."

To followers of Mary Baker Eddy it was difficult to reconcile "constant kindness" and "generous forces of heart and mind" with Chandler's attacks on her when she was more than eighty years old.

Was Moses cynical?

We would have to agree he was the night in 1908 when Gen. William F. Thayer invited Moses and this writer to St. Paul School to interview Jacob Riis, New York's foremost social worker. Thayer, head of the New Hampshire Red Cross, furnished his horse-drawn carriage, with coachman, to convey us to the school in Millville. We were received by Rector Henry Ferguson, and seated in his study to have tea with the guest of honor, a Japanese butler inquiring as to number of lumps of sugar desired. Mr. Riis had come to New Hampshire to display health stamps, subsequently known as Christmas seals, which he recently brought from

his native Denmark where the idea originated of selling stamps to raise funds to prevent the spread of tuberculosis. Riis was one of 12 children, and the others died of TB. He outlined plans to sell stamps throughout the U.S. similar to the method in vogue in his native land.

"But to come down to brass tacks," Moses interjected, "aren't you in fact trying to promote your latest book?"

Into the cynical category we also would place his statement of receipts and expenditures in his 1932 senatorial campaign. He was required to publish it in one newspaper of general circulation. From the state's eight dailies he chose this writer's Laconia Evening Citizen, then but six years old. It was still limited to four pages, smallest in New Hampshire, circulation infinitesimal.

Following is the statement as it appeared Nov. 5, 1932:

1. George H. Moses of 5 Auburn Street in Ward Four, in the City of Concord, County of Merrimack, and State of New Hampshire, being a candidate for election as United States Senator, on the Republican ticket at the General Election to be held on Tuesday the Eight of November, 1932, being duly sworn depose and say in accordance with the provisions of the Statutes of New Hampshire Chapter 34, Section 21, that my receipts are none.

And that my expenditures have been as follows:

Republican Committee, Ward 4,	
Concord .....	\$50.00
J. A. Sullivan, Manchester, ad-	
vertising .....	\$50.00
Bridge and Byron, Concord,	
printing .....	\$27.50
J. A. Sullivan, Manchester, ad-	
vertising .....	\$15.00
George H. Jung Co., Cincinnati,	
Ohio, buttons .....	\$2.50
Bridge and Byron, Concord,	
printing .....	\$19.68
Bridge and Byron, Concord,	
printing .....	\$19.68
Greek Community, Concord, ad-	
vertising .....	\$25.00

GEORGE H. MOSES.

STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE    Strafford ss.    November 3, 1932

Personally appeared the above named George H. Moses and made oath that the above statement by him signed is true. Before me.

DWIGHT HALL, Notary Public



Election day was Nov. 8. Moses lost to Fred Brown, Winant won easily. The latter was irked by Moses' statement of campaign expenses, and in December ordered the attorney general to investigate. Moses in an immediate response said he would welcome a thorough audit, to cover also Winant's outlay that year and in earlier campaigns. No more was heard about an investigation.

Moses championed, early and late, protection for New England industries. He displayed ability to dissect and expose provisions he deemed harmful in tax bills. Of the revenue act of 1925, he had this to say: "... the tattered rags of a tax measure three years old, long since out of style and faded but which has been patched up and embroidered in a vain effort to bring it up to the mode of 1922."

Eminent figures of the literary world praised his attention to their wants. From Kenneth Roberts, author of "Northwest Passage" came this acknowledgment: "I am grateful to New Hampshire Statesman George Moses for obtaining for me, through the Congressional Library, the unlimited use of reference books that I couldn't locate elsewhere."

Ernest Poole assembled material about "mountain politics" having been a summer resident facing the Franconia Range for 35 years. His appeal to Moses for an assist brought the following:

The songbirds sing the sweetest—in New Hampshire,  
The flocks and kine are neatest—in New Hampshire,  
The thunder is the loudest—the mountains are the grandest  
—and politics the damndest—in New Hampshire!

With Moses' retirement from the senate word spread that in due time he would not only write an autobiography, but would "tell all."

Harlan C. Pearson remarked in the Monitor Dec. 17, 1938: "When that long delayed volume, awaited with curiosity by many and with anxiety by some, the memoirs of Senator Moses makes its appearance there probably will be found in the index the name of the late Gaston B. Means, whose body was buried last week in Concord, but Concord, North Carolina, instead of Concord, New Hampshire. Our former senator was well acquainted with some of the highlights in the fantastic career of the industrial spy."

Moses had a sentimental vein, as this note indicates: "Thank you for your letter of the ninth. It being dated on

my birthday, I was able to count it among other greetings which I received."

And he mellowed with the passage of the time. Witness: "Thank you very much for your Christmas telegram which added no little to my enjoyment of the Holiday. You can hardly imagine the satisfaction which comes to an old man in retirement upon finding that his friends continue to think of him so generously."





**HARLAN C. PEARSON**

Former Senator Moses, as an act of friendship, wrote Pearson's column when latter was ill.

## CHAPTER TWO

### Robt. Jackson - H. C. Pearson

The public tired of that shopworn phrase "we have learned from a reliable source" and the communications industry was told so with emphasis. In full compliance with the revised code we hereby inform readers principal sources of what is related herein, supplemental to the writer's personal recollections, are comments of Harlan C. Pearson, often termed the state's best newspaperman when he held forth at Concord, and numerous letters from Robert Jackson, composed in the main, we believe, for publication if found to be useful after his death. Pearson graduated at Dartmouth in 1893 and Jackson in 1900.

We think of no better way to set forth the qualifications of "H. C. P." than to reprint the tribute by George H. Moses which appeared Jan. 6, 1943, on the editorial page of the Concord Monitor, in a black-bordered space formerly reserved for Pearson's column under the heading "Granite Chips":

A brilliant mind is stilled. The long and courageous struggle with crippling and painful illness is at an end; the rich store of information—and inspiration—is closed.

H. C. P. is gone, and I feel like uttering the despairing cry of Froude who, hearing that Carlyle had passed on, exclaimed "a man is dead."

For more than fifty years H. C. P. and I were associates and friends. We were contemporaries in college, we belonged to the same Greek letter fraternity and the same Senior society, for nearly thirty years we worked side by side in the old Monitor office. Oceans at times separated us, but the tie was never lost. Indeed it was strengthened with each reunion and in these last stricken years our regularly scheduled meetings were mutually solicitous, mutually hopeful and always mutually reminiscent.

Throughout all the years that I have known him I have rarely met, in any land, a mentality more alert and versatile than his. He was a brilliant writer in many widely different fields. As a reporter he sought news diligently and set it down effectively, often with a delicate sense of humor and always with unerring accuracy. He was



a sports writer of uncommon ability. He was a dramatic and literary critic far above the average. His editorials were compact and forceful.

He was born to journalism; and with his remarkable equipment for the ink trade he merited a larger field. I cherished his professional companionship, but I often urged him to seek greener pastures and to take his rightful place among those men whose by-lines have proved an allure to so many readers all over the land. But he was essentially a shy man and he preferred to stay on here to help make the Concord Monitor like the Manchester Guardian in England, a provincial journal of light and leading in its own community. This he did—as can be attested by the successive editors under whom he served.

He was scholarly, but never pedantic; and though his rank in college was among the highest of his generation he found time for many activities not set down in the curriculum and to which he added more than one man's share of generous contributions. The Literary Monthly of those days frequently displayed his name in its table of contents and not a few of his compositions found their way into the collated volumes of Dartmouth verse and prose.

His industry was prodigious and he was methodically forehanded in each of the numerous stated tasks which were laid out by and for him week by week. Almost to the end of his bed-ridden days he was to be found with his typewriter on his bed table, a sheath of notes at hand and his doubly-burdened busy fingers hard to at his tasks of professional and personal writing.

His personality was one which unconsciously but definitely invited both confidence and confidences; and, for forty years, with few interruptions, for successive Governors of New Hampshire, both Republican and Democratic, he was principal secretary. To most of these men he was more; he was guide, philosopher and friend and many a state paper under their names owes much to his admonition, learning and skillful literary adaptability.

His charm was freely acknowledged everywhere, but it was in his home it came to its highest expression. His constant solicitude for his wife, his advancing pride in his children were not concealed from his friends and to his family they were a constantly expanding revelation. To them his passing is a sorrow which friends cannot measure, but which they can share.

Over whatever seas he is sailing,  
Whatever strange winds fan his brow,  
What company rare he's regaling,  
I know it is well with him now,  
And when my last voyage I am making  
May I go, as he went, unafraid,  
And, the Pilot that guided him taking,  
May I make the same port he has made.

George H. Moses

Robert Jackson died in New York City in October, 1973. Ernest Cuneo of the National American Newspaper Alliance devoted an entire column to his passing. In part, he wrote:

Jackson was one of the great gentlemen of our times. And certainly one of the world's most cultivated men. In his nearly 95 years, he never knew a day's illness until the last few months of his life. A famed raconteur, his brilliant wit never dimmed.

Robert Jackson played an important part in American history and one was the crucial point upon which hung the fortunes of candidate Franklin Roosevelt. Actually, he had shaken the hand of every U. S. President since Grover Cleveland, his father having brought him to the White House to meet President Cleveland before the young Jackson had reached his teens.

He entered the field of finance, where, typically, he was an imaginative innovator and a breathtaking plunger. He founded major chain stores in Canada and many utilities companies.

In World War I he plunged into shipbuilding, utilizing old wooden shipbuilding yards. On one day only, in 1918, he launched seven ships.

He had an intense love of the theatre and its people, and, in fact, had angelayed several shows. In return, he was immensely popular with showbiz people. His parties, many of them impromptu, were the best on the American continent. He was called, affectionately, 'The actors' host, from coast to coast.'

An omnivorous reader, a penetrating observer and a scintillating writer, few knew that Robert Jackson kept a daily journal. It runs to many volumes and, from a few excerpts viewed, Robert Jackson may well live in history as the American Samuel Pepys.

Certainly of the Edwardians, Jackson is the last of the grand seigneurs.

To some, he was Voltaire; to others, Cyrano De Bergerac—but to all, Lord Chesterfield.

A letter from Mr. Jackson provided information as to the time he became a vital part of the Concord scene, and details of the Moses-Jameson senatorial battle of 1918 that reveal the no-holds barred campaigning of that era:

March 22, 1957

Dear Eddie:

Your letters stimulate dormant recollections. You mention George Moses. Where is his like today? If one exists I am not aware of it.

I came to Concord in September, 1905, to work for the law firm of Sargent, Remick & Niles at \$15 a week. I had given up a Federal job as secretary to Judge Edgar Aldrich which, with small appointments tossed my way by friendly judges such as custodian of \$4,000,000 worth of American Telephone stock in a law suit between



that corporation and Western Union, brought my annual income up to \$4,000. It was a tough sacrifice to make but I had to quit being a secretary or I would have been in danger of remaining one all my life. I had known George Moses then for about twelve years. Mrs. Henry H. Metcalf was my father's sister and Mrs. Harlan Pearson was my first cousin. So I had immediate entree to the daily salon conducted in the office of the Monitor every afternoon when the paper had been "put to bed" and a group gathered for argument, satire and persiflage.

Since those days I have enjoyed a more or less intimate acquaintance with figures whose names will loom large in our national history but I can truthfully say that they were no more interesting or competent than some of those who loafed away the late afternoons in the South Main Street office. Among them were the Senator, W. E. Chandler, himself; George Moses, Harlan Pearson, Henry Robinson with his passion for polysyllables, and occasional visitors. Among the latter I recall Henry M. Putney and John Kivel of Dover. Such raillery and banter as characterized those gatherings I have not heard equalled except perhaps on a very few occasions among the group who were close to Frank Roosevelt in 1932 and 1933.

As you will remember, I managed John Jameson's campaign for the senatorship in 1918 when George was the opposing candidate. In an excess of partisanship we charged George with all kinds of misdemeanors, some of which reflected seriously upon his integrity. Mrs. Moses and her sister, Miss Gordon, our next door neighbors, refused to speak to my wife as a result. We caught Moses vote-buyers red-handed and they signed confessions. On the other hand, Frank Streeter threatened to have me indicted for irregularities unless we called off the grand jury investigation. I refused, feeling exultantly noble but worried none the less. You will remember the grand jury threw out all the complaints on both sides. At the time it struck me as a ruthless and shocking miscarriage of justice but in retrospect I am convinced it was in the public interest.

I did not encounter George until about a month later after the action of the grand jury when I ran into him in the Parker House in Boston. I expected him either to ignore me or to utter some cutting remark, a talent at which he was a past master. Instead he came smilingly toward me with outstretched hand, saying "By God, Bob, do you know you gave me a terrific fight. You kept me stepping like a hen on a hot griddle."

We became fast friends again and thereafter it was his habit to stop in at my house on his way to his office in the morning and have a cup of coffee with us at breakfast. His photograph, encased in a silver frame, stood on our piano as long as we lived in Concord. He went out of his way to do me many favors when he was in the Senate. I doubt if he ever cherished bitterness against anyone. If

ever a man regarded the weaknesses and idiosyncrasies of mankind with a tolerant and humorous smile it was he.

Moses was named for the family doctor who officiated at his birth Feb. 9, 1869.

Speaking of his boyhood in Eastport, the senator recalled his first paying job was going door to door selling lobsters for a nickel that he purchased at the cannery for two cents each.

How Parson Moses chanced to be in Lubec is best recounted by Rev. Nathan F. Carter in a monumental work "The Native Ministry of New Hampshire". He spent 30 years compiling biographies of 2500. The book contains the following:

**Thomas Gannett Moses**, Christian, son of Cyrus and Eunice (Underwood) Moses, was born March 7, 1829. Preparatory studies at the High School and Thornton Academy, Saco, Me. Licensed to preach by the York and Cumberland Christian Conference, at Ogunquit, Me., Dec. 20, 1862. Ordained, Kittery Point, Me., June 15, 1863, and pastor, April 1863-6; Lubec, Me., April 1866-72; Eastport, Me., April 1872-83; Franklin, N.H., April 1883-93, also supplying Salisbury Center, Nov. 1885-90. New England missionary, with residence, Skowhegan, Me., Aug. 27, 1893-4; acting pastor, Rye, N.H., 1894-1900; Eastport, Me., April 1900-4. Without charge there, 1904-. In the early part of his ministry, labored as an evangelist in western Maine. (Published 1906.)

The Carter sketch noted Rev. Mr. Moses supplied the little church at Salisbury Center, 1885 to 1890. This involved a drive by carriage a few miles, his son handled the reins during college vacation. Senator Jacob H. Gallinger, a resident of Concord, had a summer home at Salisbury, a stately brick mansion "The Poplars". The senator was usually in the congregation to hear Mr. Moses preach, and was a generous contributor when the plate was passed by young George. Both recalled these meetings in conversations in later years. The Associated Press, after Moses was a national celebrity, sent to its members for use at will biographical data which said he was reared in a clergyman's home where scholarly attainment was stressed. The future senator, the article continued, "was prepared at Phillips Exeter for Dartmouth College from which he was graduated in 1890 and where in 1893 he took his Master's degree."

Moses was amazed when he reached Exeter to enter the academy in the fall of 1886. The tar covered walks for



pedestrians, gas lights, the public library open several nights a week astonished him. His home town of Franklin was much less modern. It received a gift of a library from Andrew Carnegie later. It had a paper mill, a hosiery mill, and a needle shop. Not much else. He enjoyed attending theatrical shows on Saturday night at Exeter town hall which academy students were permitted to witness.

Phillips Exeter yearbook for 1887 mentioned Moses periodically. Memories of the year spent there remained with Moses the rest of his life. "Town and Gown, a Sketch of Exeter" was the title for an article he wrote appearing in the January, 1894, Granite Monthly, owned and edited by Henry H. Metcalf, father-in-law of Harlan Pearson. In the piece, payment for which supplemented his \$9 a week salary on the Monitor, Moses described Exeter's development of one of the state's first four towns, and once the state capital. When he reached the subject of educational facilities his comments were enthusiastic:

For 110 years Exeter has had one source of strength and influence and renown which neither the removal of the capital nor the death of great men could destroy. This is Phillips Exeter Academy, founded with the largest endowment then known by Col. John Phillips, a merchant who turned trader, and married rich. This school, perhaps the greatest American fitting school, boasts the most distinguished alumni roll in the land. On it appear Webster, Cass, Bancroft, Hale—governors, congressmen, the clergy, the law, cabinet ministers, diplomats, teachers, scientists. Men of every station in life came here as boys and were here made men. The school was early shaped toward great ends. Two principals ruled it for a century and two professors have dominated it for two scores of years. One of these latter, now in retirement, now enjoys a well-earned competency; the other still keeps alive the old traditions of the school and presides over the Greek department amid the awe, the respect and the love of every boy who ever came into his classroom.

Moses continued study of Greek at Dartmouth, and it was his practice after graduation to read a passage from Horace in the original Greek and from the Bible every night before retiring. He told the late Rae Laraba of Portsmouth, a member of his staff for several years, he read the Bible for language, not necessarily for religious purposes.

## CHAPTER THREE

### New Hampshire Men

In a Lincoln Day address in Concord in 1920 after months of debate on the League of Nations, Senator Moses said "Much water has run down the Potomac since we last met to celebrate the birthday of The Liberator." He could have added a vast quantity of water had moved down the Merrimack toward the sea since he took a job 30 years before on the Monitor after a summer's stint as secretary to Governor Goodell. Senator Chandler, the paper's owner, soon found other duties for him besides reporting. Chandler's commercial printing business needed work. Moses authored therefore a book of more than 400 biographies, "New Hampshire Men". Sketches of public figures of the day were sugar-coated, except in the case of Editor Henry M. Putney of the Manchester Mirror who, it was curtly stated, "was appointed collector of internal revenue by President Arthur and removed by President Cleveland for offensive partisanship."

Stilson Hutchins, owner of the Patriot, Monitor competitor, though close friend of Senator Chandler, was treated with deference—"his collection of autographs is enriched by original letters from the famous men and women of history; in the Hutchins portfolio is a complete set of autographed letters of Napoleon and Josephine and all the marshals of France."

Writing about Jacob H. Gallinger, whom he was to succeed in the Senate in a quarter of a century, Moses said before becoming a doctor of medicine Gallinger learned the printer's trade. The sketch did not include one interesting morsel Senator Gallinger imparted to this writer—that at birth his name was Gallagher rather than Gallinger.

We suspect Editor Putney would have been credited with deeds of valor had he not termed William Eaton Chandler "a hypocrite, half-breed and crank." (Chandler papers, N. H. Historical Society.)



Biographer Moses applied to his boss words of approbation: "To characterize the life of Hon. William E. Chandler needs no miniature painter's brush. The barest outline of his life denotes a career of intense activity."

One distinguished citizen rated merely a picture among the biographies, plus a copy of the signature he attached to historic supreme court decisions. Chief Justice Doe, recipient of this limited recognition once wrote a scathing letter to Chandler, his classmate at Harvard Law School. Chandler, said Judge Doe, was held in real esteem by no one. (Chandler papers.)

In regard to Edgar Aldrich, recently named U. S. District Judge, Moses found that "one of the most commendable features of the administration of President Harrison was the excellence of his judicial appointments."

Moses gave some thought to leaving the Monitor and specializing in promotional work. Harlan C. Pearson in a letter in 1923 told of Moses' decision to make a change.

Pearson said: "Some Boston or New York men got out a special edition for the Monitor and it was a whale of a success from every point of view. While they were working in Concord they found here a young man just breaking into the newspaper game whom they thought was clever and bright and wide-awake enough to fit into their business, and they offered him a salary so much larger than he was receiving here that he accepted it and went on the road with them. A few months of that life was sufficient, however, and his associates on the Monitor staff were glad to welcome him back. But he learned something from that experience as he has from all the varied happenings of his remarkable career and part of the real genius for publicity which United States Senator George H. Moses possesses may have been developed by that brief trip of his with the write-up men."

Moses married Florence Gordon at Franklin in 1893 and their son, Gordon, born in 1900 was a midshipman at Annapolis Naval Academy when his father was elected senator in 1918.

Concord was becoming citified, yet farmers continued to bring produce from the country for exchange at stores; Elder Arthur Bruce drove a pair of horses into town each morning and did errands for the Shaker community at Canterbury. Stores were stocked with Shaker lines of merchandise. At the turn of the century the city's population

grew to 19,662. Principal employment was at the railroad shops, stone sheds and granite quarries. Milk sold for five cents a quart, steak 25 cents a pound, maple syrup 90 cents-\$1 per gallon. Rent was \$10-\$12 a month; men's suits, \$12-\$15; wages \$1.50 a day. Women did house cleaning for ten cents an hour; boys shovelled sidewalks for a dime.

The Monitor in news coverage followed a middle course to please the well-to-do, and readers with modest income.

Railroad shop employes mostly resided at the south end, the result being Wards Six and Seven were the largest in the city. President Kimball of the Concord & Montreal Railroad occupied a stately residence in Ward Six, later the site of the Capitol Theater. Those two wards reflected Kimball's views and were strongly Republican. Hence when George Moses' partner, William Dwight Chandler, essayed to go to the Legislature from Ward Six, voters retaliated for attacks levelled by his father on railroads. Chandler, in the Monitor office when the news came in of his son's defeat for the nomination in the Republican caucus, suggested the headline used above the report in next day's edition: "RUN OVER BY THE CARS."

Ward Seven extended to the west to include St. Paul's School. John Winant in his first attempt to go to the Legislature had to run the gauntlet of Ward Seven's tight little empire, and was defeated in the G.O.P. primary where nomination would have been equivalent to success on election day.

Granite cutters and quarrymen resided in the north end and the West Concord area. Some were Socialists, avid readers of "Appeal to Reason". William H. McFall, circulation manager of the Daily Patriot, was a Socialist and ran for governor on the ticket of his party.

Concord stayed safely in the Republican column.

Frances M. Abbott said, writing for Lyford's History of Concord (1903):

Moneyed men, and those in a position to know, declare that Concord is a wealthy city in proportion to its population; but there is little ostentation in living. There are really no show houses in town. Domestic service has not specialized further than a cook and "second girl." . . . Much of the wealth of Concord is inherited or has been gained by slow accumulation, and its owners, following the frugal ways of their fathers, have a wholesome conservatism about spending it. The social tone of our city is wholly unlike that



of towns where everybody lives in a rented or mortgaged house, and yearly spends the last cent of his salary.

Dedication of the state library occurred Jan. 8, 1895, with a reception and ball. A communication to the press shortly thereafter said it had been a distinguished assemblage, and it was unfortunate Governor Busiel brought guests from his home city of Laconia such as ice wagon drivers and their consorts who "were noisy at times."

Messrs. Chandler and Moses thought highly of Busiel. A director of several railroads, Busiel nevertheless shared Chandler's belief those corporations should not distribute free passes to members of the General Court nor make sweetheart contracts for low freight rates. Busiel's inaugural address had earmarks indicating it was prepared by Moses, particularly since it extolled the Forestry Commission, to which Moses had been appointed in 1893, a post paying \$1,000 a year he continued to hold until 1907. Governor Busiel nominated 13 individuals, one after another, to be railroad commissioner. All were rejected by unanimous vote of the Governor's Council. Near the end of his term, Busiel was chagrined, upon attending a meeting of the directors of the Concord & Montreal, to learn he was to be dropped from the board. Busiel's successor as governor promptly nominated and the Executive Council unanimously confirmed for the railroad commission the individual the Boston & Maine sought without success for two years to persuade Busiel to name.

Senators Chandler and Gallinger with Congressman Currier called on President McKinley and requested that he appoint Busiel Secretary of War. The delegation left the White House with the impression McKinley was disposed to comply. Others in New Hampshire, referred to as "friends" of the President, but not identified, advised that he look elsewhere for Cabinet material. Busiel was not appointed.

Moses went to Washington and told Philander C. Knox, Theodore Roosevelt's Secretary of State, he sought appointment as Ambassador to Greece. Knox disapproved, but said he would be happy to recommend an appointment for Moses as postmaster.

"It's Greece or nothing," Moses replied and departed.

The slender Chandler never flinched from physical encounter. Moses, according to Chandler's biographer, boldly

inquired one day why Chandler didn't try devoting himself to duties in Washington instead of getting involved as a leader of unpopular causes locally. Chandler at once grappled with the tall, heavy-set Moses, pushed him to the wall, shouting as he did so in a raspy voice: "George, if you see something that ought to be done, do it yourself."

Death came in March, 1896 to Chief Justice Doe with whom Chandler for years had been at loggerheads. It fell to Moses to compose the following editorial:

A swift, sudden, and wholly unexpected execution of a judgment from the Great Court has terminated Charles Doe's prolonged service upon New Hampshire's supreme bench, and in the more than thirty years that he sat a member of the court he made his fame enduring by impressing himself and his methods uneffaceably upon New Hampshire practice. His place in the annals of jurisprudence is secure and, while many differed with him, none can gainsay his consummate ability and his masterful personality which even his marked eccentricities were unable to cloak and which have their abiding witness in the history of the law in the last four decades. Profound knowledge and extreme rapidity of mental action were his preeminent qualities and he carefully adjusted his environment at all times so as to maintain the judicial temperament. His was an open mind and he has passed to the realm where exact justice is meted out, leaving the reputation of having always molded his conduct and opinions in such wise as to fear no judgment. In the presence of death all asperities are softened and the late chief justice rests from his labors among a people who remember only his great intellect and the prolonged service which he rendered the state.

"Asperities" may have softened, but forty years later in a letter to the editor of the Laconia Evening Citizen, Moses declared: "I have always believed that the naked elimination of the word 'proportional' from our Constitution would be calamitous. William E. Chandler and I have always believed that the word means 'proportional in classes'; and in the Convention of 1902 we sought to enforce that idea—without result, because Chief Justice Blodgett, who was Chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary in that Convention, would not stand for it. He was shackled by the opinions of the Supreme Court as dictated by Chief Justice Doe, and which continued to lay a heavy hand upon all Constitutional questions in the state."

Moses' account of a brush with Blodgett recalls he studied law briefly with Blodgett at Franklin. In a 1937



letter he said "It was in the office of Chief Justice Blodgett I pursued my meteoric career in the law. That is to say, I read law with him for six weeks and determined that I did not know enough to be a lawyer and, consequently, went to college. It took me another six weeks, in college, to learn that I would never know enough to be a lawyer. And think of what a brilliant ornament the Bar missed!"

Assassination of President McKinley removed from office the chief executive who failed to make Busiel Secretary of War much to the disappointment of Chandler and Moses. There was no recrimination in the Moses editorial about the assassination which began: "The President is dead. This is no time for words. The President is dead; and the nation in whose service he gave his life is stricken with a grief that passes expression. It is not the writer of today or of tomorrow who can measure the career of William McKinley and allot his part, as soldier, citizen and public servant, in the history of his nation and of the world. It is enough for us that we knew him and loved him and that today we mourn his death as the greatest national loss of this generation. William McKinley was a great man; and he was, also, an honest man, a pure man, a true man. The story of his private life is unsullied; his domestic devotion and happiness were idyllic."

On the same page was a tribute from James O. Lyford, which said: "President McKinley was the last man whom the public would have marked for the hands of an assassin."

In 1905 President Theodore Roosevelt, when the heads of the Russian and Japanese governments were thinking of a treaty of peace after a costly war, invited them to assemble for negotiations in the United States, on neutral soil. The invitation was accepted, and the Portsmouth Navy Yard chosen as site of the deliberations. From the White House word reached Governor McLane there was urgent necessity for adequate hospitality to the principals, to their aides, also correspondents from world capitals, and the co-ordinator should be an individual who could speak French fluently. This person would arrange sight-seeing in leisure moments, set up arrangements for the arrival of Governor McLane at the proper moment to welcome the conferees, not forgetting a formal state dinner. An additional duty would be selection of gifts for special guests. Moses was Governor McLane's immediate choice. The tall, self-confident editor departed

for Portsmouth fully equipped with the wardrobe of a veteran of the diplomatic corps—striped pants, morning coat, cutaway, white tie and tails for evening functions, and silk hat.

First session of the Conference occurred August 10. The envoys were guests at Wentworth-by-the-Sea in New Castle, pop. 581, "stage and steamer from Portsmouth four times a day." The Wentworth accommodated 400.

The visitors were official guests of the state of New Hampshire, payment for all their hotel charges being made from funds turned over to McLane by Judge Calvin Page, who had discretionary powers as executor of the six-million dollar estate of Frank Jones, Portsmouth brewer and president of the Laconia Car Works. Before their return to their home countries the representatives of Japan and Russia each made a gift of \$10,000 to the state to be used for charitable purposes as a token of appreciation for its warm hospitality.



Concord, N. H., November 2, 1898.

To Allan H. Robinson,  
George F. Durgin, and  
George H. Moses,

Concord, N. H.

You have my authority to make use of my portrait, fac-  
simile autograph, the representation of my residence, "Pleasant  
View," etc., in the manufacture of souvenir spoons and other silver  
articles.

*Mary Baker Eddy.*

## CHAPTER FOUR

### Auburn Street

A letter from Mary Baker Eddy, granting, in 1898, Allan H. Robinson, G. H. Moses and George Durgin certain rights as to silver spoons, aroused the curiosity of Willis D. Thompson, Jr., chairman of the trustees of the Concord Public Library. He sent this inquiry:

July 17, 1968

Dear Ed, —

I enclose a copy of a note from Mrs. Eddy recently found among an old file of W. E. Chandler's papers. Am I right about who Robinson was and, if so, why would Mrs. E. combine Robinson and Moses as two of a trio—I assume they were not notably friendly in 1898?

You I think are the only person who would know the background of the happening.

Best regards,  
Willis.

Mr. Thompson appended the following identifications:

Allan H. Robinsen in 1898 was editor of the "Patriot" then owned by Stilson Hutchins.

George F. Durgin was the "Son" of Wm. B. Durgin & Son, silversmiths.

George H. Moses with W. D. Chandler in July, 1898, took over control of the "Monitor" from William E. Chandler.

WDT Jr  
7-12-68

In reply we said offering of souvenirs for sale to followers of Mrs. Eddy on pilgrimage to "Pleasant View" was a normal promotional undertaking. Robinson, New Hampshire correspondent for the Boston Herald, and Durgin were friendly. We recall hearing Allan say his pal, Durgin, made the long roundtrip by rail every fortnight to have his hair cut by a favorite New York barber. Allan knew Mrs. Eddy and talked with her many times. Moses enrolled as



one of her students when her home was at 62 North State Street. In 1898 Moses was keen to earn an extra dollar wherever possible, as articles he wrote for magazines testify. In July he had gone in debt to purchase a half interest in the Monitor.

Editor of the Patriot, in 1898, we informed Mr. Thompson, rather than Mr. Robinson was either Henry H. Metcalf or his son, Harry B. Metcalf. Chandler papers on file at the Historical Society disclose Chandler complained to Hutchins about Patriot editorials written by "Metcalf"—first name not given. Hutchins, responding, promised to talk with "Metcalf." In special situations Moses secretly wrote editorials for the Patriot. Jim Langley said H. H. Metcalf told him that occurred. We happen to know Moses wrote a couple of glowing tributes to himself and sent them to the Patriot in the hope that stalwart Democratic organ would forget partisan considerations and use editorially while he was running for the Senate in 1918. It did as he requested.

Another reason Moses was engaged in what it was thought would prove a profitable venture was that he was erecting a home.

He selected a site on Auburn Street, and chose James Randlett as architect. Randlett had been included among Moses' "New Hampshire Men" in 1893 as one who designed outstanding buildings and spent most of his youth in "the beautiful town of Gilmanton."

For 75 years the house on Auburn Street has had as owners only the Moses family and the McLane family—Concord's Mayor Malcolm McLane, grandson of Gov. McLane, whom Moses served at the Russo-Japanese Peace Conference.

Auburn Street was the brain-child of a revivalist who held services in tents. He was Elder John Hook, native of New York state, born in 1820. During the Civil War at their home "Break-o-Day", opposite the camp grounds on Concord Plains, Hook and his wife ministered to troops in camp drilling in preparation for departure to the South. Of that period in Hook's adventurous life, the Monitor said: "Elder Hook kept a sort of sutler's booth near the camp ground. There the soldier boys bought pies and cakes and harmless drinks and there, too, the elder and his motherly wife rendered many a kindly service for the young men who had left the quiet of home for the stirring scenes of the

camp. With no thought of malicious mischief, but from sheer exuberance of spirits, the boys played many a sorry prank upon the good-natured elder who, great and strong, might easily have lifted any two of them from the ground and thrashed the one with the other. But the strong man cherished neither malice nor revenge, and beyond question the frolic being over, the soldier lads amply recompensed him by increased patronage."

Hook described his religious activity as "defending the doctrine." For 80 days he conducted meetings in San Francisco, three times a day.

"In Nova Scotia," said the Monitor, "he baptized 2,000 and for 60 months administered the ordinance of baptism, even through the ice and when the mercury in the thermometer was 20 degrees below zero. He had baptized in the Hawaiian Islands, in the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, in nearly all the rivers of New England, in scores of small streams, in the East River, New York, when both tide and ice were running high, and among those who received this ordinance at his hands were 24 preachers. He had preached in as many as 12 different towns in one day."

That Hook had an extraordinary talent in the field of real estate development Monitor articles about him failed to reveal. The fact turned up in our research elsewhere.

The "Millerites" predicted the end of the world was near and Elder Hook thought so, too. In New Hampshire the brethren assembled on the height of land on Davis (Governor's) Island facing The Weirs and atop Sugar Hill in Dover for the Day of Judgment in 1843. When night passed without incident a new date, Oct. 22, 1844, was announced. The faithful met at the appointed spots once more. Again the world continued as of yore.

This was cited as a happy circumstance, when Auburn Street was officially opened on Sept. 15, 1860 with a parade, bands, and ceremonies over which Mayor Willard presided. Orator was Hon. Lyman D. Stevens, who said six or seven years earlier "the beautiful eminence" was scarcely known to a large portion of the people of Concord. "Mr. John Hook," he said, "was the first to perceive the marvelous beauty of the spot. He began to purchase the land and he succeeded in securing nearly the whole hill and other adjoining lands, and we may count it fortunate for us that Miller's prophecies of the Second Advent did not prove true



else we might suppose that our friend Hook, instead of participating with us in the festivities of this day, would have been speculating in corner lots in the New Jerusalem."

Elder Hook had still another source of revenue—"Hook's Balm", a remedy for sore throat. A Maine resident in a letter to the Monitor said she was sure in her childhood in Concord half the homes were stocked with "Hook's Balm". The elder had a mail order business, which occasioned numerous calls at the postoffice. After his death, in 1899, Postmaster Henry Robinson said in a tribute: "Elder John Hook—grand old man!—will be greatly missed at the post-office as elsewhere. He was a constant patron of the mail service, and had implicit confidence in its integrity. He came through the office generally two or three times a day, often late in the evening, on his way home, and his fervent 'God bless you' was a salutation and a benediction."

George Moses in an editorial at the time of Hook's death, said: "There are very many people, in all the varied walks of life and widely scattered, who will sincerely regret that Elder John Hook is dead. He was not numbered with those whom the world counts among its leaders; he was, indeed, rather known as a 'character' than otherwise; but it was a character that was sincere, earnest, straightforward and helpful. Elder Hook combined an abiding faith with a practical turn of mind. He believed in the Bible as it appeared to read, without gloss or learned explanation, and taught the way of righteousness to all who would listen, regardless of whether or not he was paid for his efforts."

George Moses progressed steadily as a figure in public life and visitors of renown were at the Moses home, although the general public usually was unaware of the fact. Olga, who kept house in the absence of Mr. and Mrs. Moses, was tireless in meeting the additional responsibilities when her employers were at home and there were people of distinction to entertain such as Senator Lodge, Senator Beveridge, Senator Watson. During the 1926 campaign Senator Charles Towne of Minnesota spent a few days with the Moses family, and took trips around the state, telling interviewers and sundry persons he encountered he just dropped by to inform N.H. Republicans they were well represented in the Senate.

Entertaining in the Moses residence was never as lavish as in the larger home of the Robert Jacksons. Colonel

Lindbergh stopped for lunch at the Jackson home in 1927. Jackson financed one of the first attempts at a flight from Paris to New York.

Eleanor Roosevelt visited the Jacksons the day she addressed the Democratic State Convention. Secretary of State Cordell Hull was stricken ill at Concord. His wife hurried from Washington to join Mrs. Jackson in caring for the patient at the Jackson home.

Party-giving was a custom in the Moses-Jackson neighborhood. There were sleigh rides to Guerin's Inn at Hopkinton. One of the latter had a denouement that proved expensive, as related by Bob Jackson:

Thank you for the Christmas Greeting quoted from the Claremont Eagle. It prompts me to inquire if you know whatever became of what may well have been the largest sleigh in the entire U.S.A., the "Daniel Webster", drawn by six horses and with a capacity of 24 in comfort, 30 in discomfort, except that discomfort was moderated in zero temperatures by the warmth generated by closely packed bodies.

A group of us who resided on the hill served by School, Center and Auburn Streets rented the sleigh one winter evening to drive to Hopkinton for a supper and dance. At supper the beverage was hard cider of a potency as authoritative as it was unsuspected. Whether the inspiration was our innate love of music or the carefree spirit generated by the cider, five of us, while the orchestra was absent at supper, appropriated their instruments and offered a concert of our own. What our performance lacked in harmony was compensated for in uninhibited fortissimo. I played the snare drum, Robert Murchie a wind instrument, Harry Alexander another horn and a fourth whose name is forgotten added what passed for talent. But the only true musical talent in the group was Omar Swenson who for some obscure reason elected to perform on what seemed to require the least musical skill, the bass drum.

Amid considerable hilarity and more cacophony we were going full blast when one of the orchestra who had been supping in the basement dining room, alerted by the crescendo, appeared in the doorway, jaw sagging in wonder and dismay. Four of us stopped pronto. Not Omar. He delivered a final and mighty blow of the drumsticks and a ringing clash of cymbals. Then, stepping back, he aimed a gigantic kick at the drum with the side of his right foot. The boot went straight through the drumhead followed by the calf of the leg clear to the knee.

Gaiety of the moment before was succeeded by an ominous silence. The owner of the drum burst upon the scene and demanded loudly and aggressively immediate damages in cash, no checks, no



notes, no promises. Never before had I realized how expensive a drumhead could be. I still doubt the figure demanded. I remember that I was forced to borrow a considerable part of my share from Arthur Morrill who, until I approached him, had been an amused spectator. He made the loan but stopped smiling.

Our subdued return trip, was by no means the end of the incident. Levin Chase, you will recall, was contributing to the press, under an assumed nom de plume, humorous articles commenting on the local scene. He made the Hopkinton incident his theme. Furthermore, the news spread and the Boston Herald printed a paragraph on its editorial page, suggesting that a new form of musical criticism had been born, criticism more affirmative than the polite, ambiguous and timid comments then current, a direct action criticism in keeping with the revolutionary spirit of the time in art.

Can you tell me whatever happened to the "Daniel Webster"? I well remember it overflowing with St. Paul's School boys en route to a hockey match. But that was half a century ago.

Thine,

Robert

P.S. The "Daniel" belongs in a museum, one like Mrs. Webb established on the shore of Lake Champlain.

In another chapter is an account of a dinner at the Jacksons' in 1920 honoring Bourke Cochran, when guests included George Rublee of Cornish, Joe Cotton, George Moses and Ray Stevens. The latter two at that moment were opposing candidates in the senatorial election. One wonders whether they were seated above or below the salt.

Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Seavey of New Hampton were neighbors of Senator and Mrs. Moses and Mrs. Seavey sometimes helped Olga, the Moses' cook, when there were guests. She remembers persons of prominence came to dine, fellow senators, ambassadors, lesser diplomats. When guests were from a foreign land, it was the rule to provide food they were accustomed to enjoy in their own country. If they were from Portugal, the menu would include Portuguese dishes; if from Ireland, the fare typical of Old Erin. Olga was Swedish, and proficient in producing any international touch that might be desired. Her family name in Sweden, she related, was Johanson, but her father on coming to this country felt Johnson would be more likely to find a place quickly on an American payroll.

"Senator Moses liked hot rolls," said Mrs. Seavey. She mentioned an amusing incident. She had prepared rolls according to custom, one night, and was about to bring them

to the table, when Mrs. Moses said: "Now you can serve the bread." Whereupon a plate with slices of bread was placed on the table.

"Where are the rolls?" Mrs. Moses asked, then laughed, as she realized her use of the word bread had been taken literally.

Senator Moses had a desk in his study at which he was accustomed to work, in a large chair, which had a cane seat. One day he remarked to Mr. and Mrs. Seavey the chair was worn and in need of re-caning. He inquired if they knew of some one who could do that job. The Seaveys offered to perform the task, since they knew how much he liked to occupy the chair. Over the year he had acquired a considerable girth, and the spacious seat afforded him genuine comfort.

Mrs. Seavey said conversation sparkled when there were guests from afar, and it was a delight to hear the exchanges between the visitors and their hosts. Which brings to mind a remark of Ike Hoover in his book "Forty Two Years in the White House". Describing the visit of the King and Queen of Siam during the administration of President Hoover he narrated that after dinner the party marched into the Blue Room where the men left the ladies and continued to the Oval Room just above the Blue Room for coffee and cigars. Ike Hoover said especially interesting was the king's conversation "with men like Senators Borah and Moses."

The visit of the King and Queen was arranged by a group called "Friends of Siam", headed by former Congressman Raymond B. Stevens, who during the 1920's served at Bangkok as financial adviser to the king.

Unfortunately, Ike Hoover offered no information as to conversation in which the Queen, Mrs. Herbert Hoover, Mrs. Moses and the other ladies engaged in the Oval Room. At about the same time a social item in the Washington Post noted that Mrs. Hoover, attending a concert by the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, had Mrs. George H. Moses of New Hampshire as her guest.



## CHAPTER FIVE

### Taft Campaign

"A Synoptic History of the Granite State" by John Henry Bartlett, Governor 1919-1920, says:

"In 1908 William H. Taft and James S. Sherman defeated William J. Bryan and John W. Kern for President and Vice President by an electoral vote of 311 to 162. In 1908 Henry B. Quinby (R) of Laconia was elected Governor over Clarence E. Carr (D) of Andover by a vote of 44,630 to 41,386. Harry T. Lord was President of the Senate and Walter W. Scott, Speaker. Quinby's Councilors were Alonzo M. Foss, Dover; Henry W. Boutwell, Manchester; Albert Annett, Jaffrey; James G. Fellows, Pembroke, and Lyford A. Merrow, Ossipee.

"A Direct Primary Law, enlargement of the State House, creating the office of State Auditor, establishing a new Normal School at Keene, a State Sanatorium for Consumptives at Glencliff, and the adoption of the State flag were events of this active Administration."

Bartlett was correct in his order of priorities, putting the direct primary at the head of the achievements. However, it is to be regretted he did not go into detail and explain how that drastic change in the state's voting process came about.

Leon W. Anderson, Concord newsman, writing a history of the N.H. legislature asked Robert Jackson for information concerning the 1920 presidential primary, when Jackson, Ray Stevens and Gordon Woodbury ran for delegates to the Democratic National convention pledged to Herbert Hoover, having received from Hoover what they thought was assurance he would seek the Presidency as a Democrat. "There was national publicity," Jackson wrote, "and Mr. Hoover permitted us to wage a campaign in his behalf. And a campaign it was. The opposition was considerable and aggressive. But we three managed to top the ticket.

"You may recall that George Moses had been a delegate

to a Republican National convention some years previously (1908) and had ignored his pledge and cast his ballot (I believe) for Charles Warren Fairbanks of Indiana. When the Legislature adopted the Presidential Primary George's defiance was fresh and, if I remember correctly, a pledged delegate was compelled to vote his pledge until released. We were all required to go to considerable trouble to be released. I have forgotten the details."

Newspapers reporting the 1909 legislature when the direct primary law was approved said speakers denounced Moses, Senator Gallinger and Alfred Howard for supporting Fairbanks in the convention that nominated Taft.

The Concord Monitor in its front page account of the state convention at which the delegates were selected gave no indication of their being pledged to Taft.

The campaign to choose Taft delegates began early in 1908 and was well organized. Gen. Frank Streeter, Republican National committeeman, took the initial steps to set up a Taft-for-President Association, former Governor Frank W. Rollins president, and Robert J. Merrill of Claremont, secretary-treasurer. Gen. Streeter, a neighbor and helpful to this writer in his early newspaper endeavors, included us (at age 18) as the person to send out press releases. Moses, at odds with Streeter and Rollins and opposed to Taft as well, watched, ready to seize an opportunity to upset the Taft applecart. On March 16, 1908, Moses struck out at a "Concord Letter" in the Milford Cabinet signed E. J. Gallagher. Moses wrote on the Monitor editorial page:

... Among the other activities of the Taft association in New Hampshire is the furnishing of a Concord letter to such weekly papers in the state as will publish it. This letter falls under the head of what Collier's Weekly terms tainted news, in that, while apparently made up of news matter it contains more or less cunningly contrived paragraphs inculcating the purposes of the letter's writer . . . . In other words the writer of the Taft association's Concord letter has let the cat out of the bag by making it known that the real purpose of the association's promoters is to fight Senator Gallinger . . . . From behind Taft they intend to ambush the senator. Well let them begin.

Rollins, a testy individual, was constrained to make immediate reply. Dictating what presumably was a lengthy response, denying whatever charges could be read into the Moses attack, Rollins despatched it in a long, sealed envelop.



Elwin L. Page, a young volunteer for Taft, was assigned to hand-deliver the communication.

Page, who worked in the Monitor news room during vacations, proceeded at once to the office, with which he was, of course, familiar, passed other desks to reach that of Moses, in the corner. "George," said Elwin, "here's an answer from Governor Rollins to your editorial of yesterday."

"Thank you, kindly" Moses replied, smiling. Then, without opening the envelop, he sent it spinning far across the room to a laundry hamper. This was the receptacle which when filled with newspapers received by Monitor on exchange, was collected and taken to the state hospital for the insane. There it would furnish reading matter for inmates. Supt. Bancroft had a similar receptacle at the Patriot office up the street, thus obtaining news journals in considerable quantity for his several hundred patients.

We never learned what Gov. Rollins said in the letter. It did not appear in any newspaper. The state hospital inmate who eventually discovered the letter among the papers furnished for his reading enjoyment, did not hold a press conference to inform the world what Rollins intended should first reach the eyes of Moses.

The 1908 Republican State Convention was at Concord April 21. The Monitor headline, over the convention story, was: **"Absolutely Untrammelled Delegates Chosen to Represent N.H. in Chicago Convention."**

A resolution to commit the delegates to vote for Taft was defeated. Rev. Thomas Chalmers, a Taft man, called for a viva voce expression of the delegates' wishes. A few voted for "Uncle Joe" Cannon. The Monitor reported there was "a long but loud 'aye' from George H. Moses" for Fairbanks. "On the call for the Taft strength," the paper continued, "the galleries gathered the wind into their lungs and joined with the bunch on the floor, but the effect of the puffed and padded whoop was lost by comparison with the wonderful demonstration for Charles Evans Hughes a few minutes earlier."

Both Streeter and F. W. Estabrook, the retiring and the new national committeeman, attended the convention in Chicago.

The Monitor of June 19 gave this account of the bolt from Taft by three of the N.H. delegates:

#### New Hampshire's Vote

In voting for Charles W. Fairbanks of Indiana to be the presidential nominee of the Republican party, three of the delegates from New Hampshire, Senator Jacob H. Gallinger, Albert F. Howard, and George H. Moses, availed themselves of their privilege as unpledged and uninstructed delegates and voiced their own ideas as to the comparative availability and desirability of the different candidates for the nomination.

We have no doubt that upon their return to the state from Chicago, they will freely state their position in the matter and give their reasons, doubtlessly excellent ones, for their choice.

In the meantime such offensive, evidently inspired and entirely unnecessary, criticisms of their action as appear in the Manchester Union of this morning under both editorial and "news" headings are not calculated to promote Republican harmony and success in New Hampshire.

The 19th fell on a Friday. In the Manchester Union the ensuing Monday Publisher Rosecrans W. Pillsbury declared: "Gallinger, Howard and Moses voted against Taft. Their action is an arrogant affront to the Roosevelt administration."

In a Monitor editorial the following Aug. 27 Moses again paid his respects to Streeter and Gallagher:—

Mr. Streeter's paid for space to tell the people about the Gallinger letter excited no little amusement. It was printed as an advertisement by several of the state weeklies and they marked it plainly as such. Some did not care to print it, even if it were paid for, despite the pathetic note which was sent with the copy to the editors. This letter read as follows:

Dear Sir: I enclose a proof slip of a news dispatch from the Boston Herald. Mr. Streeter, desiring that his position shall be understood by the people of the state, has asked me to secure its republication as widely as possible in the New Hampshire press. We would prefer, of course, to have it appear as news matter, which it is; but, in case you do not feel like publishing it in that form, kindly run it as advertising at your regular rates and send me the bill, for which prompt remittance will be made.

Yours very truly,

E. J. Gallagher, Press Correspondent

Condemning as he did in 1908 the method this writer employed to obtain publication, free or as paid advertisement, an announcement intended for widest possible circulation it was ironical to find Moses adopting the same procedure during his attempted comeback in 1936.



Albert S. Baker, writing in the Monitor Monday, June 29, 1936, said Ex-Senator Moses like Theodore Roosevelt believing Monday was the best day in the week for a press release, planned his announcement for that day. However, the mailing which went out from the Rumford Press contained instructions to publishers "to be used in your next edition." The Monitor and other dailies except the Laconia Evening Citizen received the letter on Monday morning. At Laconia it arrived earlier and the Citizen followed to the letter the order for insertion in the next issue. "Thus" Baker wrote, "the Democratic Laconia Citizen all unknowingly 'scooped' the world on the official announcement of Moses' re-entry into Republican politics. The letter of instruction suggested that if the statement could not be printed as news it be run as an advertisement with charges billed to the ex-Senator. Gallagher asked no questions. The Laconia Citizen printed the announcement as an advertisement but ran a front page news story calling attention to the ad."

Elwin Page had a sense of humor. After becoming a justice of the N.H. Supreme Court in the 1930's by appointment of Governor Winant, he still had an occasional quiet chuckle about Moses' tossing the Rollins epistle into a basket which received reading matter for the mentally afflicted. In 1975 we asked Judge Page's son, Robertson, if he recalled any stories his father might have related concerning the periods when he and Moses were on the Monitor. He replied: "For what it's worth I do recall my father telling me that Moses told him in their Monitor days that he (father) would make an excellent newspaperman. I think that father had a wistful regret for the rest of his life that he had not pursued a career in journalism, for he mentioned this incident many times. I believe he was pleased that I chose a newspaper career."

President Taft remembered after taking office the yeoman service performed for him when delegates were to be chosen in New Hampshire. In March, 1911, he appointed Streeter to the International Joint Boundary Commission, a choice political plum. Twenty-three months earlier, however, he named Moses to serve as Ambassador to Greece, the lone New Hampshire editor who opposed his nomination and voted for Fairbanks at the convention.

## CHAPTER SIX

### Mrs. Eddy

Mary Baker Eddy was born at Bow, New Hampshire, on July 16, 1821. She attended district school near her home, and later attended Sanbornton Academy. In 1844 she married Major George W. Glover and went with him to make their home in South Carolina. After a few months Major Glover passed away. His widow returned to New Hampshire where a few months later her only son was born. Following his birth her health was delicate and Mrs. Eddy's son, George W. Glover II, was taken into the home of Mahala Sanborn, later Mrs. Russell Cheney, to be cared for during his mother's serious illness. Not long after the Cheneys moved to the far west, taking the young child with them. For years Mrs. Eddy did not know the whereabouts of her son. On New Year's Day, 1879, she married Asa Gilbert Eddy, an invalid who had been cured by Christian Science as taught by Mrs. Eddy. He passed away on June 3, 1882.

The Christian Science textbook, "Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures", written by Mrs. Eddy was published in 1875. The Christian Science Journal, a monthly periodical, which Mrs. Eddy edited for eleven years, was first published in 1883. Offices were in Boston. In 1889 she moved to Concord, where she resided at 62 North State St. for three years. In the spring of 1892 she bought and remodelled a farm house on Pleasant Street, which she named "Pleasant View." From her tower room she could look off to the hills of Bow.

The Republican Press Association at Concord, Edward N. Pearson, manager, she designated as her publisher. Delays in publishing her work, delays attributed to "malicious animal magnetism" led Mrs. Eddy to transfer all her printing to a firm in Gardner, Mass. At this point George Higgins Moses, employed by the Republican Press Association, appears to have moved into the picture, offering to assist



Mrs. Eddy, by bringing proofs promptly to her, and supervising corrections. The consequence was Mrs. Eddy's decision to return her work to Concord. Moses joined one of her classes as a student. She wrote him letters, addressed as "Dear Student".

Erwin D. Canham, describing in 1958 Mrs. Eddy's decision to remove from Concord, on January 26, 1908, wrote: "She had just gone through a bitter legal struggle, the 'Next Friends' suit in which a newspaper-promoted effort to seize control of her properties and undermine her church had failed."

Pressing this litigation was Ex-Senator Chandler. Charges in the New York World that Mrs. Eddy was mentally unbalanced and sometimes represented by another woman in afternoon drives through Concord streets were publicly denied by George Moses.

Arthur P. DeCamp, a St. Louis resident who came with hundreds of other followers of Mrs. Eddy on annual pilgrimage to Concord, determined to buy the Daily Patriot from Stilson Hutchins as a precaution against a time when some one unfriendly to Mrs. Eddy and Christian Science doctrines might assume control of one or the other local dailies. Hutchins sold the Patriot to DeCamp in November, 1900.

The World, sending reporters to Concord, began its study of Mrs. Eddy, her family, close associates, and financial situation late in the summer of 1906 after a series of similar articles began in McClure's Magazine. The magazine instalments ran more than a year. McClure's named Will Irwin, Willa Cather and Burton Hendrick to assist in its series. On Sunday, October 28, the World account appeared, occupying the front page, with these scare-headlines:

#### **MRS. MARY BAKER G. EDDY DYING; FOOTMAN AND DUMMY CONTROL HER**

**Founder of Christian Science Suffering from Cancer and Nearing Her End, Is Immured at Pleasant View, While Another Woman Impersonates Her on the Streets of Concord.**

**Calvin A. Frye, Secretary-Footman, Supreme Power at the Eddy Home. Mrs. Eddy's Fortune Estimated at \$15,000,000. Her Income at \$1,000,000 a Year.**

Editor Moses answered the World's attack, sending to the newspaper the following:

Concord, N. H. Oct. 28, 1906.

I have had the pleasure of knowing Mrs. Eddy for more than ten years, and I have had frequent occasion to correspond with her and to meet her with reference to matters of public importance in this community. These relations with her still continue, and within a very short time I have received from her long letters written from beginning to end in her own handwriting, which, from long acquaintance, is perfectly familiar to me, and that she is indubitably alive, both physically and mentally, is well attested by these communications.

Moreover, I see Mrs. Eddy driving in her carriage through our streets almost every day, and I have, within a very few days, met her carriage and spoken to her as she drove past. That the occupant of the carriage was Mrs. Eddy in propria persona is accurate testimony which I am very glad to give, and had any of the newspaper representatives to whom you allude taken trouble to call upon me during their stay in Concord, I would have freely told them as I now write you.

While it would be futile to assert that Mrs. Eddy is wholly without critics or opponents in Concord, it is entirely within the bounds of accuracy to say that by the vast majority of all our people, and most emphatically by those who by their position in the community are most entitled to represent that intangible spirit which we call public opinion, she is regarded as our foremost citizen. Her numerous good works, her constant and consistent charities here, her keen interest in all that makes for the betterment of the community, and her blameless, laborious and useful life among us, all contribute to make her beloved and respected by the people of Concord, and we all hope that she may live long in her present full possession of physical, mental and spiritual power to continue her good work among us.

(Signed) George H. Moses, Editor Evening Monitor

DeCamp's editor, Michael Meehan, was equally emphatic in refutation of the World's accusations.

Even before the article appeared, and basing his action on rumors, Meehan wrote to the World's owner, Joseph Pulitzer, at his summer home in Bar Harbor, Me.: "If the intent of 'The World's' representatives to Concord be carried out in its columns, 'The World' will say in substance that Mrs. Eddy is dead, and that a mummy or a substitute, and not she, is in the carriage each day when it passes through the main streets of our city, and its occupant is greeted by our people or it will say Mrs. Eddy is enfeebled and decrepit, and that those brilliant faculties which in the past made her wonderful accomplishments possible have departed. To



every statement, or even insinuation of this kind, I, as one who knows, say it is untrue."

Concerning the selection of Chandler as counsel in litigation against Mrs. Eddy inaugurated by the newspaper Meehan said: "It is doubtful if in all the country one endowed with accomplishments more in harmony with the requirements of this undertaking than were those of Senator Chandler could be found. He was a man prominent in New Hampshire's affairs; he had in the past exerted wide influence; he had a most extended acquaintance among men locally and nationally, and his name was a household word in the political world at least. He was known as an able lawyer; his power of sarcasm in the United States Senate has been rarely paralleled and never surpassed; his residence was in Concord; he had been the friend of President Roosevelt; he had proved his ability as a fine debater; he was adroit, tactful, wily, — indeed, very cunning. . . He was the man who could surely be relied on to make much out of what seemed a forlorn cause."

Arthur Brisbane for *Cosmopolitan Magazine* and William E. Curtis for the *Chicago Record Herald* were famous news writers of that day who visited Concord and were escorted to Mrs. Eddy's home by Meehan. The visitors reported they found Mrs. Eddy in good health. Brisbane wrote:

"There was no sign of weakness of mind, voice or body. The quality of Mrs. Eddy's voice is really extraordinary."

Curtis declared: "I have never seen a woman eighty-six years of age with greater physical or mental vigor."

Mrs. Eddy's "Next Friends" listed in the litigation were her son George, her daughter Mary, a nephew, and Dr. Ebenezer Foster Eddy, her adopted son.

When the trial began Moses was subpoenaed. He was asked to testify relative to letters from Mrs. Eddy and to read extracts to show she was mentally unbalanced. Judge Edgar Aldrich held such evidence was inadmissible. Moses, much relieved, stepped down.

Chandler withdrew the "Next Friends" suit. A cash settlement was sought and ended in a compromise in which Glover received \$245,000, Foster Eddy obtained \$45,000. In return all the direct heirs signed releases of forfeiture

of further claim upon Mrs. Eddy or her estate after her death. She died on December 3rd, 1910. Chandler proceeded to contest her will. Nearly all of her estate was left to the Mother Church in Boston for charitable purposes. A court decision in 1912 held a church could hold property in excess of \$100,000 if it was "a charitable organization." Mother Church trustees organized on that basis, which brought to a close litigation that commenced in 1906.



## CHAPTER SEVEN

### Greece

We discovered as a teen-ager we could sell things to George Harvey's Harper's Weekly. We wrote asking if they would buy George Moses' picture and brief story. The answer: "Send them along." The item was printed May 13, 1909. A head-and-shoulders photo portrayed a stern-visaged subject, wearing eyeglasses, hair parted in the middle, a black suit-coat and white vest, the latter without question the mode of the times for well-dressed gentlemen. The caption:

#### The New American Minister to Greece

**The text:** Mr. George H. Moses, whom President Taft has appointed Minister to Greece and Montenegro, is a native of Maine, though the great part of his life has been spent in New Hampshire, to which State his appointment is credited. He is forty years old, the son of a preacher, and was educated at the famous old academy at Exeter and at Dartmouth College, in both of which institutions he ranked with the leaders in Greek.

On leaving college he became secretary to the Governor of New Hampshire, and at the same time began newspaper work. For fifteen years past he has been managing editor of the Concord Evening Monitor.

At Athens, Moses became acquainted with royalty. He took rides through the countryside with the king of Montenegro, conferred a number of times with King Ferdinand of Bulgaria, and had conversations on occasions with Queen Marie of Rumania. "I became friendly with heads of governments, and was invited into their homes," he said in later years.

John Bass, brother of Governor Bass, described the Balkan states as "the powder keg of Europe" in dispatches in 1908 and 1909 to the Chicago Daily News. Turkey in the early part of the 18th century had acquired possession

of the entire Balkan peninsula, except Montenegro. For two centuries the peninsula had been the scene of almost continuous warfare. In the course of the 19th century Greece and Serbia became independent, and in 1908 Bulgaria's independence was formally proclaimed.

Rising to prominence was a young member of the assembly from Crete, Venizelos. In 1910 he removed to Athens to head the Military League, an organization working for constitutional reform. Within a year he was chosen Prime Minister. In the next few years he was in and out of office, resigning on account of differences with King Constantine. It was through Venizelos' influence that Greece entered World War I on the side of the Allies. He represented his country at the Peace Conference in Versailles.

After he had been in the Senate five years, Moses, in a reminiscent mood described for a New York Times reporter incidents revealing he was a central figure in the Greek revolution 1909-10. Moses disclosed he was the man who engineered the return of Venizelos from Crete to take charge. At the same time it fell to Moses to select the person he deemed best qualified to serve as Minister of Foreign Affairs in the first Venizelos Cabinet. Next epic event was the formation of the Balkan Federation, the first draft of which was prepared in Moses' office. Before his resignation in August, 1912, Balkan sovereigns conferred on Moses their Grand Crosses in recognition of his "distinguished and conspicuous service in behalf of the Balkan Federation."

Letters sent to his friend, Robert Jackson, by the ambassador, which would have been more gossipy than the official messages despatched each day to Washington, unfortunately, disappeared. Jackson in a letter dated March 23, 1957 told of the loss and the manner in which it occurred:

You quote George Moses on the art of letter writing. Among the more poignant regrets which continue to plague me has been my failure to preserve my correspondence which accumulated between 1905 and 1928. One reason has been my personal vagrancy. I have lived successively and for various intervals of time in Littleton, Hanover, Boston, Concord, Washington, New York and on Long Island; at one time or another for six months in Mexico, three months each in London and in Paris; a part-time residence for twelve years in Toronto as president of Dominion Stores, and finally I have spent



17 of the past 44 months in Havana and other Caribbean spots. In consequence, my files have been scattered and to make matters worse those in my Capitol Street office in Concord were inadvertently destroyed when we sold the building. I was absent from Concord at the time. Fortunately I have managed to keep something resembling a diary although there are huge gaps in its continuity.

In those files were a considerable number of letters from George Moses when he was serving as our Minister to Athens. Before he left for his post we agreed to write each other at least once a month and we kept this pact. His letters were immensely entertaining. I recall his quote of a conversation with the Princess Nicholas, sometimes known as the Princess Helen, the mother of the present Duchess of Kent, who said to him: "I have one criticism of you Americans. You seem to forget that although we are princesses we are also women."

Replied the gallant George: "Your Highness, my own problem has been to remember always that you are also a princess and that my impulses must be subjected to protocol." Incidentally, this princess died within the past fortnight.

As an indication of the gravity of my loss, among the letters was an entire file in the handwriting of Mary Baker Eddy which were given to me by Harry G. Sargent who had acted at times as her personal counsel in matters associated with her real estate in Concord.

In Moses' first campaigns for the Senate his opponents were wont to speculate as to why he resigned his ambassadorship. It was broadly hinted the resignation was demanded by President Taft as a consequence of what was termed "the battleship deal." Taft, in fact, sent a letter expressing appreciation of Moses' services and regretting he was tendering his resignation. This document is among the Moses papers at the N.H. Historical Society. He could have made it public during the 1918 contest with John B. Jameson and in 1920 in the race against Raymond B. Stevens, but each time refrained, in adherence to a policy of never answering charges emanating from a political opponent.

George R. Carter, credit manager for Dun & Bradstreet, decided to find out about the battleship transaction and obtained this explanation from Moses, which Carter kindly passed along to this writer:

Greece had no navy and they had decided to start one by the purchase of three battleships. Russia, England, Germany and the United States had been asked to bid and had done so. When the bids were opened, the United States was the highest and Russia

the lowest, far below the others. Moses was being pressed daily to get that order for the United States and use every possible means to do so. By means which he was still not privileged to tell, he learned that the Greek Minister of Defense had been promised \$250,000 by the Russians, then, having arrived at a certain point in the fabrication they would claim there had been a terrible mistake in figuring the costs, and they must have more money or work would be stopped immediately. If necessary this plan might be worked several times. Armed with these facts, Moses started at three a.m. for the apartment of the Minister of Defense. The guards, of course, would not admit him, but he argued loud and long until that functionary lifted his window. Moses explained his mission as much as he could with others listening in. Finally, Moses was admitted. It was no time to waste words. Either the Minister would sign the order now or Moses would expose the entire plot, and the Minister probably would be tried and executed. Moses even went further by providing the distressed Minister with an escape clause. In sending out for prospective bidders Greece had set a time limit, with daily monetary penalties for delays. The United States bid accepted this clause. None of the others did. The Minister could readily claim to his people that without these clauses the other bidders could not be held to any reasonable time and haste was absolutely necessary. After much argument, wrangling and threats the Minister signed at five a.m. "And so," Moses concluded his account to the persistent credit man, "your Uncle Moses returned to the embassy with an order for three battleships for Uncle Sam."

In the summer of 1912 while on an early morning ride with the king of Montenegro Moses saw the first shots fired in the Balkan War.





Granite Monthly Publisher Harlan C. Pearson chose Moses profile (above) to accompany article, January, 1919.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### Strategy Wins In 1918

In modern times a member of Congress from New Hampshire has rarely declined to run for a second term. Congressman Sherman Adams, elected in 1944, at the end of the two years said "That's enough." Senator Henry F. Hollis felt the same way in 1919 when he finished his six years. He announced his irrevocable decision early in the summer of 1918. First Republican to announce for Hollis' seat was George H. Moses. Hollis, asked by a reporter to comment, said: "What consummate gall that man has!"

For the former ambassador the going was tough. Governor Henry W. Keyes, and a former governor, Rolland H. Spaulding plunged into the race, making the odds heavy Moses would lose.

The Manchester Union, edited by Frank Knox, made known its views on Aug. 5. Keyes and Spaulding, Knox wrote, were locked in a tight battle; Moses' chances of success, Knox declared, were nil.

Senator Gallinger died unexpectedly Aug. 17, creating an immediate vacancy. Atty. Irving Drew was named by Keyes as interim senator.

One week after Gallinger's death Moses announced he was seeking Gallinger's seat, and withdrew from the contest to succeed Hollis, whose term would end March 3, 1919. Keyes defeated Spaulding in the September primary by the narrow margin of 292 votes. The selection of Gallinger's successor was not provided for under the state primary law. It had to be done by means of a congressional convention. Spaulding entered the convention contest too, but Moses captured the most delegates, winning support of 450 while Spaulding was backed by 201.

Harlan Pearson, reviewing the results in the Granite Monthly, said Moses proved himself a master political strategist when he dropped out of the primary free-for-all.

A much stiffer battle lay ahead for Moses in November.



The Democrats nominated John B. Jameson, one of Concord's wealthiest men. He amassed millions through investments in Texas and Oklahoma, and he made a fortune from the chain of stores in Canada launched by Robert Jackson. Ten years earlier the candidate's father, Nathan C. Jameson, came close to winning the governorship. The vote in 1908 was Floyd, 40,581, Jameson 37,672.

New Hampshire has seldom seen a campaign with more name-calling than the one between Moses and Jameson in 1918. Jameson accused Moses of conflict of interest as secretary of the Forestry Commission serving as director of the Mount Washington Lumber company. That corporation's prospectus was alleged to contain exaggerated statements as to company assets. Moses was raked for things done and not done while ambassador to Greece. Handbills were distributed with a doggerel, the theme being Moses was so enraptured with life abroad he wore a monocle, kissed ladies' hands, made friends with Kaiser Wilhelm.

Amid this furore Moses perceived an opportunity to snatch votes from the opposite party. He spread the word among Irish Americans he would fight for Irish home rule.

There had been a great Irish race convention in New York. Delegations were present from many states, including New Hampshire. Victor Herbert, the composer, was elected chairman of a national organization to promote Irish Freedom. New York Supreme Court Justice Daniel F. Cohalan made a ringing address before the convention in the Astor House. Among those present to hear him was Jeremiah J. Crowley, state chairman of Irish History, Ancient Order of Hibernians, of New Hampshire. The A.O.H. then had 3,000 members with branches in every county except Grafton and Carroll. Manchester had over 1,000 members. There was a Hibernian building in Manchester, another owned by the division at Somersworth.

"Jerry" Crowley was frequently called upon to address Irish groups, never failing to include the fact that Matthew Thornton, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence from New Hampshire, was a native of Limerick, Ireland.

Crowley assured Moses there would be strong support for him in the Irish enclaves of Concord, Manchester, Nashua, Dover, Portsmouth, and Somersworth. Also enlisted as a leader was Jack Lawless of Dover.

When Lawless died suddenly in 1951 a tribute from

his friend, Monsignor Edmund F. Quirk, member of the Concord Rotary Club, was published. Fr. Quirk said in part: "In his lifetime Jack Lawless knew the cheers of his friends and some times he heard the jeers of those who considered him a fool to waste his time, risk his future on things they could not understand. If he supported a man, that man could be sure that support would never be lightly withdrawn."

In the case of Moses Lawless' backing was in evidence in every campaign, 1918 to 1932.

Moses defeated Jameson, 35,528 to 34,458. The battle for the six year term to succeed Hollis resulted: Keyes 37,783, Eugene E. Reed, 32,763.

Keyes' total in comparison with Moses' close squeak suggested the latter's efforts to win support on the Irish Freedom issue spelled the difference between victory and defeat.

Moses was given the certificate of election before the recount called for by Jameson. On his arrival in the Senate chamber to be sworn and seated the proceedings were interrupted. Senator Pomerene of Ohio, chairman of the committee on elections, made a move for delay. Senator Lodge took the floor, declaring charges against Moses in the Mount Washington matter had turned out to be without foundation. Thereupon Moses was seated by a voice vote.

The Irish question came up during discussion of amendments to the Peace Treaty. Senator Gerry of Rhode Island proposed a 15th reservation for Irish self-determination. It was frowned on by Senator Lodge and Republicans who followed his leadership but the bitter-enders, including Moses, voted yea, and prevailed. Among Treaty amendments, it was the only one approved. The Irish Free State became a member of the League of Nations in 1923.

Irish partisans were bitter toward President Wilson for his failure to embrace their cause. He declined to grant an interview to Judge Cohalan, and the latter pursued him on his return from Paris. On a western speaking trip Wilson was heralded at every stop by full page advertisements attacking the League of Nations. These advertisements were paid for by the Friends of Irish Freedom.

State Chairman Robert Jackson in the fall of 1920 adopted what he hoped would prove a master stroke to bring back into the fold party members who left the ranks





Robert Jackson guest speaker of New England Society of New York, 1956. Left to right, Edward Allen Pierce, led singing of national anthem; Charles M. Kinsolving, native Virginian, Newsweek executive, toasted New England; Jackson; Charles B. Wiggan, society's president; James E. St. Clair, accepted a gift for his partner, Joseph N. Welch, in absentia. St. Clair, Nixon counsel, 1974; Rev. Walter Donald Kring, gave invocation.

to help Moses in 1918. He brought Bourke Cochran into the state. Cochran was a guest at the Jackson home, and Moses, a near neighbor, was among the guests at a dinner during the visit. Jackson told of that dinner in the following:

Cochran spoke in Manchester, an occasion I recall clearly because he was my house guest for an entire week. It was the day of Prohibition and I was hard put to provide him with his daily potion. We had supper at the Derryfield Club before the evening meeting and the orator of the night lingered lovingly over the bottled sunlight of other days to such an extent we were half an hour late in arriving at the hall and the audience was restless to the point of leaving. That was two years after Irish-Americans went off the reservation because of the League of Nations and I had brought to New Hampshire the greatest orator of Irish blood, perhaps in sheer oratorical virtuosity the greatest of a long Irish line, to lure the renegades back to the Democratic reservation.

Bourke Cochran married a St. Johnsbury girl, Anna Louise Ide, daughter of Henry Clay Ide, a distinguished Vermont lawyer who was named Chief Justice of the island of Samoa. I had invited Cochran to be my house guest, assuming he would arrive the day of the Manchester meeting. To my surprise he appeared several days in advance, having visited his wife's ancestral home in St. Johnsbury. She had returned to their Sands Point home on Long Island and he decided to come directly to Concord rather than make the New York journey twice.

We had an enjoyable week. He was the most interesting conversationalist I have met, a classical scholar and master of a voluminous and exciting vocabulary. I gave a dinner for him and I may have mentioned to you George Rublee's comment after Cochran had held us fascinated with a monologue lasting more than an hour: "That was the greatest one-man conversation I ever heard." When one remembers that among the guests were George Moses, Ray Stevens and Joe Cotton, this statement becomes significant.

In one of a series of essays by Winston Churchill, published in the early 1930's before he achieved immortality, he writes that Bourke Cochran was the most interesting conversationalist he had ever met. In my only brief meeting with Prime Minister Churchill some years ago I mentioned Bourke Cochran, referring to Mr. Churchill's earlier statement. His face lighted up. He said "Did you know him? Wasn't he wonderful?"

Mr. Cochran was intensely interested in Daniel Webster. With Mrs. Jackson he drove to Webster's birthplace in Salisbury. Mr. Cochran regarded the small wooden structure, no more than a shed, in silence for several minutes. Then he said "Genius prefers unlikely soil in which to flower." He turned to Mrs. Jackson and asked "What do you think?" She said "I am thinking of his mother giving



birth to her baby without a physician or a midwife in the small hut. It reminds me of another birth in Bethlehem."

On Aug. 30, 1919, Cochran addressed the Senate Foreign Relations committee. Senator Lodge said the address was "one of the greatest speeches ever delivered inside the walls of Congress."

Cochran opposed Tammany Hall, nevertheless was elected to Congress, where Speaker Joe Cannon described him as the most unpredictable man he had ever seen. Alfred E. Smith in his autobiography, Up to Now, recalled Cochran nominated him for the Presidency in 1920, when James M. Cox was the choice of the convention. Gov. Smith had not become known to any extent outside New York.

James McGurrin, president general of the American Irish Historical Society, authored a biography of Cochran published by Charles Scribner & Sons in 1948. McGurrin had both Moses and Cochran as guests of honor at the society's annual dinner in New York City, and Moses was elected vice president of the organization. The New York Sunday Times carried the announcement of Senator Moses' election to the Irish Society. Chief Spring of the Laconia Fire Department, upon reading the Times item, issued a newspaper statement, declaring the choice of Moses was irregular, that he was not a native of Ireland, or possessor of Irish blood. President General McGurrin ignored Spring's criticism, and Moses continued to hold office in what Spring termed "an exclusively Irish society."

The McGurrin biography of Cochran started with an introduction by Sir Shane Leslie, a cousin of Winston Churchill and who, like Cochran married one of the Ide girls at St. Johnsbury. In 1916 Sir Shane visited Concord and Manchester, being received at the state house by Governor Rolland Spaulding, and reading original poems at a Friends of Ireland meeting in Manchester in the evening.

# The Rescue of New Hampshire

*And the Rise of a New Figure in Our Public Life*

By JEROME G. BEATTY



"Sure, I'll spend money—but it's my money."

Grown an insurgent movement that now is as hearty as any Western insurrection. These New Hampshire Progressives, as they call themselves, have just won a victory over the old establishment in the state. This railroad is the monopoly that made necessary the insurgent campaign. Nearly 1,100 miles of track in New Hampshire belong to the Boston and Maine. The remaining few miles are part of the Grand Trunk system, which cuts across a northern corner of the State.

The progress of the other big insurgent waves has been recorded in the newspapers. Johnson of California, Stibbs of Kansas, La Follette of Wisconsin—you know all about their work. But did you ever hear of Robert F. Bass, Governor of New Hampshire, and the band of fighters whom he leads?

## Trapped!

PERHAPS the reason the news has never reached the outside world is that there is not a thoroughly progressive daily newspaper in New Hampshire. With one exception, the Concord "Monitor," stands solidly with the railroad.

"What's your idea in supporting the Boston and Maine in this fight?" asked Edward J. Gallagher, who edits the Concord "Patriot," one of the leading Democratic dailies in the State.

"I've run a few editorials against the railroad," he said, "but I can't run too many."

"THROW 'em out." That's the answer New Hampshire's insurgents have just given to the question:

"How shall we get the corporations out of politics if they won't go voluntarily?"

In the heart of New England, the healthiest country in the world for Standpatism, among the knitting mills and shoe factories, has

grown an insurgent movement that now is as hearty as any Western insurrection. These New Hampshire Progressives, as they call themselves, have just won a victory over the old establishment in the state.

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When Governor Bass heard of the rider that had been coupled on the utilities bill he called in his friends. "I believe I'll go out and stump the State," he said calmly.

He stayed up all that night dictating a speech. It was never delivered. It was too bad that it was not.

for it was a good one. No Pat and Mike stories in it. Governor Bass deals in facts and never uses: "That reminds me of an incident—"

The news got out that the Governor was planning a speechmaking campaign against the railroad. "Does he mean it?" they asked in the railroad offices in Boston.

"He does," the nine lobbyists reported. "Hold him off a while," was the tenor of the orders that came from Boston.

Governor Bass was given to understand that the Boston and Maine was willing to compromise. "We'll compromise nothing," was the answer of the Governor and the progressive House.

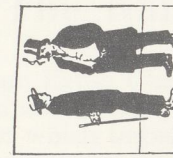
The Governor decided to wait until April 7. If the railroad did not surrender the speechmaking campaign would then be on.

## The Road Surrenders

ON APRIL 5 George Rulhee, a New Hampshire voter and a friend of Governor Bass, received a letter from President Mellen. The railroad had surrendered.

"Welcome," the Governor said to his secretary, after reading the letter from Mr. Mellen. "Take this and file it where I can get my hands on it at any moment."

Wolaban filed it in the B's. "Burglar alarm," he labeled it. The Senators got their orders from the railroad. The rider they had insisted was the only fair rate



"Go 'way and play with your money!"

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he went home cheered by the knowledge that he was not the only fighting man on the people's side. He went to the Legislature in 1904. Soon after his election he served upon for appendicitis and served only a few days in the Legislature. Two years later he asked for another term. He was elected. The House had a joke committee to which he was named. Representatives wanted to sidetrack it. It was the Committee on Retrenchment and Reform. Nobody in Concord knew the meaning of either word, and when the railroad leaders wanted to insult some one they gave him a high place on the committee. They made Bass chairman. He called a meeting of his committee. "Now," he said in his businesslike tone, "we'll close the Statehouse as his field. He began to subpoena witnesses and had looked into nearly every department, disclosing some startling irregularities, when one night his desk was broken into and all his records were stolen."

**Saving the State \$80,000**  
He subpoenaed the witnesses all over again, and before he got through he had retrenched considerably and reformed a good deal. He introduced methods of economy into nearly every department, made the employees do more work, and saved the State \$80,000 a year that it was paying needlessly its interest. The custom of the last day of the session to pass a budget bill containing appropriations to friends of the Administration for services to the State. These friends included newspaper men who did not write all they saw and other persons who might prove useful to the machine leaders.

He exposed this practice and killed these appropriations. The State saved \$100,000. After it was all over, a railroad attorney came to him.

"Cut out all this foolishness, Bass," he said. "If you'd just see that you're all wrong on these things you might go to the Senate."

"I'm not going to cut out this foolishness," Bass said. "I am going to the Senate."

Most of the Representatives, new members did not realize what was going on. Far from their constituents, hearing daily arguments from railroad lobbyists, they were fooled one day into burying the tax bill, the law prohibiting passes, the anti-



## CHAPTER NINE

### The Railroad Surrender

William Eaton Chandler distributed thousands of copies of his pamphlet, "New Hampshire a Slave State". Railroad domination which began in the so-called consolidation fights in the legislature in 1885 and 1889 ended during the administration of Governor Bass, 1911-12. The manner in which peace was achieved was described by Jerome Beatty in Collier's Weekly.

George Moses was out of the country, performing his duties as ambassador when the Collier's piece appeared. There was mention of his newspaper early in the Collier's story. Perhaps the reason the news of the N.H. upheaval had not reached the outside world, Beatty wrote, "is that there is not a thoroughly progressive daily newspaper in New Hampshire. With one exception, the Concord Monitor, they stand solidly with the railroad."

President Lucius Tuttle of the Boston & Maine had been succeeded by Charles S. Mellen, also president of the New York, New Haven & Hartford, when the railroad pulled in its horns.

Beatty, who had worked with the renowned Roy Roberts on the Kansas City Star, became a secretary on Gov. Bass' staff. In his subsequent career he was assistant to Will H. Hays, president of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America. He turned from motion picture publicity to free lance writing. Readers Digest assigned him and his wife to make a 15 month trip around the world.

Editor Norman Hapgood of Collier's Weekly commissioned Beatty to review the Bass accomplishments. Hapgood was a voter in Cornish, and gave considerable attention to N.H. politics. Beatty's article in August, 1911, began with these words:

"In the heart of New England, the healthiest country in the world for standpatters, among the knitting mills and shoe factories,



has grown an insurgent movement that now is as hearty as any Western insurrection."

The tale was illustrated with a picture of Bass, and several drawings by an artist depicting incidents in stormy legislative battles.

"In the fall of 1910, out of the Boston offices of the Boston & Maine," Beatty revealed, "came a herald proclaiming that the railroad had decided to get out of politics. But on Thursday, March 30, 1911, came the jolt that showed exactly why the railroad 'out of politics', was keeping nine registered lobbyists at Concord. On this day the Senate added to the public service commission bill a rider written by Edgar J. Rich of Boston, chief counsel for the Boston & Maine. The rider contained the railroad's solution of the rate problem—a solution that was absolutely unfair to the state, according to Louis D. Brandeis and other experts, who were being employed in an investigation a House Rate Committee was making. All that the senators knew about the question was what Mr. Rich had told them.

"And yet they adopted these amendments before they heard them read. The record is in the Senate Journal: 'On motion of Senator Hosford, the amendments reported by a majority of the committee were adopted. On request of Senator Hosford, the amendments were then read.'

"When Governor Bass heard of the rider that had been coupled to the utilities bill he called in his friends.

"I believe I'll go out and stump the state," he said.

"The news got out that the Governor was planning a speech making campaign against the railroad.

"Does he mean it?" they asked in the railroad offices in Boston.

"Governor Bass was given to understand that the Boston & Maine was willing to compromise.

"We'll compromise nothing," was the answer of the Governor and the progressive House.

"The Governor decided to wait until April 7. If the railroad did not surrender the speechmaking campaign would then be on.

"On April 5, George Rublee, a New Hampshire voter and friend of Governor Bass, received a letter from President Mellen. The railroad had surrendered. The senators got their orders from the railroad. The rider they insisted was

the only fair rate solution was ditched. The night of April 14, completely humbled, they voted the progressive way."

Governor Bass died at Peterborough July 29, 1960. We sent copies of our editorial on his passing, which included references to the Collier's article, to Beatty at his home in Roxbury, Conn. He had been a member of the legislature in that state, and we had exchanged letters occasionally. He replied: "The copies of the Citizen containing the Robt. Bass story—yours and mine—arrived early this morning. For the last few months having retired from writing and politics, I have been clearing out tons of stuff—letters, clippings, documents, magazines, etc.—similar, I am sure to papers that surround you. I had in a file letters I received on that American mag. story about my first campaign for the legislature and it is gone, gone, gone. I remember your story about the farmer who went to the N. Hamp. legislature and was shocked to find that the Republicans drank as much as the Democrats. Your editorial about Bass brought back a lot that I had forgotten. As I remember it, the President of the Boston & Maine raised hell about my story (John Bass read the mss. and O.K.d the facts) and I think Norman Hapgood ran a letter from him saying the B. & M. didn't make the politicians lie down and roll over merely by blowing a whistle."

In the Evening Citizen May 13, 1967, our editorial comment included the following: "Jerome Griswold Beatty, magazine writer, died this week at a hospital in Newtown, near his home in Roxbury, Conn. He was 80. We knew him well when he came from Kansas to serve on the staff of Governor Bass, while gathering material for a Collier's article. Editor of Collier's was Norman Hapgood, a member of the colony at Cornish that included Winston Churchill, Percy Mackaye, Augustus St. Gaudens and Maxfield Parrish. It is singular that Beatty and Roy Roberts of the Kansas City Star should pass away at almost the same time. In April, 1948 Time Magazine had a cover picture of Roberts, and we preserved in a scrapbook this letter Time carried a couple of weeks later:

Sir: A great story on Roy Roberts with one error. Roy never announced in a saloon that 'this fat boy from Kansas is going to be the best blankety-blank reporter the Star ever had.' When Roy went to the Star he weighed about 140 pounds, rarely swore, and



was no boaster. He got his weight—a start at least—in Washington.

I did as much as anybody to start Roy in the newspaper business. We were about to be graduated from Lawrence, Kansas, High School, class of 1904. Roy was the honor student and had to make an address. "What'll I orate about?" he asked me one day. I had newspaper ambitions and referred to a book that I happened to be carrying. "Make a speech about the power of the press," I suggested. "It's all in this book." He took the book, delivered an oration about what was the matter with newspapers—at the graduation exercises in the Bowersock Opera House—and was so fascinated with his own speech that he decided that newspapering was the career for him. At that time he didn't weigh much more than 110.

Jerome Beatty.

## CHAPTER TEN

### League of Nations

The 1918 state election took place on Nov. 4, exactly seven days before the Kaiser's army acknowledged it had been defeated. George H. Moses won a seat in the United States Senate. He often said afterward the Kaiser quit when he learned about the Moses victory!

John Henry Bartlett was elected Governor, Editor Moses and Henry W. Keyes were chosen to serve in the Senate, Sherman E. Burroughs and Edward H. Wason were the successful candidates for Congress. Moses' term began at once, since it was to fill a vacancy; Keyes would be sworn in March 4, 1919. Moses became the state's senior senator. Timing was such that he took an office almost instantly inundated with post-war problems; letters from parents of men missing in action, requests to learn the burial place of soldiers killed in action and in whose case this information was lacking; appeals to have the injured transferred to hospitals more accessible to loved ones. This strenuous day-to-day activity was the lingering aftermath of World War I. Harold Davison of Woodsville, former Speaker of the New Hampshire House of Representatives, told us of his experience. He began practicing law in 1920 and among his clients were Gold Star mothers who put in pension claims. Moses showed keen interest in each case, and persisted in efforts until all so entitled were on pension rolls.

President Wilson signed the Treaty of Versailles on June 28, 1919. He submitted it to the U.S. Senate on July 10 for approval together with the League of Nations Covenant. On Nov. 19 the Treaty was voted upon by the Senate, but failed of passage, lacking the required constitutional two thirds majority. Sixteen months later on March 19, 1920, on a second vote, the measure once more failed to win the necessary majority. Moses on both occasions voted against approval. In the historic debate he spoke often, so quick



on the up-take as to drive to exasperation those endeavoring to procure the country's admission to the League of Nations. Seldom in our history had a newly elected senator won that degree of recognition.

In February, 1919, a senator asked what would be the responsibility of members of the League to go to war in behalf of England if an Irish rebellion occurred. The answer was that the powers of the League were almost unlimited. "Nobody could go to the aid of an Irish rebellion and we should have to fight anybody who did," it was explained.

The New York Sun said Feb. 28, 1919, "Ireland is to be left to the mercies of England." The League did offer hope of Irish independence, under Article 11, by enabling any friendly power to bring Ireland's case before the League for discussion.

Moses in June, 1919, resorted to a stratagem he had seen his mentor, Senator Chandler, adopt more than once. Chandler's practice was to address messages to New Hampshire voters in his "New Hampshire Statesman", and distribute pamphlets to thousands of voters.

In June, 1919, Moses obtained authorization to print a 200 page document setting forth the senate's past record in disposing of treaties which it disapproved. The booklet contained a number of specimens of amended treaties considered in sessions from 1794 to 1901. Title of the pamphlet was "Proceedings in the Case of Treaties Rejected by the Senate".

The following month in a senate address Moses attacked the Versailles Treaty in its entirety. He said "It would be neither a delicate nor a difficult task of dissection to cut the League out of the Treaty." He branded the Treaty "infinitely worse" than even the League of Nations "bad as it is."

A confident prediction the surgeons of the senate would sharpen the scalpel was made in a speech at Peterborough in his home state.

Moses said at that time: "The senators have always been known for their surgical skill and their deft hands have not lost their cunning." With 440 items, he called the Treaty and Covenant a "Sears Roebuck catalogue."

Although the Treaty fell short of the votes necessary for approval in November, 1919, the Senate voted on Feb. 9, 1920, to reconsider the measure and referred it again to the

Foreign Relations committee. It was reported back the next day with 14 reservations offered by Senator Lodge. Debate continued for a month, in which further alterations were proposed, making Lodge's reservations still more undesirable to President Wilson. And to cap the climax a "Reservation No. 15" was added in favor of self-determination for Ireland. Moses was among the twelve "bitter-end" Republicans who turned down the Treaty for the second time. The vote in favor was seven short of the required two thirds majority. Twelve senators did not vote.

The platform adopted at the 1920 convention which nominated Harding repudiated the Covenant. The Democratic platform took the opposite position, endorsing the Covenant as the "surest way of maintaining permanent peace." At the same time the Friends of Irish Freedom vociferously called upon England to give the people of Ireland "a government of their own choice."

The League of Nations issue did not die easily. It popped up again in the Coolidge years. Dr. Fuess in his biography of President Coolidge, said he had "always been a mild reservationist, completely out of accord with Messrs. Moses, Borah, Lodge and the other bitter enders." At another place in the book the biographer refers to "Hiram Johnson, George Moses and William E. Borah, all Republicans and bitter opponents of the League."

The 70th Congress met Dec. 5, 1927, and organized with Moses as president pro tempore of the Senate, Nicholas Longworth, Speaker of the House.

Near the close of the Coolidge administration, the President succeeded in obtaining approval by the Senate of the Kellogg Paris Treaty. His earnest request was that it be ratified before the expiration of his term of office. Such die hards as Moses of New Hampshire and Reed of Missouri grumbled, but Borah of Idaho, arch foe of the League, supported the position taken by Coolidge. It was ratified by a vote of 85 to 1, and signed by Coolidge and Frank B. Kellogg, secretary of state, Jan. 17, 1929.

Alice Longworth listened daily to the debate on the Kellogg Treaty from the gallery as she had done during consideration of the League of Nations. She sat in the visitors' gallery. As daughter of Theodore Roosevelt she made it known she felt she was entitled to a more select seat. In her book "Crowded Hours" she expressed deep



gratitude to Moses and Vice President Curtis for obtaining a change of rules which permitted her to enjoy the privilege of the "senators' family gallery". "Charlie Curtis took me up there," Mrs. Longworth wrote, "and George Moses joined us to say that as Senate rules had been changed for me, would I perhaps like the Constitution changed, too?"

A recently published book about Alice Longworth (1975) relates she planted poison ivy to keep visitors away from her door. Her prejudice against callers did not apply to Moses, always welcome at her residence for afternoon tea or for dinner, while he was in the Senate and for the rest of his life.

President Hoover would have liked to see the United States in the World Court. In his memoirs, telling of a study made of the Senate, he says he reached the conclusion that body might accept membership if "we could eliminate certain specific criticisms of the protocol. Elihu Root went to Europe to prepare a set of changes. I submitted the amended protocol Dec. 10, 1930, and Dec. 10, 1931. But many Democratic members joined the Republican isolationists, Hiram Johnson, George H. Moses and others in keeping it bottled up."

Hoover offered to appoint Moses as ambassador to Mexico. Moses declined the invitation to change jobs.

To go back to happenings in the fall of 1919, President Wilson became ill at Pueblo, Colorado, while making a transcontinental tour to drum up support for the League. He returned to Washington, where he sustained a paralytic stroke. Dr. Grayson, in a bulletin Oct. 3 pronounced his condition grave. A letter from Senator Moses, to a New Hampshire constituent, was published Oct. 13, saying he might live but if he did he would not be "any material force or factor in anything. There is no possibility that Mr. Wilson would be able to perform the functions of his office either in the immediate or remote future."

The Moses letter on news wires produced national concern. The stock market reacted. Dr. Grayson, beseeched by reporters for a statement, declared he had just visited the President and found his mind "clear as a bell."

With the President incapacitated, Moses approached Vice President Marshall, with the information he represented other Senate Republicans who wanted the Vice President to declare himself President.

Marshall said, "George, don't make a monkey out of me; you wouldn't want me as dog catcher."

Dr. Francis Derum, a Washington physician summoned by Mrs. Wilson to assist Grayson, said to Washington newspapermen, relative to Moses, "I have my opinion of any one who uses back stairs gossip and porch climbing methods."

Rumors flew that signatures of Wilson on documents were forgeries. Senator Fall giving credence to the reports went to the White House and was permitted by Mrs. Wilson to see the President. She remained in the room during the interview and took notes.

The Foreign Relations committee had recently issued a study on the situation in Mexico. The senator asked the President, sitting in a chair, if he had seen the report. "Yes," the President replied, "I have a copy near me." He reached to where it lay. "You see," said Wilson, "I can still use my right hand despite all the stories you may be hearing." Then, alluding to Senator Moses, the chief executive said: "I hope the senator will now be reassured. But may be he will be disappointed."

In the Senate, Moses acquired a nickname. He was dubbed "Doc" by colleagues.

Senator McKellar of Tennessee made answer in a Senate speech to Moses. He said President Wilson had been called a despot, tyrant and madman, which led him to speak about another President who in the same chamber had been called uncontrollable, irresponsible, a monster and usurper, a felon, a weakling and an imbecile. Whereupon McKellar read extracts from speeches delivered, 1861-1865. After a pause he remarked "I stop here long enough to wonder whether the distinguished senator from New Hampshire who was assailing the President for alleged physical and mental disabilities the other day did not copy in substance some of the language here used about Abraham Lincoln. It sounds very much like him."

Wilson recovered sufficiently to attend Cabinet meetings in April, 1920, in a wheelchair. He had trouble concentrating, would break off in the middle of a sentence and stare into space. He repeated jokes, and kept musing over the defeat of the League of Nations. He told the Cabinet the League was buried nearby and that it was his practice to put fresh flowers on the grave every day.

Gene Smith's "When the Cheering Stopped" published



in 1964 by Morrow confirms allegations by Moses as to Wilson's condition in 1919. Despite vehement denials from the White House, Moses knew whereof he spoke and wrote. Smith, former New York Post reporter, who also was author of "Shattered Dream" (Herbert Hoover) published by Wm. Morrow in 1970, delved into the mountain of Wilson papers at Princeton University, and more pointedly, secured access to the clinical diary of Wilson's doctor, Admiral Cary T. Grayson. The diary contained details Grayson for reasons best known to himself omitted from his own book about Wilson which came out in 1960.

Following are statements based on findings of presumably qualified authors of numerous books dealing with the Wilson era:

Smith's book makes it indisputably clear the United States had a woman president for 17 months in the person of Edith Bolling Galt Wilson, though this fact was known to but few. All letters, documents and memoranda passed through Mrs. Wilson's hands and rarely reached the President. Occasionally she penned answers herself. She received Cabinet members in the room adjoining the President's, insisting she was expressing the President's wishes. They had to take her word for it. When Wilson became a bed patient Secretary of State Lansing began calling a Cabinet meeting once a week. Wilson, learning of this, demanded Lansing's resignation for disloyalty, replacing him with Bainbridge Colby.

"I hate Lansing," Mrs. Wilson told Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels.

Edward Grey, the British wartime Foreign Secretary, made a trip to the U.S. to offer his support in the fight for the League. Edith refused to see him because one of his aides, she said, had once insulted her. Grey went home, and the League was voted down. Meanwhile, other crises were neglected—serious strikes, race riots, soaring prices, widespread unemployment. Ray Stannard Baker, Wilson's biographer and editor of the Wilson papers, noted in his diary: "Our Government has gone out of business."

After leaving the Presidency in 1921, Wilson continued to reside in Washington, but physical strength did not return, and he died February 3, 1924.

His wife died in 1961. At 85 she still referred to Henry Cabot Lodge as "that stinking snake."

## CHAPTER ELEVEN

### Campaigns, Major and Minor

Strategy employed by Moses and close associates in the political wars is worthy of study.

In 1912 New Hampshire elected Samuel D. Felker of Rochester Governor, the first Democrat to hold the office since James A. Weston of Manchester, 1871-72. Felker had been sufficiently in the public eye in 1893 when Moses wrote "New Hampshire Men" to have it recorded he "was educated in the public schools of Rochester, at New Hampton Literary Institution and at Dartmouth College, where he was graduated with high honors in 1882, being one of three brothers who graduated from that institution in three successive years." Felker's Councillors, all Democrats, were Daniel W. Badger, Portsmouth; Lewis G. Gilman, Manchester; Albert W. Noone, Peterborough; Atty. William H. Sawyer, Concord; George M. McGregor, M.D., Littleton. Enos K. Sawyer of Franklin, Democrat, became president of the senate and William J. Britton of Wolfeboro, Republican turned Bull Mooser, speaker of the house.

Examination of Monitor files, 1913-14, leads to a conclusion Moses' decision was to delve by whatever means possible into what transpired at every meeting of the Executive Council, and by constant reiteration convince the voters Democrats were inept at transacting official business hence should not be given another chance. A vacancy on the Superior Court occurred and William H. Sawyer took the appointment himself, although he was a member of the Governor's Council and as such had a vote on confirmation. Other lawyers asserted Sawyer's action was unethical. Discussion across the table in the supposed secrecy of the Council Chamber, made perhaps the most exciting reading (expletives deleted) in Monitor history.

How the newspaper obtained inside information was kept from the public. According to a book written by Willis G. Buxton of Boscawen about four Constitutional Conven-



tions in which he participated, the members in 1918 held a mock session on the final day, during which James O. Lyford admitted he was the author of the anonymous articles that appeared in 1913-14. The confession did not state how he learned what occurred behind closed doors when devices known as tape recorders and electronic "bugs" were non-existent. How the feat was accomplished was explained in a letter this writer received in 1946 from the late Alan Leighton of Brentwood, Md., graduate of the University of New Hampshire 1912, and son of Fred Leighton, the Monitor's city editor, during the Felker regime. Alan wrote:

You may remember that a Democratic governor was practically unknown till Gov. Felker came to the state house. Because no one else knew the ropes they retained the services of Edward N. Pearson as secretary of state, but would not permit him to be present at the meetings of the governor and council. I don't know that there was any crooked work but the council took various actions that were not pleasing to the staid old Republicans at least, actions which no one was present to report. Mr. Pearson would frequently give Dad a tip off. Dad would go look up the records. Then he would go over and see Mr. Lyford. Mr. Lyford in turn wrote a series of papers paraphrased on the Book of Proverbs that were extremely clever. These he would send to the Nashua Telegraph. After publication there the Monitor would copy. My father told me what was up and that I should keep still for it would not do for the authorship to become known so, of course, I have never said anything. But I remember some very pleasant evenings when Mr. Lyford would come over to read what he had written to my father. They would sit there and talk and chuckle and I would thoroughly enjoy myself. Those papers sure were a thorn in the flesh of the Felker administration.

Senator Gallinger, with George H. Moses as campaign manager, was chosen United States senator for the fifth time at the age of 78. He had no primary opponent. Congressman Stevens secured the Democratic nomination defeating Judge Calvin Page of Portsmouth, father-in-law of John H. Bartlett. Robert Jackson was Stevens' campaign manager. The "Progressive" party put a full ticket in the field, Benjamin F. Greer of Goffstown being its nominee for senator.

A weak spot in Gallinger's record was the fact he voted to allow Senator Lorimer of Illinois to retain his seat after charges were made he bought his election.

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## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

February 1, 1965

Mr. Edward J. Gallagher  
The Laconia Evening Citizen  
18 Beacon Street  
Laconia, New Hampshire

Dear Eddie:

Thank you for your letter of recent date with the enclosed clipping. It was indeed of great interest to me on several counts, first, because I have vivid recollections of the time when New Hampshire's Winston Churchill was in the heyday of his literary fame. Teenagers read voraciously, or at least they did in my day before the age of television. I was at that age when the Churchill novels were "best sellers" and devoured all of them, particularly "Coniston" and "Mr. Crewe's Career." I have them and like to browse in them now. They are striking pictures of the New Hampshire political scene in the old days.

The editorial was of additional interest to me because as a young man I knew Robert Jackson and his brother Andrew very well. Only last year Bob dropped into my office on a matter and I was amazed to observe how little effect the years have had upon him. Mentally and physically he was the same dynamic Robert Jackson whom I knew in my twenties.

Thank you for your thoughtfulness in sending the editorial.

With warm regards and every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

Norris Cotton  
U. S. Senator

NC:gl



The Manchester Union for Oct. 13, 1914, reported a rally in Concord's Ward Seven, attended by Gallinger and his speechwriter-manager, Moses. Said the Union:

Senator Gallinger directed his reply to Edward J. Gallagher, editor of the Patriot. He said in part: I will endeavor to answer Mr. Gallagher's questions in the Lorimer case. Mr. Lorimer's election was, concededly, by a sufficient majority of the legislature which the testimony failed to show were corrupted in any way and I would accept an election under those conditions. I would not employ the methods and practices which were alleged to have been used with some members of the legislature which elected Mr. Lorimer, but which did not affect his entire majority. I did not vote to sanction corrupt politics when I voted for Mr. Lorimer, but, on the contrary, recorded my conviction that the corruption, if any existed, did not extend to the point of invalidating his election.

Following the 1906 state convention which marked the birth of Winston Churchill's Progressive Party and provided material for his novel "Coniston" internal affairs of the Republican Party were nothing to brag about. Major Thomas H. Madigan, chairman of the Democratic state committee in a statement in 1907 said failure to redeem platform pledges and exposure of the inner workings of "the machine" had "opened the eyes of citizens in general and a thorough house-cleaning and fumigating was sure to be the result. It is but seldom that Democrats are able to subscribe to or endorse the political opinions of any member of the Republican party, but the efforts of George H. Moses, editor of the Concord Evening Monitor, to restrict the discussion of political problems in New Hampshire to the year 1908 meets with the hearty approval of Democrats in general. We even have a grain of sympathy for ex-Senator Chandler, who cannot determine where he is at."

The strategy of Moses praised by the Democratic leader paid off. Henry B. Quinby (R) of Laconia was elected governor in 1908 over Clarence E. Carr (D) of Andover by a vote of 44,630 to 41,386.

In 1917-18 Moses was chief editor of the Republican Publicity Bureau at Washington. In 1923 a special edition was issued by the Claremont Daily Eagle and Harlan C. Pearson offered this comment in his column at Concord: One of the interesting features of this edition is a contribution by George Curtis Peck about his friend and former associate

in Republican Publicity Association work, Senator Moses. Peck is a vigorous writer, as witness this paragraph: "In his extended speech on the League of Nations, Moses wielded his surgical instrument with an expert hand and held a clinic of evisceration that all might see the poison of the League's entrails." And again: "He fought that dye embargo proposition from the first tap of the gong until they counted ten over its bloated carcass." In conclusion Mr. Peck says the newspapermen all agree that Senator Moses is a "good scout" and "human". "He doffs his toga when he comes off the Senate floor. Some of them go to bed with it."

Moses was chairman in 1920 for the New England states in the effort to have Gen. Leonard Wood, a New Hampshire native, as the presidential nominee. Whatever strategy was devised to obtain the nomination failed. Wood led on the first ballot, with 287; Gov. Lowden had 211; Hiram Johnson, 113; Harding 65; Gov. Sproul 84; Coolidge 34, Hoover 5½. On the tenth ballot Harding was nominated.

At the convention which nominated Harding, Moses declined an offer of the vice presidential nomination from Harry Daughtery. This bit of information featured an article "Back Stage in Washington" in The Independent. How did that respected organ of opinion appraise Moses? "As a *rara avis* in the Senate."

James M. Cox, Democratic presidential nominee in 1920, governor of Ohio and owner of newspapers in that state and Florida could participate in parlor small talk as comfortably as Moses, but one would never grasp that from the New Hampshire senator's characterization: "Cox is traveling toward defeat with the slow, decrepit gait of a jackass toward a bucket of oats."

Mark Sullivan, compiling "Our Times" communicated with Senator Moses at Concord, inquiring if it was true Senator Harding after winning in 1920 was taking soundings as to how the eastern press would react if he appointed Senator Fall Secretary of State. Moses confirmed the rumor and said he, Senator Medill McCormick of Illinois, and Senator Philander C. Knox of Pennsylvania "made such a fuss" Harding decided to name Fall, instead, as Secretary of the Interior.

There was an element of strategy in Moses' relations with the press. Editor L. L. Winship of the Boston Globe offered this example: The Globe requested a favor from



Senator Moses, who was glad to oblige but then asked, "Now what is the Globe going to do for me?"

"Why Senator," was the answer, "we'll give you the same fair and equal treatment we give everybody else, and we'll print the facts."

"Dammit," Moses replied, "that's just what I DON'T want."

Following Harding's death certain of Coolidge's friends began to consider the matter of his nomination in 1924. Senator Moses came out for him almost as soon as Harding was in his grave.

Moses was the first to issue an announcement Coolidge would make the race for the Presidency in 1924. After a private talk of an hour in the White House with the President, Moses emerged and told newspaper men waiting on the steps: "He's decided to run. I shall call on all New England to stand behind him for a second term." Adhering, however, to the principle convention delegates should be unpledged, Moses ran for delegate unpledged, in the presidential primary and was defeated by Frank H. Challis, a Manchester newspaper man, who ran pledged to Coolidge.

From Massachusetts word went forth William M. Butler, Bay State national committeeman, would be in full charge of the Coolidge drive for the nomination, and Senator Lodge was being sidetracked. Moses wrote this letter to Lodge: "They intend to stick an elbow into your ribs at every turning in Cleveland. They will permit you to have no position in the convention except that of a delegate from Massachusetts. I want to counsel you to hold this in your mind—on your way to Cleveland and after you get there—to remember that you are Henry Cabot Lodge, the Senior Senator from Massachusetts, the senior of all the Senators in the U.S. and the leader of the majority in the Senate. Remember also that National Conventions are sucked oranges to you. The first one I ever attended in Philadelphia in 1900 you were permanent chairman. In 1916 you were the chairman of the committee on resolutions. In 1920 you were both temporary and permanent chairman of the convention. The convention has nothing to give you and if you will hold all these things in mind and remember that you are Henry Cabot Lodge, you will find yourself surrounded at Cleveland by a group of devoted friends who will be resentful of the reprisals put upon you and who will sustain

you against any buffeting which may be designed for you."

If Lodge made any effort to follow the instructions it was without beneficial results. Nicholas Murray Butler wrote "In 1924 Lodge cut a sorry figure. So much out of touch was he with the controlling forces of that convention, that both he and Col. George Harvey, wandered together about the corridors of the Cleveland Hotel, asking the newspaper men what the news might be."

Moses contributed information for a book William Allen White was writing about Calvin Coolidge. Moses said Coolidge attended a stag party with several senators. The punch, purposely, was exceedingly potent and Coolidge was persuaded to imbibe freely. When he sensed what was happening, he stood up, walked down a crack in the floor, toward the leader of the band and asked: "How are you enjoying Washington?" Then he retraced his steps along the floor crack, and remained strictly silent the rest of the evening.

In the Hoover-Smith campaign, Moses was vice chairman of the Eastern Republican Advisory Committee. In the last days of the drive for votes the Democratic National Committee issued a statement saying it had obtained possession of a letter written by Moses to an editor of a newspaper in a small town in North Carolina. The letter was mistakenly addressed to Kentucky, and was as follows:

Zeb Vance Walser,  
Lexington, Kentucky.

Dear Zeb Vance: I am sending you an article for newspaper publication which is written by a native of South Carolina, who is now engaged in editorial work in New York City. It is red hot stuff and I wish you could get it put into some North Carolina papers.

Will you not do so and if you can do so, will you not send me some copies?

Yours, ever,  
(Signed) George H. Moses.

Moses, when asked to comment, declined to do so.

The 1932 convention at Chicago, which saw Hoover renominated, was a dismal affair for Moses. The New Hampshire delegates elected John Winant's personal attorney, John McLane, national committeeman. In one of the happier moments Moses was invited to address the Chicago Rotary Club but sent Wm. J. Britton to represent him.



WILLIAM J. BRITTON  
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELOR AT LAW  
WOLFEBORO, N. H.

Dec 11 '43

Dear Ed! Thanks for the Spl  
Edition. We've got to peruse it.  
I well remember Gov. Busiel. My  
first convention at the Weirs  
as I remembered.  
Best wishes. Sincerely,  
Hamburg, <sup>down</sup> boil, all candidate  
say our goodbyes to an eyelid  
for Wilkie.

Moses lieutenant, Wm. J. Britton, not for Wilkie in '43. Text:  
Dear Ed: Thanks for the Spl Edition. Will be glad to peruse it. I well  
remember Gov. Busiel. My first convention at the Weirs, as I remember it.  
Best wishes, Sincerely, Bill. Hamburg and boil down all candidates you  
couldn't get an eyelid for Wilkie.

Frank Knox, publisher of the Chicago Daily News, was program chairman. The luncheon was in the grand ballroom of the Sherman Hotel, and the political fun started when an "elephant" came romping into the big banquet room. Knox protested, saying the elephant had the head and ears of an elephant, but the back of a camel.

Judge Britton was introduced by Paul Wooten, Washington correspondent of the New Orleans Times-Picayune, who said since Britton was judge of probate back in New Hampshire he dealt "with the affairs of the dead and not the quick. He represents Senator Moses, one of the world's greatest authorities on animal husbandry." At this point a large jackass appeared in front of the speaker, and indulged in some braying. Wooten stopped the din with a huge gavel. Britton said he came from Wolfeboro in the foothills of the White Mts. "where bears travel 24 hours a day", and he gave an amusing account of his adventures in the Windy City. Towering to his full height, he described how no one came up to him in a restaurant.

"Don't you feed people here?" he asked a waitress.

"Yes," she replied, "but we don't fill silos."

Referring to Moses' famous wisecrack, Britton declared "We don't call 'em wild jackasses. In New Hampshire they're barnyard savages." He recalled Moses' remark that under the Volstead Act buttermilk was an intoxicating beverage, and Britton said he thought the G.O.P. should adopt a platform exempting buttermilk.

He said a Maine and a New Hampshire prohibitionist were chatting in the Congress Hotel the day before, and the New Hampshire "dry" invited the Maine Stater to have a drink. The Maine resident said he couldn't for three reasons: First, because he was president of a prohibition club in Maine; second, because he promised his mother on her dying bed never to take another drink; and third, "I've just had a darn big hooker and don't care for another."

Britton added that talk he was hearing about a prohibition plank in the platform reminded him of John B. Nash of Conway, who said you couldn't heat a brick oven with snowballs, or engage passage over the Atlantic ocean on a stone drag drawn by cockroaches, or adopt a prohibition plank as dry as a Mullein stalk in a sheep pasture in December.

Senator Hastings, who followed Britton, said it "would



have been a shame to put the five minute time limit on his address. There was more sense to that than what George Moses would have told you."

Judge Root of Michigan told the Rotarians he hoped the Republican party would come out against the direct primary, declaring some senators "elected as Republicans vote in Washington as they damn please; Senator Moses quite properly classified them as sons of wild jackasses."

One of the visiting Rotarians, a member from New Hampshire, complimented Britton on a pamphlet he authored in 1926, with his political patron, George A. Carpenter picking up the tab. It contained statements of over half of the members of the Senate, both Republicans and Democrats, commending Moses' ability and industry and proved an effective campaign document. The Rotarian asked if the multi-millionaire Carpenter was a college graduate. "No," Britton replied, "he told me he left school as soon as he learned how to sign a promissory note."

After Moses' defeat by Brown in 1932, the ex-senator wrote articles for the Chicago Daily News and the Saturday Evening Post. He and his former administrative assistant, Martha Gold, a lawyer, opened offices in the Mayflower Hotel, adjacent to those of Atty. Robert Jackson. Moses refused offers to write material for the G.O.P. national committee that would serve as campaign fodder in stand pat newspapers, and declined to write a daily column as Will Rogers, Eleanor Roosevelt and Calvin Coolidge were doing. Coolidge tired of the task and did not renew a contract he made with McClure Syndicate. Coolidge died Jan. 5, 1933, and at a memorial service conducted by a joint convention of the New Hampshire Legislature March 15 Moses was the orator. He referred in his address to Coolidge's unhappy experience as a columnist, saying: "No one who has not endured the ink enthrallment can estimate the intellectual pressure which accompanies the necessity of daily composition—and especially if such composition is carried on within the narrow limit of words. Therefore I was not surprised to have been told only this winter by one of President Coolidge's most intimate friends that the preparation of his daily article became to him an obsessionate dread and that the constant thought of it wore upon him more grievously than the most arduous of his labors in the Presidency."

Guy H. Langley, retired newspaper man, in a letter to

Editor Bernard J. McQuaid of the N.H. Sunday News, published in that journal in September, 1973, said the Watergate hearings then in progress reminded him New Hampshire had its own modified version of "dirty political tricks" minus bugging and burglaries in 1935-36 when Moses, trying to make a comeback, employed Langley to tour the state, interviewing party leaders in town after town. This was a maneuver to determine whether Moses or Styles Bridges, then governor, stood the best chance to win the seat long held by Henry W. Keyes. According to Langley Moses equipped him with printed business cards, which falsely represented him to be a member of the staff of the Providence, R.I., News Tribune. Information obtained he mailed daily to Moses. (Bridges won the primary by 13,000).

On a visit to Washington in 1937 we were given a news tip—Moses would run in '38 for Congress from the 2nd district. We dropped a line to him, inquiring if it were true. His reply:

"Put not your faith in princes." Nor should you believe the gossip of Washington. That town is like Chefoo during the Russo-Japanese War—the source of all rumors, most of which are baseless. Like Herbert Hoover, I am not a candidate for any public office. Jim Wadsworth of New York—who went into the House after he was put out of the Senate—has repeatedly assailed me with arguments to come into the House. But it does not appeal to me. I could have gone to the House more than thirty years ago, if I had cared to do so; but it never intrigued me. As a matter of fact, I have made up my mind that I shall never again spend a hectic summer in ringing doorbells, shaking hands, kissing babies and patting dogs, in pursuit of a primary nomination. The only way I could ever be induced again to go into a primary would be by petition. In other words, I am trying to emulate Cincinnatus at the plow! This being my opinion in the reasonable hope that New Hampshire might feel that I could do something worthwhile for the state. Luckily, I approach the evening of my days and find that I am not in the situation of some of our outstanding public men—two conspicuous examples standing in my mind—who MUST have a salary and who, from experience, cannot comprehend a salary which is not derived from the public treasury.

Accordingly, I am content to be an Elder Statesman; and, whenever I do anything in politics, to try to make it effective to help my friends—some of whom, as you may imagine, do not bear my Party label.

The day after Moses' death the Manchester Leader



lauded him as a brilliant speaker and noted linguist. It said in many of his Manchester appearances the former senator delivered entire speeches either in Greek or French. The Laconia Evening Citizen the same day carried the following:

In 1926 when Senator Moses was campaigning for a third term for himself at Washington, he came to Laconia one noon and met by appointment at the Laconia Tavern former Senator Charles Towne of Minnesota, a Democrat. The Minnesotan was co-operative, and issued a statement to the effect that Moses despite being a Republican, possessed many good points, and New Hampshire would be well represented if he went back to the national capital.

Moses dropped around to the Evening Citizen then in its first year of publication, and located in one of the stores in the Salvation Army building. The editorial "office" was the small space on the platform in the show window. The senator said his friend from Minnesota wanted to make a statement in his behalf, and George thought it would be nice to have it in the Citizen.

"Certainly, I'll be glad to write it if you will tell me the substance of it," said the editor.

"Why not let me sit down and do it myself on this 'mill'. You know I used to make my living batting out stuff on a typewriter," suggested the senator. Wherewith he climbed into the window space, doffed his jacket and looking for all the world like the typical hard-working, shirt-sleeved newspaperman, pounded out the story. Meanwhile, the Citizen editor had a respite. The reason being that the office had only the one typewriter to its name.

In the 1926 primary Huntley Spaulding defeated Winant for the gubernatorial nomination, 30,901 to 25,522. Moses was victorious over Robert P. Bass, 37,655 to 17,654 for the senate choice and Moses, in a great sweep in November, led the ticket. He defeated Robert C. Murchie, (D), 79,279 to 47,395. Spaulding's total for governor was 77,394.

## CHAPTER TWELVE

### Gompers' Blacklist

Frank A. Munsey bought large newspaper properties and when several failed to prosper he experimented in a variety of ways to keep them alive. Remedial measures usually fell short. Then it was his practice to cease publication. His success as a magazine publisher, however, was fantastic. Upon his death, Senator Moses, asked by a Washington correspondent to comment, replied "His death is as great a loss to the country as to his profession." Precisely what Moses meant by that remark, most newspaper readers were unsure.

William Allen White's reply to the Associated Press query was more explicit. Said White: "Frank Munsey, the great publisher, is dead. Frank Munsey contributed to journalism of his day the talent of a meatpacker, the morals of a money changer and the manners of an undertaker. He and his kind have succeeded in transforming a once-noble profession into an eight per cent security. May he rest in trust."

Munsey owned the Mohican Market chain which moved into the block at 8 South Main St., Concord, when the Monitor transferred to a location on Pleasant St. Extension. At the spot where Moses' desk stood Mohican located its meat counter. At a Saturday night get-together at Concord's Snowshoe Club, Atty. Ben Couch, busy in the kitchen preparing supper to be served after the cocktail hour, was likely to shout to the center of conversation on affairs of state and nation in the next room, "Mose, I bought these steaks this afternoon at the Mohican meat counter, exactly where you used to sit and cogitate in what served as your ivory tower."

Moses and Munsey had at least one thing in common: both opposed efforts to have this country join the League of Nations.

And it may be Moses uttered a cryptic answer to the



interviewer because Munsey sent a star reporter to cover the New Hampshire senatorial primary in 1920 for Munsey's New York Sun and Herald. That story was by all odds superior to any other in the metropolitan press. It appeared August 17, 1920, and vividly presented the scene at the time in the capital city and throughout the state.

Munsey's newspaperman brought into the record the fact Moses was blacklisted by Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, also that such leaders as the Republican National Committeeman were arrayed on the side of Huntley Spaulding, Moses' opponent.

The Sun-Herald started its brilliant coverage on the front page under the heading "Senate Battle Hot in New Hampshire." The story in part follows:

The people of New Hampshire display considerable apathy when the Treaty of Versailles is mentioned. The Eighteenth Amendment creates little dissension because New Hampshire divorced itself from the gin mill some time before national prohibition became law. It is an agricultural State, populated by a people not given to emotions and rather prone to like what their fathers favored. Women do not vote there yet. Just one Democrat has gone from New Hampshire to the United States Senate in sixty years — Henry F. Hollis. However, President Wilson carried New Hampshire in 1912 and 1916.

Senator Moses is no popular idol in New Hampshire. Folks do not go mad nor do they deliriously scream with joy when he appears. But he possesses something far more valuable than frothy popularity, he holds the respect and admiration of every regular Republican and a large number of the regular Democrats. He is a past master of the game of State politics. He knows the State as he knows his own house on the outskirts of Concord. He has builded himself a personal political machine that is a marvelous example of coordination and efficiency. He has tremendous contempt for pussyfoot diplomacy, and says that even when he was Minister to Greece and Montenegro, under the Taft Administration, he never had to resort to that sort of diplomacy. He is of a volatile temperament that gets him into trouble occasionally, and he's having the fight of his life just at present to keep his temper while the Spaulding faction goes about calling him unpleasant names and resorting to dubious personalities.

In his characteristic way, Senator Moses calls upon Spaulding to come forth and let the people know how he manages to reconcile himself as a Republican to the national Republican platform and ticket. Moses wants to know whether Spaulding if elected will support Senator Harding if the latter is elected, and Spaulding's spellbinders obviously hard pressed to make definite statements regarding their candidate's political creed, begin calling the Senator "Old Doc"

Moses," and making references to "the recall of Old Doc' Moses from Greece by President Taft." They harp on this latter in face of widely published letters from Mr. Taft to the effect that Senator Moses was not recalled from Greece, but retired voluntarily, and much to the regret of the State Department and Mr. Taft, then President. And while Senator Moses's friends urge him to resort to the libel courts to shut the mouths of the soapbox orators who utter ugly hints (and hints only) to the effect that Moses was illegally interested in a certain White Mountain lumber deal and that Moses made much money at the expense of other stockholders, the Senator flivvers around the State talking tariff and home industries and the folks comment along these lines:

"Well, Mose does get on some folks' nerves by being kind of headleng, but he knows everybody from Nashua to Colebrook and from Portsmouth to Woodsville and he knows what they want and how to get it for them. The highbrows come knockin' Mose and sayin' he's nothin' but a professional politician, but they ain't sayin' much about what they expect to do."

#### Moses Waging a Lone Fight

That about sums up the campaign just at present. It is absolutely true that about the only direct accusation the Spaulding faction has to make against Senator Moses is that "he's a professional politician." And virtually everybody, including Moses, will agree with them. Most of New Hampshire goes further and says that he's about as able a professional politician as this continent possesses.

Moses is fighting a lone hand. Fred Estabrook, the Republican National Committeeman from New Hampshire is out for Spaulding.

Gov. John H. Bartlett is lampooned by Quintus Horatius the political genius of the Concord Patriot, as Sir John Hightax, and his secretary, Wee Willie Wallace, fervent in "his advocacy of his master's cause."

It is Moses' expectation that he will consolidate the minority vote, but expects nothing from the liberal Republicans.

Moses has his well balanced organization working overtime. Spaulding's headquarters at Manchester turns out reams of propaganda and squads of speakers. But Spaulding lacks the organization. His is an at-random campaign that evokes cheers but cements few votes. A majority of the clergymen, notoriously irregular voters, are with Spaulding despite the fact that Moses' father, the Rev. Thomas Gannett Moses, was one of the most celebrated Baptist clergymen in New England. Moses has signed the pledge of the Anti-Saloon League, while it is only alleged that Spaulding is with the dries. The rank and file of the State know that, whether they are Republicans or Democrats, with Moses in Washington they can expect to get action on personal appeals to the senior Senator.

#### 'KEEPS NEW HAMPSHIRE ON MAP.'

A rather significant and altogether typical tale was told the correspondent of The Sun and New York Herald by a Manchester



business man who began by insisting that he was "no friend of George Moses's." and, besides, was a Democrat.

"You can't beat a man like Mose," he said. "You can damn him until you're black in the face, and then go out and vote for him because you know he's on his job and that he's for New Hampshire. Why, Mose keeps New Hampshire on the map. He's the grandest publicity agent the State ever had.

"A friend of mine who is Democratic leader in his town, had a son in the United States Navy. The boy wanted to be discharged from service and his father wanted him to go into business with him. Well, we got together and put it up to a Democratic member of the House of Representatives. After a week or so we got a letter from the Congressman saying that he'd done all that he could, and had even gone to Secretary Baker and Joe Tumulty, and that there was nothing to be done. The boy would have to serve his enlistment out.

"We tried Senator Keyes, a Republican, and Keyes couldn't do anything for us. Then, by gosh, we went to Mose. I don't like Mose, and my friend isn't in love with him, and Mose knows it. But we went to him frankly and he said:

"Well, you men have your nerve with you. Sure, I'll do what I can, but you can't expect miracles. You know that I'm about as popular with this Administration as the Kaiser would be in Brussels. Gosh, but you fellows get involved with impossibilities."

"Well, we came back to Manchester satisfied that the boy would stay in the Navy. But three days later we got a telegram from Mose. It said that the boy had just been discharged from the Navy and that he, Mose, had put the lad on the train for Boston a few minutes before writing the telegram.

"Now, you can't beat a cuss like that. My friend's having a devil of a time between party loyalty and gratitude to Mose. The boy will vote for the Senator, of course, and a lot of his friends will, too.

A former follower of Theodore Roosevelt in Concord told another story about the prowess of Senator Moses:

"I never supported Moses in my life — worked against him, in fact," he said. "I expected to work for Spaulding this time. But, listen! A cousin of mine wanted to enter his son in Annapolis. He came to me and I wrote to Senator Keyes, who is a fine, upstanding man, with lots of friends. Keyes reported that his list of appointees was exhausted. I didn't like to, but I appealed to Moses. Moses immediately replied that he had no vacancies and would have none unless one of the boys he sponsored flunked out. Briefly he assured me that in such a case my cousin's boy would get his chance. And, by George, one of Moses's appointees did flunk out and instantly we received word that that our boy was named as the successor. Now we don't know how Moses gets away with the things he does,

but he does, and we admire him, even if we do not like him. I'm for him on that alone."

Labor leaders say that they like Moses despite his blacklisting by Gompers. They asked where he stood on the anti-strike clause in the Esch-Cummins bill and Moses replied by wire:

"I'm for it."

"Well, we're against you, then," telegraphed back the Central Labor Union in Manchester, "and we'll try to defeat you for reelection."

"If my stand on the Esch-Cummins bill is the reason for my defeat," instantly replied Moses, "so be it. But does it not behoove you who thrive only as New Hampshire thrives to keep in the Senate a man with whom New Hampshire is the paramount issue? What do you want, a drifting theorist full of experiments, or a man who knows New Hampshire, knows her people, her needs and who'll work as he has worked, seven days a week and twenty hours each day for New Hampshire?"

Sam Gompers's blacklist notwithstanding, the 12 percent of New Hampshire's labor vote that is Republican is with and for Moses. Approximately eight per cent, of the labor vote is Socialist, and all persons concerned concede this vote to Mr. Debs. But if every person in New Hampshire whom Senator Moses has done favors for votes for him his nomination is assured, and his election.

Frank Knox, the Manchester publisher who led the New Hampshire delegation to the Chicago convention, is an earnest supporter of Senator Moses. Substantially, he writes on the editorial page of his newspaper the facts that Moses utters in "the town and hamlets of the State." And if you ask any of the Democratic editors — go into the office of the Concord Patriot, for instance — they tell you that Moses will win on September 7 and in November.

#### Introducing Horatius Flaccus.

In Concord they have an institution that is wholly unique and now and then closely akin to genius. It consists of the political observations of "H.F."—Horatius Flaccus—appearing at timely periods in the Concord Patriot. The Patriot is Democratic, but is broad enough to treat local politics with both eyes fixed upon the actual facts. As far as the writer is aware there is no column in any other newspaper such as Horatius writes. Republicans and Democrats fall alike beneath his irony. He takes himself to the State Capitol to see Gov. Bartlett and is accosted by the Governor's Secretary — Wee Willie Wallace — and the following dialogue ensues:

H.F.—"By the way, Willie, where is your master?"

Willie—"He is in Portsmouth, sick and despondent."

H.F.—"What is the matter with him? Enlargement of the caput?"

Willie—"No, he has mortification of the ego."

And then Willie goes on to explain that when his master endeavored to gain Senator Lodge's consent to speak from the floor



of the convention and demanded that he be "recognized," Willie tells of Senator Lodge's reply:

"I recognize you and remind you that this isn't New Hampshire."

All sides of the New Hampshire political battle claim Horatius who is, by the way, one of Senator Moses's strongest supporters, and all candidates reproduce the observations of the Concord Horatius Flaccus on postcards and mimeographed sheets. He plays no favorites and Democrats and Republicans and all factions find joy and sorrow in his columns.

If organization counts and political wisdom fetches its own reward, Senator Moses should win the nomination. He won the election two years ago — the election to fill the boots and chair of the late Jacob Gallinger — by 1,100 majority. Astute politicians of both parties predict he will repeat this year.

Former Governor Bartlett in his reminiscences identified Levin J. Chase, manager of the Concord Electric Co., as author of the "H.F." articles which inspired the plaudits of the writer Frank A. Munsey sent to the Granite State to cover the Moses-Spaulling primary battle.

Referring to what went on while he was the chief executive, 1919-20, Bartlett wrote: "The Concord papers razzed me daily. They felt some of my objectives, made on principle, had the effect of injuring their friends. One Levin J. Chase of Concord wrote me up daily in the Patriot but anonymously, in a vein of ridicule, with a hillbilly song, of the cowboy technique. I came to like Eddie Gallagher of the Patriot, also Bill Chandler of the Monitor. My secretary, Billy Wallace, a newspaper man, was ever loyal and a 'good mouser.'"

Under what he termed "nuggets of memory" Bartlett said "Alexander Graham Bell, of telephone fame, I met once through Senator Moses at the University Club in Washington, D.C."

"Moses," Bartlett continued, "I always enjoyed, but he was not so strong as I for the Susan B. Anthony Amendment, and on calling an extra session to ratify Woman Suffrage. There was no use trying to delay it so I called it. Hon. James O. Lyford, I admired."

"The Christmas before U.S. Senator George H. Moses died he wrote me:

"Thank you very much, John, for the autographed copy of your Synoptic History of The Granite State which I have read with extreme interest and which I regard as

setting a fashion for historical writing which ought to find imitators in many other states, because, in small compass, it provides the outstanding episodes upon which real history is based."

"He also used the expression, 'as I move inexorably toward the inevitable.' This expression was characteristic of a really great 'individualist.' 'I hope,' he added, 'you may have a Merry Christmas and many Happy New Years — I beg you to give my warmest remembrance to Agnes and to believe me,

" 'Yours ever,  
" 'George H. Moses' "

In the 1920 and 1926 primaries and general elections Moses won, but it was far from easy. Having defeated Spaulding in the 1920 primary, Moses had to face the strong man of the Democratic Party, in November.

In 1912, when the Republican Party was divided in the 2d New Hampshire District, Ray Stevens ran for Congress and was elected. In the House he had a remarkable record for a first-term, was admitted to important committees and was nominated to oppose Senator Jacob H. Gallinger at the conclusion of his first term. When he failed of election President Wilson appointed him to the Federal Trade Commission.

With the United States' entry into World War 1 he was named vice chairman of the United States Shipping Board.

Quickly in guest editorials in the Monitor and Nashua Telegraph, G.O.P. Publicist James O. Lyford was heaping ridicule on "Skipper Stevens." "President Wilson," Lyford wrote, "has turned down Skipper Stevens' recommendation that we build wooden ships out of trees in which the birds are still singing. We need cargo ships in which to send food to the Allies and Skipper Stevens conceived the idea that we could go right into the forest, cut down trees, saw them into lumber, and without waiting for the lumber to dry and season, put it into ships." Lyford quoted an imaginary conversation in which Stevens addressed General Goethals: "I have fished the Ammonoosuc many a time from a green log; and if green logs will float to the mill, the lumber sawed from them will float after it is made into ships. Supposing the planking does shrink and leave seams in the sides of the



vessel. Wouldn't that be a protection to the ships from German torpedoes? These cracks would allow the torpedoes to go right through the ship without injury thereto."

Stevens was not the nautical neophyte Lyford represented to be.

In 1917-18 he was the American representative on the Allied Transport Council. He traveled with Colonel House on a mission to London which resulted in formation of the Council. Originally it was planned to have 1,000,000 men in France by the end of 1918. Military reverses of the following spring caused a change in calculations. American soldiers had to be hurried over so rapidly there were 2,000,000 men in France by the autumn instead of 1,000,000 by winter. Ambrose Salter of the British Shipping Board wrote a book after the war which described the work performed by Raymond Stevens of New Hampshire. On page 174 of Lord Salter's book we read: "The great American military effort by which 2,000,000 men were sent to France before autumn is a matter of history. The extra strain, the transport of men and still more of the supplies to maintain them, strained the Allies' shipping reserves to the utmost. The provision of passenger ships for transport of troops was arranged. During the seven months ending with July 31, 3,500,000 tons d.w. had been lost and 3,500,000 had been built. During the last week of July building had exceeded losses by 157,000 tons, due solely to the immense increase in the American building program. During the same seven months the rest of the world had lost over a million tons more than they had built."

New Hampshire voters in November, 1920, were not concerned with Stevens' endeavors to bring troops and supplies safely over transAtlantic routes infested with U-boats. The cry "Moses kept us out of the League of Nations" was effective, and Harding's appeal for return "to normalcy" seemed to be what a majority of voters wished to hear.

After 1920 Stevens practiced law until 1926 when King Prajadhipok of Siam decided to call in an American advisor on international affairs. Stevens went to Bangkok and held the post until 1935. In 1931 he accompanied King Prajadhipok and Queen Rambaibarni on a visit to the United States acting in his capacity as chairman of the American Committee of Friends of Siam.

Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed Stevens to the Federal Trade Commission. In 1935 he was named a member of the Tariff Commission, but resigned in 1937 in order to take part in President Roosevelt's program for reorganization of the Supreme Court. He was named head of the Tariff Commission on June 21, 1937, and was chairman of the commission when he died at Indianapolis May 19, 1942, at the age of 67.



## CHAPTER THIRTEEN

### Kansas City

Moses reached the pinnacle of his career as a political convention-goer at Kansas City. The New Hampshire delegation announced it favored him for Vice President. Party leaders agreed in advance to nominate Hoover and to install Moses as permanent chairman. From the moment Moses was handed the gavel proceedings moved rapidly, without dilly-dallying. Newspaper correspondents praised him in their reports for his speed in disposing of business. Washington correspondents threw a party in his honor. An amusing sidelight turned up in the Boston Globe of March 4, 1975 in an article about Laurence L. Winship, its former editor, who died the day before. Winship, the newspaper recalled, liked to write about prominent women. At the 1928 Republican Convention in Kansas City he quoted Mrs. Ruth Hanna McCormick as asking, 'Why on earth should you people think you must tell what a woman is wearing when she does anything at a convention? Why don't you note the color of Sen. Moses' necktie and mention that the next time he does something?'

"The next time Sen. George H. Moses did anything was a few minutes later, when he crossed a street against the traffic rules. Winship followed him and reported dutifully, in the same story, 'Sen. Moses was wearing a blue tie with white dots . . .'"

On the convention's third day balloting began precisely at the time appointed. Ralph D. Cole of Ohio, a Coolidge diehard, delivered a brief speech casting his vote for the President to continue in office. Moses instructed the secretary to continue calling the roll of the states. Hoover received 837 out of 1089, and was declared the presidential nominee. Charles Curtis of Kansas, choice of Senator Borah to which party leaders also agreed prior to the convention, was approved by the delegates as the Vice Presidential candidate and the convention ended.

Moses issued a challenge with the directness of a gruff commander of military legions, declaring:

"We came upon the field aggressively militant. We intend to carry this fight to the enemy. And we challenge them to bring forth their strongest champion. Bring him on and we will bury him. We welcome him with hospitable hands to a bloody grave."

Whereupon Moses despatched a telegram to Hoover. In return came this response:

Wash D C June 14, 1928

George H. Moses,  
Chairman, Republican National Convention,  
Kansas City, Missouri

I have your telegram and I sincerely appreciate the confidence which the party has shown in me and the honor bestowed upon me.

You convey too great a compliment when you say that I have earned the right to the presidential nomination. No man can establish such an obligation upon any part of the American people. My country owes me no debt. It gave me, as it gives every boy and girl, a chance. It gave me schooling, independence of action, opportunity for service and honor. In no other land could a boy from a country village, without inheritance or influential friends, look forward with unbounded hope.

My whole life has taught me what American means, I am indebted to my country beyond any human power to repay. It conferred upon me the mission to administer America's response to the appeal of afflicted nations during the war. It has called me into the cabinets of two Presidents. By these experiences I have observed the burdens and responsibilities of the greatest office in the world. That office touches the happiness of every home. It deals with the peace of nations. No man could think of it except in terms of solemn consecration.

You ask me for a message:

A new era and new forces have come into our economic life and our setting among nations of the world. These forces demand of us constant study and effort if prosperity, peace, and contentment shall be maintained . . . .

This convention, like those which have preceded it for two generations, has affirmed the principles of our party and defined its policies upon the problems which now confront us. I stand upon that platform. At a later date I shall discuss it fully, but in the meantime I may well say that under these principles the victory of the party will assure national defense, maintain economy in the administration of government, protect American workmen, farmers, and business men alike from competition arising out of lower standards of living abroad, foster individual initiative, insure stability



of business and employment, promote our foreign commerce, and develop our national resources.

You have manifestly a deep concern in the problems of agriculture. You have pledged the party to support specific and constructive relief upon a nation-wide scale backed by the resources of the Federal government. We must and will find a solution that will bring security and contentment to this great section of our people . . .

Shall the world have peace? Shall prosperity in this nation be more thoroughly distributed? Shall we build steadily toward the ideal of equal opportunity to all our people? Shall there be secured the obedience to law which is essential assurance of life of our institutions? Shall honesty and righteousness in government and in business confirm the confidence of the people in their institutions and their laws?

Government must contribute to leadership in answer to these questions. The government is more than administration; it is power for leadership and co-operation with the forces of business and cultural life in city, town and country side. The Presidency is more than executive responsibility. It is the inspiring symbol of all that is highest in America's purposes and ideals.

It is vital to the welfare of the United States that the Republican Party should continue to administer the government. It is essential that our party should be continued in organization and in strength in order that it may perpetuate its great principles in our national life.

If elected by my fellow-countrymen I shall give the best within me to advance the morale and material welfare of our people and uphold the traditions of the Republican Party so effectively exemplified by Calvin Coolidge.

Herbert Hoover.

The committee headed by Moses, whose duty it was to give him formal notification of his nomination did so on the day following his 54th birthday in a ceremony at the football stadium of Leland Stanford University. The stadium was decorated with thousands of flags, bands played by the hour. Palo Alto streets were jammed by traffic of record-breaking proportions.

Gene Smith describing the ceremony in "The Shattered Dream," William Morrow, publisher, wrote: "Senator Moses, forced into a promise to limit his notification speech to seven minutes, spoke in his bombastic, phrase-making way. Then Herbert Clark Hoover, Stanford '95 got up: 'You bring, Mr. Chairman, formal notice of my nomination by the Republican Party to the Presidency of the United States—I accept.'"

## CHAPTER FOURTEEN

### Home Loan Banks

This writer having co-operated with others in obtaining a charter for a Federal Savings & Loan Association in Laconia, notwithstanding vigorous opposition by representatives of the savings bank industry at both the state and local level, it was astonishing to discover many years later in Herbert Hoover's memoirs that, during his last year in the White House, when he sought legislation to establish the Home Loan Bank system, he turned to George Moses to steer the bill through the Senate.

Moses agreeing to help Hoover on the project, was taking a position contrary to the views of bankers in his home state, always counted among his loyal supporters.

The Laconia group put together about \$3600, applied for and received the first charter granted to a Federal Savings & Loan Association in New England. A delegation of bankers had gone to Washington to request the charter be not issued.

In his memoirs former President Hoover recalled that on Nov. 3, 1931, he proposed to Congress the establishment of Home Loan Discount banks. The following March, "I called on Senator George Moses for aid. He was an adroit manager of legislation," Hoover explained. On July 12, Hoover's narrative continued "he (Moses) arranged that Senator Watson should call up the bill." Hoover supplying further details said Senator Couzens offered obnoxious amendments. Senator Moses "adroitly" rid the bill of the troublesome amendments, except for one by Senator Borah. Hoover indicated a feeling that he and the country could live with the Borah amendment, and when the bill finally passed the Senate "it was partly due to the fact that nobody liked Couzens."

New Hampshire people, and the Laconia group in particular, led by the dynamic E. Harrison Merrill, secretary



of the Laconia Building & Loan Association, had much to do with establishing "Federals" in the East. The new banking institutions designed to help borrowers in purchase and construction of homes, differed from the savings banks in that they allowed monthly payment on principal with interest on mortgages. Previously most, if not all savings banks, operated on a plan of semi-annual payment of interest, often with no reduction of principal. The savings banks almost without exception followed the example of the new Federally chartered institutions offering the monthly payment plan to customers.

E. Harrison Merrill said he first heard of the Home Loan Bank with its lending power to assist local institutions while attending a convention in Chicago. On his return he persuaded the directors of his association to approve a request for charter of a Laconia "Federal" with which the Building & Loan ultimately would be merged.

In June, 1934, Merrill was appointed field organizer for the Federal Home Loan Bank board of Washington. He served in the six New England states until March, 1936. Prior to his activities in behalf of the Federal Board there had been no federalization in the New England states with the exception of the Laconia Federal Savings and Loan which he set in operation. During his 22 months of service 28 Federals had either been set up by conversion from state institutions or newly chartered. The first conversion was the Dudley Co-operative Bank of Roxbury, which became the First Federal Savings and Loan Association of Boston. The largest conversion was the Manchester Federal Savings and Loan Association. The first new association organized under Merrill's guidance was the First Federal Savings and Loan of Greenwich, Conn.

In close association with Mr. Merrill we do not recall his ever mentioning or suggesting he knew the role played by Senator Moses. We do not find such mention in copies of many speeches Merrill delivered. It remained for President Hoover to reveal in his own good time the fact the "adroit" Moses was his chief lieutenant in securing approval of the Home Loan Bank system.

The Federal Home Loan Bank Board has now become the major private source of funds for financing the con-

struction, rehabilitation and purchasing of housing. In 1974 all operating savings and loan associations in the United States closed loans amounting to \$39.0 billion. The funds of over 60 million savers in 4,141 FSLIC-insured institutions are insured up to \$40,000. These accounts represent \$236.7 billion in savings capital.





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THOMAS W. GERBER, GENERAL MANAGER

Dear Ed:

Thanks for the Hutchins and Robber Baron volumes. The latter story is new to me and quite a yarn. As usual, you have woven in references to many persons and to one of my age they awaken many memories.

As you suggest, the kind of writing you are doing will add color and flavor to the story of the past century. This is lost to some extent if not done while personal recollections are still available. Too often the best sources die silent.

Keep up the good work.

Sincerely,

*Jim Langley*

## CHAPTER FIFTEEN

### Conclusion

On March 11, 1938, we heard from Jeremiah J. Crowley who was among the Democrats who moved into the Republican column to help Moses in his crucial 1918 campaign. He wrote:

"I wish to convey to you my sincere congratulations on your re-election as mayor of your city. Also, I wish to congratulate Mrs. Etta G. Gallagher on her election to the Constitutional Convention. I was one of the leaders in the movement to elect George H. Moses in Ward Four to the Constitutional Convention. I stayed at the ward polling place all day and instructed many in writing his name on the ballot. He is away until Saturday. Levin Chase informed me.

"Your old friend,

"Jeremiah J. Crowley."

Subsequently we read in Albert Baker's Monitor column Moses gave Crowley full credit for devising a way to elect him by a write-in after the ward bosses ignored Moses' wish to go to the convention on condition that it be without contest. "Thanks to Jerry's friendly lift," the columnist said, "the former U.S. senator won out."

Four months before election of Con Con delegates Moses appeared to have abandoned hope he would be a member.

"I am too old to embark on any adventure which involves political activity. But for this calendar, which weighs heavily upon me, I would seek to become a delegate, and . . . would try to reach a working agreement with Ray Stevens," he wrote.

He was spending a few days each week at the Boston office of The Rumford Press, and there he received news of his election by a write-in engineered by Crowley. It was a surprise. He was pleased to learn a Catholic layman and friends presumably of the same faith, were still in his corner



despite the wide circulation accorded a letter he was alleged to have written, fanning flames of bigotry in Alfred E. Smith's presidential campaign.

Under date of April 25 Moses said in a letter to this chronicler: "Being in Boston several days each week, I have to make many New Hampshire contacts a good deal as a wrestler does; Catch as catch can; and I have talked with Bob Murchie about the organization of the Convention. I told him that I saw no reason why the Republicans should hog all of the patronage, and I wish that some scheme could be worked out whereby the Convention could be made entirely nonpartisan. It seems evident that there will be a nonpartisan movement for the election of the President of the Convention, and I wish such a spirit might prevail through all of the sessions."

When delegates assembled for the opening session of the convention there was a check by reporters to determine if opposition existed to the former senator. "Sentiment was all for Moses" Albert Baker's Candid Politics column announced.

Robert L. Norton, Washington correspondent of the Boston Post, flew on from the national capital to see how Moses, whom he described as "the sage of Concord" was faring. Norton concluded the manner in which a battle on the question of religious toleration was avoided was "the real story." Norton described his interview at Concord: "With a copy of the constitution in his hand Moses put his finger on Article 6 and said: 'The first and most important thing to do is to amend the Bill of Rights by striking out the word 'Protestant' and substituting the word 'religious' for the word 'evangelical'.'"

"Both expressions are obsolete in these days," Moses added. Besides, he contended, these provisions of the constitution were a direct affront to at least 40 per cent of the population.

Amendments to accomplish what Moses proposed were prepared and considered by a special committee on the Bill of Rights. Norton's account explained no amendments were offered from the floor, because of the general understanding the committee would act. "The time for submitting such amendments had expired before any action was taken in the committee," Norton disclosed. "Then it was announced the

committee had decided against a report and the whole matter would be shelved. It appears from what this correspondent has gathered in discussions with members of the committee and the leaders of the convention that the question was sidetracked purely and simply on the ground of political expediency and to avoid an open row on the floor."

The delegates met at the state house May 11, 1938. Amos Blandin of Bath, Democrat, was chosen temporary chairman on motion by Bill Britton of Wolfeboro.

A temporary clerk was chosen, the committee on credentials named and upon its report being read, delegates proceeded to elect officers. Robert Sanderson of Pittsfield, Democrat, moved that the temporary secretary be instructed to cast one ballot for the Hon. George H. Moses for President of the Convention. Sanderson said he was sure Moses would preside "with fairness and sportsmanship." The resolution was unanimously approved, and Moses was escorted to the chair. He addressed the convention:

Colleagues: The generous manner in which you have given me this distinction leaves me without words to express my appreciation adequately, but I recognize the highest type of thanks I can render to you will be found in my conduct in the Chair, and I now promise you my constant effort that you will never have occasion to regret your generous action of today.

The Constitution which the people of New Hampshire have committed to our scrutiny is a document which antedates the Constitution of the United States and has been far less frequently amended. I did not come into your company through such an avenue that I feel sure the convictions I have on this point, and which are of long standing, will be shared by you. If you follow precedent you will impose upon me the duty of naming your standing committees. I shall strive to see to it that any opinion that exists among us shall find a voice in our deliberations and there will be no hindrance to any form of opinion on the floor. When we come to consider the many problems which will be laid before us we must recognize indeed that the question of taxation will be central and compelling. The burden of taxation now upon real property in New Hampshire is already intolerable and is likely to become increasingly so. It is not for me but it is for you to consider the problem inherent in this question of taxation, and to find a solution which we hope will be of maximum benefit to the people of this state which we love so well and whose people have now given us so signal an opportunity to render them service. I venture to express the hope that this Convention may not fall into the error which has overtaken some of our predecessors, which have submitted an unwieldy number of amendments to the people. I hope the



amendments we will submit will be few and simple, easily interpreted, and that may be readily explained to the voters who come to discuss our work before them.

This is a year in which the Federal Constitution is receiving significant reverence. It should be the more significant too in New Hampshire because it was this state—in fact, in this very city, through ratification by New Hampshire, that the Constitution became effective. Should we have less reverence for our own Constitution which has served us well since 1784, and under which New Hampshire has stood forth as a community enjoying liberty under the law and making orderly progress under Constitutional method.

Moses immediately named traditional committees, then added another he called "My personal executive committee." It had three members, all Democrats: Amos Blandin, Laurence F. Whittemore of Pembroke, and Etta G. Gallagher of Laconia. They were given front seats in what had been known for years as "statesmen's row" directly in front of the dais.

The convention lasted the customary three weeks. The resolution relating to taxation attracted the most speakers, and as had been expected former Congressman Stevens drew greatest attention. Since 1912 at every convention Stevens had been speaking in favor of tax reform to no avail. Resolution No. 34 relating to taxation approved by the 1938 convention embraced recommendations by the member from Landaff, an endorsement of his program which in earlier years lacked support from a majority of delegates. The preceding November Moses had stated if elected he would try to reach "a working agreement with Ray Stevens." It can be surmised from President Moses' remarks as he closed the convention the desired compromise was achieved.

Praise was voiced for the manner in which Moses presided, a demonstration of approval was launched by Stevens. He rose and said:

Mr. President this is the first time in my life that I have ever offered one of the routine resolutions with which we open and close legislative bodies, or bodies like this, and on this occasion I requested the privilege of being the person to offer the resolution which expresses the appreciation of this body of delegates to the President of this convention for his services to us. I asked for the privilege for a personal reason.

I think everybody in this hall knows that the President of this convention and myself have been of opposite political parties all

our lives. I think they know that we hold very strong views and we express them strongly. Not all of you know that some eighteen or twenty years ago I did my best to keep the President of this convention from going to Washington as senator of this state. I did not succeed. I might say, incidentally, that about that time I went off to the Kingdom of Siam, that land of white elephants and of a wise monarch, who knew a good man when he saw him, if he did have to look half way across the world to find him.

Mr. President: I am not aware that in our long political opposition there has been any personal bitterness between us; I am not aware that I have ever called the senator an unkind name, and I have no idea that he has ever called me one. I have sometimes felt that if he had to classify me, he would have said I belonged to "the sons of the wild jackass."

Mr. President: I said the other day that I have had a good deal of experience in being presided over, but I have never been presided over with more fairness, more generosity and more courtesy than during this convention.

I wish to say another thing that many of you may not know. In the desire we all share that this convention might result in proposals, which if accepted by the people would lead to a more just system of taxation, we have had the inspiration, counsel and help of our presiding officer. Mr. President, for these reasons, it gives me a great deal of pleasure to present a resolution, which I propose to read myself and not have the clerk read it, and I propose to spare your modesty, Mr. President, and to present it to this body myself and ask its approval by a rising vote.

Resolved, That the thanks of this convention be extended to the Hon. George H. Moses for the ability, fairness and the courtesy with which he has presided over its deliberations.

The resolution was unanimously adopted by a rising vote.

President Moses replied as follows:

Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: The generous action which you have just taken is a culmination of a series of episodes from the assembling of this convention until its closing minutes, during which I have received from you the greatest co-operation in conducting its affairs, and the utmost of kindness and forbearance as you have witnessed many foibles from the Chair. I thank you from the bottom of my heart.

Before the deliberations of the convention are over, may I remind you, Fellow Delegates, that our task is not ended. We have presented a series of resolutions to the people for their approval, under which, if approved, we shall find no considerable change in the organic law of New Hampshire. This result has been reached, like most wise legislation, by prudent compromise. The resolutions we have adopted



probably would have been written in a different form by every member of the convention, if each delegate had the sole right to prepare the resolutions, but we have reached a conclusion with such a degree of unity that there lies with each of us the duty of carrying a message to our constituents to urge them to ratify the work we have done.

When I opened this convention, I remarked that the essential and compelling topic was taxation, and we would be recreant to our duty if we failed to present some proposal which tended to lessen the growing intolerable burden of real property taxes. I think the resolution which you have agreed to and have submitted to the people presents a fairer structure of taxation in New Hampshire than that under which we have lived before, and I regard it still as the central and compelling work of this convention. Therefore, I ask every one of you to constitute himself a missionary to carry the gospel of the tax question to the people of New Hampshire.

Former Governor John H. Bartlett was first assistant Postmaster General and observed Moses in action in Washington and at home in New Hampshire. In his papers we discovered this estimate: "George Moses led Republican politics, and much of national politics in his time,—an aggressive, fearless personality."

Judge Harold E. Davison of Woodsville responded to a request for anecdotes: "One story George often told in private which he said was 100% true concerned a man in northern New Hampshire (name and city must be omitted as some of that family are still well known). He had a phone call in his Washington office during Prohibition days from a generous supporter in every election. It seemed he had been caught with a car-load of liquor which was confiscated and wanted the Senator to intercede for him with the Washington authorities. George called the proper office and discussed the case. He requested that the car be not confiscated. The official said it appeared the Senator was not informed of all the circumstances. Actually, the liquor was a Freight Car Load! One thing I shall always remember about George M. was his great help in getting pensions for mothers who had lost a son in World War I. I began my law practice in July, 1920, and had several pension cases, in every one he got immediate results, and I became a real friend and supporter. I am sure you have thought of Sen. Norris Cotton as one you can get much help from. He used to do some funny impersonations of George. One night he

was entertaining in a room at the Eagle Hotel in Concord when Moses walked in and he really scolded Norris."

The last year of Moses' life he suffered from heart trouble. This prevented him from attending the National Convention of 1944 which he had hoped to do, a custom commenced in 1900.

The Associated Press, reporting his death on the night of Dec. 20, 1944, at his home, said: "Once described as 'the most exciting man in American public life', he served three times in the United States Senate. He lost his seat in the Democratic landslide in 1932. His widow, and his only son, Gordon, were with him when he died. He had just returned home from a brief stay at a hospital, for the Christmas holidays, when death came of coronary thrombosis. After his unsuccessful attempt to win a fourth term against Fred Brown, Democrat, in 1932, he regarded himself, he said, as 'only nuisance value' to the Republican party. Frequently urged to re-enter the political arena, he had one stock answer: 'Why should a man with a bum ticker fuss around with things like that?'"

"As encroachment of ill health forced him out of the limelight, he retired to the quiet comfort of his Concord home, as he said, 'Never again to be in a given place at a given time.' He devoted himself principally to reading and carrying on a voluminous correspondence.

"Nevertheless, he considered retirement onerous and rebelled at having 'to sit surrounded by the illustrious dead on those walls.'

"His study was lined with signed photographs of celebrities and the books he loved. He once remarked that he 'lived in the retirement of the damndest, most retired kind.'

"For years he worked on his memoirs, 'Names, Dates and Places', but in June, 1942, he tore up all the manuscript, except two chapters, complaining that he had 'a grass hopper mind' and could not confine himself to chapter headings. For a while he toyed with rewriting the book, but in the end characterized himself as indolent.

"His record of eight years as president pro tempore of the Senate was exceeded only by that of the late William P. Frye of Maine, who served fourteen years.

"He once said that he quickly learned that the Senate



'is like every place else; if one is willing to work they will let him.'

"However, he was soon loaded with responsibilities and, to the delight of the public of that day, his sharp phrases and caustic wit were given frequent exercise on the Senate floor.

"After the first World War he took a militant stand against the League of Nations and had a major part in the bitter fight which eventually kept the United States out of the League.

"Consistently at war with the agricultural bloc and its demands for subsidies that excluded New England, he declared he never would vote for an agricultural bill until 'them sacred words, hay, apples and potatoes have been added to corn, wheat, cotton, tobacco and peanuts.'

"It was in criticism of a southern and western farm coalition, in a fiery speech at Boston, he made his famous reference to the 'sons of the wild jackasses'.

"There was an immediate storm of criticism from the South and the West, particularly over this remark, but he stood by his guns and affirmed he was not sorry he made them, as the nation chuckled."

The Senator was a Congregationalist and an active member of the South Congregational Church of Concord. For three years he was a member of the church's standing committee.

By his request, the casket was not opened for services at the church which were largely attended. Burial followed in the Moses plot in the cemetery at Franklin.

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### **The Moses Home at 5 Auburn Street, Concord.**

The handsome Concord home Moses built at 5 Auburn Street was designed by Architect James Randlett, and saw many distinguished visitors during Moses's career. The neighborhood known for its stately residences was opened on September 15, 1860 to much ceremony and oration, presided over by Mayor Moses Willard. "Auburn Street was the brain-child of a revivalist who held services in tents." One Elder John Hook, writes Gallagher, who also "had an extraordinary talent for real estate development." The home later became the residence of Concord Mayor Malcom McLane and his wife Susan. See Chapter Four.



January, 2021

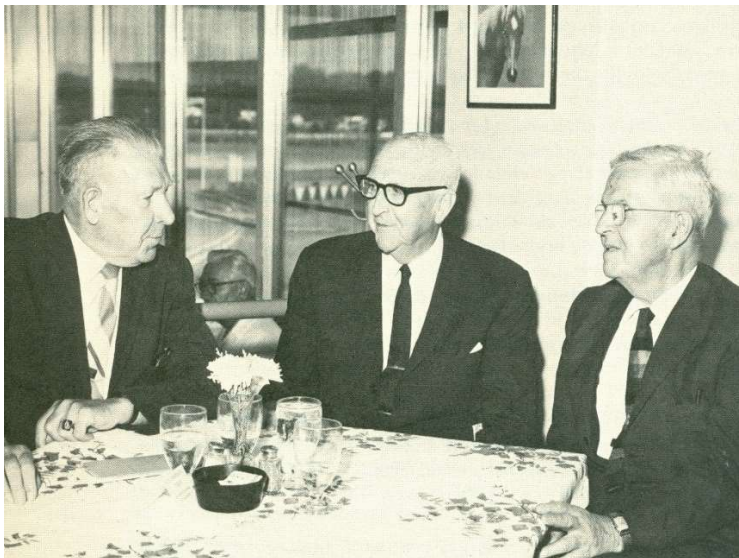


## About the Author, Edward J Gallagher



Edward J. Gallagher at age 21, from a *Granite Monthly* article reporting on the 1912 NH Constitutional Convention in which Gallagher was the youngest member, representing Concord's 9<sup>th</sup> Ward. "A native of the city, educated in the public schools and by private tutor," the editors described him as "the bright and brainy editor of the *Concord Daily* and the *New Hampshire Weekly Patriot* and the youngest man in the country to hold so responsible a position in the journalistic world."

Gallagher went on to found the *Laconia Evening Citizen* in 1926, served a term as Laconia mayor, and was active as a publisher, author, and community leader until his death at 88 in 1978. When the *Citizen* ceased publication on September 30, 2016, a front page profile by former reporter Dean Dexter also mentioned Gallagher's youthful beginnings, "At 16, Gallagher started to hang around the state house with the idea of becoming a news reporter for the 1907 session. To enhance his youthful stature, he called himself the 'F. K. Gilpin Syndicate,' writing news stories for several weeklies at fifty cents a column. Soon he was hired part-time by the *Manchester Union*. In four years, at age 20, plucky Ed Gallagher, would own the *New Hampshire Patriot*, once edited by a legendary N. H. governor and U.S. Senator, Isaac Hill, a confidante of President Andrew Jackson."



Edward J Gallagher, right, with Leon W. Anderson, veteran *Concord Monitor* political reporter and columnist, left, and long-time Rockingham Park Executive Richard M. "Mack" O'Dowd at the iconic Salem race track lounge, circa 1960s.