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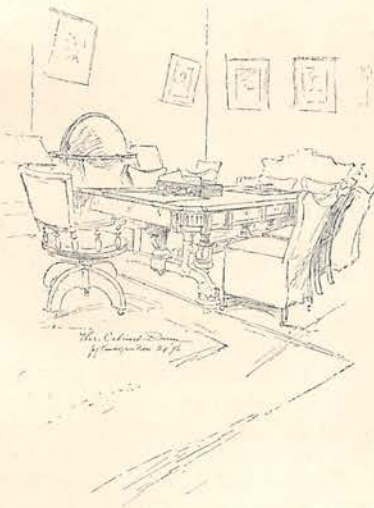
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No. 5.



OUR FELLOW-CITIZEN OF THE WHITE HOUSE.

THE OFFICIAL CARES OF A PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.



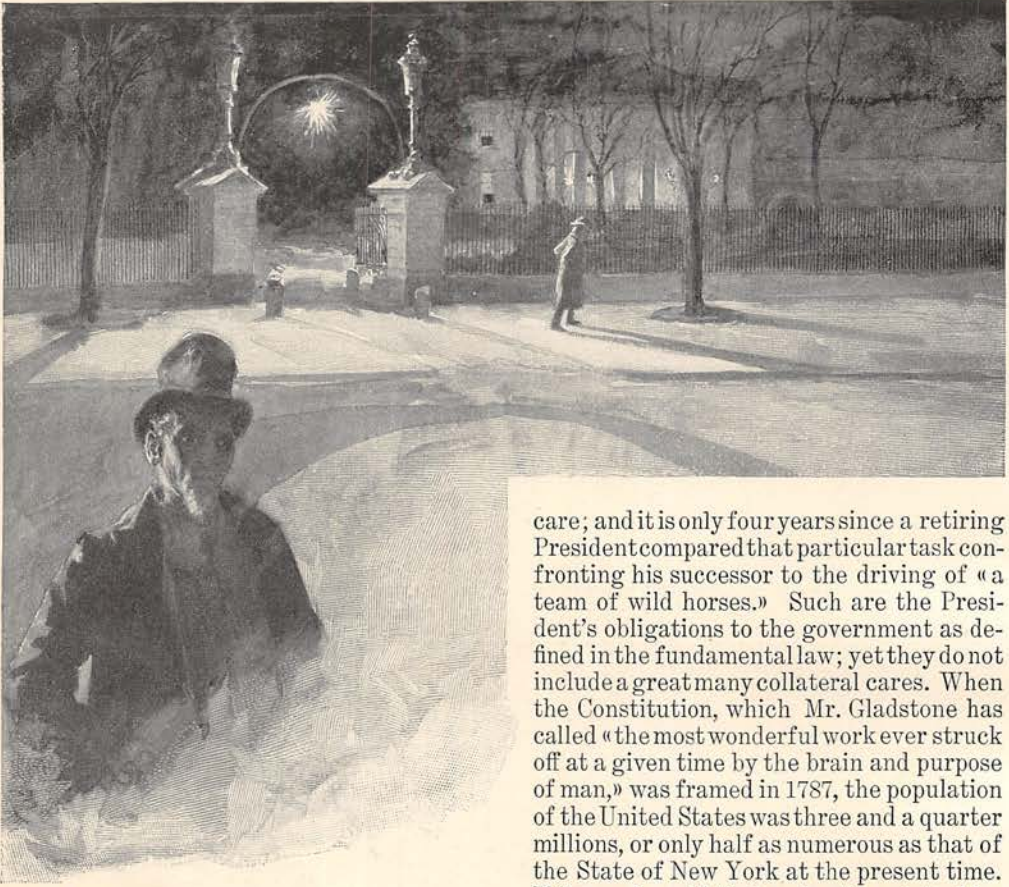
A PRESIDENT who should not carry into the White House a relish for drudgery, business habits of the nicest discrimination, and a constitution of iron, would be President only in name, even as regards his more important duties. His signature on the papers which he is told will not otherwise be legal might be as good as the custodian of his bank account would require, but within the meaning of the law it would be as often as not a moral forgery. Yet no complaint should be offered on this

account. Presidents are made for better or for worse. Such as they are in natural faculties and strength, so they must serve—some of them leaning on official advisers and bureaucratic clerks in every step they take; and some of them putting the stamp of their own individuality on the papers and acts which make up an administration.

When a President-elect, facing the Chief Justice, has repeated the Constitutional oath, «I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States,» he has indented himself for four years of the heaviest servitude that ever fell to the lot of any mortal. By comparison the «hired man» talked about in the last canvass would lead a pampered existence, and a constitutional monarch is a man of leisure. A President equal to his oath is both king and premier; he reigns and he rules; he is bowed down by the crown of authority and is encompassed by the mantle of care.

A paragraph in the first article of the Constitution, and the section in the second article following the oath, define the meaning of a promise to «execute the office of President.» As commander-in-chief of the army and navy he is accountable to the people for the personnel and efficiency of both services; he is the supervisor of the acts of the members of

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DRAWN BY JAY HAMBIDGE.

THE WHITE HOUSE AT NIGHT, FROM THE EAST
CARRIAGE ENTRANCE.

the cabinet, who are the heads of the executive departments; with him rests the power to grant reprieves and pardons; on him devolves the responsibility of our relations with all other nations; with few exceptions among the higher officers, and not including the minor clerks, who are responsible to the heads of departments, he must select men to fill all vacancies in the vast army of public officials, from a judge of the Supreme Court to a third-rate postmaster. Furthermore, after the selections have been made he must undergo the clerical drudgery of signing every nomination and commission; and finally, it is his duty to sit in judgment on all legislation, to impart information to the houses of Congress on the state of the Union, and to suggest measures necessary to the furtherance of the domestic and foreign policy of his administration. Even in Lincoln's time, with a powerful majority behind him, the legislative feature of the President's rule was a galling

care; and it is only four years since a retiring President compared that particular task confronting his successor to the driving of «a team of wild horses.» Such are the President's obligations to the government as defined in the fundamental law; yet they do not include a great many collateral cares. When the Constitution, which Mr. Gladstone has called «the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man,» was framed in 1787, the population of the United States was three and a quarter millions, or only half as numerous as that of the State of New York at the present time. If it may be said that under the original instrument a President is still able to shepherd seventy million souls, it is also undeniable that a large distribution of his cares to responsible officers is inevitable and near at hand.

After a fellow-citizen has been, as it were, condemned to the herculean task, he looks about him for a man whose tact will serve for a private secretary, and whose capacity will master the crowd of the anteroom and the rushing stream of executive business. As a rule, the stress of the canvass has brought the right man to the right hand of the President-elect. This was true of Lincoln's secretary, Mr. Nicolay, who also conformed to a view which frequently commends a trained journalist to that office. General Horace Porter accompanied his war chief to the executive mansion as «military secretary,» though General Grant once said jocosely, «I suppose in a railway company he would be called Assistant President»; Mr. Phillips had been private secretary to General Arthur as collector of the port of New York; while Daniel S. Lamont is an example of a jour-



PHOTOGRAPH BY GEORGE C. COX.

PRIVATE SECRETARY THURBER AT HIS DESK.

nalist who has stood on every rung of the ladder of executive advisement. As chief clerk in the office of Secretary of State under John Bigelow during the administrations of Governors Tilden and Robinson, and as secretary of the Democratic State Committee of New York, he revealed tact and energy which marked him as the fittest man for private secretary to Governor Cleveland; and when the latter broke the spell which for a generation had barred Democratic candidates from the White House, his secretary accepted the same office with the higher responsibility. On the return of Mr. Cleveland to the White House in 1893, Mr. Lamont again became an official adviser as Secretary of War, the only other man who has passed from the laborious anteroom to executive functions being Lincoln's assistant private secretary, Colonel John Hay, who, after long diplomatic service abroad, was Assistant Secretary of State un-

der President Hayes. In view of the unusualness of Mr. Lamont's promotion from the inner circle of executive experience, it is worthy of note that army officers give him credit for being the only civilian secretary in their generation who has mastered the complex details of that department, instead of being largely a signature clerk to the heads of the different bureaus.

For his new private secretary President Cleveland went to his own profession, choosing Mr. Henry T. Thurber, a law partner of his former Postmaster-General, Don M. Dickinson of Michigan, who has filled this difficult position with most essential cheerfulness and courtesy. When it became known that Mr. Lamont would not return to his former position, it is said that a journalistic caller undertook to do Mr. Cleveland a service by way of suggestion.

«We are hoping,» said the journalist, «that



DRAWN BY JAY HAMBIDGE.

HALL BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICES ON A BUSY DAY.

you will appoint a man who will be good to us newspaper men.»

«I had a notion,» replied the President-elect, «of appointing a man who would be good to me.»

Cabinet-making is a more difficult matter. A private secretary, it is safe to assume, will adapt himself to the views and methods of his chief; but the official advisers of the cabinet, according to their political stature and idiosyncrasy, are liable to have policies of their own, or even ambitions, which will not exactly dovetail one with another around the council-table. Mr. Lincoln, with a wisdom suited to a peculiar emergency, gathered about him his political rivals, who were to some extent rivals among themselves; but in discomfiting one another they very largely spared him, and their abilities were so extraordinary that the work he had in hand prospered in spite of family jars. The one who persisted in presidential aspirations, Mr. Chase, finally left the cabinet, and suffered the usual failure of aspirants for the chieftaincy by way of the cabinet door. Mr. Blaine's success in securing the nomination was no exception to the rule, for he left the cabinet a few months after the tragic succession of President Arthur, and by securing the nomination in 1884 effected the latter's humiliation. A different outcome to the indomitable secretary's candidacy of 1892 was partly due, no doubt, to his position in the cabinet and to President Harrison's determination that his official family should be loyal to him or wage open warfare on the outside. Blaine's resignation came late, but none the less it placed him in the position of a secessionist whose following was in a minority.

By contrast, President Cleveland's two cabinets have proved not only free from these ambitions, but also remarkably harmonious and single in purpose. Evidently they were chosen for work. Each of his cabinets has shown the coöperation of strong individualities with complete subordination to the official head. It is safe to say that more industrious cabinets, reflecting the disposition of the President, were never gathered around the council-table.

Even when political reasons do not shape the choice of a cabinet officer, a deference to the geography of the nation is always discernible. Aspirants are expected to be as mum and as coy as a maiden pining for a young man, and as a matter of fact they are not as persistent as those who aspire to the other offices; for tradition enforces upon a cabinet officer the attitude of conferring a

favor; still a President is not wholly deprived of suggestions from the friends of willing statesmen; nor are the go-betweens always on the side of the wooer; and it will be remembered that the celebrated conferences at Mentor were attended by circumstances suggestive of the negotiations of a matrimonial agency.

Still, the official family of a President-elect is seldom known with accuracy before the inaugural day. A variety of tactful reasons prescribe this, and determine also the purely formal intercourse between the outgoing and incoming Presidents. For one thing, it is felt that a dignified aloofness on the part of a successful adversary is only a proper deference to the zeal of his supporters in belittling the expiring administration; and where the latter belongs to the same political party reasons of a more personal nature are apt to prevail. But this attitude seldom interferes with an exchange of pleasant courtesies; for instance, in 1885 President Arthur invited Mr. Cleveland to dine with him the night before the inauguration, but in this case Mr. Cleveland had made arrangements which compelled him to decline. In 1889 General and Mrs. Harrison dined with the President and Mrs. Cleveland, alone, on the eve of the transfer of power; and when Mr. and Mrs. Cleveland returned to Washington to resume their life in the White House, the same courtesy was extended to them, and with the same privacy.

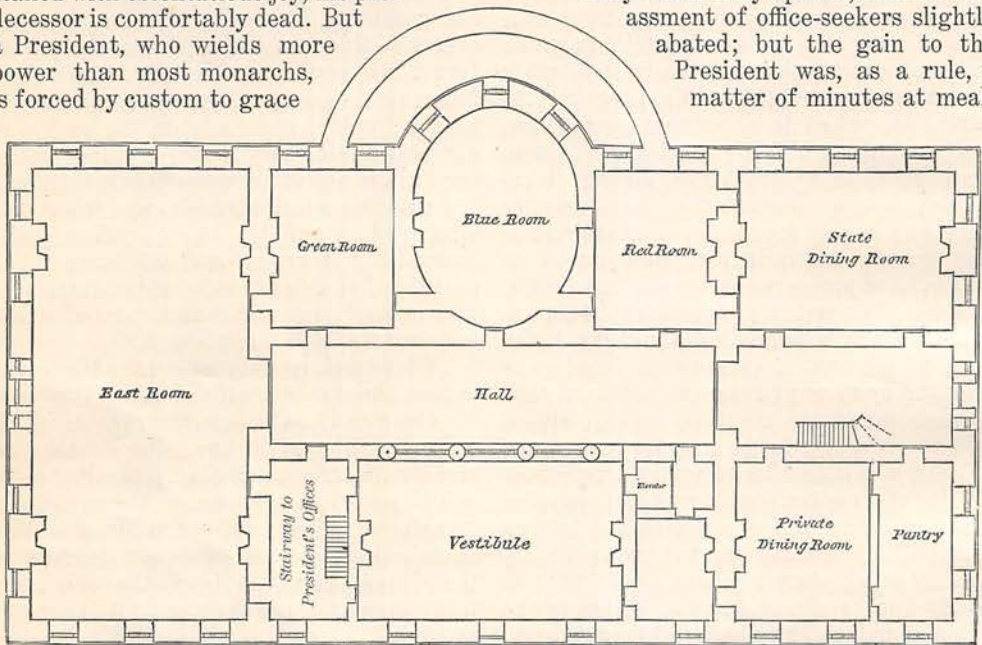
On March 3, 1889, at an hour privately arranged by the secretaries, and according to the established usage, General Harrison and his private secretary, Mr. Halford, drove to the White House, and were received by President Cleveland and Mr. Lamont in the Blue Room, reserved for diplomatic and official courtesies. While the chief magistrates conferred for a moment, the secretaries exchanged greetings at one side, and the interview was soon over. About an hour later Mr. Cleveland and his secretary returned the call at the hotel. Four years later these civilities were repeated exactly, with the exception that the order was reversed, and Mr. Cleveland was accompanied by Mr. Thurber, this being the only instance in our history where a retiring President has succeeded his successor.

With the shifting of such gigantic cares there is a peculiar poverty of helpful suggestion; affairs of state are avoided with graceful dexterity. In receiving Mr. Cleveland, President Arthur alluded jocosely to the daily ordeal in store for his successor, and said: «You will suffer most from two classes of

visitors: the man who desires to pay his respects, and the man who wants to catch a four-o'clock train.» Mr. Arthur had the reputation of holding a firm check on fellow-citizens with such aspirations, believing as he did that the personal comfort of a President had something to do with the dignity of the office.

When a ruler of the old royal order is installed with ostentatious joy, his predecessor is comfortably dead. But a President, who wields more power than most monarchs, is forced by custom to grace

remind him that the United States expect every President to do his duty by the party which elected him. With a large experience of this sort of thing, extending over a longer series of years than ever before fell to the lot of an American executive, Mr. Cleveland began his second term with months of labor, broken each day in the small hours of the morning. By this effort the path of executive duty was merely opened, and the harassment of office-seekers slightly abated; but the gain to the President was, as a rule, a matter of minutes at meal-



his successor's triumph; unless, like John Adams, he chooses to be frank with whatever feelings of disgust he may have for the new situation, and bolts the ordeal. On the way from the White House to the Capitol he occupies the right-hand seat of honor, but when the procession is ready to return he takes the seat of retired greatness on the left, and breathes more freely. Soon after reaching the White House the ex-President bows himself out into private life.

After the fatigue of reviewing the vast procession that followed him «home,» and of leading the promenade at the inauguration ball, the President is left alone in his glory, the first manifestation of which is a stack of boxes reaching half-way to the ceiling, filled with applications for office. Now he is President indeed. Those preliminary boxes, nearly every caller, letters by the thousand, and large willow trunks full of papers delivered with regularity from the departments,

time, and a half-hour with his family after dinner, with a return to his desk between nine and ten in the forenoon, while the midnight toil continued.

This habit of working in the quiet of midnight is the secret of Mr. Cleveland's ability to understand for himself the nature of every paper which receives his signature. It is a habit which he acquired in Buffalo, where his living-rooms were over his law offices, his tendency to a sedentary life heightening the attractions of midnight oil for reading and work that required quiet. First as sheriff, and then as mayor, these hours were devoted to the studious part of the public business; when he reached the gubernatorial mansion the habit had become a second nature; and on taking the reins of national government it alone enabled him to discharge his duty in the light in which he sees it—as a personal and literal responsibility. Accordingly, President Cleveland has been so little seen in Washing-

GROUND PLAN OF THE WHITE HOUSE.

ton outside the White House for recreation or amusement, that in the minds of many credulous people his personality is shrouded in mystery. The mystery has attached even to the occasional outings for a little rest at shooting, the secrecy attending them being made necessary by the fact that little privacy is accorded him except by a dash through the pickets of the press for a government steamer and a disappearance into unsuspected waters; for if his coming were heralded, the object of the outing would be partly defeated by the well-meant attentions of the citizens of the neighborhood. In vacation time he enjoys the reputation of a devoted fisherman, whereas the daily package from the White House entails as much business, even at that season, as a man of ordinary strength would care to do in the active season. Providence and government never rest from their labors.

Within the White House there is no mystery except as to the copiousness of the work that is done. There is even little ceremony which would not be observed in an ordinary business house. The average citizen strolls up the imposing oval walk to the magnificent portico with the ease with which he would approach his own front door. His general view was indicated in the conversation of two young men approaching to examine the home surroundings of «our President.»

«It's fine,» said one.

«We pay for all this,» said the other; «every time we smoke a cigar we help to keep it going.»

The only restriction on these gentle masters is that the cigar may not be smoked within the doors; and in fact there are but few freemen who do not leave their internal-revenue tobacco at the gates.

No soldier walks his beat before the portal, as before all executive offices and palaces in other lands. Several years ago, a Spanish gentleman who was being conducted over the lower floor in the hour when visitors were shown the state apartments, inquired in the dining-room after the immediate whereabouts of the President, the fact of his being in the room where that great personage actually dined implying to his mind executive absence. When told that at that moment the President was in the room overhead, he exclaimed with surprise, «But where are the soldiers?» When told that there never were any about the White House in the capacity of guards, his ideas of propriety underwent a shock.

There have been no soldiers as guardians

under the shadow of the great Ionic columns since the war; and even then, on one fierce winter night, the boy in blue who was on guard was not allowed to maintain professional decorum. Mr. Lincoln emerged from the front door, his lank figure bent over as he drew tightly about his shoulders the shawl which he employed for such protection; for he was on his way to the War Department, at the west corner of the grounds, where in times of battle he was wont to get the midnight despatches from the field. As the blast struck him he thought of the numbness of the pacing sentry, and turning to him, said: «Young man, you've got a cold job to-night; step inside, and stand guard there.»

«My orders keep me out here,» the soldier replied.

«Yes,» said the President, in his argumentative tone; «but your duty can be performed just as well inside as out here, and you'll oblige me by going in.»

«I have been stationed outside,» the soldier answered, and resumed his beat.

«Hold on there!» said Mr. Lincoln, as he turned back again; «it occurs to me that I am commander-in-chief of the army, and I order you to go inside.»

At ten o'clock a hardly discernible sign against the glass of the barrier announces to the citizen who has arrived under the grand portal that the executive mansion is «open» to visitors; at two o'clock the sign is changed to «closed.» The doorkeepers swing the doors open to everybody. Within the large vestibule nothing is seen which indicates the arrangement and purposes of the different parts of the mansion. It was not always so, for originally the now concealed corridor, or middle hall, with the staircase on the right was a part of the entrance-hall; now the spaces between the middle columns are closed with colored-glass partitions, and the vestibule is simply a large square room pleasant to get out of. No way appears to open to the state apartments in the center, or to the west wing, which is devoted to the private apartments; yet glass doors are there, though as imperceptible to the stranger as a swinging panel. To the left there is a door which is always open. It admits to a small hall across which a similar door is the side entrance to the great East Room. About this splendid room, comprising the whole east end of the mansion, the visitor may wander at will before the portraits, or enjoy from the windows the beauty of the Treasury building to the east or the impressive landscape to the south, including the tower-

ing shaft of the Washington monument, and, beyond, the ever-charming Potomac spreading with enlarging curves toward Mount Vernon; and in the private garden under



DRAWN BY JAY HAMBIDGE. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY GEORGE C. COX.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY PRUDEN ARRANGING THE SEATING FOR A STATE DINNER.

the windows he may chance to see a merry band of little ones, two of them the President's older daughters, with a few playmates belonging to a kindergarten class.

From the small hall between the vestibule and the East Room a stairway ascends toward the medial line of the building to a wide middle hall, on each side of which are the offices of the President. The arrangement is simple, and in the floor-plan covers the space occupied below by the East Room and the Green Room, the latter being the counterpart of the small hall with the public stairway, just mentioned. At the head of these stairs, over the Green Room, is the Cabinet Room, which is the first apartment on the south side of the hall; a jog of two steps, at the private door into the President's room, marking the raised ceiling of the East Room below. The President reaches his office through the Cabinet Room, entering the latter from the library, which corresponds on the second floor with the Blue Room of the State apartments. President Arthur, indeed, used the library as

his office, and the cabinet chamber for an anteroom, while his private secretary was domiciled in the traditional office of the President. During his first term Mr. Cleveland preserved the same arrangement; but General Harrison went back to the office hallowed by Lincoln's occupancy, and Mr. Cleveland, on his return, found the arrangement so satisfactory that he continued it.

Beyond the President's large square office is the corner room where Private Secretary Thurber is always either wrestling with the details of executive business or standing with his shoulder braced against the crowd struggling to see the President. It is a narrow apartment, and might be called appropriately the «Hall of the Disappointed,» the suggestion being emphasized by portraits of the greatest of presidential aspirants, Clay and Webster, to which Mr. Thurber has added, as his private property, an engraving of the closest contestant for the office, Governor Tilden.

On the north side of the hall there are two rooms which correspond to those on the south side just described, the small one being occupied by Mr. O. L. Pruden, the assistant secretary since General Grant's time, and the custodian of the office books as well as of the traditions which govern the public social routine of the executive mansion; in his room sits the telegraph clerk at his instrument, and by the window is a telephone, which saves a great amount of messenger service between the President and the departments. Occasionally a congressman, with less ceremony than discretion, attempts to get an appointment with the ear of the President over the telephone, and there is record of a stage earthquake produced in the private secretary's room by a furious congressman who found the telephone ineffective, and his Olympian style even less so.

The large room on the north side, corresponding to the President's office south of the hall, provides for the mail clerk and his assistants, and the stenographer and letter secretary; it is also a store-room for official papers and the office books, a new set of which is made ready by each private secretary for his successor.

In the hallway there are always several attendants, among them the colored messenger who was recommended to President Lincoln by Secretary Stanton.

On this historic floor the weary Lincoln buoyed desponding patriots with hearty hope and merry joke; here have been discussed and formulated the policies which have saved and

maintained the republic; here the strong men of the country have chafed at the barriers to the source of appointments; and here the queue of office-seekers, stretching from the private secretary's door, has drawn its weary length, most of them departing with a hollow straw of hope, and some of them, after many calls, taking the stairs with the lingering step of despair.

More accommodation for the President is a necessity; but the White House, from the point of view of beauty and tradition, is one of the relics of our past which belong unimpaired to posterity. The perfect inadequacy of the executive offices to the present demands is apparent at a glance; nor is the lack of room less obvious at the social functions which custom as well as reasons of state impose upon the President.

At every large public reception in the White House the guests are taken in with a limited amount of style; but their departure is virtually over a stile, since the halls could not be cleared if the guests were not passed out by steps to a window-sill from which a bridge spans the basement area. These receptions and dinners occur much in the order of the winter fêtes of 1895-96, which were ushered in with the President's usual drag-net levee on New Year's day, beginning at an early hour with the cabinet, the Supreme Court, the diplomatic corps, the army and navy, Congress, heads of departments, etc., according to cast-iron rules of precedence, and finishing with the unofficial citizen.

As it happened in 1896, the cabinet dinner occurred the day after New Year's; and on January 9 the diplomatic reception, from 9 to 11 P. M., which is looked upon as the brilliant function of the year. About three thousand invitations are issued, which go to every person of some degree of responsibility in the government services and in the departments, and to the social friends of «The President and Mrs. Cleveland,» as the invitation reads. This is the reception for which every new aspirant to social position hungers and thirsts, since it is felt to be so inclusive as to leave the stamp of negative gravity on anybody of social pretensions who has been overlooked. But the number of invitations indicates sufficiently the perfunctory character of the entertainment. The members of the cabinet and their wives assemble in the private apartments on the second floor. At nine o'clock, when the Marine Band begins to play, they march down the west staircase, the President and his wife at the head of the procession.

Passing from the corridor into the Blue Room, the President and his wife take position near the door leading from the Red Room, with the ladies of the cabinet at their right, the cabinet members themselves passing into the background. Meantime the diplomatic corps have assembled in the Red Room. As they are received by the President and his wife, they pass behind the line and join the cabinet. Then the members of the Supreme Court and other dignitaries are received, and afterward the invited guests in general pass in a steady stream from the anteroom by the group of honor, through the Green Room into the East Room, and crowd



DRAWN BY JAY HAMBIDGE.

A DISAPPOINTED OFFICE-SEEKER.

the halls and corridors, emerging, often with a considerable sense of relief, through the aforesaid window.

On January 16, 1896, the diplomatic dinner

was given; January 18 Mrs. Cleveland gave a large private reception; January 23 occurred the reception to Congress and the Judiciary; January 30 the Supreme Court were dined; February 1 was the date of Mrs. Cleveland's public reception, from 3 to 5 P. M.; February 6 the usual evening reception was held in honor of the officers of the army and navy and marine corps; and on February 13, from 9 to 11 P. M., the so-called "public reception" crowded the White House and marked the close of the official social season.

Thereafter Mrs. Cleveland continued to receive friends and special visitors on Mondays at 5 P. M., her day "at home," which is made also the occasion for getting acquainted with the wives of diplomats recently accredited to Washington. According to etiquette, the ambassador or minister sends a formal note inquiring when his wife may pay her respects to the wife of the President; and the private secretary replies, in the third person, that Mrs. Cleveland will be happy to receive the lady at a given time.

For the official family dinner, so to speak, to which the members and ladies of the cabinet are invited, the state dining-room is still adequate. The ordinary table will seat thirty-six persons, and if widened at the ends with curved indented sides, fifty may be accommodated, though there will be no room between chairs for political or other animosities. As there are always officials who are wifeless or daughterless or for a time deprived of family companionship, a hostess of Mrs. Cleveland's tact and generosity will ask the necessary number of matrons and young ladies of her social acquaintance to complete the requisite couples and honor the serious gentlemen of state with their conversation. Yet this resource sometimes fails to balance the company, owing to eleventh-hour accidents.

At the Supreme Court dinner on January 30 thirty guests appeared, but the even number does not necessarily indicate that the grave and reverend signiors were all provided with partners; nor does it follow that the dignity of the Supreme Bench does not conceal a humor equal to every prandial situation. As a matter of fact, the judges always have partners, because, under the rules of precedence, they are first considered; and if a man goes in alone, it will be the Attorney-General or one of the chairmen of the Committees on the Judiciary.

An incident of one of President Arthur's dinners to the Supreme Court will illustrate

some of the perplexities of such a ceremonious occasion. The Attorney-General, then Mr. Brewster, was a gentleman of decided character and brilliancy, who in society looked upon converse with the ladies as quite indispensable to his happiness and dignity. On finding that the envelop bearing his name in the gentlemen's dressing-room inclosed a table-card which merely denoted his chair at the board, his sense of a profound emergency was aroused, and instead of joining the other guests he made straight for the dining-room, where his suspicion was confirmed by the plate-cards, which showed that he was to be sandwiched between two other lone adjuncts to judicial greatness. Then he spoke in accents, not of anger, but of calm commiseration, that some one should have made so unheard-of a mistake. It was courteously explained that, owing to the limited number of ladies, some of the gentlemen must necessarily go in alone. But this did not impress him as applying logically to himself. And when it became apparent that he was not carrying the situation by storm, he proceeded to try a state of siege by dropping into a chair by the door, and near the foot of the President's stairway. His plaintive reproach, "They have even taken my wife away from me!" reached the ears of the Chief Magistrate, who, alarmed by the controversy below, had come out into the upper hall.

President Arthur summoned the assistant secretary, and on learning that the trouble had been caused at the last moment through a redistribution of the guests by the private secretary, the President exclaimed, "This is an outrage on Attorney-General Brewster, and he would be justified in leaving the house."

But how could the fault be remedied? Only by a dash on the dressing-room, in the hope that some congressman who had been accorded a partner had not yet arrived! Fortunately, one card remained which allotted to General Logan the wife of a distinguished congressman.

"It won't do," sighed the President. "General Logan is one of the most sensitive men in the world."

But the strategy had to be tried; and so it happened that the card bearing the lady's name was handed to the gallant Attorney-General, who, wholly appeased, joined the company in the drawing-room and proceeded to claim his partner with the courtly elegance which always distinguished him; while General Logan, unaware of the deed, marshaled the odd guests, and helped to relieve

with his jollity the seclusion of his end of the table.

An incident of this kind cannot happen at a diplomatic dinner such as was given on January 16, 1896, — at least not among the foreign guests who have seen their names printed in the « diplomatic list » provided by the Department of State, in which their rank and the date of their presentation are indicated, the two facts which determine the precedence to which, if accurately followed, there can be no demur. At that dinner sixty-six guests were present. For the second time the table was set in the long main hall which separates the Red, Blue, and Green rooms from the vestibule. Though of course not designed for such a function, the decorative effect was fine.

The seating of the guests devolves upon the assistant secretary, who has invented a table-plan which serves for all such occasions. An oblong piece of pasteboard has many slits on the four sides near the edges; into these slits are thrust narrow cards on both sides of each of which has been written the name of a guest. At the diplomatic banquet the seating begins with the President, who sits in the middle of the north side of the table, with Lady Pauncefote on his right, and Mrs. Cleveland, who sits opposite with the British ambassador at her right, since Sir Julian is at present, by priority of reception, at the head of the list of ambassadors. The other ladies and gentlemen are placed, according to precedence, alternately with reference to the President and to Mrs. Cleveland. The problem is so complicated as to be equal in the laying out to a game of solitaire; the four ambassadors are in a class apart from the ministers, and the absence of a chief relegates his representative to a less prominent place. If a mistake has been made with one of the cards, it may be moved, or by turning it over shifted to the other side. When the seating has been both proved and approved, table-cards for the gentlemen are prepared by writing in the center the name of the lady to be escorted, and checking off with a pencil the chair numbers printed on the edges of the small diagram of the table which is given to each guest; also, the name of each guest is written on a plate-card bearing a gilt eagle with stars, which is the crest of the United States and is used on the stationery connected with state ceremonies. Here and there a social difficulty appears, as when the Chinese minister and his wife, out of supporting distance of each other, convey by smiles and signs the good humor they

feel, and the quips and oddities they would be glad to exchange.

It was at the entertainment to the diplomatic corps that Mrs. Hayes inaugurated her anti-wine policy. The Presidential dinner to the Grand Duke Alexis had impressed her unpleasantly; so it was decided to blend the diplomatic reception with the diplomatic dinner, and to serve a collation lavish in elegance and quality, and abounding in every kind of liquid refreshment that was free from alcohol. As a consequence the party broke up with amazing punctuality, some of the diplomats reconvening at the State Department opposite, where the waggish Secretary of State had made provision against a chilly condition of our foreign relations.

The weekly routine of executive business is at its highest pitch during the two winter months of social activity. Congress is then in session, the diplomats are pressing whatever business they may have with the government, and the capital is full of visitors, promoters, and the higher order of birds of prey. A reading of the « Executive Mansion Rules » which adorn Mr. Thurber's mantel will give the impression, of themselves, that the President leads a methodical and social existence not unmixed with the joyful consciousness of bestowing the gifts of a great father on seventy millions of grateful children; but the facts do not give credit to this view.

What could be more indicative of leisure than the first rule, which says that « the cabinet will meet on Tuesdays and Fridays at 11 o'clock A.M. »? As the eight gentlemen of the cabinet, each of whom has too much business on his mind for one man, have the entrée at any hour of any day or night, and actually avail themselves of it according to the gravity of their business, the two formal meetings of the cabinet each week are given up mainly to the discussion of questions of domestic policy and foreign relations. And as the cabinet hour approaches, as likely as not the chair by the President's desk will be occupied by some caller who is too important a personage for abrupt dismissal, and who may not dislike the sensation of seeing the cabinet officers, one by one, popping like impatient apparitions up the steps of the cabinet doorway, and receding with an air of « O Lord, how long! » Separate interviews with the members of the cabinet occur almost every day, and the difficult work, such as consultations over the papers involved in a fight for a post-office, usually takes place at night, when the President and the Postmaster-General

will be closeted for hours, with the cabinet table loaded with applications and flanked by willow trunks filled with relays of papers. This is labor, and not to be compared with the deliberations of the full cabinet, which may involve a burden of care, but are often relieved by amusing incidents.

«Mondays will be reserved by the President for the transaction of public business requir-



DRAWN BY JAY HAMBIDGE.

THE PRIVATE SECRETARY'S DOORKEEPER.

ing his *uninterrupted* attention,» is the second rule; but the raid on the private secretary's office continues just the same, and persons will call who, in exceptional cases, do get into the big room if the President happens to be alone with his never-ended task.

The third paragraph lays down this rule: «The President will receive Senators and Representatives in Congress from ten to twelve o'clock on other days, except cabinet days, when he will receive them from ten to eleven o'clock.» And what a variety of human nature and irrelevancy that rule covers! As fast as they can be passed in and listened to, the merry round of importunity goes on. A local sarcasm, that a new congressman, impressed by the importance of his surroundings, spends his first day at the Capitol wondering how he ever got there, and the second day wondering still more how his colleagues

ever got there, is true enough as a key to the *raison d'être* of the «errand-boy» business of a congressman. With the eyes of his constituents upon him, the average congressman accepts as a blessing the chance of having «leave to print,» and of using the inalienable privilege of running errands to the departments and telling the President about the worthy men in his district who want, actually need, and in fact ought to have, berths in the ship of state. As the last or sixth paragraph of the rules is a gentle admonition to congressmen, it should be given here. It reads: «The President intends to devote the hours designated for the reception of Senators and Representatives *exclusively* to that purpose, and he requests their cooperation in avoiding encroachments upon the time set apart for their benefit.» And yet the impressive act of leading magnates of the cross-roads into the presence of their President goes merrily on.

Much gentleness is couched in the fourth rule: «Persons not Senators or Representatives *having business* with the President will be received from twelve to one o'clock every day except Mondays and cabinet days.» But in the working of the rule there is plenty of room for more oil, and for less sand, which the private secretary is constantly sprinkling on the cogs. It is his duty to learn if the line of callers really «*have business*» with the President, and in nine cases out of ten he discovers that they would like to have, but that a prior condition to that state is a siege of some one of the departments. He briefly interests himself in the case, points out the road to be followed, and tells them to come back when their ambition has been actually furthered as far as the President's threshold.

These quixotic enterprises are frequently pitiful, and sometimes amusing; it follows, also, that oftentimes they are successful. Many a President who has dropped his fist on his desk with the vocal declaration that «if that man calls again I won't give him the place,» has been thwarted by the hypnotic influence of magnetic «cheek.»

But the majority of these visitors «having business» with the President wish merely to pay their respects. They are moved by a conscientious desire to do their duty as citizens who placed him in power. Some of them know the number of their vote in the small majority which secured him the electors of their State. «It's blanked strange I can't see *my* President,» roars some disgusted politician from the back districts, after several offered reasons for doing so have been parried. A few of this type yield grace-



DRAWN BY JAY HAMBIDGE.

IN THE PRIVATE SECRETARY'S ROOM—WAITING TO SEE THE PRESIDENT.
VOL. LIII.—83.

fully, and retire with the remark, «Tell the President I called; I want him to know that I have n't forgotten him.» Then there are delegations with «organized» claims on the President's courtesy, and estimable people who bear the same surname of whom he never heard; for at this hour «relatives» are visited upon a President back to the fourth and fifth generation. Most appealing of all are the people, some of them influential in the professions, who are in Washington on their wedding trip, and would like to grasp the President's hand—it would so please the bride to observe that the President remembered her husband. Then there are the large class who accept the ear of the private secretary as a substitute, and fill it with advice on the weightiest measures of state, including suggestions for the annual message, particularly when they are told that the bar is up because it is November, when the President has to devote much time to the constitutional duty of «informing» Congress. This work President Cleveland always does with his own hand, sometimes making several drafts. He also writes his own Thanksgiving proclamation, which most Presidents have had drafted by the Secretary of State. «Tell the President to use these suggestions freely,» said one adviser on the message, adding, «I can't help it if people detect the ear-marks.»

A great many visitors who ascend to the offices to pay their respects are referred to the fifth rule, which says: «Those having no business, but who desire merely to pay their respects, will be received by the President in the East Room at 1 o'clock P. M. on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays.» No part of his social duties, it is said, gives President Cleveland more pleasure than this public levee, which brings him in contact with visitors to Washington from all parts of the country and from abroad. A line forms about the East Room, the President emerges from the double doors of the main hall, and without ceremony extends his hand to the head of the line, which is soon moving so rapidly as to disconcert those who have primed themselves for a chat. Often the smile on the President's face will represent more than his kindness of feeling, for the effort of the visitor to be impressive (as in the case of the young lady who, in her self-consciousness, waltzed by) is often amusing. Recently an old lady in the line with something to say was struck dumb by the suddenness of her arrival before the President; but after she had been propelled past she recov-

ered herself, and, turning, condensed the expression of her solicitude over a delicate international complication by shouting back, «How's Cubay?»

In the message season there is a marked increase in the President's mail, and, indeed, every important public question calls out hundreds of letters of advice from watchful patriots. Upward of a thousand letters a day arrive in the busy season, and two hundred or more are received in the dullest times. During the first year of Mr. Cleveland's second administration the letters averaged over fifteen hundred a day. Eighty per cent. of them are referred by the clerks to the different cabinet officers, a type-written blank of acknowledgment being sent, for instance, to the applicant for office who has forwarded letters of recommendation. Polite type-written expressions of the President's inability to meet all the demands made upon his charity are mailed to the incredible number who feel that the President's salary is too large for the needs of his family. These appeals have often aggregated twenty thousand dollars in a day. Exaggerated rumors of what the President has done for some namesake always bring out letters reminding him that other namesakes, just as worthy and probably in greater need, have been overlooked; and there is a popular impression that triplets are rewarded by the government. The «baby compliment,» so to speak, and the attendant correspondence, with which every President is honored, amount almost to a special department of the public business, and more than ever when there is a baby in the White House. This is carried on by persons who are actuated by one of the finest human sentiments, but who overlook the fact that the sentiment is too general to be safely indulged in toward a public officer who is constantly in the thoughts of seventy millions of people. Nor does the President escape being taken for a very capable errand-boy. It occurs to a great many veterans that if he would drop in on the pension officer and mention their claims, it would cost him little trouble and do them a great service. The friends of a public clerk who is in difficulty appeal without compunction for the President's personal interest in the case; and a public officer in another town once asked him to run into a bank in Washington just to say that it would be safe to renew a loan, since the President was aware that the officer's official sureties were good. Not a little humor percolates through the mass, as when an office-seeker wrote: «If,



DRAWN BY JAY HAMBIDGE.

MIDNIGHT SESSION OF PRESIDENT CLEVELAND AND POSTMASTER-GENERAL WILSON WITH THE APPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF WOULD-BE POSTMASTERS.

after the poor and dependent relatives of Senator — are satisfied, there is anything remaining to the quota of our State, I would like to be considered.» Occasionally letters are received from England and Ireland inquiring as to the whereabouts of persons who emigrated to this country years before. As a matter of necessity, the President sees only a small part of the letters addressed to him; but every letter of special interest and importance reaches the private secretary, and through him receives the President's attention. The merely complimentary letters are politely acknowledged, while, with the aid of Mr. Thurber and his own pen, the President each day accomplishes a large correspondence.

The executive record-books of each administration are also an index of the vast business which burdens the life of a President. One book is a register of all appointments made by the President; and as in making the appointments for the different departments Mr. Cleveland is not in the habit of depending on the briefs of the recommendations submitted in behalf of applicants, the task of selecting from among many the man best fitted for public service at home or abroad

may be imagined. Another book contains a record of recess appointments which must be renewed when the Senate reconvenes.

One book is devoted to laws approved or vetoed, and this discloses another field of labor which President Cleveland has broadened by applying for reports and opinions of the different departments as to the expediency of legislation submitted to him for approval, and when the time for his final action arrives by requiring that the reports of congressional committees on the bill shall be included with the papers for his private study. A book is set apart for the entry of congressional resolutions of inquiry, another for executive orders and proclamations, and still another for copies of the President's indorsements on the business of the several departments requiring his decision. A stick of fallen timber on a public acre or on an Indian reservation cannot be sold for the benefit of the treasury or for the relief of the wards of the nation without the President's approval of the contract. It is not long since it fell to the President to discover that the terms of such a contract implied a misapprehension of the law—a case of minor impor-

tance, perhaps, but indicative of the slips that may be made, despite the efforts of able and faithful officers, if a President discharges his duty without legal experience and in a perfunctory spirit.

A most impressive chapter of the record-book last mentioned is that relating to pardons. Prior to President Cleveland's first term it was the custom of Presidents to follow the recommendations of the Attorney-General, through whom applications for pardons and reprieves must come. In Lincoln's time a large part of the pardon business pertained to the army engaged in war, and the whole world knows how he gave it his personal attention, and how his great heart was wrung by the conflicts of mercy and duty. In President Arthur's time the pardon papers seldom, if ever, reached his table. The record of 295 cases from March 4, 1881, to March 4, 1885 (which includes a few months of President Garfield's service), does not show a single case considered by the President and «denied.» According to usage, the clerks noted that the Attorney-General recommended the pardon, and affixed the executive order, «Let a pardon issue.»

But when President Cleveland came into the White House he soon let it be known that he would assume a personal responsi-

bility for pardons. To him «the quality of mercy» enjoined by the Constitution was one of the most sacred trusts reposed in a President; and besides, as a governor who had dealt with pardons, he felt qualified to say to his advisers: «Some of you may know more than I do about certain lines of the public business; but if there is one thing I do understand, it is pardons.»

Consequently the papers in every pardon case were sent to his desk, were exhaustively considered, the petition was granted in whole or in part, or denied, and his reasons were indorsed in his own hand on the folder.

The amount of labor which this revolution in method added to the burden of the President may be inferred from the fact that President Harrison, who followed the new custom, considered during his term 779 pardon cases (not including reprieves), 527 of which were granted in whole or in part, and 252 denied. His indorsements, sometimes extended, are often brief and pointed. On one case President Harrison wrote: «I will not act in these cases without the facts»; and a few days later, on another case: «Pardon denied. I request that the Attorney-General will in all cases hereafter insist that some statement of the facts, as developed upon the trial, shall be submitted by the judge or district attor-



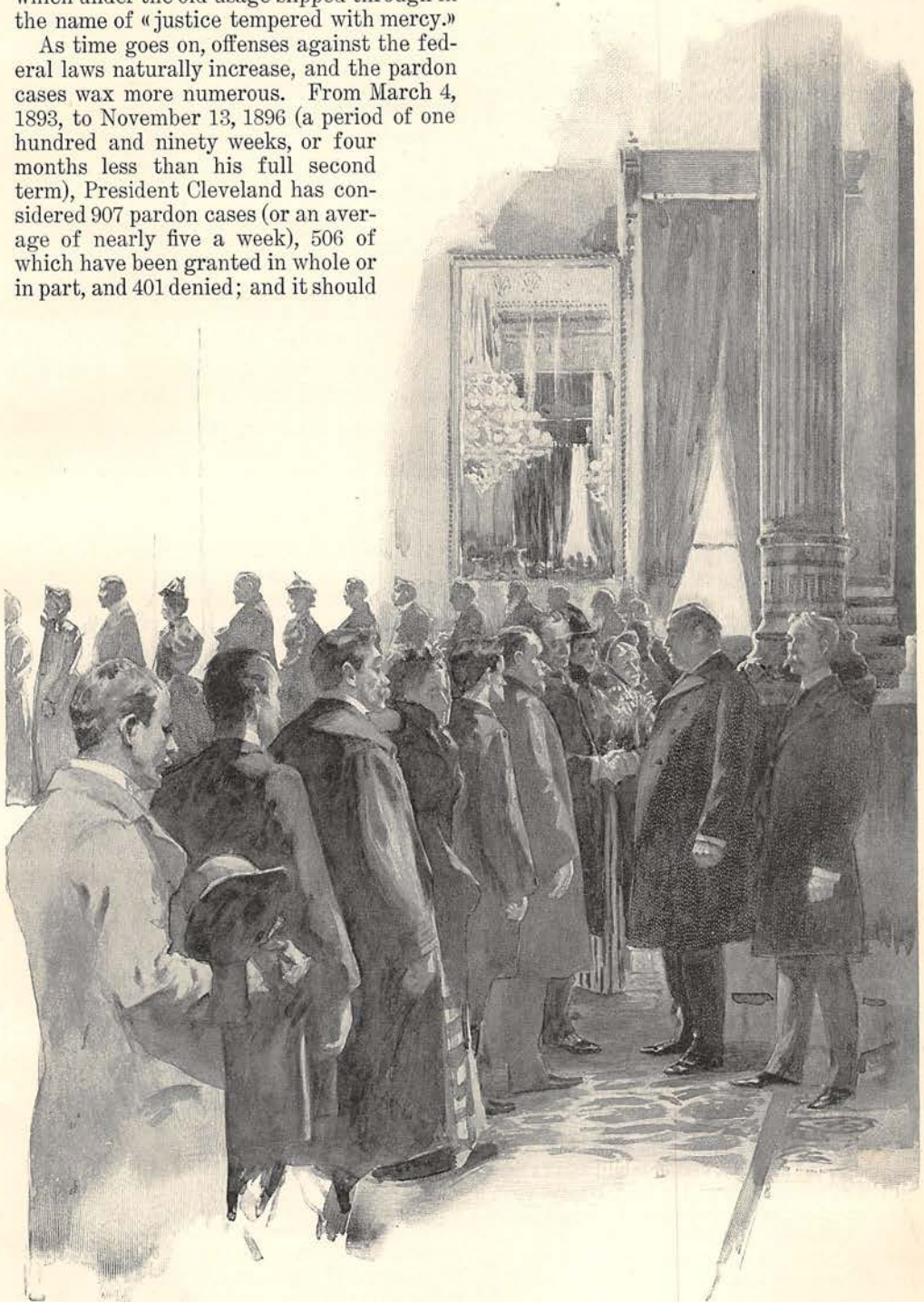
DRAWN BY JAY HAMBIDGE.

IN LINE AT THE PRESIDENT'S LEVEE.—I.

ney.» Again he wrote: «I will not examine a petition for pardon while the petitioner is a fugitive from the process of the court.» These are indicative of the kind of papers which under the old usage slipped through in the name of «justice tempered with mercy.»

As time goes on, offenses against the federal laws naturally increase, and the pardon cases wax more numerous. From March 4, 1893, to November 13, 1896 (a period of one hundred and ninety weeks, or four months less than his full second term), President Cleveland has considered 907 pardon cases (or an average of nearly five a week), 506 of which have been granted in whole or in part, and 401 denied; and it should

be said that many cases of pardon, with all presidents, are merely slight commutations for the sake of relieving from political disability convicts who have behaved well in prison.



DRAWN BY JAY HAMBIDGE.

IN LINE AT THE PRESIDENT'S LEVEE.—II.

President Cleveland has said that «Sundays are a good time to consider pardons.» The hours, amounting to many days, spent on them, and the general character of such cases, may be indicated by a few extracts from the public record-book. It may there be easily discovered that the President has a severe front for crimes against the mails, the pension laws, and public decency. In an Idaho case of violation of the registration laws he wrote:

The pardon of this convict is recommended by the judge who sentenced him and the district attorney who tried him. This being an offense against suffrage, and committed in a locality where public interests require a firm execution of the laws passed to protect the ballot, I cannot bring myself to do more than to commute the sentence as above stated.

In a noted case of embezzling he added to his other reasons:

I confess that, in addition to other considerations, I cannot miss the fact that the granting of a pardon in this case will bring comfort to a wife and daughter whose love and devotion have never flagged, and whose affection for a husband and father remains unshaken.

To an appeal relating to aiding and abetting the abstraction of funds from a national bank, he replied:

Denied. My sympathy is very much awakened for the family of this convict, but my ideas of public duty will not permit me to grant the pardon asked.

But reconsidering two years later, he wrote:

Granted. This convict is one of five persons convicted of conspiring together to criminally obtain the funds of a national bank. All the rest have been pardoned from time to time, except one, whose sentence was so commuted that it has expired. This prisoner's term of imprisonment began about six months before any of the others, and he has now been confined almost three years and six months. The social position of these convicts and the circumstances surrounding these cases, have led to earnest efforts for their relief. If there was any difference in the degree of their criminality, this one was certainly not more guilty than the others, and considerable evidence has been presented to me, which was not adduced on the trial, tending to show that the condition of the convict's mind was such at the time the offense was committed as to render it doubtful if he should be held to the strictest accountability. In view of all the circumstances of his case, I have, upon a re-examination, concluded that he should not remain imprisoned after his co-conspirators are discharged. I am also fully satisfied that the ends of justice have been answered by the punishment he has already suffered.

In the case of a Tennessee «moonshiner» he said:

Denied. Those who shoot at revenue officers when in the discharge of duty should be constantly taught that such offenses are serious. I do not agree with the district attorney that if those who are shot at are willing that the offender should be pardoned, their inclination should regulate the conduct of those charged with executing and upholding the law.

Two counterfeiters of Illinois, a man and wife, petitioned; and the President wrote this decision:

On the facts presented in this case, I am not clear that these convicts should be pardoned on the merits; but aside from any other consideration, I have determined to pardon the wife and mother on account of the child born to her in prison, and now less than three months old.

A Virginia case of selling liquor without a license called forth a laconic inquiry:

If the petitioner in this case went to jail, pursuant to his sentence, his term has already expired. If he did not go to jail, he seems to be doing pretty well without a pardon. Where has he been since sentence?

Another change in the business life of the White House concerns its relations to the public press. President Cleveland has not felt able to reciprocate the intimate attitude of the «new journalism,» which in its first overtures outraged the rights of privacy in a manner never before heard of, and probably never since equaled. This was followed up with betrayals of official confidences of various kinds, and finally with efforts to force the administration into cordial intimacy by the method of concerted abuse until it should cry: «Enough! Take all we know, whether public interests will suffer by publication or not, and treat us with ordinary decency.» Even this method failed. During his present term news of finished business has been given by Mr. Thurber to the two press associations, and intimations of probable events have been withheld from everybody. Little effort has been made to draw out public opinion in advance of official action by guarded revelations to journalists of ability and respectability: not because correspondents of that character no longer abound in Washington, but because such aims would be checkmated by the acts of newspapers which appear to take pride in the frustration of official purposes, and prefer sensationalism, to a judicious treatment of views and facts. The method of frustration is simple and effective. When

a crisis arises a guess is made at every imaginable contingency, and all the probable moves in the case are elaborated. Some one of the guesses will be sure to impinge on the facts. By the use of such phrases as «it is intimated at the White House» (which may mean no more than that one lobe of the correspondent's brain has made inquiry of another lobe, and obtained an answer suited to the purpose), the desired amount of deception is injected into the «news.» Journalism of the old order finds it difficult to compete with such «enterprise.» And so long as it pays, men who have the guise and education of gentlemen will no doubt be ordered to do disreputable things. The latter, as a rule, do the work grudgingly, and no one pities them more than the large body of

able correspondents who indirectly are the chief sufferers from the new enormity.

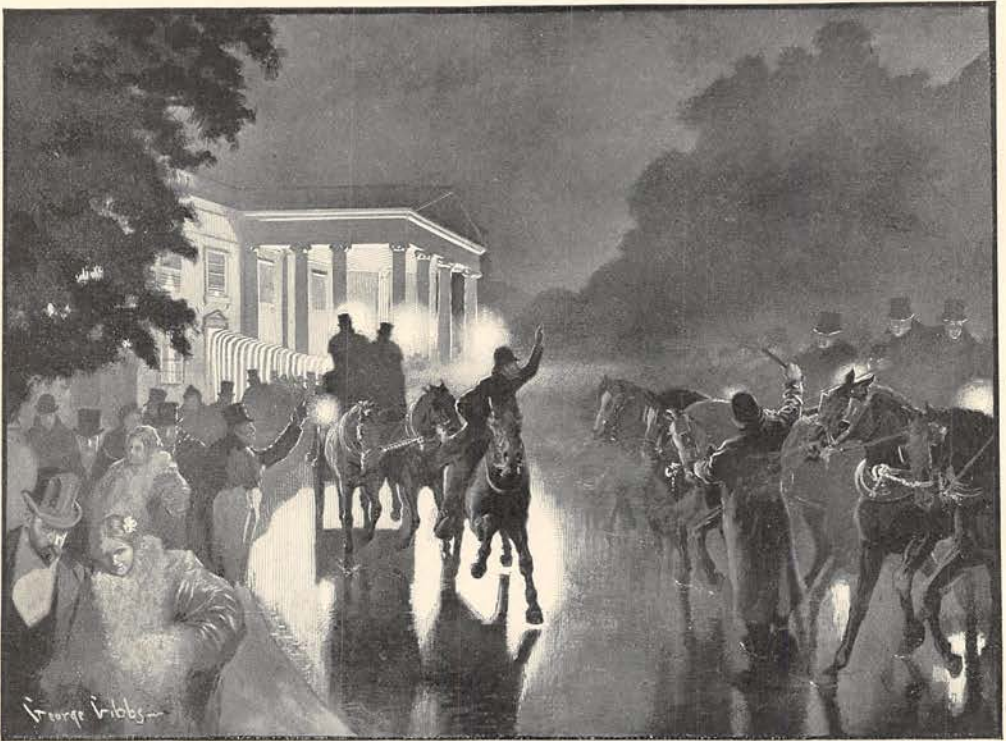
While the public life of the White House is constantly open to the public view, President Cleveland has succeeded in preserving the sanctity of its home life in spite of efforts to invade it which until recently grew in recklessness in proportion as they proved to be futile. To the President, who spends twelve to fourteen hours a day in the east wing of the executive mansion, harassed by all sorts of importunities, and often worried



DRAWN BY JAY HAMBIDGE.

VISITORS IN THE GREEN ROOM.

by the duty of deciding questions involving the happiness of thousands, or even the welfare of the nation, the overshadowing importance of the home life in the west wing may be dimly imagined by the private citizen who looks to his fireside for surcease of the ordinary cares of life. And there has been vastly more of the domestic character associated with the idea of an American home in the White House, under the gracious sway of Mrs. Cleveland, than would naturally be ascribed to an official residence. The laugh-



SCENE OUTSIDE THE WHITE HOUSE DURING A DIPLOMATIC RECEPTION.

ter of romping children has rippled as merrily in the halls of the executive mansion as in any private home; and never has public sentiment been more unanimous than in regarding President Cleveland's domestic good fortune as also a public good fortune.

When cares of state have been most perplexing, President Cleveland has been known to say, in answer to inquiries concerning the welfare of his family: «There everything is well. If things should go wrong at that end of the house, I should feel like quitting the place for good.»

President Cleveland has not followed the custom of going to Congress at least once a year. His messages to the legislative branch are delivered in person by Mr. Pruden, the assistant secretary, all executive papers for the departments being transmitted by the regular White House messenger, who may be seen in the mansion burdened with a heavy budget, or on horseback without, waiting for an urgent missive. Presidents have usually occupied the President's room at the Capitol on the last evening of a session; but except in emergencies President Cleveland has declined to betake himself to the Capitol, because he believes that his

duty to legislation cannot be properly fulfilled under such conditions of haste and personal pressure.

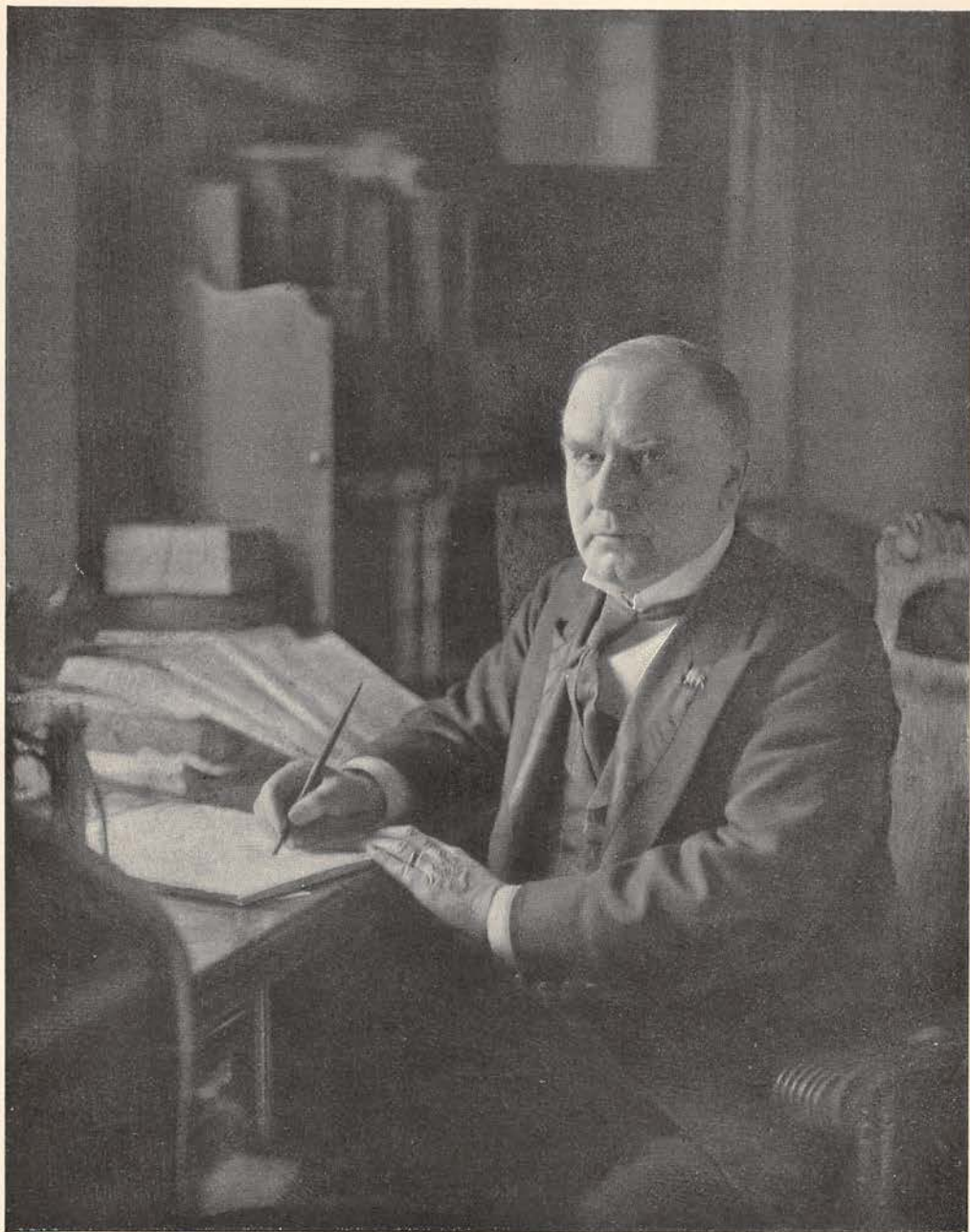
A President is the chief officer among 174,596 persons connected with what is called the executive civil service. This does not include the legislative and judicial branches, that bring the total up to 200,000. Nearly half of the executive service (80,407) are now classified under the merit system, outside of which there still remain 66,725 fourth-class postmasters, and 4815 Presidential places subject to the Senate's confirmation. It has been the privilege of President Cleveland to contribute more than his predecessors to the lightening of the President's burdens by reinforcing the merit classes through executive action. He is understood to be well pleased with the working of the system, though persuaded, by a tendency among the protected employees to combine for doubtful purposes, that some amendment of the law may be necessary. But that is one of the unsettled questions which on the 4th of March, with a meaning grasp that only an incoming Magistrate may understand, President Cleveland will hand over, with the good-will of the office, to President McKinley.

C. C. Buel.



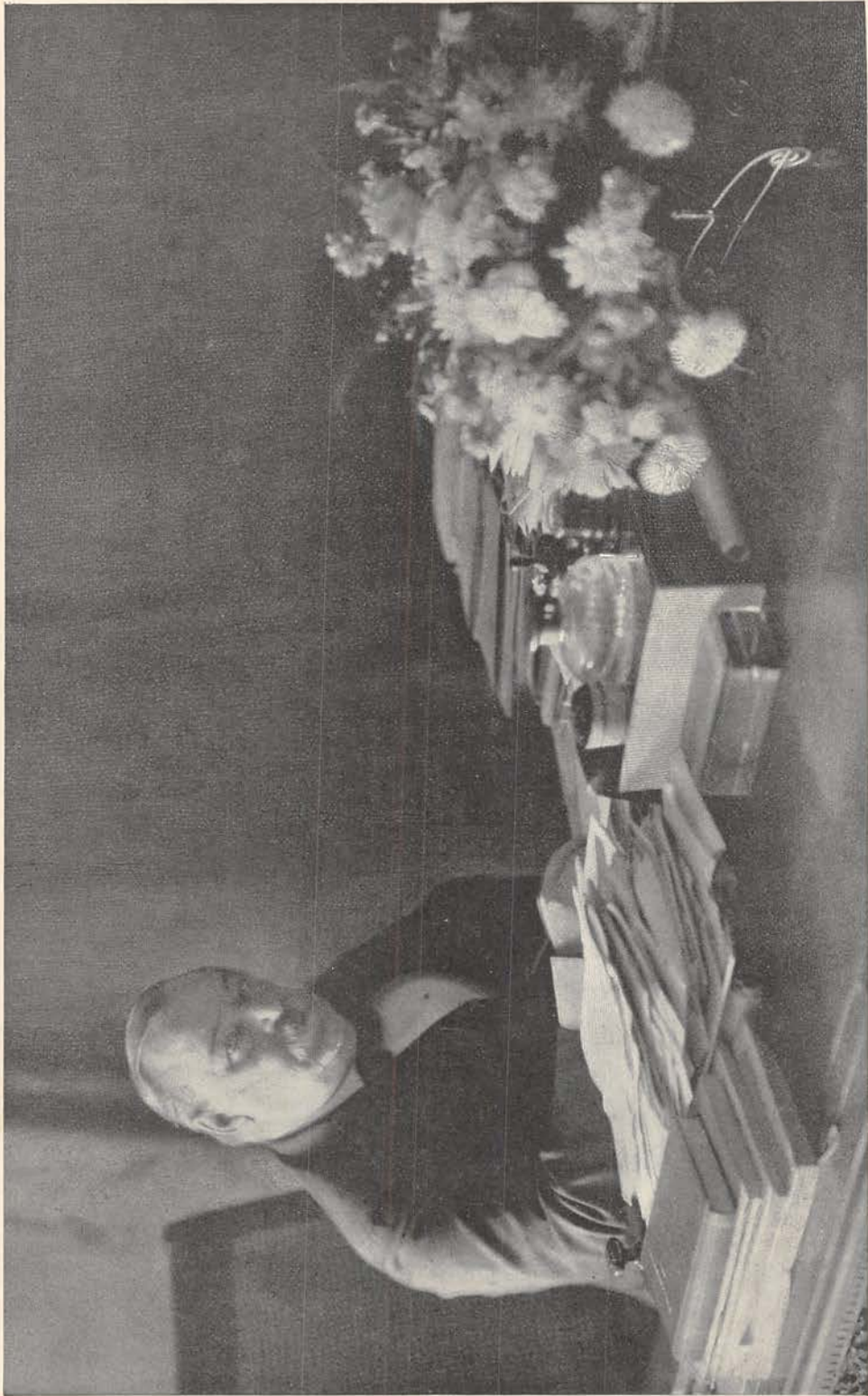
PHOTOGRAPH BY GEORGE C. COX.

Wm. H. H. H. H.



PHOTOGRAPH BY GEORGE C. COX.

PRESIDENT-ELECT WILLIAM MCKINLEY AT HIS HOME IN CANTON, OHIO.
This portrait and the one opposite are from photographs taken for THE CENTURY, Dec. 9 and 10, 1896.



PHOTOGRAPH BY GEORGE C. COX.

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND AT HIS DESK, NOVEMBER 23, 1896.
From a photograph taken for THE CENTURY.