

University of Richmond

UR Scholarship Repository

Honors Theses

Student Research

5-24-1937

Life of Claude A. Swanson

J. Roland Nuckols

University of Richmond

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarship.richmond.edu/honors-theses>



Part of the [History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Nuckols, J. Roland, "Life of Claude A. Swanson" (1937). *Honors Theses*. 663.

<https://scholarship.richmond.edu/honors-theses/663>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Student Research at UR Scholarship Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in Honors Theses by an authorized administrator of UR Scholarship Repository. For more information, please contact scholarshiprepository@richmond.edu.

UNIVERSITY OF RICHMOND LIBRARIES



3 3082 01028 9923

LIFE OF CLAUDE A. SWANSON

SUBMITTED BY:

J. ROLAND NUCKOLS

MAY 24, 1937

LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF RICHMOND
VIRGINIA

PREFACE

This monograph is prepared for Dr. R. C. McDanel, as an original research in American History.

In preparing this work, I am especially indebted to the sources which I have used, and to F. J. Yeager, Clerk to Hon. Swanson.

I wish to thank Secretary Swanson's sisters and cousin separately for the interview which they have given me.

In this work I covered mostly his political life. I did not go into every political detail, but gave the most important political highlights of his long career. I hope that I have covered his political history as thoroughly as possible within these few pages.

I have mentioned nothing concerning his private life; however, I want to state that he has been married twice, but has no children. He always has been a very devoted husband.

In conclusion, I wish to say that through the opinions that I have gathered, I find that Secretary Swanson is one of the finest men alive today. His character has been a backbone throughout his long career; his reputation is unblemished; and his personality, which has stood him in good stead, is captivating and brilliant.

J. Roland Nuckols

University of Richmond,
Richmond, Va.
May 23, 1937.

CONTENTS

I. EARLY LIFE.

Born -- parents -- early life -- public school -- teacher -- Virginia Polytechnic Institute -- Work in Danville -- Randolph-Macon -- University of Virginia -- practiced law at Chatham.

II. MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Rural Free Delivery -- States tax National Bank Notes and United States Treasury Notes -- Repeal of United States supervision of Federal election -- popular election of Senators -- Settlement of Pacific railroads' debt to the United States -- Trust and Monopolies -- Panama Canal -- Automatic couplers on trains -- helps farmers.

III. GOVERNOR.

Defeated in gubernatorial nomination of 1901 -- elected 1905 -- public debt -- educational measures -- agricultural development -- health improvements -- Confederate widows and soldiers -- more state control of banking -- uniform taxation -- income tax -- no increase in taxes.

IV. SENATOR.

Appointed by Governor Mann -- elected 1911 -- Advent into Senate marked by progressive legislation -- Federal aid to roads -- parcels post -- legislation to protect women and children -- compensation for injuries -- agriculture -- trust and monopolies -- packer's bill -- war finance corporation -- co-operative marketing -- improvement of transportation and water facilities -- Senate naval committee -- reasons why United States is in war -- rehabilitation of soldiers and sailors -- peace treaties -- Versailles Treaty and League of Nations -- disarmament conference -- campaign of 1922 -- World Court -- Geneva conference.

V. SECRETARY OF NAVY.

Qualifications -- friendship between Roosevelt and Swanson -- building up navy -- report to President in 1934 -- 1935 report to President.

CHAPTER I

EARLY LIFE

Claude Augustus Swanson was born at Swansonville, Pittsylvania County, Virginia on March 31, 1862. He is the son of John Muse Swanson and Catherine Pritchett. His father who was a merchant and tobacco manufacturer lost all his property in the panic of 1876. This caused Claude to have to stop his education at the age of fourteen and go to work on the farm. He worked here for two years,¹ and did all of the manual labor incident to farm life.² To many boys this would be very discouraging and would cause them to give up, but not so with Claude. This proved to be a great help to him for he learned that rewards come only by hard work.³

While he worked on the farm he read the story of Warren Hastings, which served to stimulate his desires. During his spare time he studied his books. After doing this for two years he qualified and taught school at a small log bodied school, Salem,⁴ near his home.

He taught school for two years and managed to save enough money to attend the Virginia Polytechnic Institute

1. Tyler, ed., Men of Mark in Virginia.

2. Record of Hon. Claude A. Swanson as Congressman -- Governor -- Senator, p. 3. (Hereafter this will be cited as Records of Swanson.)

3. Tyler, op. cit.

4. Ibid., I know the name of the school was Salem because he taught my father.

at Blacksburg for one session. He did not have enough money to continue his education, so stopped and secured a position as a clerk in a grocery store in Danville where he worked for two years.⁵ During the day he performed his duties in the store, but at night he continued his studies with the idea of becoming a lawyer. Because he was interested in debating he took part in the debates of a large debating society of Danville and also spoke frequently at public meetings. Four leading men in Danville, one a lawyer, and the other three tobacco manufacturers, became very much impressed with him and offered to lend him enough money to complete his education and equip him to practice law. He accepted their offer and gave them his note, declining their offer to make it a free gift.⁶

He decided to go to Randolph-Macon College. While here he helped to pay part of his expenses by editing the "Hanover and Caroline News," one of the leading democratic papers of this section, and edited the monthly magazine. He won the "Sutherlin Medal" for oratory and the "Debators Medal" in the Washington Literary Society.⁷ While in college he became interested in the Democratic Party and showed this interest by making speeches in Hanover County in behalf of the Democratic ticket and also by editing the Democratic paper which I have already mentioned.⁸

5. Ibid. ✓

6. Ibid.

7. Records of Swanson, p. 3.

8. Records of Swanson, p. 3.

After three years he took his A.B. degree and in 1836 went to the University of Virginia where he took his Bachelor of Law degree, a two year course, in one year.⁹

After graduating from College he came back to Pittsylvania and practiced law at Chatham where he also served as editor of the "Pittsylvania Tribune," a Democratic paper of a very large circulation. During this time he was an active worker in behalf of the Democratic Party. He soon had a good law practice and paid back all of the money advanced for his education, with interest.¹⁰

9. Tyler, op. cit.

10. Records of Swanson, p. 4.

CHAPTER II

MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

In 1892, less than six years after he had graduated from College he had been nominated and elected by the Democrats of the Fifth Congressional District of Virginia to represent them in Washington. He won by a substantial majority over the Republican candidate, although the Democrats and Republicans of this district were very evenly divided and the district had gone Republican only a short while before.¹¹

He entered Congress in 1893, one of the youngest members in the House at the time. He was nominated and elected by the Democrats of this district six times without opposition. Each year during this time the democratic majority increased until it became overwhelmingly democratic.¹²

While a member of the House of Representatives, he quite fittingly was a member of the Post Office and Post Roads Committees for ten years. He was a member of the Ways and Means Committee, which is the most important committee of the House and has charge of all measures which have to do with the country's revenue. For a long time he was the leading Democrat on the Post Office Committee.¹³

11. Records of Swanson, p. 4.

12. Ibid.

13. Tyler, op. cit. ✓

One of Swanson's greatest achievements while a member of the House of Representatives has to do with Rural Free Delivery. He was reared in the country and knew the inconvenience and trouble which the country people had to undergo in order to get their mail. Before Swanson was elected to the House of Representatives there were no rural delivery systems but small post offices were scattered all over the state. In order, for one to get his mail he very often had to go miles over muddy roads. With this being the case people who lived a few miles away from the post office could not visit it daily but weekly or monthly, since very often they did not get any mail anyway. Swanson probably had seen this necessity of Rural Free Delivery long before he was elected to the House of Representatives.

In the House of Representatives his first Committee Assignment was upon the Post offices and Post Roads Committee. He soon began an agitation in this Committee for Rural Delivery as it is now carried. He was on the Committee which first made an appropriation of \$10,000 for experimental purposes. The first rural free delivery route was in Virginia and proved a great success. He continued the fight for larger appropriations. When the appropriations were increasing rapidly and the battle seemed to be won, the Committee decided to change the system to a ~~Store~~ ^{Star} Route System, which would have resulted

in its destruction. Mr. Swanson led the fight to keep the Rural Free Delivery system as it is today. He met with much opposition in the Committee and only one man, Mr. Cromer of Indiana, would sign the report with him, but he continued the fight for the Rural Free Delivery System.¹⁴ Finally it was carried to the House of Representatives where he had charge of the debate for the retention of the system. The contest lasted for two weeks and Swanson was severely criticized by all of the members of the Committee except one and by most of the leaders of the Democratic and Republican parties.¹⁵ He remained a friend of the system as long as he was a member of the House of Representatives. After he entered the Senate, another attempt was made by amendment to destroy the system by changing it to the ~~Store~~^{Star} Route again. He made a speech in the Senate favoring its retention. The system as it is today is due as much to the efforts of Mr. Swanson as it is to anyone else.¹⁶

Some of his other achievements while in Congress are: He aided in the passage of a bill which gave the States the power to tax national bank notes and United States Treasury Notes, thus giving the States a source of taxation of which they had previously been deprived.¹⁷

He voted for and made a speech favoring the repeal of the law which permitted Federal supervisors and mar-

14. Records of Swanson, pp. 7-8.

15. Tyler, op. cit.

16. Records of Swanson, p. 8.

17. Ibid.

shals to have control over presidential and congressional elections.¹⁸

This law which gave Federal Authorities control over Congressional and Presidential elections had been passed soon after the war between the states and was designed as a means of punishment for the North on the South. The law repealing this, gave the South freedom, which it had not previously had.

He also believed in giving the people the power to elect their United States Senators and governors of the states. This is expressed by the fact that he voted for the joint resolution to amend the constitution giving the people the right to elect their United States Senators by direct popular vote.¹⁹

While he was a member of the House various bills were reported which would have allowed the Pacific railroads to settle their indebtedness to the United States in such a way that the Government would have lost millions of dollars which had been advanced the railroads. Mr. Swanson made many speeches against these measures and thus by his speeches and vote he aided in defeating these measures, which would have cost the tax payers of this nation much money.²⁰

He has been against trust and monopolies and expressed

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid.

20. Records of Swanson, pp. 8-9.

this while he was in the House and also in the Senate by voting for anti-trust legislation. He also voted for measures which would help to keep monopolies from being formed in restraint of trade. He voted for measures which would punish officers and agents of monopolies who violated the Federal laws and also for measures which would help people who had been injured by them, to sue and recover damages.²¹ He once said about monopolies and trust in an address:

Recognizing that monopoly was a menace to our industrial well-being and progress, levying its unjust exactions, both on the producer and consumer, I have invariably supported legislation to prevent trust and combinations. We need further legislation upon this subject and more rigorous enforcement of existing laws if we are to be saved from industrial servitude.²²

He was not against the small people but the rich or well to do, because he insisted that the labor unions and farm organizations should not be included in these Anti-trust laws.²³

Sec't Swanson voted for and aided in the passage of all measures which aimed at the construction of the Panama Canal.²⁴

The railroads used to have men to go between the trains and couple the trains by hand. This was a very dangerous job and in many cases the men would get caught

21. Ibid., p. 9.

22. Issued in Behalf of the Candidacy of Senator Claude A. Swanson to Succeed Himself in the United States Senate, p. 4. (Hereafter this will be cited as Senator Claude A. Swanson.)

23. Records of Swanson, p. 9.

24. Ibid., 9.

between the trains and be killed. Sec't. Swanson had sympathy with these workers and wanted them to get a square deal. This is shown by the following fact.

While he was in the House he voted for and did all that he could to get automatic couplers and other railroad legislation in order to protect the workers from the dangerous jobs.²⁵

He voted for and aided in placing on the free list wire rods, bared wire fencing, and other materials which the farmers needed but which were controlled by monopolies.²⁶ This was a great saving to the farmers.

He voted for and aided in the passing of Acts of legislation which prohibited manufacturers in this country from selling things cheaper abroad than at home.²⁷ This was a great saving to the consumers of our country, for very often the tariff was so high that manufacturers could ship things across the ocean and sell them in foreign countries cheaper than the same articles would be sold at home. This would help the consumer because manufacturers not being able to sell products in foreign countries cheaper than at home would have to lower the home market price in order/^{not} to loose foreign trade.

He voted for legislation which would take away all protection from articles which were manufactured and con-

25. Ibid., p. 9.

26. Ibid., p. 9.

27. Ibid., p. 9.

trolled by trust, monopolies and combines.²⁸

Sec't Swanson was reared on a tobacco farm and his father was a tobacco manufacturer. He had great interest in tobacco and sought to see that tobacco men got justice. He spoke in favor of removing the restrictions on tobacco caused by the Regii contracts in selling tobacco abroad and sought to get our government to take control of the matter and give the tobacco growers the right to sell tobacco in all foreign countries.²⁹

He did notable work on the Ways and Means Committee of which he was a member for such a long time. In regard to the tariff, he had the views of the Democratic party. He believed in a low tariff for revenue only. He was against the Dingley Tariff. He took an active interest in securing the passage of a bill which provided for a reciprocal tariff with Cuba and free trade with Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands.³⁰

In Congress he made speeches favoring the passage of the Wilson Tariff bill; a reform in our currency system and permission of banks to issue currency upon assets. He made a speech favoring the cause of the Cubans and asked that a declaration of war be declared against Spain.³¹

28. Records of Swanson, pl 9.

29. Ibid.,

30. Tyler, op. cit. ✓

31. Ibid.

CHAPTER III.

GOVERNOR

My father told me that he heard Secretary Swanson say while he was his school teacher at Salem that his highest ambition had always been to be governor of Virginia. He realized this ambition at a very early age. He began a campaign for the gubernatorial nomination in 1901 but was defeated by A. J. Montague in the convention at Norfolk.³² He took his defeat in a sportsmanship and manly way. After he was defeated he made a speech in Norfolk in which he asked the people to support the candidates and said:

Your candidates are my candidates, your nominees my nominees, your standard bearers are my standard bearers.

He got a very big applause,³³ and went to work making more speeches than any other man in the state. In a little while he had won thousands of friends as a result of the way that he took his defeat.³⁴ This was his first and only defeat in a political election.

In 1905 he ran in the first popular primary for the governorship of Virginia and received more votes than both of his competitors -- William Hodge Mann and Joseph E. Willard.³⁵ He remained in Congress until he resigned in 1906 to be inaugurated governor of Virginia.³⁶

32. Tyler, op. cit.

33. The Richmond Dispatch, Aug. 15, 1901, p. 5.

34. Tyler, op. cit.

35. Records of Swanson, pp. 4-5.

36. Outline which F. J. Yeager, Clerk to Sec't, gave me.

In the campaign in the fall for his election he won over the Republican candidate Judge L. L. Lewis by a plurality of 20,000.³⁷

Secretary Swanson's administration was a very progressive one. It was marked by improvements along many lines, most of which he recommended in his inaugural address and urged the General Assembly to enact.

In his Inaugural address Sec't. Swanson said that the state should begin to reduce its bonded indebtedness.³⁸ The first act which he signed had to do with reducing the state's debt. It appropriated \$74,000 annually which was to be added to the \$42,000 then received from the state's holdings in the Richmond, Fredicksburg and Potomac railroad. The sinking fund commissioners used this for the purchase of state bonds.³⁹ He urged that a portion of the annual surplus be used to further reduce the bonded indebtedness.⁴⁰

The educational advance was probably greater during his administration than it has been during that of other governors. In his inaugural address he urged that the state improve its primary schools. He said that Virginia's schools needed a better system in the country districts, better teachers were needed and longer terms. He mentioned the fact that no improvements could be made until

37. American Review of Reviews, December √ p. 652.

38. Swanson, C.A., Addresses, Messages and Proclamations, 1906-1910. p. 20. (Hereafter this will be cited as Swanson, Addresses.)

39. Swanson, Addresses, message to the General Assembly at its Regular Session Jan. 8, 1908, p. 97.

40. Ibid.

the state increased the appropriations for this purpose. He said that there should be more high schools in the country and that the country people should have an educational system equal to that of the city people.⁴¹ He recommended that the state appropriations to primary schools be increased from \$200,000 to \$450,000, a part of which should be used to provide high schools for rural people.⁴²

He mentioned the fact that the credit of many of the country districts was poor and suggested that the General Assembly provide a means by which the credit of the country districts could be increased and thus enable them to get funds at a reasonable rate of interest to build school buildings, which were to be gradually paid back out of the local taxes.⁴³

The General Assembly did enact legislation to provide for many of the educational advances which he asked for in his inaugural address. Here are some of the things which it did:

It increased the aid given primary schools and appropriated for educational purposes \$890,000 in addition to the regular State constitutional fund; it provided for summer institutes for teachers; it permitted the issuing of bonds to build school-houses; and it continued the State Board of Examiners; authorized the counties to increase local school taxes; directed to be loaned out of the Literary Fund at four per cent for ten years, one-half the cost of construction, the loan not to exceed \$3,000 on any one building and provided for the proper sanitation of such buildings.⁴⁴

41. Ibid., pp. 20-21.

42. Ibid., p. 21.

43. Ibid., pp. 21-22.

44. Swanson Addresses, "Message to the General Assembly At Regular Session, Jan. 8, 1908," p. 102.

In his Message to the General Assembly on Jan. 8, 1908, he again recommended that the state appropriation to primary and high schools be increased. He also favored the introduction of agricultural training, education, manual training and home economics in high schools. He suggested that the state aid should be conditioned upon local aid.⁴⁵ If that were done it would result in an improvement in education, for the local authorities would increase their appropriations in order to get the extra help from the government.

The help which was given to the schools resulted in much improvement in the schools. The terms were lengthened, teacher's salaries increased⁴⁶ and the high schools of the state during his term of office increased from 75 at the beginning to 405 at the end.⁴⁷

Secretary Swanson, having been reared in the country about 18 miles from a town, knew how hard it was for country people to get hold of books and realized that libraries would be a great help to these people. He tried to help remedy this condition during his administration. In his inaugural address he mentioned a system of traveling and school libraries. Traveling libraries were for the general public, while school libraries were for the school children. The traveling libraries could be exchanged every

45. Ibid., p. 103.

46. Ibid., p. 101.

47. Records of Swanson, p. 11.

so often and thus provide the public with a variety of books to read. This could be done at a small expense to the state and he urged an appropriation for this purpose.⁴⁸ In his message to the General Assembly on Jan. 8, 1908, he said that traveling libraries should be continued, but recommended that they should be put under the control of the department of education and also recommended that a limited amount of aid should be given for the formation of permanent libraries in suitable schools under certain conditions.⁴⁹ This system which made the books of the State Library at Richmond accessible to the people of Virginia has been much help in promoting education in Virginia.

Mr. Swanson quite logically was interested in the state giving more aid to normal schools for the purpose of training efficient teachers for our public school system. In his inaugural address he mentioned it and said:

Another educational need is increased facilities to colleges engaged in normal work, so that the schools may be provided with more teachers, who are efficient and capable and purpose to make teaching their life profession. These institutions are indispensable to our educational system and should be substantially sustained and continually improved.⁵⁰

The legislature followed his recommendations and increased educational facilities of normal colleges in Virginia. Two new normal colleges for women were built,

48. Swanson, Addresses., p. 22.

49. Ibid., p. 104.

50. Ibid., p. 23.

one at Fredericksburg and one at Harrisonburg, the Legislature also increased appropriations for the two normal colleges which had previously been built at Farmville and Radford.⁵¹ This was also a move toward giving women the same educational facilities that men had.

As a member of the State Board of Education, Secretary Swanson asked that an educational conference be organized. This conference would consist of superintendents, trustees, and members of the board who appointed teachers of primary and high schools, and teachers of colleges. It was to be a conference which would extend from the primary schools to the Universities. In order to pay the expenses of the conference and those invited to attend he urged that the Peabody fund be used and said that he as governor would solicit subscriptions from those interested to pay the rest of the expense. This conference was called in November, 1906, in Richmond. Secretary Swanson went around and solicited subscriptions from those interested as he had promised. This conference was organized into many branches which now exist and has been a great help in keeping the educational efforts of the state organized. Sec't. Swanson made an address at the opening of the conference and urged the people of the state to remedy the miserable conditions which then existed in the educational system and make

51. Why Women Support Senator Swanson. ✓

Virginia's educational system a great and efficient system. The conference was one of the most successful conferences ever organized up until that time.⁵²

The teachers of the state were greatly benefited during his term of office. The legislature of 1906 enacted acts to increase the pay of teachers.⁵³ This helped the teachers of the state who were mostly women.

The teachers retirement fund was enacted during his administration as governor.⁵⁴ This fund gave the teachers a certain pension on which to retire after they had taught a certain number of years.

This administration was marked by a great educational advance so much so that it was commented on by several of the outstanding educators of the time. Dr. Henry S. Pritchett, of the Carnegie Foundation, a great educational leader, made the following comment in his report of 1911:

Probably no educational development in any state in the Union is more marked than that which is represented in the old Commonwealth of Virginia.⁵⁵

Dr. J. D. Eggleston, a great superintendent of public schools, paid the following tribute to Secretary Swanson:

In a few months a new State administration will be inaugurated in Virginia, I consider this occasion a proper one in which to say to the teachers of Virginia that one of the greatest factors in the progress which has been made in the public school system in the past four years is Governor Claude A. Swanson.

52. Records of Swanson, p. 12.

53. Why Women Support Senator Swanson, pp. 3-4.

54. Ibid., p. 4.

55. Records of Swanson, p. 13.

In our official relations we have been thrown into intimate contact and have learned to know each other. Few men seem great close at hand, but the closer I have gotten to him, the greater has been my admiration.

I know, as probably no other man knows, the things he has stood for in education, the pressure under which he has worked, and I desire to go on record as saying that but for his sound judgment, but for his uncommon common sense, but for his great courage, many of the most important things which have been accomplished in this quadrennium would not have been possible of accomplishment.

Those engaged in educational work in Virginia can never know how much they owe to this man. I know, because force of circumstances has thrown us closely together. For my part I shall carry with me to my grave a sense of profound gratitude and thankfulness that it was my good fortune to be State Superintendent of Public Instruction during the four years now coming to a close under the administration and with the sympathy and invaluable assistance of Governor Swanson.⁵⁶

Dr. Alderman at the educational conference in Richmond in November, 1909, paid the following tribute to him:

If it is in good taste tonight to single out two protagonists of this great and successful movement for popular education, I would name as one, our superintendent of public instruction, J. D. Eggleston, Jr. The state has been fortunate to find a man like him for the position. He has youth, courage, ambition, dignity, vision and high purpose to serve the people of the state.

For the other I would name our retiring Governor who has put every ounce of his energy, his good sense, his patriotic purpose into this movement. He has enrolled his name rightly in the roll of those Governors who have served the Commonwealth well and truly.⁵⁷

56. Ibid. p. 13.

57. Ibid.

His administration was marked by great advances other than educational. The state also had a great agricultural development.

Under Secretary Swanson's administration the agricultural demonstration and extension work was inaugurated.⁵⁸ This system teaches the farmers all of the up-to-date information about farming and gives them demonstrations, which will help them a great deal. It has resulted in making farming have scientific progress.

In his message to the General Assembly on Jan. 8, 1908, Secretary Swanson told of all of the valuable mineral and forestry resources of the state which had been on exhibit at the Jamestown Exposition. This was the most valuable collection of mineral resources that had ever been collected by the state. The collection cost more than a \$100,000 all of which would be given to the state, if the state would construct a suitable building at the state capitol to take care of it. He urged that this be done, since such a collection might never again be gotten,⁵⁹ and it was done.⁶⁰

In his message to the General Assembly on Jan. 8, 1908, he asked the General Assembly to consider the advisability of creating a department of mines and a bureau of geological survey.⁶¹ The geological survey

58. Records of Swanson, p. 14.

59. Swanson, Addresses, p. 112.

60. Records of Swanson, p. 14.

61. Swanson, Addresses, p. 112.

was made and proved to be a great help to the agricultural and mineral wealth of the state.⁶²

He told the General Assembly on Jan. 8, 1908, of the great advantages which would come to the agricultural interest of the state if the convict farm could be used as an experimental farm in which different experiments in agriculture could be tried. The results could be published by Virginia Polytechnic Institute,⁶³ and the experimental station was established during his term.⁶⁴ The experiment station has been very helpful to farmers since it has been in existence. Its main purpose is not money making but getting knowledge. In these stations different experiments are tried. They experiment with different fertilizers, different means of cultivation, and the best methods are published so that the farmers can read of them. This has been a great step toward making the farmers into scientific farmers.

The Department of Agriculture established the Food and Dairy Commissioner under his administration. The purpose of this commissioner and commission was to develop the dairy interest of the state.⁶⁵

He also recommended in his message to the General Assembly on Jan. 8, 1908 that the duties and powers of

62. Records of Swanson, p. 14.
63. Swanson, Addresses, p. 111.
64. Records of Swanson, p. 14.
65. Ibid.

the Commissioner of Agriculture and Immigration and duties of the Board of Agriculture be defined so as to prevent a conflict and authority between them.⁶⁶

He recommended that several movable agricultural schools to be established to teach the farmers scientific farming. The courses should be limited to one or several weeks. Then the school should be moved on to the next community.⁶⁷

His administration was marked by many health reforms. When he was inaugurated as governor, the health department of the state amounted to practically nothing. The people in the rural sections and small towns could not obtain up-to-date medical attention. There were no bacteriologists in the rural sections and hence no means of having tests made to determine the presence of tuberculosis, diphtheria, typhoid and many other diseases which scientific tests can determine and many were too poor to pay for such tests.⁶⁸ Sec't. Swanson was interested in this situation and sought to remedy it. He spoke of it in his message to the General Assembly on Jan. 8, 1908, and urged that proper legislation be enacted and enough funds provided to have an efficient Health Department in the state.⁶⁹ The present Health Department was inaugurated during his administration. He aided the members of the General Assembly who were interested in the passage of this measure and appointed Dr.

66. Swanson, Addresses, p. 119. "In his message to the General Assembly on Jan. 8, 1908," p. 110.

67. Swanson, Addresses, pp. 127-128.

68. Records of Swanson, p. 15.

69. Swanson, Addresses, pp. 105-106.

Ennion G. Williams, Commissioner of Health. The health of the people of the state has been greatly improved under the Health department. The bacteriologists have made their tests free of charge. Hence scientific treatment can be gotten by all peoples of the state. It has also protected the health of the citizens of Virginia by its work in the food and water supplies.⁷⁰ We of today know the great benefits which this system has brought.

The Sanatorium at Catawba was established during Secretary Swanson's administration. He was very much interested in the passage of this measure and helped its patron, Captain Baker, to secure the passage of the measure.⁷¹ All Virginians know what this has meant to those who had tuberculosis. It has meant that many have been able to get treatment who otherwise could not have.

In his message to the General Assembly Jan. 8, 1908, he urged that a separate institution be built for the treatment of the epileptic patients. He stated that when both insane and epileptic were treated in the same institutions that each class worked to the detriment of the other.⁷² During his administration a separate colony was built in Amherst County for their treatment.⁷³ This has proven to be of great benefit to the epileptic and insane alike.

In his inaugural address of 1906 he urged that the pure food laws which were under the department of agricul-

70. Records of Swanson, p. 14-15. 72. Swanson, Addresses, pp. 107-108.

71. Ibid. p. 15.

73. Rec. of Swanson, p. 16.

ture be rigidly enforced, and that the ones who violated these laws be punished. He said that those states which had no pure food laws or did not enforce them became the dumping grounds of inferior goods. He urged that the present appropriation for that purpose be increased since it was inadequate to furnish ample inspection.⁷⁴

Great moral and social reforms were enacted during his administration.

In his message to the General Assembly on Jan. 8, 1903, he requested the enactment of legislation to provide for a capable and efficient state officer to examine the jails, prisons, and state reformatories and to see that prisoners, other unfortunates, and buildings be properly cared for. He said that when unfortunate conditions were found that they should be reported to the proper authorities who should have the power to apply effective remedies immediately. He asked that it be done by a commissioner instead of by a board, since he thought that it would be more effective and economical.⁷⁵ The General Assembly saw the wisdom of this and established a board of Charities and Corrections. The public and state officials could now know the conditions of prisoners in jails and penitentiaries, inmates in alm houses, as they had never known before. Before this measure was passed the prisoners, and those in alm houses, were left under the control of those in charge, without inspection and

74. Why Women Support Senator Swanson, p. 5.

75. Swanson, Addresses, pp. 110-111.

often they were treated very cruelly. This measure has brought a marked change in the treatment of prisoners, convicts, and those in the alms houses.⁷⁶

During his administration legislation was passed to protect the women and children from long hours of work, improving their working conditions and also setting the age at which children might work.⁷⁷ We all know what it means for a state or nation to have weak women and children.

He was interested in those children who did not have the right training at home. In a message to the General Assembly at its regular session in January, 1910, he recommended that a juvenile court be formed and that probation laws be enacted, to prevent children from being confined in jails. He urged the General Assembly to grant aid for the formation of a reformatory school for delinquent girls.⁷⁸ The wisdom of this is evident. Bad environment and the lack of proper home training is often the cause of crimes committed by children. They need to be put into a good environment and trained.

During Secretary Swanson's administration as governor, Virginia's present system of Road improvement and construction was inaugurated. When he came into office there was no state highway commissioner, no appropriation for the construction of roads. Neither were the convicts of

76. Records of Swanson, p. 16.

77. Ibid.

78. Swanson, Addresses, p. 130.

the state used on the road force. In his inaugural address, he insisted that the appropriations should be local, state and national since travel over these roads was local, state, and national.⁷⁹ He urged that more money be spent on road improvement and that the state first create a road department with scientific, experienced men in charge; so that the state would be assured that the money would be intelligently spent and accomplish good results. He also pointed out the benefits which local authorities could get from this. He said that such a department could save much of the present waste which then prevailed. He recommended that the convicts be used on the road and others in the quarries.⁸⁰ The state should feed, clothe, and take care of the convicts while the local communities furnish the material and machinery. In this way each would bear about half of the expense. The state adopted this system.⁸¹ In his message to the General Assembly in January, 1908, he recommended that the state appropriations should amount to \$250,000 annually for road construction and improvement. He stated that this amount should be used to pay the expenses of the highway commissioner and state force first; the rest of the amount should be divided among the counties in proportion to the amount of taxes that they paid to the state. He said that the appropriations should be available only to those counties which raised an amount equal to that given by the state.⁸² The appropriation was increased.⁸³ In 1910, he asked the

79. Records of Swanson, p. 16.

80. Swanson, Addresses, Inaugural Address, Feb. 1, 1906, p. 24

81. Records of Swanson, p. 17.

82. Swanson, Addresses, pp. 98-101.

83. Records of Swanson, p. 17.

General Assembly to make State aid to public roads a permanent policy and to fix a fair license tax on automobiles, since he thought that the tax on automobiles at that time was not adequate. He recommended that the amount be used on the improvement of roads.⁸⁴

This legislation started the state to improving and constructing more roads. The part of the act which conditioned the state aid on local aid was very wise, otherwise the counties might have decreased their appropriations in the same amount that the state increased the appropriations given. But as the law stood, they would increase their appropriations of moneys if necessary in order to get the state help.

He was interested in giving aid to confederate soldiers and widows. In his inaugural address he asked that the appropriations to them be increased.⁸⁵ In his message to the General Assembly on Jan. 8, 1908, he again asked that the pensions of the disabled be increased and that the larger amount for this purpose be appropriated.⁸⁶ The appropriations were increased during his administration.⁸⁷

In his inaugural address he urged that a department of banking be created and that the state should exercise more control over state banks. The state banks should confine their banking operations within safe limits and should be examined frequently by capable state officials

84. Swanson, Addresses, pp. 121-122,

85. Swanson, Addresses, p. 28.

86. Why women support Senator Swanson, pp. 5-6.

87. Ibid.

to see that they were conducting their operations within safe limits; that their assets were good, and that the public's money was safe.⁸⁸ He recommended this to the General Assembly on Jan. 8, 1908,⁸⁹ and again renewed the recommendation to the General Assembly at its regular session in January, 1910.⁹⁰

In his message to the General Assembly at its regular session in January, 1910, he spoke of the inequalities which then existed in paying state taxes. Some paid what the property was worth, others one-half and still others three-fourths of its value. He believed that this condition was unjust, and should be remedied. Under the system at that time, property was assessed by local authorities who showed partiality. He recommended that a state authority be given the power to correct these conditions. He believed that if the state auditor had the power to pass on such assessments it would greatly reduce the inequalities which then existed.⁹¹

He also transmitted the resolutions of Congress, proposing the 16th amendment to the General Assembly in a message to it in 1910. The article is:

That Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on income from whatever source derived; without apportionment among the several states, and without regard to any census or enumeration.⁹²

He was in favor of this tax and pointed out that

88. Swanson, Addresses, p. 14.

89. Ibid., p. 108.

90. Ibid.,

91. Ibid., pp. 123-124.

92. Ibid., p. 113.

under the system at that time the U. S. government got most of its taxes on consumers goods. This was not fair he thought, because the poor people paid the great burden of taxes. The income tax system was better because the wealthy paid the tax.⁹³

He was against monopoly and in his inaugural address spoke against it. He said:

The laws of this state, as far as possible, should be such as to prohibit all monopoly, either in the industries or in transportation, all should contain no vestige of special favors or privileges.⁹⁴

He insisted upon economy and asked that care be taken in the expenditure of public money.⁹⁵ No increase in taxes whatsoever was made during his governorship. He insisted that the expenditures should stay within the revenue.⁹⁶

His administration was noted for its progressive measures which were inaugurated while he was governor. As I have shown above, there were great improvements in the educational system, road system, health system, and many moral and social reforms were enacted.

When his term ended as governor in February, 1910, he retired to his home near Chatham, Va.⁹⁷ He had won

93. Ibid., pp. 133-136.

94. Ibid., p. 10.

95. Ibid., "Message to the General Assembly at its Regular Session, January 8, 1908," p. 92.

96. Records of Swanson, p. 17.

97. Ibid., p. 5.

the approval and good will of most of the people of Virginia and was one of the most popular governors we have ever had.

This was the first and only time that he has lived in private life since he was elected to Congress in 1892. He was not allowed to live quietly at Chatham very long, however. In fact, his private life from 1893 until today has been only six months -- from Feb. 1, 1910 to Aug. 1910.

CHAPTER IV

SENATOR

When Senator Daniel died in August, 1910, Governor Mann appointed Secretary Swanson to fill his unexpired term in the senate. This met the approval of most of the people and newspapers of the state.⁹⁸

In 1911 he was a candidate in the popular primary for the nomination of the United States Senators. The candidates in this election were Thomas S. Martin, Carter Glass, Claude A. Swanson, and William A. Jones. In the election held on September 7, 1911, Senator Martin and Senator Swanson won the election by large majorities. The approximate vote for each candidate was as follows:

Martin	Jones	Swanson	Glass
57,146	25,510	59,105	23,200

All candidates received the support of their home town. I shall also show the approximate number of votes each candidate got in Pittsylvania County, Swanson's home county.

Martin.	Jones	Swanson	Glass ⁹⁹
1,468	551	1,598	503

Swanson received more votes than any other candidate in this election and this indicates to a large extent his personality and popularity at the time. He was unopposed in the fall election. Since that time, Westmoreland Davis,

98. Ibid., p. 5. I have also seen what many of the newspapers of the state said concerning his record as governor and his appointment to the Senate.

99. Times-Dispatch, Sept. 8 and 9, 1911, pp. 1-2.

in the Democratic primary of 1922, has been his only opponent.

His experience as a member of the House of Representatives and as governor gave him a good standing in the Senate. He was at once appointed on important committees.¹⁰⁰

He began his work in the Senate in very much the same way that he did as governor; by standing for practical and progressive measures, which would result in the betterment of the great masses of people.¹⁰¹

He was very much interested in road improvement as he had been during his governorship. One of the first bills which he introduced in the senate was asked the Federal government to extend aid for the purpose of road construction and improvement. This measure was prepared jointly with E. W. Saunders, a member of the House, who introduced the bill into the House.¹⁰² The bill provided that \$20,000 be appropriated annually for five years for the purpose of giving aid to States in the construction and improvement of post roads and rural delivery routes. Aid was to be given to those states which needed it most. The states must furnish an amount equal to that given by the Federal government. The \$20,000,⁰⁰⁰ was to be divided among the states according to population, but not count-

101. Ibid., pp. 17-18.

102. Records of Swanson, p. 18.

ing cities which according to the last census had a population over 150,000. A joint committee of Federal and State authorities would determine which roads the money would be expended on. Provision was made for the creation of a road department, which would provided engineers and officials capable of carrying out the proposals in an efficient way.¹⁰³ The measure as it finally passed gave \$20,000,000 annually to states for road improvement and was known as the Federal Road Act.¹⁰⁴

He served on the Post Officers and Post Roads Committee from which it was first reported and on the conference committee where it was finally settled. He practically managed the bill in the Senate. At the last session at which the Democrats were in control, he offered an amendment to the bill which increased the Federal appropriation to public roads to \$100,000,000 a year. The amendment provided that the trucks, road materials, motors, etc., which the government had as a result of the war be turned over to the states. The Committee reported the bill as Senator Swanson had introduced it and it became a law.¹⁰⁵

Other legislation which helped the great mass of people, especially the rural people, was introduced by Swanson. When he had been in the Senate for only a short time, he began agitation for the creation of a parcels

103. Congressional Record, 62d, Congress, 1st session, pp. 2717-18.

104. Records of Swanson, p. 18.

105. Ibid.

post system which would extend over the country routes. He was appointed as a member of a joint commission to investigate the matter and report their findings to Congress. One summer he spent in Washington collecting valuable data and united with the committee in making the report to congress which resulted in the creation of the present Parcels Post system. As a Senator, he has since done much in getting the system enlarged so that it will extend more aid to the rural people.¹⁰⁶

Legislation which aimed at the protection and health of children has always interested him. He voted for and supported a bill which created in the Department of Commerce, "The Child's Bureau."¹⁰⁷ He supported the legislation which kept children under the age of fourteen from being compelled to work in a factory.¹⁰⁸

He was also interested in the protection of women as well as children. This interest is shown by the fact that he voted for the "Maternity and Infancy Bill," which provided for cooperation between the Federal and State governments in the protection of mothers and children.¹⁰⁹ The terms of this bill was adopted by the General Assembly of Virginia at its session in 1922.¹¹⁰

He aided in the passage of the act which gave compensation to employers who were engaged in common carriers

106. Ibid., pp. 18-19.

107. Ibid., p. 19.

108. Ibid.

109. Ibid.

110. Why Women Support Senator Swanson, p. 9.

or railroads engaged in interstate commerce.¹¹¹ This was a wise piece of legislation because it gave aid to the employees who were unable to work because of injury. The family also received compensation in event of death.

He was raised on a farm and so naturally knows the farmers needs, interest and troubles. In many cases he has stood for and aided in the passage of those measures which were of special interest to country people. This interest is shown by the fact that he introduced bills providing for rural free delivery, parcels post, and a bill extending aid in road improvement, as I have already said. He also favored the passage of the Smith-Lever Agricultural Extension Act, which brought trained experts to the farms, and by the demonstration farms brought to the farmers all of the practical knowledge which the Department of Agriculture discovered in agriculture, animal life, and horticulture.¹¹² He favored all legislation to protect the farmer against impure seeds and fertilizer, and also favored legislation to prevent combinations from charging unfair prices for agricultural machinery.¹¹³

He supported the Federal Farm Loan Act.¹¹⁴ He thought that the agriculturalist should be able to secure a loan as easily as an industrialist for the same assets.¹¹⁵ To quote him:

111. Records of Swanson, p. 19.

112. Swanson, Addresses, p. 6.

113. Ibid.

114. Records of Swanson, pp. 19-20.

115. Senator Claude A. Swanson, p. 7.

I believe a system of credits should be created which will set aside funds sufficient to finance the farmers safely and satisfactorily as is done for other interests.¹¹⁶

A committee of Swanson and six other Senators of both parties was appointed to draw up a bill which would give complete credit to the agricultural interest.¹¹⁷

The amendment to the Federal Reserve Act, which placed a farmer on the Federal Reserve Board, was supported by him. He was very anxious to see that the agricultural interests received just consideration on the Federal Reserve System.¹¹⁸

During the war, he did what he could to get the government to sell nitrates, which were so high and valuable, to the farmers at a reasonable price,¹¹⁹ and after the war he favored development of Muscles Shoals (which was then government property), so that the farmers of this country could permanently secure fertilizer at a cheap price.¹²⁰

Secretary Swanson recognized that the production of peanuts is an important industry in America. He secured the passage of an amendment which provided for the collection and distribution of data such as prices, distribution, quality of peanuts and the same kind of statistics on peanuts as are put out on other agricultural products.¹²¹

116. Ibid.

117. Ibid.

118. Ibid.

119. Records of Senator Swanson, p. 20.

120. Senator Claude A. Swanson, p. 6.

121. Records of Swanson, p. 20.

He has been against monopolies and trust. He thought that the laws which were then in existence(1922) on this subject should be more vigorously enforced and the country needed additional legislation on that matter.¹²²

The fact that he was against monopolies and trust is partly shown by the fact that he voted for the Kenyon-Kendrick bill, which regulated the five great meat packers of the country, thus protecting the livestock interest, other agricultural interests, and the consumer.¹²³

The measure which revived the War Finance Corporation powers was voted and supported by him. This measure furnished the purchasers and dealers of farm products money so that they would not have to sell their products at once, but could sell them in foreign markets and get more money for them.¹²⁴ A measure like this would also benefit the farmer greatly, because the dealer would make more money on them and could afford to pay him more money.

He was thoroughly in favor of co-operative marketing for the farmers. He voted for it, made a very able speech for it, and assisted in every way in the passage of the bill which provided for co-operative marketing of farm products.¹²⁵

Secretary Swanson has always been interested in the

122. Senator Claude A. Swanson, p. 6.

123. Records of Swanson, p. 20.

124. Ibid.

125. Ibid.

development of our water transportation and harbor facilities. He realizes that good harbor facilities and water transportation benefits both country and city by providing a cheaper means of transportation. Hampton Roads has always interested him and he has sought to have its harbor facilities fully developed. During the war its piers, wharves and terminal were increased.¹²⁶ He also favored the United States having a Merchant Marine capable of handling all of the American commerce, so that we would not be dependent on other nations.¹²⁷

During the war, Secretary Swanson was acting chairman and chairman of the Naval Committee from August 1918 until the end of the war. I do not wonder that he became chairman, because he had been on this committee since he first entered the Senate,¹²⁹ and had always been interested in having a large navy. Speeches urging that the size of the navy be increased were made by him on June 8, 1912 and¹³⁰ on July 13, 1916.¹³¹ He thinks that a strong navy is of more benefit to the United States than a strong army. In the last two mentioned speeches, he pointed out many instances where sea power had proven superior to a large army.¹³² As chairman of this committee, he was largely

126. Senator Claude A. Swanson, pp. 4-5.

127. Ibid.

128. Records of Swanson, p. 6.

129. "Chairman Swanson of the Senate Naval Committee." The American Review of Reviews, Aug. 1918, p. 145.

130. Virginia Duplicate Pamphlets, II, 3.

131. Swanson, Speech in the U.S. Senate, July 13, 1916.

132. Ibid.; also Swanson's speech in U.S. Senate on June 8, 1912, Virginia Duplicate Pamphlets, II, 3.

responsible for the fact that the United States had such a strong navy during the war. He has received much commendation for his foresight and the record which our navy made during the war,¹³³ and for the amount of work that he has put in in developing as fine a navy. He has always aided the National Guard as well as the Naval Militia, and thinks that without doubt both are great defense weapons.¹³⁴

During the war, Secretary Swanson was in harmony with President Wilson and remarks that he was glad to have had the opportunity to co-operate with such a man. He thought that it was a time for action and co-operation, not quibbling.¹³⁵

As a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, he was one of the senators who opened the debate for the declaration of war against Germany in the Senate,¹³⁶ and later on Tuesday, February 26, 1918, he made a speech in the United States Senate in which he told the world the reasons why America was in the war.¹³⁷

After the war the soldiers and sailors were at first with nothing to do. Secretary Swanson was very much interested in this and voted for and aided in the passage of a measure which provided vocational education and rehabilitation of soldiers and sailors in the army and navy

133. Records of Swanson, p. 6.

134. Senator Swanson, p. 8.

135. Swanson, "Address," Senator Claude A. Swanson, pp. 9-10.

136. Records of Swanson, p. 6.

137. Swanson, Speech in U. S. Senate, Feb. 26, 1918.

forces of the United States.¹³⁸

Secretary Swanson has always been very active in peace treaties. In 1914 when President Wilson and Secretary of State Bryan negotiated eighteen peace treaties with most of the leading nations of the world, he, as a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, reported the treaties to the Senate and had charge of them, and conducted their debate in the senate. Finally all of them were ratified. This alone was no small accomplishment.¹³⁹

He was a supporter of the Versailles Treaty and League of Nations. When they were sent to the Senate by the President, he opened the debate for the treaty. His speech on the League of Nations is one of the best speeches ever made on the League.¹⁴⁰ The other great champion of the peace treaty in the debate was Senator Hitchman of Nebraska.¹⁴¹

He voted for and aided in the passage of the measure which provided for a disarmament conference to be held in Washington. This conference was held in 1922 and the leading nations of the world got together and talked of reducing their navies and armies.¹⁴² This conference resulted in a great decrease in the expenditures which was used for the naval and military purposes.

138. Records of Swanson, p. 20.

139. Ibid., p. 21.

140. Records of Swanson, p. 21.

141. The American Review of Reviews, Aug. 1919, p. 126.

142. Records of Swanson, p. 21.

He was in favor of the measure introduced by Carter Glass which provided for the Federal Reserve system and made a speech in behalf of this system.¹⁴³

In 1922 Senator Swanson was opposed in the Democratic primary for Senator, for the first time since 1911, when he ~~was~~ ^{led} the ticket and was elected by a big majority.¹⁴⁴ In this campaign, he received the support of a large number of the papers of the state.¹⁴⁵ In the election the people showed his popularity as they have always done. The Richmond Times Dispatch shows the approximate vote of each candidate. Here is what it said:

Swanson sweeps Virginia by 60,000 majority.....
All ten districts go for Senator in Great Victory.
Former Governor Davis may carry only two counties.
In some places vote almost unanimous.¹⁴⁶

I am always interested to know how a candidate's home town or home county stands by him for they know him better than anyone else. Pittsylvania (Swanson's home County) gave him a majority of 3,000 votes. The vote in Danville (where he once lived) was Swanson's by 2,790 votes while Davis had 695.¹⁴⁷

The honor of introducing the world court bill fell to Secretary Swanson, since he was the ranking Democratic member on the Foreign Relations Committee and the chairman, Senator Borah of Idaho, was opposed to the measure.¹⁴⁸ On December 17, 1925, when the fight for the ratification of

143. Records of Swanson, p. 6.

144. The Times-Dispatch, Sept. 8, 1911, pp. 1-2

145. Senator Swanson, pp. 15-31.

146. Ibid., p. 1.

147. Ibid., p. 3.

148. Review of Reviews, Feb. 26, p. 120.

the amendment was opened, Senator Swanson spoke for four hours. Senators on the floor and visitors rushed to the galleries and listened attentively to him outline the horrors of war, and the part which the court would play in making wars a thing of the past. He admitted that the court was created by the League, but beyond that point was independent of it and was not a means of drawing the United States into the League.¹⁴⁹

In December, 1931, President Hoover appointed him as a member of the United States delegation to the disarmament conference at Geneva, Switzerland.¹⁵⁰ He accepted the appointment.¹⁵¹ He was a delegate to this conference from February 2, 1932 until July 23, 1932.¹⁵² He accomplished much, but I don't believe that he thought that the conference was a success by any means. On August 5, 1932, Claude A. Swanson, Norman Davis, Mary E. Woolley and other members of the United States delegation to Geneva returned. Hugh Gibson, leader of the American delegation, remained. The leaders said that they had expected more out of the conference, but some things were achieved which had never before been achieved in the promise of reduction of armaments. They hoped that the Hoover proposal for disarmament would be carried out when the conference reconvened.¹⁵³

Secretary Swanson said that it must be admitted that

149. Beach, S., ed., "What the World is Doing," The Independent, Jan. 2, 1926, p. 24.

150. New York Times, Dec. 17, 1931, III, 5.

151. Ibid, Dec. 18, II, 6.

152. From an outline of his life which F. J. Yeager, the present clerk to the Secretary, gave me.

153. New York Times, Aug. 6, 1932, n. 3.

the American delegation made out very well considering that it was an American train running on European tracks.¹⁵⁴ Some of the definite accomplishments which he pointed out that the conference achieved are: 1. abolition of chemical and bacterial warfare, 2. the limitation of air bombing, and, 3. a hinge on which to place the hint for the complete eradication of bombing.¹⁵⁵ In speaking of the success of the conference Secretary Swanson said:

This is the first time that many of the nations represented have ever agreed to reduce the size of their land forces.¹⁵⁶

Other effective weapons, and the artillery were reduced, the size of tanks was reduced and other large tanks, which were fast becoming moving fortresses, were abolished. He pointed out that the limitations in artillery promised would increase defensive and cut down offensive warfare.¹⁵⁷ The rest of the delegates reported similar results about the conference.

While he was a senator, he served on many other important committees which I have not mentioned. Some of them are: 1. Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 2. Committee which investigates the expenditure of different departments of the Government, and 3. "Democratic Steering Committee of the Senate," which appoints the democratic members to the various committees and thus kind of directs

154. Ibid.

155. Ibid.

156. Ibid.

157. Ibid.

the Democratic party in the Senate. Of the thirty-six Democratic Senators in the Senate (1922) Swanson stood sixth in point of service.¹⁵⁸

158. Records of Swanson, pp. 6-7.

CHAPTER V

SECRETARY OF NAVY

On March 4, 1933, he resigned from the United States Senate to accept the appointment to be the Secretary of the Navy. He was well qualified for this position, and has been connected with the Navy in some way since he became senator. In April, 1911, he was appointed as a member of the Naval affairs Committee, and served until 1933, when he accepted the appointment as Secretary of the Navy. As I have already said, he ^{was} appointed Chairman of this Committee in 1918 and was its ranking Democratic member from 1921 until 1933.¹⁵⁹

Secretary Swanson has made several speeches in the Senate asking for an increase in the navy, one in 1912,¹⁶⁰ and another in 1916. He believes that a large navy is one of the greatest assets that this country can have, not only for trade, but also for practical reasons, such as protection. What Secretary Swanson stood for in the way of a navy is similar to the naval policies of President Roosevelt. He too always has been a big navy man.¹⁶¹ In fact, President Roosevelt once thought of going to the Naval Academy instead of Harvard.¹⁶²

159. From outline which F. J. Yeager gave me.

160. Virginia Duplicate Pamphlets, II.

161. "Headliner," News Week, June 2, 1934, p. 16.

162. I read this somewhere. I think that it was in the above.

Although he has been a big navy man, he has also stood for peace. This is shown by the fact that he supported practically all of the peace movements; he was a supporter of the League of Nations, World Court, and disarmament conferences. He would like to see the nations of the world decrease their armaments and navies, but would be unwilling to have our navy decreased while other leading nations are rapidly increasing their navies.

President Roosevelt was the Assistant Secretary of the Navy during the war, while Swanson was chairman of the Naval Committee, and found the Secretary a great help in getting money from Congress to construct ships for the Navy.¹⁶³ They lived across the street from each other, and they became very close friends.¹⁶⁴ Secretary Swanson's sisters told me that when they used to visit Claude that they used to see the President's children playing across the street.

As soon as he became Secretary of the Navy, he inaugurated his work by announcing that he would build up the navy to that permitted by the London Naval Treaty of 1930, and that as soon as conditions made it possible that he would build up our fleet until it equaled that of Great Britain.¹⁶⁵ A new program was started which called for thirty-two new ships to be built at a cost of \$238,000,000.

163. "Headliner," News Week, June 2, 1934, p. 16.

164. Ibid.

165. Stone, B., "Secretaries of the Navy and Disarmament," Christian Century, March, 29, 1935.

greatly increasing the number of officers who were available for officers.

In his annual report to President Roosevelt on Dec. 1, 1934, Secretary Swanson said that the United States should have a navy "second to none" and recommended that the navy be built to the full treaty limit.¹⁷¹ He also hoped that Congress would provide sufficient appropriations to build seventy-eight new ships after the ones already in the process of construction had been completed. A firm stand was also taken against the consolidation of the army and navy air forces into a single unit. He thought that aviation was an integral part of the fleet and that the best interest could be served by having its own air service. An act, known as the Vinson-Frammell Act was passed, which permitted the navy to be built up to the treaty, and old vessels which had become over age to be replaced by new ones. Seventy new vessels were in the process of construction at this time. Twenty-four ships were sought for in 1936. The construction of the twenty-four ships for 1936 would leave the navy forty-eight ships short of that set by the Treaty. The navy department's policy was to spread the construction of the remainder of the ships over the years 1937, 1938, and 1939 at the rate of six submarines and twelve destroyers annually. Under this system the Treaty strength would be obtained in 1942. A plea is also made for more men and officers to man the ships. Sect. Swanson said that this fact could not be over emphasized. 171.

171. Ibid., Dec. 2, 1934, II.

To satisfy this need he recommended that Congress allow a monthly average of 88,000 men for 1936. In order to increase the number of officers he recommended that each member of Congress, Senators and Representatives be allowed to appoint 4 men each for 1936 and five each beginning 1937.¹⁷²

His report to the President in 1935 was very similar to the previous ones. He still urged that the navy be built to the Treaty limits. Sixty-four ships were then under construction on July 1, and 462 vessels of all types were in use during the past fiscal year. The navy had, on July 1, 1935, 974 service airplanes and 472 on order. A program was recommended which provided for about 1,910 airplanes by 1940-42.¹⁷³

Secretary Swanson was also in favor of Congress enacting a "Federal Sedition Law,"¹⁷⁴ which would be directed against foreigners in this country who tried to stir up agitation in the army or navy or tried to overthrow the Government by force. Either offense would be made a crime.¹⁷⁵

* * * * *

Secretary Swanson's sisters told me that he had always been devoted to his home people, and until very recently visited his old home back in Pittsylvania County every July.

172. The New York Times, Dec. 2, 1934, II, pp. 1-2.

173. Ibid., Dec. 1, 1935, p. 32.

174. Congressional Digest, Oct. 1935, p. 233.

175. Ibid., pp. 225-226.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

CAMPAIGN MATERIAL

1. Barrett Printing Company, "Issued in Behalf of the Candidacy of Senator Claude A. Swanson to Succeed Himself in the United States Senate," in Virginia Political Pamphlets, V, No publisher given, No. P., N.D.
2. Swanson Campaign Publicity Committee, Issued in Behalf of the Candidacy of Senator Claude A. Swanson to Succeed Himself in the United States Senate, N.P., [1922].
3. Swanson Campaign Publicity Committee, Record of Hon. Claude A. Swanson as Congressman -- Governor -- Senator..... Swanson Campaign Publicity Committee, N.P. [1922].
4. Swanson Campaign Publicity Committee, Why Women Support Senator Swanson, Swanson Campaign Publicity Committee, N.P., [1922].

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

5. Congressional Record, 62d Congress, 1st session, July 7, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1911.
6. Swanson, C. A., Why America is In the War, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1918.

NEWSPAPERS

7. The New York Times, Dec. 17, 18, 1931; Aug. 6, 1932; March 31, 1933; Dec. 2, 1934; Dec. 1, 1935.
8. The Richmond Dispatch, Aug. 15, 1901.
9. The Richmond Times-Dispatch, Aug. 22, 23, 24; Nov. 7, 8, 1905; Sept. 7, 8, 1911, and Aug. 1, 2.

PERIODICALS

10. Beach, Stewart, "What the World is Doing," The Independent, Jan. 2, 1926.
11. The Congressional Digest, Vol. 5. 1926; Vol. 14, 1935.
12. Literary Digest, March 11, July 1, 1933.
13. News Week, March 4, 1933; June 2, 1934.
14. The American Review of Reviews, Vols. 32, 39, 58, 90, 73, 87, 91.
15. Stone, B., "Secretaries of the Navy and Disarmaments," Christian Century, Vol. 50.
16. Scientific American, Vol. 153.
17. World's Work, Vols. 31 and 48.

MISCELLANEOUS

18. Swanson, C. A., Addresses, Messages and Proclamations... 1906-1910, Davis Buttan, Superintendent Public Printing, Richmond, 1910.
19. Swanson, C. A., "Favoring an Increase of the Navy Delivered in the Senate of the United States, June 8, 1912," in Virginia Duplicate Pamphlets, II, no publisher N.P., N.D.
20. Swanson, C. A., Speech of Hon. Claude A. Swanson of Virginia In the United States Senate, Friday, July 7, 1911, Washington, 1911.
21. Tyler, L. G., ed. Men of Mark in Virginia, II., Men of Mark Publishing Co., Washington, 1906.