

THE PRESIDENT ANSWERS STORER

Characterizes the Ex-Ambassador's Course in Controversy as One of Peculiar Perfidy.

LETTERS VERY AFFECTIONATE

Statement That Any Message to Pope Plus Was Authorized Declared To Be Untrue.

Washington, Dec. 9.—President Roosevelt tonight made public a long letter addressed to Secy. Root, giving correspondence between the president and former Ambassador Bellamy Storer at Vienna and Mrs. Storer, in which he says that Mr. Storer's refusal to answer his letters and the publication of the various private correspondence was peculiarly ungentlemanly, and that he (the president) had stated with absolute clearness his position, the reason why it was out of the question for him as president to try to get any archbishop made cardinal, though expressing his admiration for Archbishop Ireland as well as for leaders of other denominations. He says he thinks it well that the members of the cabinet should know certain facts "which he (Storer) either suppressed or misstated." He says he did not resent the action of Storer until he became evident they were likely to damage American interests. He says Mrs. Storer urged him to give her husband a cabinet place and that she stated that Mr. Choate at London and Gen. Porter at Paris were not under persons to be ambassadors, suggesting her husband in that connection. The president incorporates a letter from Postmaster General Cortelyou contradicting the statement that President McKinley had authorized a gentleman to ask the pope, "as a personal favor to him," and as "an honor to the country," to appoint Archbishop Ireland as cardinal. Mr. Cortelyou says the late president never made any such request. The president declares that Mr. Storer's statement that he authorized any such message to be delivered to Pope Plus is untrue. He says he never received a letter from Ambassador Storer giving an account of his visit to the Vatican and of the message he personally gave the pope on behalf of Mr. Roosevelt. Action tonight follows the publication of a "confidential pamphlet" which Mr. Storer last week sent to the president, the cabinet and the senate foreign relations committee.

PRESIDENT TO ROOT.

The White House, Washington, Dec. 9, 1906.
"My Dear Mr. Root—In view of the fact that Bellamy Storer has sent to each member of my cabinet a letter, and to myself a pamphlet, under date of Nov. 1906, purporting to give an account of his relations with me which led up to his removal from the position of ambassador at Vienna, I think it is well that you and the other members of the cabinet should know certain facts which he either suppresses or misstates. As to the necessity for removing him from this position, I suppose there is no need for discussion. An ambassador who refuses to answer my letters to him were of such a character that he could not answer them needs no further comment than to point out that in such cases it was his clear duty instantly to resign. His publication of the various private letters between his wife and himself and me would furnish any additional justification which was needed for his summary removal from the service. He does not give the state department a letter to him, dated Sept. 10, 1906, which runs as follows:
"Your letter of Aug. 3 does not require any comment on my part, but by direction of the president I answer it as regards one point. You assume that in the letter of Dec. 11, the president wrote you not as an official of the United States but as a purely personal and private letter, and you state that this letter shows on its face that no answer from you was asked for, suggested or expected.
"It is hard to understand your making such a statement in view of the fact that the letter you quote derives its entire importance from the accompanying letter which you were asked to read and hand to Mrs. Storer, in which Mrs. Storer was informed that unless she took certain definite action your connection with the diplomatic service would have to be severed. It is of course unnecessary to discuss and it ought to be unnecessary to even allude to any proposition so absurd as this severance of you from the service would be asked for, not by the president but in his private capacity. The president was anxious to treat both you and Mrs. Storer with the utmost gentleness and consideration, and it seemed to him that his end could be accomplished in the way easiest for you by following the course which he actually did follow. The letter to Mrs. Storer, of course, became part of the matter which you were requested to take cognizance. In it Mrs. Storer was asked to inform you of certain conditions, failure to fulfill which would result in your severance from the service, which conditions she never fulfilled. You were requested to read this letter and hand it to her. It is difficult to state more fully the facts of the proposition that under these conditions the

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president's letter required no answer. "I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant."

ROBERT BACON.
"Acting Secretary."

"It is never pleasant to have to discuss personal affairs or to explain from personal correspondence; which is one reason why it is held to be a peculiarly ungentlemanly thing to publish private correspondence. But as Mr. Storer in his extraordinary pamphlet prints various letters written by himself, by me and by Mrs. Storer, I shall set forth briefly the facts of the case, giving certain letters which are necessary in order to understand clearly those which he prints.

MEETING THE STORERS.

"I first met the Storers when I was civil service commissioner and he had come to Washington as a congressman. They were then kind and friendly in their relations with me and my family. I retained a lively recollection of this kind and friendly attitude, and because of the affection it inspired I submitted to conduct from Mr. and Mrs. Storer, which I would have submitted from no other ambassador and his wife, and I did not resent their actions until it became evident that they were likely to damage American interests. Mrs. Storer insisted to me often that their change of creed had proved a deadly blow to her husband's career, and that they were suffering for conscience's sake. I accepted this statement as true, and I ought to do what I ought to help them, and be as patient as possible with them.

STORER AND IRELAND.

"Under President McKinley Mr. Storer went to Spain. About the time of my accession to the vice presidency I wrote, at President McKinley's request, to Mr. and Mrs. Storer that the president desired me to say that Mr. Storer was ultimately to be made an ambassador. Mr. and Mrs. Storer were greatly interested in securing the promotion of Archbishop Ireland to be a cardinal. I had and have a great respect and admiration for Archbishop Ireland, a respect and admiration, which I have often publicly expressed. This letter from me to Mr. and Mrs. Storer quoted in Mr. Storer's pamphlet gives with precision my views both upon Archbishop Ireland and upon the possibility or propriety of my taking in his behalf the steps which the Storers asked, and I can add nothing to what these letters themselves show. When they first wrote to me on the subject I was governor of New York. Not being president myself, and not having thought of clearing the exact situation, I asked President McKinley whether he could properly do anything to help Archbishop Ireland. He responded that it was not a matter with which he could with propriety interfere, although he expressed himself as having the same high opinion of Archbishop Ireland that I had. I had a further conversation with the president on the subject, either just before or just after his election as vice president, in which he stated what he felt was the proper position—a position with which I absolutely agreed.

PRESIDENT'S POSITION CLEAR.

"Following this conversation in my letter to Mrs. Storer of Nov. 23, 1906, quoted by Mr. Storer in his pamphlet, I stated with absolute clearness my position and why it was out of the question for the president to try to get any archbishop made cardinal, and all the letters quoted by Mr. Storer, as having been subsequently written by me to him or to his wife take precisely the same position. I explained repeatedly that my friendship and admiration for Archbishop Ireland (which is like my friendship and admiration for Bishop Lawrence of the Episcopal church and Bishop Cranston of the Methodist church, like my friendship and admiration for many clergymen of many denominations—Baptists, Lutherans, Congregationalists, Presbyterians and others), would make me pleased to see any good fortune attend him, or any churchman like him, of any creed; but that I could not interfere for his promotion. This was also the position I took in all private conversations, and the assertion that in any private conversation I took an opposite position from that which I was repeatedly expressing in writing is not only an untruth, but an absurd untruth; for I would of course not say privately to any one the opposite of what I was repeatedly writing to that same person. Mr. Storer asserts that he had Mrs. Storer and various other people, after conversation with me, put down memoranda as to what they remembered I had said. If such action was taken, it was, of course, simply dishonorable. No one of them ever showed me any would have ventured to show me any such memoranda, and it is nonsense to expect to bind me by memoranda, the existence of which was concealed from me. The Storers were my guests at the time when, as they assert, they made these memoranda of private conversations with me, as a matter of fact, the statements they allege me to have made were not made, save in so far as what they allege me to have said before and after I wrote to them. Before this, in this connection, I call your attention to the following statement, issued from the White House, Nov. 9, 1906, 11 days before the Storer pamphlet was re-

ceived by me or that I had any knowledge whatever of it.

PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS.

"For many years it has been the inviolable practice never to attempt to quote a private conversation with the president. It has been found that as a matter of fact the man who quotes such a conversation usually misquotes it, whether consciously or unconsciously, and such an alleged conversation is under no circumstances to be held as calling for either explanation or denial by the president. The president is responsible for what he himself says in public for what he writes, or for what he explicitly authorizes the proper government officials to state in his behalf.

"Mrs. Storer wrote me with great freedom sometimes it was difficult to know quite how to reply. Both she and Mr. Storer continually made attacks upon all sorts of people, especially dignitaries of her own church. At one time she wrote me with great bitterness against the Protestant missionaries who were being sent to the Philippines, at the same time requesting me to champion Archbishop Ireland because he had been loyal to the United States during the war with Spain, which she asserted was not true as to another Catholic archbishop whom she named. While I was always reluctant to write in a way that would hurt the feelings of either party, I felt on this occasion I thought it necessary to write just what my position was, and accordingly replied as follows:

LETTER TO MRS. STORER.

"May 17, 1906.

"My Dear Mrs. Storer—Your letter of the 4th has just come to hand; also of the 6th. I am very, very fond of you, and this is the reason that your letters put me in a quandary. I want me to do all kinds of things that I cannot possibly do, and that I ought to do; and you say things which I do not want to contradict, and yet it makes me feel very uncomfortable. I seem to acquiesce in them. You must remember that there are many other people who feel about their religion just as you feel about yours. They can no more understand your turning Catholic than you can understand Catholics turning Protestant. Some of the best people I have ever met were Protestants who had originally been Catholics. I can understand your turning Catholic, but I cannot understand your urging the stopping of missionaries going anywhere they choose. I emphatically feel, as I have always told you, that the chance for bettering the Catholic inhabitants of the tropic islands lies by bringing them the standard of American Catholicism. The worst thing that could happen both for them and the Catholic church would be for the Catholic church to champion the inequities that have undeniably been committed, not only by lay but by clerical would-be leaders in the Philippines and elsewhere. One incident which I actually cannot put on paper came to my personal knowledge in connection with a Catholic ecclesiastical in Cuba, which was of a character so revolting and bestial that it made one feel that the whole hierarchy in the island needed drastic renovation. Now I very earnestly wish that Archbishop Ireland, and those who are most advanced among our Catholic priests—men like the Paulist fathers, for instance—should be given a free hand in these islands and should be advanced in every way. But you must remember how hampered I am in writing, from the fact that I do not like to see any one admit for a moment the right of a foreign potentate to interfere in American public policy. For instance, you speak of the pope being angry with Archbishop Ireland for not stopping the war with Spain. As far as I am concerned, I would regard as an impertinence any European, whether pope, kaiser, czar or prince, daring to be angry with any American because of his action or inaction as regards any question between America and outside nations. No representation of this kind should be admitted for one moment. If any man, clerical or lay, bishop, archbishop, priest or civilian, was in any way guilty of treasonable practices with Spain during our war, he should be shot or hanged, and it is an outrage on justice that he should be at large. But I cannot write in a way that will seem to defend a man for not avoiding war with Spain, for I cannot recognize for a single moment the right of any European so much as to think that there is need of defense or excuse in such a case.

TREAT ALL ALIKE.

"As you know, I always treat Catholic and Protestant exactly alike, as I do Jew or Gentile, as I do the man of native American, German, Irish or any other kind of parentage. And such discrimination for or against a man because of his creed or nativity strikes me as an infamy. Men like Bishop Keane, like the late Father Cassidy, like Father Bedford, the parish priest of my own town of Oyster Bay, and like scores of other priests whom I could name, are entitled to receive the same measure of respect and regard and support that I have given men like Phillips Brooks, like Mr. Devine and like so very many other Protestant clergymen whom I could name. Moreover, my dear Mrs. Storer, whatever I could do for you and Bellamy would be done, but I simply do not see how I can do anything in this particular matter.

"With great respect, very sincerely yours,
THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

LETTERS FROM STORERS.

"As soon as I became president I began to receive letters from Mrs. Storer, asking for the promotion of Mr. Storer, and letters from both of them complaining that the work in Madrid was ungenial, and complaining also of the character and standing of various people in the public service. On Sept. 22, 1901, eight days after President McKinley's death, Mrs. Storer wrote me urging that I should appoint Mr. Storer to the cabinet and specifying as a desirable place the war department, of which you were the head, the letter running: 'Please give him either the navy or war.' I pray that Bellamy, who so richly deserves it, shall have a chance for honorable service at home to his country.' When I explained that I did not intend to remove any one or make any changes in the cabinet at the time, she wrote me on Oct. 17, suggesting the embassy at London and Paris as fit places for her husband, and stating that Mr. Choate and Gen. Porter were not proper persons to be ambassadors. In view of the intense indignation of Mr. and Mrs. Storer at his being removed from office now, there is a certain element of the com-

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in their attempt thus to get me to remove either you or Mr. Choate or Mr. Porter for the purpose of giving Mr. Storer either a cabinet position or the embassy at England or France. I received many letters of the general tenor of those mentioned, enumerating their hardships and services and enemies. As Mrs. Storer in her pamphlet quotes a letter of Nov. 24, from me, marked personal, in which I told her wife that she should be made special ambassador at the marriage of the king of Spain, alleging that this was a fresh mark of my approval of his conduct, I may mention that the letter containing this statement on my part was in answer to one from Mrs. Storer in which she begged for the appointment of her husband, her letter running in part as follows:
"Please, please send me to Madrid as special envoy to the wedding. It would be very appropriate, and I should love it."

"It is hard to find the exact words in which to criticize Mr. Storer's effort to twist the meaning of my granting such a request couched in such a style.

"There remains for me to discuss but one matter, and that is Mr. Storer's assertion in his pamphlet, that although in my letters I persistently refused to ask the pope to promote Archbishop Ireland to be cardinal, I nevertheless gave him a verbal message commissioning him to make the request on my behalf of the pope. Mr. Storer also asserts that President McKinley took a similar course, commissioning a gentleman whom he named, to ask the appointment of Archbishop Ireland, as cardinal, as a personal favor to him, the president, and as 'an honor to the country.' This is the direct contrary of what President McKinley said and was his attitude in the matter, and Mr. Cortelyou, who was then his private secretary, writes in his pamphlet:

MR. CORTELYOU'S LETTER.

"Office of the Postmaster General, Washington, D. C., Dec. 1, 1906.

"My Dear Mr. President—In the pamphlet letter of Bellamy Storer to the president and the members of his cabinet, November, 1906, are several statements referring to the late President McKinley, among them the following:

"President McKinley heartily furthered the efforts made by Mr. Roosevelt, myself and others to promote the appointment of Archbishop Ireland as cardinal, and in the spring of 1904 he commissioned Bishop O'Gorman to say to the pope that that appointment would be considered a personal favor to him, the president, as well as an honor to the country. And since the bishop did, speaking in the president's name, in a personal audience with the pope, 'This statement of Mr. Storer distorts what was evidently an expression of deep personal respect and regard for an individual, into what is in substance

a request for his advancement as a member of an ecclesiastical organization. The late president never made such a request nor furthered the efforts of anyone to bring about such an appointment, nor could he permit any official of his administration to do this, and he made no compromise with his convictions on the subject.

"Speaking from personal knowledge of President McKinley's attitude concerning Archbishop Ireland, I wish to say that he had the highest regard for the archbishop and believed that, with respect to his church, he was in full sympathy with American ideals, and that because of this he was able to render immeasurable service both to his church and to his country.

"Bishop O'Gorman made any such representation as that alluded to by Mrs. Storer, he did so under an absolute misapprehension. I have repeatedly heard President McKinley state that in all such matters he could not divorce himself from his position as president, and that he would not under any circumstances interfere or attempt to interfere with the action of any religious organization here or abroad, looking to the preference of any of its members.

"In following this course he was true to fundamental principles of the American government, as you have been.

"What I have said regarding the particular quotation above referred to applies to any other similar reference to the late president in this pamphlet.

"Very sincerely yours,
"GEORGE H. CORTELYOU."

STORER'S ASSERTION UNTRUE.

"As for Mr. Storer's assertion that I authorized him to make such a statement as he says he was authorized to make to the pope, it is untrue. I gave him no such authorization. Mr. Storer proceeds to say that he at once wrote me a letter giving a full account of his visit to the Vatican, and of the message he personally gave the pope. A correct record of the files of my office fails to show any such letter from him, and neither I nor my secretary, Mr. Lusk, who receives and examines all my correspondence, have any remembrance of ever receiving such a letter; and had it been received we could not fail to remember it. I never received from him any letter giving any such account of his visit to the Vatican and his conversation with the pope as he now says he sent me; and this is evident from the letters which he gives as written by me to him on Dec. 27 and Dec. 30, in which as you will see, I speak specifically of the fact that I did not know whether or not he had even called at the Vatican and that he might merely have seen some cardinal privately; a statement wholly incompatible with my

(Continued on page eight.)

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