

The Red Fox Runs Straight

By ROBERT LATANE MONTAGUE III*

WHEN Robert Latane Montague moved his wife, Cordelia Gay Eubank, from their home at Inglewood on the Rappahannock River in Middlesex County in 1862, after Federal gunboats had scored a direct hit on their well house, he had no realization of the abject poverty to which he would be reduced at the close of that internecine struggle. Up to that time he had, in keeping with the traditions of a family which had been prominent among the earliest settlers of Virginia, served the people with distinction in several public offices. The most notable of these achievements included a term as Lieutenant Governor of Virginia with Governor Letcher and Attorney General Harry Saint George Tucker, and later service as the presiding officer of the Virginia Secession Convention. He was one of five men appointed to the executive and advisory council to the Governor with power to organize the army, make appointments, and carry out other necessary functions.¹ Subsequently he was elected a member of the Confederate Congress.

It was during the temporary settlement of the family in Campbell County at the home of Judge Charles Lynch that Judge Montague's second son was born on October 3, 1862.² The boy was named after his father's youngest brother, Andrew Jackson Montague, a cadet at the Virginia Military Institute who had been killed in the fighting around Richmond at Malvern Hill.³

At the conclusion of the war, the family returned to their home in Middlesex to a condition of poverty which was a common affliction in those trying days of reconstruction. As a circuit judge, his father had the utmost difficulty in securing funds for the education of his three sons and the care of an invalid wife.

Andrew Jackson Montague received his early education from three principal sources. He began his schooling at the Middlesex Academy, continuing it at the local public schools. He was also instructed by a private tutor, Judge Clagget Jones, in company with

*Mr. Montague, a native of Urbana, Virginia, attended Episcopal High School, Alexandria, Virginia, and received his B.A. in history from the University of Virginia in 1956. He was the first prize winner in the undergraduate contest for 1955-56. At present Mr. Montague is serving in the U.S. Navy.

other children of the neighborhood. The relatively isolated location of the family home made it necessary for him to ride long distances to school improperly clad to face the cold. When Jack was but seventeen, his father died leaving no funds for his tutorial services which Jack was to liquidate as soon as he became able to do so.

His higher education was earned, therefore, as a result of his own efforts as a private tutor in the family of John C. Willis in Fredericksburg. He supplemented his earnings with such funds as he was able to borrow. It was in this manner that he worked his way through Richmond College. Despite his rather meager circumstances, he was active in several extracurricular organizations while at the same time maintaining a creditable academic rating. He was a member of a literary society known as the Philogians in which he won a medal for oratory, and in which he exercised his talents as a writer under the Greek pseudonym of Ajax. Aside from this, he was a member of the Beta Theta Pi Social Fraternity. He graduated in the class of 1882.

After teaching for two years, he continued his educational preparation at the University of Virginia law School. Here under the tutelage of the renowned John B. Minor, he completed the course in the brief space of one year and one summer school. While working under such great pressure to get his degree, it is understandable that he found little time for non-academic pursuits during his brief stay at the University. At the completion of his final examination, he was in a state of nervous exhaustion, and he felt that he had failed. Not knowing where to turn for funds with which to continue his studies for another session, he went out behind the Rotunda and with his head buried in his arms, he wept with disappointment. He secretly left the University, to be recalled by a telegram from his friend, Walker Percy, informing him that he was graduating and that he should return to receive his Law Degree, which he did in June 1885.⁴

His formal education came to a successful end at this point, but he was to receive several important academic honors in recognition of his later achievements. He was now about to begin a career as a lawyer in Danville, Virginia, where he settled in October 1885. He chose this city because he did not want to be under the shadow of his father's reputation, wishing to make his own career where he was relatively unknown.

Four years after his settlement here, on December 11, 1889,

he married Elizabeth Lyne Hoskins, daughter of Dr. William Hoskins and Janet Carter Roy, his wife, both of King and Queen County, not far from Jack's old home in Middlesex. The marriage followed a long courtship which is attested to by the tremendous volume of love letters which passed between the devoted pair. All three of their children were born while they lived in Danville.

Jack Montague's early legal career was marked by his brilliance at the bar, his ability as an orator, and his success in several criminal cases which attracted considerable public attention. The trial of Charles Saylor for the slaying of Richard L. Cohen on June 29, 1887, was one such case, known locally as the "Cohen Homicide."⁵ In addition to his professional activities he was also active in the Baptist Church and very popular socially. However, up to 1893, his activities and attributes had not brought him a great deal of remuneration, and he was eager to be appointed United States Attorney for the Western District of Virginia for the salary as well as the legal experience.

He had participated actively in politics since his twentieth year, and in 1892 he was serving as a member of the State Democratic Executive Committee. He had become acquainted with President Grover Cleveland, and his appointment came as a natural selection for a man who expressed a strong preference for young Democrats. His strongest opponent for the position had been Captain John P. Opie of Staunton,⁶ who as we shall see was not to be the only Captain to fall in face of Montague opposition. This appointment was but the first step which would eventually lead him to a long line of public positions.

The people of Virginia first laid claim upon his services when in 1898 he became Attorney General of Virginia, elected to serve during the term of Governor J. Hoge Tyler. A few years previously considerable excitement had been generated over the operations of the "machine" in Virginia politics, especially with the defeat of Fitz Lee by the relatively unknown Thomas Staples Martin of Albemarle. Anti-machine sentiment coupled with a growing wave of progressivism combine to create a situation which offered a most auspicious opportunity for independent progressive Democrats of which Jack Montague was one of the outstanding leaders.

Thus it was that in 1901, the "Red Fox of Middlesex" stepped forward to take advantage of a "heritage of political animosity"⁷ and a tide of progressive sentiment, culminating in the Constitutional Convention of 1902, to run for Governor in one of the

bitterest intra-party contests in the history of the Democratic Party in Virginia. In a campaign in which his own personal popularity as Attorney General and member of the State Board of Education were key factors, Montague maintained a steady attack on the "machine" and Claude Swanson's connection with it. His victory marked the high tide of independent progressivism in Virginia, although at this moment of achievement, their prospects never looked brighter.⁸

Montague's term as Governor brought to fruition a number of important goals for which he had been striving, among them being the Constitution of Virginia of 1902, to which he gave careful study and numerous alterations.⁹ He laid the groundwork for an improved system of public highways which was to be developed under later administrations, and he took an especial interest in public educational developments. His idea of having a system of large centrally located schools served by school buses was but one reason for the fact that he was called the educational Governor.

His political career reached its climax, although by no means its end, in the Senatorial contest on 1905. This became an all out struggle between Senator Martin and Governor Montague for control of Virginia politics on both the local level and in national representation. The campaign was basically an attack by Montague on Martin as the inefficient tool of the corporations and as the representative of the "machine", while Martin in his turn attempted with varying degrees of success to refute the charges. The oratorical high point of the contest was reached at a debate between Martin and Montague at King George Courthouse on July 6, 1905. At this time Martin countered Montague's charges against him with one of his own concerning corruption in Richmond which he alleged existed in the Educational Bureau. Although Montague's reply cleared up this charge, the press came away from the debate with the idea that he had been bested by Martin; that Martin, presumably the inferior debater and orator had somehow gotten closer to the people on this occasion. This debate became the turning point of the campaign,¹⁰ but as far as the people of King George were concerned, if their vote is to be taken as any indication of their feelings on the matter, Montague won that debate, and prevailing opinion that it was a Martin victory was augmented chiefly by the unfair and partial treatment Montague received from the press at this time and throughout the campaign.

Nevertheless, the campaign and Montague's subsequent defeat by a margin of 10,384 votes¹¹ did mark a turning point in the rise

of the reform movement and progressivism in Virginia. It may perhaps have stifled a budding revival of leadership in Virginia of a caliber that has given her such a sterling reputation in the past. This is a matter of conjecture perhaps, but there were many who thought of Jack Montague in that light. In so far as his personal political fortunes were concerned, it is certainly true that this defeat brought to a halt his rise into the arena of national leaders. In effect, the "machine" succeeded in relegating him to a position of non-activity in which they hoped he would remain, although, as we shall see presently this was not to be the case.

Following the expiration of his term as chief executive of Virginia in 1906, Governor and Mrs. Montague traveled to Rio de Janeiro where Governor Montague was a delegate to the third Conference of the American Republics. Upon his return from this mission, his services were sought by his alma mater, Richmond College, where he became Dean of the Law School, serving that institution with distinction for three years.¹²

In 1909, he determined once again to engage in private law practice, and at this time he opened his office at the Mutual Building in partnership with his brother, Robert Lynch Montague. It is in this position that we find Jack Montague when he once again determined to enter politics in 1912.

During the latter part of 1911, the forces which were to bring about the nomination of Woodrow Wilson for President of the United States were beginning to develop their strength, and in Virginia, one of perhaps three and certainly no more than five of the original leaders in the prenomination fight was Montague.¹³ The essential reasons behind Montague's backing of Wilson were founded on his basic conception of the New Jersey Governor as an anti-machine man. Aside from this he regarded Wilson as the hope of the Party's future, "a man of democratic temperament", open minded and unafraid of change.¹⁴

As early as September, 1911, in a letter to William E. Dodd, a history professor at the University of Chicago, he expressed a preference for Wilson while fearing that the "machine" in Virginia might fight his nomination. At the same time he also considered the possibility of a split in the Republican Party.¹⁵ On October 4, 1911, he communicated with William A. Jones urging him to start organizing his friends in the First District, and he received a favorable reply from this quarter.¹⁶ A couple of months later, he corresponded with W. F. McCombs, later to become Wilson's campaign manager, to whom he wrote on December 11th expressing a

fear, which the facts were subsequently to reveal as true, that the "machine" was already working quietly against Wilson while his friends were as yet unorganized.¹⁷

He had previously written Wilson personally along these same lines on several occasions, and there is reason to believe that his efforts were being greatly appreciated. On December 23rd we find him working to organize Wilson support among the faculty at the University of Virginia, hoping to be able to utilize their influence in order to gain the favor of John Stewart Bryan of the *Richmond Times Dispatch*. On that date he wrote to professor R. H. Dabney urging him to try to enlist the aid of the non-committal Edwin A. Alderman, President of the University. He was uncertain as to the position of the diplomatic Alderman, but felt that if he could be persuaded to committ himself on behalf of Wilson, it would be an important gain for the Wilson forces.

Writing again to William E. Dodd, he expressed his favorable attitude toward Wilson as "the ablest and best adapted to the conditions of the times". He regarded the political situation as a suitable one from which Wilson might come forward successfully in early January of 1912.¹⁸ The following month, when Wilson paid a visit to Richmond, Montague was most instrumental in preparing for his reception, and throughout this period he was in frequent communication with Wilson and McCombs rendering them such valuable services as he was in a position to.

By July 3, 1912, he was able to write to McCombs expressing his gratification over Wilson's nomination. "The conscience of Democracy was expressed in Baltimore yesterday, and out of it has arisen a mighty figure who with the cooperation of yourself and other unselfish patriots may bring to our party an opportunity for unexampled public service and official purification." He felt that if Mr. Wilson were to continue working for the Union in his new capacity as he had for New Jersey in the past, his nomination would be "a godsend to the country".¹⁹

Montague's support of Wilson throughout his prenomination fight may have been one of the important factors in leading to his decision to reenter politics in the race for the seat of the Third Congressional District. Certainly it strengthened his position in the public eye when he did decide to commence his campaign. However, during the latter part of 1911 and early 1912, Montague was definitely uncertain as to what his course might be, even though the idea was being strongly suggested to him as early as the end of December 1911. Perhaps he may have been hopeful of obtain-

ing a higher office than the somewhat precarious position of a seat in Congress.

There were several indications that this might be the case. James Brown Scott of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, of which Montague was a member, advised him to consider the advantages of national politics, those of Congress being incommensurate with its annoyances and grievances.²⁰ He received numerous letters indicating that there was a strong possibility that he might receive a post in Wilson's Cabinet although the majority of these came after his election to Congress. The *Richmond Times Dispatch* even ventured the suggestion that he might be presidential timber,²¹ and that certainly he was one of the foremost personalities in America.

Nevertheless, when Colonel John S. Harwood withdraw from the race on April 5, 1912 because of illness, Montague, who had supported this candidate up to now, threw his hat into the ring.²² This was the event which precipitated his actual entry, but he would not have done so if he had not received ample evidence that there would be sufficient support to make the race worth his while. For example, a letter from B. P. Muse of March 17th advised him that if he ran he would receive practically the entire trade and labor vote;²³ and the Farmers' Union which came out openly against Captain John Lamb, the incumbent Congressman, on April 15, was also interested in hearing his views with a mind toward offering him its support if they were favorable.²⁴ In addition to this, many of his friends had been urging him to reenter political life ever since the previous Congressional election which had elected Captain Lamb for the eighth consecutive time. Notable among them was William E. Dodd who wrote Montague on April 16th expressing his bitterness over machine control in American politics and commented hopefully that many might soon meet their Waterloo. He felt that Montague's defeat of Lamb would be an augury of better days in Virginia politics and characterized Lamb as "one who is and always has been unworthy to represent Virginia anywhere or on any great occasion." He ascribed his long tenure to his willingness to take orders on all important matters.²⁵

In describing the "machine" in Virginia he perhaps put his finger on the point which persuaded Montague to enter politics once again when he said; "There has never been a meaner set of office mongers and petit thieves. Perhaps the best way to redeem Virginia is to take the state district by district."²⁶ (In conjunction

with Jones). Thus it became Montague versus Lamb in what was hoped would be an especially interesting Congressional campaign.

The move by Montague, his first political one since his retirement from the governorship in 1906, came as a surprise to many, but E. P. Nicholson, a member of the faculty at Randolph Macon College in Ashland, expressed a sentiment which was shared by many others when he wrote Montague on April 18 that "Virginia needs men to represent her in public life who are able and statesmanlike".²⁷ In fact one of the chief issues of the campaign was to be which candidate was of best present fitness and ability to represent the Third District.

The Third District at this time was by far the most important district in the state, comprising as it did the cities of Richmond and Williamsburg, and the counties of New Kent, King William, James City, Henrico, Hanover, Goochland, Chesterfield, and Charles City. As a result of its strategic position in state politics, the election of its Congressman, particularly in the ensuing campaign attracted the attention of people all over the state.

The law office of Montague and Montague on the sixth floor of the Mutual Building in Richmond soon was transformed into the center of a beehive of political activity which first began to show when on May 3, the Montague Club was organized with H. R. Pollard as its president and membership open to all voters favoring Montague. On this same date Montague fulfilled the preliminary conditions by paying his primary entrance fee. These events were the climax of a month's quiet, behind the scenes maneuvering during which a thorough canvass was made. Up to this time Montague's chief source of strength seemed to be in the metropolitan area of Richmond while Lamb claimed to have a strong hold on the votes in the eight surrounding counties.

Captain John Lamb had been a Representative for sixteen consecutive years and during that period had been opposed unsuccessfully on but two occasions. His reputation as a Congressman was on the whole unblemished, with a few exceptions which he publicly admitted himself, and with his chief distinguishing factor being that he was the last Confederate veteran still serving in Congress. His most recent opposition had been two years previously when he had defeated a prominent Richmond business man by the name of Wickham. Now he was once again being put to the test, and this time by a really formidable opponent.

Confident of victory from the outset of the campaign, he

went about organizing his forces and by May 15th had succeeded in establishing the Lamb Club with Henry Woods as president and a membership of 976 at its inception.²⁹ He laid the basis of his campaign strategy on a comparison of his own years of faithful service with Montague's gift of oratory. On June 20th, while visiting some of his constituents in Chesterfield County, he still had no apprehension that he would not be renominated. The campaign had not as yet really gotten under way and it would be a bit too early to venture a prediction.

Montague stressed his position as a progressive and as one of the original Wilson supporters from the outset of the campaign. Furthermore, in the major portion of his campaign oratory he devoted his time to a discussion of the issues facing the Democratic Party in general rather than those of his own campaign. In a speech before the Lee Ward Democratic Club on July 13, he said he was not opposing Lamb or any other individual, but that he was an aspirant for an office that became legally vacant at the end of the incumbent's term.³⁰ This was among the first of a long series of public addresses to be made by both candidates during the last month of the campaign.

Speaking at Chimborazo on July 17th, Montague noted that he would have supported Harwood if he had run instead of Lamb as he had on former occasions. He cited his experience as Governor as ample background in legislative matters, which indeed it was. In attempting to keep the campaign above the personal level, he spoke at length on the leading questions of the day, among them being the direct election of Senators which he favored.³¹

On July 19th, Lamb made his second speech of the campaign when he addressed the South Richmond Democratic Club emphasizing the point that Montague was a man seeking to reenter public life, and that this was the only reason that he desired the change.³²

Many of the campaign rallies of both factions were highlighted by the presence of a brass band to add to the general excitement of the occasion. Such was the situation when Montague spoke to the same South Richmond Democratic Club the following night. It was such extravagances as these which elicited letters from Montague like the one he wrote to J. C. Byron, a delinquent client, informing the latter of his recent candidacy for Congress. His resultant financial necessity forced him to ask for remittances from his clients in order to help defray the expenses involved.³³ How-

ever, financial matters, which were always a source of concern to him, were not to absorb his whole attention by any means.

He was before the people again on the 23rd, being introduced on this occasion as a possible future Presidential candidate by Mayor E. E. McClure at Highland Park. He expressed his growing confidence in the ability of the people to govern themselves.³⁴ Speaking on the same platform with Lamb to the Italian Club on the 25th of July, he received far greater applause although Lamb was warmly received also. Lamb reiterated his charge of the 19th and offered his record as his "piece de resistance". Montague countered by saying that he was there to offer himself for an office to which Lamb had no vested Constitutional right. Speaking of Wilson, he said, he felt that the best interests of the country would be served if he were accompanied into office by a similarly progressive Congress. He concluded as the occasion demanded with a brief tribute to the great Italian contributions to American development.³⁵

Lamb fired a heavy barrage on July 26th characterizing Montague's plans for reform (of which more will be said later) as "Bosh", and continuing with a citation of his own achievements in obtaining money for the district.³⁶ On July 30th, at a meeting of the Henry Clay Club, he defended his own record with apologies for his past mistakes, particularly with regard to his vote on the lumber tariff where he failed in getting his objective of a \$1.00 tariff by \$.25. He concluded with a boast that when the votes were counted, his opponent would find that he had been running against him after all.³⁷

Montague delivered the key address of his entire campaign the following night at a mass meeting. In this speech his hearers recognized a clear expression of the unrest and desire of the people to get closer to the reins of government which was the significant political trend of the day. He announced that he favored a proposal allowing Cabinet members to sit in on Congressional discussions, holding it not unconstitutional according to the opinions of Justice Story and others. He advocated extending direct election procedures beyond the Congressional level, favored making the proceedings of Congressional Committees public, and came out for the use of the recall except as applied to judges. He concluded the speech, which had been progressive in tone throughout, with a reaffirmation of praise for Wilson and a sarcastic refutation of Lamb's

charge of inexperience in Congress to the great amusement of the crowd.³⁸

The close alliance of the principles favored by both Montague and Wilson was brought out clearly in a letter from C. C. Burlingham in which this gentleman expressed his approval of both of these candidates in the same breath and his delight that Montague was reentering politics.³⁹

Burlingham's letter arrived just at the height of the campaign when both sides were vigorously continuing along their previously established lines of attack. Montague's Auditorium speech of the 31st was regarded as a great success, and as its effect died down Montague continued his campaign in King William, having now reached a large percentage of the voters in Richmond. At a meeting at Cary and Rowland Streets on August 3rd he spoke of the peril to the country if Lamb should get all of the experience. He concluded with a story which he told on himself, a facet of his speaking for which many remember him. "While speaking in Franklin County, he noticed that all of his hearers had on bandanna handkerchiefs. Taking out his white handkerchief to mop his brow, somebody asked him, 'Where is your bandanna handkerchief?' 'For a moment they had me,' said Governor Wontague, 'until I replied, look at my head. I am the original bandanna in this community'."⁴⁰

Montague continued active campaigning with speeches at Hanover, Barton Heights, Fulton, and Swansboro. Lamb meanwhile was detained in Washington with Congressional duties, but he planned a large public meeting before the close of the campaign.

The Richmond *Times Dispatch* described the primary campaign as conducted through August 5th as dignified and un-spectacular with little bitter feeling developed by personal attacks. Montague's has been the more active, and predictions favored Montague by a sizable majority in Richmond where the vote was scheduled for August 15th.⁴¹

On August 6th, Montague, once again accompanied by the Blues Band, spoke at Barton Heights to a crowd five times larger than one which had heard Lamb on the same spot. He commented that certainly his party loyalty could not be questioned because of his service at the Pan-American Congress at Rio de Janeiro and the International Congress on Maritime Law at Brussels merely because he had been appointed to these offices by Republican Presidents Roosevelt and Taft respectively.⁴²

At Swansboro, a crowd of 600 greeted him with a "storm of handclapping" when he was introduced by Judge James M. Gregory as the coming man in Virginia. Here he reiterated his consistent attitude toward his opponent saying "no unkind thing has been done nor unkind word said, because no unkind thoughts have entered my head".⁴³

The principle Lamb meeting of the campaign was planned for August 12th at Mechanics Institute as the climax of a week of speech making. The discouraging attendance which Lamb received was especially in evidence when at Ashland he hinted to a crowd of thirty-seven that Montague had flirted with the Republican Party.⁴⁴ When Lamb's big night arrived, both candidates were confident of victory by large majorities, and someone was due for a shock. While Montague was delivering an address at Ashland, Lamb spoke to the big meeting of the John Lamb Club presided over by Hill Montague who claimed a membership of 3500 for the club. In his speech Lamb discounted Montague's eloquence, stressed the value of experience, and came out diametrically opposed to the reforms proposed by Montague.⁴⁵

The campaign drew to a close with a few minor speeches, some frenzied last minute activity, and two exhausted candidates, each of whom claimed a 1500 vote majority by election eve.

On election Day the polls opened at 5:27 A.M., and by the time they closed at 7:03 P.M., an unusually large turnout of 10,103 votes had been recorded. When the City Democratic Committee met at the University College of Medicine to receive the returns from the Richmond precincts carried there by the judges of election, there was already no doubt as to the outcome of the election. Almost as soon as the balloting began, it was evident that Montague would win, as he took an early lead over his opponent. Carrying Richmond by a large majority of 3918 to 2678 and losing to his opponent in only two precincts, Montague continued his sweep to victory in the rural areas where he carried four of the eight counties at stake.⁴⁶

Lamb conceded and retired to private life after sixteen years in the Halls of Congress, and with this brought to a close a contest, which though not spectacular in itself, marked an important turning point in Virginia politics. Montague received an ovation from his enthusiastic supporters and in a statement said that he had no feeling of exultation or pride, but a profound appreciation of

responsibility, and that he only regretted he had occasioned disappointment to some of his fellow citizens.⁴⁷

Aside from the considerable interest which Montague succeeded in arousing as evidenced by the large turnout of voters, the results of the election were of deeper significance. The Red Fox, recalling the time when he had first been called by that appellation, remembered how his father had said to him, "My son, never forget that a Red Fox runs straight".⁴⁸ Perhaps it was in thinking of the Red Fox in this connotation that led the people to return him to public life. Whatever their motivations, the contest marked a victory for Montague over the "machine" which, although not brought out very clearly in the newspaper accounts of the day, was blatantly shown in a number of letters such as one from Crandall Mackey, a Washington attorney, who wrote expressing his elation over Montague's "great victory over the 'machine' that hurts as you have always been pursued by the 'machine' with uncommon bitterness",⁴⁹ and in another to Edwin E. Smith, wherein he stated that the "machine" was constantly seeking to thwart him. He wondered how he would ever be able to accomplish much in Congress as a result. During the campaign the "machine" had expended much money and effort to beat him, which in turn made victory all the more gratifying.⁵⁰ Thus the "machine", which might otherwise have succeeded in shelving Montague politically for the rest of his career, was thwarted, as William McDonald, Professor of American History at Brown University wrote in November, expressing his thankfulness over its failure.⁵¹

The more obvious significance of the results of the election was, as the *Richmond Times Dispatch* so aptly stated in its editorial column of August 16th, that "in Andrew Jackson Montague the people chose one who embodied the best traditions of Virginia's public men and who will in the new order of things about to dawn contribute no uncommon share to the restoration of the Old Dominion to primacy in national life."⁵² His selection was evidence of a desire on the part of the people of Virginia to be represented by the highest type of public man, and it was symptomatic of the awakening of the people to their duty in a critical epoch.

His choice was heartening to progressive elements, for Montague had without doubt been one of their champions in Virginia, whereas the choice of Lamb would have represented a victory for reactionism, comparatively speaking. The time was now indeed ripe for men such as Montague to represent the nation in the Halls

of the United States House of Representatives, and Woodrow Wilson wrote him on November, 15, 1912," [I] shall certainly go into office supported by friends I am proud to have".⁵⁴

It is not the purpose of this paper to trace in detail the every action of Congressman Montague upon his election to the House of Representatives in 1912 up to the time of his death on January 24, 1937, but in order that a clearer picture of him as a progressive legislator and statesman may be given, it seems appropriate to examine the positions which he took on several important issues of the days during which he served.

Among the first issues to confront him when he assumed his seat in 1913 was that of the tariff. He spoke in favor of the pending Underwood-Simmons Tariff Bill on September 30, 1913, encouraging its passage as a tariff designed to bring the greatest benefit to the largest number of people, rather than being the instrument of the special interests as the previous Payne-Aldrich Tariff had been. He definitely regarded a reduced tariff as the best measure for the welfare of the mass of the people whose spokesman he seems to have been on this occasion. Aside from this, he also exhibited a clear understanding of the economics involved and the political forces utilized in bringing about its passage.⁵⁵

In his consideration of the role of the President at the Peace Conference, Montague discussed point by point the objections raised by the President's opponents concerning his authority, the expediency of his mission, the composition of the commission, his purposes, and the matter of a League of Nations, and he delivered a logically phrased and cogent answer to each of their charges. In so doing, and in his stirring appeal for favorable action on the proposed League of Nations, which he regarded as essential for the maintenance of the fabric and foundation of our political institutions and our civilization, he placed himself among the staunch supporters of the President and the League in one of the most important controversies of the century.⁵⁶

A little more than eleven years after his entry into Congress, Montague spoke out concerning the proposed Child Labor Constitutional Amendment. Although he favored the regulation of child labor, he was vehemently opposed to its passage because he regarded it as a distinct infringement of states rights by the Federal Government if it should be granted the additional power suggested by the amendment. He felt that this would be but the first step in the usurpation of state powers by the Federal Government, and

that the states were fully able to handle the child labor problem without Federal interference as shown by the advancements which had been made during the previous decade.⁵⁷

His attitude toward the settlement of war debts was made apparent in a speech delivered in January 1926. He pleaded for fairness and humanity toward the debtor nations, in this case Italy, because he felt that leniency would best favor the interests of the United States as well as conform to the ability of the country to pay. He pointed out that the long term arrangement for debt settlement based on ability to pay would at least yield partial payment, whereas a less considerable plan might produce nothing in return but a bankrupt Italy, which would be unable to serve as a valuable market for the expanding export trade of the United States.⁵⁸

In addition to expressing his opinions on many of the important questions of the period, which no doubt were influential factors in Congressional deliberations if the esteem in which he was generally held by other members of that body is any indication of the weight accorded his opinions, he was also active as a drafter and amender of some of the important bills which were produced by the committees on which he served, the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee and later the Judiciary Committee. While serving as a member of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, he became one of a subcommittee of five which drafted the bill creating the Federal Trade Commission. Notable among the many problems which he handled concerning the First World War was the measure known as the "Trading with the Enemy Act", which he conducted through the House.⁵⁹

His service on the Judiciary Committee, one of the most powerful in the House, while not placing him so much in the public eye, and incidentally depriving him of a committee chairmanship which he might otherwise have obtained had he served on some other committee, nevertheless gave him the opportunity to draft and amend several important acts. He was the author of the "Declaratory Judgement Act", affecting Federal procedure by accomplishing "expedition, simplicity, and economy."⁶⁰ He offered and advocated amendments to give force and practicability to the Kidnapping Law which might otherwise have been powerless.

His attitude toward labor was in most cases fair and just and had earned for him labor's general, although not always unanimous, support. His work for this class was evidenced by his ap-

proval of the Adamson Eight-hour Law and his important contributions to the passage of the Anti-Injunction Bill.⁶¹

Concerning the prohibition issue, his stand was one of frank disapproval. He was in the front rank of those who sought repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment.⁶²

Throughout his term in office, Montague exhibited a generous tendency to self-sacrifice in the public interest. The trend of his legislative action was strongly progressive in his early years becoming slightly less so as he became older. At the time of his reentry into political life in 1912, he was regarded as the natural and indeed almost inevitable leader of the progressive movement in Virginia. Editors lauded him as the symbol of the political reawakening of the people of Virginia and the rest of the South as well. He was to be the long awaited figure who would once again restore Virginia to her position of old as the mother of Presidents.

Andrew Jackson Montague must certainly have been an unusual man in order to overcome the poverty of the reconstruction era and rise to a position of such high esteem in the minds of the people of Virginia as he did. It would be easy enough to enumerate the long list of admirable qualities which he possessed particularly as a result of hereditary factors and partially because of his environment. But such a description would fall short of conveying the overall impression of the man as he was. In all of his relations with the public he had a wonderful ability to inspire confidence, affection, and trust in the minds of people from all walks of life. Apart from this "mass appeal", which is one of the essential characteristics of a great leader, Jack Montague had enormous magnetism, and he seemed to have an ability to sense, (as a leader should), the wishes of his constituents and to carry them out to the greatest possible extent, both as Governor, and later as a Congressman.

His remarkably open minded attitude was clearly indicated in a reply to a letter from Charles C. Burlingham requesting his consideration of, and urging his opposition to, a bill exempting American coastal trade from Panama Canal tolls. He replied, "I may not always agree with you, but I will always be glad to have your advice and suggestions."⁶³

As a leader among other leaders, he was admired and highly regarded for having one of the first intellects of his generation in Virginia, (he was an honorary Phi Beta Kappa of the mother chapter), and his eloquence as an orator was widely recognized, as

attested to by the numerous requests he received to address various educational and political bodies.

From long hours of talking with his children, one could not help but glean at least some idea of his lovable nature, his impeccable manners, his astute attention to matters of dress, (as seen in an amusing cartoon comparing his trousers with those of Grover Cleveland). To a sympathetic spirit and warmth of affection were added all the spiritual qualities of a great nature. His mind, which one compared to a well ordered desk from which one could withdraw from a particular pigeon hole any subject matter he wished, was constantly being trained, for he remained a student to the end. Such bits of information as these can serve as but a meager communication of a thing so nebulous as a man's character, but they must be taken into consideration in order to gain a fuller understanding of his successful career, marred as it was by but one defeat in its entire span.

It was machine opposition that thwarted his higher political ambitions." By every comparative test, his career was one of shining success and of great service to his people," wrote Douglas Freeman at the time of his death.⁶⁴ His memory will be preserved in the history of Virginia as a great leader in the development of our modern centralized public schools, as well as for his principal role as a progressive leader who was too high minded to associate himself with the politicians of the "machine", and who by maintaining his independence of that organization perhaps deprived himself of high honors which he might otherwise have achieved.

1. Montague Scrapbook, Andrew Jackson Montague Papers, 207 Prince Street, Alexandria, Virginia.
2. Family Bible.
3. Montague Papers, 207 Prince Street Alexandria, Virginia.
4. Walker Percy, Telegram to A. J. Montague, June 20, 1885.
5. Montague Scrapbook.
6. Montague Scrapbook.
7. John Ritchie, "The Gubernatorial Campaign in Virginia in 1902", History Term Paper and prize winning essay, University of Virginia, 1954, p. 2. (Now published in *Essays in History*, 1955).
8. Ritchie, "Gubernatorial Campaign," pp. 1-22.
9. Constitution of Virginia, 1902 (Personal copy of A. J. Montague).
10. Dale Thorn, "The Martin-Montague Campaign of 1905", History Term Paper, University of Virginia, 1954, pp. 1-24.
11. Thorn, "The Martin-Montague Campaign of 1905", appendix.
12. *Richmond News Leader*, January 27, 1937.
13. *Richmond Times Dispatch*, July 8, 1912.
14. A. J. Montague, Letter to R. H. Dabney, December 23, 1911.
15. A. J. Montague, Letter to William E. Dodd, September 15, 1911.
16. A. J. Montague, Letter to W. A. Jones, October 4, 1911.
17. A. J. Montague, Letter to W. F. McCombs, December 11, 1911.
18. A. J. Montague, Letter to William E. Dodd, January 8, 1912.
19. A. J. Montague, Letter to W. F. McCombs, July 3, 1912.
20. James Scott, Letter to Montague, January 6, 1912.
21. *Richmond Times Dispatch*, July 23, 1912.
22. *Richmond Times Dispatch*, April 6, 1912.

23. B. P. Muse, Letter to A. J. Montague, March 17, 1912.
24. *Times Dispatch*, April 15, 1912.
25. W. E. Dodd, Letter to A. J. Montague, April 16, 1912.
26. W. E. Dodd, Letter to A. J. Montague, April 16, 1912.
27. E. P. Nicholson, Letter to A. J. Montague, April 18, 1912.
28. *Times Dispatch*, May 3, 1912.
29. *Times Dispatch*, May 14, 1912.
30. *Times Dispatch*, July 13, 1912.
31. *Times Dispatch*, July 17, 1912.
32. *Times Dispatch*, July 19, 1912.
33. A. J. Montague, Letter to J. C. Byron, July 1, 1912.
34. *Times Dispatch*, July 23, 1912.
35. *Times Dispatch*, July 25, 1912.
36. *Times Dispatch*, July 26, 1912.
37. *Times Dispatch*, July 30, 1912.
38. *Times Dispatch*, July 31, 1912.
39. C. C. Burlingham, Letter to A. J. Montague, July 29, 1912.
40. *Times Dispatch*, August 3, 1912.
41. *Times Dispatch*, August 5, 1912.
42. *Times Dispatch*, August 6, 1912.
43. *Times Dispatch*, August 8, 1912.
44. *Times Dispatch*, August 11, 1912.
45. *Times Dispatch*, August 13, 1912.
46. *Times Dispatch*, August 16, 1912.
47. *Times Dispatch*, August 16, 1912.
48. *Times Dispatch*, August 16, 1912.
49. C. Mackey, Letter to A. J. Montague, August 19, 1912.
50. W. McDonald, Letter to A. J. Montague.
51. W. McDonald, Letter to A. J. Montague, November 30, 1912.
52. *Times Dispatch*, August 16, 1912.
53. W. H. Landes, Letter to A. J. Montague, October 31, 1912.
54. Woodrow Wilson, Letter to A. J. Montague, November 15, 1912.
55. A. J. Montague, "Speech on the Tariff Bill," *Congressional Record*, September 30, 1913.
56. A. J. Montague, "Speech on the President and the Peace Conference", *Congressional Record*, January 14, 1919.
57. A. J. Montague, "Speech on the Child Labor Constitutional Amendment", *Congressional Record*, April 26, 1924.
58. A. J. Montague, "Speech on the Italian Debt Settlement", *Congressional Record*, January 13, 1926.
59. A. J. Montague, Radio Address during Congressional Campaign of 1936, Montague Papers.
60. A. J. Montague, Campaign Address, 1936.
61. A. J. Montague, Campaign Address, 1936.
62. *Roanoke Times*, January 25, 1937.
63. A. J. Montague, Letter to C. C. Burlingham, December 21, 1912.
64. *Richmond News Letter*, January 25, 1937.