WOODROW WILSON

Reform Governor

THE NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SERIES

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The New Jersey Historical Series

Supplementary Volume

WOODROW WILSON

Reform Governor

A DOCUMENTARY NARRATIVE

DAVID W. HIRST

1965

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For Barbara

FOREWORD

Many tracks will be left by the New Jersey Tercentenary celebration, but few will be larger than those made by the New Jersey Historical Series. The Series is a monumental publishing project—the product of a remarkable collaborative effort between public and private enterprise.

New Jersey has needed a series of books about itself. The 300th anniversary of the State is a fitting time to publish such a series. It is to the credit of the State's Tercentenary Commission that this series has been created.

In an enterprise of such scope, there must be many contributors. Each of these must give considerably of himself if the enterprise is to succeed. The New Jersey Historical Series, the most ambitious publishing venture ever undertaken about a state, was conceived by a committee of Jerseymen—Julian P. Boyd, Wesley Frank Craven, John T. Cunningham, David S. Davies, and Richard P. McCormick. Not only did these men outline the need for such an historic venture; they also aided in the selection of the editors of the series.

Both jobs were well done. The volumes speak for themselves. The devoted and scholarly services of Richard M. Huber and Wheaton J. Lane, the editors, are a part of every book in the series. The editors have been aided in their work by two fine assistants, Elizabeth Jackson Holland and Bertha DeGraw Miller.

To D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc. my special thanks

for recognizing New Jersey's need and for bringing their skills and publishing wisdom to bear upon the printing and distributing of the New Jersey Historical Series.

My final and most heartfelt thanks must go to David H. Hirst, who accepted my invitation to write *Woodrow Wilson, Reform Governor,* doing so at great personal sacrifice and without thought of material gain. We are richer by his scholarship. We welcome this important contribution to an understanding of our State.

RICHARD J. HUGHES
Governor of the
State of New Jersey

January, 1965

PREFACE

This is the story of Woodrow Wilson's first political triumph. The outlines of his campaign for Governor of New Jersey and of his service in that office are well-known. And yet since the unfolding of the events themselves, no one has let Wilson tell the story in his own words. That is the intent of this volume.

When Wilson announced, in July 1910, that he was available for the gubernatorial nomination, he turned from the career he had followed for more than twenty-five years, that of writer, lecturer, university professor and president, and struck out in a new direction. He had excelled at every level in the academic world, but there were some who thought he had not given evidence that he could transfer those skills to the hurly-burly world of politics. How quickly he proved them wrong! Less than three years after he had taken his first tentative step down the campaign trail, he was in the White House.

Wilson's political career in New Jersey was of brief duration, but it was an unusually exciting and important period for the people of the State as well as Wilson. I have tried to recapture the excitement, flavor and significance of these events by casting this narrative as a documentary. The story moves swiftly; the documents set in context provide their own momemtum. Through them we see Wilson gradually emerge in a new role as he seeks and assumes political leadership and begins to

recast and formulate his political beliefs. In editing the materials, I have sought to keep the focus on Wilson and New Jersey. Thus I have touched his earlier career only lightly and have referred to his campaign for the presidency in 1912 only where it intruded upon Jersey affairs. Editorial comment has been kept to a minimum. I have supplied background information, transitions, and occasional analysis. The documents have been arranged with a view toward moving the story forward as much as possible in the words of Wilson himself; in the end he does it best of all.

Some of the materials presented here have been summarized by historians and biographers but they never before have been brought together. What Wilson said to the people of New Jersey during the campaign and governship, has remained scattered among contemporary sources—mainly newspapers. From these sources I have selected speeches, press statements, interviews, contemporary accounts, and letters from various manuscript collections and arranged the whole in general chronological order. Every phase of Wilson's service to New Jersey is represented. This is not, however, a complete documentary record of Wilson as campaigner and Governor, such a one would fill several volumes, for in these two and one half years Wilson went to the people, in one way or another, hundreds of times.

His performance by any standards was remarkable. Moving from the campus to the market place with hardly a pause, he plunged immediately into an extended and vigorous discussion on the practical problems of government with Jerseymen from every walk of life. He seemed instinctively to know how best to communicate with each audience, whatever its complexion. In this sense, his shift of careers was not as great as it appeared, for no one has given a better illustration of how valuable to a political leader can be years of ex-

perience behind the lectern. On occasion he could be slashing, scornful and contemptuous of his opponents but in general his messages sought to inform. The long training in the classroom comes through repeatedly; he never really stopped being the teacher. He became in effect educator at large to the people of New Jersey. In a few years he was to perform the same service to the people of the United States.

My position on the editorial staff of the Papers of Woodrow Wilson gave me access to the large number of photoprints of New Jersey newspapers containing Wilson materials which the project is recovering—a task begun with skill and diligence by a former staff associate, Charles Madison Bacon. Without these in hand, this work would have been immeasurably more tedious and lengthy.

To several friends and colleagues I am grateful for that ever self-sacrificing service, the critical reading of the manuscript. Among these were Mr. Bernard Bush of the New Jersey State Library and Archives, Professor William H. Harbaugh of Bucknell University, and Professor Richard Lowitt of Connecticut College for Women.

From Miss Katherine E. Brand, former Head, Recent Manuscript Section, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress and Professor William B. Catton of Middlebury College, I have received not only discerning suggestions in regard to the manuscript, but also many years of the friendship and encouragement that make all endeavors seem more worthwhile.

I am indebted to my colleague on the Papers of Woodrow Wilson, Professor Arthur S. Link, who urged me to undertake this work and who criticised the manuscript. His friendship through the years has been a constant inspiration as his intensive studies in the Wilson era have been constant guides. Dr. John Wells Davidson,

also my colleague on the Wilson project, frequently and generously gave wise counsel from his deep store of editorial experience with Wilson materials. The Editors of the New Jersey Historical Series, Richard M. Huber and Wheaton J. Lane, provided the perfect blend of patience and advice that in the end made it all feasible. My wife, Barbara Kortum Hirst, typed the manuscript from often indistinct xerox prints and photostats, shared in the arrangement of materials and in the proof-reading, and most of all, provided an endless supply of encouragement and understanding. The dedication is only a token payment on an accumulated indebtedness I can never acknowledge adequately.

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PROLOGUE

WOODROW WILSON, even in youth, displayed a strong streak of the reformer's zeal. From the first he seemed to possess a lively, almost restless desire to rearrange and, if need be, reconstruct the established order of things in an effort to provide orderly channels for the forward movement of human affairs.

His interest in making and revising constitutions was one mark of this zeal; another was his penchant for critical analysis of human institutions. The teenager in Georgia carefully drew up a kind of constitution for the neighborhood secret society, The Lightfoot Club; the sophomore at Princeton wrote the constitution of the Liberal Debating Club, which he had been largely responsible for organizing; the student lawyer in his first act as President of the Jefferson Literary Society in the University of Virginia called for a thorough revision of the group's constitution. The fledgling attorney, an ardent spokesman for the New South, took time out in Atlanta from study and reading—his "practice" permitted much of this—to advocate, at a hearing of the United States Tariff Commission, complete repeal of all protective laws; soon after, he organized the Atlanta branch of the Free Trade Club of New York. The young political scientist in early articles and his first book, *Congressional Government*, presented a timely, pragmatic analysis of the American system of government suggesting that it might function better if power and responsibility were centralized in a cabinet system rather than diffused and fragmented, as it was then, among a large number of congressional committees. The President of Princeton University reorganized the curricu-

lum, introduced a new method of undergraduate instruction, and sought to reorganize the social life of the students. A few years later the Governor of New Jersey in a final message urged the Legislature to call a special convention in order to bring the State constitution into line with the people's needs and rights. And an ill and tired President of the United States ended his career with a valiant, if vain, struggle for a constitution of the world as embodied in the Covenant of the League of Nations.

But the drafting of constitutions and the exercise of critical acumen in public affairs were not all, nor were they enough. The real service of this reformer came from his willingness to engage in battles on practical issues, and from the bills, measures, acts, and regulations that evolved from these struggles. Academic, scholarly, literary characteristics Wilson undoubtedly had; he also possessed a deep-seated urge to guide his fellow men in rebuilding their affairs in a more equitable and efficient manner, and this appeared to rise to the surface as each new phase of his career unfolded—the new seeming to grow from the last. The culmination came in the political arena, and here he made his greatest contribution.

Success in reform movements of any kind is not always commensurate with the reformer's zeal. Usually there is a good deal more to the fight than airing one's principles with skill and vigor. Wilson was to learn this to his sorrow when his program for Princeton University became embroiled in academic politics. Even so, his eight years of dynamic leadership had provided the momentum and struck the mold that would eventually make Princeton one of the foremost American universities.

This academic phase came rapidly to climax during the spring of 1910. The issue at hand was apparently the location and control of a proposed graduate college. Actually at base was the deep personal incompatibility of President Wilson and his Dean of the Graduate School, Andrew F. West. Dean West not only had strong allies within the University who were adept at probing and publicizing Wilson's inconsistencies; he also had found a generous donor who

stood behind his plans for the College. It was a bitter struggle which split faculty, alumni, trustees, and student body as well. Here it is enough to note that Wilson knew the game was up when the Dean announced a second huge bequest for the College contingent on West's design and direction. But even as he met this defeat as gracefully as possible, there beckoned from the horizon a new career offering the possibility of still greater achievement.

I

DECISION

COLONEL George Brinton McClellan Harvey, eminent and wealthy journalist, president of Harper and Brothers and editor of *Harper's Weekly,* was deeply impressed in 1902 with Wilson's inaugural address as president of Princeton University. He pronounced him a potential political leader, one who could "win the people." And thenceforth Harvey took upon himself the role of kingmaker. He was not the "original Wilson man"—recurrently from all sides there had been talk of the Princeton leader's political possibilities —but surely he was the most active, and what is more, he was in a position to see that his promotional schemes brought results. In 1906, in a speech to the Lotus Club in New York, he described Wilson as a man who combined in his personality the "activities of the present with the sobering influences of the past" and possessed the "finest instinct of true statesmanship." Wilson was, he declared, a Democrat whom he could with great pleasure propose for the Presidency of the United States.*

During the following year Harvey assigned to a writer on his staff the task of "advertising" Wilson with a view to making him Governor of New Jersey in 1910 and presidential candidate in 1912, for the ambitious editor had already set his sights on the executive position of his and Wilson's adopted state as a stepping stone on Wilson's path to the White House. He had timed it well. As 1910 opened, New

* The speech, delivered on February 3, 1906, was published in *Harper's Weekly,* L, March 10, 1906, 324. Wilson was present at the meeting and wrote Harvey a warm note of thanks.

Jersey Democrats were desperately seeking a new and refreshing leader who could carry the party back into power on the crest of the progressive wave that was rolling over the country. And at this very time Wilson's leadership of Princeton was running swiftly to the end of its course. Frustrated, thwarted, he was ready to be lured into new paths of endeavor.

The stage was carefully set and the play would have its run even though the actors would not always speak their lines exactly as the director had planned. No one has told the story of this first act any better than William O. Inglis, the writer whose help Harvey had enlisted in launching the Wilson campaign. Crisply and dramatically, in *Collier's Weekly* in 1916, he wrote of these critical six months in 1910 and of his and Harvey's roles in "Helping to Make a President." After Inglis sketched in Harvey's early efforts in Wilson's behalf, he describes how Harvey came to decide the time was right to proceed on a "political line," that is, talk to the "Big Boss" of New Jersey politics, former Senator James Smith, Jr.,* and then to the principal actor himself.

I shall never forget a certain Monday morning in January, 1910. Although not so greatly impressed then as I am now by what had just happened, I nevertheless felt its deep significance. Summoning me to his office, my chief spoke substantially these words: "As I told you at the beginning, there has been nothing to do in a political way for Wilson these past two years; but the effect of the publicity has been on the whole satisfactory. The time has come now to proceed on a political line. On Saturday I lunched by appointment with Senator

* James Smith, Jr., was an old time political boss, likable and gentlemanly, who occupied a prominent position in the business and political life of New Jersey. From his headquarters in Newark he dominated the Democratic machine in populous Essex County, and thence wielded heavy influence throughout the state. He had served one term in the United States Senate, 1893-1899. His friendship with Harvey dated from the 1880's.

Smith at Delmonico's and we put in the entire afternoon discussing the situation. Although one of the shrewdest political observers I have ever known, I doubt if the senator quite appreciates the smash which is going to overwhelm the Republican party next November. But he does think there is a possibility of carrying New Jersey if a strong candidate shall be named. He agreed with me that if the Democrats could be held in line, Wilson would make a most effective appeal to Republican and independent voters. There are several candidates, however, who have always been his friends and supporters and to whom he feels under distinct obligations. But he is very uncertain respecting the party workers and rank and file as to Wilson. He is going to think it over, however, and talk with a few of his lieutenants, and we are to meet again next Saturday."

A week later I was awaiting the arrival of Colonel Harvey at the office with much eagerness and went immediately into his room. He told me with great satisfaction that the senator had come up to the scratch in fine shape, partly because his inquiries had convinced him that he would have little trouble with the regulars and partly because he considered himself under certain obligations to Colonel Harvey for fetching him into contact with Mr. William C. Whitney * years ago and thereby winning for himself the senatorship. The colonel added:

"He told me in his outspoken fashion that he was prepared to go ahead whenever I could assure him that Wilson would accept the nomination. He said, however, that I ought to consider one phase of the situation carefully. That was that if he should force Wilson's nomination there would be, in the first place, a great cry about boss dictation, and a good many people would believe and more would say that he was using Wilson as a stool

* A traction magnate who had served as Secretary of the Navy under President Cleveland.

pigeon in order to secure his own re-election to the Senate. I told him that I had realized those drawbacks and had been unable thus far to see how they could be overcome.

" 'Well,' he said, 'I have thought it all over carefully, and I am ready to go the whole hog. If you think it advisable, I will make definite announcement to-morrow that under no circumstances would I accept re-election to the Senate.'

" 'But,' I argued, 'if you do that, would not a good many of your political friends, whom you will have to depend upon in the State convention and who are interested only in your own political fortunes and care nothing for Wilson, be deterred from putting forth all their energies?'

"He admitted that there was something in this point, and, as there did not seem to be any need of an immediate decision, it was left in this way, that he would go on and nominate Wilson if he could and that if at any time prior to the convention or the election I should notify him that I thought his presumed candidacy for the Senate was endangering Wilson's chances for either the nomination or the election he would declare flatly that he would not go back to the Senate under any circumstances. So there the matter stands, and it is up to me to get some sort of expression from Wilson."

Some weeks later Colonel Harvey went to Princeton to make a speech to a woman's club in which Mrs. Wilson was interested, and with Mrs. Harvey spent the night with Mr. and Mrs. Wilson. The two men put in the entire evening discussing the situation. Finally, as the colonel informed me on the following day, he said to Mr. Wilson:

"It all resolves to this: If I can handle the matter so that the nomination for governor shall be tendered to you on a silver platter, without you turning a hand to obtain it, and without any requirement or suggestion of

any pledge whatsoever, what do you think would be your attitude? That is all that is necessary for me to know. I do not ask you to commit yourself even confidentially."

Mr. Wilson, according to Colonel Harvey, walked up and down the floor for some minutes in deep thought, apparently weighing all considerations and possibilities with the utmost care. Finally he said slowly:

"If the nomination for governor should come to me in that way, I should regard it as my duty to give the matter very serious consideration."*

Having set the wheels in motion, Colonel Harvey left on his annual trip to Europe. Meawhile, Wilson was deeply entangled in the later stages of the graduate school fight. Although, during this period, he probably had little opportunity for intensive reflection on New Jersey politics, nevertheless, his last statement to Harvey frequently must have flitted through his mind. Witness, for example, his comment about "new men" in a letter to H. S. McClure on April 9.**

I find that a great many men have your feeling about the Democratic party, fearing that it is impossible to dissociate its name from errors and heresies which have recently been connected with it. Theoretically, I agree with you that the formation of a new party is very desirable indeed, but practically it seems to me that that is the line of greatest difficulty and least encouragement upon which to work. I do not in the least despair of seeing the Democratic party drawn back to the definite and conservative principles which it once represented. It may be a slow process and it will be a difficult one, but there is an inestimable advantage in working upon definite historical foundations and within the organization of a

* The articles ran in three successive issues of *Collier's Weekly*, LVIII. The above appeared Oct. 7, 1916, 16, 37.

** See Bibliographical Note for the location of all letters quoted in this volume.

party which is at any rate the oldest in organization in our history which still continues to exist. I believe, from the various signs of the times, that it is quite within reasonable hope that new men will take hold of the party and draw it away from the influence which have of late years demoralized it.

Earlier, Wilson had found time to elaborate on the "definite and conservative principles" to which he thought the party should return. In an address before the Democratic Dollar Dinner at Elizabeth on March 29, 1910, he asked Democrats to prepare for the "responsibilities of success" by re-examining party standards and defining the items of their creed. We must know why, he insisted, "we assure ourselves that we can advise and lead the country better than the Republicans can."

In responding to his own questions, Wilson first described the living principles which he thought should govern party operations and then he offered a program of legislation for Democrats to consider. The address was especially significant for, in the heart of it, Wilson gave his interpretation of Democratic progressivism.*

My own answer to these searching questions would be, in the first place, that we have profound and abiding confidence in the people themselves. The Republican party has sought to serve the nation by showing its confidence in those who are the most conspicuous leaders of the country's business and of its economic development. Whatever their thought may have been, their action has shown that their confidence was not in the views and desires of the people as a whole, but in the promotion of the interests of the country at the hands of those who chiefly controlled its resources. It has been their first thought to safeguard property and establish enterprise.

* The address, "Living Principles of Democracy," was reprinted in *Harper's Weekly*, liv, April 9, 1910, 9-10.

Our position, I take it, is not in the least hostile to property or established enterprise. No wise man or right-minded statesman would think of putting these in unnecessary jeopardy. The affairs of the nation stand fast in proportion as every interest is safeguarded and one interest is not bettered by attacking another. But our fundamental law, our constitutions themselves, afford abundant protection to property and established enterprise, to everything that rests upon valid title or legal contract. The structure of the government and the fibre of our institutions are firm and stiff and enduring. We need not fear to strain them by pressing forward to secure the things which are meant to serve the people as a whole rather than particular vested interests. . . .

In the second place, it is our conviction that the interests, by which I mean the men whose energies are concentrated upon particular enterprises established under the conditions of existing law, cannot see the welfare of the country as a whole or in true proportion and perspective. They stand too near their own affairs, are too much engaged upon a particular purpose, are too entirely immersed in the promotion of particular interests to see the people's interest in its entirety or to hold anything off at arm's-length and see how it stands related to the affairs of the nation as a whole. These things can be seen only from outside the interests, only by those whose thought it is to accommodate the interests to the general welfare, whether that be pleasing to the interests or not.

A third fundamental principle upon which I believe Democratic party action should rest is that the individual, not the corporation, the single living person, not the artificial group of persons existing merely by permission of the law, is the only rightful possessor alike of rights and of privileges. The corporation is a convenience, not a natural member of society. Society must be organized

so that the individual will not be crushed, will not be unnecessarily hampered. Every legal instrumentality created for his convenience, like the corporation, must be created only for his convenience and never for his government or suppression. . . .

In the first place, we should wish not merely to curb the trusts, and, above all, we should not wish to regulate them in such a way as will make them either partners or creatures of the government itself. We should wish to square their whole action and responsibility with the general interest, regarding them not as objects in themselves, but merely as conveniences in our economic life and development. Recent proposals of regulation have looked too much like a wholesale invasion by government itself of the field of business management.

It is imperatively necessary, if government is to be kept pure and impartial, that its officers should not themselves be made partners or managers of the great corporate enterprises through which the public is served. Our regulation of public interests must be legal regulation and not direct management.

It is bad enough to have the modern overgrown corporations to restrain and control. It would be infinitely worse if they were combined with government itself, and a partnership formed which could not be broken up without attacking our very governors themselves.

In the second place, it is clearly our duty, so soon as we get the opportunity, to take the government out of the business of patronage, the business of granting favors and privileges, of arranging the laws so that this, that, or the other group of men may make large profits out of their business, and draw it back to the function of safeguarding rights, general, not particular, rights, the rights which make not so much for the "prosperity" which enables small groups of individuals to pile up enormous

fortunes, as for a general stimulation, a universal opportunity for enlightenment and justice.

I am thinking, of course, of tariff legislation. Whatever may be our views with regard to the policy vaguely called the policy of protection, it is clear that in fact it has long since, as dealt with by Congress, ceased to be a policy of protection and become a policy of patronage, a policy of arrangement by which particular interests in the country may be sure of their profits, whether the country profits by their enterprise or not. It is by such questionable means that the government has condescended to base its legislation and its system of taxation upon the interests not of the whole people, but of the particular enterprises which the leaders in Congress thought it profitable for their party to patronize and draw into partnership for the maintenance of party power. . . .

In the third place, it is one of the chief duties of the Democratic party to initiate such reforms, alike in local and in Federal government, as will secure economy, responsibility, honesty, fidelity. The processes of reform which will secure these neglected objects are processes of simplification, not processes of elaboration, not processes which multiply the instrumentalities of government unnecessarily and therefore its expenses, but the processes which make for the simplest, most straightforward, and businesslike conduct of affairs.

And, finally, it seems to me that it is the duty of the Democratic party to challenge the people by every possible means to depend upon themselves rather than upon fostering powers lodged in groups of individuals. There have been many encouraging signs in recent years, particularly in some of our smaller cities, that we have at last come upon a time when the people are arousing themselves to give over being dependent upon men

whom they cannot watch and are taking direct charge, at any rate of their local governments. There is no reason why this process should not extend to the governments of the States and in effect to the government of the nation. A simplification of electoral processes will do much to accomplish this. Government can be put in such a form as to be easy to understand, easy to criticise, easy to restrain. It should be the study of every sincere Democrat to promote the measure by which these things can be accomplished.

In brief, our programme should be a general revival of popular politics, of common counsel, of responsible leadership. . . . For myself, I veritably believe that we are upon the eve of a new era of political liberty, when more literally and truly than ever before we can realize the ideals of popular government and of individual privilege, the dawn of an age in which the pristine vigor of America may be renewed amidst fresh achievements for humanity. . . .

Senator Smith became increasingly enthusiastic about Wilson as a possible candidate and stated that he would be glad to promote his nomination "under certain conditions." The "conditions" were that, if elected, Wilson accept the party organization as it existed, presumably with Smith as its continued leader. His concern was transmitted to Wilson through a mutual friend, John Maynard Harlan, former student of Wilson's and prominent in Chicago business and political affairs. Wilson answered readily in a letter of June 23, 1910.

I would be perfectly willing to assure Mr. Smith that I would not, if elected Governor, set about "fighting and breaking down the existing Democratic organization and replacing it with one of my own." The last thing I should think of would be building up a machine of my own. So long as the existing Democratic organization

was willing to work with thorough heartiness for such policies as would reestablish the reputation of the State and the credit of the Democratic party in serving the State, I should deem myself inexcusable for antagonizing it, so long as I was left absolutely free in the matter of measures and men. . . .

Colonel Harvey returned from Europe late in June; he had been detained a month longer than he had anticipated. Senator Smith, hard pressed by party supporters to obtain a definite commitment from his candidate, eagerly awaited Harvey's arrival. The Colonel was met at the dock by Inglis, to whose words we return to discover what happened next.

I went from the steamer with the colonel to Deal,* and remember distinctly that, as we entered the house, the telephone was ringing, and the colonel remarked laughingly: "I would bet that is the senator." And it was. He was at his house in Elberon, and was insistent upon an immediate conference. The colonel went over to see him that evening, and upon his return told me that the situation had reached a poignant stage, which required the promptest action. The senator simply could not hold his people for another week without distinct assurance that Wilson would accept if nominated. He had already overstretched the time allotted by a full month, and had reached the end of his rope. This was on Thursday. By my chief's direction I got Mr. Wilson on the telephone at Princeton, and the colonel asked him if he could come to Deal over Sunday, saying that it was of the utmost importance. Mr. Wilson replied that he could not very well do so, as he had arranged to take his family to Lyme, Conn., on Saturday; but that if the colonel felt his presence at Deal was absolutely re-

* Harvey's estate, "Jorjalma," was in Deal on the New Jersey coast near Asbury Park.

quired on Sunday he would come down from Lyme. So it was arranged.

On Saturday forenoon we were sitting in Colonel Harvey's office. He had just told me that he had arranged with Senator Smith to come to dinner to meet Mr. Wilson the next evening, when the telephone rang and Mr. Bowen, the colonel's secretary, said:

"It is Colonel Watterson * at the Manhattan Club. He wants you to come to luncheon."

The colonel started to answer immediately, but suddenly hesitated and said: "Tell him I will let him know in a few minutes." I guess for five minutes he sat there meditating. Then he said: "I am beginning to think, Inglis, that the hand of Providence is in this business. Watterson is the very man that I need at this juncture. I do not feel at all certain that the senator now wants Wilson. In fact, I am pretty sure that, now that Democratic success seems probable, he would prefer some one else. He has already performed his full obligation, and more too. So I have no further claim on him. I am also wholly in the dark about Wilson, because I have not seen him for months and have no idea what may have happened in the meantime to influence his mind. I expect that I will find them both somewhat offish, and I need help. Mr. Watterson, better than any other man in the country, can give me that assistance. Now the question is, can I get Watterson? Anyhow, let us try."

The secretary then called Colonel Watterson on the telephone and Colonel Harvey said to him that he could not lunch with him, but was very anxious to see him and insisted that he come to Deal over Sunday.

Colonel Watterson replied that he had a dinner on that night and was full of engagements for the following day, but Colonel Harvey insisted so strongly that finally

* Colonel "Marse Henry" Watterson, editor of the *Louisville Courier Journal*.

he agreed to take the Sandy Hook boat for Deal Sunday morning. Then Colonel Harvey and I went to Deal to play golf in the afternoon.

That evening a telegram was handed to Colonel Harvey as we sat at dinner on the porch. He broke open the yellow envelope, read the message, put it back in the envelope, and went on with his dinner without saying a word.

"Something has happened to disappoint you," said Mrs. Harvey. "What is it?"

"Only this," Colonel Harvey replied, handing her the telegram. She read it and handed it to me. I still have it. It reads as follows:

LYME CONN., JUNE 26, 1910
COLONEL GEORGE HARVEY, DEAL, NEW JERSEY: SORRY TO FIND THERE IS NO TRAIN FROM HERE TO-MORROW. DEEPLY REGRET I SHALL NOT BE ABLE TO ATTEND DINNER.
WOODROW WILSON. . . .

We sat in perfect silence. Disappointment was no name for it. I was simply benumbed.

"Well," said the colonel finally, "it's now or never. Something must be done. What is it?"

"If it wouldn't seem," I suggested, "too much like a reflection on Dr. Wilson's lack of initative and resource, I'd go up and bring him down."

"How?"

"Lyme," I replied, "is only fifteen miles or so from New London. I could run over in an automobile and fetch him back there in time for the express from Boston for New York somewhere about noon. That would make it."

Colonel Harvey sent for railroad guides, studied them while the rest of us were sipping our coffee, and then said:

"It is possible. You can get the 8:26 from Deal and

the midnight from New York for New London. Fast train from New London for New York at 12:35 p.m. Sunday. Yes—it's possible. I'll go over to the station with you."

Within a few minutes I had changed from evening clothes, thrown a few things in a suitcase, and hurried downstairs to where Colonel Harvey was sitting in a motor car, waiting for me. At the Deal station he suggested that I telegraph some one in New London for a first-class automobile, so I wired the proprietor of the Crocker House, where I had often stayed over race week, asking him to have the best car he could find waiting for me at nine o'clock the next morning.

"If you don't fetch him," grimly remarked the colonel as I boarded the train, "don't come back. Go and commit hara-kiri! Don't send any word."

Often looking backward over the many instances of luck that favored Woodrow Wilson and forced him to be an active presidential candidate in spite of his seeming lack of interest, I think of the fierce, gnawing stomach ache that afflicted me all that day and night. If it had been a little worse, it would have rendered me unable to sit up, much less to travel. It was the only illness I had had in many years, and its spasms not only racked me with pain but left me weaker and weaker after each attack. Just a little more punishment would have put me to bed—but then came the chance to help make the next president of the United States, and everything else was forgotten.

I was asleep in my berth on the midnight train before it left the Grand Central Station. The porter called me at a quarter to four in the morning, and a few minutes later I was in my room at the Crocker House in New London, undressing and going to bed again. Sharp at eight I was called and the old pain woke with me. Breakfast, therefore, was little more than a sip of coffee, and

in a few minutes I was climbing aboard a motor car that seemed to my inexpert eye to be of thirty or forty horse-power and rather well on in years. The driver assured me that by the shore road Lyme was twenty miles away, but that by taking a little rougher road straightaway he could save two miles. I chose the shorter road. It was a good road—in spots. Most of it was so soft and yielding that it seemed likely to provoke skids, and now and then we ran over long corrugated sections that caused the seats to rise suddenly and batter us savagely. About nine miles from New London we came upon a big sign in which the County Supervisors gave notice that the next section of the road was under repair and that all who used it did so at their own risk.

"Well?" I asked the chauffeur.

"I think the car can stand it," he replied. "We'd lose a lot of time by going back."

So on we went now and then plowing oxlike through a long stretch of soft earth, again climbing goatishly along a slope where no motor car ought to go, and anon slamming into a hole with a chug that seemed likely to break our teeth. But the car won out somehow, and away we flew again over only ordinarily bad country roads. It was not quite half past ten o'clock in the morning when we ran down the broad avenue which is the principal thoroughfare of the ancient village of Lyme, a delightful smooth road, with long, unbroken grass plots for sidewalks shaded by maples and elms.

The chauffeur cocked his hat to the right and listened intently for a few seconds.

"Something's gone," he announced as he slowed down and pulled up at the right of the road. He put a jack under the right end of the forward axle and raised the wheel from the ground. A young man on the way to church paused to enjoy the spectacle of a chauffeur at work.

"Do you know where Dr. Wilson is staying?" I asked him—"Dr. Woodrow Wilson, president of Princeton University."

"Why yes," he replied; "the family are boarding with Miss Maria [Florence] Griswold—there's the house; you've run past it." He pointed back some four hundred yards, where a lovely and ancient colonial mansion stood framed in venerable trees. I thanked him.

"If you can fix up your car right away," I told the chauffeur, "we'll start in ten minutes or so. We've simply got to get back to New London by twelve-twenty."

I walked fast to the Griswold home, crossed the lawn and rang the bell at the big front door that gave on a broad porch. After a few minutes the door swung inward, and I saw that it was being opened by the very man I had come to seek. He had a hymn book in his hand. I bade him good morning, handed him my card and said: "Colonel Harvey has asked me to drop in and bring you down to dinner this evening."

"Oh," he replied, "I'll have to put some things in a bag. Excuse me." He stepped briskly to the door of the drawing room in which Mrs. Wilson and one of his daughters (I think) were waiting for him to join them on their way to church. I was presented to the ladies; then, anxious about catching the train made my excuses and hurried away to see how the injured car was getting on. As I walked down the avenue I had to laugh at myself a little. From reading Dr. Wilson's telegram Saturday evening I had received the impression that he was averse to being made governor of New Jersey or anything else that would disturb him in his scholastic retreat; therefore I had prepared an argument, intending to show him how urgent was the need for him to accept the nomination and election for governor of New Jersey, and later the nomination and election for the presidency of the nation; also that as a preliminary of

the highest importance he really must attend this dinner. But my pleading was all bottled up and the eloquence I had been rehearsing along the jolting road was all unspent and unnecessary. I had simply stated my errand and Dr. Wilson had immediately replied: "Oh, I'll have to put some things in a bag." That was all; no debate, no doubt, no hesitation; the summons had come, and he was ready.

When I got back to the motor car, four hundred yards away, the chauffeur was taking out the jack from under the axle and putting it back in the tool box. He was grinning in triumph.

"We did jolt and bump a lot on that broken road, didn't we?" he said. "We came down so hard that we cracked one of the steel balls in the bearing of the right front wheel. Look!"

He held out on the palm of his hand a bright, shining ball of steel that had been cracked in two as if it were a hazelnut. "But how can you run without it?" I asked in surprise. "Won't your wheel stick?"

"Oh, she's fixed all right," he answered. "I just happened to have a spare ball in my pocket and it fitted. She'll run."

As the car rolled smoothly toward the Griswold residence, the old jingle about the want of the nail, the horseshoe, the horse, and therefore of the warrior, causing the loss of the battle, began to repeat itself in my mind. This case was just the reverse. Our chauffeur by the merest luck happened to have exactly the right sized steel ball in his pocket to take the place of the ball that was split in two eight or nine miles from Lyme. Had the jolt of the car been hard enough to make a compound fracture, we should have been hopelessly held up in the back country, out of reach of garage, telephone, or any other help. But no; Fate was with us: the cracked ball did not split till we came to Woodrow Wilson's door,

and then the man had one to put in its place. I often wish that I had kept that split ball, not much bigger than a buckshot, as a rare curio—the few grains of steel that might have kept Dr. Wilson out of the presidency of the United States! Surely he was a man of destiny. In this enlightened age we are all free from superstition —and yet it is very comforting to observe the evidence when luck is with us. It seemed to me that Fortune had marked him for her own. I found the man of destiny with his suit case packed and waiting for me in the front hall. My recollection is that Mrs. Wilson made some smiling comment about his failure to go to church that morning and that he replied, with an air of finality: "Oh, Colonel Harvey has sent for me." That settled that.

Now I had a chance to examine more closely the man whom luck was helping so generously. The first impression of great height and slimness was corrected by closer observation. He was under rather than over six feet in stature. The deep-lined cheeks, high cheek bones, big, thin, aquiline nose and outjutting chin, all combined to make him seem gaunt and long. As we chatted for a few moments he impressed me as a fine intellect tempered by geniality. There was in his air of cordial welcome, in the kindly gleam of the grayish-blue eyes, through their glasses, and the homely smile of his broad and powerful mouth, the suggestion of a Western rather than a Southern man. Woodrow Wilson, the grave scholar, the political economist, the author of "A History of the American People," the unflinching president of Princeton University, I had mentally visualized as a profound and rather somber personality, but he whom I had met was a smiling, pleasant man, neither lacking dignity nor overloaded with it, most companionable—in short, Neighbor Wilson rather than President Wilson. And physically he was not so slim as the first look made him. A lean man, stringy-muscled and big-boned, the

enduring type; the American pioneer surviving to our day.

Our car flew along the smooth shore road. At times we took a curve a bit rakishly in the effort to make time to the distant railroad station, and I felt a recurrence of the apprehension that so often worries me in motors; but this was quickly brushed away by an involuntary recollection of the long-forgotten schoolboy phrase, "What do you fear? You're carrying Caesar."

As we journeyed we talked of various things. I was careful to avoid only the subjects of politics and the combat President Wilson was then carrying on with certain other influences at Princeton. These might have embarrassed him. His comments on men and things then most in people's minds were frank, intelligent, agreeable. Indeed, I have never enjoyed a pleasanter journey than the one I made that summer Sunday with the next President of the United States—next President, that is, if the luck would continue as it had begun. Whether it was because of his genial company or of the sense of satisfaction in having accomplished the most difficult part of my task, I felt very happy. The wolfish pain that had gnawed and tortured me during the twenty-four hours vanished utterly.

Our train arrived on time after we had waited for it only ten minutes. More luck. A popped tire or any other little mishap might have made us miss it, and thus upset the whole program. But pshaw! mishaps were not for us. We had newspapers and magazines to read, with occasional intermissions for chat, to say nothing of a pleasant hour spent at luncheon.

The hours passed quickly. We crossed New York and caught a train for Red Bank, where Colonel Harvey was to meet us. I had heeded his injunction strictly and sent no word, but I had to chuckle when I saw the look of relief light up a very anxious face as Dr. Wilson

appeared on the platform. We reached Deal about seven o'clock.

It was a delightful dinner. Senator Smith was rather quiet, but Marse Henry was at his best and Dr. Wilson was lively as a cricket. Our hostess, myself, and one or two others who were present left when the coffee was served leaving Colonel Harvey, Colonel Watterson, Dr. Wilson, and Senator Smith in the dining room, where they remained till nearly midnight. . . .

As they came toward me at parting Dr. Wilson was saying: "I do not think it would be fair for me to accept the nomination without notifying my friends in Chicago who have supported me so loyally in this struggle at Princeton. I should be able to get a reply to my letters in three days." *

The friends that Wilson felt it necessary to consult were David B. Jones and his brother Thomas, Cleveland H. Dodge, Melancthon W. Jacobus, Cyrus H. McCormick, William B. McIlvaine, Edward W. Sheldon, and Henry B. Thompson. Several were Princeton classmates of Wilson; all, as Trustees, had loyally supported his policies. Wilson's correspondence with them at this time forms a remarkable chapter in his career. His letters alone tell most of the story; the first, to David B. Jones, is dated June 27, 1910.

I find that the political question I put to you in my brief note the other day has become acute; and I think that I ought to make a full statement of it to you.

It is immediately, as you know, the question of my nomination for the governorship of New Jersey; but that is the mere preliminary of a plan to nominate me in 1912 for the presidency. It is necessary, if I would be fair to all parties, that I should decide this week whether I can accept the nomination for the governorship. There are some half dozen other men who desire it, but they

* *Collier's Weekly*, LVIII, Oct. 7, 1916, 37-39.

have all told the State Committee that they are willing to withdraw and allow me to have it by acclamation if I will accept it. If I will not, they wish at once to rally their forces, and it is only fair to give them the chance. The convention meets in September.

What appear to be the facts (reinforced by additional evidence since I saw you and talked it over in Chicago) are, that the representative politicians of Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Minnesota, and Iowa prefer me as a presidential candidate to Harmon and have urged the party men in New Jersey to nominate me for the governorship, in order to elect me by a substantial majority and so make it necessary to consider me; that the New Jersey men are confident that I can be elected by a majority so large as to be very impressive and convincing and are willing to give me the nomination unanimously, without the raising of a finger on my part; and that my chances for the presidential nomination would in such circumstances be better than those of any other man. Last evening I dined with Colonel Watterson, of the Louisville Courrier [*sic*] Journal, Colonel Harvey, of Harper's Weekly, and James Smith, the reputed Democratic boss of New Jersey. Whatever one may think of Colonel Watterson, there can be no doubt of his immense political influence in his section of the country, and indeed throughout the whole South. He came on to make my acquaintance, and before the evening was over said that, if New Jersey would make me Governor, he would agree to take off his coat and work for my nomination in 1912. The opportunity really seems most unusual.

I have promised nothing. In order to go into this thing, I feel that I must get the free consent of yourself, your brother, McCormick, Dodge, Sheldon, and the other men who have been such splendid friends of Princeton and of mine, who have guaranteed money to the University, and who ought not now to be embar-

rassed by any action of mine. It will be necessary, too, if I am to withdraw from the presidency of the University (now, of course, without the least intimation that I am withdrawing with any criticism of the University itself) that we agree upon concerted action in the matter of a successor to the presidency of the University, in order that no reactionary be chosen and our present advantage lost; but that can be done later, when my own choice is decided. Nothing of this need be known until the autumn.

Will you do me the very great favour, therefore, of laying this whole matter before your brother, Mr. McCormick, and Mr. McIlvaine and asking them to give me their absolutely frank opinion and wish in the premises, in view of the whole circumstances in their entirety, indicating, as they seem to do, as definite a prospect of the Democratic nomination in 1912 as it is possible to have in the nature of the case and the conditions of the time? If it is necessary, and you will telegraph me that I may find you and the other gentlemen I have mentioned in Chicago, I will come on at once for a conference, since I really feel bound to give my answer, if possible, by the end of the present week.

I cannot throw off the feeling, perhaps I should say the fear, that I am in some way imposing upon your kindness and that of the other men by even suggesting that I take the liberty at this juncture of withdrawing from Princeton. Perhaps it is the fear that this will look to you like a mere case of personal ambition. To my mind it is a question of which is the larger duty and opportunity. At any rate, I am sure that you will all judge leniently and will understand.

Wilson wrote to Cleveland H. Dodge on July 1, 1910:

I shall never forget that little visit or the impressions it made upon me! May God bless you. And for your

letter, too, received this morning. It raises one's whole estimate of the world to be associated with such men! The question I am debating with myself is as perplexing as ever, but my heart is light because of my friends.

Last evening I got the following telegram from David Jones, after a conference he had held with Cyrus, Tom Jones, and McIlvaine. Can you imagine anything finer?

CHICAGO, 30 JUNE, 1910

ALL FOUR CONCUR UNRESERVEDLY IN THE OPINION THAT NO OBLIGATION WHATEVER EXISTS ON YOUR PART, EITHER TO ANY INDIVIDUAL SUPPORTER OR TO THE UNIVERSITY AS A WHOLE, WHICH SHOULD DETER YOU FROM FOLLOWING YOUR OWN INCLINATION. QUESTION WHAT YOU HAD BETTER DO IS LARGELY PERSONAL TO YOURSELF. WE DO NOT FEEL SUFFICIENTLY CLEAR ON THE SUBJECT TO ADVISE. WE APPRECIATE YOUR PERPLEXITY AND OUR SYMPATHIES ARE AND WILL CONTINUE TO BE WITH YOU. WHATEVER YOUR CONCLUSION MAY BE, YOU CAN RELY ON OUR HEARTY SUPPORT IN ANY FIELD OF SERVICE YOU MAY ENTER UPON.

D. B. JONES

I feel a richer man for having had this experience in dealing with noble, public spirited men. Whatever I may decide, I shall have steadier hopes and confidences.

On the same day he replied to Jones:

Your two telegrams reached me yesterday. How can I sufficiently thank you for them or adequately express my admiration of the generous group of friends for whom you send the second telegram? Dodge and Sheldon of course acted in the same way. [He had seen Dodge and Sheldon in New York on June 28.] I am specially privileged in having earned the friendship and confi-

dence of such men, and I want to express my deep and lasting gratitude. The question is, if anything, all the harder to decide; but, which ever way I decide it now, my heart will be stronger for the work to come.

Your letter and your brother's letter have been of real service to my thought. They are wise and full of the real gist of the matter. They add to my obligation and to my admiration.

I will, of course, write the moment I come to a conclusion. This is only to tell you how I feel.

Also on the same day he dispatched the following to Edward W. Sheldon:

I am more grateful than I can say for the friendship and generosity you and Cleve have shown me. After I got back here I received the following telegram. . . . It completes my impression of the splendid, public spirited friends I am dealing with. . . .

[Here he quoted the telegram of June 30 from David B. Jones. Earlier, in Lyme, he had seen Dr. M. W. Jacobus of the Hartford Theological Seminary.] What more could a man ask of his friends? It is something to make me forever grateful.

My mind is greatly perplexed. I am by no means clear that I am fitted for the new service suggested; the elements involved are beyond my forecasting; and I feel like a man in a maze, for the time being. But, whatever comes of it, I shall never lose my present impression of the quality of the men I am dealing with now. . . .

Still Wilson hesitated to make his decision. In spite of the defeats, he felt there was much to do at Princeton that required his leadership. But the pressure mounted, and the challenge and opportunity of politics were finally too strong. He told Smith and Harvey that he would accept the

nomination and shortly after wrote to Sheldon and Thompson. His letter to Sheldon was dated July, 11, 1910:

I felt obliged, in all the circumstances, to say to the men who sounded me about the nomination for governor that, if it came to me unanimously and wholly unsought, and I could take it without pledges to anybody about anything connected with the duties I would have to perform, I would accept it. I have all my life been preaching the duty of educated men to accept just such opportunities; and I do not see how I could have done otherwise; great and poignant as is the qualm it causes me to think of leaving Princeton and all the great duties there to which I have devoted the best years of my life.

I think that the impression I shall retain most vividly is that I have won the friendship of some of the finest men in the world! It makes me very proud and very happy, and I am profoundly grateful. I may disappoint you in performance, but I shall try with all my might not to disappoint you in character. . . .

His letter to Henry B. Thompson followed on July 14:

. . . Of course the men who are planning my nomination for the governorship look forward to putting me up for the presidential nomination later; and there have been some rather extraordinary indications that that is what Democrats in other parts of the country want. The suggestion came from the middle west. But I have not allowed that part of the program to form my opinions as to my duty in the matter of the governorship. I wish a letter were an adequate medium for setting forth the whole matter; but it is not. Of course, I am giving you the bare bulk of the thing, because I want you to learn of this from me, and because it gives me an opportunity to tell you how happy and proud I have been to win

your friendship and support, how deeply I have admired the firmness, the good feeling, the courage, and the unhesitating following of conviction with which you have always acted. It has been a tonic and a blessing to me to have such a friend. I want to express my deep gratitude and admiration.

I cherish a sneaking hope that the thing may not, after all, come off; but I fear from present indications that it will. . . .

In the meantime, Colonel Harvey had arranged for Wilson to meet Democratic leaders to discuss the strength of his potential candidacy. Professor Arthur S. Link has described this significant conference at the Lawyers' Club in New York on July 12.

Since Wilson's intermittent conferences had brought him into contact only with the chief boss himself, Harvey believed it was now time to bring Wilson and the leading Democratic politicians together. The Colonel accordingly arranged for a luncheon conference at the Lawyers' Club in the Equitable Building in New York on July 12. Smith was not present at the meeting, but he sent as his representatives James R. Nugent, the state chairman of the party, and Robert S. Hudspeth, the Democratic national committeeman from New Jersey. Harvey was master of ceremonies and he and Richard V. Lindabury, attorney for United States Steel, Standard Oil, and other trusts, represented the corporation and financial interests. Congressman Eugene F. Kinkead, of Hudson County, a representative of the Davis machine, and Millard F. Ross, a lieutenant of the Smith organization in Middlesex County, completed the group.

Harvey announced that he had called the Democratic leaders together in order to sound out the sentiment of the state with regard to Wilson's gubernatorial candidacy. Each of the politicians declared that Wilson was

stronger than his party and would win easily in the November elections. Hudspeth, representing the combined Smith-Davis forces, was the chief spokesman of the organization men. Would Wilson accept the nomination if it was offered to him by the state convention, he asked. Wilson replied that he would accept the nomination if it was offered to him without a contest. Hudspeth then turned to the liquor question. Smith's chief fear was local option. He was, Hudspeth later declared, closely allied with the brewers and represented them politically. Before the conference Smith had told Hudspeth, "Unless we can get the liquor interests behind the Doctor, we can't elect him," and Smith especially instructed Hudspeth to probe into Wilson's views on the liquor question. When Hudspeth consequently asked Wilson what his attitude on the liquor question was, Wilson responded instantly that he was not a prohibitionist and that he believed the question was outside the political sphere. But, he added, "I believe in home rule, and that the issue should be settled by local option in each community." Hudspeth replied that the Democratic party had been fighting local option for many years, that it was "our *bête noir*." "Well," Wilson replied, "that is my attitude and my conviction. I cannot change it."

The conference lasted for most of the afternoon. Kinkead and Hudspeth assured Wilson that if he would only announce his candidacy the other Democratic candidates would withdraw from the contest. He promised to issue a formal statement of his willingness to accept the nomination.*

Wilson's statement was issued on July 15 and appeared in the *Trenton True American* and the *Newark Evening News*:

* Arthur S. Link, *Wilson: The Road to the White House* (Princeton, 1947), 150-152.

Lyme, Conn., July 15.—There has recently been so much talk of the possibility of my being nominated by the Democrats of New Jersey for the Governorship of the State, and I have been asked by so many persons, whom I respect, what my attitude would be towards such a nomination, that it would be an affectation and discourtesy on my part to ignore the matter any longer. I need not say that I am in no sense a candidate for the nomination, and that I would not, in any circumstances, do anything to obtain it.

My present duty and responsibilities are such as should satisfy any man desirous of rendering public service. They certainly satisfy me, and I do not wish to be drawn away from them, but my wish does not constitute my duty, and if it should turn out to be true, as so many well informed persons have assured me they believe it will, that it is the wish and hope of a decided majority of the thoughtful Democrats of the State that I should consent to accept the party's nomination for the great office of Governor, I should deem it my duty, as well as an honor and a privilege, to do so. I cannot and do not venture to assume that this is the case. It remains to be seen whether it is or not. I should not feel personally disappointed if it should turn out otherwise.

But it is clearly due to the many public men and the many representatives of the public press who have urged me to say how I feel about this very important matter that I should make this statement rather than seem to avoid their legitimate inquiries.

The decision was made. Behind him lay the struggles and achievements of academic life, the only life that Wilson had known for more than twenty-five years. Ahead lay the uncertainties of political life. No one could say what was in store; but of one thing his friends were certain: having set his course, Wilson would run it true to the end.

II

NOMINATION

WHEN WOODROW WILSON entered the political life of New Jersey as a candidate for the gubernatorial nomination, the State provided a prime example of what progressives throughout the country were vigorously attacking. Here, according to one authority, "the domination of politics by corporation-machine alliances had reached its full flower." Republican and Democratic bosses, working hand-in-glove with railroad and utility interests in particular, had committed their state to the role of sponsor and protector of "the system"—to use Lincoln Steffens' term—which had drawn reformers' ire in a dozen states. Legislators of both parties had contributed by putting statutes on the books which facilitated the incorporation of holding companies and monopolies and permitted a wide range of practices designed to thwart competition.

Still, in spite of the deep entrenchment of special interests and their domination of the State's political machinery, a progressive undercurrent had run strongly in several areas for more than a decade. A group of pioneer progressives had managed to make their protests felt on a number of the more pressing inequities, and had placed candidates in both houses of the legislature and in several key mayoral positions. There were progressives in both parties, but it was from within the Republican party that early leadership had come and, in turn, the best organized group of progressives, the "New Idea" men. The indefatigable George L. Record was easily the most important reformer of all. He had been the moving force behind every major reform

measure since the early 1890's and, although never elected to public office, had lent his indispensable legal acumen and political astuteness to such progressive officials as Mark M. Fagan, three-time Mayor of Jersey City, and Everett Colby, active in both houses of the legislature and one of the most popular of the New Idea men.

Among Democratic reformers were H. Otto Wittpenn, who defeated Fagan for the mayoralty of Jersey City in 1906, two young Assemblymen, Joseph P. Tumulty of Jersey City and Harry V. Osborne of Newark, and Edwin A. Stevens of Hoboken.

Through the years these reformers had kept important issues before the public: limited franchises for public utilities, taxation of railroad and utility property at the same rate as other property, primary and election reforms, regulation of trusts, jury reform, workmen's compensation laws, and many others. And on a number of issues they had achieved a measure of success even though, in 1910, few progressives were in positions of political power. But they had become a significant minority in each party and, further, had become identified with the national movement now reaching high tide. Success seemed near at the very moment that Wilson emerged as the hand-picked candidate of the bosses.

Naturally the progressives viewed Wilson's candidacy with great suspicion. Throughout the summer they attacked him bitterly, claiming not only that he was selected as a "catspaw, to serve the purposes of the bosses," but that, as Colonel Harvey's backing proved, he was also the tool of financial interests in New Jersey and New York. Through most of it Wilson, though restive, maintained silence and refused to commit himself on questions of great importance to the reform elements. He had, after all, stated that he would not lift a finger to obtain the nomination.

But the complexities of politics did cause him concern, as is evident in a letter written to Colonel Harvey late in July. Wilson had assumed, somewhat naïvely, that Smith's control of the party was such that other Democratic candidates would withdraw after Wilson announced his intention When this did not happen, when, in fact, more candidates

entered the race, he expressed his perplexity to Colonel Harvey on July 26, 1910:

Here is a letter that has just come to me tonight from Mr. Alexander of the TRUE AMERICAN. I think that you ought to see it.

I do not understand this Katzenbach business at all.* I thought that the matter of his candidacy had been disposed of before my willingness to be considered was announced, and I begin to fear that I may be put in a rather ridiculous position.

I of course declined to attend the rally at Trenton to-morrow. To have accepted the invitation would have been to get into the competition for popular favour, which is just what I said I would not do, by plain implication, in my statement to the papers.

I am keeping a quiet mind; but I fear that you will be caused a great deal of trouble and anxiety before the tangle in N. J. is unravelled.

The *Trenton True American* was one of Wilson's early and most loyal supporters. Its editor, Henry Eckert Alexander, wrote Wilson frequent, long letters of advice throughout the campaign. Wilson valued his counsel highly and at times followed it closely. The Alexander letter which Wilson sent to Harvey of July 23, quoted below, is one of many that have been preserved. Unfortunately Wilson's replies have not been found.

You will see by Monday's True American that a labor leader—one Michael McIntire—attacked you in the Saturday issue of the *Times*. Now, McIntire fought Mayor Madden at the last election so his Democracy's [*sic*] is not worth much here.

The *Times* has done much to encourage Mr. Katzenbach, whom the *Times* has never liked. My guess is

* Frank S. Katzenbach, former Mayor of Trenton, was the apparent choice of Democratic party workers for governor.

that Kerney,* editor of the *Times,* is expecting Senator Smith to "see" him and that he feels "miffed" that this has not been done. . . . As to the Hoboken Observer man, I know nothing directly. I am told that he opposed and criticized Katzenbach three years ago and that he is as independent as that New York policeman who said: "I hate you, not because I hate you, but to show my aut'ority over you."

Meanwhile every Republican gangster is seeking to make trouble for they know that your election will follow your nomination and then "house-cleaning!" The proofs of your strength are increasing every day.

Wilson did keep a "quiet mind," at least until the charges hurled at him from one direction were so sharp that he felt it necessary to respond. The New Jersey State Federation of Labor denounced Wilson's candidacy in August and labeled him antagonistic to organized labor. There was some justice in the charge, for several times through the years, in writings and speeches, Wilson had made plain his hostility to labor unions. At one time he told a Princeton graduating class that the main objective of labor unions was to keep production standards as low as possible. His attitude stemmed largely from ignorance of labor conditions and needs, but it was publicized widely and effectively by those who opposed his nomination as a machine candidate. That Wilson was ready to change his views was evident in the way he eagerly seized the first opportunity to reply to his critics. In a public letter on August 23 to the editor of the *American Labor Standard,* he offered a forthright statement that delighted his friends.

I warmly appreciate your kind letter of August eighteenth.

The gross misrepresentations of my views with regard

* James Kerney, editor of the *Trenton Evening Times,* was suspicious of Wilson's candidacy at first, but became a strong supporter after Wilson's exchange of views with G. L. Record.

to organized labor which some newspapers have contained have given me no concern. They were willful and deliberate misrepresentations, and such things take care of themselves. The papers that stoop to them will in the end be found out and lose credit altogether.

I was distressed that the New Jersey State Federation of Labor should have allowed itself to be imposed upon, —not because its members are likely to remain deceived in this matter, but for the opposite reason; because they are sure to discover their mistake and to feel the mortification of having taken unjust and hasty action. I was not hurt, because I knew that no injustice was intended. I was simply sorry. It is a pity to see things so handled.

I had, of course, intended to let the incident pass in silence,—for two reasons. First, because I knew the whole matter would right itself; and, second, because I have not been seeking the nomination for Governor at the hands of my party, and to argue the matter would seem to be arguing for my nomination. But your letter puts a compulsion upon me of an entirely different kind. You urged the Federation to inform itself about my views and wait until it could be sure that it was acting justly, and, having failed in that, you turn to me and frankly ask me what I really think. Your friendliness and candor leave me no choice but to reply. I do so with pleasure.

I have always been the warm friend of organized labor. It is, in my opinion, not only perfectly legitimate, but absolutely necessary that Labor should organize if it is to secure justice from organized Capital; and everything that it does to improve the condition of workingmen, to obtain legislation that will impose full legal responsibility upon the employer for his treatment of his employees and for their protection against accident, to secure just and adequate wages, and to put reasonable limits upon the working day and upon all the exactions of those who employ labor, ought to have the hearty

support of all fair-minded and public spirited men; for there is a sense in which the condition of labor is the condition of the nation itself.

I have criticised some of the things organized labor has occasionally done; but I have criticised them as a friend and because I thought them harmful to the laborers themselves and harmful to the country. I know of no other standard by which to judge these things than the interest of the whole community. The laboring man cannot benefit himself by injuring the industries of the country. Many thoughtful laboring men are themselves critics, and very outspoken critics, of many things which the unions do, and I stand with them and with all other right-minded Americans in saying what I honestly think. If I am mistaken, it can easily be shown that I am, and I shall always be glad to have it shown.

I am much more afraid that the great corporations, combinations, and trusts will do the country deep harm than I am that the labor organizations will harm it; and yet I believe the corporations to be necessary instruments of modern business. They are good things so long as they act in the common interest, and very bad things when they do not. Joint stock corporations, by putting into one enterprise the money of many thousands of persons, concentrate in their managers the power of thousands,—a very dangerous power, which should be closely watched and regulated. Sharp criticism should keep them amenable to public opinion. Strict law should restrain them. The principle is the same for all of us.

But our object, in the one case as in the other, should not be hostile. There has been hostility enough all around. What we need now is to take common counsel as to what is for the common benefit, for the good of the country and of the several communities in which we live and earn our bread, not only, but also our happiness. We need frank, outspoken, friendly opinion. We

need criticism which is not intended to damage but to create a better understanding all around. I have tried in everything that I have said on public questions to contribute to this friendly process of criticism, in order to assist in bringing on better days, and a state of opinion in which all men and all interests shall receive their due. To have any fear or favor in the matter is to be untrue to every standard of public duty. . . .

Meanwhile, Wilson had met with Harvey to discuss a platform. William Inglis describes these final preparations and then the most exciting event of all, the nominating convention in Trenton.

One morning [in August] I received a telegraphic summons from my chief, who was motoring through New Hampshire, to meet him at the Hotel Touraine [in Boston] the next day. The colonel was already there when I arrived, and so, to my surprise was Dr. Wilson, who had come in from Lyme. I understood that Colonel Harvey, looking forward to Dr. Wilson's election and record as governor, was eager to have him well and favorably known by the leading Democrats of New England, so that they might follow his career with interest and welcome him as their presidential candidate in 1912. He also wanted to fix up a platform to be adopted by the New Jersey Democratic Convention that would nominate Dr. Wilson, to compare ideas with him as to what it should contain and what it should omit—in short, to have the platform ready for the candidate, so that the campaign for governor—with the White House as its ultimate goal—might be begun promptly at full speed. Both of these plans were carried out and, I believe, without any knowledge thereof by the people of New Jersey unto this day.

The platform came first. On the evening of my arrival

I called at Dr. Wilson's room and told him the colonel would be glad to have him drop in. He came with me at once, carrying in his hand a number of sheets of paper on which I supposed he had written down his concept of what the Democratic platform ought to be.

Together we entered the sitting room of Colonel Harvey's suite. The colonel was sitting at a broad writing table with a number of sheets of manuscript before him —his concept of the platform, I guessed. I left the two together and went away for a couple of hours. . . . When I returned they seemed to have reached a satisfactory conclusion except as to the popular election of senators, which was in the colonel's draft.

"I am opposed to that," Dr. Wilson said.

"So am I," rejoined the colonel, "and I will keep it out if I can, but I fear they will insist upon it."

I had brought a lot of newspaper clippings, and the two began to look them over. One was a cartoon from the Newark "Evening News" picturing Wilson as a weary horse dragging a cart into which Harvey was helping Smith. Dr. Wilson studied it a moment and frowned, looking very much disturbed.

"You must make up your mind for more of that," the colonel remarked quietly, "for it cannot be avoided. I have the senator's authority to withdraw him absolutely whenever, if at all, I should consider it necessary, but I don't dare do it before the convention. That is a purely party matter, and the senator is going to need all the help he can get from the workers who want him but are not enthusiastic over you. It may become necessary to ask him to stand aside after the nomination, but not before. There is nothing to do but grin and bear it. . . ."

Before returning to his room that evening, Dr. Wilson accepted an invitation Colonel Harvey conveyed from Robert Winsor, the head of the banking firm of Kidder,

Peabody & Co., to be his guest at dinner on the following evening at the Union Club. Dr. Wilson's manner was cordial and charming. It would have been hard to find a man more delightful than he.

The next day the colonel took me to tea with President Taft and his family at Beverly. The President had been detained and I began after a while to fear that in making his hospitable amends he would not let the colonel go in time for the dinner engagement. We all sat on the big roomy porch with its view of the sea. Mrs. Taft poured tea, and Miss Helen and the bright-eyed Charley Taft joined us, as well as Major Butt—he was Captain Butt then. Poor fellow, he was as pleasant and cheery then as he was gallant and self-sacrificing only a few months later when he nobly sank with the Titanic.

There is no such thing, of course, as hurrying away from the President of the United States when he is inclined to postpone a guest's departure, so it was six o'clock or later when we took our departure from Beverly. The chauffeur was a worthy soul, but he had developed the virtue of carefulness into a vice. At every road crossing the car crawled. Later a fog settled around us, and after that the car merely oozed along the road to Boston. Dinner was for half past seven o'clock, but it was nearly half past eight when we hurried into the lobby of the Hotel Touraine. There I ran to a telephone and explained our predicament to our host, then found Dr. Wilson pacing up and down the lobby, as patient as could be, and explained to him, then hastened up to my room to dress for dinner in the fewest seconds possible.

When we came down Colonel Harvey expressed to Dr. Wilson his regrets at the delay, and we started for the Union Club. As to the dinner, my memory is simply one of a pleasant evening in no wise marred by its late beginning. It was interesting to observe one of the ablest

financiers in New England—perhaps in America—and one of the most eminent university presidents in America, whom I believed certain to be our next president, weighing, measuring, assaying, estimating each other during the progress of the hours, while Colonel Harvey never failed to supply the right word in season, doing his utmost to make each appreciate the other. For my own part, although my mind was burdened by the fact that I was missing a personal engagement of the utmost importance in New York, yet the burden was lightened by the feeling of delight that must possess any reporter who appreciates that he is actually looking on at big history in the making. We sat until after eleven o'clock, and as we parted I felt sure that Mr. Winsor and Dr. Wilson had found each other agreeable.

That night over the final smoke I remarked to Colonel Harvey: "Do you think he's really interested? He certainly doesn't seem as detached from the idea as he was when he telegraphed from Lyme that he was sorry he couldn't come to dinner."

"Oh, yes, he's interested now," the colonel replied. "He sees the possibilities, the probabilities. And, Inglis, believe me, you have just had a unique experience. You have taken tea with one president and dinner with another on the same day. . . ."

I now come to the events at the time of the New Jersey State Democratic Convention on September 15, 1910. Colonel Harvey moved into quarters at the Trenton House on the day before the convention assembled. This hotel was the headquarters of most of the party leaders and of all the delegates who could be packed under its roof. They were arriving all day, and those who could not find room and board at the house flocked there to meet their leaders, to renew old friendships with men they had not seen for years, to smoke awful convention cigars, and to talk and talk and talk, until the head of

a stranger suddenly launched upon this whirlpool of politics began to spin in amazement. Senator Smith occupied Room 100 on the first floor, a large sitting room with a little bedroom back of it, the suite long famous as the headquarters of chieftains at many a State convention. From casual phrases I heard here and there in the crowd no less than from the great activity of his followers, I learned that there was a very strong sentiment in favor of nominating Frank Katzenbach. He was a lifelong citizen of Trenton, and local pride and local affection were centered upon him. Moreover, he had been a stout and loyal Democrat during the sixteen long, lean years of Republican domination of the State, fighting for his party at all times, and, to cap the climax, had been his party's nominee for governor at the last election, had made a gallant fight against overwhelming odds, giving his time, his energy, and his money freely, and had taken his defeat like a true man, conquered but not subdued, full of hope for the next battle. Hundreds of delegates from all parts of the State knew him, admired him, and wanted him nominated.

"Frank's entitled to it, and he's going to have it!" is a declaration I heard over and over again. And a disquieting question I heard, too, very many times: "Where does Wilson come in? Did *you* ever see him?" After early dinner that evening Colonel Harvey asked me to get an automobile for a run over to Princeton.

"President Wilson is over there—all alone, I suppose, for he has just come down from the country for this convention," the colonel said to me. "He may be lonesome."

So we started presently and in little more than half an hour had covered the eleven miles to Princeton and were rolling up the drive to the house of the president of Princeton University. As I recall it, no lights were showing in the upper part of the house and very few

on the main floor. Our ring at the bell was answered in person by Dr. Wilson, who came and opened the door. Again he appeared most cordial, though without effusiveness. He shook hands with Colonel Harvey and me with a warm, firm grasp—at least, that was my experience—and smiled and asked us in. He showed us into the study, a great, spacious, high-ceilinged room, full of deep shadows and the fine odor of old books. After a few minutes of general conversation I strolled off, leaving my chief in consultation with his candidate. Again I felt the thrill of seeing at close range history in the making. So, I thought, might have felt some man on the staff of Warwick when that mighty earl was holding a preliminary interview with Richard of York. In half an hour or so the conference was at an end, and as he was bidding us good night I could not forbear to admire the poise and cheerfulness of Dr. Wilson. Here was a man of more than fifty years, bearing the responsibilities of a wife and three daughters, beset by enemies in his high position in the university, preparing to leave the academic shades in which all his days had been passed to plunge into the savage, violent struggle of politics, yet showing on the surface no more indications of apprehension than if he were passing from one room to another. True, he was playing under the most promising auspices for the greatest prize ever offered to the ambition of man; but the mighty chances and changes, no less than the veriest trivialities, that had intervened to keep many great statesmen from gaining that prize must be fresh and vivid in the mind of this master student of history as he stood before us. Yet his manner bespoke only a placid, cheerful readiness. Whatever speculations must have harassed him inwardly, he presented the outward picture of preparedness and serene confidence. Truly his was no ordinary courage. I was to see more

of it before twenty-four hours had passed, courage plus self-control carried to the highest degree.

"Tomorrow you are to go over and bring Dr. Wilson to Trenton—if he is nominated," Colonel Harvey said to me on the way home. "It would never do to have the delegates go away without seeing him, even if they should nominate him without having seen him."

Returning to Trenton we found the hotel more jammed than ever with delegates and alternates and statesmen and mere spectators. The air vibrated with politics. By eleven o'clock I had had all I could stand of the turmoil and the reek of political cigars, and I fled to bed for sanctuary. But bed was no sanctuary. Up and down the corridor past my door surged groups of men—delegates as I gathered from their talk. As the feet scuffled past the door scraps of conversation drifted in. In nearly every case it was the same—one of two phrases: Either "Frank's entitled to it, and he's going to have it!" or "Wilson's a sure winner and he's got to have it. Frank can wait." To the frequent repetition of these words I at last fell asleep, and knew no more till nearly six o'clock when I felt a hand on my shoulder. I looked up and saw Colonel Harvey. He had just come in. His face was positively ashen.

"Bill," he said, "we're up against it. This man Silzer from New Brunswick has got the big northern counties away from us, and the senator [Smith] can't get them back. We have got to put Wilson over on the first ballot or we never can. The Katzenbach men are so angry that they will go to Silzer like a shot and take enough of ours to nominate him. The cold fact is that at this moment we haven't the votes and we've got to get them. I have just left the senator. He is lying down in his clothes but can't sleep. I must, if I can, for a little. Have a cup of coffee and wake me at a quarter before eight.

And, Bill, for God's sake, don't let a whisper get out about Wilson being in Princeton. Think of it. Here I have brought him over to receive the nomination which I have told him was certain. He doesn't know ten men in the whole convention. He is relying upon me absolutely and without a question. If we should be beaten and it should get out that he had come over to Princeton, he would be the laughing stock of his enemies if not of the country, and I would be responsible. Can't you see it would be a personal tragedy? It simply must not be. Now, don't fail me."

The colonel had removed his coat while speaking and now dropped heavily on the bed so nearly exhausted that he went to sleep immediately. The next two hours during which I sat blinking at the dawn were the longest I ever spent—except two which were soon to follow.

Instructions were carried out to the letter, and at eight o'clock sharp Colonel Harvey was in Senator Smith's room. Meanwhile delegations from eastern New Jersey were still arriving by train, great battalions and marching clubs from Jersey City, Newark, etc., and as they paraded through the principal streets behind blaring brass bands and waving banners and pennants emblazoned "for Governor, Woodrow Wilson," the outward and visible signs, at least, became encouraging.

Everybody who was entitled to get in, and a great many who were not, crowded into the Opera House where the convention was called to order at noon. I could not see a vacant seat anywhere but on the stage. After the call to order and the invocation for divine guidance, the business of organization was gone through in the usual way. It was not in itself exciting, but it seemed to me that every nerve in my body was stretched taut by expectation, and my mind kept flying off to Princeton and wondering how that tall, lean, gaunt-cheeked scholar was enduring the ordeal of these passing

hours. Later I heard that he had been playing golf. Perhaps he was. Golf is a great composer of the troubled mind, and surely if anybody needed it he did.

There was a short recess of the convention for luncheon, and after that was disposed of Colonel Harvey gave me my orders. My recollection is that he had telephoned to Princeton in the meantime. At all events, he said to me:

"It's all right, if Smith can hold Essex solid, and I guess he can. Get your automobile and bring Wilson to my room in the hotel. Don't let anybody see him if you can help it. Have him here at four o'clock, for they can't reach a nomination before then. If he's nominated, a committee will call for him. Keep your car waiting at the door. If by any chance he should fail of nomination, you get him back to Princeton without letting a soul know that he has been here. We can't put him in the humiliating position of an office seeker waiting for what he couldn't get, though he simply must be here to address the convention if they nominate him. If he makes a speech, he'll win them all. But we've got to have him here, so that he can make his speech right away. No power on earth can hold that tired crowd for one hour after it finishes its work."

As I was starting on the run to Princeton, Edward W. Kemble, who was to make the convention cartoons for "Harper's Weekly," asked me to take him as far as the Opera House, but when he learned my destination he said he would go with me. The car rolled up the driveway of the president's house at Princeton University. and before I could ring the bell President Wilson opened the door, stepped out on the porch, smiled, and said: "Gentlemen, I am ready." That was all. I introduced Mr. Kemble to him and noticed that he had no overcoat. I urged him to get one.

"You'll make a speech after you're nominated," I de-

clared, "and you'll be very warm. You'll need a heavy coat on the ride back."

"But I have no coat where I can find it," Dr. Wilson replied. "See, I am wearing this knitted golf jacket under my street coat."

So there was nothing for it but to take him as he was. He was wearing a soft, rather narrow-brimmed felt hat, either black or of some dark tint, and he had on a sack suit of dark steel gray—neither hat nor coat of the newest. I can still feel the joy that surged through me as I thought that we Democrats were this day putting up for the presidency of our country this poor but able gentleman, this splendid American, not hampered with gross wealth, but equipped with the best qualities for leadership. Dr. Wilson was still as calm and unruffled as he had been the night before. If the testimony of looks was credible, he had rested well. If it were not for a certain gravity or, perhaps, appearance of gravity in his demeanor, I should say he was distinctly debonair. I forgot what he talked about on the way over to Trenton, but it was in the same pleasant vein as his conversation on the way down from Lyme to Deal a few weeks before. Then he was for the first time approaching the presidential idea in concrete form, not having committed himself to the project in any way; now he was fully committed to it and going into his first political battle. Yet his calm assurance and easy self-possession were the same now as then. Kemble spoke of it to me afterward. He declared he had never seen anything like it; that I must write an article about it right away, or he would do so. I agreed with him, but urged him to hold his horses until after the job in hand was done.

Kemble made his way to the Opera House and our motor car stopped at the ladies' entrance of the Trenton House, a small, inconspicuous door on a small side street through which there was not much traffic. I hurried Dr. Wilson into the house as briskly as I could and

took him up the stairway to Colonel Harvey's rooms on the second floor. There I saw Dr. Wilson undergo an ordeal from which the bravest Stoic might flinch. We were alone in the sitting room of an apartment in a rather old-fashioned hotel whose Victorian furnishings gave an air of almost rustic simplicity to the setting of the scene. In a great and crowded building little more than a golf shot away a throng of delegates were deliberating as to whether or not they should permit Dr. Wilson to take the first step toward the greatest prize in the world. Their instincts, their emotions, their prejudices, were all for Katzenbach, their tried and true leader in the last previous battle, whom they now hoped to follow to victory. Their reason, their intellect, urged them to obey the behest of the boss of the party and nominate Wilson, the scholar, the strange college president whom they did not know, because under him the chances of victory would be brighter.

Would reason or instinct turn the scale? Who could guess what fiery orator might arise and sweep the convention off its feet, set at naught the program of the bosses? What blunder, what accident, what trivial circumstance might upset all the careful plans? These were the questions that might be repeating themselves again and again in the mind of this smiling self-contained gentleman. If his sponsor's plans prevailed, he would be splendidly launched on the path to the highest honor in the world; if the plans miscarried, he would find the door to political advancement shut in his face, for years or forever. Also he would have to vanish from that Victorian room as silently and unobtrusively as he came, hoping to pass unseen through crowds among which were many keen-eyed reporters. If recognized, what humiliation might be his—the president of Princeton who came up to Trenton to receive the nomination for the governorship and had to flit away empty handed!

Yet there he sat at ease before me and chatted on

indifferent topics as casually as if he were making an ordinary afternoon call. Naturally we both talked about anything except the subject of which our minds were full.

As a veteran reporter, I have seen men die by misadventure and by the hand of the law; I have seen haggard men facing, studying, silently questioning, day after day, the juries whose yes or no would mean life or death; scenes of suffering were familiar to me, mere incidents to be encountered with clinical elimination of my own emotion. But the hour and a quarter that I spent waiting with Woodrow Wilson in the sitting room of that old-fashioned hotel stands out vividly in my mind as the most trying time of my life.

Possibly I may have seemed to him calm, but within I was burning with the desire to stir about, to do something, anything, yet was compelled to sit and wait.

"Here are various bottles of mineral water," I said to him. "Will you have Scotch or rye?"

"Neither, thank you," Dr. Wilson responded, with a smile that did not seem at all forced.

"A glass of water, then?"

"No-o-o," he said slowly, "I shall be all the better without any refreshment just now."

My impression is that Dr. Wilson told at this point an anecdote illustrating the predicament of one who is awaiting an uncertain fate; but if he did the anecdote has vanished. It has not faded from memory; it simply never registered. I was so nervous that it cost a painful effort to sit still. I wanted to fly down to the motor car, rush to the convention, find out what was happening and dash back with the news. But no; my instructions were to stick to Dr. Wilson, so I stuck. It seemed cruel, inhuman, to sit here witnessing a fine man undergoing the tortures of uncertainty, while both victim and witness mechanically went on conventionally chatting about commonplaces; but that was simply the fortune of war. In our Victorian parlor we were as remote from news

of the convention as if it were held on the deck of a ship and we were in a diving bell ten fathoms below. I called a newspaper office on the telephone, and after delay got in communication with somebody in the city department.

"They're calling the roll," was all he could tell me. Calling the roll? Great Scott! It was half past four o'clock, the convention had been in session since two, and we had been sitting in that room for thirty-five of the longest minutes ever known—and they were calling the roll!

"What do you think of a cup of tea and some thin, crisp, buttered toast?" I asked Dr. Wilson.

"No, thank you," he replied. "Better without it."

And still we sat and chatted idly of various things. Now and then I telephoned another newspaper office, or went back to the first one. If some one else had been nominated, I wanted to flee with my distinguished guest, silently and speedily, at once. But "They're still calling the roll," was all the information I could drag from anybody. What an eternity of roll calling! Time crawled, sickened, died—and still we sat and waited. Dr. Wilson was still serene, externally at least. He was, I think, telling another anecdote when, at ten minutes past five o'clock, I heard a quick, nervous rapping on the outer door of the next room. I hurried in, unlocked the door and opened it. In the corridor stood a very pale man, all in black.

"Is Dr. Wilson here?" he asked eagerly. Was it my imagination or did his voice really tremble? I think his voice trembled. It seemed ominous.

"May I ask who is calling?" I inquired.

"I am Mr. Cole of Atlantic," he said. "I made the nominating speech."

"Come in," I invited, and led the way into the sitting room, where I introduced him to Dr. Wilson, who had risen and was scrutinizing his visitor's white and serious countenance.

"Dr. Wilson," said Mr. Cole, "I have the pleasant duty

—to inform you—that you have been nominated—for Governor of New Jersey—on the first ballot—and—and it has been made unanimous."

"Thanks, Dr. Wilson answered. "I am ready."

I guess that is the shortest acceptance of a nomination on record—and I am not quite sure that he said "Thanks."

We all hurried down to the motor car, got in, and hastened toward the Opera House. As we approached the building the crowds on the sidewalk and in the street caught a glimpse of Dr. Wilson half hidden in the depths of the car.

"H'rah for Gov'nor Wilson!" yelled a young man with a very red and sweaty face. "H'rah!" the crowd took up the cheer and Dr. Wilson smiled, just pleasantly, not in the least exultantly. He was still a model of placidity. The main approach to the stage door was blockaded, so we stopped at the end of an alley and in an instant the car was so surrounded by yelling and grinning men that we could hardly descend. The men cheered louder than ever when they saw Dr. Wilson step down to the pavement, dashed at him to congratulate him, to wring his hand, even to pat his back or his arm if they couldn't catch the hand. I offered him my right arm, which he took, then I towed him up the alley, smiling constantly and saying: "Excuse me!" as I pleasantly but firmly poked my elbow against men's faces or shouldered them aside. The smile did it, and eventually we got to the stage door.

Then Dr. Wilson addressed the convention. Not a cheering convention by any means, for most of the delegates were in a sullen mood, resentful, having only at the last moment yielded under the lash of the whip. The nominee was greeted at sight with a fair amount of hand clapping, rather perfunctory, which was not to be wondered at under all the circumstances. Delegates by the

score, who had voted for him though they had never seen him nor even read of him, scrutinized him with frank curiosity.*

The acceptance speech and additional remarks were reported in the *Trenton True American,* September 16 and 17:

You have conferred upon me a very great honor. I accept the nomination you have tendered me with the deepest gratification that you should have thought me worthy to lead the Democrats of New Jersey in this stirring time of opportunity.

Even more than the great honor of your nomination I feel the deep responsibility it imposes upon me. For responsibility is proportioned to opportunity.

As you know, I did not seek this nomination. It has come to me absolutely unsolicited. With the consequence that I shall enter upon the duties of the office of Governor, if elected, with absolutely no pledge of any kind to prevent me from serving the people of the State with singleness of purpose. Not only have no pledges of any kind been given, but none have been proposed or desired.

In accepting the nomination, therefore, I am pledging myself only to the service of the people and the party which intends to advance their interests. I can not but regard the circumstances as marking the beginning of a new and more ideal era in our politics. Certainly they enhance very greatly the honor you have conferred upon me and enlarge the opportunities in equal degree.

A day of unselfish purpose is always a day of confident hope. I feel confident that the people of the State will accept the promises you have made in your platform as made sincerely and with a definite purpose to render

* *Collier's Weekly,* LVIII, Oct. 14, 1916, 12-14, 40.

them effective service. That platform is sound, explicit and businesslike.* There can be no mistaking what it means. And the voters of the State will know at once that promises so definitely made are made to be kept, not to be evaded.

Your declaration deserves and will win their confidence. But we shall keep their confidence only by performance, by achievement and by proving our capacity to conduct the administration and reform the legislation of the State in the spirit of our declarations not only, but also with the sagacity and firmness of practical men who not only purpose, but do what is sensible and effective.

It is towards this task of performance that my thoughts turn as I think of soliciting the suffrages of my fellow citizens for the great office of Governor of the State. I shall do so with a very profound sense of the difficulty of solving new and complicated problems in the right way. I take the three great questions before us to be reorganization and economy in administration, the equalization of taxation and the control of corporations. There are other very important questions that confront us as they confront all the other States of the Union in this day of re-adjustment; the question of the proper liability of employers, for example, the question of corrupt practices in elections, the question of conservation, but the three I have named dominate all the rest.

It is imperative that we should not only master them, but also act upon them, and act very definitely.

* The platform was thoroughly progressive and included these planks: administrative reorganization of the state government, equalization of tax burdens between individuals and corporations, wise use of school funds, conservation of the state's natural resources, creation of a public service commission with power to regulate rates and services, extension of the employers' liability act, eight-hour day on public works, state control of corporations, corrupt practices act, nomination and election reforms, expansion of the civil service system, and reciprocal interstate automobile legislation. *Trenton True American,* Sept. 16, 1910.

It is first of all necessary that we should act in the right spirit. And the right spirit is not a spirit of hostility. We shall not act either justly or wisely if we attack established interests as public enemies. There has been too much indictment and too little successful prosecution for wrongs done; too much talk and too few practicable suggestions as to what is to be done. It is easy to condemn wrong and to fulminate against wrong-doers in effective rhetorical phrases; but that does not bring either reform or ease of mind. Reform will come only when we have done some careful thinking as to exactly what the things are that are being done in contravention of the public interest and as to the most simple, direct and effective way of getting at the men who do them. In a self-governed country there is one rule for everybody, and that is the common interest. Everything must be squared by that. We can square it only by knowing its exact shape and movement. Government is not a warfare of interests. We shall not gain our ends by heats and bitterness, which make it impossible to think either calmly or fairly. Government is a matter of common council, and everyone must come into the consultation with the purpose to yield to the general view, the view which seems most nearly to correspond with the common interests. If any decline frank conference, keep out, hold off, they must take the consequences and blame only themselves if they are in the end badly served. There must be implacable determination to see the right done, but strong purpose, which does not flinch because some must suffer, is perfectly compatible with fairness and justice and a clear view of the actual facts.

This should be our spirit in the matter of reform, and this our method. And in this spirit we should do very definite things. It is obvious even to the casual observer that the administration of the State has been unnecessarily complicated and elaborated, too many separate

commissions and boards set up, business methods neglected, money wasted, and a state of affairs brought about of which a successful business concern would be ashamed. No doubt the increase of State expenditures, which marked the last decade has been in part due to a necessary and desirable increase of function on the part of the State. But it is only too evident that no study of economy has been made, that a careful reconsideration and reorganization of the administrative processes of the State would result in a great saving and enhance responsibility on the part of those who are entrusted with the important work of government. Our system of taxation is as ill-digested, as piecemeal and as haphazardous as our system of administration. It cannot be changed suddenly or too radically, but many changes should be inaugurated and the whole system by degrees, reconsidered and altered, so as to fit modern economical conditions more equitably. Above all the methods of assessment should be changed, in order that inequality between the taxes of individuals and the taxes of corporations, for example, should be entirely eliminated. It is not necessary for the maintenance of our modern industrial enterprises that corporations should be indulged or favored in the matter of taxation and it is extremely demoralizing that they should be. Such inequalities should be removed by law and by the action of the tax assessing authorities of the State and of the locality. This is a matter which will require dispassionate study and action based, not upon hostility, but upon the common interest. The question of the control of corporations is a very difficult one, upon which no man can speak with confidence; but some things are plain. It is plain, as far as New Jersey is concerned that we must have a Public Service Commission with the amplest powers to oversee and regulate the administration of public service corporations throughout the State. We

have abundant experience elsewhere to guide us in this matter, from the admirable commission so long in successful operation in Wisconsin, to the latest legislation in sister States. We need have no doubt of our right course of action here.

It is the States, not the federal authorities, that create corporations. The regulation of corporations is the duty of the State much more directly than it is the duty of the government of the United States. It is my strong hope that New Jersey may lead the way to reform; by scrutinizing very carefully the enterprises she consents to incorporate; their make-up, their objects, the basis and method of capitalization, their organization with respect to liability to control by the State, their conformity to State and Federal statutes. This can be done and done effectually. I covet for New Jersey the honor of doing it.

It is so also, gentlemen, with every other question we face. Let us face it in the spirit of service and with the careful, practical sense of men of affairs. We shall not ask the voters of the State to lend us their suffrages merely because we call ourselves Democrats, but because we mean to serve them like honest and public-spirited men, true Democrats because true lovers of the common interest, servants of no special group of men, or of interests, students of the interests of the people and of the country.

The future is not for parties "playing politics," but for measures conceived in the largest spirit, pushed by parties whose leaders are statesmen, not demagogues, who love not their offices, but their duty and their opportunity for service. We are witnessing a renaissance of public spirit, a re-awakening of sober public opinion, a revival of the power of the people, the beginning of an age of thoughtful reconstruction that makes our thought hark back to the great age in which Democracy

was set up in America. With the new age we shall show a new spirit. We shall service justice and candour and all things that make for the right. Is not our own ancient party the party disciplined and made ready for this great task? Shall we not forget ourselves in making it the instrument of righteousness for the State and for the nation?

The prepared speech was short. As he ended, he expressed sympathy for the long, grueling day put in by the delegates and indicated that he was ready to help them to a quick adjournment. But his remarks were greeted by cries of "You're all right" and "Go on, go on." And he consented to extend some of the points he had raised and to add a peroration.

We must reconstruct, by thoughtful processes, economic society in this country, and by doing so will reconstruct political organization. This reconstruction will be bigger than anything in American history.

America is not distinguished so much by its wealth and material power as by the fact that it was born with an ideal, a purpose to serve mankind. And all mankind has sought her as a haven of equal justice.

When I look upon the American flag before me I think sometimes that it is made of parchment and blood. The white in it stands for parchment, the red in it signifies blood—parchment on which was written the rights of men, and blood that was spilled to make these rights real. Let us devote the Democratic party to the recovery of these rights.

The speech was one of Wilson's most effective. In thirty minutes he had converted most of his Democratic opponents to enthusiastic supporters. His candid statement avowing his independence of machine control had startled and delighted the progressives. Joseph P. Tumulty and his friends who had

bitterly opposed Wilson's nomination were captivated. Later Tumulty told of the "mystic spell" cast over the convention by the "personal magnetism of the man, his winning smile, so frank and so sincere . . . the beautiful rhythm of his vigorous sentences." The excitement and enthusiasm were something rare in party politics. All around, Tumulty heard the cry, "Thank God, at last, a leader has come!" *

* Joseph P. Tumulty, *Woodrow Wilson As I Know Him* (Garden City, N. Y., 1921), 21-22.

III

CAMPAIGN AND ELECTION

THE OPENING GUN of the campaign was fired on September 28 in Jersey City where Wilson delivered three addresses. The first was not a smashing success. He was plainly embarrassed with his new role, hesitating and fumbling at the start. His second speech was better organized; he had obviously relaxed, and the delivery was smoother. The same was apparently true of his third, given in the German district of the city.

Some progressives were disappointed with Wilson's first attempts and criticized him for avoiding specific issues. And yet there was a simple charm and directness about the speeches that appealed to many. The professor had proved that he could leave the lectern and talk with the people on the street in their own terms. The general response was good. He had managed, at least, to lay a few ghosts; the issues would come later.

The portions of his first two addresses which are given here reveal some of the flavor and color of Wilson's maiden efforts as a politician; they also indicate his main theme: why the Democratic party deserved support. The first was delivered in St. Peter's Hall, Jersey City.

I am sincerely obliged to you for the generous reception you have given me, and you have relieved me of great embarrassment. I never before appeared before an audience and asked for anything, and now I find

myself in the novel position of asking you to vote for me for Governor of New Jersey.

I do not want to give you any personal reason why you should vote for me. If I were in your place and you were in mine I am sure I would be at a loss to give any personal reasons whatever. I am going to give those persons who are generous enough to believe in me the reason why you should choose me in particular.

What I want to give you tonight are some reasons why you should believe the Democratic party in this State a suitable party to serve you at this juncture in your affairs, for, gentlemen, we have not come to a point where any individual can ask for a favor from his fellow citizens unless he can give reasons that will satisfy the public in general that a real service will be rendered in return.

Some gentlemen on this platform can tell you more specifically than I can that I did not seek the nomination as Governor. They were generous enough to offer it to me, and because they offered it to me, they were generous enough to let me understand that I was under no obligations to any individual or group of individuals, but I am now asking you to vote for me for Governor.

I particularly want to confess an obligation: if you should vote for me for Governor I shall be under obligations to you, I shall be obedient to the people of this State, to serve them, and them only. I wish to be your servant, not because I recognize any particular qualifications in myself above those of scores of other men who might have served you just as well, but because I believe to the bottom of my heart that the time has come when the Democratic party can be of real service to the State of New Jersey, and to the nation to which we belong.

I believe I can take it for granted here to-night that you want a change of program. I believe I can take it

for granted that you believe, as I believe, that those who have been attempting to govern this State have in some degree lost their capacity.

I am not now indicting a great party. I hope sincerely that you will never hear me in the course of this campaign saying anything against that great body of our fellow-citizens who have believed in the principles of the Republican party.* What I want you to understand me as doing is this—I believe that that great body of citizens is now led by persons who are not capable of realizing in a proper public spirit the great principles of the Republican party any more than they can win the acquiescence of those persons who believe in the great principles of the Democratic party. I believe we want a change of government, and what I want you to-night to believe is that the Democratic party can give you the kind of change of government that is desired. I fully realized when I asked you to believe that that I must give you sufficient reasons. The reasons I shall give you are modest enough reasons.

I don't believe that the virtue of public service rests with any particular group of men, but I do believe that in order to say what the public interest is it is necessary that you should be detached for some considerable length of time from the temptations of office. I believe those who have had the offices of the State in their possession for a long time are induced to look upon it as a private gain rather than a public gain. And it is necessary, as the sailor would say, to get your offing to know what you are about. . . .

* Wilson's Republican opponent was Vivian M. Lewis of Paterson, State Commissioner of Banking and Insurance. A moderate, Lewis had been active in public life for many years, and he waged a strong campaign, advocating, by its end, a program fully as progressive as Wilson's. But Lewis was in advance of his party, and progressives doubted that he could bring entrenched Republicans in step with the times. Events and circumstances also favored the challenger, and Wilson's candidacy offered personal and dramatic appeal.

I simply want you to listen to me while I give a candid set of reasons.

In the first place, although the Democratic party has made some blunders and although the same political party has sometimes wandered this way now and then another it is the party which has longest and most intensely maintained its connections with the great body of the plain people. . . . It is the party that does not study how to advance particularly, but it has always had principle as great and broad as the great body of the people itself.

I have had a great deal to do first and last with the plain people: I myself have all my life long been a poor man. I know what it is to be careful in living, careful in expense, observant of the conditions that affect great bodies of men, moreover, I know this, that nobody who has ever read the pages of history can fail to notice that the real wells of strength and sources of renewal are in the great body of the people.

Every great State is like a great tree: it does not receive its nourishment and renewal from its fruit and branches—it is received from its root, and every great State is rooted in that great soil which is made up of all the vast body of unnoticed men, the great masses of toilers, the men who never emerged to the general view, the men who go quietly, painfully on from day to day, from month to month, from year to year, from generation to generation and sustained by their labor the whole economics of a political body. There is the sap of the nation and the glory of America has been that it again and again, not rarely so as to make any singular circumstance, but again and again plain men have arisen from the ranks in order to be first the captains of the things they found immediately to do, and after awhile the captains of the country itself.

I found a gentleman to-day with whom I was talking who did not know that one of the most celebrated char-

acters of our history gained his elevation by arduous efforts just in that way—no less a person than George Washington. He could not afford more than a common school education, had to go out in the rough country that surrounded his home to serve as a surveyor, had to endure all the hardships of a frontier and struggle for an education which he gained from practical affairs, and never to the end of his life could he spell correctly.

This great figure that all the world turns to as the typical figure of America was rooted in the common soil of every day life of the country where he lived, and so I say that party which has so far as I have known it always felt the keenest, intensest sympathies for the greatest body and mass of citizenship is the party I wish to work with, and I believe in the long run can serve the party best.

Then there is another reason—a reason which concerns the Republican party—it has a very distinguished history, and I would not want to take away from its laurels in any respect, but from circumstances I need not stop to narrate to you, the Republican party has in one circumstance and another identified itself with policies which were meant to sustain special interests in this country. I say that because of changes in economic policies; it has been at pains to serve the particular economic interests which sprung up from generation to generation; it has established a partnership which it cannot break. By saying it cannot break it, I am not suggesting corrupt reasons why it cannot break it; it cannot honorably break it. If it has tied itself up in its policies with certain dominating interests in the country, I leave it to you, is it honorable for it to break it to get the votes of a large number of citizens? And I say that the Republican party has identified itself with particular interests from which it cannot be expected to divorce itself in a single generation.

You will say that the Democratic party has not done so because it has not had the chance. I do not think that is a fair judgment at all, but let us assume that is the case. The Democratic party has not formed these alliances and the Democratic party is therefore free to go in any direction it pleases in the service of the country. I think, for my part, that is a very good reason for choosing my own party lines. Not that I would have you believe I am just choosing them, for I have been a Democrat ever since I was born.

I was first a Democrat because I was born that way; then I became a Democrat because I believed that way. Now I am giving you the reasons why I believe that way. I want to belong to a party which at present, at any rate, is free to serve the country without too many entangling alliances.

This is not an easy time in which to live. I do not wonder that great mistakes of policy have been made. I could point out to you the tremendous economic changes which have occurred in this country within a single lifetime, aye, in some instances in a single decade, that have changed the whole face of economic endeavor.

Fifteen or twenty years ago, for example, business was conducted by partnership, by individuals, by small groups of men, and now, as everybody knows, the great sorts of business are conducted by corporations; are conducted by big combinations of men not controlled by any one group including the means and savings and investments of hundreds of thousands of persons. And look what has followed. The board of directors of a joint stock corporation is using more money in the business than the board of directors could ever through their own separate endeavors have collected and amassed.

They have piled up in one enterprise the small contributions of hundreds and thousands of stockholders. They have, therefore, wielded enormous economic power.

And yet we find this singular circumstance that if I did this by myself with my own small accumulations the law always knows who I am and where to find me when I am responsible. I am a member of a board of directors —the most influential of a board of directors—and am assessed of millions of dollars which I could not possibly accumulate by myself, then the law does not know where I am.

The law cannot find me: I am in ambush: I am under cover, because the law has a pretty theory—you may not know that I was bred in the law—therefore I can speak by the book in the matter—the law has a very pretty theory that a corporation is a person—a legal person—and you cannot dissect a person. You cannot find out which piece of person did a thing. You have to take the person as a whole. I demur from that theory.

Everything that any corporation does was originated by somebody in particular, and I say that the immediate task of the law is to find the person.

Our modern corporation law is like the law of some States with respect to automobiles—or rather like the law as I have heard it proposed in respect to automobiles. I have heard it proposed that it should be the law with respect to automobiles that when the law was broken the best thing to do was to seize the automobile and lock it up. Now, that might inconvenience the owner, and as we say in the South, "learn him sense," but we want to use the automobile. Because a reckless person misuses it is not any reason why a sensible person should not use the automobile. Therefore, I say get the man who is running the automobile and teach him to behave and do not take the automobile away: the automobile is not to blame.

What I am trying to illustrate for you is that all of this thing has arisen within less than a generation and

the mere fact of the matter is that the law does not fit it; the law was made in an age when these things did not happen and that is the only trouble with our law.

Then what do we need? We need some party, some group of men, some set of leaders, who are free to throw over this old idea so that the new idea of the law can be adapted to the new and extraordinary circumstances of the day. They must be free, because they must be unprejudiced and they must be fair. . . .

The program that I am engaged in is the election of a body of Democrats who can change the policy of the State. I am not speaking for myself. I am speaking for what I have been privileged, by the action of the convention that nominated me, to represent; I regard myself as the representative of a great idea, of a great purpose, which I hope will turn out to be the purpose of the people of New Jersey. I want to say just this about the means which we are to use to accomplish the ends that are ahead of us.

I know that recently a great many persons have talked as if they were impatient of law—as if they were impatient of those slow processes by which legal remedies are effected. I know that there are a great many persons who wish that it were possible, just by vote, to put out everything that is wrong and to put in everything that is good; but if you had that sort of an arrangement you would not accomplish anything at all.

You cannot accomplish anything except through the instrumentality of the law. Now, the law is a rough and ready instrument. Law cannot adapt itself to very minute conditions or circumstances. It has to consist of general rules, and somebody is going to get pinched by the general rules. It has got to be unfair to somebody, but not to most people; if it is properly arranged the general rule will be for the benefit of everybody, but it will not

be for the benefit of any particular person. What I want to insist on to-night is that the law is the poor man's friend.

It is because the law is the poor man's friend when it is justly administered that I stand for the law. I do not believe that the law as a profession breeds a particularly liberal temper on the part of those who follow it. I say this with great respect to the lawyers, but I do not believe that the lawyers supply us with the only thing that holds the ship of State steady, with the solid ballast that is in the bottom of the ship, without which she could not stand up straight and carry the canvas. I believe that this structure of the law which we sometimes find so painfully inconvenient is nevertheless, the only safe thing in which to brave the waters. Therefore, the thing that I want to preach, as I would preach the salvation of society, is respect for the law, but with the free determination to change it in such way as may be necessary to serve the general interests.*

In another part of Jersey City he spoke in St. Patrick's Hall.

You are very gracious in the way you have received me, but I wish very much that Congressman Hamill had completed his speech. I would always a great deal rather hear somebody else speak than speak myself. I am like one of my friends, a man who has written a great many books, and who says that for him to thoroughly enjoy a book it is necessary that it shall have been written by somebody else. And I am sure that gentlemen of generous dispositions could give you very much better reasons why I should be elected Governor than I can. I am not aware of possessing the extraordinary excellencies

* *Jersey Journal* (Jersey City), Sept. 29, 1910.

attributed to me. I do not take credit for being a Democrat. I was born that way, and it seems natural for me to be one anyway; but what I should expect to be praised for, would be being a Republican, because that would be very difficult, and one always prides himself on accomplishing that which is difficult. To tell you the truth, I do not purpose advancing any reasons why you should elect me Governor of New Jersey, because I think that is a very small matter indeed. No one man, if he is a man of sense, can believe that the safety and welfare and progress of the State depends upon his individual fortunes. The convention that nominated me gave me a very much higher privilege than that of talking about myself, the privilege of representing the Democratic party in this State; and I think that the Democratic party in this State is now in the position to render a very great service to you, its citizens. I have been trying to formulate indeed, as frankly as I could the reasons for that belief, because it is all very well to say that to get your blood moving faster with splendid sentences that will pile up the praises of the Democratic party, but after all is in, you are to be brought to your proofs, and one of the serious things about the argument of a man looking forward to presenting his views, is that if you take me at my word, we will be put to our proofs, because one of the things we have got tired of in this country is unfulfilled promises. Any man and any party that makes a promise now, in the present year of grace and the present state of mind of the American people, must make up his mind to keep it or to take a back seat. I am very chary, therefore, about making promises.

And yet I think there are some promises that can soberly and reasonably be made. In the first place, ladies and gentlemen, we can safely promise a change of program. By a change of program I mean doing something

that has not been done in this State for a great many years. I do not mean any dispraise to most of the men that have been engaged in the administration of this State in recent years. I have had the pleasure of being associated with them, with some degree of intimacy in one transaction or another, and many of them enjoy my entire respect. I do not for a moment believe that I am more honest than they, or that the men associated with me are more honest than they, but I think they are headed in the wrong direction. If I think it desirable to seek the salubrious climate of the hills and I meet a man bent with all speed for the seashore, he may be a very respectable and honest man, but he is going in the wrong direction. What I object to about the Republicans is their judgment: I do not think they have been in a position to have an independent judgment about affairs and I will tell you why. If you had spent all the years of the time since the Civil War until now studying policies by which to advance certain special economic interests, you could not head yourself off. You would be exactly like the man who wanted to teach a young steer to pull in yoke and he didn't have any other animal to yoke with him, and he put his own head in the yoke. It was very small, and he didn't realize that he had to twist his head to get it on. The steer took a notion to run and he went through the town. The man was very much excited and he called out, "Why don't some fool head us off?" Now, the steer, and if you will permit me the pun, the steering gear, are these special interests, and in the other side of the yoke is the Republican party. I did not realize the full application of that story, for I am the fool that is trying to head them off. [Laughter] I will try to look forward the next story I tell. But after all the story is a good story whether it has the application or not. And what I am trying to say is true, whether the story is good or not. The Repub-

lican party has got itself entangled in certain alliances from which it cannot reasonably be expected to disentangle itself, and the Democratic party happens to be free. . . .

But that is not the most I can claim. As I was saying at another meeting to-night—I am speaking in pleasantry—I have been two kinds of a Democrat. I was a born Democrat. My father was a Democrat and all my people were, and I could not be anything else when I was a youngster, but when I came to think for myself I became a convinced Democrat, and this is the second kind of Democrat and it is the kind of Democrat that is talking to you to-night; a Democrat who believes with all his heart that the real sympathies of the Democratic party have always been broader than the sympathies of any other party in the history of this country, that the Democratic party has always been ardently, more consistently, had the impulse of serving the general interests rather than particular interests, and the party that has, whenever in power, tried to serve these interests. It has made colossal blunders, like other parties. It has been led astray in trying to do it, but it has tried to do the disinterested thing. Some of its members have not been disinterested, but parties do not consist of leaders. These men could not do anything of themselves. These men have been in public affairs because the great masses of the citizens believed in them and in the things in which they were supposed to believe. The power of every party is in the rank and file, the voter, and in the beliefs of the voter. . . .*

Before his next speech the candidate was interviewed by S. M. Christie, a newspaper reporter. In this interview, among other things, Wilson touched again the subject of organized labor and gave an interesting, albeit naïve, inter-

* *Jersey Journal* (Jersey City), Sept. 29, 1910.

pretation of why he had been asked to run for governor. The interview was published in the *Trenton True American* on September 29.

Woodrow Wilson, the Democratic nominee for Governor, discussed vital issues in his usual frank and fair manner when interviewed by me today.

During the course of our talk I suggested that some persons had been a little doubtful as to the wisdom of supporting his candidacy on account of some of the men identified with it.

"I am not used to being nominated for Governor," said Mr. Wilson, "but I know that no man ever ran for the office who was so free from pledges and promises as I am. I rather anticipated that I would be approached and asked as to my views on certain questions, and as to what I would do in certain contingencies, but I was not. Everything seemed to be taken for granted. It puzzled me, and I asked a friend what it meant.

" 'It means,' said my friend, 'that the Democratic State leaders, after 15 years of leading a minority, want to elect a Governor. They will gain in prestige and will gain incidental advantages, and they know that while you will only appoint fit men to office you will not discriminate against Democrats, and they have been discriminated against for 15 years, you know. And they expect also to reap incidental advantages from the house cleaning you will, if elected, be enabled to make, and the economies of administration you will undoubtedly effect.' "

Bringing the discussion to Mr. Wilson's attitude on labor matters, I asked him if he had ever said that a dollar and a half a day was enough for any workingman?

"It does not seem that it should be necessary for me to answer such questions," said Mr. Wilson, "since I have given my views publicity many times.

"The statement that I said a dollar and a half a day was enough for any workingman is an absolute lie.

"In my letter to Mr. Williamson I said that 'it is, in my opinion, not only perfectly legitimate, but absolutely necessary that labor should organize in order to secure justice from organized capital. Surely that is plain language.

"A little while ago the New York Press published a statement that I had said that only college men should hold public office. That is not only a lie, but an absurd lie.

"How could any sane man, who knows anything about American history say such a thing? What are the two names that stand out most prominently in American history—George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. And neither Washington nor Lincoln went to college.

"Friends of mine called my attention to that statement, and urged me to reply to it, but what is the use? Lies are eventually shown to be lies, and hurt only those who resort to them.

"And while I know little about campaigning for public office, I know enough about it to realize that if I try to reply to all the lies that will be told about me I will have time for nothing else.

"I feel like the farmer who said to his son: 'Son, if you hear some pretty bad things about me, and I pay no attention to them, you may be sure that they are lies. But if you hear some things about me, and I immediately get mad and deny them, you may be sure they are touching a sore spot, and that what they say is true.' "

I suggested to Mr. Wilson that, not being a college man myself, I had been much interested in reading one of his addresses to the alumni in which he said: "Most of the masters of endeavor in this country have not come through the channels of universities; but from the great rough-and-ready workers of the world."

"The importance of a college education," said Mr. Wilson, "is overestimated, and it is most frequently overestimated by those who have not had it. The self-educated man has the advantage of having had to put forth greater effort to obtain what he has obtained.

"Reforms do not begin at the top of the social strata, they begin at the bottom. A recognition of that fact has been one of the great sources of strength of the Catholic Church. In the Middle Ages the Catholic Church kept alive the democratic idea. A peasant could not hope to be king or emperor, but the humblest peasant knew that it was possible for him to become the Pope at Rome, and to dominate kings and emperors. This country cannot afford to drift away from democracy."

Mr. Wilson talks frankly, freely on all subjects, dodging no issue, but apparently convinced that the only right thing for him to do is to open his mind without reserve to the people of the State. He seems to be under the impression that on any matter which will come within his executive control the people are entitled to know his views.

Critics who felt that Wilson was avoiding the issues had their answer on September 30 in Newark. In one of the better addresses of his campaign Wilson declared himself not only firmly behind every plank in the platform but also in favor of broad regulation of corporations, a Public Service Commission, and direct election of Senators. It was a ringing speech; there was no doubt that Wilson had heard the progressive criticism. There was no doubt also that he was moving steadily into the progressive camp. The Newark address was long; most of it appeared in the *Newark Evening News* on October 1.*

You do me great honor by giving me so great and

* See also C. R. Bacon, *A People Awakened* (Garden City, N. Y., 1912), 39-42.

generous reception, and I thank you for it from the bottom of my heart. As I was coming to this meeting, passing through the crowds that lined the sidewalks, I kept asking myself, What is it that draws these people away from their homes?

("Wilson!" cried a voice in interruption, and the crowd applauded.)

I would feel very much complimented if I could believe that, but that was not the answer that came into my mind. Men do not flock after a man they do not personally know unless they believe that he stands for something in particular, . . . and one of the most delightful and inspiring things about the American people is that they believe in causes, they believe in principles and they believe in ideas, and they flock after a man who they hope and believe represents those things.

These are not demonstrations of honor to an individual; they are manifestations of a very stirring impulse on the part of the people of this city and state with regard to the political affairs that lie immediately ahead of them.

You want from me, I am sure, gentlemen, a confession of faith, and I am ready to make it.

I hope that you have all read the very sound and explicit platform put forth by the Democratic convention that did me the honor to nominate me, and I say to you now, as I said to them, that I stand absolutely, without any equivocation, for every plank in that platform.

I also stand for some more planks that are not in the platform, because it is impossible for a body of men to exhaust in any statement of principles the subjects which really lie at the very bottom of all political thought and welfare in every American community.

There is one plank I would have liked to have seen in that platform. I do not pretend to criticize anybody who had any part in the making of that platform because

it is not there. But my own thought would be this: I am very proud of being a citizen of the State of New Jersey and I am very proud of New Jersey; and I wish there were nothing to be sorry for in connection with her very recent political practice. And yet there is something to be sorry for. New Jersey has earned a certain reputation throughout this country because of her too great and hospitable care of any or all corporations, good or bad, and I wish with all my heart that the citizens of this state might interest their legislature to the extent of putting the law of incorporation upon another footing, so that the men who come to New Jersey, seeking the privilege to do business in the way of corporations, will be obliged to go through a severe scrutiny as to the purposes of the corporations.

I believe that the great bodies of the people have the right of direct nomination for office. I believe that the people of this State are entitled to a public service commission which has full power to regulate rates. I believe it would be wise to do what New Jersey has already once done, pass an act in favor of a constitutional amendment allowing the people to vote directly for their Senators.

Suffice it to say that it is our bounden obligation, myself included, if we are put in office, to carry out candidly and to a full extent every principle and every object laid down in that platform. You could not wish it made more explicit than that.

I take leave to believe that there is one singular question that underlies all the other questions discussed on the political platform at the present moment. That singular circumstance is that nothing is done in this country as it was done twenty years ago.

The old party platforms of twenty years ago read like documents taken out of a forgotten age. We are in the presence of a new organization of society.

We are eagerly bent on fitting that new organization, as we did once fit the old organization, to the happiness and prosperity of the great body of citizens.

We are conscious that that order of society does not fit and provide the convenience or happiness or prosperity of the average man. We are not legislating in this country for exceptional men; for the rich; for the poor; for any class. We are trying to find out what is for the common interests of every living soul, providing he live honestly and strive honorably in the profession to which he has devoted himself.

America does not consist of the men who get their names in the newspapers; America does not consist politically of the men who set themselves to be political leaders; America does consist of the men who talk and speak for her—and they are important only so far as they speak for that great voiceless multitude of men who constitute the great body and the saving force of the nation. Nobody who cannot speak of the common thought, who cannot move the common impulse, is any man to speak for America, or for any of her future purposes.

So we seek to conform all the policies of this country to this great body of American citizens, the men who go about their business every day, the men who toil from morning to night, the men who go home tired in the evenings, too tired sometimes to think about things, the men who are carrying on that thing that we are so proud of.

You know how it thrills our blood sometimes to see how all the nations of the earth wait to see what America is going to do, who with her power, her physical power, her enormous resources, her enormous wealth, her power to levy innumerable armies and build up armaments which might conquer the world. And the nations hold their breath to see what this still young country will do

with her young, unspoiled strength, and we are proud that we are strong.

But what has made us strong? The toil of millions of men, the toil of men who do not boast, who are inconspicuous but who live their lives humbly from day to day. And this great body of workers, this great body of toilers, constitute the might of America.

What is the manifest duty of all statesmanship, therefore? It is to see that this great body of men—who constitute the strength of America—are properly dealt with by the laws and properly nurtured and taken care of by the policy of the country.

Well, what hinders? What stands in the way? Why, you know, that everything really worth discussing comes to the question of the corporations.

I was bred a lawyer, but I cannot indict a whole nation. I can indict one man at a time, though, and I want the law to do it with. Then there are some men who I admit it would be a great pleasure to indict upon some proper occasion. I may name them just for the pleasure of naming them and then put it up to them whether they will stand trial or not, but I am not going to indict my fellow-citizens who are conducting business on the modern method of conducting business. I am not going to utter invective against the modern instrumentalities of business, but to discuss the improper and unfortunate uses to which these instrumentalities have been put. Everything comes down to that.

What's the matter with the tariff? That is a long story and there is a great deal the matter with it.

The main trouble is that it has been an ambush, a covert, a forest, in which all the men who wanted to get illegitimate profit have been able to get it. The tariff question is not a question of individual manipulation but a question of what has been exemplified in building

up the Sugar Trust, and in building up the American Tobacco Campany—what part the tariff has had in building up this, that and the other concern which could not have been built up in that fashion if it had not been for the protection afforded by that legislation.

I am not objecting to the size of these enterprises. Nothing is big enough to scare me. I am not objecting to the extent of the business, and last of all, I am not objecting to people getting rich from conducting business with prudence. What I am objecting to is that the government should give them exceptional advantages which enable them to succeed and do not put them on the same footing as other people. Of course, size has something to do with that. I think those great touring cars, for example, which are labelled "Seeing New York," are too big for the streets. You have to walk almost around the block to get out of the way of them, and size has a great deal to do with the trouble if you are trying to get out of the way. But I have no objection on that account to the ordinary automobile properly handled, by a man of conscience, who is also a gentleman.

Many of the people I see handling automobiles handle them as if they had neither conscience nor learning. I have no objection to the size and beauty and power of the automobile. I am interested, however, in the size and conscience of the men who handle them, and what I object to is that some of the corporation men are taking joy rides in their corporations. You know what men do when they have a joy ride, they sometimes have the time of their lives, and sometimes, fortunately, the last time of their lives.

Now these wretched things are taking joy rides in which they don't kill the people that are riding in them, but they kill the people they run over.

So the tariff has to do with corporations. Corporations

have to do also with all those things I have discussed in the platform of our party.

I was asked the other day why I did not give the Republican party fits. Now, the Republican party is composed of a very large body of my fellow-citizens, and I cannot give my fellow-citizens fits. I can only tell them that their leaders are betraying them, have been leading them wrong and, the fact is, a large body of the party itself is telling them the same thing. . . .

Sooner or later the question of taxation must be settled, I believe it is the fact that in this State corporations are not equally taxed. Now, that is a very complicated question.

I believe that is true, but it will take a long time to find out about it, and when we do find out about it we will make the thing equal. . . .

It is not fair to tax one man more than another because perchance, he has greater capacity of thought, but it is perfectly fair to tax people for anything you give them in the way of property.

That is the reason you can tax them for the privileges which the law affords them, in order that they may be able to support the other law which enables them to do those things. That is the principle of taxation.

All this leads to one conclusion. I have said—and I do not believe that it can be contradicted successfully—that in recent years no one has met the difficulty.

The trouble with all legislation in regard to corporations is, that in respect of our punishments, we treat them as persons, like individuals. And they are not persons; they are not individuals.

Don't you know that it is true that everything any corporation does was originated by some person in particular, or some body of persons—some board of directors or some officer or some employee of a corporation?

Do you suppose that there is any corporation whose business is so badly handled that the officers of the corporation could not tell you who originated any particular act of the corporation?

If there is such a corporation, it is on the verge of bankruptcy, and if the officers who ordered the thing done don't know who did it, then they don't know their business. They do know who ordered it done, and the man who ordered it done is the man the law ought to punish.

The point is, we must change the law, in order that we may do the remarkable thing of finding the man who really is guilty. Let's get down to business in the regulation of our corporations and find out what we do want, and then do it.

Then, when we find somebody that has done that thing that he ought not to do—even though he was authorized to do it by the corporation—put him into jail. Our jails are used to a great advantage, but the philanthropy might be extended. The moralizing effect of the jail ought not to be withheld from certain classes of the community. . . .

I am perfectly willing to tell those very fellow-citizens (Republicans) how they are being led and whom they have been led by. They have been led in a way that is deserving of condemnation, and the best proof of that is that a very large section of their own party is telling them so.

I believe honestly that we can show them how to do it. For one thing, we have been out of business a good while, and have had time to think about it, and not being too close to the matter we have held it off at arm's length and studied its proportion. Moreover, we are not embarrassed.

We are not split up into warring factions; we are all standing together, whereas they are reading each other

out of the different sections of their party. And that is a very demoralizing process—that each part of it is trying to lead the other part of it out of business.

Therefore, it is bankrupt as a party. They must have somebody to take it over, and now we intend to act as receiver. We don't have to ask for any order of the court; we will leave it to the jury.

Why should a man try to persuade his fellow-citizens that he is a fit man to serve them? It is a very immodest part to take. No man with any sense of proportion—no man with any sense of any kind—could stand up and pose as the savior of his fellow-citizens. He would go away with a permanent bad taste in his mouth for having made such an unfathomable ass of himself.

But it is perfectly worthy and perfectly dignified to stand up and say: "Gentlemen, let us all get together and try to understand our common interests"—because we are not working for to-day; we are not working for our own interests; we are all going to pass away.

Think what is involved. Here are the traditions, and the fame, and the prosperity, and the purity, and the peace of a great nation involved.

For the time being, we are that nation; but the generations that are behind us are pointing us forward to the path and saying, "Remember the great traditions of the American people."

And all those unborn children that will constitute the generations ahead of us will look back to us, either as those who served them or as those who betrayed them.

Will any man, in such circumstances think it worthy to stand and not try to do what is possible in so great a cause—to save a country, to purify a policy, to set up vast reforms which will increase the happiness of mankind? God forbid that I should be either daunted or turned away from a great task like that!

The Newark speech gave indication that Wilson was moving toward the progressive fold; his speech in Trenton on October 3 gave every evidence that he had arrived. It was easily the most rousing speech of the campaign; perhaps the best he delivered in the New Jersey political arena. In vigorous, forthright language he hit the major issues, one by one, and defined his own position as firmly on the side of the insurgents. He also described with no hesitation how, if elected, he would wield the power of the Executive in the interests of the people.

I have enjoyed this evening so far more than most of the evenings of my campaigning; then I only heard myself. I feel a great responsibility as I stand here. It is the second time within the last month I have stood upon this platform. I stood here to accept the nomination of the convention, which did me the honor of offering me the nomination as Governor of this State. I now ask you if you approve of that nomination, and will support me. (Cries of yes! yes!) The second responsibility is greater than the first. With the generosity which I can only say I did not deserve, the nomination was offered to me.

I am asking you for your votes, and if you give them to me I will be under bonds to you—not to the gentlemen who were generous enough to nominate me.

And that leads me to say something of a sort that I have not said during the campaign. I have sought during the last week to avoid as much as possible all reference to myself and to my personal purposes, and it seems to me appropriate standing upon this platform where both candidates for Governor have so recently stood, to say something that will be definite about what I shall try to do, because my competitor in this race tried to say to the convention that nominated him what kind of a Governor he intended to be.

He said, if you have read the reports of his speech, that he would try to be a constitutional Governor. He went on to define that by that he meant that he would exercise the powers suggested by the constitution, and studiously refrain from exercising any others; that he would send messages to the Legislature reading in the strongest way he knew how, the messages that he thought were necessary; that he would if he disapproved of the acts of the Legislature, veto, upon occasion, and require them to be reconsidered by the Legislature; but beyond that he would not go; that he would not try to coerce the Legislature into doing anything simply because he thought it was in the interests of the people. In other words, he said that instead of talking to the Legislature, he would not talk to anybody. Now, I cannot be that kind of a constitutional Governor. I have formed the habit of talking to other people, and I want you to understand exactly what kind of a Governor you will be electing, if you elect me. If you elect me, you will elect a Governor who, in the opinion of Mr. Lewis, will be an unconstitutional Governor. There is a kind of pressure that can be brought to bear upon the Legislature which is not only unconstitutional but immoral. I, for my part, believe that the standards of morals transcend the standards of the constitution. It is immoral to bring the pressure of patronage to bear upon the Legislature. It is immoral to try to undermine the influence of individual representatives by going into their districts and trying to form machines against them. Those are methods to which no honorable man will resort, but every honorable method of urging upon the legislators of this State things to do in the interests of the people of the State is assuredly constitutional, and will be resorted to by myself, if I am elected Governor. Gentlemen, who have been associated with me in other undertakings have complained of my habit of talking.

They have complained that I do not regard anything that concerns the public interests as confidential. I do not. I never shall; and I give notice now that I am going to take every important subject of debate in the Legislature out on the stump and discuss it with the people.

If that is pressure upon the legislature, then it is the pressure which belongs to popular government—the expression of opinion, and nothing else. If, in these circumstances, the people do not agree with me, it cannot do the legislators any harm. If the people do agree with me then it will be necessary for the legislators to do something. It is a perfectly even game. The members of the legislature can talk—some of them with amazing skill.

I am not such a talker as they need by afraid of, and therefore, the only thing they need be afraid of is my opinion, and opinions are perfectly "constitutional." Moreover, there is a sense in which this is serving the spirit of the constitution, which relieves the legislature of certain kinds of pressure which they will find it very welcome to be relieved of.

You know what happens when everybody is very silent, very quiet, when everybody refrains from discussing in public matters that have happened in the legislature. Even their needs are being said in undertones; their needs are being managed, their combinations are being formed.

I have even heard of an organization called the Board of Guardians,* an organization which, I understand, heartily desires what Mr. Lewis regards as a constitutional Governor, a Governor who won't bring any pressure to bear except such pressure as the Board of Guardians brings to bear upon the legislature.

This Board of Guardians is not elected by the people

* Actually, the Republican State Committee which Democrats charged was dominated by corporation interests.

of New Jersey; this Board of Guardians holds no authority except that of party machinery, and a constitutional Governor, according to the constitution, is not such a Governor as yields to party machinery. If that is the constitution of New Jersey, the constitution of New Jersey ought to be changed, but it is not the constitution of New Jersey. New Jersey's constitution is meant to build every public action upon public approval, upon public discretion—to see to it that every impulse that is a lasting impulse comes from the judgment and opinions of the people themselves.

You will notice that the Governor of this State is the only officer of the State government elected by all the people of New Jersey. Every member of the legislature is elected by some portion of the people of New Jersey. If the Governor does not talk, therefore, the people of New Jersey, as a whole, have no spokesman.

I am an amateur politician, and I shall timidly, as standing outside of the ranks of the profession, tackle the profession. I shall insist in every instance that talking be done in public and not in private, and welcome any politician in the State to a debate upon the public platform upon a public question. If you choose me as your Governor, then you will choose me as your spokesman, and upon those terms I shall approach the various questions which are interesting particularly at the present time.

I have said some things which may make you think that the centre and core of our politics is corrupt; the centre and core of our politics, gentlemen, is ourselves, and I do not believe for one moment that the people of this State or of any other State in this Union are corrupt.

I believe that corruption thrives only in secret places, not in public places, and that the reason you are constantly suspicious is that so many things are privately

done instead of by public arrangement, and that the politicians themselves—I mean those who have been under suspicion—I am now naturally referring to the Republicans, will find it to their advantage to have secrecy supplanted by publicity, because in many instances they have been unjustly suspected. What I object to principally in the definition of his principles by my opponent is that he is volunteering publicly a service of a System, and it is a System I object to, and a System I will do everything in my power to break up.

There are corruptions in politics. It would be an empty pretense if I were to try to make you believe that I thought these corruptions were characteristic of one party rather than another. They are, I am sorry to say, in parties which have long been in power. It ought not to be so, and I believe in my heart it need not be so, but I believe and I am sorry to admit it is so generally. I am not attacking our Republicans as far as they are the rank and file of the Republican party, but that the politics of the State have got into a very bad system, and corruptions have crept in which should not have been permitted.

One thing we need in politics for protection is the corrupt practice act. The corrupt practice act can go and should go into very interesting details. It should specifically state what are the legitimate expenses of a campaign; it should limit the expenses of a campaign to these legitimate objects; it should require that all candidates and all committees should publish in full an account of every cent they have received and from whom they have received it. Then last of all, it should forbid any person who holds a public office of any kind to contribute one penny to a campaign fund.

I have heard mentioned with much interest in this county a certain machine card index of persons who were expected to contribute to a campaign fund, their

personal circumstances, their disposition towards the party, and the amounts they could be expected to contribute. Under a proper corrupt practice act, these things would be impossible and inconceivable. Moreover, I am speaking of men who have been through this business.

I know just as well as you do how the Democrats of this county have taken the initiative in stopping bribery at elections, and that one of the chief fruits of that campaign was to put your excellent Mayor * in office, and also your present very efficient receiver of taxes. A league has recently been formed here, non-partisan in character, and the Democratic party has co-operated very heartily with that league, to see that the card index has gone to the pulp mill and a certain local Republican machine has gone to the scrap heap, so I am talking to persons who know the joy of victory in this interesting field and who know that the moment that you bring all these things into the open they will stop.

There is one very disturbing character in man, and I have experienced it myself, and I daresay you have when you are a long way from home and see no neighbors from near your homes, you give yourself an extraordinary latitude in your conduct, but if you were on the desert of Sahara and met one of your immediate neighbors coming the other way on a camel, you would behave yourself until he got out of sight.

Publicity is one of the purifying elements of politics. The best thing that you can do with anything that is crooked is to lift it up where people can see that it is crooked, and then it will either straighten itself out or disappear. These, therefore, are matters which touch us.

All last week I was talking about general principles and showing how eloquent I can be, and now this week I am getting down to business. There is another matter

* Thomas B. Madden.

that has interested us very much, indeed, and it is the regulation of public utility corporations.

You have tried to do some regulating of those corporations in Trenton, and you know, just as well as I do, that you have not the proper instrumentality through which to control these things. Complaints in the newspapers do not do any particular good. Protests to employers do not do any good. Protests to superintendents and to owners go unheeded. There is no place to which you can go and feel that your protests and suggestions are going to have any weight at all. The object of a public utility commission, such as ought to be set up, with full power in this State, is that every complaint made by a responsible person, by an honest person, will be investigated, and that you can be assured that under the operation of public opinion it will not only be investigated, but that the complaint, if found to be well founded, will be set right, and that the law, rather than whimsical choice on the part of the men governing the enterprise, will govern what they do. So that, if you will allow me to use a local expression, they cannot over night change from a system of strip tickets to cash fares. That, perhaps, is a detail, but it is a detail that illustrates the issue and illustrates it in your own personal and recent experience.

A public utility commission ought to have the right, after thorough investigation, such investigation as will put their action upon a fair footing for the men whose business they are regulating, as well as for the public, to determine the thing that is reasonable and exacted of them in the interests of the public, so that the public will know why their interests and their comfort and their public convenience are not served, if they cannot be served, and so that there will be a mutual protection, a protection on the part of the public utility corporation itself, and a protection on the part of the public.

No man who looks forward to the permanent welfare of a community would wish to see a condition of hostility set up. No man would wish to see unfair things done. If you oblige a public utility corporation to do things by which they lose money, then there is only one honorable thing to do, and that is to take over the business.

If you are going to leave the business in private hands, it is only just and rational that you should make it possible for the private individuals to run it without actual loss. Therefore, I say that it is absurd to discuss these things upon a basis of hostility, as if we were trying to break up public utility corporations. We cannot afford to break them up; we have to use them every day to transport our goods and person. We are trying to break up one thing—we are trying to break up unjust discrimination. We shall break up insufficient service. We shall try to see that these corporations which monopolize the highways, to which are accorded all sorts of extraordinary privileges, to which is given the State's right of eminent domain—we shall try to see that they are operated in the general interests.

Now, in order to do that gentlemen, the program that I began to outline, is a necessary program, and we have to take it up outside of the Legislature as well as inside the Legislature. It is the business of those who represent us to get as many of our fellow citizens together as possible, and go over the facts, so that they may with advantage do the just thing.

Then there is another matter to which I shall descend to a bill of particulars. It is the habit to talk about efficiency and economy in the government. A great deal has been said about the increase of expenses in the Federal government, and about the increase in the expenses of the State government. My friend, Mr. Libbey, I am sure, would join me in saying that in recent years

we have put new functions on our government, and they have necessarily cost more, yet we have not managed these matters in a business-like manner, in an economical manner. We have not performed our work as economically as we might. Therefore, the history of the administration needs to be studied from the top to the bottom, and every effort made to put it upon a business basis of efficiency.

Do you know the powers of the Commissioner of Roads of this State? The Commissioner of Roads has the absolute authority to lay out and construct roads and to make contracts for the repair of roads of this State, and he is not under any kind of restraint or control. He is given full power in these matters. You see the position he is in.

He ought not to be subject to temptation—private arrangements with regard to the contracts that he makes. And if you look through every item of the public business you will find some place where the business is run as no sensible man would run his business without loss or without being cheated by his employees.

We are undertaking a big contract, if we are going to run this government on the basis of economy.

If you elect me to undertake it, do not blame me for coming to you after a few months with tedious rows of figures; don't blame me for coming to you, as to a board of directors, to lay before you as I would lay before the university board the budgets, the means, the circumstances, as to where the money is to come from, how the money is to be spent and how it is to be saved. That is what I understand to be the business of the Governor and all other representatives. So that you must get ready to understand what I propose doing if you elect me Governor. . . .

If you want efficient government it is necessary that you take pains to understand it and vote on some ra-

tional basis; and I cannot understand how, at the present juncture of affairs, any man can vote the Republican ticket on a rational basis.

Now, just look at the Republican ticket. There isn't any Republican party. You ask one man what he is and he will tell you he is an Insurgent. You ask another man what he is and he will tell you he is a Stand Patter. And you say to the Stand Patter, "What do you think of the Insurgents?" and he will answer, "Oh! they are all traitors, trying to break the Republican party up." And you ask the Insurgent, "What do you think of the Stand Patter?" and he says, "He's a mossback—a man who doesn't know what year it is; he is living back in a past age." And particularly the Insurgent will say, "The Stand Patter is the man who does not know the hundreds and thousands of Insurgents there are in this country."

So that if I were inclined to vote the Republican ticket, I would want to find out what kind of a person I was, politically speaking. I would not condescend to be a Stand Patter, and if I was an Insurgent I wouldn't know whether I was a Republican or not, and I would say, "Here are a lot of men talking as Democrats, talking pretty good sense, who seem to know what they are talking about, and they do not differ in any important particular with the Insurgents of the Republican party."

Now nobody understands the stand patter. Let's all get together. The stand patter is out of court on the testimony of the Republicans themselves—not, unfortunately, in this State. The stand patter, as I understand —I am not one of their company, and, therefore, speak with all deference, but I understand the stand patters ran the convention that nominated my opponent. If so, they are a negligible quantity, taking the country as a whole, for the country as a whole, is going Insurgent, whether you call it Democratic or Insurgent; and one of the things that interests me about all political move-

ments, is that the men in whom real progress rests are always Insurgents, whether you call them by that name or not.

Everything that has ever happened in history has happened because a large number of men kicked—would not submit.

You will remember the old darkey's illustration of the theological doctrine of election. He says it is this way; "The man he vote one way, the devil he vote the other way, and then the Lord comes in and decides the election." And I think that's a pretty reasonable way of deciding the election. The Lord has the casting vote, I imagine, and the Insurgents always have the casting vote; the men who insist upon using their minds; the men who refuse to wear any man's collar.

And the beauty of the present situation, as I see it, is that the Democratic party, having been untrammeled by power for fourteen or fifteen years, have got into an Insurgent frame of mind, and they are all free to decide the election.

In such circumstances it seems to me that our appeal to our Republican friends, if they can find out what Republican means, is to study the practicable method of carrying progress forward in the country at this time, for that is what we are after. We are not after party advantage.

I have conferred with a good many men standing high in the councils of the Democratic party of this country, and I have yet to find the man who, in conference, urged low party political methods. I have yet to find the man who was not conscious of that great power of independent thought rising in America. But you cannot put new wine in old bottles. If a man has been so saturated in controlling things in the wrong way that he cannot control them the right way, we had better get somebody not so saturated.

My objection to the Republican party is the partnership that they have got into without any intent to do the thing for which they are responsible, and one of the things is our perverted sense of thought. For example, if you tell a candidate who desires office that certain interests were instrumental in obtaining the nomination for him, and after he is elected, something comes up that affects those interests, he says: "Now these men helped me to get that nomination, and although I did not promise them anything, I know they were influential in obtaining it." Therefore he will let up; he will make concessions.

Now the beautiful part of the situation, so far as I am concerned is, that I have not been told that anybody was responsible for my nomination. If anybody did bring it about, I am glad to say I do not know who it was. Therefore I am not under the subtle influence to anybody, and I believe that most of the Democratic party throughout the country is purified by the very air that vibrates the country itself, and the party is putting up men for office who do not know anything but the impulse of public service.

How fine a thing it is then to be the candidate under such circumstances; how high an honor it is to be trusted, to be trusted by the men who nominated you, to hope you will be trusted by the men who vote for you. What living man could sleep in his bed if, after being so trusted by men upon whom the whole strain and stress of life rests, trusted by men whose interests are involved in every movement of public policy—I say what man could sleep in his bed if after being so trusted he betrayed the trust?

It does not require any great imagination to think that high thoughts and purposes in politics are running subtly through every household and every member of every household in this country. It does not need that

you should touch elbows, actually touch elbows, with men in the street, and men in the shop, in order to know the great issues of human happiness that are involved in a great contest like this; for the question of the tariff is not a mere question of policy; it is a question of the re-arrangement of the public interests, as you touch every household in this country; and how any man, in such circumstances, can hold his head up after he has voted for a special interest without a just conception of the common interests, I, for one, cannot comprehend.

But, whether men can comprehend it or not, help it or not, we all know that the "mills of the gods grind slowly," and they "grind exceeding fine"; and the men who now resist this great impulse of reform, the men who impede this great compulsion of public interest, will be ground so fine in some of these mills of the gods that their very dust will be imperceptible.

I am not pleading with you to make me an instrument of retaliation; I am not pleading with you to make me an instrument for the punishment of men; but I am pleading [with you] to make me, if you trust me, a representative of these new ideas, a spokesman of these purposes, so that in constant conference with you I may be some humble instrument, when men do not entirely think of their own interests, but of the interests of their villages and cities, the interest of their counties, the interests of their States and their nation; that this is the America in which the common man is the representative man.

A few who are distinguished with their names daily in the newspapers are not the real representative citizens of the country; but the man who toils, who goes about his work with a desire to perform it well, to support those who are dependent upon him, to do his duty toward those who trust him, he is the representative American, and it is because he is, that America has grown

rich and powerful. If American men could not be trusted, if they did not know how to work, America would have neither distinction nor power. And, therefore, in appealing to impulses of this nature, we are appealing to impulses that are right, to impulses that will redeem, to impulses that will perpetuate America.*

An interesting campaign sidelight was the problem of reporting Wilson's addresses. With one or two exceptions, Wilson did not prepare his speeches in full before delivery. Usually he made only a brief outline to help organize his thoughts. Therefore, in order to provide copies for circulation, the Democratic Committee was forced to devise special methods. These were described by Charles Reade Bacon, reporter for the *Philadelphia Record.*

When the Democratic State Committee learned that it would not be possible for the candidate to prepare his addresses so that copies could be sent out to the newspapers in advance, Chairman Nugent organized a corps of stenographers and typists to accompany him on the tour of the state to take the speeches as they are delivered each night. The task was assigned to Clarence Sackett, an expert of Newark, who has been a stenographer in the Supreme Court for years. The system is now working to a nicety. Mr. Sackett takes the first fifteen minutes of the address, retires to the most convenient room—it was the office of a bottling establishment at Plainfield last Thursday night—and reads from his notes to a swift typewriter, while one of his assistants is "taking" the next fifteen minutes, retiring for a second assistant, who usually gets the last of the speech, Mr. Wilson usually talking forty-five minutes. In this manner the correspondents are able to get carbon copies of the first part of the address before all of it is delivered and

* *Trenton True American,* Oct. 4, 1910.

to put it on the wires for transmission to their papers in the candidate's exact language with no chance of misquoting or misunderstanding.

Sackett, warm and excited, emerged from a dressing room of the Beach Casino, at Long Branch, last Saturday night just as Mr. Wilson had concluded his address and was leaving the stage.

Former Senator Smith presented the stenographer to the candidate.

"Glad to meet you, sir," said Mr. Wilson. "I do hope I am not hard to follow."

"Oh, not hard to follow," said Sackett, gripping the sturdy hand; "only I get so absorbed in your speech that it is hard for me to keep my pen going."

Mr. Wilson appeared greatly pleased at the unique tribute to his power as an orator. The correspondents feel pretty much the same way as the stenographer. They want to listen and cut the work.*

In Trenton Wilson had made a bold bid for leadership of the progressives. But despite his increasingly liberal declarations and his repeated insistence that he was not under the thumb of the bosses, some progressives continued to withhold support. The most important was the redoubtable George L. Record. From his column in the *Jersey Journal* Record had sniped at, needled, and directly attacked Wilson from the beginning of the campaign.

When, in the Trenton speech, Wilson in an offhand manner offered to debate on the platform any Jersey politician, Record immediately took up the challenge and thereby provided the most exciting and significant event of the campaign. On October 5, Record wrote Wilson noting the candidate's willingness to debate other politicians and offered himself as an opponent:

I am keenly interested in public questions, and I hope

* Charles R. Bacon, *A People Awakened* (Garden City, N. Y., 1912), 64-65.

I am enough of a politician to qualify under your challenge.

At all events, I accept your challenge, and am willing to meet you in public discussion at any of your meetings, or at such other time and place as you may suggest.*

Wilson at first equivocated. His advisers were frankly worried that Record would embarrass him and endanger the cause. Wilson finally took matters into his own hands and decided to meet Record not on the platform but in newspaper columns. On October 11 Wilson wrote to Colonel Harvey explaining his decision.

Your letter of Monday is thoughtful and kind, but I do not believe that it will be necessary to look up Mr. Record's utterances, because I have just written a letter to him in which I say that it is evident that what he wishes to discuss with me is his own opinions and not the programme of either party, and that therefore it seems unwise to arrange a public debate as part of the campaign, but that if he will write me a letter asking my views on the matters about which he is in doubt, I will take pleasure in replying in a letter which he will be at liberty to publish. Some mutual friends of Record's and mine are trying to manage the thing so that there will be no trickery in his letter and that I can give it a frank and honest answer. There is certainly nothing that I need wish to avoid in a mere expression of opinion. Record's own turgid assertions are so well known that that matter, I think, will take care of itself. I found that it would make a very bad impression in Hudson County if I seemed to try to dodge his onset, because of course I am trying for the votes of the New Idea Republicans, with whom he has high standing, I am told.

* The Wilson-Record exchange was published in *Trenton True American*, Oct. 26, 1910.

Wilson's offer to Record was sent on the same day.

Senator Briggs' reply * to my letter, the object of which I explained to you yesterday, is so evasive and inconclusive that it confirms me in the impression that we shall have to deal with one another as individuals and not as representatives of any organizations of any kind.

I think I am right in assuming that if we were to engage in public debate, the subject of the debate would really be our own individual views and convictions and not the announced programme of either party. Having authorized the Democratic State Committee to fill every date that is available for public use, so far as I am concerned, it seems impossible to give myself the pleasure of such a personal interchange of views in public.

I am very anxious, however, to meet you with absolute candor upon the matters regarding which you are in doubt as to my position. I would esteem it a favor, therefore, if you would be kind enough to state the matters about which you wish to learn my opinion in a letter, to which I would take pleasure in replying in a letter which you would be at full liberty to publish. From what I know of your views upon public questions, I think it very likely that we are essentially at one in regard to the substance of our views, and probably differ only in practical detail. Debate, therefore, would seem to be less suitable than a frank interchange of views in a form that can be very simply handled.

On October 17 came Record's response in the form of 19

* Wilson's first response to Record's offer was to ask Nugent to write to Senator Frank O. Briggs, Chairman of the Republican State Committee, and find out if Record had been designated official Republican spokesman. It seemed an obvious hedge; Briggs wasted no words in replying that the only way Wilson could escape the consequences of his "somewhat rash remark" was to withdraw the challenge or debate with Record.

questions designed to elicit Wilson's stand on nearly every progressive objective.

I have your two letters declining to meet me in a joint debate, and offering to answer any questions I may put to you in reference to your attitude upon any public question, and to debate in writing any differences between us. You convey the impression in your last letter to me that our views are fundamentally the same upon the principal questions of the day. I hope this is so, because I know of no one in this State who exceeds you in ability to reason, or in power of statement, while your great and justly earned reputation gives weight and authority to whatever position you take.

Before entering upon any debate the first thing is to determine wherein, if at all, we differ. I submit to you a list of questions which show exactly the principles and the program of the Progressive Republicans of this State. These questions are so framed that you can categorically answer yes or no, except where your reasons are requested. I ask you to so answer. When these questions are answered, we can determine upon what subjects we differ and debate accordingly.

Wilson sent his answers to Record on October 24; newspapermen received them a day later and gave the entire correspondence wide coverage. It appeared in the *Trenton True American* on October 26.

My Dear Mr. Record—I am sincerely sorry that I have been obliged to wait so long before replying to your letter of the 17th. The delay has been due entirely to the fact of my necessary absorption in the actual engagements of the campaign.

In order to reply as clearly as possible to your questions, I will quote them and append answers:

1—"That the public utilities commission should have full power to fix just and reasonable rates to be charged by all public service corporations. Do you favor this?" Yes.

2—"That the physical property of each public utility corporation which is devoted to a public use should be valued by the State. Do you favor this?" Yes.

3—"That such physical valuation should be taken as the assessment upon which such corporations shall pay local taxes. Do you favor this?" Yes.

4—"That such valuation should be used as a basis for fixing rates to be charged by these corporations and that such rates should be so limited as to allow them to earn not exceeding six per cent upon this valuation. Do you favor this?" No. I think that such valuation should form a very important part of the basis upon which rates should be fixed, but not the whole basis. All the financial, physical and economic circumstances of the business should be taken into consideration. The percentage of profit should be determined by the commission after full inquiry, and not by statute.

5—"That the present primary law should be extended to the selection of candidates for party nominations for Governor, Congressmen and delegates to national conventions. Do you favor this?" Yes. Though I should wish a better primary law than the present.

6—"That United States Senators should be selected by popular vote. Do you favor this?" Yes.

7—"To apply this principle, I favor a law compelling all candidates for nomination to the Legislature to file a pledge to vote for that candidate of their party for United States Senator who shall receive the highest number of votes under the present primary law. Do you favor this?" In principle, yes; but I fear that a law "compelling" this would be unconstitutional. Surely the voters can exact this pledge, and have the matter in their

own hands. A better primary law than the present would facilitate this exaction on the part of the voters by obliging the candidate for the State Legislature to state his intention in this matter when accepting his own nomination.

8—"That the names of all candidates at elections should be printed on a blanket ballot, and that all ballots shall be distributed to the voter by mail at public expense, or confined to the polling place. Do you favor this?" I believe that the ballots should be given out only at the polling places and only by the election officers; and that, while the blanket ballot is the best form yet devised, experience has proved that it is best to put some indication of the source of the nomination after each name. A mere alphabetical list results usually in the election of the top of the alphabet; and there are actually cases on record of would-be candidates who have had their names changed to begin with the first letter of the alphabet in order to increase their chances of election. Amidst a multitude of names on our long ballots, the ordinary voter needs some guidance.

9—"That primary and election officers should be appointed by some impartial agency, like a court. Do you favor this?" Yes.

10—"There should be a drastic corrupt practices act, forbidding all political expenditures except for the objects named in the act, with drastic penalties for the violation of the act; prohibiting the employment of more than two workers or watchers at the polls on primary day or election day representing any one party, or group of candidates; prohibiting the hiring of vehicles for transporting voters; limiting the amount to be expended by candidates; prohibiting political contributions by corporations. Do you favor this?" Yes.

11—"That every industry employing workmen shall be compelled to bear the expenses of all injuries to

employes which happen in the industry without wilful negligence of such employes. Do you favor this?" Yes.

12—"That the County Board of Elections law and the Hillery maximum tax law should be repealed. Do you favor this?" Yes.

13—"Does the Democratic platform declare for the choice of delegates for all elective offices by the direct vote system?" Yes; I so understand it. If it does not, I do.

14—"Do you admit that the boss system exists as I have described it? If so how do you propose to abolish it?" Of course, I admit it. Its existence is notorious. I have made it my business for many years to observe and understand that system, and I hate it as thoroughly as I understand it. You are quite right in saying that the system is bi-partisan; that it constitutes "the most dangerous condition in the public life of our State and nation today"; and that it has virtually, for the time being, "destroyed representative government and in its place set up a government of privilege." I would propose to abolish it by the above reforms, by the election to office of men who will refuse to submit to it and bend all their energies to break it up, and by pitiless publicity.

15—"In referring to the Board of Guardians, do you mean such Republican leaders as Baird, Murphy, Kean and Stokes? Wherein do the relations to the special interests of such leaders differ from the relations to the same interests of such Democratic leaders as Smith, Nugent and Davis?" I refer to the men you name. They differ from the others in this, that they are in control of the government of the State, while the others are not and cannot be if the present Democratic ticket is elected.

16—"I join you in condemning the Republican Board of Guardians. I have been fighting them for years and shall continue to fight them. Will you join me in denouncing the Democratic Overlords, as parties to the same political system? If not, why not?" Certainly; I

will join you or anyone else in denouncing and fighting any and every one of either party, who attempts such outrages against the government and public morality.

17—"You say the Democratic party has been reorganized, and the Republic party has not. Can a political party be reorganized without changing either its leaders, or its old leaders changing their point of view and their political character? Will you claim that either of these events has taken place in the Democratic party? If yes, upon what do you base that conclusion?" I do remember saying that it was seeking reorganization, and was therefore at the threshold of a new era. I said this because it is seeking to change its leaders, and will obviously change them if successful in this election. If I am elected I shall understand that I am chosen leader of my party and the direct representative of the whole people in the conduct of the government. All of this was distinctly understood at the very outset, when my nomination was first proposed, and there has never been the slightest intimation from any quarter to the contrary since. The Republican party is not seeking to change its leaders, and, therefore, is not even seeking reorganization.

18—"Is there any organized movement in the Democratic party in this State which corresponds to the Progressive Republican movement of which you have favorably spoken?" I understand the present platform and the present principal nominations of the Democratic party in this State to be such an organized movement. It will be more fully organized if those nominees are elected. This is, as I interpret it, the spirit of the whole remarkable Revival which we are witnessing, not only in New Jersey, but in many other States.

Before I pass to my next question, will you not permit me to frame one which you have not asked, but

which I am sure lies implied in those I have just answered? You wish to know what my relations would be with the Democrats whose power and influence you fear, should I be elected Governor, particularly in such important matters as appointments and the signing of bills, and I am very glad to tell you. If elected I shall not, either in the matter of appointments to office or assent to legislation, or in shaping any part of the policy of my administration, submit to the dictation of any person or persons, special interest or organization. I will always welcome advice and suggestions from any citizen, whether boss, leader, organization man or plain citizen, and I shall constantly seek the advice of influential and disinterested men, representative of their communities and disconnected from political "organizations" entirely; but all suggestions and all advice will be considered on their merits, and no additional weight will be given to any man's advice or suggestion because of his exercising, or supposing that he exercises, some sort of political influence or control. I should deem myself forever disgraced should I in even the slightest degree co-operate in any such system or any such transactions as you describe in your characterization of the "boss system." I regard myself as pledged to the regeneration of the Democratic party which I have forecast above.

19—"Will you agree to publicly call upon the Republican and Democratic candidates for the Legislature to pledge themselves in writing prior to election in favor of such of the foregoing reforms as you personally favor? If not, why not?" I will not. Because I think it would be most unbecoming in me to do so. That is the function of the voters in the several counties. Let them test and judge the men, and choose those who are sincere.

Allow me to thank you for this opportunity to express with the greatest possible definiteness my convictions

upon the issues of the present campaign and also for your very kind expression of confidence and regard, which I highly appreciate.

Sincerely yours,
WOODROW WILSON

The effect of Wilson's reply to Record was enormous. According to Tumulty, old-line Republicans shook their heads sadly and said, "Damn Record; the campaign's over." Record himself was reported as saying, "That letter will elect Wilson governor." Wilson had succeeded finally in convincing progressives of both parties that he stood with them shoulder to shoulder; he had also made it clear that he meant to be his own man in the State House. It was a bold political thrust, one of the most significant in his entire career.

There is little doubt that the exchange marked the turning point; still Wilson did not slow his pace. He delivered no less than 17 more hard-hitting attacks on his opponents before ending the campaign on November 5. In most of these, he repeatedly hit bossism in both parties. In a speech at Salem and again in the final address at Newark, he left no doubt as to his opinion of the very machine that had placed him in the running. At Salem, on October 25, he said:

New Jersey is only taking a part in this campaign, a great movement which has stirred the whole country, a movement for independence and reorganization and purity in politics. And yet it has struck me as a singular thing that my opponents, the Republican campaign speakers, have made all of their attacks, so far as I have had time to read them, not upon my position as a representative of the principles of the Democratic party in this campaign, but upon me as a person. Their attacks have been entirely inconsistent with one another and therefore they have been amusing; they have been

of such a nature as not to stir my anger in the least, because they have not been true.

You know you do not resent any imputation which is false, which is notoriously false, because you are not afraid anybody will believe it. The things that you resent are the things that are true. I am not concerned with the character of these attacks, except to point out how singularly they illustrate the absurdity of the whole thing. For example, these gentlemen began by sneering at me as a learned man. Why I should be sneered at because I am supposed to have learning, which I do not admit, by the way, I cannot understand, but on the supposition that I am learned, and on the supposition that I have written a history of the United States, which they seem to hold against me, how is it credible that I should say the things which they say that I have said? . . .

Why are these gentlemen so hard put? Why must these gentlemen make these crude charges in order to effect their objects and stop the momentum of the campaign? Why is it in the city of Camden that the rolls must be padded 20 per cent more than usual? Why is it orders have gone forth there that the methods to prevent the pure use of the ballots have to be resorted to more than ever? Why do these gentlemen resort to those methods unless they are hard put to it, and why are they hard put to it? I speak very plainly, because they cease to represent even the Republican party.

What are the traditions and policies of that party? One of the policies of the Republican party of which it is proudest and of which it has the best reason to be proud, is that its policy has sought—whether wisely or not, I will not now discuss—generation after generation, to build up the material interests of this country; to bring solidity and prosperity to our manufacturing enter-

prises. For a long time the real spokesmen of the party did devotedly apply themselves to the devotion of that policy. But what has happened in recent years? This has happened: That policy has been turned into a partnership of men taking advantage of the services they have rendered to industry. These men have subsidized industry and have been subsidized, in turn, by industry for the services industry has rendered to them. Having made the mistake of carrying too far this policy, they have given opportunity for the formation of trusts and combinations, which trusts and combinations in turn, form a partnership with them.

Who are the gentlemen who are leading the Republicans in New Jersey now? They are the men who have turned their backs upon all the progressive elements in their own ranks and oppose those who were against the things they knew were going to ruin the Republican party.*

Wilson ended the campaign in Krueger Auditorium, Newark, on November 5. His address was substantially a review of the differences between the parties and a re-emphasis of progressive goals. "We have begun a fight . . . against special privilege," he said, in which "no man would wish to sit idly by."

I started out six weeks ago by outlining what seemed to me the Democratic opportunity, the opportunity of the Democratic party, because no one else had seemed ready to recognize it and avail themselves of it—the opportunity to lead a great people seeking leadership in the effort to restore their Government to its ancient processes.

Why, gentlemen, there has not been any such opportunity in a generation in this country as in this year

* See *Trenton True American*, Oct. 26, 1910, and Charles R. Bacon, *A People Awakened* (Garden City, N. Y., 1912), 164-165.

to set an example as to what the people of a free commonwealth should have in the government and control of their own affairs. Do you know that all over this country there's a search for principles, not a search for expedients, not a search for selfishness, not a search by men who are seeking to get something that will be for their own selfish aggrandizement, but a search for some one, some body of men, some party of men, who will set up again the ancient standards of principles which men used to gather about and follow in this country.

Politics in recent years has degenerated in New Jersey, as elsewhere, into a struggle for control, into an effort to preserve the integrity and power of an organization which held the people at arms' length, and all over the country there has been the starting of opinion, starting and gathering of revolt against the processes of politics because they are the processes of selfishness and not the processes of patriotism. . . .

You know what happened in Washington. There was no intimation that there was any split or division in the Republican party until the present unspeakably selfish legislation known as the Payne-Aldrich bill was passed or brought up. Then what happened? Certain men who were Republican said that this piece of legislation was not in conformity even with the professions of the Republican party; it was not a measure for protection, but a measure for patronage; that it was seeking to give favors where favors were not needed, and that its object was not the industrial object of America.

That was said by United States Senators—men who have gone out in the West and made a political revolution. All the while, standing by them, is that same Democratic party, mustering thousands of strong men over the country, where there were Democrats waiting for the Republicans to come to their senses—waiting for

the Republicans to see that this was not patriotic accomplishment, but self-aggrandizement.

So that it is nothing but the simple truth to say that the Democratic party, in respect of its principles, has been waiting for the country to recover its just point of view and see the public interest in its true light. Was it not, then, the golden opportunity for Democracy to come into its own, to step forward and take the leadership of an awakened people in the return to sensible and safe politics—not only that, but to the methods of right politics?

What are the right methods of politics? They are the methods of public discussion; they are the methods of public opinion; they are the methods of open leadership—open and above board—not closeted with boards of guardians, or anybody else, but brought into the open, where honest eyes can look upon them and honest ears can judge of their integrity. If there is nothing to conceal, then why conceal it? If it is a public game, why play it in private? That is the Democratic inquiry—that is the inquiry of the United States [It was not necessary to ask the Democratic candidates what they believed, declared Wilson, because it was all in the platform. He then went on.]

The program contains that list of measures which is so familiar to you that it is hardly worthwhile to run over them by mention of the whole catalogue, you know what it includes, it includes some of the most important features; it includes a public utilities commission with genuine powers of regulation; it includes equalization of taxation; it includes business-like and economical reorganization and administration of the State government; it includes direct primaries; it includes an extension of the civil service; it includes the prevention of corrupt practices in elections, which by the way, is abundantly evident as a necessity. . . .

I want to speak very plainly to this audience to-night. I have now been into every county of the state, and I have seen audiences that would move the heart of any man, thronging in numbers and rallying around, not a party, not a person, not to accomplish some selfish purpose of interest, but to enjoy the experience of hearing the genuine interest of the entire Commonwealth candidly discussed. I have tried throughout this campaign to be as candid and as fair as I knew how to be; I have tried always to dwell upon the merits of every question; I have tried to point out to the audiences that I have faced what they wanted to hear, and not only what they wanted to hear, but what was right to do in the circumstances.

What has been done on the other side? Has the level of the campaign been lifted by the methods of my opponents? Have you heard them discuss the question in a frank and open mood? Have you not seen them diligently inventing stories against their opponents? Have you not seen them filling the public prints with personal matters which are without foundation of facts or justice? What do these gentlemen suppose public questions to be? Have they forgotten what American politics is? Have they forgotten that this is a question of what communities must do, and that it is neither here nor there what the individuals are?

I have not been conducting this campaign because I was the fittest person in the state of New Jersey to enjoy the confidence of my fellow-citizens. That has not been in my speeches; it has not been in my thoughts. I have been trying to explain to you matters of policy, and not by aspersions of character. Now, these gentlemen have not discussed public questions. Have they forgotten how to discuss public questions? Have they forgotten that the people of this Commonwealth are entitled to hear public questions expounded?

Is government so much a matter of habit, a matter of private arrangement, that they do not feel the necessity of trying to explain to the people? We have been building, building, building, while they have been tearing down, tearing down, tearing down. Every acid that can eat they have been sprinkling abroad, and no balm that can heal, no tonic that can put fresh vigor in the body politic, no hope to lift the people to candid and energetic leadership. I do not speak of these things because I have been hurt, for I have not. . . . But it is neither here nor there what I think of them. The question is what do you think of them? If they cannot fight the battle of knowledge and of principle let them get out of the arena. . . .

We have begun a fight that, it may be, will take many a generation to complete, the fight against special privilege, but you know that men are not put into this world to go the path of ease; they are put into this world to go the path of pain and struggle. No man would wish to sit idly by and lose the opportunity to take part in such a struggle. All through the centuries there has been this slow, painful struggle forward, forward, up, up, a little at a time, along the entire incline, the interminable way, which leads to the perfection of force, to the real seat of justice and of honor. . . .

Don't look forward too much. Don't look at the road ahead of you in dismay. Look at the road behind you. Don't you see how far up the hill we have come? Don't you see what these low and damp miasmatic levels were from which we have slowly led the way? Don't you see the rows of men come, not upon the lower level, but upon the upper, like the rays of the rising sun? Don't you see the light starting and don't you see the light illuminating all nations?

Don't you know that you are coming more and more into the beauty of its radiance? Don't you know that the

past is forever behind us, that we have passed many kinds of evils no longer possible, that we have achieved great ends and have almost seen the fruition in free America? Don't forget the road that you have trod, but, remembering it and looking back for reassurance, look forward with confidence and charity to your fellow-men one at a time as you pass them along the road, and see those who are willing to lead you, and say, "We do not believe you know the whole road. We know that you are no prophet, we know that you are no seer, but we believe that you know the direction and are leading us in that direction, though it costs you your life, provided it does not cost you your honor."

And then trust your guides, imperfect as they are, and some day, when we are all dead, men will come and point at the distant upland with a great show of joy and triumph and thank God that there were men who undertook to lead in that struggle. What difference does it make if we ourselves do not reach the uplands? We have given our lives to the enterprise, and that is richer and the moral is greater.*

Election day was November 8. The turnout was heavy, 433,560 voters going to the polls. Of these, 233,933 cast their ballots for Wilson; 184,573 for Lewis.** Wilson's plurality was 49,056. He had won 15 of the State's 21 counties, several of which had never before been carried by a Democratic candidate for governor. On the following day, he gave a brief statement to the press. As it appeared in the *Newark Evening News,* it ran:

I feel very deeply the great honor the people of New Jersey have conferred upon me.

* Portions of this address at Newark appeared in: Charles R. Bacon, *A People Awakened* (Garden City, N. Y., 1912), 220; *Newark Evening News,* Nov. 7, 1910; *Trenton Evening Times,* Nov. 7, 1910.

** The remaining votes were divided among a Socialist, a Socialist-Labor, and a Prohibition candidate.

I feel quite as deeply the responsibility it imposes upon me and upon my colleagues in the Democratic party.

I shall, of course, put every power I possess into the service of the people as Governor of the State.

It will be my pleasure and privilege to serve them, not as the head of a party, but as a servant of all classes and of all interests in an effort to promote the common welfare.

I regard the result of the election as a splendid vindication of the conviction of the Democrats of the State that the people desired to turn away from personal attack and party maneuvers and base their political choices upon great questions of public policy and just administrations.

On November 9, Wallace Scudder, Editor of the *Newark Evening News,* reminded Wilson in a thoughtful editorial that his election had come from the independents and that this was far more important than that his nomination had come from the Democrats. Only the future actions of the Governor-elect himself would reveal whether Wilson understood the full implications of Scudder's remarks.

New Jersey has recorded its political insurgency. The election of Woodrow Wilson is nominally a Democratic victory, but it is of larger significance than mere party success.

The insurgency-progressivism—of New Jersey, long repressed, burst out into nominal Democracy, but it is Democratic only in name. Insurgency has been active in New Jersey for years. It has grown and spread, starting from the Colby revolt, until the great majority of the independent voters favored it in principle.

But the "regulars" had been able to suppress it and keep it from gaining control by conceding enough to it, to save their own necks. They were aided by the lack

among the Progressives of some man who was generally regarded as a sane, constructive leader.

As a Democrat expressed it last summer: "The Progressives have the principles, but not the men, the regulars the men but no principles." Progressivism languished for its leader, a man who by his sane, constructive ideas could command general confidence—a man who did not want to sweep things away, but to work them out.

The leader was found, and he was found in the ranks of the Democrats. He was tested, proved a real Progressive, and was made Governor.

Due credit for his election must be given to the "new idea." Although they preferred to work within their party and could not capture its organization, the missionary work that Colby, Sommer, Morgan, Martin, Whiting and their associates did made Wilson possible. Six years ago Wilson on his platform of today could not have been elected. The "new idea" has triumphed because it prepared the field. Truly the reward of a sincere reformer is sometimes peculiar.

Mr. Wilson owed his nomination to the Democrats. He owes his election to the independents.

Progressives, both Republican and Democratic, were forced to vote for Wilson. There was nothing else for them to do in their determination to write down New Jersey as a Progressive State.

They believed they could trust in his pledge that he would be free from boss control. They did not doubt him when he promised that he would not be dictated to by special interests. Their confidence in his political and personal integrity was primarily based on his record and was strengthened by the manifest sincerity of the principles he professed during his campaign.

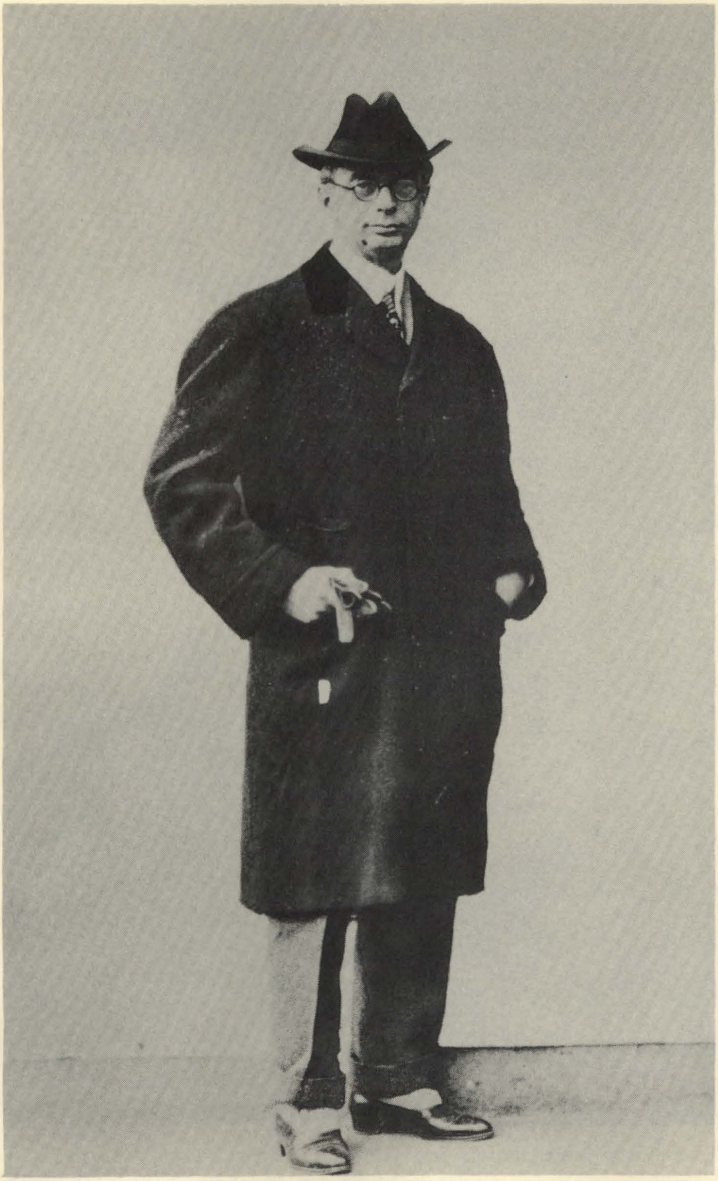
These, in brief, are the facts that account for the vote rolled up yesterday for Wilson. To him the people have committed their interests in the conduct of the State

government. They confidently look to him to accept the full responsibility of the office.

The vote does not mean that the people want to hark back to the conditions prevailing in the early nineties. It does not mean that they have indorsed the Democracy that controlled the House of Assembly in 1907.

Mr. Wilson has promised better things. The people believe in him or they would not have given him their franchises.

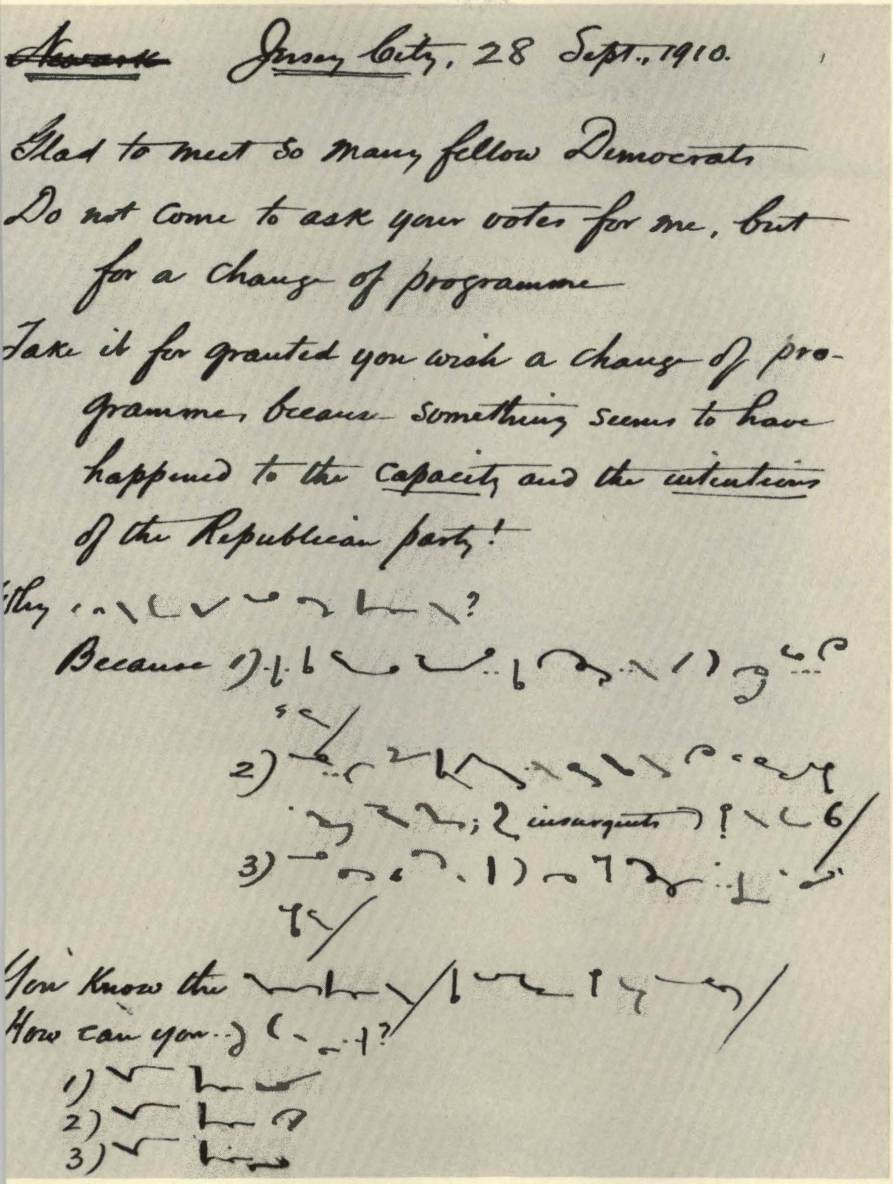
Governor Wilson has been given the commission by the people of the State to redeem the political reputation of New Jersey and to reconstruct the character of the controlling forces in the State House at Trenton.



Colonel George B. Harvey, early promoter of Wilson's political career.

Courtesy of Brown Brothers, New York, N. Y.

Ex-Senator James Smith, Jr., Democratic Boss of Essex County, N. J.
Courtesy of Brown Brothers, New York, N. Y.

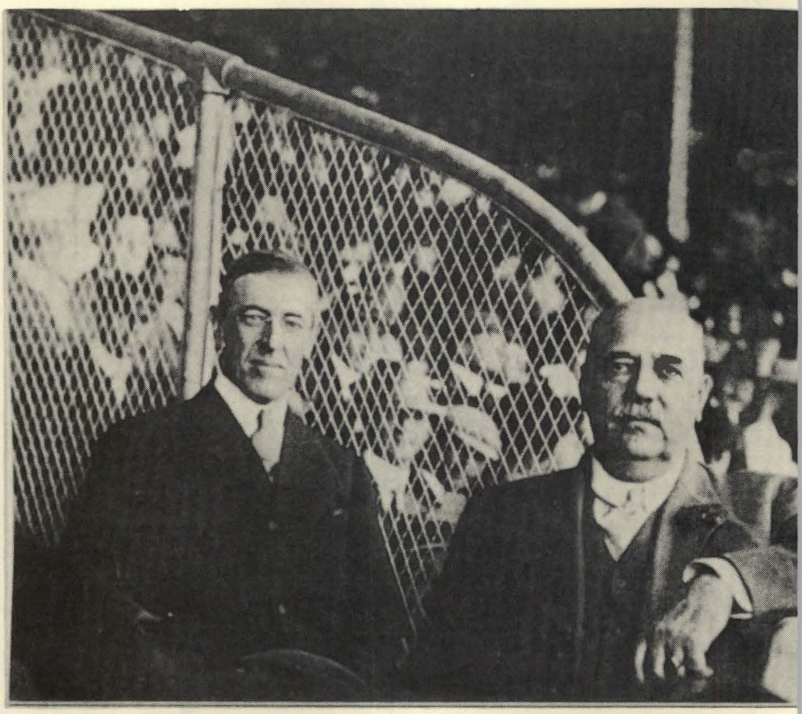

Jersey City, 28 Sept., 1910.

Glad to meet so many fellow Democrats

Do not come to ask your votes for me, but for a change of programme

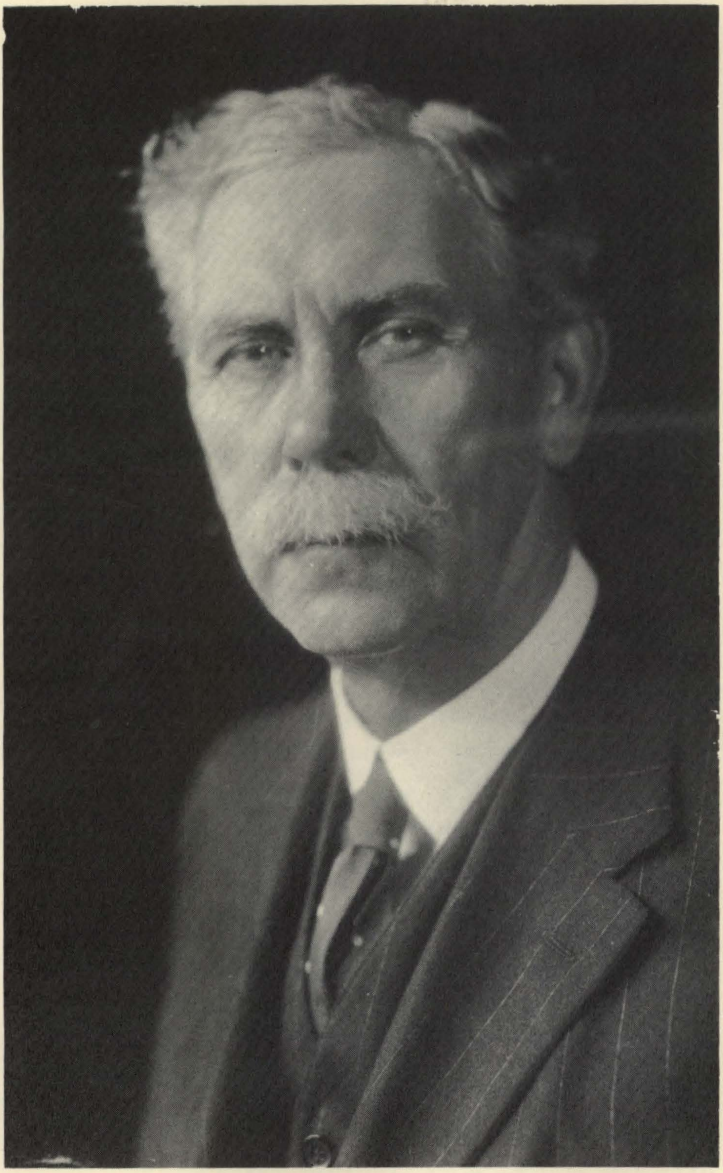
Take it for granted you wish a change of programme, because something seems to have happened to the capacity and the intentions of the Republican party!

Wilson's handwritten and shorthand outline of his opening speech in the campaign. He used the Andrew J. Graham shorthand system. *Courtesy of the Collections of the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.*



Wilson and his Republican opponent, Vivian M. Lewis, at the Inter-State Fair, September 23, 1910.

Courtesy of the Collections of the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.



George L. Record, Republican progressive.
Courtesy of Underwood & Underwood, New York, N. Y.

NEWARK, 5 November, 1910.

RETROSPECT:

A remarkable campaign for the reintroduction of principles and the simpler processes of opinion into the political action of the State.

I. The Democratic opportunity, — the opportunity to emphasize the need, and the power, of principles and to promote a definite programme of reforms, rather rather advance the interests of individuals or of parties. A platform of open action.

II. The Programme: the reforms desired:

Administrative reorganization
Equalization of taxation
Public utilities commission
Employers' liability act
Eight hours on all public work
Control of corporations
Prevention of corrupt practices
Direct primaries
Civil service reform
Reasonable automobile regulations
Preservation of school fund
Conservation

(Kindness of Mr. Record) Government without machine.

III. The Response of the State!

IV. The tactics of the Opposition.

THE OUTLOOK:

The forces at work, outside the State as well as inside.

Leadership of opinion.

CONCLUSION: The slow, toilsome, upward journey of the race.

America's leadership in that progress; her duty of example in the struggle.

New Jersey for the nation's service. 11/5/10

Wilson's outline for the final speech of the campaign, typed by himself on his Hammond typewriter.

Courtesy of the Collections of the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

Governor Wilson in his office in Trenton with his secretary, Joseph P. Tumulty (standing), and the journalist, William B. Hale.

Courtesy of Brown Brothers, New York, N. Y.

IV

THE STRUGGLE FOR PARTY LEADERSHIP

THE CAMPAIGN WAS OVER; the election was won. Inauguration and assumption of full executive responsibilities were two months away. The wife of the Governor-elect was sure that he needed a vacation, and, accordingly, the Wilson family prepared to leave Princeton. But these plans went awry. A tiny cloud that had hung on the horizon during the later weeks of the campaign grew suddenly to storm size and lowered over party headquarters. The Big Boss wanted to become a candidate for United States senator.

Wilson, especially after his exchange with George L. Record, had taken every opportunity to state his unequivocal opposition to continued domination of the party by the machine. His words apparently were never taken seriously by the Smith-Davis-Nugent organizations. As the campaign wore on and success seemed more likely, rumors that Smith might wish to return to the Senate increased steadily. With Wilson's victory had also come a Democratic majority in the lower house of the legislature—so large, in fact, that Democrats commanded a majority in joint session as well. Senators were elected in joint session; therefore, the Democrats had the power to elect their own man.

Smith, as we have seen, told Harvey before the nomination that he was willing to disavow entirely any interest in the senatorship if his possible candidacy would hurt Wilson's chance. But with victory achieved the situation was changed, and Smith's ambitions were newly whetted.

Thus, as Inglis put it, "the trouble began" for Wilson almost before the shouts of victory had died away. Here is the story from Smith's viewpoint first, as Inglis heard it.

Then the trouble began. One morning within a week after the election Colonel Harvey stopped off at Newark by request of Senator Smith, and later in the day, upon his arrival in New York, sent for me. He told me that Mr. Smith was considering the advisability of becoming a candidate for reelection to the Senate in response to the urgency of many of his friends who insisted that he had been as much a candidate before the people as Mr. Wilson. On some accounts Mr. Smith himself seemed inclined to obtain what would be regarded as a vindication; but on personal grounds he was indisposed to return to Washington in any event. As a preliminary to reaching a decision, he wanted to find out what would be Mr. Wilson's attitude. He suggested that the colonel make inquiries, and the latter expressed a willingness to do so, but said he thought it would be a better way for the senator to go directly to Mr. Wilson and have a frank talk about the whole matter. Mr. Smith finally acquiesced in this judgment, and so the matter was left. On the next evening but one we were sitting in the drawing room at Deal some time after dinner when a motor car drew up and the senator appeared at the door. My impression is that he had come directly from Mr. Wilson's house in Princeton. He was as cool and collected as ever, but somehow I could not but feel that there was something surging beneath that placid exterior. He sat down on the sofa with the colonel, and the two chatted idly for a few minutes and I picked up a book and began to read. Presently, however, my attention was diverted by a remark from the senator.

"Well," he began, "I have had a talk with your friend Dr. Wilson. I went there undecided as to what I should

do and willing to consider the whole situation in a fair and reasonable spirit, but his manner was such that I fear there is little room left for discussion."

"I suppose from that," the colonel interjected, "that he is opposed to your becoming a candidate."

"Yes."

"To what extent? That is, do you gather from what he said that he would take no part in your behalf, leaving it all to the Legislature; or that he would merely disapprove; or that he would actively oppose you?"

"I think," the senator replied slowly, "he means to fight. He talked courteously enough, but back of his polite words there seemed to be something arbitrary and autocratic. In any case I came away indignant."

"Well," the colonel persisted, "what are you going to do? Of course, if Mr. Wilson should keep his hands off or mildly disapprove, you would be elected without difficulty; but in view of what will happen if he makes a determined effort, even perhaps going on the stump to defeat you, it seems to me that the probable result of such a contest would have a distinct bearing upon your decision."

"It does, of course. And that is what I want to talk to you about."

"Well, then, what is your own opinion?"

The senator paused for fully two minutes. Then he said slowly: "I think he can beat me. What is your opinion?"

"I am disposed to think so too. Now what are you going to do?"

Again the senator remained silent for quite a space while we waited. Then he rose to his full height and said, with great intensity: "Well, by God, I guess I'll let him beat me. . . ." *

* *Collier's Weekly*, LVIII, Oct. 21, 1916, 14.

The issue was joined, then. Even though Wilson was opposed, Smith wanted the senatorship and would fight to obtain it. What form Wilson's opposition would take was not yet clear.

The struggle that was shaping up was further complicated. The senatorial candidate who had been nominated by an overwhelming majority of Democratic voters at the preferential primary in September was a nonentity, James E. Martine, the "Farmer Orator" of Plainfield. An honest, loyal Democrat in the Bryan tradition, he had been running for office without success for forty years. He had been induced to stand for the primary when no prominent Democrat would consider it, there being little likelihood then that the Democrats would gain a majority in the Assembly. Wilson and his supporters, therefore, in opposing Smith were faced with the prospect of standing behind Martine, for whose ability they held little respect.

That Smith's candidacy was anathema to progressives and independents was made abundantly clear to Wilson in many letters urging him to repudiate Smith's plans without delay. One influential Democrat who expressed his concern was John W. Wescott, who earlier had opposed Wilson but during the campaign had become a staunch believer in his leadership. He wrote Wilson on November 14.*

> The terms of your letter are a greater reward to me than all the offices at your command compounded in one and given me on a golden platter. It is the mutual confidence of earnest men, engaged in great work, that explains progress. It is enough for me to share such confidence and remain in the ranks.
>
> Just before reading your letter, I had dictated the following to you: "My duty to you, to good government and Democratic achievement require me to say that the United States Senatorship presents grave possibilities.

* Judge Wescott was from Camden. A warm, lifelong friendship developed between the two men despite Wescott's earlier opposition to Wilson's candidacy. Wilson picked Wescott to place his name in nomination in the 1912 and 1916 Democratic conventions.

From scores of people I have gathered an argument that runs this wise: If Mr. Smith is chosen, these results are certain; (1) his election will prove a bargain and sale, the office going to the highest bidder; (2) Doctor Wilson is controlled by the same interests and methods that control Mr. Smith; (3) Dr. Wilson, so far as his usefulness in American regeneration is concerned, would be a negative quality and quantity; (4) the Democratic party in New Jersey would be put out of power at the next election and its restoration thereto would be postponed another twenty years. Without doubt, the matter is of vast consequence. My opinion is that, during the next two years, the nation at large will recognize the great difference between you and Governor Harmon as to capacity and personal power, and will, therefore, put you at the head of the Presidential ticket. I say this because I know the two men and their respective abilities to effect progress in proper directions. The conscience and intelligence of the public believe in you to a degree never before witnessed by me.

It is my conviction that a few words from you to the proper parties will avoid the calamity sure to follow the choice of Mr. Smith. The people of this state, as well as the country generally, are familiar with Senator Smith's course in the Senate and they are opposed to him. . . ."

Wilson agreed that Smith's election could prove disastrous for the party and for the program of reform on which he had conducted his campaign. But he wished to avoid an all-out battle that might split the party and divest him of a large segment of support. He wrote Colonel Harvey on November 15, explaining in detail his feeling about the whole issue. Undoubtedly he expected Harvey to show the letter to Smith. Perhaps the latter would yield to persuasion.

. . . I am very anxious about the question of the sena-

torship. If not handled right, it will destroy every fortunate impression of the campaign and open my administration with a split party. I have learned to have a very high opinion of Senator Smith. I have very little doubt that, if he were sent to the Senate he would acquit himself with honour and do a great deal to correct the impressions of his former term. But his election would be intolerable to the very people who elected me and gave us a majority in the legislature. They would never give it to us again: that I think I can say I know, from what has been said to me in every quarter during the campaign. They count upon me to prevent it. I shall forfeit their confidence if I do not. All their ugliest suspicions, dispelled by my campaign assurances, will be confirmed.

It was no Democratic victory. It was a victory of the "progressives" of both parties, who are determined to live no longer under either of the political organizations that have controlled the two parties of the State. The Democrats who left us in 1896 came back, with enthusiasm, but will again draw off in disgust if we disappoint their expectations. For myself, I simply cannot. It is grossly unjust that they should regard Senator Smith as the impersonation of all that they hate and fear; but they do, and there's an end of the matter. If he should become a candidate, I would have to fight him; and there is nothing I would more sincerely deplore. It would offend every instinct in me,—except the instinct as to what was right and necessary from the point of view of the public service. I have had to do similar things in the University.

By the same token,—ridiculous though it undoubtedly is,—I think we shall have to stand by Mr. Martine. After all that has been said and done, we shall be stultified if we do not. There is no man who stands out in the party as conspicuously as the man whom the entire body

of public opinion in the State would accept as of course the man to send. . . .

I have stripped my whole thought, and my whole resolution, naked for you to see just as it is. Senator Smith can make himself the biggest man in the State by a dignified refusal to let his name be considered. I hope, as I hope for the rejuvenation of our party, that he may see it and may be persuaded to do so.

It is a national as well as a State question. If the independent Republicans who in this State voted for me are not to be attracted to us they will assuredly turn again, in desperation, to Mr. Roosevelt, and the chance of a generation will be lost to the Democracy: the chance to draw all the liberal elements of the country to it, through new leaders, the chance that Mr. Roosevelt missed in his folly, and to constitute the ruling party of the country for the next generation. . . .

Meanwhile it was reported that Smith had secured a pledge of support from Bob Davis, boss of the significant Hudson County delegation. Wilson went to see Tumulty in Jersey City on November 25 and together they visited Davis in his modest, red-brick home among the working people of Jersey City. Davis was slowly dying of cancer, but he did not relax his long rule over the political destinies of Hudson County until the very last. He suggested that Wilson stay out of the senatorial battle altogether.

"If you do, Governor," he said, "we'll support you in your whole legislative program."

"How do I know you will," responded Wilson. "If you beat me in this first fight, how do I know you won't be able to beat me in everything?"

Wilson then urged him to reconsider his support of Smith on the grounds that the party was obligated to back the results of the primary. The party, explained Wilson, could

not sacrifice on the altar of selfish ambition a principle for which Democrats had fought for years. But Davis' loyalty to Smith remained steadfast.

"If the Pope of Rome, of whose Church I am a member, should come to this room to urge me to change my attitude, I would refuse to do so. I have given my promise and you would not have me break it, would you, Doctor?"

"Of course, I would not have you break your promise, but you must not feel aggrieved if I shall find it necessary to fight you and Smith in the open for the Hudson votes."

"Go on, Doctor," replied Davis, "I am a game sport and I am sure that with you there will be no hitting below the belt." *

The visit was beneficial, nevertheless, for loyal workers viewed Wilson's deference to their stricken chief with pleasure. From this point the Smith support in Hudson County began to melt away.

But Smith himself remained adamant. Persuasion was not bringing results; Wilson must step up the pressure. Immediately he set about meeting with political leaders from key areas and, more important, began a series of conferences with the incoming legislators who would do the actual voting in the senatorial contest. During December he met nearly every member of the new legislature either singly or in small groups, in Princeton or in New York. He was so encouraged by the results that he could say the following in a letter on December 5 to the editor of the *New York Evening Post,* Oswald Garrison Villard.

. . . It looks as if we had Smith safely beaten for the Senatorship. It is equally clear that we have sufficient majority to elect Mr. Martine.

* Ray Stannard Baker, *Woodrow Wilson, Life and Letters: Governor* (Garden City, N. Y., 1932), 116; J. P. Tumulty, *Woodrow Wilson As I Know Him,* 57-58.

The present transactions are these: I am to see the Hudson County Delegation here at Princeton this afternoon. After I see them I shall know much better than I do now how I stand. I hope tomorrow to see Senator Smith, and tell him very plainly what my position is in order to induce him, if possible, to decline the candidacy. If he will not do that I will come out openly against him.

The final meeting between Wilson and Smith took place in Newark at the latter's home. Smith continued to insist that his long party service entitled him to the post and to an opportunity to vindicate his earlier record in the Senate. The two men ended the conference with characteristic dignity and courtesy and the frank acknowledgment that, barring a change in Smith's position, the struggle henceforth would be in the open and to a finish.

Although Smith had not formally announced his candidacy, Wilson moved swiftly to bring his own position to the public in a statement to the press on December 8.

The question, Who should be chosen by the incoming Legislature of the State to occupy the seat in the Senate of the United States, which will presently be made vacant by the expiration of the term of Mr. Kean, is of such vital importance to the people of the State, both as a question of political good faith and as a question of genuine representation in the Senate, that I feel constrained to express my own opinion with regard to it in terms which cannot be misunderstood. I had hoped that it would not be necessary for me to speak, but it is.

I realize the delicacy of taking any part in the discussion of the matter. As Governor of New Jersey I shall have no part in the choice of a Senator. Legally speaking, it is not my duty even to give advice with regard to the choice. But there are other duties besides legal duties. The recent campaign has put me in an unusual position. I offered, if elected, to be the political spokes-

man and adviser of the people. I even asked those who did not care to make their choice of Governor upon that understanding not to vote for me. I believe that the choice was made upon that understanding; and I cannot escape the responsibility involved. I have no desire to escape it. It is my duty to say, with a full sense of the peculiar responsibility of my position, what I deem it to be the obligation of the Legislature to do in this gravely important matter.

I know that the people of New Jersey do not desire Mr. James Smith, Jr., to be sent again to the Senate. If he should be, he will not go as their representative. The only means I have of knowing whom they do desire to represent them is the vote at the recent primaries, where forty-eight thousand Democratic voters, a majority of the whole number who voted at the primaries, declared their preference for Mr. Martine of Union County. For me, that vote is conclusive. I think it should be for every member of the Legislature. Absolute good faith in dealing with the people, an unhesitating fidelity to every principle avowed, is the highest law of political morality under a constitutional government. The Democratic party has been given a majority in the Legislature; the Democratic voters of the State have expressed their preference under a law advocated and supported by the opinion of their party, declared alike in platforms and in enacted law. It is clearly the duty of every Democratic legislator, who would keep faith with the law of the State and with the avowed principles of his party, to vote for Mr. Martine. It is my duty to advocate his election—to urge it by every honorable means at my command.*

Smith lost no time in replying to what he thought was an unfair attack. His side of the issue deserves a hearing. It appeared in the *Trenton True American* on December 10.

* *Trenton True American,* Dec. 9, 1910.

I have read Governor-elect Wilson's statement on the United States senatorial situation. The statement is a remarkable one for two reasons. It is a gratuitous attack upon one who has befriended him, but whose candidacy has not been announced, and it is an unwarranted attempt to coerce the Legislature.

The Governor-elect knew that I had not reached a decision in this important matter. That he saw fit to make an uncalled-for reference to me deprives his act of that fine courtesy which should control not only southern gentlemen, but the conduct of all gentlemen.

Doctor Wilson will attempt, probably, to defend his statement on the ground that it is not the utterance of a Governor-elect, but the voice of a new leader. It will be difficult for the people to mark the line which separates the two. In either view his act lacks commendatory quality.

Its unfairness is so manifest, that it will come as a shock to the great body of the people. Above all things the American public loves fair play. The Governor-elect has given striking evidence of his aptitude in the art of foul play.

Gratitude was not expected of him, but fairness was, and his act denies it.

The statement purports to give the view of the people. Mr. Wilson claims to be their spokesman. He is apparently too modest as yet to claim leadership.

He says he has no means of knowing what the people want, except as they expressed themselves at the primary.

Three times as many voters cast their ballots for the legislative candidates as expressed a preference for United States Senator. This great body of voters asked no pledge of the candidates. They received none. The legislators go into office as the representatives of all the people.

Three-fourths of the legislative supporters expressed no will. Doctor Wilson would have the men thus elected

recognize a law which seeks to evade the Constitution. He would have them disregard the interest of the vast body of voters, because one-fourth have expressed a preference.

He overlooks the fact that only one member of the incoming Legislature agreed to be bound by the primary vote. He gives no thought to the refusal of the legislators to deal with the matter, other than in a spirit of fairness and justice to all. He evidently believes that the practices he once condemned of dangling patronage before a hungry constituency may give to his position a support which fairness denies it.

His reasons when analyzed cease to be reasons. They are merely excuses for an act which marks his initial step as Governor-elect with worse than a blunder—with an assault that is neither fair nor honorable.

Smith's formal announcement of candidacy came on December 15. Wilson meanwhile was progressing in his efforts to meet every legislator-elect and gain his understanding. Even loyal organization men seemed to be weakening in their support of Smith. The press was by and large behind Wilson as, of course, were independent and progressive leaders. Shortly after Smith's announcement Wilson decided the time was right for a statement on the course of the struggle. The *Trenton True American* published it in full on December 24.

In view of Mr. James Smith, Jr.'s public avowal of his candidacy for the seat in the Senate of the United States presently to be vacated by the Hon. John Kean, it becomes my duty to lay before the voters of the State the facts as I know them, and the reasons why it seems to me imperative that Mr. Martine and not Mr. Smith should be sent to the Senate.

Before I consented to allow my name to be used before the State Democratic convention for the nomi-

nation as Governor, I asked the gentleman who was acting as Mr. Smith's spokesman if Mr. Smith would desire to return to the Senate in case the Democrats should win a majority in the State legislature. I was assured that he would not. I was told that the state of his health would not permit it, and that he did not desire it.

Immediately after the election Mr. Smith came to see me, and said that that had been his feelings before election, but that he was feeling stronger, and hoped that the legislature would offer him the seat. I pointed out to him that this action on his part would confirm all the ugliest suspicions of the campaign concerning him, and urged him very strongly not to allow his name to be used at all; but my arguments had no effect upon him.

I subsequently learned that before my nomination and at the very time I was told that he would not desire the seat, he had made an agreement with the leader of the Hudson county organization that the votes of the Hudson county members of the legislature would be cast for him as Senator in case the legislature should be Democratic. The gentlemen who were to be nominated for the assembly from Hudson were not consulted; it was an agreement between leaders. The vote was to be turned over to Mr. Smith by the organization in case of a Democratic victory.

Mr. Smith has at last publicly announced his candidacy, but he has been a candidate from the first. Ever since the election he has been using every means at his disposal to obtain the pledge of Democratic members of the legislature to vote for him as Senator. He has assumed, in dealing with them that the State organization would be in control of the legislature; that its offices would be distributed as he should suggest; that members would be assigned to committees and the committees made up as he wished them to be. He has offered to

assist members in obtaining membership on such committees as they might prefer. In brief, he has assumed that he and other gentlemen not elected to the legislature by the people would have the same control over the action of the houses that is understood to have been exercised by the so-called Board of Guardians of the Republican party in recent years.

I said in my former statement regarding this matter that if Mr. Smith should be sent to the United States Senate he would not go as the representative of the people. I meant that he would go as the representative of particular interests in the State with which it is well known he has always been identified. It is significant that his candidacy is supported by the Camden paper known to be owned or controlled by Mr. David Baird. Mr. John W. Griggs, in a letter recently published, has condemned me for taking any part in this matter and has thereby confirmed the impression that he also has clients who are interested in being represented in the Senate by Mr. Smith. So far as the voters of the State are concerned and the State's essential interests, there is no reason why a change should be made from Mr. John Kean to Mr. James Smith, Jr. They are believed to stand for the same influence and to represent the same group of selfish interests. It should be a matter of indifference to both Republican and Democrats which of the two represents the State at Washington.

I say these things with genuine regret. I made every possible effort, consistent with dignity and self-respect, to induce Mr. Smith to withdraw from his candidacy. It was my sincere desire that he should earn this credit which is due him for the undoubted service of the Democratic State organization in the recent campaign. By withdrawing he would have won the respect and applause and I should have been very glad to join in according him all just praise. I had hoped that it would be pos-

sible for me to assume office and enter on the performance of my duties, without giving utterance to anything about individuals that would give them pain or draw me away from the attitude of entire respect which I had tried to maintain. But I have been left without a choice in the matter.

The issue is plain. If Mr. Smith is sent back to the United States Senate, the Democratic party and the State itself is once more delivered into the hands of the very influence from which it had struggled to set itself free. Nothing could have been more unfortunate than Mr. Smith's candidacy. It revives the alarm and prejudices which make fair and just legislation so difficult and doubtful. It renews and intensifies the struggle between the people and selfish interests, between popular rights and property rights, between privilege and opportunity, which ought to be accommodated by laws which will be fair to all parties. It is a sad circumstance that the conflict must be fought out through this last unfortunate stage. But of course it must be. Mr. Smith and those whom he represents have made it inevitable.

The people must now speak their minds in unmistakable terms to those whom they have chosen to represent them. It must now be determined whether the present members of the Legislature are representative of the people or puppets of a bi-partisan machine. I believe in organization. I desire to co-operate with Democrats of every affiliation in carrying the party forward by union and harmony of action toward the great service which it can render the country, if it will but be true to its principles. But when organization is used for the elevation and benefit of individuals who do not represent the people, whose interests are opposed to those of the people, I must resist it by every means at my disposal.

Over against all this selfish effort to use a machine, over against all the sinister pressure to put a man into

the United States Senate who by common consent will not represent the people, stands the candidacy of Mr. Martine, supported by the votes of a very large majority of the Democrats who chose to express their preference at the primaries. It is my earnest and deliberate judgment that it is the duty of the Democratic members of the Legislature to ratify that expression of preference by electing Mr. Martine a member of the Senate.

The last time a Senator from New Jersey was chosen the party caucus formally indorsed Mr. Martine as its candidate. Three years ago Mr. Smith proposed Mr. Martine for the Governorship. Throughout the Union the Democratic party has turned with greater and greater enthusiasm to the practice of following the preference of the people expressed at the primaries in the choice of Senators. The Democratic party in New Jersey has again and again indorsed the principle and favored the practice. It cannot turn from its duty in this instance without completely discrediting itself and all its professions of faith in this popular and admirable reform.

Mr. Martine is a man of sterling character, of fine fidelity to his party and its principles, and is considered by them who know him best to be undoubtedly qualified to serve the State well and honorably in the Senate. His election will definitely and finally commit the State to the practice of elevating to the Senate men indorsed at the polls by the people. This is the opportunity, the significant and critical opportunity, for the Democratic party to prove its good faith in this cardinal matter of self-government. Confirm the vote of Mr. Martine and the principle of the people's choice is established—will live vitally in practice; ignore it and the people will distrust both primaries and parties. If the present members of the legislature turn away from the people now they will never again have or deserve another opportunity to enjoy their support and confidence.

The issue is, therefore, not merely an issue between choosing a representative of the people or a representative of the business machine, but an issue between sustaining or rejecting a great principle to which the party is unequivocally committed. I do not see how any true Democrat can in the circumstance doubt his duty or turn away from it to hazard shame and utter discredit.

The Smith forces were stung by Wilson's slanted review of the controversy and retorted sharply on December 27 in an effort to refute it. But sentiment in the State was running strongly toward Wilson. Voters were aroused even as they had been during the campaign. Though not yet in office, Wilson already was fighting to redeem his pledge to rid the party of boss control. By this time Wilson himself had come to realize that the struggle transcended primaries or a Senate seat. It was nothing less than a struggle for party leadership that he must win if his administration were to be successful.

As he moved deeper into the jungle of state politics he felt the need for a personal guide:

But the plot thickens about me here; the Smith forces are trying to coil me about with plans of their own which it will take more knowledge of past transactions here than I now have to checkmate and defeat. I am therefore going to ask one of the ablest of the young Democratic politicians of the State [Joseph P. Tumulty] if he will not act as my secretary in order that I may have a guide at my elbow in matters of which I know almost nothing.*

Wilson had done what he could for his cause with persuasion and pressure, in the press and in personal conferences. He now decided to take the fight directly to the people. On January 5 he spoke before a large and excited crowd in

* To Oswald Garrison Villard, Jan. 2, 1911. Tumulty proved a loyal secretary and assistant throughout the Governorship and two presidential terms as well.

Jersey City where but three months before he had made his first political address. Wilson here displayed all his oratorical skill and every stump-speaking technique that he had learned during the campaign.

Let me assure you that the reception you have just given me touches me very deeply, indeed. There is only one way in which a man can acquire greatness in a country like this, and that is by putting himself at the service of a great people to accomplish great objects, and it seems to me that one of the most interesting circumstances of my life is, that in this town in which I began my campaign for Governor, in this hall where I addressed an interesting audience on the first evening of the campaign, I should again meet a great body of my fellow citizens, but not in order to convince them of anything, not in order to ask for their suffrages, but merely, in my own person, to fulfill one of the promises that I made upon this stage at that time, that I would humbly offer myself as their spokesman in the declaration of their own principles.

I have not come here to argue anything. I have not come here to initiate any movement among you. I have come in response to your invitation in order to allow you to give vent to the principles which you entertain without any teaching from any man: the principles which have inspired American democracy from the first until now. For it is a very inspiring circumstance, ladies and gentlemen, that we should gather here tonight to give support to a great cause. I do not have to tell you what the cause is. It is the cause of the people. . . .

I have heard a great deal said in recent weeks about a split in the Democratic party. There is no split in the Democratic party. The circumstance which is now being brought to the attention of some politicians is that there is a united Democratic party, whose service they must

obey. It is not, let me say, a capital process to cut off a wart. You do not have to go to a hospital or take an anesthetic; the thing can be done while you wait, and it is being done; the clinic is open, and every man can witness the operation.

Does the Democratic party consist of a little group of gentlemen in Essex county? Of whom does the Democratic party consist? The Democratic party does not consist in any portion of any organization: it consists of the men who vote the Democratic ticket. Organizations are instruments, instruments to serve the people or take the consequences. They are instruments in which to govern the people in a patriotic way in a general cause and object, and when any organization sets itself above the party which it undertakes to serve, or would have you believe that it pretends to serve, then it is time for the operation—the wart must be removed.

There is no split in the Democratic party. You can hear the processes of solidification. Men are coming together, shoulder to shoulder. They are looking in each other's eyes and saying for the first time: "We constitute an unbossed, undictated party which intends to have its way in the government of this State."

Do you think that there would be any future life for the Democratic party if it could split it to do violence to a dying organization? Why, what is happening to the Democratic party? Gentlemen, it is plain what is happening to the Democratic party, provided the Democratic party proves worthy to serve the people. Young men are flocking into the Democratic party now—young men who, happily, themselves do not entertain any very vivid recollections of some of the traditions of a portion of the Democratic organization. These men will not have anything to do with the Democratic party if it is to be dominated by the influences which in some quarters have dominated it in past years. Have you not had

pointed out to you again and again during the recent campaign, until you must have become familiar with it, the picture of what is going on in America? Do you know that the Republican party is a split party, not a split organization?

And for this reason some of the most public-spirited, some of the wisest and most progressive men in the Republican party discovered by slow degrees what it made their hearts very heavy to discover, that the party was being dominated by certain special interests. They, therefore, turned their faces away from those members of their party who represented that domination. They said, "We will no longer consent to this partnership." They said, "We will no longer consent to serve some of the people when we ought to be serving all of the people." And, therefore, these gentlemen that in this State we call the New Idea Republicans, these gentlemen that are in some quarters called Progressives and in others insurgents, have this idea, which we ought to be ashamed to call a new idea, that their obligations are to the people, to the whole country, to the great mass of men whose fortunes make up for ill or for good the prosperity of America. That is the new, the ancient, the majestic idea that has always beckoned men to their highest duty in America.

Now these gentlemen by the score, by the thousand, in the last election—if we are to confine our views to our own commonwealth, which we understand—flocked, temporarily it may be, permanently it may be, if we have the wisdom to satisfy them, flocked to our standard because they thought that we were free from that domination. . . .

And I want to point out to you that Mr. James Smith, Jr. (hisses), no gentlemen, wait a minute. Mr. Smith represents not a party but a system, a system of political control, which does not belong to either party, and

which, so far as it can be successfully managed, must belong to both parties.

Under this system it is just as necessary to maintain and subsidize, if possible, a faithful and subservient minority as a faithful and subservient majority. It is just as important to see that nobody in the minority jumps the track as it is to see that nobody in the majority jumps the track.

It is a matter of indifference to the people of New Jersey, as I have already said in public, which representative of this system is sent to the United States Senate, for it is the system that we are now fighting, and not the representative. . . .

It is an old story—it is a stale story, but all true stories are old—all true stories are, in a sense, stale, because truth is as old as creation. This system consists in an alliance—a systematic, but covert alliance—between business and politics. Politics under this system is considered as a means of securing and promoting certain financial and business interests. Wherever the greatest power is brought to bear, the greatest power of money, the greatest power of individual influence, there politics is made to yield to the influence, yield to the impulse. I want to call your attention to Mr. Smith's alliances. You know with whom Mr. Smith is allied. What Democratic papers are supporting the candidacy of Mr. James Smith, Jr., for the Senate? Two papers, which, it is said —of course, I know nothing personally about it—it is said that he owns himself. Where does the rest of the support come from? I believe that I overlooked the Long Branch Record. Where does his support come from? It comes from the papers which are understood to be the mouthpieces of the very members of the Republican Board of Guardians whom we had supposed we had put out of business. . . .

Some gentlemen seem to have supposed, before I was

elected, that I was simply using words for the sake of obtaining votes, and that I did not mean what I said; they also seemed to have supposed that I studied politics entirely out of books. (Applause and a voice, "They fooled themselves.") Now there isn't any politics worth talking about in books; in books everything looks very obvious, very complete; but it is not the picture of life, and it is only in the picture of life that all of us are interested.

Now, there has been going on before my eyes for the last 20 years just what has been going on before your eyes. God gave me my eyes, and I do not use my eyelids except at night, and I know that the same thing has been going on these last 20 years that is going on right now.

You know, very much to our discredit, that we pay members of the Assembly in New Jersey only $500 a year; no man, for $500 a year, without some independent means, can afford to represent you, and to pay them but $500 a year is to put them under direct temptation. I do not mean the temptation to accept money, but a temptation to be acquiescent on the side where business interests are involved.

Now, some members of our Legislatures are employees of large business concerns; these business concerns put the screws on those men whenever there is any danger of any pending legislation being against their interests.

They do it to these men, for example, and say: "Why, don't you see that our direct interest is in the present schedules of the tariff? Don't you see that it is imperative that we have the right man to represent us in the United States Senate to see that that tariff is not too freely tampered with? Do you expect us to retain you in our service or to pay you the same salary if you act contrary to our interests as if you act in accordance with our interests? . . ."

It is easy to pick these men out; it is easy to find out the men who, in recent years have grown reckless; there has been too little concealment for their health. These things are common talk. It is common talk in South Jersey that Mr. Smith can have as many Republican votes as he needs to elect him Senator. I don't believe it, I don't believe that the Republican members of the Senate and Assembly would so disgrace themselves and their party as to enter into a contract of that kind.

But the point that I call your attention to is that some leaders do believe it; some leaders do believe that they can deliver the votes to Smith. There is a chance to single out the right men and give them your cooperation and support. There has come a time when this reign of terror is being carried to the very verge of desperation on the part of the men engaged in it. But don't concern yourselves; sit serenely in your seats and only look on, and it will not happen. It fills one's lungs as if with a fresh and revivifying air to feel the winds of opinion that are clarifying everything in our day. This irresistible purifying operation that resides in the human spirit, that cannot look upon false and corrupt things without their disappearing as if under the genial rays of a wholesome sun. And this is what is happening in our time and putting heart into men everywhere.

A gentleman was talking to me only last night—a gentleman who has been prominent in the public service of this State—and he said to me: "This is a fight that is going on all over the country, but New Jersey is the bloody angle." You know what he was referring to when he said that New Jersey was the bloody angle; he was referring to the battle field of Gettysburg, where, at a certain angle of a stone wall the principal slaughter of the day centered. That has always been known since as the bloody angle, and he said that this campaign in New Jersey is the bloody angle of national rights. But

our fight is not like the fight at Gettysburg, where gallant heroes were engaged on both sides, where the fight was open, where the fight was in the open, for in this battle one party is supplying the ammunition and keeping under cover, dodging from tree to tree and from ambush to ambush, while the other party stands in the open and challenges them to the contest. (Long and continued applause.) The bloody angle, indeed! But it will not be our bodies that are in the breach. . . .

Mr. Martine has the great good fortune to represent this critical juncture in the affairs of New Jersey's great popular cause; he represents an opportunity for the people of New Jersey to say whether they believe in the popular choice of United States Senators, or do not believe in it.

There has been a great deal of sophistication about this question. Men have said that the primary vote was small and they do not see how it can be claimed that they are morally bound to acquiesce in that relatively small vote as compared with the total Democratic vote in New Jersey. Very well, I can see how they are morally bound by it. But if they cannot see, can they see this, that there is a tremendous moral compulsion put upon them by the opportunity? The opportunity to show that, from this time on, this is going to be the method by which Senators are chosen by New Jersey. Turn for one instant from Mr. Martine and see what you have done. You have said that what you have so far done in this direction you did not mean. You have said that in 1907 you were deliberately throwing a sop to Cerberus; you were deliberately deceiving, misleading public opinion; giving them the impression that you were offering them bread when you were deliberately and of your own knowledge offering them a stone. You are saying, that whereas you once professed that you believed in following the popular expression of preference for Senator,

you did not believe it then, but you are going to believe it next time. You will fill everybody with loathing and contempt by such a course, whereas by standing steadfast to the moral obligation of this great principle, and insisting that your representatives make Mr. Martine the Senator from New Jersey, you will have achieved, in view of the whole country, one of the most important and decisive triumphs for popular government that has been achieved in our day.

Shall men turn away from this opportunity and say that they do not observe the moral obligation of it? Shall any man go about amongst you and continue to enjoy your respect for political discrimination, to say nothing of political honesty, who will turn away from such an opportunity with such a blindness and obtuseness? Men who cannot see this opportunity cannot in other matters see how they are morally bound to serve the State and the interests of the people.

I have heard a great many men hope for compromise. God defend us against compromise! All weak men want compromise. Every man who is afraid to stand to his guns wants compromise. Every man who finds a duty difficult to perform wants the form of the duty changed; but change it for him, and you simply confirm his weakness. I appeal to Mr. Martine never under any circumstance to withdraw.

We are not in this fight to find the easy way, the complacent way. We are in it to find and pursue the right way and any man who turns away from the right way will be marked and labelled. . . .

There are plenty of brave souls in this contest and I have come into contact with them, and it would hearten any man to be surrounded by men of the determination of the men I know are to be counted, not by the handful, but by large proportions in the ranks of the men who are to help us in the Legislature of New Jersey.

Look, what an honor it is. The whole State knows the roll of the names of men who have stood by the people in the past sessions of the Legislature. Hudson County has had the honor of producing many of them. I am going to take the liberty of mentioning three because they are no longer in the Legislature, and I would not be drawing comparisons. Take the instances of Mr. Treacy and Judge Sullivan and Mr. Tumulty.* The whole State knows that that is a roll of honor, and the whole State is heartened by this further circumstance that here is a group of men who illustrate in their lives and conduct not only public morality, but the teachings of the great church of which they are members. Men sometimes forget, ladies and gentlemen, that religious principle is the one solid and remaining and abiding foundation. Find a man whose conscience is buttressed by that intimate principle and you will find a man into whose hands you can safely entrust your affairs. For the man who steers by expediency, the man who trims his course by what he thinks will be the political consequence, the man who always has his eye upon the weather, is a man whom you cannot trust.

We are sailing, whenever it is necessary, directly into the teeth of the wind. We know how to sail close to the wind in honest fashion and not dishonest fashion. We know how all the forces that pulse in this world are moral forces. Why, gentlemen, one of the things that makes this one of the most interesting crises in the history of New Jersey is that there is nothing selfish in this battle. You are not fighting for some favorite person whom you wish to elevate into the Senate of the United States, because he is a favorite son of your county, because he is a favorite and beloved personal friend, because he represents some interest with which you are con-

* John J. Treacy and Judge Mark A. Sullivan, like Tumulty, were Roman Catholics.

nected. You have the honor—you have the excitement —you have the delight—of fighting for a man because he embodies a principle that you believe in, and there is nothing more honorable than that, and I tell you there is nothing more irresistible than that.

Once let unselfish passion get into the hearts of great bodies of men and no living man can resist them, for the interesting difference between selfish and unselfish passion is this: Selfish passion makes a mob of men, and mobs never know how to co-operate; but unselfish passion brings reason into the field, puts counsel in the saddle; yokes men together with generous impulse so that they do not look askance at each other; but look forward in the common cause; they are not a mob, but an army, disciplined for triumph, battling in an age of achievement, when every man shall say: "That was a renewal of the great age of American politics, when men first turned again to look upon the State as a whole, when they did not discuss their private interests, when they did not ask: 'What effect will it have upon me? How will my neighbors treat me? How will my employers treat me? How will my associates look upon me?' But when they said: 'I hear a voice calling out of all America, saying a new day has come, old mists have rolled away.' " We see. We hear this great host of free people coming on, not to destroy anything, not to wreak their vengeance upon anything as if they were a mob, but achieving that thing upon which all human happiness is based—namely, justice and equity among men, for I cannot end the address to you, gentlemen, without saying this about the interests of which I have been speaking.

I am sorry that they should make it so hard to come to a just arrangement. By insisting upon their selfish advantage they do make it hard to withhold our hearts from hostile passion, and we ought not to entertain

hostile passion. We ought not to wreak our vengeance upon anything. We wish to do justice to the great interests of this country. We wish to be their comrades in a common enterprise of fairness and equity and righteousness; and we cannot allow ourselves to be put upon by them by any unjust and unholy alliance. Our attitude is that of just men; but we have terms to propose. The terms are that they dissolve their political partnership. We are going to put their partner out of business. If they know anything of the law of safety and of justice, they will not involve themselves in his downfall.

These are our terms: War, if you are allied with the enemy. Peace if you are on the other side of justice. It is not a truce, but it is honest, fair, equitable peace, but implacable war, if an alliance—though never so slender —remains with the men who are our enemies, and who do not know their welfare.

I would not excite a company like this to any sort of hostility. We are not met to work our will in any unselfish fashion. We are met to see that the purposes to which our hearts are devoted are carried out, and that the men who have mistakenly opposed us shall be induced by reason, by the excellence of our cause to turn about and go with us. The camp that may be removed in the night has many a gallant fellow in it. Let him show that he is willing to come over in the daytime upon terms of honorable alliance with the people, and he will be welcomed; but let him beware of transferring his connections from those whom we fear and shall fight on one side, to those whom we fear and shall fight on the other.

That is the intolerable thing against which this meeting is a protest, and this protest will be heard, gentlemen, not only through the State of New Jersey, but through the length of America, and men will say: "That great old State that we have lightly spoken of as the

refuge of predatory corporations, turns out to be the place where men will study justice and do right." There will come out of this contest no advantage of which any man need to be ashamed—no personal advantage—no selfish advantage, but honor, credit, the respect of the abiding glory of the dear old State of New Jersey.*

If the signs were correct, the battle was nearly won. The response to the Jersey City address was tremendous. Still, Wilson launched one more salvo in the hope of assuring victory. On the Boss' home ground he struck hard in another address, and again he was greeted with enthusiastic approval.

Fellow-citizens of Essex, the feeling that is uppermost in my mind as I rise to address you to-night is one of genuine regret that the fighting out of great cause like this should centre upon individuals. I am sorry that it is necessary for me to come to Essex and give reasons why I think an eminent citizen of Essex should not be sent to the United States Senate.

I wish very much that this contest might have taken some other form. I can say to you with absolute candor that I did everything that I honorably could to prevent its taking this form. It is never willingly that I oppose myself to persons, though I very willingly oppose myself to certain objects sought by certain persons.

I would wish never to bring a man's character into question. I might wish to bring his policy, the project that he is seeking into question. This campaign has brought to me a very great surprise. You know, gentlemen, that I did not seek the nomination as Governor of New Jersey, I was sought. I was asked to allow myself to be nominated, and for a long time it was impossible for me to understand why I had been asked, and now it is more difficult for me than ever.

* *Trenton True American,* Jan. 7, 1911.

What did the gentlemen do who were seeking to put me in nomination? They deliberately went entirely outside of the ranks of recognized politics and picked out a man who they knew would be regarded as an absolutely independent person; and for a while at that time I tried to form a working theory in my mind as to why they should do it. I asked very impertinent and direct questions of some of the gentlemen as to why they wanted me to run; they did not give me any very satisfactory explanation; therefore I had to work out one myself which proved to be a false theory.

I said that these gentlemen recognized the fact that a new day had come in American politics, and that they would have to conduct them henceforth after a new fashion. Then I discovered just as soon as the election was over that they had discovered nothing of the kind; and so my explanation was knocked into a cocked hat. There is only one other possible explanation, and that I am afraid is the true one.

They did not believe I meant what I said. And the fundamental mistake that I made was that I did believe that they meant what they said. If I had not believed it I never would have stood upon this occasion upon this platform.

The fight, therefore, gentlemen, I call you to witness is not of my making, and I did everything in candor to make it unnecessary that it should occur. But it has occurred, and the Scotch-Irish blood in me does not object.

I supposed that Mr. Smith was going to give himself the privilege of showing that he knew how to represent the people of New Jersey and so confound his enemies by a display of genuine public spirit and statesmanship, thereby making himself the greatest political figure in New Jersey.

I supposed that he intended to represent the new

public opinion of our day. But he did not, and so the question arises, whom does he represent?

("Special interests," shouted someone in the audience.)

He does not represent a State-wide organization. I do not know how to guess how many persons he represents. Let us say, at a liberal estimate, that he represents 1,000 persons. I can make a very extensive catalogue of a portion of the one thousand, but I cannot name them all and therefore I have to guess.

As against the one thousand he may represent stand the two hundred and more thousand Democrats of the State not represented by anything that he has proposed. He has declined to represent the wishes and purposes of the two hundred thousand and has made up his mind still to represent that little manageable group which heretofore has tried to run politics in the State of New Jersey.

It was what I least expected of Senator Smith; it was a colossal blunder in political judgment. I thought that he was at least an astute politician, but an astute politician would at least know that it was the year 1910 in which the campaign occurred, and that in 1911 the thing would not work.

I have been very much interested at the force of argument in this fight. The gentlemen who are opposed to carrying out the will of the people, as expressed at the primaries, have not been nearly as much opposed to that as they were opposed to the Governor expressing any opinion about it whatever.

I received a very interesting editorial just before leaving home to-day. There is a paper in the State of New York which, when I first began this interesting business, compared me very unfavorably indeed with the newly elected Governor of New York, saying of him: "There is a man who knows how to mind his own business." That same paper sent to me an editorial this

morning which said that it would not do for Governor Dix not to say who he thought ought to be elected for Senator from New York.

They have come around to the usurpation theory. They have come around to the theory that a Governor ought not to mind his own business. If I had been intended to mind my own business I would have been left to my own business and would not have been asked to attend to the business of the people. They say that it is unconstitutional for a Governor-elect to do what I have been attempting to do, namely, to act merely as the spokesman and representative of the people who elected me.

Certain gentlemen have grown particularly scrupulous about the Constitution. A very eminent constitutional lawyer, John W. Griggs, has grown very uneasy about this matter, but Mr. Griggs is thinking about one Constitution and talking about another. The thing that I am violating is not the Constitution of the State, but the constitution of politics. Mr. Griggs knows that politics was not managed by the people when he was Governor.

I am, from the point of view of the old-fashioned, privately conducted tours in politics, an unconstitutional Governor, but not from the point of view of anybody else. You know how the Constitution of the State reads under the old order of politics. It is already old. If it were not, I don't know why it should be so offensive.

Under the old order of politics the Constitution of the State was to this effect; That legislation as well as appointments were to be managed by persons who had not been elected by the people. It is a very interesting thing that this is literally true. Legislation, and particularly the selection of Senators, has been managed by persons whom the people never invited to take charge of anything whatever. There are men in this audience

who can recall that sad, that dispiriting, that disgraceful series of elections of United States Senators that marks the history of politics in New Jersey.

But now a very interesting thing has happened. Did you ever hear more futile public attacks than are being put forth by the other side? They know how to manage, but they don't know how to talk. . . .

They say a great deal about the primary of which Mr. Martine received, as they put it, only some 58,500 votes, and they point out to you how many Democrats there were who did not vote, and they assume, apparently, that the Democrats who did not vote wanted Mr. Smith for Senator. It is a very convenient way of reckoning; but suppose for a moment that we leave all of that argument to them and ask ourselves this question: What has happened since the primaries? What is this? How do they think the primary has been supplemented since that vote was given?

What is going on everywhere in the State of New Jersey is an informal referendum, and do you doubt what the people of New Jersey are now saying about the return of Mr. Martine to the Senate? Do you wish to wipe the primary vote off? Wipe it off, and let us begin right there and notice what has happened since. Why, there are certain gentlemen in the Legislature of New Jersey who know that they must vote for Mr. Martine because if they do not they might as well move out of the county in which they live.

Do you know what has happened to your own county? Did you not read a letter which was addressed to Mr. Smith asking him to become a candidate for the Senate? I do not question the motives of the judgment of the men that signed that letter, but three of them, Mr. Mylod and Mr. Boettner and Mr. Balentine * have substantially said this:

* James P. Mylod, Frank A. Boettner, Edward D. Balentine, all Assemblymen from Newark.

"When we signed that letter we did not understand the state of opinion in Essex Country, or in the State of New Jersey. We do now understand it and as representatives of the people we accept the present state of opinion as our mandate."

What is the answer to that argument? Can anybody misunderstand the present state of opinion in the State of New Jersey or in the county of Essex? No sane and sincere man questions for a moment what the mandate of that opinion is, and all honor to them for honorably yielding to that expression of opinion.

It takes bravery on a man's part to publicly change his position, but it is a very honorable bravery in a representative to declare that he will truly represent. Nothing else has moved these gentlemen. There has been no threatening, there has been no cajoling that I know of. They have seen what their constituents desired.

Why, except for a few individuals in New Jersey to-day nobody has missed it. The United States has taken notice of it. Take up almost any paper printed anywhere in the United States and you will see this question discussed, and you will see the editorials putting it this way—that it simply remains to be seen whether the Democratic members of the Legislature of New Jersey are responsive to the Democratic opinion of New Jersey.

There is a contrast which I wish you to think of very carefully, gentlemen. Those who are sustaining the side of the primary and of public opinion are not putting up any candidate of their own. They are making no private choice and urging you to put him into the United States Senate. Whereas on the other hand there is the old-fashioned, usual, habitual private choice of a machine. So that the men who are fighting for Mr. Martine are not fighting for personal power, but against personal power.

Am I fighting for my nominee for the United States Senate? I tell you this, gentlemen, I shall fight to the last

ditch against any compromise whatever. And I want you to know why—not because I am constitutionally opposed to compromise, though I am, but because a compromise would mean that we were then undertaking to choose the individual instead of allowing the people to choose him. . . .

Mr. Martine will be elected Senator from New Jersey. We shall see after that if anybody will have the audacity to choose a Senator for the people of New Jersey. We are out to establish not only a principle, but a cause. We are out to make and confirm history for the State of New Jersey. . . .

Does not your blood jump quicker in your veins when you think that this is part of the age-long struggle for human liberty? What do men feel curtails and destroys their liberty? Matters in which they have no voice. The control of little groups and cliques and bodies of special interests, the things that are managed without regard to the public welfare or general opinion—the things that are contrived without any referendum to the great mass of feelings and opinions and purposes that are abroad among free man in a free country.

Whenever things go to cover, then men stand up and know and say that liberty is in jeopardy, and so every time a fight of this sort occurs, we are simply setting up the standard again.

Why are you afraid of shadows? Why did prominent citizens of the city of Newark and other parts of Essex County send in their regrets when they were asked to serve on the committee of this meeting? Whom were they afraid of? It suffices to say—I am sorry to say it of any man—that they were afraid of something. Let them reassure themselves. They have been in a dream. There is nothing to be afraid of. Let them once come out and stand on the people's side and they will find that all the mists of fear are blown away.

There is no name that can be conjured with in any free community except the name of the man who serves the people and wins their confidence. Then you fear not him but the people themselves. There was something to be afraid of, but these gentlemen did not know what it was. They ought to have been afraid to say, "No." They have deceived themselves and have been afraid to say, "Yes." They will awake. They will find that things are not what they supposed them to be. I have had gentlemen say to me, "Why, if I take part in this thing, somebody"—they do not ever specify whom —"will ruin my business." Why, with whom do you transact business? Don't you transact it with the people among whom you live? Once show them that you are free, courageous, honorable men, and nobody can spoil your business; but once show them that you are a coward in politics, you are not free to fulfill your contracts. If these men want guaranties, they better come out and get their certificates. . . .

You remember the two men who were talking together and one referred to a third man's head, and his friend said, "Head? That is not a head; that is just a knot the Almighty put there to keep him from ravelling out." But if he has a head that contains something, well, then, the finest inflatus that can get into it, and the most wholesome, is the feeling that he is privileged, no matter how humble he is by the accident of position—by the accident of election—for so far as the managers were concerned I think my election was an accident. I ought not to have said that, even in jest, for I think that the men who managed the recent campaign did work most honestly and efficiently; I was tempted by the opportunity for a jest to say what was not so. But if by the accident of election or a choice of one kind or another a man stands in such a place of privilege his power consists not in himself, but in his privilege.

It is the privilege of the legislators who represent the Democratic party in the Legislature of New Jersey to enjoy the greatness of the people of New Jersey. It is their privilege once for all to put New Jersey on record as on the people's side, as determined, no matter who may suffer for their stand, to see to it that only the judgment of the people be registered in this State from this time on, and then we shall have established our connection with the records of liberty; then we shall have taken our place in those handsome annals of history which record how men have massed themselves, caught a single idea with genuine enthusiasm, forgotten their differences, sunk their selfish interests and, united in irresistible force, have carried men to the next level of achievement, where they can look forward to still greater achievements, when not only the historians, but every future generation shall look back and bless them and say: "Those men saw the light and rescued us from those things which would have put us to shame, but made it possible for us as self-respecting communities to govern our own affairs."

Shall we not make this one of the years which shall always be marked in the annals of New Jersey as a year of regeneration? *

This phase of the struggle was over. It was now up to the legislators, and there was nothing to do but wait and watch. Wilson described the process to Mrs. Mary A. Hulbert on January 22.**

* In New Auditorium, Essex, Jan. 14, 1911. *Newark Evening News*, Jan. 16, 1911.

** Wilson had met Mrs. Hulbert in Bermuda in 1907, and carried on a lengthy correspondence with her for several years. She visited the Wilsons in Princeton and later in Washington. Wilson found in her charm, wit, and intelligence a refreshing relief from the affairs of state and nation, and his letters to her are an important source of information about his feelings and informal thoughts about daily problems and associates, particularly during the New Jersey period.

To-morrow issue is finally joined on the senatorial election. The voting begins on Tuesday. Smith goes down to Trenton to-morrow to do everything that money and improper influence can do to obtain the seat. The town will swarm with his agents and partisans. We shall pass through trying days of deep mortification, in which it will be necessary to be vigilant day and night against subtile public enemies, who work in covert and with instruments we would not deign touch. I shall have to stay down there day and night, no doubt, until some issue is reached. It will be an awful strain upon my self-control and upon my judgment and good sense. But it will soon end, I believe. It can have but one outcome, unless I and all who advise with me are radically misled by the events of the past week or so. And, when once it is over, I believe that the State will be freed forever of these demoralizing and disgraceful struggles for seats in the Senate, for private, not for public use. After that the people will always choose their own Senators and the legislatures will be freed from one of the most dangerous influences that has worked upon them. It is worth a few days of extraordinary effort and even of actual pain. No price is too great to pay for emancipation. . . .

The new legislature convened on January 10, but balloting for senator by the joint session began January 24. Martine received 40 votes, one short of the number necessary for election. Smith was given only 10 votes. With the outcome no longer in doubt, Smith released his delegates and left the city. The legislature elected Martine on January 25. "My victory," wrote Wilson to Mrs. Hulbert, "was overwhelmingly complete."

The whole country is marvelling at it, and I am getting more credit than I deserve. I pitied Smith at the last. It was so plain that he had few real friends,—that

he held men by fear and power and the benefits he could bestow, not by love or loyalty or any genuine devotion. The minute it was seen that he was defeated his adherents began to desert him like rats leaving a sinking ship. He left Trenton (where his headquarters had at first been crowded) attended, I am told, only by his sons, and looking old and broken. He wept, they say, as he admitted himself utterly beaten. Such is the end of political power—particularly when selfishly obtained and heartlessly used. It is a pitiless game, in which, it would seem, one takes one's life in one's hands,—and for me it has only begun!

It was a victory with far-reaching consequences. In the nation at large, where the struggle had been followed with unusual attention, Wilson's triumph over Smith placed his name high on the list of leaders of the progressive movement. In New Jersey it meant that the Democratic party, at least temporarily, was free from boss control at the top. It also meant that the new Governor could push his reform program as both popular and party leader, in fact as well as in name.

V

THE TRIUMPH OF REFORM

THREE DAYS after his final speech in the senatorial battle, Wilson was inaugurated as New Jersey's forty-third governor. The proceedings were brief; yet they held considerable meaning for Wilson, as he wrote to Mrs. Hulbert on January 22.

. . . I got into harness last Tuesday. The ceremony was simple enough: the exercises of the inauguration were over in an hour. Only the all-afternoon and all-evening receptions were fatiguing; and even in them there was variety enough to take at least monotony away and afford constant amusement, and, better than amusement, constant human interest. All sorts and conditions of people came, men, women, and children, and I felt very close to all of them, and very much touched by the thought that I was their representative and spokesman, and in a very real sense their help and hope, after year upon year of selfish machine domination when nothing at all had been done for them that could possibly be withheld! Since Tuesday I have been in Trenton every day, except yesterday, getting into harness and learning the daily routine of the office; and all the while deeply moved by the thought of my new responsibilities as the representative and champion of the common people against those who have been preying upon them. I have felt a sort of solemnity in it all that I feel sure will not

wear off. I do not see how a man in such a position could possibly be afraid of anything except failing to do his honourable duty and set all temptations (if they were disguised enough to be temptations) contemptuously on one side. I shall make mistakes, but I do not think I shall sin against my knowledge of duty.

After the spirited oratory of the campaign and the senatorial contest, the inaugural address seemed sober and restrained. But the issues were there. And Wilson read them off in a simple and serious style that left no doubt of his intention to redeem the Democratic platform plank by plank.

GENTLEMEN OF THE LEGISLATURE: I assume the great office of Governor of the State with unaffected diffidence. Many great men have made this office illustrious. A long tradition of honorable public service connects each incumbent of it with the generation of men who set up our governments here in free America, to give men perpetual assurance of liberty and justice and opportunity. No one dare be sure that he is qualified to play the part expected of him by the people of the commonwealth in the execution of this high trust. It is best for him, as he sets out, to look away from himself and to concentrate his thought upon the people whom he serves, the sacred interests which are entrusted to his care, and the day in which he is to work, its challenge, its promise, its energies of opinion and of purpose, its sustaining hopes and exciting expectations. The scene will inspire him, not thought of himself.

The opportunity of our day in the field of politics no man can mistake who can read any, even the most superficial, signs of the times. We have never seen a day when duty was more plain, the task to be performed more obvious, the way in which to accomplish it more easy to determine. The air has in recent months cleared

amazingly about us, and thousands, hundreds of thousands, have lifted their eyes to look about them, to see things they never saw before, to comprehend things that once seemed vague and elusive. The whole world has changed within the lifetime of men not yet in their thirties; the world of business, and therefore the world of society and the world of politics. The organization and movement of business are new and upon a novel scale. Business has changed so rapidly that for a long time we were confused, alarmed, bewildered, in a sort of terror of the things we had ourselves raised up. We talked about them either in sensational articles in the magazines which distorted every line of the picture, or in conservative editorials in our newspapers, which stoutly denied that anything at all had happened, or in grave discourses which tried to treat them as perfectly normal phenomena, or in legislative debates which sought to govern them with statutes which matched them neither in size nor shape.

But, if only by sheer dint of talking about them, either to fright or to reassure one another, or to make ourselves out wiser or more knowing than our fellows, we have at last turned them about and looked at them from almost every angle and begin to see them whole, as they are. Corporations are no longer hobgoblins which have sprung at us out of some mysterious ambush, nor yet unholy inventions of rascally rich men, nor yet the puzzling devices by which ingenious lawyers build up huge rights out of a multitude of small wrongs; but merely organizations of a perfectly intelligible sort which the law has licensed for the convenience of extensive business; organizations which have proved very useful but which have for the time being slipped out of the control of the very law that gave them leave to be and that can make or unmake them at pleasure. We have now to set ourselves to control them, soberly but effec-

tively, and to bring them thoroughly within the regulation of the law.

There is a great opportunity here; for wise regulation, wise adjustment, will mean the removal of half the difficulties that now beset us in our search for justice and equality and fair chances of fortune for the individuals who make up our modern society. And there is a great obligation as well as a great opportunity, an imperative obligation, from which we cannot escape if we would. Public opinion is at last wide awake. It begins to understand the problems to be dealt with; it begins to see very clearly indeed the objects to be sought. It knows what has been going on. It sees where resistance has come from whenever efforts at reform have been made, and knows also the means of resistance that have been resorted to. It is watchful, insistent, suspicious. No man who wishes to enjoy the public confidence dare hold back, and, if he is wise, he will not resort to subterfuge. A duty is exacted of him which he must perform simply, directly, immediately. The gate of opportunity stands wide open. If we are foolish enough to be unwilling to pass through it, the whip of opinion will drive us through.

No wise man will say, of course, that he sees the whole problem of reform lying plain before him, or knows how to frame the entire body of law that will be necessary to square business with the general interest, and put right and fairness and public spirit in the saddle again in all the transactions of our new society; but some things are plain enough, and upon these we can act.

In the first place, it is plain that our laws with regard to the relations of employer and employe are in many respects wholly antiquated and impossible. They were framed for another age, which nobody now living remembers, which is, indeed, so remote from our life that it would be difficult for many of us to understand it if

it were described to us. The employer is now generally a corporation or huge company of some kind; the employe is one of hundreds or of thousands brought together, not by individual masters whom they know and with whom they have personal relations, but by agents of one sort or another. Workingmen are marshalled in great numbers for the performance of a multitude of particular tasks under a common discipline. They generally use dangerous and powerful machinery, over whose repair and renewal they have no control. New rules must be devised with regard to their obligations and their rights, their obligations to their employers and their responsibilities to one another. New rules must be devised for their protection, for their compensation when injured, for their support when disabled.

We call these questions of employers' liability, questions of workingmen's compensation, but those terms do not suggest quite the whole matter. There is something very new and very big and very complex about these new relations of capital and labor. A new economic society has sprung up, and we must effect a new set of adjustments. We must not pit power against weakness. The employer is generally in our day, as I have said, not an individual, but a powerful group of individuals, and yet the workingman is still, under our existing law, an individual when dealing with his employer, in case of accident, for example, or of loss or of illness, as well as in every contractual relationship. We must have a workingman's compensation act which will not put upon him the burden of fighting powerful composite employers to obtain his rights, but which will give him his rights without suit, directly, and without contest, by automatic operation of law, as if of a law of insurance.

This is the first adjustment needed, because it affects the rights, the happiness, the lives and fortunes of the largest number, and because it is the adjustment for

which justice cries loudest and with the most direct appeal, to our hearts as well as to our consciences.

But there is regulation needed which lies back of that and is much more fundamental. The composite employer himself needs to have his character and powers overhauled, his constitution and rights reconsidered, readjusted to the fundamental and abiding interests of society. If I may speak very plainly, we are much too free with grants of charters to corporations in New Jersey. A corporation exists, not of natural right, but only by license of law, and the law, if we look at the matter in good conscience, is responsible for what it creates. It can never rightly authorize any kind of fraud or imposition. It cannot righteously allow the setting up of a business which has no sound basis, or which follows methods which in any way outrage justice or fair dealing or the principles of honest industry. The law cannot give its license to things of that kind. It thereby authenticates what it ought of right to forbid.

I would urge, therefore, the imperative obligation of public policy and of public honesty we are under to effect such changes in the law of the State as will henceforth effectually prevent the abuse of the privilege of incorporation which has in recent years brought so much discredit upon our State. In order to do this it will be necessary to regulate and restrict the issue of securities, to enforce regulations with regard to bona fide capital, examining very rigorously the basis of capitalization, and to prescribe methods by which the public shall be safeguarded against fraud, deception, extortion, and every abuse of its confidence.

And such scrutiny and regulation ought not to be confined to corporations seeking charters. They ought also to be extended to corporations already operating under the license and authority of the State. For the right to

undertake such regulation is susceptible of easy and obvious justification. A modern corporation—that is, a modern joint stock company—is in no proper sense an intimate or private concern. It is not set up on the risk and adventure of a few persons, the persons who originated it, manage it, carry it to failure or success. On the contrary, it is set up at what may be called the common risk. It is a risk and adventure in which the public are invited to share, and the hundreds, perhaps thousands, who subscribe to the stock do in fact share in it, oftentimes without sharing also, in any effectual manner, in the control and development of the business in which their risk is taken. Moreover, these modern enterprises, with their exchequers replenished out of the common store of the savings of the nation, conduct business transactions whose scope and influence are as wide awake as whole regions of the Union, often as wide as the nation itself. They affect sometimes the lives and fortunes of whole communities, dominate prices, determine land values, make and unmake markets, develop or check the growth of city and of countryside. If law is at liberty to adjust the general conditions of society itself, it is at liberty to control these great instrumentalities which nowadays, in so large part, determine the character of society. Wherever we can find what the common interest is in respect of them we shall find a solid enough basis for law, for reform.

The matter is most obvious when we turn to what we have come to designate public service, or public utility, corporations—those which supply us with the means of transportation and with those common necessaries, water, light, heat, and power. Here are corporations exercising peculiar and extraordinary franchises, and bearing such a relation to society in respect of the services they render that it may be said that they are the very medium of its

life. They render a public and common service of which it is necessary that practically everybody should avail himself.

We have a Public Utilities Commission in New Jersey, but it has hardly more than powers of inquiry and advice. It could even as it stands, be made a powerful instrument of publicity and of opinion, but it may also modestly wait until it is asked before expressing a judgment, and in any case it will have the uncomfortable consciousness that its opinion is gratuitous, and carries no weight of effective authority. This will not do. It is understood by everybody who knows anything of the common interest that it must have complete regulative powers: the power to regulate rates, the power to learn and make public everything that should furnish a basis for the public judgment with regard to the soundness, the efficiency, the economy of the business—the power, in brief, to adjust such service at every point and in every respect, whether of equipment or charges or methods of financing or means of service, to the general interest of the communities affected. This can be done, as experience elsewhere has demonstrated, not only without destroying the profits of such business, but also with the effect of putting it upon a more satisfactory footing for those who conduct it no less than for those who make use of it day by day.

Such regulation, based on thorough and authoritative inquiry, will go far towards disclosing and establishing those debatable values upon which so many questions of taxation turn. There is an uneasy feeling throughout the State, in which, I dare say, we all share, that there are glaring inequalities in our system—or, at any rate, in our practice—of taxation. The most general complaint is, that there is great inequality as between individuals and corporations. I do not see how anyone can determine whether there are or not, for we have absolutely no

uniform system of assessment. It would seem that in every locality there is some local variety of practice, in the rate, the ratio of assessment value to market value, and that every assessor is a law unto himself. Our whole system of taxation, which is no system at all, needs overhauling from top to bottom. There can be no system, no safety, no regulation in a multitude of boards. An efficient Public Utilities Commission will be a beginning towards a system of taxation as well as towards a system of corporate control. We cannot fairly tax values until we have ascertained and established them.

And the great matter of conservation seems to me like a part of the same subject. The safeguarding of our water supply, the purification of our streams in order to maintain them as sources of life, and their protection against those who would divert them or diminish their volume for private profit, the maintenance of such woodlands as are left us and the reforestation of bare tracts more suited for forest than for field, the sanitation of great urban districts such as cover the northern portions of our State, by thorough systems of drainage and of refuse disposal, the protection of the public health and the facilitation of urban and suburban life—these are all public obligations which fall sooner or later upon you as the lawmakers of the commonwealth, and they are all parts of the one great task of adjustment which has fallen to our generation. Our business is to adjust right to right, interest to interest, and to systematize right and convenience, individual rights and corporate privileges, upon the single basis of the general good, the good of whole communities, the good which no one will look after or suffice to secure if the legislator does not, the common good for whose safeguarding and maintenance government is intended.

This readjustment has not been going on very fast or very favorably in New Jersey. It has been observed that

it limped, or was prevented, or neglected, in other States as well. Everywhere there has been confusion of counsel and many a sad miscarriage of plan. There have, consequently, been some very radical criticisms of our methods of political action. There is widespread dissatisfaction with what our legislatures do, and still more serious dissatisfaction with what they do not do. Some persons have said that representative government has proved too indirect and clumsy an instrument, and has broken down as a means of popular control. Others, looking a little deeper, have said that it was not representative government that had broken down, but the effort to get it. They have pointed out that with our present methods of machine nomination and our present methods of elections, which were nothing more than a choice between one set of machine nominees and another, we did not get representative government at all—at least not government representative of the people, but government representative of political managers who served their own interests and the interests of those with whom they found it profitable to establish partnerships.

Obviously this is something that goes to the root of the whole matter. Back of all reform lies the method of getting it. Back of the question what you want lies the question, the fundamental question of all government, how are you going to get it? How are you going to get public servants who will obtain it for you? How are you going to get genuine representatives who will serve your real interests, and not their own or the interests of some special group or body of your fellow-citizens whose power is of the few and not of the many? These are the queries which have drawn the attention of the whole country to the subject of the direct primary, the direct choice of representatives by the people, without the intervention of the nominating machine, the nominating organization.

I earnestly commend to your careful consideration in this connection the laws in recent years adopted in the State of Oregon, whose effect has been to bring government back to the people and to protect it from the control of the representatives of selfish and special interests. They seem to me to point the direction which we must also take before we have completed our regeneration of a government which has suffered so seriously and so long as ours has here in New Jersey from private management and organized selfishness. Our primary laws, extended and perfected, will pave the way. They should be extended to every elective office, and to the selection of every party committee or official as well, in order that the people may once for all take charge of their own affairs, their own political organization and association; and the methods of primary selection should be so perfected that the primaries will be put upon the same free footing that the methods of election themselves are meant to rest upon.

We have here the undoubtedly sound chain and sequence of reforms: an actual direct choice by the people of the men who are to organize alike their parties and their government, and those measures which true representatives of the people will certainly favor and adopt—systematic compensation for injured workingmen; the careful regulation in the common interest of all corporations, both in respect of their organization and of their methods of business, and especially of public service corporations; the equalization of taxes; and the conservation of the natural resources of the State and of the health and safety of its people.

Another matter of the most vital consequence goes with all these: namely, systematic ballot reform and thorough and stringent provisions of law against corrupt practices in connection alike with primaries and with elections. We have lagged behind our sister States in

these important matters, and should make haste to avail ourselves of their example and their experience. Here, again, Oregon may be our guide.

This is a big programme, but it is a perfectly consistent programme, and a perfectly feasible programme, and one upon whose details it ought to be possible to agree even within the limits of a single legislative session. You may count upon my co-operation at every step of the work.

I have not spoken of the broad question of economy in the administration of the State government, an economy which can probably be effected only through a thorough reorganization upon business principles, the familiar business principles so thoroughly understood and so intelligently practiced by Americans, but so seldom applied to their governments. We make offices for party purposes too often, instead of conducting our public business by the organization best adapted to efficiency and economy. I have not dwelt upon the subject in this address because it is a very complicated one, hardly suited for brief exposition, and because so obvious a requirement of honest government needs hardly more than to be mentioned to be universally endorsed by the public. I shall try to point out to you from time to time the means by which reorganization and economy may be secured with benefit to the public service.

But there is a subject which lies a little off the beaten track to which I do wish to turn for a moment before I close. The whole country has remarked the extraordinary rise in the prices of food stuffs in recent years, and the fact that prices are successfully maintained at an intolerably high level at all seasons, whether they be the seasons of plenty or of scarcity. We have a partial remedy at our own hand—a remedy which was proposed to the Legislature last year by Mr. James, of

Hudson county, but which is said to have been defeated in some questionable fashion in the last hours of the session. It is estimated that most of the food supply of the people of northern New Jersey, and half the food supply for New York City, is kept in cold-storage warehouses in Hudson county, awaiting the desired state of the market. There is abundant reason to believe that it is the practice of dealers to seclude immense quantities of beef and other meats, poultry, eggs, fish, etc., in cold-storage in times of abundance in order that the price of these indispensable foods may be kept high and the foods dealt out only when the market is satisfactory for that purpose, even if the meats and eggs have to be kept for years together before being sold. Figures, said to be actually of record, foot up almost incredible totals of the amounts thus held in waiting, running into millions of heads of cattle, of sheep and lambs, of hogs, millions of pounds of poultry, and hundreds of millions of eggs.

The result is not only to control prices but also to endanger health, because of the effect of too long storage upon the food stuffs themselves, and because of the deleterious effects of taking them out of cold-storage and exposing them to thaw in the markets. The least effect is loss of nutritious quality; the worst, the generation of actual poisons by decay and even putrefaction.

No limit at all is put upon this abuse by law, and strong influences are brought to bear by interested parties to prevent the enactment of remedial legislation. Indictments were brought in Hudson county, but there was no sufficient law to sustain them. A bill was introduced, as I have said, at the last session of the Legislature, but was, I am told, after lingering a very long time in the Assembly committee, mysteriously lost when called up for passage in the Senate during the last hours of the session. I earnestly urge that the Legislature take up this

important matter at the earliest possible time, and push some effective law of inspection and limitation to enactment. It would give me great pleasure to sign a bill that would really accomplish the purpose.

We are servants of the people, of the whole people. Their interest should be our constant study. We should pursue it without fear or favor. Our reward will be greater than that to be obtained in any other service: the satisfaction of furthering large ends, large purposes, of being an intimate part of that slow but constant and ever hopeful force of liberty and of enlightenment that is lifting mankind from age to age to new levels of progress and achievement, and of having been something greater than successful men. For we shall have been instruments of humanity, men whose thought was not for themselves, but for the true and lasting comfort and happiness of men everywhere. It is not the foolish ardor of too sanguine or too radical reform that I urge upon you, but merely the tasks that are evident and pressing, the things we have knowledge and guidance enough to do; and to do with confidence and energy. I merely point out the present business of progressive and serviceable government, the next stage on the journey of duty. The path is as inviting as it is plain. Shall we hesitate to tread it? I look forward with genuine pleasure to the prospect of being your comrade upon it.*

The day before his inauguration, Wilson met with Democratic legislative leaders and progressives from both parties in order to plan the administration program. George L. Record was an indispensable member of the group and to him Wilson assigned the task of preparing key bills for presentation to the legislature. Wilson realized, and most members of the conference agreed, that success depended

* See *Journal of the Sixty-Seventh Senate of the State of New Jersey*, 1911, 58-68.

on their ability to fulfill the four major platform pledges. Radical though such a program seemed to many, it was decided to introduce bills at the start of the session for primary and election reform, corporation regulation, corrupt practices legislation, and employers' liability laws.

During the next two months Wilson was deeply involved in the fight for his program: issuing statements, making speeches, arranging conferences, even attending a legislative caucus! Through it all he exhibited the same unusual grasp of political maneuvering and in-fighting that had amazed his opponents during the senatorial contest. He also brought to the fray a new brand of dynamic executive leadership, the like of which New Jersey had never experienced before.

The pattern of his triumph can best be seen in the fight for reform of the primary and election laws. Passage of these measures, moreover, meant virtual success for the other parts of the program.

As soon as Record had prepared drafts of a primary and election bill, Wilson asked Assemblyman Elmer H. Geran, formerly his student at Princeton, to introduce the measure. Geran did so in the Assembly on February 6. Reaction from Democratic and Republican machine representatives in the legislature was violent. The bill was sweeping in its provisions and, since its purpose was, as Wilson said, "to place the entire election process in the hands of the voters," it would remove delegates and whole slates of nominees from manipulation by the party organization. Members of the Smith-Nugent team were particularly angry. A scheme was soon hatched to remove the bill from the judiciary committee and bottle it up in the unfriendly elections committee. The Governor rose to its defense with a public statement on February 15.

As legislation begins to take shape, I recall two of the most important promises I made to the people of the State during the recent campaign. I promised in the first place that during the legislative session I would speak to them very freely and frankly about the more important bills pending in the legislature; and I prom-

ised that I would do everything in my power to promote such legislation as was likely to put the government of the State into fair hands. In speaking of the bill which has been introduced into the house by Mr. Geran, of Monmouth, I can fulfill both promises at once. That bill embodies an attempt to redeem, with the utmost frankness, the most important pledge of the campaign.

The main issue of that campaign, if I understand it, was whether the business of the people should be privately managed by groups of politicians, or publicly managed entirely in the open and in a way to give the people themselves the freest possible access to everything that was done or proposed. The evils of our politics have existed largely because public affairs could be controlled by private understandings arrived at in ways which the people could not comprehend, and the basis of all this private management has been the choice of candidates for office and of those who were to conduct the affairs of the parties in such a way that the people felt themselves unable to take part with effectiveness and intelligence.

The Geran bill is intended to clear all obstacles away and to put the whole management alike of parties and of elections in the hands of the voters themselves. Every part is essential to the frank and candid carrying out of the most sacred promises of the campaign. Its purpose is to make the government in every part the people's government. It is not an experimental bill; it is based upon abundant experience elsewhere by our fellow countrymen, and cannot fail, when adopted in its entirety, to accomplish the purpose it seeks.

What it does is, first, to purify the process of election and of the choice of candidates by vastly improving the method of selecting election officers; and, second, to put all selections, whether of those who are to serve the State or of those who are to serve the parties as

managers and directors, immediately into the hands of the people themselves, without the intervention of unnecessary machinery. It extends the primaries, not only to the selection of Congressmen and Governor, but also to the choice of the men who are to direct the committees of the parties and to the selection of the delegates who are to represent New Jersey in the conventions which make choice of presidential candidates. It goes beyond that and affords the people the right to express their preference with regard to the candidates who shall be considered for the presidential nomination. Some of the provisions of the bill have already passed the Senate upon the initiative of Senator Nichols.

The present Legislature is one of the freest Legislatures the State has ever seen. Its members are actuated by a sincere desire to serve the best interests of the State and of its politics and to carry out in the fullest and frankest manner the expectations of the people. I think that the whole Legislature rejoices in its consciousness that it is free to do these things. Opposition to this bill, which puts the government in the hands of the people, will not come from the Legislature. It will come from outside the Legislature, and will admirably serve to distinguish the friends of the people from the friends of private management.

It will be thoroughly worth while to observe the persons who interest themselves to oppose it. Their names will make an excellent list, easily accessible, of those who either fear to establish the direct rule of the people, or who have some private and selfish purpose to serve in seeing that the more concealed and secret methods of politics are not taken away from them and made impossible. It is, in one sense, the main bill of the session. It will afford an excellent test as to whether the recent campaign meant what it seemed to mean or not. Public opinion has now an opportunity to assert itself in trium-

phant fashion against those who seek to deter the Legislature from this wholesome and admirable legislation upon which the future of free administration in the State will directly depend. Its passage will mean that we shall regularly and always have free Legislatures and not depend upon exceptional circumstances to give them to us.

The bill is now in the hands of the Judiciary Committee of the House. There is every reason to believe that it will be perfected in its details by that committee and that it will be properly reported to the House itself. No doubt there are details of the bill which need reconsideration, but all its essential features are sound, and it is to be hoped and expected that it will come from the committee without any alteration except changes of detail.

If I may speak for myself, I would say that I am deeply and earnestly interested in the measure; that I regard it as essential to the political purification and advancement of the State, and that I shall be very glad from time to time to discuss this and other legislation in public as time and opportunity may allow.

I shall take the liberty from time to time to speak of other bills hardly less essential to the reasonable program of reform in which the present Legislature is pledged than this bill concerning the primaries and elections.*

That Wilson would have to fight every step of the way for his reform program was evident from the reaction to the Geran bill. He had been elected Governor by a huge majority; he had waged a popular and successful battle for leadership of the party. But these were not enough. A significant minority of Smith-Nugent men remained in the legislature, determined to thwart Wilson in a spirit of revenge, regardless of the measure. And Wilson could not seek

* *Trenton True American,* Feb. 16, 1911.

aid from conservative members for he had long since moved completely into the insurgent camp. Still, the weapons in his arsenal were formidable.

In an address at Trenton before the New Jersey Editorial Association on February 27, he outlined his four-point legislative program briefly but emphatically. Both parties were pledged to the program, he said, and failure of either to give necessary support "would be a reprehensible breach of faith."

A few days later he spoke to the Hoboken Board of Trade and explained in detail the importance of the Geran bill.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen—Your greeting is, indeed, most gracious and I appreciate the welcome that you accord me. I was very much touched by the last words of your president in introducing me. I have a very profound belief in the common people of this State and of this great country, and I always feel, in addressing an audience like this, that it is not in them, but through them, that I reach the common people. For you gentlemen are not the common people; you are removed in circumstances, and sometimes in sympathy, from the great mass of the citizenship of this country; you are not among those that daily feel the absolute pinch of the necessity to work; you are, most of you, men who have between you and that necessity a certain margin of resources upon which you can depend—a certain leeway of leisure, a certain opportunity to do the things that you please rather than always the thing that you must; and it is absolutely necessary that you should regard the problems of government in their true light—that you should constantly recall for yourselves the circumstances of the great mass of your fellow citizens.

I was just now agreeing with one of the gentlemen at this table that probably the judgment—the independent judgment of a country like ours—is not much in the men who have thrust forward and risen to the top in

business. A certain gentleman said, the other day, that he had hoped that he might have in one of the houses of Congress one more term in which he could end his life as a free man, "for," he said, "I have spent my life serving the rich." Now how true it is of many of us, gentlemen, that we are spending our lives serving certain interests to which our personal advancement is as what a slave is at the tail of a cart? And how many men can release their judgment upon a free field and look at the progress of the country as if their personal fortunes were not involved? How many men can be, through one hour of discussion, indifferent to the considerations which touch their personal fortunes? How, then, are you going to root your politics in the soil which is the real source of its purity and of its strength? . . .

Why is it that party lines in recent months have become so obscure and parties seem to have been dissolved? Why is it that there is talk of a reformation of parties? Why is it that there is a very slight difference between one party platform and another party platform, all sorts of men claiming to be for the same thing? Is it not because we are not now really debating political policies? We are debating nothing else than the fundamentals of government; we are debating nothing else than the question, Have we a democratic government; have we a representative government; have we a government whose connections are with the general body of the people and which respond to the impulses of the people and to the judgments that lie in their hearts? . . .

The fundamental bill of this session, gentlemen, is the bill that is called the primaries and elections bill, the bill which, for the present at any rate, bears the name of a very excellent member of the Assembly, Mr. Geran, of Monmouth County. What does the bill try to do? What is the difficulty, gentlemen, and the dis-

couragement that we suffer under as a board of trade whenever you try to better political processes and municipal conditions? I have not asked you in fact this question, but I have heard this question answered all over the United States, as I have gone over it from one part to another. The attitude of the most busy and thoughtful men toward their government is an attitude of indifference because it is an attitude of despair, that we think, when we go to the primaries, how do we know our votes are going to be counted. If we take part in the elections what choice do we make except the choice between the nominees of one political machine and the nominees of another political machine, and so far as that is concerned we would as leave settle it by the toss of a coin, because then, if one set of men is elected to office they take their orders from the machine and we don't like the machine and can't put it out of business and therefore we cannot get access to our own government.

And why does the machine try to conduct its affairs through what would seem to be the very sources of its power? Because it has come about that the people are not the source of their power; the source of their power is in the main derived from the men who are conducting great enterprises of business. There are men in every board of trade who are partners—intimate and constant partners, with political machines, which the parties they are connected with are pretending to fight. I am not stating anything that you don't know; I am simply one of those rash persons who say out loud what everybody thinks. . . .

Now the object of the Geran bill is to restore the government to the people; and the Geran bill is going to be adopted. I know that it is going to be adopted because I know that the people of New Jersey want it. I do not want it except as one of the people of New

Jersey. It is not my bill; it is not any man's bill. The beautiful thing about it is that it is no man's bill. It is a bill that comes from that irrepressible demand of a people that has discovered that throughout decade after decade it has been duped and deceived.

There are going to be open primaries for every kind of office, and there are going to be men set to count the votes who will count them as they are cast, or we will know the reason why. And I want you to observe, and observe very critically, who are opposing this bill. They are not opposing it in public; they are opposing it chiefly in private. Most of them won't even venture to come to Trenton because there are wide open eyes in the Governor's office. They work with the Assemblymen and Senators at home. Now the beauty of the present Legislature is that it cannot be "worked." I have associated with these gentlemen long enough to have a perfect confidence that they are not going to be imposed on any longer and made the dupes of designing persons in order to disgrace themselves and disappoint their constituents. Every newspaper in this State that has habitually supported the wrong enterprises is opposed to the Geran bill, and every man who wants to preserve the private power of the machine is against the Geran bill.

Now, I dare say there are defects in the Geran bill; there are many parts of it open to the judgment of honest and practical men, who are agreed generally, but what we are going to do is to get it in such a shape that it is as good a bill as can be got, and then we are going to stand for it in its every section; and then, if experience proves that it needs amendment, it can be amended after. The present plan is to pick flaws in it, to get time to talk it to death, and nobody can talk more plausibly with regard to the practical parts of the

bill than those who want to kill it. Some of them have been adept in this kind of talking throughout their career. They are innocent persons, for the most part. They think they are imposing upon us! They think we don't know what they are after; they think that the cloven hoof is neatly hidden under the skirt of the garment; but there is every sign of peace in the argument, and they are deceiving nobody—not even themselves.

It is absolutely necessary, gentlemen, that in matters of this kind you should not resolve yourselves into a debating society, but should make up your minds whether the object of a bill like this is to serve the people, and when you have found out that it is to serve the people, to get back of it and sustain the men who are trying to put it through.

Any smart man can start objections, but only a great man can waive objections, and so I am not going to put my judgment against the common good; I am going to stand for this thing through thick and thin.

Now I am not saying these things because I have the least nervousness as to what is going to happen to the Geran bill; I have not. We have discovered some very interesting things in recent months in New Jersey. I believe a few months ago very few people believed that a serious discussion of public questions on a public platform would result in uniting the people on intelligent action, but anybody that wanted to believe that has been undeceived. If I may speak of my own experience I have found audiences made up of the common people of this State quicker to take a point, quicker to understand an argument, quicker to comprehend a tendency and to comprehend a principle than many a college class that I have led; not because the college class lacked intelligence, but because a class of college boys is not in contact with the realities of life, and a body of the

common citizenship of New Jersey is in contact with actual life day by day and you don't have to explain to them what touches them to the quick.

If you will go out and explain to these people what it is you are trying to do, they will waive all minor objections and they will see to it that you are sustained in doing it. The only thing you have to prove to them is that you really mean to serve them, that you mean what you say and that you are not in the least afraid of the man that is crooked; that the only thing you have to do with the man who is trying to do the wrong thing is to make him stand up in public and explain it. If you find men buttonholing you and buttonholing representatives and criticizing the primaries and elections bill, hire a hall for them and get them to get up on the stage and tell you why they are objecting. They will decline the challenge. There is nothing that so chills ardor for wrong as exposure to the open air. I have been told that it requires courage to advocate a popular cause. Unless I have misread history, the only thing that requires courage is to oppose it, because the thing that a man ought to fear is not the interruption of his personal prosperity, but the prominent disrepute of his name.

In the years gone by, when I was a very literary fellow, I used to enjoy a certain grim satisfaction in hearing certain public men make public excuses for their careers, for I used to know that it was quiet men, like myself, sitting at study tables, reading the records in which we are told how posterity ought to think of those men; that their voices would die with the hour and that the record of history would rise up against them generation after generation and those who were descendant from them would wish that they had never been born.

What are we trying for, gentlemen—the satisfaction of the little span of time that we spend in this world?

What are we trying for—the comforts of our bodies, the things that we put in our stomachs, the mere pleasures with which we try to kill time and spend it? Or are we trying for the permanent satisfaction of our spirits; are we trying for that peace that comes with the attempt at any rate, the honest attempt to perform our duty; are we trying to enjoy the things that money affords us while they disappoint us, or are we trying for those things only which will bring us only the honor and the love and the respect of our fellow men? Do we wish to make government for private business for our own behoof, or do we wish to advance the interests of the community? Do we wish for private satisfaction, for selfishness triumphant, or do we wish to that nobler thing which seems to connect us with the whole spirit of humanity, which seems to fill our lungs with a breath which blows through the ages, the breath which is the breath of immortal principle? Are we trying to live for a little time, or are we trying to beckon to other men like ourselves up the long street that leads to finer achievement? *

It was a hard struggle. But Wilson had few doubts that he would emerge victorious. And he even found it a bit fascinating, as he told Mrs. Hulbert on March 5.

Things are getting intense and interesting again. The bills for which we are pledged and on whose passage the success and prestige of my administration as governor largely depend are ready for report to the legislature, and the question is, Can we pass them? I think we can, and my spirits rise as the crisis approaches: it is like the senatorial contest all over again—the same forces arrayed against me; and no doubt the same sort of

* *Jersey Journal (Jersey City)*, Mar. 3, 1911, and *Trenton True American*, Mar. 4, 1911.

fight will enable me to win. I have begun my speech-making (this time at various dinners of boards of trade, which afford me a convenient platform) and am pouring shot into the enemy in a way which I hope reaches the heart of his defenses. To-morrow I meet all the Democratic members of the Assembly in conference and shall have my first shot at them direct. Besides that, I shall draw various individuals into my office and have talks with them. After the difficulties of the House are overcome, there is the Senate to deal with, which is Republican, by a majority of three. I do not know just how they will act. The senators gave me a dinner on Friday night (the customary thing, it seems) at the new Ritz-Carlton hotel, 46th St. and Madison Avenue, and in the little speech I made them I established as natural and cordial relations as I knew how to suggest. They are good and honest men, for the most part, and I could warmly feel all the things I said. I am hoping for the best even with them—though from just which of them I am to get the necessary votes I do not yet know. There are so many "personal equations" to bring into these puzzling calculations that I do not know till the last moment how the "sum" is going to work out. It's a fascinating, as well as nerve-wracking, business. And yet through it all I keep perfectly well and seem to thrive. It is deeply interesting: no one would wish to fall inattentive or to fall asleep over such business. I can realize at every stage and turn of it how you would dote on it, and how keenly you would follow and comprehend it all, with your singular intuitive knowledge of people. And somehow, through all of it, I keep my stubborn optimism. I cannot manage to think ill of my fellow men as a whole, though some of them are extraordinary scoundrels. Fortunately in this strange game most of the scoundrels are cowards also. The right, boldly done, intimidates them. Above all, they shrink

away from the light. I spoke at three dinners last week: on Tuesday night before the West Hudson Board of Trade; on Thursday night before the Hoboken Board of Trade; on Friday night to the senators.

Wilson had made extensive use of personal pressure and public statements and speeches in his efforts to win approval of his program. Early in March he took the most unprecedented step of all. He announced that he would attend the caucus of Democratic assemblymen on March 13. Protests immediately arose to the effect that this violated the traditional "separation of powers," that the executive had no right interfering in the work of the legislature. Wilson was determined. When the caucus assembled, he quickly disposed of further protest at his presence.

"What constitutional right has the Governor to interfere in legislation?" Assemblyman Martin demanded.

"Since you appeal to the constitution, I can satisfy you," replied Wilson.

From his pocket he took a copy of the state constitution and read from section 6, article 5: ". . . he (the governor) shall communicate by message to the legislature at the opening of each session, and at such other times as he may deem necessary, the condition of the State, and recommend such measures as he may deem expedient. . . . I stand upon that provision of the Constitution." *

No newspapermen were permitted to attend the caucus, hence accounts of what went on are somewhat fragmentary. One of the better summaries appeared in the *Trenton True American* on March 14. In it was quoted a dramatic statement of Wilson's that amounted to a threat.

* Arthur S. Link, *Wilson: The Road to the White House* (Princeton, 1947), 253; R. S. Baker, *Woodrow Wilson, Life and Letters: Governor* (Garden City, N. Y., 1932), 141.

The conference lasted three hours. Governor Wilson strongly urged the passage of the bill.

It is understood that the Governor first called attention to the fact that there seemed to be serious objection in the minds of some of the members because of the way in which this bill had been prepared and suggested to the legislature. He called attention of the members to the fact that it was his clear prerogative, under the constitution of the State, to suggest at any time measures for their consideration, and that it was clearly within the meaning of the constitution that his suggestions might be in the form of regularly formulated bills. He said that it would have been within his choice, therefore, to send to them the pending primary and election bill in a special message and to ask them to vote upon it directly, as his suggestion, and so go on record whether they were willing or unwilling, as the case might be, to adopt it. He said that rather than exercise this prerogative, he had preferred to co-operate with his colleagues in the legislature, and in conference after conference he had invited in those members of the assembly who were officially or otherwise interested, and had taken advantage of the kindness of individual members to introduce this and other bills which he felt it his duty to urge, so that they might go out in the regular order of legislative procedure. He had done this so that he might not even seem to force upon the legislature the choice, whether they would follow his lead or not.

The Governor pointed out to them that the bill which Mr. Geran had introduced had been objected to by those who opposed it only upon the grounds which went to the validity and efficacy of the whole matter. He maintained that it was absolutely necessary, in order to keep faith with the voters of the State and with public opinion, that the bill should substitute for the existing method of selecting election officers—a method which

would be a very much nearer approach to what was impartial and open and without taint and machine management, and that the other essential feature was that the ballots should be of such form that the voters would have an opportunity to select individuals rather than tickets, and so be in a position to demand and expect of every political organization that they should put up candidates whose names would bear individual scrutiny. He urged that the Democratic party had for sixteen years been a minority which was assured to it because it would not open its processes to popular choice and to the free control of public opinion. Because, in short, the people had not believed that the Democracy was their servant, but had feared that it was the servant of selfish political interests.

The recent election, the Governor pointed out, had been won because Democracy had challenged and obtained the support of independent voters. The Geran bill, he maintained was a means of keeping faith with those voters; that he felt confident that any appeal to public opinion would sustain that bill overwhelmingly. He wished to make that appeal unnecessary. He wished the members of the conference to relieve the Democratic party of even the suspicion that they were not eager and willing without pressure from the outside to carry out not only the explicit, but the implicit pledges of their campaign. He said that so far as his own preference was concerned, he would greatly relish going to the people on the issue, except that it would seem to bring him into collision with, and oblige him to criticise the action of certain members of the Legislature. The vote which the conference was about to take, he declared, to be one of the most critical in the history of the party.

The Governor said: "You can turn aside from the measure if you choose; you can decline to follow me; you can deprive me of office, and turn away from me,

but you cannot deprive me of power so long as I steadfastly stand for what I believe to be the interests and legitimate demands of the people themselves. I beg you to remember, in this which promises to be an historic conference in the annals of the party of the State, you are settling the question of the power or importance, the distinction or the ignominy of the party to which the people with a singular generosity offered the control of their affairs."

The Governor's faith and the wisdom and public spirit of the members of the conference was fully vindicated by the result. He expressed himself as particularly happy that the conference had voted as it did, and that he was not obliged even to seem to bring himself into contest upon the public platform with the representatives of his own party.

Assemblyman Walsh, of Mercer, was one of those who spoke strongly in favor of the measure. And Mr. Walsh's address gave rise to one of the interesting events of the conference. Mr. Walsh, in his address, said something about the necessity of preventing the domination of politics by organizations. Assemblyman Martin, of Hudson, jumped to his feet at the close of Mr. Walsh's address, and said something about Democrats forgetting the lesson of the convention in Taylor Opera House. He declared that every man present owed his nomination and election to a political organization.

Mr. Walsh arose to reply, but he was interrupted by Governor Wilson, who declared that he understood Mr. Martin's reference to refer not to Mr. Walsh but to himself. He declared that he believed in organization, and he believed in parties. But he took issue with Mr. Martin's statement that every man present owed his position to an organization. The Governor said that while organizations may have been instrumental in bringing about his nomination, he owed his election to

the people and to the people only, and he would refuse to acknowledge any obligation that transcends his obligation to the people who elected him.

The bold move was remarkably successful. Twenty-seven of the thirty-eight assemblymen attending the caucus voted to support the bill as party policy. One of these later described the effect of Wilson's visit.

I have never known anything like that speech. The Governor talked for at least an hour appealing to our better unselfish natures. The State had trusted us, as Democrats, with great duties and responsibilities. Would we betray the people or would we seize this splendid opportunity? But it is useless to attempt to describe the speech or the effect that it produced. We all came out of that room with one conviction; that we had heard the most wonderful speech of our lives, and that Governor Wilson was a great man. Even the most hardened of the old-time legislative hacks said that. It has been said that debate no longer accomplishes anything in American legislation, that nobody is now persuaded by talk. Here was a case, however, which refutes this idea. When we went into that caucus we had no assurance as to what the result would be. But opposition melted away under the Governor's influence. That caucus settled the fate of the Geran bill, as well as the whole democratic program.*

The Geran bill was reported to the Assembly on March 15 and reached a vote on March 21. Wilson had used every means at his disposal to assure its passage. Even so the Democratic machine, combining with the Republican minority, nearly carried the day. But George Record was able to prevail upon two Republicans to lend their support and the bill

* Quoted in Burton J. Hendrick, "Woodrow Wilson: Political Leader," *McClure's Magazine*, XXXVIII, Dec. 1911, 230.

was passed by a majority of 34 to 25. The Senate passed a revised version on April 13 which retained the important provisions. A week later Wilson affixed his signature to the bill with great pleasure.

It was his first legislative triumph; it was also the most significant, for it was commonly agreed at the time that the remainder of his program depended in large degree on passage of the election bill. Such seemed to be the case. A corrupt practices act passed both houses just two days after Record had finished drafting it.

A public utilities law took longer, but met with little real opposition. The act, passed on April 21, established a public utility commission which exercised broad control over rates and services. It embodied all that the progressives had sought for more than a decade.

New Jersey's first workmen's compensation statute became law on April 4, a product of excellent cooperation among Republican and Democratic legislators plus a bit of personal pressure by Wilson on a recalcitrant committee chairman. With this, Wilson's reform program was complete. But before the end of the session, he also gave vigorous support to a number of other measures such as municipal and school reform bills which had been progressive goals for years.

The legislature adjourned on April 22. Understandably elated, Wilson described the end in a letter to Mrs. Hulbert on April 23.

The Legislature adjourned yesterday morning at three o'clock, with its work done. I got absolutely everything I strove for,—and more besides; all four of the great acts that I had set my heart on (the primaries and election law, the corrupt practices act, as stringent as the English, the workingmen's compensation act, and the act giving a public commission control over the railways, the trolley lines, the water companies, and the gas and electric light and power companies), and besides them I got certain fundamental school reforms and an act enabling any city in the State to adopt the commission

form of government, which simplifies the electoral process and concentrates responsibility. Everyone, the papers included, are saying that none of it could have been done, if it had not been for my influence and tact and hold upon the people. Be that as it may, the thing was done, and the result was as complete a victory as has ever been won, I venture to say, in the history of the country. I wrote the platform, I had the measures formulated to my mind, I kept the pressure of opinion constantly on the legislature, and the programme was carried out to its last detail. This with the senatorial business seems, in the minds of the people looking on little less than a miracle in the light of what has been the history of reform hitherto in this State. As a matter of fact, it is just a bit of natural history. I came to the office in the fulness of time, when opinion was ripe on all these matters, when both parties were committed to these reforms, and by merely standing fast, and by never losing sight of the business for an hour, but keeping up all sorts of (legitimate) pressure *all the time,* kept the mighty forces from being diverted or blocked at any point. The strain has been immense, but the reward is great. I feel a great reaction to-day, for I am, of course, exceedingly tired, but I am quietly and deeply happy that I should have been of just the kind of service I wished to be to those who elected and trusted me. I can look them in the face, like a servant who has kept faith and done all that was in him, given every power he possessed, to them and their affairs. There could be no deeper source of satisfaction and contentment! I have no doubt that a good deal of the result was due to the personal relations I established with the men in the Senate, the Republican Senate which, it was feared at the outset, might be the stumbling block. You remember the dinner in New York and the supper at the Trenton country club which I described to you. Those

evenings undoubtedly played their part in the outcome. They brought us all close together on terms not unlike friendly intimacy; made them realize just what sort of *person* I was. Since then Republicans have resorted to my office for counsel and advice almost as freely as Democrats (an almost unprecedented circumstance at Trenton) and with several of them I have established relations almost of affection. Otherwise I do not believe that the extraordinary thing that happened could possibly have come about; for all four of the great "administration" measures passed the Senate *without a dissenting voice!* The newspaper men seem dazed. They do not understand how such things *could* happen. They were impressed, too, with the orderly and dignified way in which the session ended, despite the long strain of the closing night, when the houses sat from eight until three. Generally there is wild horseplay, like that on the stock exchange, but this time everything was done decently and with an air of self-respect. I took several naps in my office during the long hours of the session, coming out into the outer office in the intervals to talk and swap stories with the men who were sitting there, my secretary, the reporters who were coming and going, and interested friends who had come down to see how things ended. Then a committee from each House called on me to ask if there was anything more I had to lay before them before adjournment,—and the session was over. Most of the members dropped in to say good by, and by four o'clock your tired and happy friend was in bed in the noisy little Hotel Sterling, with the strong odours of late suppers in his nostrils, floating in at the open window. It's a great game, thoroughly worth playing!

George L. Record, who had contributed so much to the success of Wilson's reform program, summed up the "remarkable record" in terms of its relation to the national

progressive movement in "An Astonishing Legislature," his column in the *Jersey Journal* for April 22, 1911.

The present Legislature ends its session with the most remarkable record of progressive legislation ever known in the political history of this or any other State. Events have succeeded each other so rapidly at Trenton in the past few days that few people realize the significance of what has happened. A few weeks ago the National Progressive Republican League was formed at Washington with a platform so radical that most people thought it probable that several years would be required to carry out its program. The League declared for five reforms—a corrupt practices act, a direct primary act, the choice of United States Senators by popular vote, a Presidential preference act and the initiative, referendum and recall. Of this most radical program there have been passed acts which practically accomplish all of them but the last.

The Geran election bill is probably the best as well as the most advanced bill on the subject thus far enacted in the country. The public utility bill contains every possible provision necessary to give the State complete control of the public service business of the State. The Geran bill also provides for the expression of the choice of the voters of each party for the candidate for President. This law is likely to be enacted this year in a number of Western States, and it will have a marked effect on the choice of the party candidates for President, particularly in the Republican party. If the Republican voters in a number of States like Wisconsin, Oregon, California, Kansas and New Jersey, vote at the primaries next spring in favor of some candidate other than President Taft, it will indicate so clearly that the President cannot be re-elected that he will hardly be willing to fight for renomination.

The Geran bill also provides for an expression of

the choice of the voters for United States Senators, which is as near as we can come to an actual popular election of these officers until the Constitution of the United States is amended. An act to accomplish this reform failed to pass the United States Senate at the recent session by a very narrow margin, and will certainly pass at the present session of Congress.

The corrupt practices act is in many respects the most stringent yet enacted in any State. Here in a few months we have enacted in the conservative State of New Jersey four out of five of the planks of the National Progressive Republican League. The principle of the initiative, referendum and recall has also been put into several city charter bills. This is a marvelous record of achievement which a few months ago seemed as remote and impossible as could possibly be imagined.

All this is due in part to the years of persistent agitation which has been carried on mainly by the progressive Republicans of the State, and in part to the truly wonderful leadership of Governor Wilson. Without him nothing of substantial importance would have been passed. It is an astonishing record, and its stimulating results will be immediately felt in every part of the State.

VI

STRUGGLE FOR PARTY REDEMPTION

In less than a year Wilson had performed a series of political deeds that for brilliance were unmatched in Jersey history and had few equals in the nation as well. So exceptional was his performance that reality was at once given to all the talk that had ebbed and flowed for years about his potential as a presidential candidate. But the task in New Jersey was far from complete, and Wilson knew it. Remarkable vote-getter, proven leader of his party, clever and forceful executive—all these he obviously was. Still this prowess could be carried into political affairs on the county and local level only in the most tentative fashion. Many townships, boroughs, and cities were yet dominated by the machines of both parties. Clearly the redemption of the Democratic party that he had begun with the defeat of Smith must be extended to the state at large.

Direct intrusion by the Governor in local matters was not politically feasible. But he could bring his power and skill to bear by backing local progressive groups and the measures they championed and by campaigning for the election of progressive nominees. These tasks occupied a good deal of his time from late spring through the fall.

The fight for municipal reform was one of the measures on which reformers needed help. Wilson contributed a half dozen typically hard-hitting addresses to the cause. In Trenton on June 13, he described American cities as the worst governed in the world and pointed to city government by commission as the remedy.

I do not feel that I deserve any thanks for being here tonight. It is my business to be here tonight. It is my business to come wherever my fellow-citizens want to hear me discuss the fundamental questions of our public life. That is what I am for. Mr. Campbell has been very kind in his referring to my trip into the West.* Campbell and I were fellow students at Princeton, and Princeton men are always kind to one another.

But I must say that I am quite confident that I got a great deal more out of that Western trip than anybody else who had anything to do with it, because it was one of the most instructive experiences of my life. I had supposed, for one thing, that we had had a special gift of political thought in New Jersey. I know how absolutely wide awake the people of New Jersey were concerning their own political affairs, and I found to my surprise, and gratification, that the people of this country, from one ocean to the other, are just as wide awake, and that there is going over this whole nation a process which, when it comes to fullness of time, will be absolutely irresistible, and that runs along a single line, namely, the resolution of the people of the country to have control of their own affairs. . . .

I have been deeply interested in the matter of commission government for a great many years. I have waited for the people of this country to wake up to the facts of the situation and to reflect upon the fact that the best governed cities were outside of America; amongst those people who claimed political advancement and political enlightenment, the worst governed cities were in America, which we love, of which we were proud, where we maintained that we had a special gift of political thought to light a lamp to show men to political freedom and

* After the legislature adjourned, Wilson made a month-long speaking tour through the west, beginning in Kansas City on May 5, 1911. It was an obvious drive to pick up support for the presidential nomination.

political emancipation; in America, the most enlightened country in the world, there was the worst form of government in the world. . . .

There is nothing to be gained by vituperation, there is nothing to be gained by being unfair; we may as well face the facts; it is we who have built up this unsatisfactory system; the men we have put into office did not make it, they did not create the conditions which are so unsatisfactory; it is we ourselves who created them, and we created them with a sort of pleasurable ingenuity, as if we wanted to know how it would be in building up what we conceived would turn out to be the responsibilities of government, and in our Yankee ingenuity we made a machine so complicated that we couldn't run it ourselves, because the peculiarity of the present system of city government is that it is so complicated that nobody except the professional politicians know the ins and outs of it; it is a perfect labyrinth, where we can play at hide and seek with the men we elect from one year's end to another, and never find them.

I admit that it shows a certain degree of political originality to make a labyrinth in which you cannot find your own man.

I dare say this was to be a garden of pleasure for us. Away back in the time when they had leisure to spend their ingenuity upon gardens, they used to have labyrinths. They used to build such intricate paths that you couldn't find your friend in the garden; you could whistle for him, but you couldn't tell by his answering whistle where he was, because there was such a subtle return of the echo that this operation was like a game of the wits, not only to find your friend, but after you had sought for an hour or two to find yourself, you would finally get back to the place where you started.

I am not inventing anything; I am describing a garden in which I played when I was a youngster; I have lost

myself in there a hundred times when I thought I knew the garden. The garden was very proud of that; that was what the garden was for; it was to afford youth his concealment, which was very pleasant, very advantageous when we were young on a moonlight night; very good when we wished seclusion and did not want to be found. And I remember very delectable evenings in such gardens as that. But that is not the model upon which to construct government, not the principle upon which to construct something upon which you wish the light of publicity constantly to be thrown. The fact of the matter is that you cannot find out what is going on amidst such a labyrinth.

Now the interesting thing that has happened is that when anybody wants to control that government in their own interest, they don't have to control all of it; they have to make up their minds only which part of it they want to control.

You have heard of bargains in politics, I dare say; you have heard of deals; you have heard it said that professional politicians will trade offices for one another; and you have afforded them the most abundant and glorious opportunity to do so; all they have to do in order to accomplish these trades and exchanges, is to concentrate public attention upon the top of the ticket, the mayor and the council, and while you are fighting about who is to be elected to this or that elective board, they are planning as to who shall go on this or that appointive board.

Some gentlemen who are opposed to commission government are opposed to it because they control certain boards of the city and know that the game will be up when it is open.

Have you noticed any vociferous and loud opposition to commission government? Not a bit of it. It is all conducted in whispers, in private conferences; it is a

good show opposition; and for a very good reason. They dare not come out in the open and say why they oppose it. There are no arguments to answer except those we have heard whispered and repeated in private places.

Why do the newspapers that really want to oppose this thing do it covertly, on the sly, by indirection? Why do they say that so and so has been the objection, and then not answering the objection? Why are they afraid? Why is any man afraid to come out with an honest opinion? Gentlemen, the thing, I think, that is lowest in human life is cowardice.

There are objections which honorable men can urge to the commission form of government; there are things which can be said against it; but I don't hear men saying them. Why are the things that are urged against it not those things which can be honestly urged against it in public? Why? Because the opposition is based upon their interest. When you have learned a complicated game and know how to play it and nobody else does you don't want the game interfered with and another [game] substituted for it, which everybody understands, and which everybody can play. Of course, you don't want it. If you have gained the skill and intricacy and secretness of the thing you don't want to be interfered with, because you will be put out of business. Now who will be put out of business?

It is a little bit pitiful, to my mind, that members of a great police force would, in some of our cities, set themselves to oppose a change like this, on the ground that it renders their hold on their appointments precarious and doubtful. Do these gentlemen mean to tell us that their hold on their offices is now definite and certain? Doesn't everybody in the State know that offices of this sort were not terminated by the civil service or tenure of office acts? Why, a mere change in politics, a mere change in administration, though it be but a change

from one faction to another in the same party makes these men at once the victims of the change. Doesn't everybody know that the members of our police force and firefighting forces, in most of the cities, these men that are the defenders of our lives and property, ought never to be subjected to these changes at all? Do they not have to do the secret and dirty work of politics, and do they not know that if they do not do this work they will be rejected and put out of place? Does any man dare stand up and deny that that is not so? Isn't it notorious from one end of the United States to the other that the particular set of the spoils system is not offices of that kind, and that the machinery of political control is built up out of the personnel of these men who like to do their duty without let or hindrance? When I see these manly men handling our traffic with such ease, when I know that the stability of our order depends on their fidelity to duty, when I know that they will dare any danger in order to defend us, and then know that they must yield their manliness, keep their ear open to secret political intrigue, I am mortified —mortified for their sake, doubly mortified for my own.

Now does any man mean to maintain to me that a responsible commission, saddled with the responsibilities of government from which they cannot escape, will treat these men in that way. If any man does maintain that I pity his ignorance. He doesn't know anything the way this thing has operated.

If you want security, if you want tenure of office, put trustworthy and responsible men at the head of your government.

You have often heard recited the circumstances which gave rise to this experiment in government in the United States. It originated in Galveston after that great catastrophe where the sea rolled in and almost washed the city out of existence. In this demoralized state of affairs

they could not put this intricate form of government in operation at once, and so there had to be some form of government substituted, and in order to get on their feet they selected five of their fellow-citizens. And who did they select? Did they stop and pick out ministers of the gospels? Did they pick out a less respectable but still an eminently respectable class called professors? Did they go around among the business men and ask the most responsible and distinguished business men to serve them? All that was impossible, and it wasn't thought of. They had to have men that were already in the business, so they selected the politicians, the men who had been running a political machine, and, as I have been told, they picked out five machine politicians. They didn't have time to choose anybody else. All the alleys were opened, everything was open, everybody was watching them. Everything had to be done and they had to do it. Men mind their p's and q's under those circumstances. Now that is what happened in Galveston, and they never have gone back to any other form of government than the commission form of government. They have not only kept it up themselves, but they attracted the attention of all the United States until it has spread and spread until now something like one hundred and fifty cities in the United States have adopted it and have found that it has corrected evils against which they had struggled in vain up to the time they adopted it. . . .

Do you recognize the significance of this meeting? We are here to discuss a matter of principle that concerns the city of Trenton, but we are really here discussing a transaction that concerns mankind. If America fails in the making of city government, if she does not know how [to solve] the problem so that her people will be free, happy and comfortable, then . . . to whom shall the men of the nations look? When I see an earnest body

of men like this gathered together to discuss a serious business-like proposition, such as you have before you tonight, I think I feel some of that great spirit of mankind which is abroad, whither we know, a bit of its wings has started, always beating upward. . . . And a great meeting like this is one of the items in the great combined struggle of mankind toward the political light America is finding, for America is again taking on the armor of her indomitable perseverance and hope, and we shall again say to her enemies: "We hold you in contempt; our light is bright and the day is ours to possess." *

In Asbury Park on July 18 he broadened his message to describe the kind of Democratic party that must be fashioned in the future. It had to become a thoroughly progressive one, for "America," he said, "is absolutely done with standpatters and reactionaries." A portion of the address appeared in the *Newark Evening News,* July 19, 1911.

I have not often had the opportunity of attending a pure party gathering. But I wanted to feel the enthusiasm that comes from such a gathering.

Parties have ceased to live when they have lived for themselves, but have become exalted when they lived for the people and the principles of the party. We talk about party divisions and party unity. There is no basis for harmony but agreement. The moment we begin to think of rival candidates, of factions, we have forgotten the interests of America and of the Democratic party.

We think of Thomas Jefferson as a great man because he created the Democratic party. That never made him great. It was his conception of those truths which constitutes the principles of the Democratic party. This

* At a rally held by the Commission Government League of Trenton. *Trenton True American,* June 14, 1911.

government is now, for the first time in its history, yielding to real Jeffersonian democracy. No man who resists the right of the people to carry direct government to the people has the right to mention the name of Jefferson. . . .

I believe and predict that the Democratic party will be chosen to administer Democratic policies. It is idle to talk of the formation of a third party. The people are asking which of the two parties has seen the light. I believe the people will select the Democratic party and that after the election of 1912 the party will find itself a renewed, invigorated and triumphant party.

There is but one way to get harmony. There can be no artificial bonds. No organization will effect harmony. The only thing that holds parties together is agreement in principle. Let no man talk to you about the interests of the Democratic party. Insist that he talk about the interests of the United States and of the principles of truth. There is in the heart of every one of us something infinitely greater than party. No man can deem to have served his country who first serves his party.

I don't believe there will be trouble in harmonizing the Democratic party. I believe it is in the air from one end of our land to the other. Now we are not trying to invent new things in government. It is no revolution unless turning about to retrace our steps over the old and known highway of truth is a revolution. We are trying only to recover the things we have lost. . . .

When men talk about the initiative and referendum as substituting new things for old in our magnificent system of government, be assured that they don't know what they are talking about. We are simply using this new way of returning to the old ideas of our original system. America is absolutely done with standpatters and reactionaries.

Thank God the Democratic party seems to be the party

that has become conscious of these things and opened its eyes and said, "Behold a new age in which we can reconceive the principles of Jefferson in a program of action; not in what men have hoped for, but in what the courts have decided."

Democracy consists in principles and in organization. It is a party born with the nation. It is older than you and I. We are not of the party. It has gone up and down with the faithfulness or faithlessness of the men who have represented it. Let us here renew our vows to serve the people against special privilege and to a program that will restore to the people a popular government. We have been threatened with a generation of cynics. Our young men have been scoffing at the pledges and claims to a government of the people. Let us wipe out this cause for cynicism.

If you are a man, come up to the scratch and let's see what's in you. The party of the future, the victorious party, is going to be the party with the most men in it. It seems that we as Democrats occupy the proud position of not recognizing any man for anything he didn't earn; of not recognizing for a few rights that are not enjoyed by all.

We are going to recover that heroic age when men did not look up with fear to demagogues for the right to live, but when in confidence they took the government in their own hands and restored it to themselves. We are going to recover these examples of Democracy that to some men had been forgotten.

Sometimes Wilson turned from the swirl of activity in which he had been caught up for nearly a year and thought longingly of earlier days. He expressed these thoughts in a letter to Mrs. Hulbert on July 30, and also described one of his official functions that had a humorous side.

Truly, I know what "public life" is now! I have no private life at all. It is entertaining to see the whole world surge about you,—particularly the whole summer world,—but when a fellow is like me,—when, i.e., he *loves* his own privacy, loves the liberty to think of his friends (Live with them in his *thought,* if he can have them no other way) and to dream his own dreams—to conceive a life which he cannot share with the crowd, can share, indeed, with only one or two, who seem part of him, rebellion comes into his heart and he flings about like a wild bird in a cage,—denied his sweet haunts and his freedom.

Sometimes . . . even now my thought goes back for refreshment to those days when all the world seemed to me a place of heroic adventure, in which one's heart must keep its own counsel while one's hands worked at big things. And *now* this is that dreaming boy's *Sunday:* he must sit at the edge of his front piazza flanked by a row of militia officers and be gazed at, while a chaplain conducts service on his lawn, with a full brass band to play the tunes for the hymns; then he must have the chaplains of the two regiments in camp, plus the Catholic Priest, and anybody else that happens along, in for lunch. In the afternoon he must receive and pay military calls and attend a review. The evening brings callers galore from all along the coast. Where and when does one's own heart get a chance to breathe and to call up the sweet memories and dreams upon wh. it lives? The first review has come off—the occasion on which it was obligation, that I should wear a frock coat and silk hat on horseback, and ride, with a mounted staff of seven officers, around the lines, in the presence (this time) of five or six thousand people. I tried to beg off from the costume and get leave to appear in riding togs, but my staff advisers were very firm

with me, and I had to do "the usual thing." Evidently, though "Commander-in-Chief," I am under discipline. I was very much amused at the universal surprise and delight that I could sit a horse. It was the general verdict that, as I rode, even the plug hat did not look ridiculous. After all, it is the conventional head gear in riding to the hounds, and so has *some* equestrian associations.

Despite the Governor's energetic help, the campaign for municipal reform through commission government was not generally successful. Trenton voted for reform on June 20, as did Passaic and Atlantic City at a later time, but most of the larger cities rejected the opportunity.

One major step in the regeneration of the Democratic party was accomplished without much more than an assist from Wilson. This was the removal of James R. Nugent, who had continued as Chairman of the State Democratic Committee in spite of his antagonism for the party leader. At a party in a public café on July 25, Nugent offered a toast to the Governor, "an ingrate and a liar." There was an immediate demand from the press and progressive party members for his ouster. On July 27 committeemen from eight counties sent him a letter requesting his resignation. Nugent refused to acquiesce or to call a meeting for discussion. Finally on August 10 a majority of the committee managed to vote him out of office. They were temporarily delayed by an amazing spectacle when Nugent and a number of henchmen kidnapped a committeeman to prevent a quorum. The attempt was frustrated by the last minute arrival of an additional member. The Smith-Nugent machine was now finally on the outside, at least as far as the state organization was concerned.*

Wilson's next attempt to aid the now accelerated reorganization of the party was in the upcoming primaries. On August 16 he told the farmers of Warren County, according

* Nugent was replaced by Edward Grosscup, who had supported Wilson's program.

to the *Newark Evening News,* that he intended to be in the "thick of the fight" in the fall to encompass the defeat of those politicians who placed their obligations to the organization before their obligations to the people.

I serve notice on all the constituencies of the State that I intend to stand by the men who stood by me. If there is to be a fight, I want to help to do the fighting. But I expect that guaranteed, copper-riveted candidates will be put up for election. By guaranteed, I mean people who do things above board and have no private understandings.

I want to say a word for Senator Cornish [Johnston Cornish was one of those who had signed the letter requesting Nugent's resignation]. From the first time that I attempted anything at Trenton until now Senator Cornish has stood by me. The Senator is a very frank man and he has told me several times why he stood by me. He has said again and again: "Governor, I know the people of Warren County and I know what they want me to do." Senator Cornish was one of the hardest workers in the Senate for the success of the Democratic program.

I want any man who is your candidate to be out in the open where we can look at him. I don't want any underbrush where he can lie down and hide himself. If he goes into private conferences with men he ought not to talk to, we want to know what the conference was about. Has someone come into the county to put up a game? We want to know all about it. I'm going to tell all I know, and I tell you, privately, I know a good deal. I am on to their curves. I am not so innocent as I look.

We have come upon a time when the leadership of the State does not belong to men who rule only through private understandings. A man has got to be a leader

now because he does lead, because he does what he says he will do. No other kind of leadership is possible. Everywhere in the country the people believe the same thing—a leader must deliver the goods. Leaders who haven't principles worth while and that they will live up to have been asked to take a back seat and they will never be asked to give it up. I sometimes look with amazement at certain men who call themselves politicians and yet who decline to stand for what the people want. There are men whom I could name in the various counties who have had the chance of their lives and have refused it. I myself have asked them whom they served—the people or the organization. I serve notice on them now that the game is up for them. They have preferred burial with dishonor than life with honor.

I have talked with these men and reasoned with them and I believed, as they left me, that they had seen the light. But straightway they have returned to their practices as a hog to his wallow.

These antagonists are not to be worried about; I pity them. I pity the man who at midday thinks it is still night. I never met more confirmed stupidity in my life. I have no more feeling against them than I have against the blind fish that digs his nose in the mud because he cannot see.

There are some men who you think, perhaps, have gone into politics for glory. They have not; but for duty. They intend to make those of the other side sorry they are in politics. We are in the fight for life, and, thank God, we are in good health.

This address in Belvidere was typical of many confident, pointed thrusts delivered in the primary campaign. In Newark on September 18 he made two addresses endorsing State Senator Harry V. Osborne, among others. He was reported by the *Trenton True American,* September 19, as saying in part:

It is something unusual for a governor to campaign for candidates prior to a primary. In fact, my action, I think, is unprecedented. But I made a promise to come back and tell you what your legislators from Essex had done, and I am here.

The primaries next Tuesday are going to be a test as to whether the policies of your Governor, his administration and the good work of these men are going to be ratified or set aside. Under such circumstances I could not well remain away.

His efforts were not in vain. Wilson Democrats were successful in every county but Essex, which remained under the thumb of the Smith-Nugent forces.

Encouraged by these generally good results, Wilson now turned his attention to the legislative campaign. In Woodbury on October 5 and in Camden on the following day he leveled cutting barrages at the Republicans and at boss rule in both parties. At Woodbury he said:

So many of our platforms pledges were carried out that the poor, breathless representatives of the Republican party admitted that they were out of breath. They held up their heads in protest and said: "In God's name, let us go slow a while," I don't wonder. They had never been accustomed to such exercise. They had never in their time felt their blood quicken by movement. They had experienced the unusual intoxication of seeing something done. They had never intended while they were in the saddle to let anything be done. They had intended to let everything go its normal course, that everybody who then had control of the affairs of state might sleep at night without any apprehension that in the morning his control would be gone.

I believe that both parties have been singularly slow in waking up to the meaning of a new age, and what I

want to call your attention to is that a large proportion of the men now active in leading the Democratic party have waked up to the meaning of the new time and have waked up, too, to those who are leading the Republican party. The facts speak for themselves. The actual leaders of the Democratic party in the States which have put in a Democratic administration and in the nation at large, in congress and out of congress, are the progressives in the Democratic ranks. Can we candid men gainsay that?"

Is it not true that the progressive element of the Democratic party now dominates that party? Does not every man know that if the circumstances should change and the retrogressive element should get in control of the Democratic party that it would lose all possibility of success? That it would lose all the chances it apparently now has to lead the nation? The Democratic party realizes that, and the nation realizes it. Very well, what is true on the other side of the house? There are splenid men, and splendid men by the score, among those who stand prominent in the leadership of the Republican party, who are just as progressive, just as clear-sighted as to the issues of the time as anybody on the Democratic side, but are they dominant in the councils of the Republican party? Answer that question frankly. Are they dominant in the councils of the Republican party in this State or in the nation?

You know very well that they are not. They are practically without dominance and they are opposed by leaders from the President of the United States down. And for the present everybody knows that neither now nor in the immediate future will they gain control. What is the moral of that? The moral is that the progressives of this country at this time—I am not saying anything about the future, for I cannot foresee it—but the progressives of this country, in New Jersey and out of

it, at this time must look to the Democratic party for leaders.

At Camden, Wilson offered to lead the County out of political bondage, and then dealt with the Republican platform in scornful terms.

I should feel very proud if I might lead Camden County out of her bondage. You know that when there is a movement in all the rest of the State to reclaim it from its political servitude, everybody says that Camden is hopeless. But when they say that Camden is hopeless, and you ask them for the reason, they say there is an organization there that cannot be beaten. When you ask them for the details, they will tell you that every office holder, every policeman, every fireman and every man that receives pay to enforce the laws of the city of Camden, is expected to get out and obey orders. I don't believe it, with regard to some of these men. If it be the truth, then it is time that Camden redeemed herself from her shame, and it is time that these men who take orders showed their manhood.

People speak of this as a Bourbon County.

Now what is a Bourbon? A Bourbon is defined to be a man who never learns anything and never forgets anything. Never forgets the things that communities ought to turn their backs upon, and never learns the way by which to escape from continual servitude. Is that going to be true of Camden county? Camden county so far, as is indicated from the Republican side, has not learned or forgotten a single thing.

The proof that the same old things are being done is laid before you like an open book. You have it in the prompt rejection of Senator Bradley.* The minute

* Senator William J. Bradley, Republican, whose renomination was defeated by his party bosses in retaliation for his support of Wilson's reform programs.

that he showed that he was going to use his own conscience and his own judgment and not take orders from other men, just as soon as he showed that, he was absolutely rejected. He was put out of the councils of the men who have ruled Camden county in past years. He was notified that that sort of thing would not be endured. What sort of thing? Carrying out the pledges that had been written as plainly in the Republican platform as they had been written in the Democratic platform. He was punished for keeping faith with the people of New Jersey.

These are not matters of conjecture. You don't need to have me tell you of them. You know that they are true.

The Republican platform is one of those old-fashioned, smooth-bore, brass-mounted affairs, that goes off like a blunderbuss. I do not see the slightest difference between this platform that was adopted by the Republican convention Wednesday and the Republican platform that preceded it; it has the same boasting about things that never existed; it has the same claiming of credit for everything good that was done; it has the same promises put in such phrases that they can be read backward or forward and mean the same thing; just the kind of thing you have been familiar with and never did know the meaning of.

We have carried out so many of the pledges made in our last year's platform that the Republicans in their platform say the State needs a rest. I don't wonder that their stomachs are too weak to stand the kind of food we have been feeding them. Their statement that they are out of breath from passing so much legislation is practically an implication that they want to stand still a little while. They always have wanted to stand still, the same old standpat idea is still in their heads.

If you paint a post white and want to keep it white, you must keep touching it up once in a while. So today, if things are to be kept right, you have got to be a radical, you have got to keep things jacked up to where they belong. And it puts the Republican leaders out of breath to jack things up.*

He returned to Trenton on October 9 to tell the people of Mercer County why they must support the Democratic assemblyman.

A year ago it was all promises, and you had been surfeited with promises. Why should you take one man's promise more than another's? Why should you believe either party when both parties had failed you? Some of your fellow-citizens were willing to take a sporting chance; you were not; you showed yourselves conservatives in that regard. But while a year ago you heard promises, now it is my privilege to tell you of performance. The things that we promised we did; most all of the things that we promised we did! We didn't do more because the session was not long enough; and those that we did not have time to do we have put upon our program for the next session. But they can't go on, this unfinished business cannot be completed except by your support and permission. . . .

It was a question of serving the people and not private masters and effecting private understandings. You have been witnesses to this thing. You know that the character of the government of the State has been altered. Do you want it to go back to the old style, you men of Mercer? You men of Trenton, who year after year have cast votes that promoted the old style—are you ready

* The addresses at Woodbury and Camden were reported in the *Trenton True American,* Oct. 7, 1911.

now to cast votes that will promote the new style? I think from the action that you took in the case of commission government, that you are.

[After ridiculing the Republican state convention and platform, Wilson praised the accomplishments of the legislature and declared that:] If things had gone on as they were going on nine months ago business in this State and in this country would have come to a period of peril and danger from which it might not have recovered in a generation, because what the people of this country were realizing was that they were being deceived; that they were being put upon; that they were being used and controlled, and that it had come to such a pass that there was no visible means by which they could recover the use and management of their own government.

The foundation of business—the only safe foundation of business—is public confidence, and big business had lost the confidence of the public. It was absolutely necessary for some business, as well as for some politics, that politics and business should be divorced. [To help accomplish this, Wilson said the legislature had passed the Geran law, and as proof of how this law could emancipate the people from rule and control by machines, he pointed to Newark, where monumental registration frauds had been uncovered. Then he turned to another popular topic, the Public Utilities Act.]

The government of New Jersey was once regulated by the Public Service Corporation. The government of New Jersey now regulates the Public Service Corporation—a very wholesome change—which is not only for the benefit of the people of New Jersey, but, I take leave to tell the directors of the Public Service Corporation, is for the benefit of the Public Service Corporation itself.

When we see the inside of that business and have the testimony of disinterested persons that it is properly

and thoroughly conducted, we will cease to be suspicious of it, and will be glad to pay its rates, because it renders us indispensable service. If it is good service, honestly based there is not an honest man in the State of New Jersey who will quarrel with the rates that are charged, but we insist upon knowing the inside, because these gentlemen control our lives. Don't you know that Public Service Corporations can order the whole life of a community? Don't you know that a trolley company can order the whole life of a community? Don't you know that a power company can control the industrial development of a community? Don't you know a telephone company can put a man out of business? Just let them insist on some rule which, because you were forgetful, and thinking more of your business than their interest, you ignored, and let them take the telephones out of your business house, and they will almost stop your business, and they have not hesitated to do it, and have not hesitated to make all sorts of discriminations in the use of telephones.*

In Hackensack on October 13 he urged his listeners to prevent a return of the "Board of Guardians" to the State House, and then reviewed some of the achievements of the legislative year.

I never enjoyed inactivity, and if the Legislature next year is going to work for those for whom it formerly worked, I shall not enjoy cooling my heels in the Governor's office. If the Board of Guardians comes back to the State house I am going on a long vacation.

I know in some communities like Hackensack, which is a commuter community to a great extent, that a great deal of impatience has been felt at the slowness with which the Public Utilities Commission used its new

* *Trenton True American,* Oct. 10, 1911.

powers, but you will notice that the commission is doing this very sensible thing, it is waiting to see where it can put its foot down on solid ground so firmly that when the foot is down no one can ever make it move the foot, and that to my mind, is a great deal better than hasty and ill-considered action.

For example, its recent order does not as yet offer you any relief; it merely commands the various railways to sell tickets to such points as you desire them to sell tickets to; it forbids them to oblige you to buy a through ticket to New York, provided you do not want to buy a through ticket to New York; it obliges them to serve you as you desire to be served in that matter, and then directs them to submit to it, the commission, the rates that they are going to charge for these new tickets. Then will come a time when it will determine whether those are reasonable rates or not. But the first step was to determine that they must readjust their practises in respect to the termini they put upon their tickets.

Do not be impatient with this commission: I know it, I am in touch with it; it is bound upon the right road, and, it is going to give you that rate which is as just as the universal interest permits, for there is a review by the courts, and these gentlemen are determined that there shall not be any crack in their proceedings into which the wedge of injunction proceedings can be inserted. They are determined to be beforehand with the lawyers by safeguarding every point that can be safeguarded. They have the example of the most successful commission of the kind in the United States, the commission of Wisconsin, which has this extraordinary record: that no decision of it has ever been set aside by the courts of Wisconsin. I believe that that is going to be the record of the Public Utilities Commission of New Jersey.

And there is another instance of what I mean by

reform. They have been reshaping the affairs of the State in order that corporations whose franchises rest upon the assumption of convenient and thorough service may conveniently and efficiently serve the communities in which they are placed and serve them at a rate which will be reasonably remunerative to them and reasonable in respect to those who are served.

There is nothing extreme intended, but when we get through with this thing there will be confidence on both sides and gentlemen whose corporations have hitherto had to float securities that had a speculative value will find that presently they have an established value, voted them by the proceedings and examinations of a non-partisan public commission. Just let the weight of this commission press long enough upon the affairs of these corporations and they will press every drop of water out of the stock.

The figure I have in mind is suggested to me by an old vessel that my mother used to have when I was a boy in which she made curds; she would fill it with sour milk and put a heavy top that fitted inside of it and it would float upon the water and with inexorable gravity go down within twenty-four hours and all out of the little holes at the side would slowly come the reluctant water.

That is the figure I have in mind, and that is what is going to happen with regard to the securities of the public service corporations for their benefit and for ours, because now we pay for water as well as for more substantial benefits.

There was another measure that we passed with the same object in view, though apparently public opinion is very slowly coming up to that measure. I mean the Walsh act, the object of which is to give the cities of this State the right to adopt a commission form of government. That was an enabling act, to enable cities

to take charge of their own affairs when they got ready. If they are not ready, of course, that is nobody's business, but as long as that act stands there, whenever you get ready you can govern yourselves, I dare say they are too busy; they are like the god Baal, they are asleep and are gone on the shelf, or are engaged in other business, but when they wake up or come back or adjourn their other business for a little while, then they can take up their own affairs; there is the open door; whenever they choose to say so, whenever they want their business done in a businesslike way, all they have to do is to vote that they will have that kind of government, and the trick is performed.

These are the radical reforms that have been brought about. Have we turned anything upside down except the relations of the corporations to the State? Have we altered anything essential in American institutions? Have we not set about to recover the practise of American institutions and make that practise square with its theory?

Is it going to disturb business to get back on a constitutional and honest basis? Are you willing to stand for that business? Is it going to hurt business to restore confidence? What is the basis of prosperity? The basis of prosperity is co-operative; the basis of business and prosperity is confidence; the basis of prosperity is a new figure and spirit in the social body. If you depress the working classes, for example, make them hopeless and resentful and give them the feeling that they are not getting their just dues, do you suppose that they are going to be the producing class they were; do you suppose the wealth is going to be produced as it would be if they felt they were partners in the thing, justly treated, honorably dealt with, generously paid? . . .

I do not like to admit that businessmen in the United States know as little as they do, but they are singularly

and unusually ignorant about some things. We are so self-centred and so self-contained, that we do not know that things are going on elsewhere. And so when I know how possible it is, if men will open their minds and come together in frank confidence to arrange things for the universal interest, discriminating against nobody, I must say that I am impatient to see the eyes of this generation in America opened, to accept the future, which is inevitable, if America is going to resume her strength, her leadership and her freedom.

That is the reason, that is the only reason that I feel a zest and ardor in the present work of politics because I feel, as you must feel, the rising spirit of America. I feel what some men in the Eastern part of the United States do not yet sufficiently feel the heaving of the great body of this free people across the plains and up the slopes of the Rockies and down on the other side to the silent Pacific; I feel, as so many hundreds and thousands of other men in America feel, the coming on of another age of constructive statesmanship in America, when it will be a privilege to play a part, however humble, in this reorganization which will be the recovery of the full American spirit of political achievement.*

Throughout October Wilson set a grueling pace. Speaking five and six days a week, sometimes two and three times a day, he made it perfectly clear that he was putting his administration on the line. In two speeches on October 14, at Morristown and Madison, he stated the choice facing the voters as sharply as possible. In Morristown he said:

I cannot too often repeat the fact that the progressive element of the Democratic party in New Jersey is in control of the Democratic party in New Jersey, and that the progressive element of the Republican party in

* *Newark Evening News,* Oct. 14, 1911.

New Jersey is not in control of the Republican party in New Jersey. The Republican party is now sitting on the anxious bench and there is no telling at what time it may be converted, because it has been to one of the most interesting experience meetings that has ever been organized, but it has not been converted yet. We have done this radical thing in New Jersey, that we have laid the axe to the root of the tree, the root of the old tree of corrupt and private politics.

When it came to the passage of the most important bills of the session through the Senate of New Jersey, where there was a Republican and not a Democratic majority, it turned out that there were enough men of the Republican majority in that Senate who recognized that their obligations, under the Republican platform, were exactly the same as the obligations of the Democrats on the Democratic platform, to pass those measures. Some men have imagined that a certain number of gentlemen on the Republican side of the Senate yielded to the persuasion of the Governor; it may be yielded to the circumstances of the time, which had shown a Democratic victory. I want to tell you that nothing of the sort is true.

What the men did who voted in that majority on those measures was to examine their own conscience and their own private obligations as well as their own personal opinions, and they took the liberty to be true to the promises that they themselves, as well as their Democratic colleagues had made to the voters of this State.

What has struck me in recent weeks is this, that in almost every case where these gentlemen came up for renomination their party organization turned them down. . . . The most conspicuous instance in the State is the instance of Camden County, where Senator Bradley, one of the most intelligent, one of the most useful,

one of the most honorable members of the Senate, a Republican representative, has been rejected on the explicit grounds, as he himself has told us without contradiction from the leaders of the organization, that he did not take orders which were contrary to his party pledges.

Apparently then I am justified in the statement that the members of one party were subjected to orders and the members of the other party were not. Are not these the statements of soberness and truth? Is it not true? I am not going to undertake to distribute blame, I understand that this is to be done on the last day of all. . . . It is none of my business to ascribe motives, but it is my privilege to remind you of the actual, well-known circumstances. The one party is acting under private orders, the other is not. It was for that reason that the Democratic members of the last Legislature showed the pleasure of men who are at last free—at least some of them were free, most of them were free, not all of them.

You know what has happened. All the chief measures, all the measures that were most spoken of in the campaign were carried through and carried through in the form in which they were forecast in the debates of the campaign. You voted for the forecast. Are you going to confirm the reality? You said you wanted these things attempted. Very well, they were not only attempted, but were done. Do you like it or don't you like it?

After the legislative session was over last spring I received some very extraordinary letters from all over this State which ought to have given me unalloyed gratification, but which I must say caused me a little mortification, because they were letters of extravagant praise passed upon me. For what? Because I had been an honest man! What did they expect me to do? What would they have said if I had not kept my promises?

Don't you see the implication? The implication was that it was unprecedented that a man in politics should mean what he said. I think some gentlemen associated with my nomination had thought it incredible, for I said exactly the same things to them before the game started that I said afterward.

A perfectly commonplace thing, and if commonplace, if a matter of course, why a matter so extraordinary? What an overwhelming comment that is upon the experience of the voters of New Jersey! Now, did you vote for my associates and me because you did not believe what we said? If you vote against us on the seventh of November my conclusion will be that you did not really want us to mean what we said, and that we are condemned for having been honest men. You took us on those terms; now if you do not keep us on those terms it was you who committed the fraud, not we.

In Madison he spoke along similar lines, and then added:

The main fight in this and future campaigns will be between a Republican party, which has rejected progressive measures, and the Democratic power dominated by its progressive element—call them radicals if you will. With the same Republican leaders standing for the same corrupt conditions as before, it is the duty of every member of that party to repudiate it. The Democratic party is the only one now that will give you a voice in the affairs of your State. If you don't vote to return a Democratic Legislature on November 7 you lied when you voted for me last fall. We have only removed the handicaps from our path so we can work out our plans. You must elect Democratic legislators to sustain the stand you took last election.*

* The Madison and Morristown speeches appear in the *Newark Evening News,* Oct. 16, 1911.

Wilson had gone to the voters in the legislative campaign with the best possible record; he had spent himself unmercifully in bringing his progressive plea to every corner of the State. And yet when the returns were in, the Republicans had recaptured the lower house and increased their lead in the Senate.

The explanation, thought Wilson and the progressives, lay in the complete defeat suffered in Essex County. The Smith-Nugent organization had deliberately failed to get out the vote, thus bringing about a Wilson defeat by means of a Republican victory. There was justice in the claim, as the *Trenton True American* pointed out, for the Essex County vote was little more than half what it had been in 1910. There was some solace, too, in the upward surge of Democratic voting in many normally Republican areas, and in increased majorities in the 20 counties visited by Wilson. But nothing could alter the fact that, after hardly a year of Democratic struggle and success, Wilson must conduct the last half of his administration in partnership with a Republican legislature.

For Wilson, in New Jersey, the progressive wave had spent its roll and was already slipping back to its source, there to be replenished that it might break later on another shore.

VII

LAST BATTLES

After the November legislative elections, Wilson's attention was drawn more and more to national affairs. As a leading candidate for the presidential nomination he became increasingly involved in national party politics and spent a good deal of time out of the State on speaking tours. Partly for this reason and partly because he was faced with a hostile legislature the session of 1912 was singularly unproductive.

His annual message on January 9, 1912, was mild and suggestive, yet not out of pattern; he did request that reforms in several areas be continued and gave clear indication that he was hoping to achieve a cooperative working relationship with the Republican majority. He began by saying:

> With the opening of another legislative session it is my privilege to call your attention to several matters with regard to which we have the opportunity to serve the State by well-considered changes in its law. It has interested me very deeply to note that in recent years in this State the platforms of the two great parties, which come every year into competition at the annual election for the control of the legislative body, have usually been in substantial agreement, so that one is encouraged to believe that our elections are not so much contests for party advantage or aggrandizement as for the opportunity to serve the people of the State—contests for the honor and satisfaction of accomplishing the

reforms which the conditions obtaining in the State naturally suggest.

If this is true, the winning party may count upon the co-operation of the minority in carrying out the platform program. When the legislative session opens we become colleagues in a common service, and our standard is not party advantage, but the welfare of New Jersey. We are, first of all, citizens and public servants; our party differences are secondary to our duty as representatives and trustees.

I venture upon this preface in my recommendations in order to afford myself the opportunity to say with how much pleasure I shall co-operate with the present Legislature in carrying out every program that is judged to be for the common benefit. It is my duty as Governor of the State and representative of all its people to be the leader of my party in the State, indeed, but not a partizan or a strategist for mere party benefit. I am glad to think, therefore, that the matters to which I shall call your attention do not lie within the field of party debate. They are matters which we can approach without party bias or prejudice. Whatever differences of judgment may arise with regard to them, they need have no flavor of party feeling about them.*

Most of the problems that Wilson thought needed attention fell under the broad heading of economy and efficiency. He suggested the establishment of a commission empowered to act promptly on the "whole question of simplifying and co-ordinating administrative agencies of the State." The scope of such a commission, explained the Governor, should be broad enough to include inquiries into the method of assessing and equalizing taxes with a view to eventual reform of the whole tax system. Also there ought to be a concentration of responsibility in regard to conservation of the State's

* See *Minutes of Votes and Proceedings of the One Hundred and Thirty-Sixth General Assembly of the State of New Jersey*, 1912, 11-19.

resources and in the supervision and administration of charitable and correctional institutions. Procedures for safeguarding the health and welfare of Jerseymen should be thoroughly overhauled and strengthened including inspection of the production, storage, and distribution of foodstuffs.

The remainder of the Governor's program included a proposal to return to legislative representation by Assembly districts in place of county delegations, a simplification of legal procedures in the interest of the poor and unschooled, revision of the methods by which grand juries were chosen, extension of labor welfare laws, and finally, abolition of grade crossings. He ended on a hopeful note.

These are all matters of serious business, and it will be a great pleasure to me to be associated with you in trying to fulfill our obligations in regard to them in a manner that will satisfy the just expectation of those who have entrusted to our care the interests and the welfare of this great State.

Unlike the year before, the annual message was not followed up with personal prodding and guidance, legislative conferences, platform support for bills,—in short, leadership. Government affairs in Trenton had reached a near impasse.

Toward the end of the session an appropriate climax was reached when in one day Wilson sent 42 vetoes to the legislature. Easily the most important was his veto of legislation designed to eliminate dangerous railroad grade crossings. Such legislation had been sought by both parties for some time and the bill had the support of progressives. However, the Governor found reasons to turn it down despite the claim by some that he was knuckling under to the railroad lobby.

To the Senate:

I take the liberty of returning, without my signature, Senate Bill No. 14. . . . I know the seriousness and great consequence of the question affected by this important

measure. There is a demand, well grounded and imperative, throughout the State that some practicable legislation should be adopted whereby the grade crossings of railways which everywhere threaten life and interfere with the convenience of both city and rural communities, should as rapidly as possible be abolished. But there is certainly not a demand in New Jersey for legislation which is unjust and impracticable.

The first part of this bill, which provides for the handling of this difficult question of the elimination of grade crossings by the Board of Public Utility Commissioners, is excellent both in method and in purpose and suggests a way by which the whole matter can be successfully handled; but that portion of the bill which arbitrarily provides that every railroad of the State shall every year eliminate at least one grade crossing on its line for every thirty miles of its whole extent, the commission to determine which crossings shall be dealt with, first seeks to accomplish an impossible thing. It is not possible thus to lay down a hard and fast rule, and enforce it without a likelihood of bringing on conditions under which the whole undertaking would break down and result in utter disappointment.

The circumstances which surround this problem are not the same for any two railways of the State, but what might be a reasonable enough requirement for one of the railway systems of the State might be a very unreasonable requirement for another, leading to an impossible situation and breakdown of the law, and that is certainly not the purpose of the people of this State. The bill does not forbid the creation of new grade crossings, neither does it attempt any classification of those already in existence. I take the liberty of quoting the following from the "Comments of the Board of Public Utility Commissioners on Grade Crossings," in the report of the Board for the year 1911:

"After a classification of crossings has been made on the basis of the relative danger they create, there arises the engineering problem of the cost of elimination. This will, of course, vary widely in different localities. It is equally true that a great difference exists in the financial ability of the different carriers to provide funds for defraying the requisite expense. This is wholly apart from the question whether the carriers, including trolley companies, are to be required to bear the whole cost or only part thereof. Moreover, many other factors enter to complicate the matter. The elimination of grade crossings may adversely affect adjacent property. If, for example, tracks are elevated in eliminating a crossing at grade so as to transform a street into a blind alley, the loss of immediate accessibility may result in depreciating the property on the street in question. Similarly the construction work might often require a relocation of sewers or pipe system to the financial detriment of a municipality, a public utility or an individual. These things tend to increase the cost of grade-crossing elimination, which, as a State-wide proposition, must be very great."

This quotation makes very clear the possible complexity and engineering difficulty of the whole matter.

What is needed is an adequate enlargement of the powers of the Board of Public Utility Commissioners. The Board can be empowered, and should be empowered, to push the elimination of such crossings as fast as it is possible to push it without bringing hopeless embarrassment upon the railways. The law could easily establish a principle by which it might be determined when it was equitable that the several communities affected should participate in the expense, and to what extent, if any, they should participate. In this way all the results that could possibly be attained by the present bill would be attained without the risk and perhaps the

discouragement and discredit of attempting a thing, in itself inequitable and impracticable.

The non-enactment of this bill into law will, of course, be a serious disappointment to the people of the State, but it will only concentrate their attention upon the just and equitable way of accomplishing the end in view. I do not believe that the people of the State are in such haste as to be willing to work a gross injustice, either to the railroads or to private owners of property, or to the several communities affected.

Respectfully,

WOODROW WILSON,
Governor.

Wilson's vetoes were sharp and biting, sometimes pungent; they frequently contained a special sting and reveal something of the gap that had widened between the Executive and his legislature. He charged the Senate and Assembly with offering legislation that was "arbitrary and even whimsical," "beyond the limit of prudence," "dangerous and objectionable." "I could not," he said in one case, "with self-respect attach my signature to such an action." * In another, "It sets up, in short, one of those hide-and-seek governments in which responsibility is created nowhere, and in which popular control can hardly be obtained, except by the most elaborate and intricate political action. It is in no sense a step forward in the reorganization of city government." **

It had been, Wilson said, a "barren" session. He gave his version of the end to Mrs. Hulbert in a letter on April 1, 1912.

All of last Sunday I was on the train, hurrying, not to say scurrying, back from Wisconsin, to be "on my job" early Monday. And *what* a day Monday was,—what a *week* it turned out to be! It was the closing week of

* From Veto of Morris Canal Investigation.
** From Veto of Camden Charter Bill.

the legislative session: Monday was the last chance candidates for appointive offices had to persuade me to put their names on the list that was to go in that night for confirmation by the Senate! This has been a petty and barren legislature. It has done nothing worth mentioning except try to amend and mar the wonderful things we accomplished last year. Small men have ignorantly strived to put *me* in a hole by discrediting themselves! It is a merry world—for a cynic to live in. For a normal man it is not a little sad and disheartening. And what shall we say when we find the leader of the petty partisan band a learned and distinguished professor in a great University (Prince of Columbia), with plenty of independent means and plenty of brains, of a kind, but without a single moral principle to his name! I have never despised any other man quite so heartily,—tho there are others whom I have found worthier of hate and utter reprobation—in *another* university!—But now both the session and (it would momentarily appear) the winter are over, Heaven be praised! and we can settle to a more normal, if no less strenuous life. Now I must rush out again in search of delegates,—shy birds more difficult to find in genuine species than the snark itself!

If it could be fairly claimed that the session of 1912 was "petty" and "barren," some of the blame was certainly the Governor's. He failed to establish the working relationship that he had implied was his goal in the annual message. He assumed a cold, almost indifferent attitude toward affairs of great import for Jerseymen. As is usually the case when a state's favorite son suddenly becomes one of the nation's favorite sons, presidential politics took precedence, and the state suffered for it.

The summer and fall of 1912 were given over to the Baltimore convention and the presidential campaign itself. Although Wilson had gained national recognition as a leader of Democratic progressivism, when the convention opened, he

could count on support from less than a third of the delegates. The leading contender was Champ Clark of Missouri, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and a progressive in the tradition of William Jennings Bryan. There were other contenders: Oscar Underwood of Alabama and Judson Harmon of Ohio, but the main bout developed between Wilson and Clark. The Missourian had emerged from the primaries far in advance of Wilson, and the first few convention ballots reflected this lead. With the tenth ballot, Clark attained a majority but not the two-thirds necessary for nomination. On the fourteenth ballot Bryan switched his support to Wilson, thus checking Clark's forward progress. Still it was not until Illinois delegates joined the Wilson faction on the forty-second ballot that Wilson achieved a majority, and the required two-thirds did not come until the Underwood forces declared for Wilson on the forty-sixth ballot.

The Republicans, meanwhile, had split their ranks. Conservatives, in control of the convention in Chicago, nominated the incumbent, William Howard Taft. Frustrated and angry, insurgents bolted the party and nominated Theodore Roosevelt on an independent and thoroughly progressive ticket. Taft became a poor third; the contest was between Wilson and Roosevelt. Wilson, with a united party behind him, seemed to have the advantage. Nevertheless, Roosevelt, offering, as he did, an appealing progressive platform, proved a formidable opponent. Wilson started slowly, but soon found a central theme—restoration of free and competitive enterprise under federal regulation—with which he could oppose Roosevelt's plan to control monopoly. Building on the New Jersey experience, Wilson engaged his opponent in one of the most instructive and significant political debates in American history. Wilson was elected with a two-million vote plurality. In the convention struggle and in the election victory, New Jersey played its part and shared the benefits. Democrats, by backing a winner, gained control of both houses of the state legislature.

Ahead of the President-elect loomed many problems, but he was not quite ready to say goodby to the State that had launched his political career. With a majority in the legisla-

ture for the first time in his governorship, he was eager to climax his term with additional reform. Some of the spirit and ring of the 1911 crusades returned in his second annual message delivered on January 14, 1913. He recalled earlier legislative accomplishments and urged the lawmakers to turn their attention to the unfinished business of the great session of 1911. But first came a word of reflection.

I trust that you will pardon me if the first note I strike in this my second annual message to your honorable bodies is a personal note. I can not forget that this, though only my second, is also my last annual message to you. I shall presently lay down the duties of Governor of New Jersey. I can not turn away from this great office or give up the privileges it has brought me without expressing my gratitude to the people of New Jersey that they gave me this opportunity to serve them, and my sense also of intimate comradeship and obligation towards the men in the Legislature of the State with whom I have been permitted to work in carrying out the reforms of the last two years.

They have been very full and eventful years, to which I hope the people of the State will always look back with approval and pride. We have accomplished for New Jersey many things of high consequence which for many a long year had waited and cried out to be done. Our pride in their accomplishment has no touch of boastfulness in it, but only the deep gratification of having been privileged to do so much that was for the common benefit. The legislative session of 1911 will, I venture to say, long remain remarkable in the annals of the State for the number and importance of the reforms enacted, and those of us who were associated in the work of that notable session will, so long as we live, have the happiness of looking back upon it as upon one of the most satisfactory experiences of our public

service. Certainly I shall never forget it; and I can not turn away from the great office in which I have enjoyed such satisfactions without avowing the pride I have taken in it and the deep obligation I feel to the fine public-spirited men who stood with me in the days of doubt and struggle. I am happy to have had a part in such things along with such men.

But not all that waited to be done was done by the Legislature of 1911. It was impossible that everything should be accomplished in a single session. The rapidly changing circumstances of the time, moreover, both in the political and in the industrial world, render it necessary that a constant process of adjustment should go on. It is my duty to call your attention to the further changes in our law which seem to be most immediately necessary.*

The list of changes he asked for was long and read like the reform goals of old: drastic alteration of the State's corporation laws, reform of the system for drawing grand and petit juries, reconsideration of the tax laws, a further grant of power to the Public Utility Commission, increased efforts toward municipal reform, and a constitutional convention to revise the State's antiquated systems of representation and official responsibility. But time was short. Only a few were to reach fulfillment.

Progressives considered constitutional revision and jury reform to be among the more pressing needs, but on both Wilson was to be frustrated. Constitutional reform went down to defeat in the Senate at the hands of rural representatives. The struggle for jury reform brought Wilson back into the fight in the full spirit of the year before, but he was ultimately out-maneuvered by his old antagonists, machine representatives.

In the case of antitrust legislation it was different. At Wilson's direction seven bills were prepared. The "Seven

* The message is printed in the *Journal of the Sixty-Ninth Senate of the State of New Jersey*, 1913, 7-17.

Sisters," as they came to be known, were designed to prohibit the formation of monopoly and many kinds of mergers and to stop future formation of holding companies within the State. The bills were introduced on January 21. Despite considerable opposition, all were passed and Wilson was able to sign them on February 19. He described them in a statement to the press on February 21.

The Legislature has passed the seven anti-trust bills recently introduced into the Senate, and they have received executive approval. I congratulate the Legislature and the people on their passage. These laws mark a new era in our business life.

A good deal of criticism was levelled at the bills during the hearings, while they were in committee stage. A few amendments thought to be just and reasonable were made, but criticisms seeking to cut through the issue were answered and disregarded. It was urged that the provision of the amendment of Section 51 of the Corporation Act would prohibit one corporation from acquiring the bonds, securities and other evidence of indebtedness of other corporations in the regular conduct of legitimate business. Those who made the objection quite overlooked the proviso that the act should not operate to prevent any corporation from taking such securities from a non-competing corporation in the payment of debt. It had even been said that the act would prevent a company which may lawfully loan money from taking a bond and mortgage to secure its payment. This was palpably untrue. A loan creates a debt, and security for a debt legitimately created can always be taken by a banning corporation from a borrowing corporation under the plain meaning of the act. Besides the bill does not invade any rights already acquired by corporations under Section 51 of the act. Every established business can go on without interrup-

tion as heretofore, but cannot hereafter expand by the acquisition of the stocks and bonds of other corporations for the purpose of controlling them; and no corporation can in the future be organized to take over, hold or control other corporations. Carefully considered clauses in the new legislation permit corporations to invest their surplus earnings reserved as a working capital, as well as funds reserved for the benefit of their employees by way of insurance and otherwise, or for rebuilding, or to offset depreciation.

It had been suggested that these acts would prevent a bank from acquiring and discounting the promissory notes of a corporation. They could have no such effect. The corporations whose notes are discounted by banks do not compete with those banks and when a bank discounts a note it loans its money on the strength of the note and takes it to secure repayment. Besides, banks are not organized under the general corporation act. Banking powers shall not be exercised by any corporation formed under it. The amendment to Section 51 describes only corporations formed under the general corporation act. Furthermore, Section 49 of the corporation act still stands, though appreciably restricted by the amendments made by Senate Bill No. 45. It still permits any corporation to purchase property, real and personal necessary for its business, or the stock of any company owning or producing property necessary for its business, provided only that the property purchased shall be of like character and use to the property used by the purchasing company in the direct conduct of its own proper business. Heretofore under Section 49 the stock and property of rival concerns could be acquired for the purpose of lessening competition and creating monopoly. That is now prohibited.

Senate Bill No. 43, the act defining trusts and designed to promote free competition and commerce in all classes

of business, makes it criminal to make an agreement which directly or indirectly precludes a free and unrestricted competition in the sale or transportation of any article or commodity either by pooling, withholding from the market or selling at a fixed price, or in any other manner by which the price might be affected. It was urged upon the Legislature that this bill be amended by adding the word "knowingly," so that it would read that any person or persons who willfully and knowingly makes an agreement in restraint of trade should be punished. I do not see how agreements can be made without the knowledge of those who make them, but I do understand how exceedingly difficult it is to prove knowledge to the satisfaction of a court; and it was perfectly evident that the proposal to superadd the word "knowingly" was merely a plausible scheme devised by those who would escape the just penalties of illegal acts by compelling the prosecution to prove that the inhibited acts were done knowingly. I understand that it is a general principle of law that there must be a guilty mind to constitute a guilty act. It seems to me that this affords ample protection to any honest man.

It has been said in some quarters that these laws will help big business and hurt the small dealers. That is, of course, not the intention, and it cannot be the effect. The purpose is to strike down monopoly and restraint of trade, big or little, and I confidently predict that these laws will prove a blessing to the whole people. The salutary provision of the act defining trusts is that it makes it unlawful to make any agreement directly or indirectly which will preclude free and unrestricted competition in business. Monopolies have too often accomplished by indirection what they could not do directly. The holding company is an example of this. Where two or more companies by existing law could not make an agreement in restraint of trade, they hit upon

the scheme of fusing and merging into a holding company, which regulated the business of the subsidiaries in such a way as to restrict trade and increase prices.

Honest business and honest men have nothing to fear from these acts. Those who would engage in the heartless practice of ruining rivals and filching from the pockets of the people more than they ought reasonably to demand are the only ones who will have cause to regret their enactment. I predict that under them the people of New Jersey will enter upon a new era of prosperity.*

Wilson's resignation as Governor became effective March 1. After James F. Fielder, President of the Senate, was sworn in to replace him, Wilson spoke briefly.

I cannot pretend that I am not moved by very deep emotions today. I had not expected to say anything. It would, indeed, have been my preference not to say anything because there are some feelings that are too deep for words and that seem to be cheapened by being put into words.

I already loved the State of New Jersey when I became its Governor, but that love has been deepened and intensified during these last two and a half years. I now feel a sense of identification with the people of this State and the interests of this State which has seemed to enlarge my own personality and which has been the greatest privilege of my life.

Therefore, in handing the seal of the State to the new Governor, I want to utter a few words of poignant regret that I cannot serve this great State directly any longer.

* *Jersey Journal* (Jersey City), Jan 22, 1913.

EPILOGUE

For Wilson, New Jersey was the proving ground. Here the boyish urge to draft constitutions and debate weighty political questions came to first fulfillment. On the campaign trail, in legislative conference halls, in the executive chamber, he had developed the skills and techniques of leadership that would serve so well in higher office. The brilliant legislative record of the Presidency was clearly rooted in the New Jersey experience. There was yet a further benefit. During the two years of struggle, Wilson's political beliefs were put to the test. The experience, as his addresses reveal, advanced and matured his philosophy; the reformer became a progressive; the pattern of future development was set.

For New Jersey, Wilson was the awakening. He gave the people dynamic and responsible leadership as had no previous governor and brought new hope and spirit by proving that state government could free itself from boss rule and corporation control. And he led the way to state regulation of economic interests by creating a Public Service Commission, by fighting for municipal reforms, labor reforms, food and health laws, and greater aid to the school system. But New Jersey did not have Wilson long enough. The Democratic party soon fell victim again to the Smith-Nugent machine, joined by a new organization in Hudson County headed by Frank Hague. In a few years, much of the legislation passed during the exciting days of hope and promise was pushed aside or repealed. Nevertheless, there could never be a complete return to the old days; Wilson's impact on New Jersey politics and institutions had been too great. In his example of a vigorous and effective leader in partnership with the people, he left a legacy that no successor could ignore.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The text of this volume is based primarily on newspaper reports of speeches and other public statements, however, a number of additional sources, including manuscript collections, have been consulted.

The main body of Wilson Papers is in the Library of Congress where they fill more than 1200 manuscript containers. One section covers the New Jersey period, but includes mostly incoming correspondence and very few copies of Wilson's outgoing letters as Governor. There are, however, many outlines of campaign speeches and drafts of public letters and statements. Among them are several items used here, such as a copy of his letter to the Editor of the *American Labor Standard,* a typed and shorthand draft of his replies to George L. Record, and several penciled letters from H. E. Alexander of the *Trenton True American.* During the campaign, Wilson spoke extemporaneously or from brief notes, thus the speech outlines in the collection are of special significance and are revealing when compared with speeches as delivered. Also in the Library of Congress are Wilson's correspondence with Mary A. Hulbert and Colonel George B. Harvey. And in the papers of R. S. Baker there are copies of Wilson letters to David B. and Thomas D. Jones, Cleveland H. Dodge, and Henry B. Thompson.

In the New Jersey State Library and Archives is a small but valuable group of Wilson papers relating to

the governorship. However, here, too, copies of Wilson's official correspondence are missing. It seems likely that carbons of the Governor's letters were made, but no substantial number has ever been found. Wilson letters for the period must be searched out one by one as recipients become known.

Princeton University Library has a significant collection of Wilson materials touching many phases of his life. Pertinent here are the papers of Edward W. Sheldon and John W. Wescott.

Of the many New Jersey newspapers which covered the campaign of 1910 and the governorship, four were especially useful for this volume. The *Trenton True American* and *Trenton Evening Times* were prime sources. The *True American,* edited by Henry Eckert Alexander, reported in full a large number of Wilson's speeches and press statements as well as his other activities. Alexander was an unflagging supporter of Wilson throughout and wrote many helpful letters to Wilson; undoubtedly Wilson's replies would be even more valuable, if they could be found. James Kerney, editor and publisher of the *Trenton Evening Times,* was cautiously critical of Wilson until he was convinced that Wilson stood free of boss control. His support thereafter was of great assistance, and Wilson treated him as a trusted advisor. Kerney's editorials were more objective than Alexander's and hence are more useful to the biographer. The same tended to be the case with those of Wallace M. Scudder, editor of the *Newark Evening News,* another faithful supporter and reporter of Wilson's political program. The Jersey City *Jersey Journal* proved to be another essential source for speeches as well as news stories and comment. Other Jersey papers consulted with profit were the Hoboken *Hudson Observer* and the *Newark Evening Star.* Charles Reade Bacon, reporter for the *Philadelphia Record,* sent daily

dispatches, including large portions of Wilson's speeches, to his paper during the campaign, and in 1912 collected and published them under the title, *A People Awakened,* Garden City, 1912. It represents the first attempt to gather together Wilson's political utterances and is a valuable supplement to the newspapers mentioned here.

Other literature on Wilson in New Jersey is not voluminous. The best general coverage is in two longer biographies: Ray Stannard Baker, *Woodrow Wilson, Life and Letters,* 8 vols. Garden City, 1927-1939 and the multi-volume study of Arthur S. Link of which five volumes, bringing Wilson to the spring of 1917, have now appeared. Baker's second volume, *Governor, 1910-1913,* covers this period but less than half deals with New Jersey affairs, and though useful, it is not in depth. The most scholarly and comprehensive treatment of Wilson in New Jersey can be found in Link's biography in the first volume, *Wilson, the Road to the White House,* Princeton, 1947, Chapters IV-IX.

Two biographical accounts by friends of Wilson merit special attention: Joseph P. Tumulty, *Woodrow Wilson As I Know Him,* Garden City, 1921, and James Kerney, *The Political Education of Woodrow Wilson,* New York, 1926. Tumulty is not always objective nor accurate in recalling events, still it is a valuable story told by a loyal participant. Kerney offers a more critical and insightful study of Wilson, yet it is not unsympathetic. The emphasis is on the Jersey years when Kerney contributed the most; he remained, however, a friend of Wilson throughout.

Several shorter biographers provide a somewhat different view of their subject. Still one of the best, although dated in some particulars, is Herbert C. F. Bell, *Woodrow Wilson and the People,* Garden City, 1945. Others are A. S. Link, *Woodrow Wilson, A Brief Biography,* Cleveland, 1963; John A. Garraty, *Woodrow Wilson, A*

Great Life in Brief, New York, 1956; Alfred B. Rollins, Jr., *Woodrow Wilson and the New America,* New York, 1965; William B. Hale, *Woodrow Wilson, the Story of His Life,* Garden City, 1912; and David Lawrence, *The True Story of Woodrow Wilson,* New York, 1924. Authors of the last two had the advantage of knowing Wilson personally and each offers information and insight not available elsewhere.

There are two general histories of New Jersey that are informative for the period: Irving S. Kull (ed.), *New Jersey, A History,* 6 vols., New York, 1930-1932 and William E. Sackett, *Modern Battles of Trenton,* 2 vols., Trenton, 1914. An excellent short study of the struggles of the progressives who laid the groundwork for the achievements of the Wilson era is, Ransome E. Noble, Jr., *New Jersey Progressivism Before Wilson,* Princeton, 1946. Useful for detail, though uncritical is Hester E. Hosford, *Woodrow Wilson and New Jersey Made Over,* New York, 1912.

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