

















GOVERNOR WOODROW WILSON



# A PEOPLE AWAKENED

THE STORY OF  
WOODROW WILSON'S FIRST CAMPAIGN

WHICH CARRIED

New Jersey to the Lead of the States in the Great Movement for the Emancipation of the Government

By

CHARLES READE BACON

OF THE STAFF OF THE PHILADELPHIA RECORD

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## INTRODUCTION

Until Woodrow Wilson suddenly loomed upon the horizon of its affairs New Jersey was asleep. Vain efforts had been made from time to time to raise it from its somnolence. It seemed that the people were perfectly willing to sleep and be robbed. They refused to realize that the big railroads, for instance, were paying taxes out of all proportion to those of the small householder or business man, so ridiculously out of proportion, indeed, that when the issue was fairly framed before the legislature the railroads themselves met it and made only a half-hearted fight against a decent readjustment.

The people of the state seemed perfectly willing to permit the agents of the big corporations to pose as political leaders and so direct legislation as to give the public utility concerns the legislation they desired to perpetuate their control over rates and monopoly of franchise. It seemed utterly impossible to arouse the people to the necessity of action against a condition which made for their loss, which kept their tax bills up and their incomes down, which made a farce of elections and a side show of legislative sessions.

The legislatures were chosen by the party bosses with one necessary qualification for candidates, and that a willingness to serve the same interests which had for so many years shaped the course of the legislature and kept a strangle hold upon the people. It was known to every correspondent who "covered" the legislature for his newspaper that for years the committees of both houses of the legislature were made up in the offices of big corporations, and that these committees were expected to "take care" of the bills affecting those corporations. They seldom broke the faith. To break it meant political death, and men seldom court that ignominy.

There had come over the state, as a result of the insistent cry of some of the men who had chafed under the yoke, a strong undercurrent of feeling. Then there appeared in spots indications of an awakening. There was soon visible an unrest, a demand for change, and for a time there did appear something that looked like an awakening, but the party boss bossed a little harder and the big interests paid a little more and the

## INTRODUCTION

poll lists were padded a little more and then the people sank back to sleep again.

Then came Wilson, and the story of how this strong man aroused the latent energies of the people of New Jersey is here told.

It is an unusual story for America, but Woodrow Wilson is an unusual man, and it did not require many days of his new kind of campaigning to show the people the stuff of which he was made. It was very quickly discovered that they had been waiting for him, waiting for him for years, waiting for a man and a leader who could show them the way. That he has done so is a story familiar to nearly every man in America. Of his struggle against the bosses of his own party after he had won his signal victory: of his long, hard battle for the rights of the plain citizen in his first legislative session: of his second campaign for the retention of the grip of the people upon their government in New Jersey another story may be told, but here is presented in plain, historic fashion the story of his achievement in stirring the people into animation and fighting mood.

The president of Princeton University had not figured in the politics of the state. He was scarcely known outside educational circles. True, his name had been "used" several times in connection with the nomination for Governor, but it was never with serious intent by the politicians who controlled such nominations, because Woodrow Wilson was known to be a man who would boss himself. It is true he received a number of votes of Democrats for United States Senator in the session of the legislature of 1907, but these were merely complimentary, and he would not have had them if there had been any possibility of his election. The Republicans controlled the legislature on joint ballot. Therefore, he entered the arena of politics a total stranger to the inside workings and the closed-door feature of the game, and he served warning upon those who were expecting to play the game that way that they need expect no aid from him.

The story of Woodrow Wilson's coming into the political life of America comes from the day-to-day history of his remarkable campaign, written as it occurred and sent hot on the wires, with no prepared speeches or any of the set-to-music feature of political campaigns. The chapters here presented are the daily dispatches to the *Philadelphia Record* as I sent them during the tour of the state, together with parts of my weekly letters preceding and during the campaign.



A PEOPLE AWAKENED



# A People Awakened

## I

### PEOPLE MAY HAVE CHANCE IN JERSEY

REPUBLICAN LEADERS FEAR KEAN'S CANDIDACY WILL BE HANDICAP  
IN GUBERNATORIAL BATTLE

*Trenton, July 10.*—Things political are beginning to happen with something like expected regularity. Prosecutor of the Pleas Pierre P. Garven, of Hudson County, is out as a candidate for the Republican nomination for Governor. Garven is the man who got the poker after the meat barons, only he has not yet got them in his grip. Somehow the law and the courts do not stand in with the prosecutor, although the Hudson County Grand Jury did find sundry indictments against the men who have played such a star part in the tragedy of high prices. In most of the moves they have been able to get away with the tricks and now the prosecutor, backed by more or less influential men of his party in that section of the state, evidently believes that the people can be aroused to the value of placing him in the executive chair at Trenton, although what direct effect upon the situation that would have is not made clear.

Naturally, all the men allied with the big trade combinations, all the Wall Street agents, and all the other financial interests would like to see a man like that in the chair at the capital. It would be so nice. But there is no more chance of the nomination of Garven than of the selection of Aviator Curtiss, and Curtiss is not a resident of New Jersey. Somehow the time does not appear ripe for the people to get together and manifest the strength that lies inert in the masses. They have not apparently been sufficiently stirred by conditions to make any great concerted movement. Despite the great clamor over the tremendous increase in the cost of living they seem to be content to let the situation alone — that is, the great overwhelming majority of them do.

The men who take the lead by sheer power and force, who gather fol-

lowings of their fellows and do the work of the world, seem to be willing to allow the case to adjust itself. Here and there appears an intense and enthusiastic toiler, unselfishly devoting his time and his strength for the betterment of things, but the same old political control continues, and the machine managers of both parties are directing efforts along the same old lines, and the chances for the selection of an independent man for Governor are remote.

President Woodrow Wilson of Princeton University evidently has been able to get a clear view of the situation as it exists, for he has stated with some degree of positiveness that he must not be even regarded as a candidate for Governor, or anything else. It is probably just as well that he has that view, since it would not be at all likely for the Democratic convention to agree upon a man of his particular standard. The fear that a campaign with him as the standard-bearer would be the frostiest kind of a "frost" would, no doubt, prevent such a choice. Then there is former Assemblyman William P. Martin, of Essex, the choice of the Progressive Republicans for the nomination — a clean, square, and able man, with a record for fighting stubbornly and persistently for the things demanded by the people as he has conceived them. Where will he have a ghost of a show to win the Republican nomination with the regulars lined up with apparently more effective organization than ever, and with practically no limit to the size of the barrel they will be able to tap?

But suppose it were possible for all the people who look with favor upon Garven, or Wilson, or Martin, or some equally untrammelled man, to get together in a movement such as is now being made by the dissatisfied elements in Pennsylvania? Suppose it were possible to call a big convention of these effective elements and name a candidate to represent them, a candidate who would go out into the battle armed with the effective weapon of a strong personality, a record of things well done, and a purpose to toil for the welfare of the common people, would there not be some possibility of a coalescence of the discontented into a compact and effective engine of destruction for the overthrow of the powerful machine organization? Some wise observers show no hesitation in declaring that that is likely to happen.

One of the stories of the recent days has been to the effect that more than one of the powerful leaders among the Republicans has indicated to Senator "Jawn" Kean that he cannot be re-elected. "Jawn" does not regard that information as reliable, however, and he will probably proceed to show them a thing or two. Still, there is every reason to believe

that the Senator stands beaten to-day. It has been said that some of the party leaders fear greatly for the success of the campaign for Governor if he comes to be regarded as the chosen one for the senatorial toga again. They fully understand what it will mean to have the masses of voters get the idea that the Republican party in the state is willing to stand for a man of his character, especially as there will, no doubt, be a large and significant vote at the forthcoming primaries on the senatorship which while not binding upon the members of the legislature will still have the effect of indicating the spirit of the people. It is said that Kean would greatly fear to entrust his candidacy to such a vote even with the party leaders pledged to him, for after the showing he made in the last session of Congress as the echo of Aldrich there could be no doubt as to what the action of the voters would be.

In that connection there has been a deal of interesting speculation as to who was the instigator of the foul attack upon former Governor Stokes which recently was broadcasted through the state in the form of a letter, with no date line and no signature and mailed from Harrisburg, Pa. Somebody must have paid for the printing and the postage as well as for the clerical work necessary to get the letter mailed. It has been estimated that there must have been at least 100,000 of them mailed to the twenty-one counties, and the total cost, including postage, must have been at least \$3,000. Somebody with a lot of money to spend and with an object to accomplish must have been back of the enterprise; but, of course, nobody is willing to venture a guess as to who it was. Still, it would be mighty interesting to know who took so much pains to show a hand in the great fight.

When former Governor Murphy was confronted with the suggestion that he was not a bona fide candidate for Senator, but was merely in the game to hold votes for Kean, he very quickly and indignantly spurned the idea. He said he was in the contest for himself and for no one else, and that any one who suggested anything different was laboring under a delusion, that was all.

That suggestion was born probably of the idea that Murphy will be the strongest man in Essex and that his candidacy for the Senate will help the ticket for Governor and the legislature there, so that if he should become an impossibility as to the choice for Senator he could turn his votes over to another candidate. Naturally, the thought at once turned to Kean as the one, but the former Governor has never been known as a trader or plotter, and his admirers declare that he can be trusted when he says he is for himself. Some savage attacks have been made upon him

recently by some of the German societies of Essex, and as Major Carl Lentz is supposed to have a considerable influence with these organizations, and the Major is said to be toiling for the Kean interests, the friends of Mr. Murphy naturally lay these attacks at the door of the Senator, who will probably deny their authority with proper and spirited indignation.

The letter of Senator George S. Silzer formally announcing his candidacy for Governor on the Democratic ticket attracted more than passing interest for not only the people of his own party but for Republicans as well. The Senator places himself squarely upon his legislative record as to what should be expected of him in case of his nomination and that ought to inspire confidence in him, for he has steadfastly maintained an attitude of open hostility to the interests which operate against the needs of the hour in New Jersey. As an unbossed man, who has twice shown his strength before the people of his own county, he should make a formidable candidate for the Democrats. What they propose to do about it, however, remains to be seen.

## II

### MAY CLEAR WAY FOR WOODROW WILSON

#### JERSEY DEMOCRATIC LEADERS HOPE TO CONCENTRATE FORCES ON PRINCETON PRESIDENT

*Trenton, July 17.* — The attitude of President Woodrow Wilson of Princeton University regarding the Democratic nomination for Governor of New Jersey will require an entirely new alignment of forces on all political sides. If the Democratic leaders shall succeed in landing him as the nominee in a convention likely to start out as hostile they will have accomplished something worth while, assuring to the people, irrespective of party affiliations, a stable, patriotic, and politically unbiased executive. But his nomination will cause more than ordinary anxiety upon the part of the Republican leaders, who, while they have as yet made no slate, evidently have the situation fairly well framed and count upon the power of organization to pull them through. It will be necessary for them to reckon upon what likely percentage of the Republican independent vote President Wilson is apt to influence sufficiently to drag it away from the regular ticket. It will be necessary, too, for them to make mathematical calculations as to the probable effect the senatorial situation is to have upon the fight for Governor, for if it be possible for the Democrats to go into the campaign with a man like Wilson as the standard-bearer it will mean that the Republicans will have to come as near as possible to not only matching him in independence and achievement, but eliminating all possible effect of the certain weakening influence of the Kean candidacy for Senator.

Some of the Republicans are coming to an understanding of that situation and will very likely reach the decision sooner or later that Kean must be counted down and out. It will be mighty dangerous in New Jersey this year to depend upon mere cash for victory. The graft revelations in Illinois, where Lorimer was elected to the Senate by cash votes, will have its certain effect upon the people of this state, who have known for some years that under various methods cash has figured in the choice of United States Senators. Usually it is in the form of "campaign

expenses" for candidates for the State Senate or Assembly, and already there are stories afloat to the effect that somebody is pledging financial support to candidates for the Assembly in Stokes's home county of Cumberland, with the apparent purpose of making as brave a show as possible against him at home. But Stokes seems to be paying close attention to his canvass for the primary vote, and as that means he will not be a candidate in any one section, but in the whole state, the showing may go for naught. But the men who are managing the Kean campaign seem to have little care for the expression of the sentiment of the people at the primary polls which Stokes's candidacy will produce, as they are proceeding along the same old lines.

The canvass of former State Assessor Baird is proceeding with such a degree of quiet as to be ominous of something, whatever it may be. Lately some of the south Jersey leader's able lieutenants have given strong reiteration to his own positive declaration early in the game that he meant to make this the effort of his life; that he is intent upon making the Senate as the crowning triumph of his interesting career, and that when the real fight opens he will be found well to the fore in the firing line.

Friends of the former Assessor now know how disastrous it would be to have it go forth that he would favor Kean if unable to land the prize for himself, and some of them are at pains to make it clear that Baird has no such intention and never has had. Nor is it possible, under visible signs, that former Governor Murphy has any intention of aiding Kean, so that as a matter of fact the race for the place would appear to have narrowed to the three powers in the party — Stokes, Baird, and Murphy.

But that is not the only phase of the sudden stimulus which the Wilson episode has given the political situation. It will be necessary for the Republicans to readjust things with respect to the nomination for Governor if it is discovered that there is real probability of the nomination of the university head. Neither side has yet named the date for the state convention, both evidently watching the situation to see what is likely to eventuate. If the Democrats make sure of the nomination of Wilson they will have no hesitation in fixing the date of their convention without regard for the Republicans, and the Republicans would be put to the extreme of anxious thought for a choice to make the campaign against the scholar and patriot, who has given to the world some of the best thought of the day and who will doubtless gather under his banner the best people in the state.

Of course, nearly everybody understands how difficult it is going to be



to nominate Wilson. Congressman Eugene Kinkead, of Hudson County, who undertook the task of bringing about the possibility, is confident that he can manage to get the consent of all the other likely candidates to withdraw so that the nomination of the university head may be made by acclamation, but the other candidates show no present disposition to do anything of the sort, and their friends are counselling them to stick. Some of the astute leaders of the party are not carried away with the idea of naming Wilson. They fear, as has been stated here, that he will be too much of a "frost" in the campaign; that he will be on a high academic pedestal, unable to get down to the level of the ordinary audience such as gathers to see and to hear the candidate in an exciting campaign as this is going to be.

Senator Silzer, of Middlesex, whose election as Governor would be no mistake, has declared that he expects to remain in the fight to the last. Mayor Wittpenn, of Jersey City, says he has no intention of getting out, and Assemblyman Kenny, of Hudson County, expresses the same sentiment. They are of the opinion that the nomination of Wilson will not do; that the people will not stand for it, and that a live Democrat with independent leanings and a clear record will be necessary to success.

Former Senator James Smith, who was the accredited originator of the plan to make Wilson the party choice, may be able to bring it about, however, for it is well known that he is the strongest man in the party, with able lieutenants in all parts of the state. But it will be necessary for even Smith to get City Collector Robert Davis, the Hudson chieftain, into line for it before it can be accomplished. Davis has made no definite statement as yet regarding his attitude, but it is understood that he might be willing to stand for Wilson. It has been stated that Katzenbach, of Trenton, would be willing to leave the way clear for Wilson if the situation developed that way. The former Mayor has declared that he is not a candidate for the office in the sense of seeking it, but he has inferred that if the Democrats in convention appear to want him to make the battle again he stands ready to do so. That puts it up to the Mercer County men to move. Wilson comes from that county, as does Katzenbach, and the leaders there are among some of the best in the state. Katzenbach carried the county when he ran three years ago, and is still very strong with the voters there. In a speech at Keyport, at which he was the guest of honor the other night, the former Mayor aroused great enthusiasm by once and for all denying that there had been any party treachery to him in Hudson County in that memorable fight. As

a matter of history, his nomination was made by the Hudson men, and it was a peculiar local situation at the election that appeared to show the treachery for which his defeat was at the time ascribed. His denial has done a good deal to strengthen him in Hudson and to make the nomination of Wilson more difficult, but Katzenbach will probably aid the movement if it is put up to him.

### III

## FORCES READY FOR FRAY

### ALL COMERS AGAINST WILSON THE LINE-UP ON EVE OF DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

*Trenton, Sept. 14.* — “It will be Wilson on the first ballot by a big majority.” That’s what former Senator James Smith says.

“It can’t be Wilson on any ballot.” That’s what the friends of Katzenbach and of Silzer and of Wittpenn say on the eve of what promises to be the most enthusiastic state convention New Jersey Democrats have held in a dozen years.

Senator Smith, the recognized party leader, was on the ground early with Colonel George Harvey, the head and front of the Wilson boom, and they never flinched from the ground they both held all along, that the president of Princeton University would be nominated for Governor and triumphantly elected. For a time early in the night, as delegates and party leaders for the several counties began to get into town, it looked as though their emphatic statements were borne out by the facts.

But as the night grew older and the Katzenbach and Silzer men got busy the situation became less clear. Indeed, at a late hour there was some indication that a combination against the Smith programme might win out. It was conceded that, if the Princeton man could not be named on the first ballot, he could not be named at all, and to prevent that very thing the supporters of the other three candidates were laying plans to hold the anti-Wilson vote in their grip.

In this situation it was stated by a close friend of Senator Silzer that they could hold at least 800 votes out of the 1370 on the first ballot. They had as allies former Senator Hinchliffe, with the big Passaic delegation; Mayor Wittpenn, who claims 90 of the 236 in Hudson, but who is accorded only 63½ by the Davis men; Sheriff Harrigan, who has 25 of Essex County’s 216, and Katzenbach, who has Mercer solid and probably a strong following from other south Jersey counties. They figured that, by a coalition of these votes, they could stand out successfully

against the Wilson programme and then settle upon the man to win, either Katzenbach or Silzer.

Of course, Senator Smith knew early of this proposition to defeat Wilson, and he had his lieutenants close to the job every minute. He received reports from all the county delegations and sifted them carefully, and at midnight declared that he had no reason for changing his early estimate of the situation.

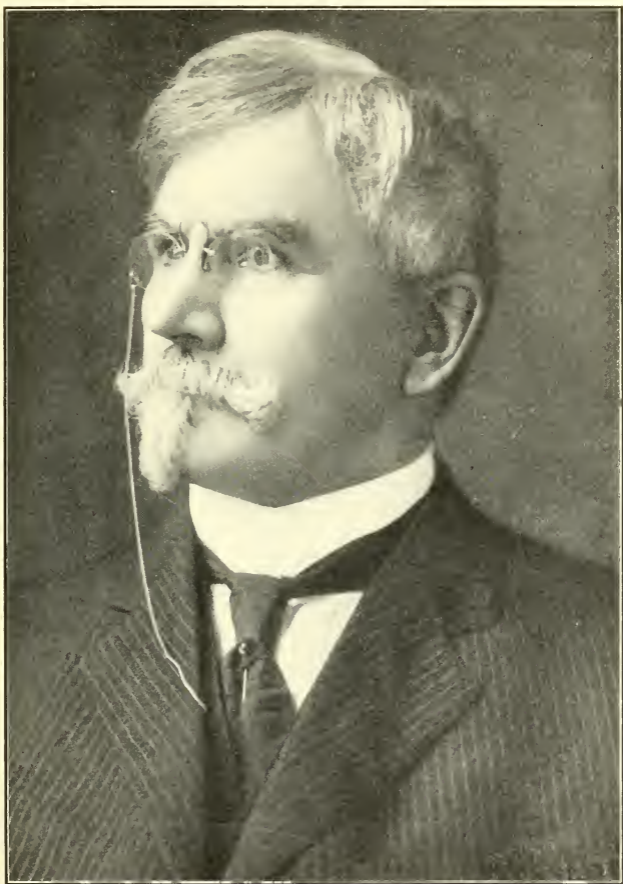
"Doctor Wilson will have 800 votes on the first ballot, and will be the nominee," said the former Senator in his quarters at the Trenton, "and he will sweep the state. He is by far the strongest man the Democrats can name and, in the present state of the public mind, with Maine gone for the Democrats in a tremendous landslide, it looks like a Democratic year in New Jersey.

"I had no desire to get into this contest at all, but it was like the old fire horse getting the sound of the alarm bells, and now I am in it and I see victory ahead. We can win with Wilson, a man of high attainments, not an office-seeker, and a man who rose from the people."

As a matter of fact the several counties were not sufficiently represented to afford any real basis of calculation. All that could be depended upon was the information imparted by the leaders of those counties, and they did not appear of one mind. William C. French, of the Camden County delegation, and Patrick Harding, a rising young lawyer of that county, were firm in the statement that Camden would be solid for Wilson with 105 votes on the first ballot, and in this they were confirmed by former Assemblyman William J. Thompson, who will be chairman of the delegation. County Chairman W. H. Davis, however, declared that Camden would give Katzenbach 81 votes at the first call, and other delegates supported him. The delegation will caucus in the morning.

Atlantic County is said to be solid for Wilson, and County Chairman Clarence L. Cole has been picked to make the nominating speech. As Atlantic is the first in alphabetical call of the counties, the strategic advantage of that programme is at once discernible. It is presumed that there will start a big demonstration for the Princeton man that may sweep the convention.

But Wilson will have no vote from his home county of Mercer, which will be solid for Katzenbach, and that is regarded as an element of weakness. Cumberland County is uncertain, although Captain Samuel Iredell, B. Frank Hires, and Mayor George Hampton, of Bridgeton, feel kindly toward Katzenbach and admit that Silzer sentiment is not lacking there. The chances are former Senator Smith will come near holding



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U. S. SENATOR JAMES E. MARTINE



the county for Wilson. Cape May is apt to be the same way. Salem is inclined to favor Katzenbach, and Burlington is very much in earnest for the Trenton man, who came near landing three years ago.

Silzer is strong in his home county of Middlesex, and James E. Martine, who received a big vote for United States Senator yesterday, declares Union is for Silzer. So that, as the night grew old, it looked like any man's race. Of course, much depends upon certain earnest conferences in the hotels, and the whole situation may be cleared in utmost harmony before the leaders get to sleep.

Whatever the outcome of the convention it is evident to the coolest, most dispassionate observer that the Democrats of New Jersey are enthused as they have not been in years; that they are closer together, have more confidence, and stand better before the people than since the days when they had everything their own way.

With every one of the twenty-one counties represented, and three of the four members-at-large present, the State Committee held one of the most earnest meetings in years, at the Sterling. Chairman Nugent presided, and John R. Hardin, of Essex County, was agreed upon for temporary chairman of the convention, with Secretary W. K. Devereux at his old job at the head of the desk.

The important feature of the meeting was consideration of the platform, which Chairman Nugent presented. It was taken up plank by plank and discussed with much earnestness, Assembly Leader Mark Sullivan, of Hudson, being called in to aid with his legislative experience. No final agreement was reached, but a sub-committee consisting of Dan Fellows Platt, former Senator William D. Edwards, and former Judge Willard Cutler was appointed to revise it for presentation to the Committee on Resolutions to-morrow.

The planks agreed upon move for direct primaries for nominations for all officers, including United States Senators, Congressmen, and Governors; for the extension of the civil service to all offices, county and municipal, as well as state; the extension of rate-making power to the Utilities Commission; a more comprehensive employers' liabilities law, and more stringent laws against bribery and corrupt practices.

It was the general opinion that the unit rule will not prevail in the convention, and that means a fine old fight.

## IV

### NAME WILSON WITH HURRAH

#### PROMISES GOOD GOVERNMENT AND WANTS STATE TO LEAD IN CONTROLLING CORPORATIONS

*Trenton, Sept. 15.*—Woodrow Wilson, president of Princeton University, was nominated for Governor by the Democrats of New Jersey in one of the most harmonious and enthusiastic conventions the state has seen in years. It happened on the first ballot, just as former Senator James Smith predicted last night, and when he said there would be nearly 800 votes for Wilson on that ballot he knew what he was talking about. There were just 747½, which was 40 more than necessary to a choice. Frank S. Katzenbach, of this city, had 373; Senator George S. Silzer, of Middlesex, 210; Mayor H. Otto Wittpenn, of Jersey City, 76½, and Sheriff William Harrigan, of Essex County, 6.

Before Secretary Devereux could announce the official ballot the delegations began to shout changes, Middlesex starting off with the Silzer vote and others falling in line with vim, so that in an instant there was the utmost confusion, with shouts for Wilson and wild cheers of the victorious hosts. Amid the Babel of sound Chairman Hardin recognized George La Barre, of Mercer, who had fought so sturdily but vainly for the nomination of Katzenbach, with a motion to make the Wilson nomination unanimous, and it was carried with a shout that made the timbers of Taylor Opera House shiver.

There was but one slight discordant note, but that was quickly smoothed over. Former Assemblyman Samuel S. Swackhamer, of Somerset County, endeavored to have the platform amended so as to include a declaration in favor of local option on the liquor question. He was not sufficiently swift in a parliamentary tangle and lost his opportunity of having the question threshed out on the floor of the convention.

The platform was adopted with but that temporary bit of friction, and that did not extend beyond the few men from Somerset, all the rest of the big delegation of more than fourteen hundred showing every desire to sidetrack it as an issue for some other field. The dec-



laration of principles met the approval of not only the party leaders who drafted it, but it was easily discoverable that the delegates regarded it as of the highest order of merit, committing the Democrats of the state to good government and pledging them to stand for the best in legislation in the interest of the whole people. This idea was embodied in the keynote of Doctor Wilson's speech, made at the conclusion of the convention, when he was whirled from his Princeton home, twelve miles away, to the convention hall in an automobile that did not stop for much on the way. He said in the course of his address, a bright, patriotic, scholarly effort:

"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 we are true lovers of the common interests, servants of no special group of men or interests, servants of the interests of the people and of the country."

Probably the happiest one man in New Jersey to-night is Henry Eckert Alexander, editor and publisher of the *Daily True American*, of this city, who long ago picked President Wilson as the standard-bearer for New Jersey Democracy and who has never faltered in his devotion to his cause, despite the sentiment of Mercer County for former Mayor Katzenbach. Another delighted man is State Committeeman Charles H. Gallagher, who, taking Katzenbach at his word that he was not a candidate, also stood for the Princeton scholar.

The whole spirit of the convention was manifestly earnest, hopeful, and its atmosphere charged with the scent of victory ahead. There was no mud-slinging, but a broad and charitable desire of each of the striving clans to please the other and to get the greatest possible good out of the deliberations of the body. It became evident by the time the convention had taken the recess at one o'clock, after completing the preliminaries of organization, that the proposed combination of young men who stood so strongly for the nomination of Katzenbach, or of Silzer, or of Wittpenn could not be effected, that the wall thrown up by former Senator Smith and Robert Davis, the Hudson leader, was too formidable for successful attack, and that the only thing possible for them to accomplish was to go on with what chance they might possibly expect of stampeding the convention in the interest of one or the other. But all efforts in that direction proved ineffective, though the Katzenbach men,

led by the solid Mercer delegation, aroused the great audience, which jammed every inch of space of the immense theatre, to frequent demonstrations in favor of their favorite.

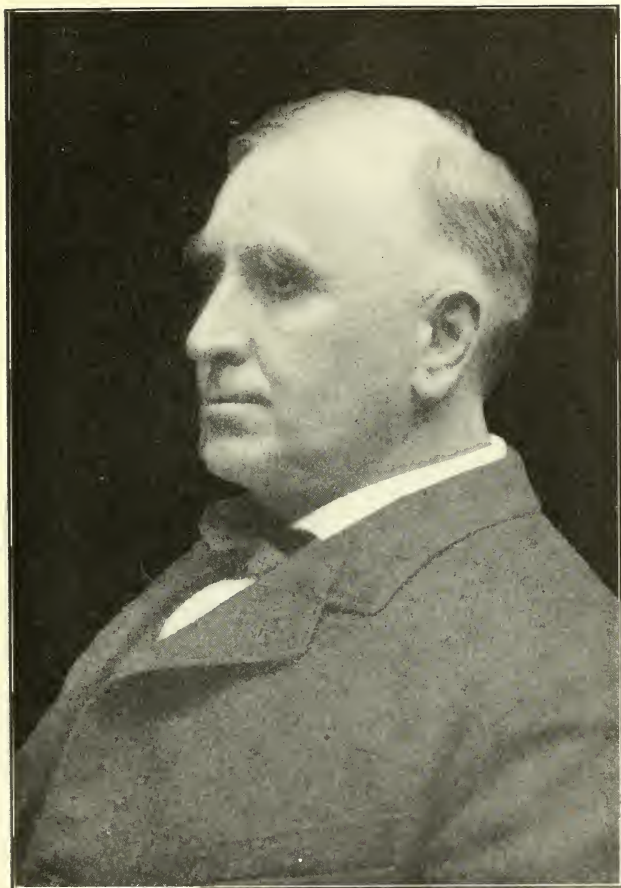
The spirit of the situation was given fresh illustration when Smith and Davis, between whose physical proportions there is great disparity, walked arm in arm down the street and took lunch together. It was then known that with the tremendous votes of Essex and Hudson practically united upon Wilson there was no chance for any one else, and the combination, unable to bring any other votes to its side save those it had counted last night, and some of these having quit, practically gave up before the balloting began.

The committee reports again demonstrated the degree of harmony that prevailed, for after the noon recess the Committee on Credentials reported no contests, although there had been some little difficulty in straightening out the factional troubles in Essex and Hudson for the Harrigan and Wittpenn men. The Committee on Rules might have caused a severe rupture with its recommendation for the absolute adherence to the Democratic principle of every man heard but for the feeling that there was to be no fight and that the leaders had the necessary votes. The unit rule was cast aside under the report and it was sustained.

While that was regarded as some victory for the Katzenbach men, since it gave every delegate the right to have his vote cast as he desired, it availed nothing, for on the call of the ballot later only two counties were challenged and they made little change. The Committee on Permanent Organization, in which there had been some promise of friction, recommended the retention of John R. Hardin as permanent chairman, with the rest of the temporary organization, and there it rested.

So it was all plain sailing toward the presentation of the candidates. On the call of the counties Atlantic came first in its alphabetical order, and Lawyer Clarence L. Cole, of that county, took the platform to present the name of Wilson. One or two of the Katzenbach enthusiasts became a trifle impatient and called him to "name the man," but Mr. Cole stuck bravely to the task of extolling the virtues of the candidate and calling upon the people of the state to rise for his election as the best man of the hour, a man representing their interests and one who could be trusted with the work of giving the state a wise and economical administration of its business affairs.

Oratory flowed after that, just as it is wont to flow at a Democratic convention, and each nominating speech had for its central thought that the one man who could sweep the state was the man to be presented to



HON. JOHN W. WESCOTT



the convention by the particular orator. Frequently the impatient friends of one of the other candidates made futile effort to break with a demonstration, but it was short-lived and the work of picking a man went bravely on.

At the conclusion of Mr. Cole's speech one of the exciting episodes of the convention occurred. John J. Crandall, the venerable and picturesque lawyer from Atlantic City, who occupied a front seat in the orchestra row, with the Atlantic delegation, arose to protest the nomination of Wilson, and a man named Goller, from Egg Harbor City, who reclined in the orchestra enclosure, endeavored to push him back to his seat. White with anger, after the second futile attempt of the fellow, Crandall raised his heavy cane and brought it down with such force as to break it into bits across the shoulders of the man, who instantly subsided. Crandall went on with his protest, which was drowned in the perfect Babel of confusion that followed, but what he endeavored to say was that the people were not for Wilson, but for Silzer.

Josiah Ewen, of Burlington, very briefly presented the name of Katzenbach, and it was seconded by former Judge John W. Wescott, of Camden, in one of the most forceful and eloquent speeches of the convention, in the course of which he declared that Katzenbach was unbossed and represented all that was desirable in a chief executive for the state, but at its conclusion former Assemblyman William J. Thompson, chairman of the Camden County delegation, shouted from the "peanut gallery" topmost round of seats, just under the high dome: "Mr. Chairman, two thirds of the Camden County delegation is for Woodrow Wilson." Senator Silzer's name was presented by Surrogate P. F. Daly, of Middlesex, as a man who had accomplished much for the people in the four years he had served them in the Senate.

On the call of Cape May County in its turn somebody made his way down a jammed side aisle and somebody lifted him bodily to the stage. He was identified as J. Thompson Baker, one of the founders of Wildwood, and a business man of eminent success. Somebody cried as he attempted to speak: "Get the hook!" but it was lost so far as its intended effect was concerned. Not a tall man, as stature goes, but a large man as heads loom; a man with rumpled iron-gray hair, shaggy brows, and an eye that glinted in the half-light, Mr. Baker was known to no more than a small fraction of that immense and impatient crowd, so that when he was lifted bodily to the stage and stood for an instant gazing out over the human jam he found few friendly eyes turned his way. His first sentences sent the hostile audience into a spasm of further impatience,

and there lurked in the atmosphere the suspicion that the convention might repeat the performance so frequent to such gatherings. There was impending peril to the Wilson managers of a stampede for Katzenbach or Silzer. Mr. Baker seemed to feel it, too. He appeared to poise for flight and then to launch forth into the teeth of that cold atmosphere, feeling his way with a skill that marked him for no amateur. The anti-Wilson forces were making themselves heard and they had no desire to listen to any more Wilson eulogiums. Mr. Baker smiled and waited, waited for an opening that seemed impossible to obtain, so insistent was the convention upon proceeding without further delay. His first utterance, then, caught its fancy and he got the desired opening. "To holler is a good thing!" he cried, watching the effect, "especially for a Democrat, for he has good reason to holler this year." The effect was magical. The crowd cheered him, then listened, and in a minute or two it was getting one of the best convention speeches ever heard in the state, and the party managers were set to wondering how it was that this man had not been called to action in other hard battles. There was good humor, sincerity, magnetism, and deadly earnestness in the well-modulated and ringing quality of the voice; the energetic gestures were new and the whole make-up of the speaker refreshingly different from the verbose and stilted character of so many convention speakers. As he proceeded, the anti-Wilson forces, though caught by the manner and winning quality of the man, seemed uncertain of their ground, and several at once shouted:

"Who are you for?"

There was his opening, and with the skill of the master this small, businesslike looking man on the stage was quick to grasp it. "Who am I for?" he cried with vehemence and the fire kindling in his eye: "Who am I for? I'm for the whole four of 'em, and I'd tell you more about it if you weren't in such a hurry!"

The effect was instantaneous. There was such good humor in the note, such a friendly turn, such an earnestness that the crowd caught up the cry and with mighty shout gave ear to the man. His way was clear, the day was gained and the Wilson backers now knew that there was no further peril. "Go on!" shouted the audience as Mr. Baker paused to await the subsidence of the applause, and there was no further interruption of his speech save in the frequent breaks of applause waves.

"I wanted to say to you that whoever is put to the front as the party's candidate will be supported by the other three in the race" he proceeded. "New Jersey is not turning away from any of its favorite sons. Per-

sonally I favor one of the four. I favor him because he is a man who is splendidly equipped for chieftainship, because he is a man who has written better than any other man on the rights of labor and the dues of capital."

Mr. Baker paid a magnificent tribute to the character and attainments of Doctor Wilson and, concluding, he said: "In the name of the convention and for the sake of the Commonwealth I second the nomination of that true statesman, Woodrow Wilson."

There was left not the shadow of doubt after that as to what was going to happen, and it was very evident that the Wilson managers fully realized that this little-known man, this man who had never before taken a conspicuous part in the political battles of the state, had turned impending defeat from its course and snatched victory where there appeared no hope for it. The little big man was counted the hero of the day. When it came the turn of Essex, former Senator Smith himself, as chairman of the delegation, gave hearty endorsement to Wilson, declaring that he hardly knew the man, but in the interest of the party and with a desire to see it win in this crisis he had found Doctor Wilson to be the ideal candidate for the party in every respect. It was not a question of personality with him, but a matter of character, and he had tied to the Princeton president solely for the purpose of uniting the party and serving the best interests of the people of the state. Several other speeches of the same tenor were made and the balloting began.

The Atlantic County vote was given first as 47 for Wilson, but this being challenged by one of the delegates, it was changed to 40, the rest being divided between Katzenbach and Wittpenn. There was no further interruption till Essex was reported as 228 for Wilson, to which a Harrigan man took exception and challenged its accuracy. Chairman Smith had the delegation polled and the Wilson vote was increased to 234, amid the protests of the Harrigan men, who declared that some of their thirty-five delegates had been denied admittance to the hall. The trouble was soon smoothed over, however, and the roll-call finished with some few spicy interruptions. The result was as given in the table appearing on the following page.

Before Warren County had been reached it was discovered that Wilson had enough to name him and the shouts broke loose and became so vociferous that the vote of Warren could not be heard, but it was there with its 31 for Wilson, clinching the nomination with 40 to spare. And before the result could be announced the Middlesex men swung into line, followed swiftly by the other counties and the thing was done.

The delegates were all about to rush pell-mell from the hall, when Chairman Hardin managed to make himself heard with the announcement that the candidate had been sent for and would soon appear. It took about twenty minutes for Doctor Wilson to run the twelve

## THE ONLY BALLOT

COUNTIES	No. of Delegates	Wilson	Katzenbach	Silzer	Wittpenn	Harrigan
Atlantic.....	53	40	12	1	..	..
Bergen.....	83	31	5	45	2	..
Burlington.....	48	3	43	2	..	..
Camden.....	108	72	36	..	..	..
Cape May.....	21	18	3	..	..	..
Cumberland.....	35	7	23	5	..	..
Essex.....	240	234	1	1	..	4
Gloucester.....	25	5	20	..	..	..
Hudson.....	237	162½	1	..	74½	..
Hunterdon.....	27	..	26	1	..	..
Mercer.....	71	..	71	..	..	..
Middlesex.....	62	..	..	62	..	..
Monmouth.....	65	15	50	..	..	..
Morris.....	47	19	21	7	..	..
Ocean.....	26	..	21	5	..	..
Passaic.....	86	22	5	59	..	..
Salem.....	19	1	17	1	..	..
Somerset.....	31	7	5	17	..	..
Sussex.....	25	25	..	..	..	..
Union.....	73	55	15	4	..	..
Warren.....	31	32	..	..	..	..
Totals.....	1411	747½	373	210	76½	4

miles from Princeton, and a passage was made for him through the dense throng on the stage. He came in smiling, as cool as a boy out of the swimming pool, and his appearance was a signal for a great huzzah.

## WILSON'S SPEECH OF ACCEPTANCE

As the cheers and applause finally subsided and the audience had a chance to eye the vigorous-looking, clean-cut, plainly garbed man who stood resolutely before them, cool and smiling, President Wilson said, in calm, even tones, rising at times to a forceful eloquence:



“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 pledges 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 cannot but regard these 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 opportunity 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 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 declarations deserve and will win their confidence.

“But we shall keep it only by performance, by achievement, 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 toward 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 readjustment: 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.

“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 wrongdoers 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 counsel, and every one 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 interest. 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 has 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, and that a careful reconsideration and reorganization of the administrative processes of the state would result in great savings and in enhanced 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 haphazard 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 economic conditions more equitably. Above all, the methods of assessment should be changed, in order that inequalities 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 enterprise 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 effectually removed by law and by the action of the tax-assessing authorities of the state and of the localities. 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, so 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 of 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 in reform; by scrutinizing very carefully the enterprises she consents to incorporate; their make-up, their objects, the basis and method of their capitalization, their organization with respect to liability to control by the state, their conformity to state and Federal statute. This can be done, and done effectually. I covet for New Jersey the honor of doing it.

“And 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 interest 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 reawakening 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 serve justice and candor, 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?”

Once during the delivery of his short address, which caught the big crowd from the very first, Doctor Wilson stopped and said: “But you have been here since noon and I have been playing golf and am fresher and will not tire you.”

“Go on!” cried the crowd eagerly, and as one man, and when he had concluded, there was a great rush to grasp the hand of the man who had walked squarely into the hearts of the Jersey Democrats in a trice. The personal magnetism of his smile, the light of his gray eyes and the poise of his well-shaped head, as he deals with state affairs, will get him the plaudits of the multitude in the great campaign soon to begin.

As the nominee was being conducted to an automobile for his Princeton home he was asked: “Shall you resign the presidency of Princeton?”

“I have not considered that matter yet,” came the reply, and the car whirled him away.

## V

### OPENS HIS CAMPAIGN

#### GENUINE ENTHUSIASM GREET'S DEMOCRATS' CANDIDATE FOR GOVERNOR

*Jersey City, Sept. 28.*— In three enormous meetings, bubbling over with enthusiasm and showing every mark of unswerving loyalty, Dr. Woodrow Wilson, the famous scholar and teacher, was given a great ovation in this stronghold of Democracy as the candidate for Governor of New Jersey to-night, opening the great campaign. There was no mistaking the character and force of the greeting nor of the warmth of the support the candidate will get from the people of this part of the state.

He met roars of enthusiastic applause wherever he appeared, and those who had gathered the notion that the head of the great university would appear pedantic and stand stiff-necked upon an academical pedestal, from which he would talk over the heads of the common people, were forced to revise their preconceived estimates.

He took his audiences into his confidence, pointing out cleverly and with distinct force the weaknesses of the modern economic schemes. He caught the crowd when he expressed the belief that those who for some years had been in charge of the state government had made a sorry mess of it, and it was time that some one relieved them of the task and tried to better things.

His appeals to the progressive spirit of his hearers met hearty response, and his suggestion that the people were coming gradually into their own in the country evoked expressions of delight, the import of which could not be mistaken, and it seemed that all felt the candidate was one to lead the people into their own. Speaking of progress, Doctor Wilson said much depended upon the action of the one who is supposed to be progressing.

"I can recall the picture of a poor devil of a donkey on a treadmill. He keeps on tramping, but never gets anywhere; but," he said, "there's a certain elephant that's tramping, too, and how much progress is it making?"

As Doctor Wilson reached the close of his argument and said: "And so I have made my first political appeal," a round of vociferous applause interrupted him, and when it died away he said: "I leave my case in your hands. I feel that it is a trustworthy jury and with its verdict I shall be content." The outburst of applause that followed that simple statement was a tremendous and hearty avowal of rendering the right verdict in November.

As in his speech at Trenton accepting the nomination, Doctor Wilson made the control of corporations the keynote of his first campaign address, with an earnest and eloquent demand that individual offenders shall be dug out and adequately punished that the people, long suffering the ills of predatory trusts, shall come into their own.

Doctor Wilson was met at Newark by State Chairman Nugent and whirled to Jersey City in a big touring car, the cool, pleasant air of the night relieving him of some of the fatigue of his day at the university. When the car pulled up at the club house of the Robert Davis Association a large number of prominent Democrats were on hand to welcome him.

The first hand thrust in to grasp his was that of City Collector Robert Davis, the little leader of Hudson, who did so much to bring about his nomination. The greeting was sincere and cordial, though the candidate did loom a trifle over the shining bald head of the leader. County Chairman Hennessy, Sheriff Kelly, former State Comptroller William C. Heppenheimer, State Assessor Charles E. Hendrickson, and a host of other prominent Democrats were there for a handshake and word of greeting.

Doctor Wilson was quickly hurried away in the car with Chairman Nugent, followed by a number of other cars, to St. Peter's Hall, six blocks away, where the first big meeting of the night was held, and where a dense crowd, composed not alone of Democrats, but many well-known Republicans, was gathered amid handsome decorations. The meeting had been called to order by John D. McGill, former surgeon-general of the National Guard, and former Clerk of the Assembly Myron C. Ernst was the first speaker.

Ernst was extolling the candidate when the party from the Davis Association filed into the large hall and there arose a shout. The speaker was compelled to cut his speech at that point, for the crowd did not want to hear anybody else. Doctor Wilson was taken back of the stage, where he dropped his overcoat, and stepped out into the electric glare of the footlights.

It was the signal for a great outbreak of applause. The big audience arose, shouted, and cheered and cheered again. Chairman McGill introduced the candidate as "Your next Governor," and the crowd showed its belief in that proposition with another cheer and wild applause, which was kept up several minutes, and Doctor Wilson smiled.

"I am here in an unusual attitude," said Doctor Wilson. "I have never yet appeared before an audience asking for anything. I am here to-night asking you to vote for me for Governor of New Jersey."

"You'll be Governor, all right!" shouted a man from a rear seat, and the crowd echoed the sentiment with a hearty will.

That he won his way with the audience from the start was apparent, and he proceeded in his pleasant, easy, argumentative and convincing way to explain why he asked for the votes of the people, at one point comparing his efforts to going gunning for the corporations.

"I am sincerely obliged to you for the generous reception you are giving me and you have relieved me of great embarrassment," he began. "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.

"What I want to give you to-night 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 come to a point where any individual cannot ask for a favor from his fellow-citizens unless he can give reasons that will satisfy the public in general that a real service would be rendered in return.

"Some gentlemen on this platform can tell you more specifically than I can that I didn't 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, and I particularly want to confess to one 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, gentlemen, that you want a change of programe. 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 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, gentlemen, 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.' I hope you will not think me guilty of audacity from what I am about to claim for the Democratic party. I think I have no more gall than my fellow-men and I am in the pitiable condition of the colored man who went sound asleep in the train with his head way back and his mouth wide open.

"A man near by, who had some powdered quinine in his pocket, went up and dusted a lot on the darky's tongue. He slept on quite unconscious of what happened, and presently closed his mouth and waked up with a start, and called in great excitement to the conductor, 'Is there a doctor on this train, boss? I done busted my gall.' I have not quite busted my gall, but I haven't the audacity to go too far in claiming any



particular virtue for any particular party. 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 first and last 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 intently followed its connections with the great body of the plain people. The Democratic party is the party that does not study how to advance particularly, but it has always had principles as great and as 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, gentlemen, 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 sustain 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 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 a while, 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 characters of our history gained his elevation by arduous effort in just 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 everyday 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 people 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 interest which has 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 you 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 to go 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."

At Grand View Hall, in the Hudson City section, which never wavers in its Democracy, and where the best German element of the population is predominant, there was the largest of the three meetings, and many persons were unable to get into the big auditorium, but were content to stand outside and cheer the candidate as he was forced through the dense masses. Thoroughly pleased with his great reception, Doctor Wilson showed no sign of fatigue, and in the last speech he said: "What's

the use? I could talk to you all night — that's my business — and there's a lot I could say to you, and I would, but you are weary."

"No, no! Go on!" cried the crowd.

The candidate was greatly moved by this mark of approval from the huge crowd, but decided to quit, as it was nearly 11 o'clock. That he was immensely gratified was apparent, for the encouragement of such meetings as greeted him are stimulating. Doctor Wilson was taken over to New York, where at the Princeton Club he was given an informal reception. He will go by train to Trenton in the morning, reaching the Interstate Fair at 1 o'clock. He will make no address there, but will greet his rival, Vivian M. Lewis, and shake hands with the crowds. At night he will speak at Plainfield, a Republican city in John Kean's county of Union.

## VI

### ENTHUSES G. O. P. STRONGHOLD

WINS HEARTY PLAUDITS FROM GREAT THROGS IN SENATOR  
KEAN'S OWN UNION COUNTY

*Plainfield, Sept. 20.* — Before an audience that suffocatingly jammed Reform Hall to-night, President Woodrow Wilson, in his candidacy for Governor of New Jersey, gathered new inspiration. He had had a strenuous day and a long automobile trip, with not all the roads oiled, and he was somewhat fatigued when he reached the hall. But he soon gathered strength and stimulation from the ovation he received at the hands of what former Assemblyman S. S. Swackhamer declared to be one of the largest and most intelligent audiences he ever had seen in this Republican stronghold.

It was necessary for the committee to form a flying wedge in advance to get the candidate up the aisle to the stage in the hall, and hundreds of persons were unable to get into the building at all. For that reason an overflow meeting was held in the street outside, and "Farmer Orator" Martine, of this city, always a favorite in Union County, made a characteristic speech, full of fire.

In the hall every inch of space that could be made of use was occupied, many climbing into the window ledges, while the newspaper men were forced to make a table of a closed upright piano in the orchestra, while they ducked their heads to escape a brass railing.

The candidate's appearance was the signal for a great ovation, and the well-dressed, bright-looking women who had a number of the front seats led in the applause, which lasted several minutes. W. L. Saunders was chairman of the big meeting, in opening which he made a strong speech by way of introduction of the candidate, and, as the speaker stepped forward he was again accorded a greeting full of energy and undoubted sincerity.

"Your cheering puts me very much at ease," said he, "as that is a very essential part of the atmosphere of college life, but I am haunted by the fear in this new and dignified attitude in which I find myself that

there may be a great many Princeton men among you, and that fear is based upon the fact that at Princeton I am best known."

The sunny smile which accompanied the sally caught the great crowd and put the candidate at ease in his approach to the serious side of his appeal to the people. The keynote of his address was the necessity for reaching corruption by the action of the law, and he declared that there is plenty of law now to reach the corruption if only the men can be found to enforce it. He paid a tribute to the higher courts of New Jersey as incorruptible if only they had a chance to enforce the laws to reach and punish the lawbreakers.

"There never was a time, I am convinced," he said, "when party bonds were quite so loose as they are at this moment in this country. There never was a time when there was more independent thinking being done than is now being done in this country. What is more, there never was a time when that thinking more generally was based upon a sympathy with common needs of all classes of men. I have had men say to me, in very recent days, that they were ashamed of the things that they themselves had been engaged in doing. They said: 'It seems to us as if the scales had fallen from our eyes, and we have at last realized the significance of the things we have been doing.'

"It is an extraordinary moment in public affairs in this country. Men are not stopping now to examine party labels; they are beginning to examine candidates; they are beginning to examine programmes; they are beginning to ask whether they can rely upon definite promises; and, if they are convinced upon these points, they are ready to thrust aside all precedent connections and prepossessions and vote for the man and the things they believe in.

"Don't you see what an extraordinary age of opportunity it is? I remember about a year ago I had the privilege of speaking in Plainfield to a thoughtful company, not so large as this, on Democratic opportunity. I am now hardly saying more than what I said at that time; for I believed then, as I believe now, that the Democratic opportunity is not opportunity to get office and serve a party, but an opportunity to serve a people by carrying out a definite programme.

"The Democratic party has strayed at different times through many devious paths, but it has never forgotten its sympathy with the great bodies of toiling men; and it is that sympathy which will sustain and renew any party that continues true to it; for the Democratic party is renewed in our day, not by the rise of new men, but by the impulse of a new time, which naturally expresses itself in new men. If I were asked

to fit the old party cries and shibboleths to the present state of politics I should say at once that I did not see how it was possible; and the difficulty with the party which I am now trying to play my part in displacing is that it has stuck to old cries and shibboleths and has not noticed the change of the times.

“Why is it that there is a great insurgent movement in the Republican party? It is because great bodies of thoughtful men inside their party are beginning to perceive how that party has not by movement but by inertia, not by new policies but by old, separated itself from the enlightened interests of the present moment. The proof of the Democratic argument is the action of these great, powerful bodies of insurgents within the Republican ranks

“A gentleman, who is an importer, asked of a Republican friend of mine the other day that if the tariff revision revised downward, and if the Payne-Aldrich tariff lowered the duties, why was it that every captain of a steamship was sent a wireless message to hurry into port before the act went into operation? You know how the ships scudded to get into port. Now, if it is true that the Republican party is still carrying the true standards of the interests of this country, why is it that thousands of its own are rebelling against their master?

“The reason is that they know that the best traditions of that party are being violated, and that, by holding to policies which are outworn and unstable, the Republican party has forgotten to keep up with the movement of the times.”

Speaking of the way in which he has already been misrepresented in the campaign, Doctor Wilson said: “I have heard a lot about me since the campaign began. Those who know the least about me say the most. Those gentlemen are not bound by knowledge either. I am told that I once wrote a history of the United States. I know that to be true; I did. Now, you have probably heard that I said that no one but a college man should be appointed to office, and the two most conspicuous figures in the history of the United States never went to college, George Washington and Abraham Lincoln, and you could go on through the list with scores and hundreds of other names.”

In an appeal to the people to bestir themselves and work the change they so much need and desire in New Jersey, Doctor Wilson showed true courage, for he declared that it would be useless to vote for him alone and not elect a Democratic legislature to back him up, for, while that situation would make his way easy, he would be utterly helpless to accomplish the things for which he was chosen. “I could shrug my shoul-

ders and say: 'Oh, I tried to do the things, but those wicked Republicans just blocked my way.'

After his experiences early in the day at the big fair at Trenton, where he shook more hands a minute than he ever had grasped in a week before, Doctor Wilson was placed in a large touring car, accompanied by Gen. Dennis F. Collins, state committeeman from Union County, and Chairman Nugent, and whirled away from this city, with State Committeeman Gallagher in another car as pilot.

He stopped at his Princeton home in the beautiful grounds of the university, and he remained long enough to give Mrs. Wilson and the Misses Wilson a word of greeting and was quickly off. At Rocky Hill, a couple of miles above Princeton, a gang of workmen was employed rebuilding a section of the road and the cars came near being stalled. President Wilson and the others of the party got out and walked around while the drivers sent the machines over piles of dirt and sand.

Committeeman Gallagher, alert for campaign effect, told one of the men to start a cheer for Wilson. The fellow only half caught on and was only half impressed. His cheer was like the squeak of a chick, and none of the others caught the idea at all. But Gallagher got square on the drive through Somerville and Dunellen and on the approach to this city. Hundreds of work-people on their way to their homes were on the streets, and Gallagher, having had his car shoot ahead, sounded the word along the line, and cheers for Wilson resounded again and again, and the modest candidate frequently had to acknowledge the tribute with a bow and smile.

The candidate had dinner here with former Mayor W. L. Saunders, a prominent and wealthy manufacturer; Leroy J. Ellis, chairman of the City Committee; James E. Martine, who received a majority of Democratic votes for United States Senator at the recent primaries; Howard Fleming, David Kenny, J. F. Zeniger, and others, spending a very pleasant hour.

## VII

### SEE IN WILSON GREAT LEADER

VAST THRONG HEARS DEMOCRACY'S CHAMPION PLEDGE HIM-  
SELF TO PEOPLE'S CAUSE

*Newark, Sept. 30.* — A vast audience looked up into the strong face of Woodrow Wilson in the Krueger Auditorium to-night, listened with rapt attention to his hour's talk, or confession of faith as he called it, and with one accord pronounced him a great man. It was the opinion of every man and woman of the 3,000 or more, hundreds of whom stood jammed together in the aisles and lobbies — and not a few Republicans were there — that he was an American destined to lead the children of men out of the dark spots into the light of a new day, and the most gracious tribute the great crowd paid him was to sit breathless, as did that body of men under the mystic spell of Lincoln's historic eloquence of simplicity in the immortal address at Gettysburg.

There had been tumults of cheers on his appearance and mild outbreaks of applause for the salient points, but at the last, as he pointed a finger of his strong right hand into the mystic future and showed the present-day duty of mankind to posterity, there was not a movement, not a shuffled foot, not a rasping note till a second or two after the clear and manful voice had died away, when there came a mighty shout and perfect avalanche of applause that sounded like the boom of a great cataract.

President Wilson's confession of faith was his pledge of fidelity to the common cause of the people, a set purpose to stand for the things most desired for their better welfare, to battle against the special interests, as represented in corrupt corporations, to aid in changing the law so that the individuals responsible for such corruption can be reached and adequately punished. That was the strong, dominating thought of his whole address, though he reached his definite and logical deduction by a process of reasoning that appealed to his audience.

"Ye gods, but that was a great speech," gasped Judge Simon Hahn, former Assemblyman from Essex, who occupied one of the boxes. "It



held me gripped as though I was fascinated and I could hardly move. I didn't expect it, and I enjoyed it all the more."

Former Senator James Smith, the party leader, who brought forth and insisted upon Wilson as a candidate for the party to rally around, was excited beyond measure, and it is something very rare for him to be excited by anything. "Wasn't that great?" he exclaimed as he caught his breath amid the din of the shouts and hand-clapping and boot-stamping. "The man is going to win, he's going to win, and if the appearance of Newark, first city in New Jersey, has aught of prophecy, the next Governor of New Jersey, will be the president of Princeton."

The town was ablaze with fireworks for the candidate when he arrived all alone by a Pennsylvania express train from New York nearly an hour ahead of time and sat coolly and unostentatiously reading in the station. There he was discovered by former Judge Hudspeth, of Hudson, and John R. Hardin, who was chairman of the state convention that placed him in nomination. They waited till it was time for State Chairman Nugent to arrive with the automobile to escort him to the auditorium.

No special effort was made for a big demonstration or a parade that would have taken up half the night. As it was the "Indians," a famous political marching club of Essex, and the Third Ward Democratic Association, headed by a brass band, formed an escort to the committee, to which Mayor Jacob Haussling had been added, and the candidate passed through cheering multitudes of men and women gathered on the sidewalks.

It was one more new experience of President Wilson, and he is getting a lot these days, and while it was not exactly to his liking as an essentially modest and unassuming man, he did not demur. It made his eye kindle and his cheek burn.

The pressure for admittance to the great auditorium had caused the committee to recognize the necessity of arranging for admission by ticket, and such was the clamor for tickets that all were gone early this afternoon. In the big audience were the wives of many prominent men of the city and Essex County, occupying the front rows of chairs and the boxes. They had the true spirit of the occasion and roundly applauded the telling points made by the eminent speaker.

The large stage was crowded with men of eminence in social, political, business, and professional life, and when, at 8:10 o'clock, the main doors were thrown open to those who held no tickets, there was a mighty rush like the swash of a giant wave upon the beach, and every available point in the house was quickly occupied by eager listeners. Mayor Hauss-

ling's local popularity was demonstrated as he came from behind the wings a little in advance of the committee, and was given a great reception.

In an instant President Wilson appeared, following State Chairman Nugent. The crowd caught sight of him and broke into wild cheering that seemed never to stop. It would die away for a time, then some hearty-lunged fellow way down in the body of the crowd would give vent to his enthusiasm afresh, and again there would sweep a great wave of demonstrative approval. Police Judge Herr called the meeting to order and named Oscar Keen, a well-known and prosperous business man of the city, as chairman.

Chairman Keen said it gave him great pleasure to introduce to the audience a man who he was sure would be the next Governor of New Jersey, and who would be a worthy successor of such patriotic Governors as Joel Parker, George B. McClellan, and others who had shed lustre upon the state and the nation. "And when he has served the state well," he said, "he will be called to serve the nation as well, for the American people are learning of the greatness of the man."

That fancy pleased the great crowd, but its applause was hushed for a moment while the band started up "The Star-Spangled Banner." The myriad of electric lights were lowered to a mere glow and from the high ceiling there shone out great circles of light in the tri-color of the nation. Every man was on his feet, awed by the patriotic air and the light effect, so that when the band at length ended the music and the lights again glared, a sigh went up as if something new and different in the history of political gatherings had been witnessed.

It was minutes before President Wilson could proceed, but when he did he had his auditors with him from the very start. After a word of thanks for the splendid ovation, which seemed to deeply move him, he said:

"As I was coming to this meeting and passing through the crowds that lined the sidewalks I kept asking myself what is it that draws these people away from their homes?" "Wilson," yelled a voice that started the applause again. "I would feel very much complimented if I could believe that, but that was not the answer that came into my mind," he went on. "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 criticise 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.”

The speaker then enumerated some other things for which he stood, one of which was direct primaries for nomination of all public officers. Proceeding, he said:

“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; for we are conscious that that order of society does not fit and provide the convenience of happiness or prosperity of the average man. We are not legislating in this country for exceptional men, we are not legislating for the rich, we are not legislating for the poor, we are not legislating 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 sometimes, 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, this great body of workers, this great body of toilers, constitute the might of America. The manifest duty of all statesmanship, therefore, 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.

One of the great hits of the speech was when the speaker said, referring to the punishment of the corporations:

“I was bred a lawyer, but I cannot indict a whole nation. I can in-

dict 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."

Getting down to the tariff question and its nefarious operations, he made another great hit when he said:

"What's the matter with the tariff? That is a long story and there is a great deal the matter with it. If you go through the tariff schedule you will find some nigger in every woodpile, some little word put into almost every clause of the act which is lining somebody's pocket with money, but that is too long a story and too complicated for one evening. The main trouble is that it has been an ambush, a cover, a forest in which all the men who wanted to get illegitimate profit have been able to get it.

"So that the tariff question is not a question of individual manipulation, but a question of what has been exemplified in building up the Sugar Trust, in building up the American Tobacco Company, 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, but what I am objecting to is that the Government should give them exceptional advantages, which enables them to succeed and does 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 that 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."

President Wilson injected bright bits of humor into the address which pleased the crowd mightily. "I was asked the other day why I did not give the Republican party fits," said he with a merry twinkle. "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."

Later on he said: "The Republican party has made a bad mess of it; it is bankrupt and we are to be made its receivers. And we will not have to get an order of the court for that purpose; we will leave it to the jury."

It was the stirring peroration of the speaker, however, that so deeply moved the great assemblage, as with firm, clear, resonant voice he looked his hearers directly in the eyes and said with simple but effective eloquence:

"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 propriety, 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 interest,' because we are not working for to-day, we are not working for our own interest, we are all going to pass away.

"But think of 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 that are ahead of us will look back to us, either as to those who serve 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 shout of approval that came after a second’s breathless hesitation could not be mistaken for anything save that here was a body of thinking people who had been convinced.

## VIII

### MEN OF MONMOUTH WARM TO HIM

#### CANDIDATE PLAINLY LAYS BEFORE THEM FACTS OF REPUBLICAN PARTY'S MISRULE

*Long Branch, Oct. 1.* — In the Beach Casino to-night, within sound of the waves of the Atlantic, Woodrow Wilson brilliantly closed the first week of his campaign for Governor. His address to the great assemblage was another splendid effort and an appeal to the patriotic hearts of real Americans to rise as did the builders of the nation to bring the things so much desired for their welfare, moral and physical. The response to his appeal was a mark of approval which could not be misconstrued.

The Democratic standard-bearer made two speeches to-day, appearing this afternoon at the close of the Third district Democratic convention at Red Bank, where he was given a loud and vociferous welcome and where he punched metaphoric holes in the tariff system, with especial jabs at the Republican alliance with the powerful Trusts which fatten through the system. To-night he gave the stand-pat Republicans a few gentle taps just as reminders that they were not the salt of the earth.

At all the meetings the candidate thus far has held there has been a great outpouring of the thinking people, who have shown their approval of the attitude he takes, and who have shown every mark of approbation of his worth as a new leader of men, the embodiment of that spirit which built the nation out of the unrest of oppression, and the end of the first week of his battle gives indication that he has aroused the people. "If you don't move you will rot," he declares, driving home one point, "or be crushed by those who do move."

The Beach Casino is a large structure, seating 1500 persons, and it was crowded, as was the deep and broad stage, when the candidate appeared, and in the audience were many women, who were intently interested in all the speaker said during the 45 minutes he spoke.

Thomas A. Fahy was chairman of the meeting, and in opening it declared that the present campaign not only was important in that it meant the election of a new Congress, but that it also meant the election of



a Governor of New Jersey who would be the next President of the United States, whereat the audience shouted its hearty approval.

"In my college life," said President Wilson, "it has been my part to instruct the young gentlemen that it is the duty of every citizen to serve the public when called upon so to do. I never believed my bluff would be called, but it was, and so I am going to do my part with all the earnestness and energy at my command."

From that he went forward with a clear-lined and logical deduction of what was necessary for the people to do to get back the nation into the form in which the fathers left it as a heritage, instead of a country ruled by the powers of the corporate interests. He declared that it was the fault of the Republican leaders that that party had been allowed to drift into the control of the special interests, and, said he, their connections and prejudices make them unable to see the general interests of the whole country.

It was another of the strenuous days for the candidate, but he appeared to be already seasoned to it, and to-night was in his happiest vein. Instead of going over to Princeton from the great Newark demonstration last night he spent the night with friends in New York. There he was met this morning by the chauffeur, who so far has driven him on all his trips, and brought over to Newark, where he left with Chairman Nugent at 1.30 o'clock, counselling the chauffeur to drive slowly, and taking the forward seat to get the benefit of the wind shield.

The car was passing along one of the streets of lower Newark, slowing down at a railroad crossing, when somebody passed the word that Woodrow Wilson was in the car. "Which is Wilson," asked a small boy, approaching timidly and looking at the two men. "There he is," said Chairman Nugent. Eying the candidate for an instant, he said, with indignation punctuating his voice: "Ah, say, why don't you get a better football team?" Doctor Wilson enjoyed the scorn immensely.

Back of his car came another bearing "Billy" Devereux, the untiring secretary of the State Committee, and, while it was much the faster car, and "Billy" desired very much to act as pilot for the party, Doctor Wilson shut down on the proposition. He did not care to be announced to the gaping populace, and he did not want the dust of a car ahead, for he wanted to keep the clear, even voice that so charms and convinces the crowds that gather to hear him.

Down through the prettiest parts of Elizabeth and Roselle, in Union County, across to Woodbridge and thence to Perth Amboy, in Middlesex, on roads that might have been better, the candidate was whirled to Key-

port, in old Monmouth County, where Democrats and Republicans are so intrinsically similar that no one ever can tell what is going to happen at the polls.

All unheralded the candidate entered Red Bank, where the Third district Congressional convention had just finished its work of nominating Thomas J. Scully, Mayor of South Amboy, for Congress, with unusual enthusiasm. Doctor Wilson was dropped off at the Globe Hotel to scrape off some of the accumulated dust, and in a trice prominent Democrats of Monmouth popped up from everywhere, led by David S. Crater, who has been Surrogate so long that the oldest inhabitant can't remember the name of his predecessor. They warmly greeted the candidate and escorted him to Frick's Lyceum.

There the Congressional convention had just concluded, and the big crowd, in which appeared the bronzed faces of many well-to-do farmers and watermen, was listening with rapt attention to a stirring address by former Mayor Frank S. Katzenbach, Jr., a summer resident of Monmouth, who came so near being in Doctor Wilson's shoes.

Katzenbach was hammering home some hard facts about the shortcomings of the last legislature, with special reference to the failure of the Employers' Liability bill to accomplish the object for which it was intended, when the committee arrived at the entrance with the candidate and the speaker perceived him. He cut his address short, paid a graceful tribute to the character and worth of the candidate and announced his arrival.

As Doctor Wilson walked down the side aisle to the stage the big audience, in which, as usual with Wilson audiences, there were many handsome women, arose and cheered and clapped, giving warm welcome to the candidate. In the rather small house he stood pretty close to his auditors, and as he stepped forward the brass band, which had enlivened the convention, struck up "The Star-Spangled Banner," which brought forth cheers, and it was some minutes before he could proceed.

"I have one pleasure in being late," he said, "and that is that it afforded you an opportunity of hearing my friend Mr. Katzenbach." His speech was especially directed to the nefarious tariff of the Republican régime, which he attacked with strong and at times witty thrusts, but he caught his audience time and again with a line of subtle humor that showed he was not all the bookish pedant.

"I have nothing personal against the Republican party. I had the pleasure the other day of meeting my Republican opponent at the great

Trenton Fair, merely for exhibition purposes. I was pleased with him and I am sure he is a very estimable gentleman. I have been informed that he has a good deal the best of me in looks. Now, it is not always the useful horse that is most beautiful. If I had a big load to be drawn some distance I should select one of those big, shaggy kind of horses, not much for beauty, but strong of pull."

The farmers in the audience were quick to grasp that point and they led the wave of hearty applause it evoked. He continued:

"What is the battle we are fighting? What are we fighting for? Well, you know; there has been a long history of administration of the Republican party in this state and all over the country; not, I want always to say, because the Republican voters were less public-spirited and patriotic than the Democratic voters, but because the Republican leaders have been to blame for the new policies they have performed.

"You know the traditional history of the Republican party, and the trouble is that they have become so traditional that the time has come when the only thing they can do is to stand pat. They have so lost their originality and the power of adaptation that they have nothing new today, and all the older men, whom I need not name, who have controlled their party in the last few years, are standing still.

"Now, we are not standing still and we cannot stand still. If these gentlemen do not know that the country is moving and moving fast, it is time that they wake up and find out. We cannot stand still. You know that one branch of the Republican party is now fighting for control of this State. There are two branches of the Republican party in this state, but one branch is not Republican to hurt and the other branch is so intensely Republican that it has forgotten the movement of the calendar and doesn't know what year it is. It is still moving along in those halcyon days when the high tariff was invented, the time when the country supposed that the Democratic party stood for reaction and chaos.

"But those days have long gone by; we have proved that the Democratic party has moved faster and in a better direction than the Republican party, so we are gathered here to discuss this simple question and the things we desire done. It is not a personal question, not a question of personal merits of the candidates. Indeed, if it was a discussion of the personal merits of the candidates I could not discuss the matter. But it is a question on what direction you want to go, what you want to do, and

who can give you what you want most certainly under the circumstances that exist in the country to-day."

Proceeding to riddle the Republican party's attitude toward the tariff, he said:

"I have always been opposed to the policy of protection, but, b that as it may, there are some things that may be said in favor of th protective policy, and, historically speaking, the protective tariff has nov in the past very greatly increased the cost of living. But in recent years and months it has greatly increased the cost of living. Why? Because it is a protective policy? No, not especially that, but because the wall of protection has been so high that the great domestic industries have been able to form great combinations behind them, knowing that anybody with whom they could not come to an understanding would break in and hurt the game, and so they have been able to limit the product and increase the price.

"Now look at what the Republican party has done in the so-called revision of the tariff. The only thing that it has done is to change the tariff, and that is the only way they have revised the tariff. It is like the woman who, when she changes her good overdress, works the seams different so that she has, as she thinks, revised the dress; but it is the same old dress, the domestic circle at any rate is not deceived by it.

"Now this is the same old tariff adjusted, not in accordance with the demands of the nation, not at all. I believe that the tariff to-day was made in Rhode Island and that there is a certain gentleman whose name is well known, who lives in Illinois, who coöperated in standardizing this fashion. So it is not the American people, but it is the dictates of the pattern bureau that patterns the fashion of the tariff; and what are the standards of these gentlemen in Rhode Island and Illinois?

"Do you know that the Republican party undertakes to guarantee profits to the industries of this country? Do you know what that means? It means that the poorest factories are drawn in with the best, that the least economically managed factories are united with the most economically managed, and that a level is struck so they will all make a profit. And that is another premium offered in this country on the system these gentlemen have fashioned.

"I was interested, for example, not personally, though I am to a slight extent interested in the hosiery scale. We all know that man's interest in that is very brief, but I was interested because I had a number



REPRESENTATIVE THOMAS J. SCULLY



of friends engaged in manufacturing stockings and half hose of all qualities, all of which I don't know much about, and there was one concern that had been looking forward to a probable revision of the tariff and got its business in such shape that it could afford to have free trade under ordinary conditions, because they had the sense to take their employées in to share the profits of the business and there were profits to share.

"Now these gentlemen were ready to see the duty taken off of stockings because they had had the sense to get ready for it, but the other men were not because that tariff war wall was there and they knew their profits would be cut off because they could not make stockings as good as they could make them in Germany. That's the reason.

"One summer when I was abroad, for example, I got some socks in the town of Aberdeen, Scotland, and these miserable things never yet have worn out. I am tired of them, the color don't suit me to begin with, but the American socks I have bought within the time have worn out so fast that the household is constantly employed in darning them. Now that is not because Americans do not know how to make stockings and have not the stuff to make them of, but because they do not have to make that sort because of the policy of the country. That is the reason.

"You know that the farmer has been made to take care of himself; he was abundantly able and he has always taken care of himself. The other industries of the country have been assured of the profits and the farmer has been helping to assure the profits of the other fellow. I say that there was enough and to spare and they could do it, but the real stuff upon which this country has prospered is its great soil and the intelligent men who till it, and the great advantage of this country has been that its soil was fertile and that it was inexhaustible in its other sources.

"I do not begrudge the assistance, because I believe in my heart, opposed though I am to the protective system now, that the protective system was necessary. It was necessary to build up those infant industries that have met with such a coarse growth and have grown to such eminent manhood. We have at last come to the point that we must ask ourselves, have we had enough of this? Are you going to stand about and forget all about these changes? Are we going to alter the policy? Are we going to get things done upon a business basis and serve the common interests of every one?"

Proceeding to show that it will be necessary to go after the corrupt combinations and corporations, Doctor Wilson said: "You know the story of the Irishman who went to digging a hole and he was asked,

'Pat, what are you doing? Digging a hole?' and he replied, 'No, sir, I am digging the earth and leaving the hole.' It is also like the same Irishman that was digging around the wall of a house and was asked, 'Pat, what are you doing?' and he answered, 'Faith, and I am letting the dark out of the cellar.'

"Now that's exactly what we want to do, let the dark out of the cellar. We want to discover the persons who are responsible and make them know that this country is for the people, and not for a party standing for corporations and trusts. Now that can be done. You say how? Well, I know lawyers by the score who know how. They haven't yet said how, but they know exactly what is going on and they can produce the man. Now let us give our lawyers some inducement to help us out with their advice.

"I once asked a learned judge if the object of the courts was to do justice, and he said, 'God forbid. The object of the courts is to follow precedent.' He said that if the object was to do justice they would get in the most terrible confusion, so they have to follow the lines that have been laid down. Now there is a great deal to be said on that. Therefore, in order to break it up you must better it from the outside, not from the inside. That is the reason we have had to have so much legislation to alter the law and the jury to determine the alteration of the law."

One of the somewhat startling hits of the speech was this: "You know the great Italian writer, Dante, wrote a great poem on Hell, and in it he described a great many persons that were there, but the interesting part of it was that he described a great many persons as already in Hell who were yet living, thus illustrating what I have ever believed to be true, that all a man's Hell is with him while he lives.

"I cannot prove that the Democratic party would have done something if it had the power because it has not been in power, but I don't have to prove that the Republican party has done it, because everybody knows it. Do you want to stand pat? Do you want to stand still? Do you want all the things that have been safeguarded against or do you want to do what is so characteristic of the American people, to turn bravely about?"

After the meeting the candidate and others were whirled away over the famous Rumson road to Port au Peck, on Pleasure Bay, where a shore dinner was served. Mr. Wilson enjoyed the softshell clams, but he drew the line at broiled live lobster. It was not conducive to mental conservation, he guessed. When a toast was drunk to his health and success he said: "I will be humane; I will not inflict you with another speech."



## IX

### BIG LEAD IN RACE

PEOPLE WHO HAVE HEARD CANDIDATE FOR GOVERNOR SURE HE  
IS BORN TO ACHIEVE

*Trenton, Oct. 2.* — It isn't hard to discover a large bunch of Republicans who are frightened by the way the campaign is opening. It isn't difficult to discover the reason, either. Most of the party managers have kept in close touch with the movements and utterances of Woodrow Wilson, and as they find how fast he is growing they gasp. There is no mistaking that unpleasant fact.

"Oh, he won't last," said one of the party managers the other day, seeking some source of consolation, but it was apparent that he had not much faith in his own estimate. He was apparently basing his idea upon the fast pace set by the head of Princeton in the race already well under way, and he was trying to believe that later, when Lewis gets on the track, there will be a clear way for him with Wilson winded and lost in the stretch.

But those who have had opportunity to watch the candidate of the Democrats in the two weeks since the nomination are deeply impressed with his staying qualities and are convinced that he will not only last, but hold his lead to the end of the running. He has five weeks yet to go, is down for many more of the stirring addresses he has been making, and his closest friends and admirers have no hesitation in declaring that a man of his learning, his wide mental grasp, his deep-set purpose, his undoubted sincerity and patriotism must continue to gather strength to the very end. His audiences are not only entertained by his manner, his deep, sympathetic voice and quiet, unassuming demeanor, but are convinced of his mental poise and the fact that his message rings true. Thus, they depart from the place of meeting sure that they have come upon a man born to lead his fellows in thought and action, the sort of man that in the days of Colonial oppression sprang into the breach and delivered the people by sheer force.

One looking upon Woodrow Wilson as he gazes with strong intelligence and understanding into the faces of his attentive audiences and tries in

the most straightforward, clear-cut English to drive home the truth of which his very soul seems to be possessed cannot help be completely won to his line of thought. Add to that, then, the fact that the people are restless and displeased with existing conditions, ready to turn tearfully to the man whom they believe to be the one sent for their deliverance, and they find him, as they believe, and the result can be guessed. Whether he is going to "last" is not a question with those who are close to him. They are firm in the conviction that he is only just getting a fair start for the real trial of strength.

So far Doctor Wilson has but passed over the surface of the topics he evidently intends to enlarge upon and open up as he proceeds. He does not hesitate to say that he has not been in very close touch with the business affairs of the state, but he is learning a lot and expects to learn more. Thus far he has but referred in the gentlest manner to the immense expense of maintaining the state government, laying no censure upon any man, nor pointing the accusing finger. He is charitable enough to say that they do not know any better, but that if it were possible for them to get on the outside and cast an unbiased eye over the prospect they would undoubtedly see the weakness of their position. He believes that the state's affairs can be and ought to be conducted upon a much more businesslike and economical basis, with all regard for the prodigious effort necessary for bringing about a reform of that magnitude.

Doctor Wilson holds the Republicans responsible for conditions which arouse the most criticisms from the common people, but he is broad enough to fix the blame upon leaders whom the people have trusted implicitly and who have betrayed the trust through a blind and stunted view of life. He thinks they can be shown the error, but he is convinced that the way to show them is through the ballot-box. Never a word of biting criticism escapes him. Never does he make use of the little trickery of the stump-speaker to stir the outer and hysterical forms of applause. He gets close to the hearts of the people by a direct appeal to their thought and intelligence. Thus he goes about the state, and the people who flock to hear him go away feeling better and uplifted and benefited, and how a man like that is going to lose any of the strength with which he started is difficult to imagine.

Of course, the Republican orators will be getting out in a few days and they will hammer the record of the Democrats and "point with pride" to the accomplishments of the administrations of the several Governors of their party, but they are under a heavy handicap. They have a bad star and the inside track is already occupied.

Doctor Wilson's tour this week will carry him into the "enemy's country" of South Jersey, where it is expected that big majorities will be rolled up for Lewis, under the leadership of former Assessor Baird and his lieutenants, and a deal of interest is attached to the character of the gatherings the Democratic candidate will attract. Beginning to-morrow night with Trenton — where there was such strong sentiment for the nomination of former Mayor Katzenbach — he will invade the distinctly agricultural counties of Gloucester, Burlington, Cumberland, and Cape May, where it is not likely that he will have such immense audiences as have so far appeared in the North Jersey sections where he was strongest, but reports that reach the campaign managers are to the effect that he will get enthusiastic receptions all along the line and that South Jersey is not apt to "deliver the goods" the G. O. P. managers expect of it.

In the first place the bitter factional fights under way in most of the counties cannot be patched up before election day. In Cumberland, for instance, it is said that a very large body of Republicans will not only cut the county ticket, but will go in large numbers to Wilson and Mayor Hampton, who has twice been elected Mayor of Bridgeton, despite its strong Republican leanings for Congress. Then there is Gloucester, where the old Loudenslager-Avis feud still rankles and where, it is said, Congressman Loudenslager and Assembly Candidate Hallock will be unmercifully cut at the polls.

Then there is the deep-seated dissatisfaction with the renomination of "Uncle John" Gardener even in his own county of Atlantic, where the machine seems so strongly entrenched as to be able to "pull off" most any old thing in politics, and there appear other reasons for the fright that pervades the Republican lines besides the tremendous lead Wilson has gained in the race for the Governorship of the state.

If the factional battles continue there is the dread peril of the loss of the legislature when there is a United States Senator to elect, and that means so many heartaches that few of the rank and file dare look the possibility in the face. Nor is the United States Senatorial situation adjusted in any satisfactory manner. Former Governor Murphy has retired as state chairman with more or less grace and he is believed to be out of the running for Senator since he declared that he would favor the man who got the majority of the primary vote. That will probably mean the loss of a large slice of what might otherwise have been a generous contribution upon Collector Garrison's collection plate. "Jawn"

Kean is dead out of the race, as everybody seems to understand save "Jawn," and that means another slash in the financial aspect of the situation — when he awakes. Former Assessor Baird will be ready when the plate comes around, no doubt, but former Governor Stokes, who got the primary votes, can't do much in that line, and altogether it looks as though "grease" for the wheels will be somewhat scarce. And Wilson miles ahead!

## X

### PLEDGES TO WAKEN JERSEY

OFFERS PEOPLE PARTNERSHIP IN ADMINISTRATION IF THEY ELECT  
HIM GOVERNOR

*Trenton, Oct. 3.* — In his home county of Mercer, a few miles from the great university over which he presides with such distinction and honor, Woodrow Wilson addressed a great mass of his fellow-citizens in the Taylor Opera House to-night. It was a sympathetic and appreciative audience from the start, and while two other speakers preceded him, it remained patiently till long after 9 o'clock to listen to his message, and its appreciation was manifested in no uncertain sound.

The candidate, chosen by his party from other parts of the state when those of his own county favored another as the standard-bearer, was made to feel that he could confidently count upon the loyal support of the Democrats of Mercer, which former Mayor Katzenbach, as chairman of the big meeting, bespoke him.

At the outset Mr. Wilson confessed he had been rather feeling his way as a novice in the game.

"Last week," said he with a merry twinkle, "I was trying myself out, seeing how eloquent I was. This week, I propose to get down to business."

And he did get down to business. He declared with all the earnestness he could master that if elected Governor he would be bound to conduct the office in the whole interest of the people of New Jersey, free from all political trammels, under no obligations or pledges, or promises to the people who brought about his nomination. This, it was evident, was intended as a reply to those critics who have declared that as Governor Mr. Wilson would be forced to hearken to the demands of the horde of office-seekers backed by the party gang. His assurance of freedom, therefore, came as a refreshing light, as a dash of cool, pure air in the dark political subways, and it pleased the great mass of people immensely.

Again, when the candidate declared that a corrupt practices act must

be passed, because corruption has crept into and threatened the destruction of the body politic, that political parties must give full and complete account of their campaign receipts and expenditures and stop levying assessments upon the holders of public office, he was given such emphatic mark of approval as showed that he had struck a popular chord. Here in Mercer, in fact, the Democrats have for some years been engaged in a steady effort to cleanse politics and put a stop to corruption at the ballot-box.

He started a lead into one of the state departments which promises to develop a mine of information for the public. He expressed the conviction that the country's present insurgent wave was nothing more nor less than a movement of the people to shake off the influences to which they now object, and they are turning to the Democrats for deliverance. He promised to use his best powers toward securing a businesslike administration of the state's affairs and, as at all his previous meetings, he appealed to the patriotic impulses of the people to aid him in his efforts.

The big theatre, scene of many great political gatherings, and in which nearly every candidate for Governor of both parties has been placed in nomination for a quarter of a century, was filled by 7.45 o'clock, and hundreds who came late were forced to stand; but they did not murmur, such was their interest in the candidate and the issues of the campaign. The lower part of the house was uncomfortably jammed for a warm night, while the stage seated fully 300, making an audience of close to 2000, which hung upon every word Mr. Wilson had to utter.

All the boxes were occupied by socially prominent women of Mercer County, Princeton sending down a trolley-load of fashionables. In one box sat Mrs. Wilson, gracious wife of the university president, and their three daughters, to whom interested attention was directed. It was the first political meeting for Mrs. Wilson and the young ladies, and they showed a lively interest, not unmixed with a pardonable degree of pride. As some of the spectators gazed upon the members of the candidate's household, they could not escape the thought that some day they may grace the historic halls of the White House, where many gracious women have been the cynosure of the nation's eyes. Many other well-dressed women were in the immense audience, all deeply interested in and enjoying the spirit of the night.

The full theatre orchestra furnished the music, and while the candidate was awaited the audience started cheers for Mayor Madden, the Democratic executive twice elected in this usually Republican city, with its tariff-enriched barons.

County Chairman Joseph S. Hoff brought Mr. Wilson and Professor Libbey, the Democratic candidate for Congress in this the Fourth district, over from Princeton in an automobile, reaching the theatre at 8 o'clock. As the candidate stepped from the stage wings, led by former Mayor Frank S. Katzenbach, Professor Libbey, State Committeeman Charles H. Gallagher, and City Chairman Erwin W. Marshall, a storm of applause broke loose. Mr. Marshall presented Mr. Katzenbach as chairman of the meeting and the greeting he got gave partial explanation of his local popularity, which came so near making him Governor three years ago and landing him as the candidate two weeks ago. It was a demonstration for a fellow-citizen of which any man could well be proud.

"It is my intention, and always has been," said the chairman, "to ask the Mercer County Democracy to loyally support him who has been selected as the party candidate as it supported my candidacy three years ago. No man can ask for anything better than that."

Professor Libbey also made an address, and although these two held the audience till 9.20 o'clock, there was no exhibition of uneasiness even on the part of the hundreds who stood in the aisles, boxes, and lobby. They were keyed to hear the candidate for Governor, and knew no fatigue while Professor Libbey reeled off a lot of figures to support his argument against the tariff system.

When, however, the chairman finally presented the sturdy candidate everybody woke up to the occasion, and throats grew sore in the shouts that went up for the man whom so many are now confident will sit in the executive chair of the state after next January.

Mr. Wilson was clearly at his ease as he stepped forward amid the storm of applause and surveyed the animated scene.

"I have enjoyed this evening," he began, "far more than most of the evenings of my campaign; then I only heard myself. I feel a great responsibility as I stand here. It is the second time within the three months I have stood upon this platform. I stood here to accept the call 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."

There were cries of "Yes! Yes!"

"The second responsibility," he continued, "is greater than the first. With generosity which I can only say I did not deserve the nomination was offered to me, and you are now offering me your votes.

"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."

The audience liked that.

"And that leads me," he said, "to say something of a sort that I have not said yet 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 define 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 that he would 'try to be a constitutional Governor.'

"He went on to define that by that he meant that he would send messages to the legislature, reading in the strongest way he knew how, what he thought was 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 that 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 this 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 they 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 be 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 everything is very silent, very quiet, when everybody refrains from discussing in public matters that have happened in the legislature, when even their needs are being said in undertones, when their needs are being mangled, when combinations are being formed.

"You will notice in this state, gentlemen, that the Governor 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, and I shall timidly, as standing outside of the ranks of the profession, tackle the profession. I shall insist in every instance that tackling be done in public and note in private, and I welcome any politician in the state to a debate upon the public platform upon a public question."

This met with a storm of applause.

"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 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 in-

stead of by public arrangements, 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 public service of a system, and it is 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 pretence if I were to try to make you believe that I thought those corruptions were characteristic of one party rather than another. They are, gentlemen, I am sorry to say, in parties who 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, that it is so generally. I am not attacking our Republicans as far as they are the rank and file of the Republican party, but it is certain that the politics of the state have got into a very bad system, and corruptions have crept in which should not have crept in.

“One thing we need in politics for protection is the corrupt practices act. The corrupt practices act can go, and should go, into very interesting details; it should specially state what are the legitimate expenses of a campaign; it should limit the expenses of a campaign to those 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 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.”

Continuing along this line, Mr. Wilson said:

“There is one very disturbing character in man, and I have experienced it myself and I dare say you have when you are a long way from home and see no neighbor from near your home: 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.

“It seems to me the gaze of human eyes, it seems to me the support of the atmosphere of a community that knows all about you, whose good

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

“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 increases 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 businesslike 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. If we are going to run this Government on the basis of economy, we are undertaking a big contract.

“If you elect me to undertake it do not blame me by coming to me after a few months with tedious rows of figures; don't blame me for coming to you as a board of directors to lay before you, as I would lay before a university, 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 your Governor.”

Closing, Mr. Wilson presented one of the lofty ideals that are bound to make for the betterment of the people. He said:

“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, American men 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."

As the opening of Mr. Wilson's second week, the crossing of the frontier of the "enemy's country" to-night's meeting was a distinct success, a fair warning to the Republicans and to Mr. Lewis, their candidate for Governor, that they must fight every inch of the way from now to election day.

## XI

### KEEP CLOSE TAB ON WILSON WAVE

JERSEY REPUBLICAN LEADERS WONDERING IF PRINCETON MAN IS  
GOING TO SWEEP THINGS

*Trenton, Oct. 4.* — It developed to-day that a good many leading Republicans watched with considerable anxiety the Wilson meeting in this city last night, and its great size and enthusiasm were not at all to their liking. Some of the leaders among the Republicans have been very anxious as to the probable effect of the Wilson candidacy, for it stands for something wholly new and rather unique in New Jersey, and they are keeping close tab upon the meetings in various parts of the state with a view to estimating their value and portent. Of course, some of them express the opinion that well-attended meetings and apparently large and enthusiastic demonstrations do not always indicate the trend of popular thought and feeling. They point to the immense throngs which flocked to see and to hear Bryan in his campaigns as indicating the fallacy of counting votes by the number and lustiness of the shouts. But that is the only source of comfort and encouragement they can locate. They have discovered that Woodrow Wilson has a new and strong message to the men of America, and that he has a way of delivering it that is at once convincing and compelling. They have learned that he is gathering unto his standard large bodies of the best element among the voters of the state, and with five weeks more of the campaign to come they are unable to conceal the alarm they feel over the outlook. They hold that Mr. Wilson has only skimmed the surface of the situation as yet, dealing only with the loftier ideas as to citizenship and patriotism and touching only the fringes of the paramount issues of the campaign in the state. But Mr. Wilson gave evidence in his speech last night that he has only been feeling his way as an amateur, the active political game being new to him, since he has devoted his life to its study from the outside. He expects, as he intimated, to get down to "hard pan" presently, and to go deep into some of the weaknesses in the administration of the State Government, which have received more or less public criticism in recent

years, and for the correction of which the Democrats stand committed in their platform. He showed that he was preparing the way for an elaboration of his plan by starting the point of the probe into the State Road Department. Just what he may have in store for the public from that source is not now known, but he intimated that he expected to get back to it and open his knowledge box on the subject. Indeed, it was declared after the meeting last night that the candidate is ready to turn the light on the State House and reveal what the Democrats declare to be conditions of which the taxpayers of the state have not the slightest knowledge.

"Just give Wilson a little time," said a Democratic leader to-day, "and he will bring out all the straight talk the Republicans can stand and then some. The campaign is hardly begun yet. It will be hot enough before it is over."

Mr. Wilson writes few of his addresses in advance. Of course, he makes some mental preparation for them, but he has been such a prolific writer and such a deep student that elaborate preparation is not necessary. He never consults a note or a memorandum, but stands up firmly, his keen eyes fastened upon his audience, which he invariably wins with the first terse sentences and holds to the end of his beautiful perorations, and the well-rounded sentences, clean-cut diction and faultless rhetoric flow from him like the silvery waters over the rocks of a forest brook. Sometimes the newspapermen who have followed him thus far in the campaign catch their breaths, halt their pencils and consider how he is going to extricate himself from a seemingly linguistic pitfall when, in the most natural manner in the world, he will come smoothly out, smiling and effectively, amid a fresh outbreak of applause from his audience.

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 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.

Mr. Wilson has so far been enabled to reach his Princeton home or go to the Princeton Club in New York at nights after his meetings. He has been importuned at every turn to accept the hospitality of prominent men in the places he visits, but so far he has courteously declined all invitations. He has not stated his reasons for this position, but it is inferred that he prefers not to be under social obligations to any one during the campaign. If elected Governor in November he counts upon going into office absolutely unfettered.

## XII

### STRONG IN "ENEMY'S COUNTRY"

DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE GETS GREAT DEMONSTRATION IN GLOUCESTER COUNTY — WINS WORKERS' FAVOR

*Woodbury, Oct. 5.* — It was easy to see that Woodrow Wilson's invasion of the "enemy's country" to-night was one more of the brilliant successes he has already achieved in this unique campaign. Here, in the centre of a rich agricultural section and a part of South Jersey's great glass industry, he was met by the largest audience ever assembled in the city to greet a candidate for Governor. And in answer to that widespread criticism that he is opposed to organized labor, a criticism used against him in the movement to prevent his nomination, Mr. Wilson made this direct and distinct answer, which evoked a volley of applause that made eardrums ache:

"There was a time when the tariff did not raise prices, but that time is past, and the tariff is now taken advantage of by the great combinations in such a way as to give them absolute control of prices. Now, these things do not happen by chance. It does not happen by chance that prices are and have been rising faster than in any other country. That river that divides us from Canada divides us from much cheaper living, notwithstanding that the Canadian Parliament levies duties on its importations. But there are not these combinations of factories in Canada that ride our backs like old men of the sea, to make men really believe that these combinations with capital give them the benefit of the tariff. Don't they know that?

"They know that they have gotten the benefit out of everything they have gotten the benefit out of by the process of organized labor. I say all honor to the legitimate use of organized labor. I have taken the liberty sometimes, as every man should, to criticise some of the things that organized labor has done, but I have never for a moment ceased to sympathize with those essential objects which have benefited the labor-



ing man, and in order that they may not be deprived of the benefit of increasing profits and increasing prosperity."

His announcement on that score had been preceded by a brief discussion of the actual workings of the Payne-Aldrich tariff, which he declared was designed not to benefit the workingman, but the operation of the powerful combinations in the industries of the land. "Watch the tariff," he said. "It is not the wages of workingmen that rise and fall with it, but the bank accounts of the rich manufacturers who form the powerful trade combinations."

Coming as did this rally in a section of New Jersey where organized labor is strong and where lives Congressman Loudenslager, one of the "stand-pattest" of all the Aldrich-Cannon stand-patters, the mark of noisy approval it received was remarkable indeed.

One of the first things Mr. Wilson said as he stepped forward amid the plaudits of the crowd which choked the entrance to Green's Opera House and which pleased his hearers mightily was:

"It is my privilege to be here among you not to solicit votes personally, but to represent a cause. This is a campaign of neighbors getting together to discuss the things to be done and the men to do them."

From that time forward to the closing sentences of his fifty-five minute address he had the wrapt attention of his big and demonstrative audience, and County Chairman James D. Carpenter, for years editor and publisher of the Gloucester County *Democrat*, said that Gloucester County political audiences are seldom large and never demonstrative. There was not an inch of unoccupied space in the theatre, which seats 1000, and into which there must have been crowded 1300 persons, while many were turned away, unable to get even standing space. In the audience, too, were many Republicans, and while some of them came in mere curiosity, just to see what the candidate seemed and sounded like, others came as admirers and earnest supporters of the man who has had the courage to say that mere political influence can never sway his actions as executive of the great state. On that score he won renewed confidence by this open declaration, made with unusual firmness and earnestness:

"I should not like to engage in this campaign if I thought it was a mere party matter, if I thought I would have to answer for the record of one party and attack the record of another. I don't think it would be worth while. There are many things to criticise in the records of both parties,

but it has come to be a party matter only in respect to a matter of program. We are not interested now — I will frankly say — in the success or failure of parties, but in the success or failure of policies, in the success of measures for the relief of some conditions which have turned out to be intolerable, and, therefore, I profoundly believe that the Democratic party is the most suitable instrument for the realization of the policies I hold to be indispensable, and I consider it a proud moment when I recognize that period.”

Declaring that New Jersey has steadily declined in the leadership of affairs for the betterment of the nation, a position it has every reason and right to assume, Mr. Wilson said:

“Have you read the Democratic platform? Have you read the Republican platform? Do you remember how the Democratic platform begins? It begins — I can’t quote it exactly; I can’t quote anything exactly — but the substance of it is this: That the Democratic party in presenting a candidate for Governor also wishes to make the following statement of what it proposes it should do if entrusted with the government of the state; not what it thinks the Republican party ought to have done. You know how many of the old-fashioned platforms read that they ‘pointed with pride’ to something or other their party had done and with condemnation and reprobation of something else that the other party had done. There is no ‘pointing with pride’ and no pointing with condemnation in the Democratic platform; there is a pointing with purpose if you will entrust us with the government of this state, and these are the things we shall try.

“There is one definite promise that the Republican platform makes, and that is for a public utility commission that will have some power; and that is exactly what the Republican platform promised three years ago. Have you got it? This thing that they call a promise in this platform is regarded as an apology. It says: ‘We promised it once and relied upon your credulity. Now, we are going to promise it again and see if you will be credulous a second time,’ or else it means: ‘We promised it once when we did not mean it, now we beg your pardon for not having meant it, and this time we mean it.’

“One or the other of those two meanings must be the significance of that promise, which was the only promise that they did not dare omit — because that was not a promising convention. I think, from all the indications that I can gather, that it was not even a hopeful convention.

And that, ladies and gentlemen, because it did not represent the rank and file of the Republican party. It represented a certain group of interests in control of the leaders of the Republican party and not the people of the State of New Jersey.

"You will not find me in any speech of this campaign uttering one word of criticism of my fellow-citizens who compose the rank and file of the Republican party. I respect them just as much as I respect the men who had voted according to my opinions in past campaigns. But what I am finding fault with is that they have been radically misled by men who have not meant to serve them in the manner in which they promised to serve them in times past, or have not acted in the spirit in which the leaders of the past generations have acted — in sympathy with the people of these communities. I am not one of those silly students of history who can read history all in favor of one party. I know the services that the Republican party have rendered to this country, and I know that that party have rendered such services to this country because they were backed by the sympathy and manhood of the people up and down the counties and states of this Union."

Referring once more to the great independent movement in the country, which he regards as an awakening of the people to obtain the things they need for the betterment of their welfare, Mr. Wilson said:

"I want to make good the things that I have said by calling your attention to certain circumstances. What is happening among the Republicans of this country? Why, this is happening, that everywhere that a progressive impulse shows itself men are flinging away from the regular organization of the Republican party and calling themselves insurgents, and in some instances they have been so numerous that they have absolutely dominated the political conventions in more than one state, so that if you will read the Republican platform of the state of Kansas you will read one kind of document, and if you will read the Republican platform of the state of Ohio, you will read another kind of document, because it is not the same Republican party that is in control in Ohio that has control in Kansas.

"Everywhere, throughout this country, men are dissatisfied with the past organization of both parties, to be frank; and the dissatisfaction with the past government of the Republican party has shown itself in one of the most powerful and widespread party movements that has ever been witnessed in this country — I mean the insurgent movement.

Now, what encouragement has the insurgent movement received in New Jersey? None whatever, so far as those who are governing the councils of the party are concerned; the voters are another matter.

“I am now speaking entirely of those who are governing Republican conventions and Republican councils in this state. There was one insurgent Republican Congressman in New Jersey. What happened to him? He was not renominated. They have substituted another — a very able man, whom I respect greatly; I mean Mr. George L. Record. But, what happened to Mr. George L. Record in the convention which nominated Mr. Lewis? He was jeered at; there were calls of ‘Put him out!’ He was not listened to with any degree of patience even, much less with respect; and immediately after that convention Mr. Record himself condemned it as a convention which was a disgrace to the Republican party; but they have had the very good sense, in Mr. Record’s Congressional district, to nominate him for Congress, as he richly deserved to be nominated; and now Mr. Record is saying that a certain person called Woodrow Wilson is disappointing the ‘Independents’ of this state because he is not talking more plainly about the issues of the state campaign. Whom is Mr. Record disappointing? Mr. Record, who was almost cast out of the Republican convention, now gives it as his opinion that you are to reject the candidates of the persons they represented in the Democratic convention. Who controlled the Republican convention?

“And if I represent some of the men who are said to have controlled, but did not control, the Democratic convention, whom, I should like to know, does Mr. Record represent? If he represents what was represented in the convention, you know who engineered that convention. It is common knowledge that that convention was engineered by one of the United States Senators from New Jersey, and the campaign is now being run by the other United States Senator from New Jersey. Can you find anything in the senatorial record of either of those men except an absolute stand-pat support of Aldrichism and Cannonism? — Aldrichism, which every public-spirited man denies to be true Republicanism at all; Cannonism, which every man of the country despises as an attempt to control in the interest of particular persons the great national legislature of this country. I am perfectly content to represent the reorganized Democratic party, and I am surprised that Mr. Record should be content to represent the unreorganized Republican party — an insurgent nominee supporting a campaign backed and originated by the man who was the chief errand boy for Mr. Aldrich in the Senate. If

this is the tune these gentlemen are singing, let us carry the war into Africa."

Mr. Wilson, as in all his addresses, refuses to harshly criticise his opponent or to resort to the usual campaign device of abusing the other fellow. This was his allusion to Vivian M. Lewis, Republican candidate:

"There is absolutely nothing, so far as the record of that nominating convention is concerned, that gives the least encouragement to the progressive Republicans anywhere, either in New Jersey or out of it. Look at the efforts — the very creditable efforts — that Mr. Lewis himself made in that convention to get some liberal planks into that platform. I have the pleasure of knowing Mr. Lewis, and I esteem and respect him. You will find not one word in anything that I have said except esteem and respect for my opponent. You know how little respect was paid to his wishes to put into that platform anything that had the least tinge or color of progressiveness. Therefore, he is tied hand and foot by the machinery that has nominated him, and he has consented to stay so tied."

Referring to the criticisms passing that he has not "made good," and that he is an amateur in politics, Mr. Wilson made a decided impression with this reply:

"It is supposed that I am a very innocent candidate. I don't know what the people of the state who have seen me think of me, but if they do say these things about me, I can assure them that I am not as big a fool as I look; and I can tell those gentlemen exactly how my policies are operated if they would like to hear the story; but I don't think they would like to hear the story, at any rate many of them who are now desperately endeavoring to stick to their offices."

Mr. Wilson paid his respects to President Taft and his present predicament in a telling point, saying, as the audience made frequent interruptions of laughter:

"See what a position the National Administration is in. All my criticisms are not only without personal point, because I know these gentlemen, every one of them, and I have nothing whatever to say against their characters and no suspicion to throw upon their motives. I have a very

great respect and profound sympathy, I must say, for President Taft. He is in about as unfavorable and awkward a position as a man could get in, and it is not his own fault that he got into it. That is the reason that he has my sympathy. If a man walks into a hole he has no sympathy from me, but if he is put in a hole he has my sympathy. President Taft has my profound sympathy, and yet he did make a great blunder himself; he did not see the signs of the times, that little cloud no bigger than a man's hand rising on the horizon in the West; he did not know it was going to spread until it covered the whole face of the western heaven, and so in a very well-known speech at a town named Winona — which, I am happy to say, was not in New Jersey — he declared that the Aldrich-Payne tariff was the best tariff ever enacted by a Republican Congress. I think that is nothing less than a libel on previous tariffs. Some previous tariffs have been very reasonable, in my opinion, but the Aldrich-Payne tariff was impossible — impossible for rational men to sustain. I say that was a colossal blunder."

At the conclusion of Mr. Wilson's stirring address brief speeches were made by former Mayor J. E. Nowrey, candidate for Congress, who won warm applause, and James Lafferty, candidate for Assembly, who was also cordially received.

Mr. Wilson came down from Princeton this afternoon and met State Chairman Nugent at the Bellevue-Stratford, Philadelphia, where had gathered State Committeeman Gallagher, of Mercer, and State Committeeman Grosscup, of Gloucester County. They started in a big touring car at 5.30 o'clock. On the Camden side was another car, containing former Mayor Joseph E. Nowery, candidate for Congress in this the First district, where Congressman Loudenslager is said to have a real hard, uphill fight for the first time in his eighteen years of service, and Ralph W. E. Donges, a leading Camden lawyer and Democratic hustler. They made fast time through Camden, where at several points word got out to passing crowds that Woodrow Wilson was going through, and impromptu cheers arose. As they passed the great plant of the New York Ship-building Company the army of workmen were just emerging from the gates, and a suggestion was made that the candidate's car be stopped, but it was decided that there would be no time, as the party was due here at 6 o'clock.

In this city the expectant crowd began to grow on the sidewalks in front of the Newton Hotel as early as 5 o'clock, and long before the candidate was due it had increased in numbers. Gathered there were some of the old reliable, always-on-deck Democrats of Gloucester and the



EDWARD E. GROSSCUP, CHAIRMAN STATE COMMITTEE





adjoining county of Salem, for many of the people of the latter county were too impatient to wait for the candidate's appearance there on October 26th. Former Congressman Thomas M. Ferrell, of Glassboro, who was the one Democrat to win the District, and who was in late years chosen a Democratic Senator from this county, and who was mighty close to the nomination for Governor six years ago, met all comers pending Mr. Wilson's arrival. With him were A. H. Swackhamer and Joseph J. Summerill, leading lawyers of South Jersey, and regarded as probable judges in the event of Democratic success; Joseph T. Sickie, another well-known lawyer, who as a candidate has borne the brunt of many a hard battle against odds; Joseph F. Newton, who opposed Senator G. W. F. Gaunt two years ago, and who is said to be assured of the nomination again next year; venerable Thomas J. Stratton, the old soldier and former lay judge, and scores of others equally well known in this section.

### XIII

#### POINTS WAY TO NEW ERA

TELLS PEOPLE OF NEW JERSEY REPUBLICANS CAN NO LONGER  
BE TRUSTED

*Burlington, Oct. 6.* — In a direct appeal to the people of New Jersey to choose between the candidate who must be bound to the party that has broken so many pledges and promises and the candidate who stands free to carry out all the promises he has made, Woodrow Wilson ended a long, hard day in this stand-pat Republican city of snail-like pace. Despite his handicap of a hard, hot day of campaigning he made a telling address, driving home the potent truths, which seem to sway his every thought and impulse. He made the comparative analyses to present to the minds of his hearers the necessity of choosing wisely and well in a crisis born of years and years of thoughtless waste of natural powers and resources. He said he would point out just what is going on in the United States in these days, after years and years of such waste, at a time when the vast powers of the nation have become the wonder of the world.

Proceeding along the line that a severe turnabout is necessary if America would accomplish the relief its people demand, Mr. Wilson said:

“What is needed in this country is regulated legislation, and also the constant debate of public questions in public with the public themselves, so we may build up something more than the judgments of editorial writers, something more than the assertions of politicians, something more than the guesses of the public, which at best are only guesses. We can see how it is true, as I said at the outset, that we have come to a point of self-consciousness; we have turned about to look at ourselves and have said we have made great strides, and we have also made some great blunders, and now we must pull up and ask what those blunders are. All over the country is the impulse to do this thing — to serve everything. We have been neglecting to make our present leaders do the things they have promised to do.

“Now, how are you going to do them, through whom are you going to

do them here in New Jersey? I know, ladies and gentlemen, that I am speaking here, I suppose, to a large number of men who have voted the Republican ticket, and I want to say to them what I have said in the strongest communities of this Commonwealth, that I have absolutely no quarrel, I have absolutely no criticism for the men who have voted the Republican ticket. All I want to ask them is, do they think that under the present leadership of the Republican party in the State of New Jersey they are going to get what good Republicans want."

For a hot, sultry night, after practically everybody in town had spent a warm, tiresome day at the county fair, the meeting in the auditorium was a great one. It is a big theatre, seating more than 1200, and in the lower part of the house many persons stood throughout the delivery of Mr. Wilson's splendid address. And the crowd was keenly appreciative of the strong points of the speech, which evoked hearty outbursts of applause. County Chairman Thomas J. Prickett called the meeting to order and introduced Thomas H. Birch for chairman as "that fine, sterling, sturdy, stalwart young Democrat." Mr. Birch said he was sure the audience did not come to listen to him talk, but that he had the distinct pleasure of making a triple introduction of the man they all desired to hear, "our candidate for Governor, our next Governor, our next President of the United States."

The crowd was quick to catch the ring of that spirit of hopefulness and it cheered right lustily as Mr. Wilson stepped forward to the footlights. His first utterances, showing the lofty impulses that sway him and the heart that beats for a freer America, met a responsive wave of feeling in the audience, who seemed to quickly grasp the sincerity and truth that lay behind the man with a soul in his eyes.

Referring to the new order of things in the country, the general trend of thought toward the removal of all malign influence from government and legislation, the candidate said:

"The interesting thing I want to call your attention to is this: that outside the State of New Jersey, almost everywhere that you turn your eye, the Democrats are putting up new men. Have you noticed that? Have you noticed that in the nominations for the governorships in the states throughout this country for the most part the Democrats are putting up either new men or tested men like Judson Harmon of Ohio? Men who have made good, and men who do not have to be commended with hypothesis as I have to commend the Democratic candidate to you now.

“Now, the constitutional manner in which the Republican leaders have acted has interested me very much. You have heard of the Board of Guardians. That is not the legal denomination of anybody, but that is the present name, the privately professional name, for the Republican State Committee while the legislature is in session. I have asked members of that committee what they were guardians of, and they have never given me any specific or intelligible reply. Their duty is, so far as I can make it out, to see that nothing is done by the legislature which is not approved by the committee.

“Now, who in the State of New Jersey elected the Republican State Committee to supervise the legislation of the state? Who would prefer that any party committee should supervise the legislation of this state? The only persons who ought ever to supervise the legislation of a sovereign commonwealth are the citizens of that commonwealth, and any state committee that tries to supervise anything will act just exactly as a state committee can and is expected to act during a campaign. The duty of a state committee during a campaign is to see what is the best strategy. I believe that my friends on the Democratic State Committee will bear me out in saying that they will not be able to study that this time because they have not been able to control me. Not that they tried to control me — they gave that up before they tried — and they have left me absolutely a free hand — and I am so innocent that I do not know what strategy is. In my amateur way, I have always understood that the duties of a state committee during a campaign is to study the campaign, but is there any campaign left after the men are elected? What strategies of what campaign are the Board of Guardians studying? That is a matter worth thinking of. What is on? What is to be guarded against; what is to be gained? Why these private conferences? Why this anxiety as to what the legislature may do? What are our legislators elected for if not to do what the people whom they represent wish done?

“All of this illustrates for you what I am trying to illustrate from the beginning of this speech to the end — the necessity of regulating every community through contact with public opinion, and one of the chief things that it is my heart’s desire to do, if I should be honored by being elected Governor of the state of New Jersey, is to bring legislation into contact with the thought of the people. I have trained myself throughout my lifetime to explain things to people, and I would be very glad, if I could get an inside view of the legislation of this state, to explain it to the people of New Jersey, and I should like very much to constitute as many audiences as I could reach a board of guardians for the super-

vision of legislation, and I believe that every member of the legislature would feel that that process had at last rendered him what in his manhood he desired to be — a free man and the real representative of his people, for I would not have you believe — for I do not believe — that the legislatures of our states are naturally corrupted bodies. America has not fallen to that state, ladies and gentlemen; but, if you leave the legislature leaderless, it is necessary to organize it on some basis of influence, and men must of necessity yield to the processes of counsel which are in fashion.”

Mr. Wilson, earlier in his address, referring to the great waste of resources in America, said he regarded the unnecessary waste and sacrifice of human life as one of the worst, and this led to a discussion of the employers' liability legislation from a broad, humanitarian standpoint. Closing in one of those blunt appeals to the better impulses of the people, he said, amid tense silence:

“If corrupt practices can be kept out on election day, I shall believe that the choice made by the people of New Jersey was the best choice that they could have made. I have been bred in a school, ever since I was a child, of those who know that their own judgments are not the invariable judgments to follow. I have learned through long experience that anything laid in fairness and candor before a great jury like this will bring a verdict with which candid and honest men should be satisfied. And so, ladies and gentlemen, with this simple presentation of a plain case, I leave, so far as I am concerned, the verdict concerning my colleague and myself to the people of the great county of Burlington.”

When the applause had died away brief addresses were made by former Mayor Katzenbach, of Trenton, and Mayor Hampton, of Bridgeton, candidate for Congress.

“What do you think of the day?” Mr. Wilson was asked as with a weary look in his eyes he walked out to his automobile for the run to Philadelphia.

“I know of some better kinds,” was the reply, accompanied by a cheery smile, “but I liked it, liked it very much.”

It had been a mighty hard day, though—one of the old-fashioned campaigning kind — with plenty of hand-shaking and crowds and good wishes and promises, but over it all there was the spirit of the hour, the plaudits of an awakened people earnestly favoring the elevation of the

man who so courageously tells what he believes to be for the best welfare of the country as he views it after a lifetime of careful, conscientious study.

After enjoying a good night's rest and rising this morning with a freshness and vigor that were portentous of a day of hard work, State Chairman Nugent was ready for him in the big touring car and they were whirled away through Camden. On approaching the lower part of the city an odor that was far from pleasant reached the nostrils of the tourists and some one was unkind enough to say: "That must come from Camden County politics." It proved to be the effluvia of a fat-rendering establishment, so that the Democrats saw little difference.

There was a straight run then through Gloucester and Woodbury to Wenonah.

From Wenonah the party was whisked away across more good, but dusty, roads into Camden County, touching Mount Ephraim, over through Haddon Heights, along the historic King's Highway, through Haddonfield, viewing the old "Indian King" Inn, the meeting place of the first New Jersey Assembly; out past straggling Ellisburg and pretty, prosperous Moorestown and into quaint old Mount Holly. Here the party halted at the Elks' Home, where they were met by former Judge B. P. Wills, State Committeeman from Burlington County; Charles Stokes, of Beverly, one of the old "war horses of Democracy"; Thomas H. Birch, son of James H. Birch, the great personal friend of William J. Bryan; Mayor George J. Hampton, of Bridgeton, Democratic candidate for Congress in this the Second district, and other leading men of the party now so thoroughly aroused even in this section, so accustomed to giving Republican majorities, but which gave Congressman Gardner only 750 majority two years ago.

After luncheon Mr. Wilson was whirled out to the Burlington County Fair, where in a minute he was in the thick of some of the hardest, truest and deepest-dyed Democrats in the world. The first man to whom Judge Wills, as president of the Fair Association, introduced Mr. Wilson was an old farmer named Hart.

"Well, sir," said Hart, covering the Wilson hand in his, "if they all do as well as Willin'boro, you're ez good ez 'lected."

Mr. Wilson, pleased with this hearty expression of good will, soon afterward learned that Willingboro township is always good for 25 Democratic majority upward.

It was one succession of meetings, with jubilant and hopeful Democrats after that; but there were also many Republicans who seemed eager

to grasp his good right hand and gaze upon his rugged face, lighted with such kindly eyes.

Mr. Wilson also again met Banking Commissioner V. M. Lewis, his Republican opponent, and pretty nearly all the Republicans who figure in the state, for the crowd at the fair was a jam. He did not remain long at the show, however, for there was much for him to do and he wanted to be away. He was whisked over the good stone road to Burlington, where he had a chance for a brief rest before the big night's meeting.

## XIV

### ENTHUSES BRIDGETON THRONG

HOLDS GREAT AUDIENCE IN ENEMY'S STRONGHOLD SPELLBOUND  
FOR ENTIRE HOUR

*Bridgeton, Oct. 7.* — In one of the almost impregnable citadels of the "enemy's country" to-night Woodrow Wilson found his way to the hearts of an awakened people in one of the strongest, most direct, most pointed and forceful of all the addresses he yet has made. He aroused an immense audience to a high pitch of enthusiasm and it was a plain appeal to the people of the nation, of New Jersey, and Cumberland County to awake and cast off the malign influences of machine politics.

Over and over again, as he forced home the plain truths that lie next his great heart, he won a response from the audience that choked the theatre entrances, which showed that his lofty ideals had reached the spot. Mr. Wilson evidently was deeply moved by the close attention of his audience, and for nearly a solid hour he dwelt upon the manifest weakness of the present systems and asked the people to cut the old party lines and push forward to the accomplishment of the things necessary for the improvement of conditions.

"Who rules America?" he asked earnestly, gazing into the sea of eager faces before him. "The men who vote and always vote the Republican ticket or the Democratic ticket? No, happily, it is the men whose vote the machines can't count upon; the men who vote as they think and not whether their party is going to win."

It was one of the largest and best meetings Mr. Wilson yet has greeted. The Criterion Theatre, seating 1200 persons, was jammed in all its parts, hundreds of men standing in the lobbies, aisles, and stage throughout the long address, displaying the keenest interest in all the eminent candidate had to say. This, too, on a cold, rainy night, in a strong Republican city, where Democrats are mighty scarce as a rule, and an idea as to how the local Republican leaders felt about the demonstration may be gathered. They went out of the hall talking about the salient features



of the speech as if to say, "We have seen and heard one of our nation's bravest and greatest men."

Former Prosecutor of the Pleas William A. Logue, a member of the State Fish and Game Commission, presided, and in introducing the speaker declared that New Jersey was attracting widespread attention because the Democratic party had gone to the highest plane of independence in the selection of its standard-bearer.

"Hoorah!" shouted lusty voices, and it was the signal for a loud and hearty cheer, which seemed to give Mr. Wilson a fresh grip on himself and his ideas. From the beginning, therefore, he was keyed to the highest tension, earnest and convincing, so that at his brilliant conclusion there was a rush for the stage to reach him, and he was showered with the heartiest congratulations.

As in his Trenton address, Mr. Wilson flung defiance to those who would place him in a false light before the labor organizations by declaring his belief in the right and efficacy of such organizations, wisely adjusted and wisely used. He again declared that it was through organized labor, and not through protective tariff, that the workingmen gain increase of wages. He then went down to some of the practical issues of the campaign, attacked the State Water Commission as a costly and needless waste of the taxpayers' money, and declared that there were too many expensive boards and commissions in the state.

"A machine means more offices, more offices mean more taxes," he said. Again he attacked corruption at the polls, making pointed allusion to the scandal which followed the recent Republican primaries in Cumberland County. "Other states have obtained legislation to stop this corruption," he said. "Has New Jersey? No. Why do you wait, it is easy to do." Evidently he struck a popular chord, for the audience applauded vigorously. Referring to the peculiar situation in this state, in which men and not issues figured in a contest for the United States senatorship, Mr. Wilson made this telling hit:

"What has interested your leaders, and what only has interested your leaders, is who should be the next candidate for the United States Senate. That is what has stirred up the Republican leaders to their real depth; they have not been worried about these questions which affect the welfare, happiness, and support of the whole Commonwealth; they have been stirred up by the question as to whose turn it is to go to the United States Senate.

"And you have had your primaries upon this interesting question.

What was the result, gentlemen, now that the primaries are over and the people of New Jersey of the Republican sort are supposed to have spoken their choice? Nobody knows, if you have a Republican choice, whether that choice is going to stand or not. Men have poured out money; there have been workers; in one precinct, not so far away from the sound of my voice, there were eighty-three 'workers.' You have been stirred up to the depths of your souls, and now that it is all over nobody knows whether it counts or not.

"Do you know what those gentlemen would do if they went to the Senate? You have not asked any of them. The principal question upon which you have wasted your time is who should go there and do what he pleases. He is not pledged, no one is pledged, so far as I am able to understand, to anything in particular or to anything in general; and it is very likely, I should think, from what I hear, that if they elect a majority upon joint ballot in the coming General Assembly, you would have to guess who was going to be elected to the United States Senate.

"When you see things like this stir up great parties you know what is stirring them; it is not the pulse of opinion, it is the pulse of a machine. You know some machines; for example, take the automobile. I notice when the crank is started and the machine is stopped, it can tremble all over and never go an inch. This is the kind of vitality that is at present stirring the Republican organization; it is the pulse of the machine, and the Republican party is not getting anywhere under the impulse of that machine; and the men who cranked the machines are not likely to go to the Senate, either.

"I am deeply interested in what the policy of the Federal Government is going to be, but I cannot find out from the Republican leaders ——"

"You never will," interrupted a bass voice from the depths of the house.

"That is my own opinion," said Mr. Wilson, laughing. "That is my own opinion. What we have come together to-night, therefore, to discuss is this: not whether you like me better than you like one of these candidates for the United States Senate. That is not an important question. It is not worth wasting your time on. If I wished to propound to you the question whether I or one of them should go to the United States Senate, I would not get together such an important lot of men like this on a wet night; it is not worth getting your feet wet for.

"The personal choice, what does that mean? If these gentlemen stand for something and I stand for something, then it is important to make a choice between them, between what we stand for, as between what we

personally desire. I may tell you confidentially that, personally and privately, considering my own convenience, I do not desire the Governorship of the state of New Jersey, because I am engaged in things now and have been for twenty years which I thoroughly understand and have managed to successfully

“I am venturing out upon new fields. It would be a great deal more comfortable for me not to be Governor of New Jersey, and, therefore, I can say to you in all candor that I am not asking you for an office which I covet. But there is one thing which I do deeply covet, and that is an opportunity to serve the people of New Jersey in some sensible way.

“I am told that a gentleman who was once Governor of New Jersey says that I never offered to serve New Jersey until I was nominated for a political office. Well, he was elected to a political office and never served New Jersey, and, as between the two cases, I think mine is the better. It at least remains to be shown that, if elected Governor of New Jersey, I cannot serve the state, or whether I will sit down and do nothing with a degree of patience, a degree of dignity, a degree of pleasing eloquence, which will not discourage the pulsations of the machine in the least.”

There were new experiences for Mr. Wilson in another live day of his new kind of campaign. Leaving Camden at noon in the touring car that is carrying him over the state, he found a wide and not at all disagreeable contrast with yesterday's trying dust and heat, for, though the rain fell incessantly, he was snug under a warm overcoat and comfortable rug on the front seat, back of the wind shield, and greatly enjoyed the air and the freshened scenery as the car dashed along.

The run was made direct to Vineland by way of Millville, Glassboro, and Clayton, striking good state-made roads all the way, though at times the puddles were like little lakes and it was difficult to determine whether it was a sailing or an automobiling trip. Approaching Glassboro, the home of Charles F. Repp, his Prohibition opponent, Mr. Wilson looked out and saw great orchards of rosy apples fit for the cider press, but was informed that none was likely to reach that stage.

Vineland was reached promptly on the scheduled hour — 2 o'clock — for in all his campaign so far Mr. Wilson has been as prompt as a clock. Pulling up in front of the Baker House, on Landis Avenue, he was surprised and delighted to see fully 100 men who had braved the storm and stood awaiting his arrival. There he was met by Attorney Herbert C. Bartlett, local member of the County Executive Committee; Edward F.

Miller, brother of Louis H. Miller, the former Republican Assemblyman from Cumberland, who insurged a little while he was in the legislature; former Judge Eli B. Hendee, Editor B. F. Ladd, County Chairman James Craig, Rev. D. H. King, pastor of the Presbyterian Church; former Mayor Joseph A. Connell, Samuel P. Dunham, Democratic candidate for Senator, and other well-known Democrats.

Mr. Wilson held a brief reception in the parlor of the hotel and more than 150 men came in to grasp his hand and assure him of unfaltering support. One who came was John A. Ackley, Democratic candidate for Mayor of the borough, who said: "I shook hands with George B. McClellan on the very spot where you stand in 1866, and he became Governor."

"I trust that is a good omen," replied Mr. Wilson.

Another who came was Mrs. Isabella Meyer, a prosperous woman farmer, who said: "I just read twenty minutes ago that you were to be here and I hurried in. I am so glad to see you. I'm sure you're going to be elected. I can't vote for you, but I have a husband who will."

"Very good," was Mr. Wilson's smiling reply.

It astonished some of the representatives of Vineland to see so many turn out at that hour of the day to greet a Democratic candidate, for the borough is one of the bailiwicks of Republican Cumberland County, and all the discussion of the moving crowd was based upon the amazing strength which Mr. Wilson already had shown.

Piloted by B. Frank Hires, State Committeeman; Brodie A. McGear and others, who had come over from Bridgeton to point the way, the party pulled out for Millville, which was reached after the eight-mile run over a good but somewhat muddy road. A crowd awaited them in front of the Weatherby House and there, in busy, hustling Millville, with all its glass workers, mill operatives and foundrymen hard at work, fully 300 men sought the candidate, who received them with that pleasant smile which seems to win all who come into its influence.

One who came was a grizzled old man, who said timidly, as he approached in the line: "Will you shake hands with an old soldier?"

"With great pleasure," replied Mr. Wilson, extending the strong hand that looks more like a mechanic's than a teacher's.

"Well, sir," said the veteran, "I've been a red-hot Republican all my life, but I'm going to vote for you."

"Fine," said the candidate, warmly, and he learned that the soldier was James Eames and that what he had said about his politics was true. Among others who cordially greeted the candidate were E. P. Counselor,

who said he was one of the unterrified, voting in the Fourth ward, where there is 175 Republican majority; Attorney Martin Lane, Democratic candidate for Mayor, with some chance of winning, despite the Republican aspect of the city; Samuel Souder and others, all very happy over the bright outlook for Wilson.

One of the unfortunate incidents of the stop at Vineland was the enforced departure of Mr. Bartlett to act as pallbearer at the funeral of Mrs. Abbie Bristol, an authoress of note. Six months ago Mrs. Bristol, then sure that death was not far off, had gone about the borough personally requesting men of intimate acquaintance to act as pallbearers for her, and to please her they consented. It happened that, besides Mr. Bartlett, all were Democrats.

The run of ten miles to this city was made in short time and Mr. Wilson had a chance for an hour's rest before supper at the Hotel Commercial. There was another impromptu reception after the big meeting, for many of those who had braved the wet to hear him, some coming from miles away, wanted to touch his hand. Mr. Wilson will leave in his touring car to-morrow morning for Cape May Court House, where he will have luncheon and later make a short address. He will then go to Wildwood for the night meeting in the Hippodrome.

## XV

### FORGET STORM AT HEARING HIM

CAPE MAY COUNTY TURNS OUT STRONGLY AT TWO BIG MEETINGS

*Wildwood, Oct. 8.* — It amazed Woodrow Wilson to discover how many Cape May countians risked the discomforts of a chill, wet day and night to come to see and hear the man who is making the new kind of campaign in New Jersey. And those who came to two large meetings, one at Cape May Court House, this afternoon, and the other here to-night, with one accord expressed with decided emphasis their awakened interest.

It was as though the elements had conspired to cast the candidate for a minor part, but in the play of emotions among his auditors there was no gainsaying the fact that his was a stellar role. In both his addresses Mr. Wilson continued his appeal to the broadest spirit of patriotism and sense of justice lying, as he firmly believes, inherent in the breasts of American citizens. He strenuously attacked machine politics and its twin evil, a corrupted ballot.

In both his meetings this newly discovered leader of American manhood and honor received many open assurances of support from the people irrespective of party ties. Many well-known Republicans appeared and warmly applauded his most telling points, especially as he alluded to the boss system as applied to Cape May County. The meeting here was held in the new Hippodrome, and, despite the steady downpour beating heavily upon the roof and into the open space above, the rows of seats contained fully 500 persons, all deeply interested in the issues in this campaign for better government.

Men in oilskins and some in dusters and women in heavy winter wraps listened with rapt attention to the address of the night, applauding warmly as if no storm beat upon the storm of popular approval of the man upon whom the eyes of a nation are focused. Mr. Wilson stepped out into the ring to get closer to his audience and modestly disclaimed all credit for learning and greatness, as had been claimed for him by J. Thompson Baker's interesting and dramatic introduction. He told the crowd he was not seeking the Governorship and believed that no

man should seek public office in his personality, but that he was before the voters standing for principles.

"I believe," said he, impressively, at the conclusion of one of the best addresses he has so far delivered, "that the greatest day of change has dawned upon America, the greatest day-dawning that has ever been seen, and the most dangerous thing would be the election of partisan candidates at this crisis. For America is awakening, and when America awakes the world sees a new play put upon the boards."

The shout of approval which followed the sentiment drowned the roar of the breakers and the throb of the storm.

Referring humorously to the fact that he had been designated as a schoolmaster by former Governor Griggs, Mr. Wilson said:

"It is significant in my mind that we are not in an ordinary political campaign. It is perhaps extraordinary in the circumstances that a schoolmaster is on one side. I am proud to be a schoolmaster, and I wish that some of the gentlemen who are opposing the policies I am in favor of had attended school to some purpose. They may some time have known things that would be now to their advantage, but it is interesting that the same gentlemen have not hesitated, when the state was in need of money, to appropriate part of the school fund in order to pay the running expenses of the government, so that it is no wonder that they look askance at a schoolmaster."

Returning to the main theme of his address, the return of the old spirit in American affairs, Mr. Wilson said:

"There is a new tide in politics, a new tide which is running very strong. It runs throughout the country, and yet, perhaps, it is not a new tide, but the return of the old tide—the tide of the politics of sympathy and of the comprehension of policies which has not run for so long in our politics. We are now feeling the rise of the waters that used to float the Ship of State in America, the time when men were concerned not so much with the success of the parties as with the success of policies.

"You know what has happened throughout the length and breadth of this country in recent years. Opinion has broken away from the parties, opinion has risen supreme, but our politicians in New Jersey are

trying to persuade you to conduct your affairs as if there had not been any awakening of judgment on the part of the citizens of the Commonwealth to public interests. But the thing will not do; this opinion is not manageable, it cannot be manipulated, cannot be silenced, cannot be resisted.

“It is not for the benefit of the people that it is necessary that the expenditures of the Government have nearly quadrupled in a period of about twelve years. But that is not confined to New Jersey. The expenses of the Federal Government have increased three times more rapidly than has the population of the United States within those three years. Everywhere money is being put out like water and we are paying the bills.

“Of course, the money is not spent out of the pockets of those who conduct the Government, but it is spent out of your pockets. What have we gained? Well, we have gained something, not directly out of the expenditure, but out of the things that have resulted from the expenditure. It is a very singular circumstance that a Republican President of the United States called the attention of the whole country to the misuse of power by his own party and by all those who have been concerned in public affairs.

“Is there a solid Republican party in New Jersey? Do you know what your leaders have been interested in in recent months? They have not been debating your welfare; they have been debating who should be sent to the United States Senate. They have not been interested in the matters in which they should have been interested, in the matters of change of policy.

“The managers of the country are certain persons who have been interested in party control as the policy for running the Government. It is not a new circumstance; this has happened in past times to the Democratic party. I want you to understand that I am not delivering a partisan speech, and I never shall deliver a partisan speech. I want to say very frankly that this is something which in past years has happened to the Democratic party, and the pity of politics is that if you leave men in power long enough to give them the impression that the party machine can at its pleasure command the majority of the votes, then this thing will happen to it.

“They will become indifferent, as they have become indifferent to the real movement of conviction in the ranks of their own party and among their own people. They will assume, as they have assumed, that the interest of the people of New Jersey is to keep certain Republican leaders





HON. J THOMPSON BAKER



in charge when the real interest of the people of New Jersey is to serve their best interests by the right policies.”

Going after machine politics, of which Cape May County has a very intimate acquaintance, the speaker said: “A great political machine builds up its fortunes and success in the midst of things as they are and considers itself under bonds to see that those things are not changed, because they don’t know whether they can make their calculations under the changed circumstances or not, and so they are under bonds to the existing order. But the existing order is susceptible in this country only to those who have exceptionally profited by it. It does not achieve justice or bring about the kind of progress that is most desired, and so, throughout our survey of modern conditions, we see how natural it is, I dare say how inevitable it is, that men in charge of public affairs for years together should allow themselves to be governed by things as they are. I want to be perfectly fair and not insinuate that the grosser kind of corruption is involved in this matter. I don’t want to intimate that the public men have yielded to temptation that other men would not have yielded to. I am pointing to circumstances, not making accusations, and they are indisputable as I have stated them.

“Extravagance has for its foundation, what? What do you get if you are a member of a political machine? What do you get by large appropriations out of the public fund? No money to line your pocket with, but new offices for your friends, new opportunities of patronage, the general feeling that people will stand by you and your associates; that there shall be lots of money to spend upon contracts, offices, and improvements of various kinds, and therefore the thing to do is to stand by the people who have access to the general fund.

“That is the kind of power that comes out of the expenditure of large sums of money, and the Republican machine at the present moment has by that calculation four times as much power as the Democratic machine that it displaced fifteen to sixteen years ago. That is the most demoralizing sort of power that can possibly exist, because you tie scores of men to you by self-interest rather than by patriotic conviction.”

Mr. Wilson caused a significant titter in the audience, so well acquainted with Senator “Bob” Hand, when he said: “You know a boss when you see him and you know what he does. Now, do you like it? Do you think he is accomplishing anything substantial for your welfare? Do you think he is in business for his health? Do you think he regards it as a public service or private business? I don’t have to answer these

questions for you. And do you like going through the motions at the bidding of such persons?"

This is the way in which Mr. Wilson hit back effectively at the Republican leaders who thought the first week of his campaign had been a failure:

"I spent the first week of my campaign trying to set forth what I considered the principles upon which the Democratic party was trying to act. I noticed that some of my Republican critics have said that I spent that week in glittering generalities. I do not wonder at that, for they have not looked a principle in the face so long that they do not know one when they see it.

"Now, I wish that principles could glitter as generalities until they constituted the sun by which men would guide their steps, in which all should stand in the air of the glitter, the gleam of compelling light of the things that we call principles; and a man that despises principles as glittering generalities has absolutely no compass by which to steer; he is steering by the compass of expediency.

"He says I would like my opponent to get down to particulars so that I could catch him, trip him up on some detail and then I will check him. I cannot meet him. No, I cannot meet him on this field of high ideals. If they cannot meet us upon this field of high ideals then they will be overthrown in the contest, because the American people are now turning back to past policies, to the ideals upon which this Government was built up, and chief of all is that ideal which says that Government ought to thrive in every pulse in sympathy for the common people. They are recovering the breath that they had in that day of hope."

Mr. Wilson seemed rather to enjoy the chill, wet day and the water-soaked scenery through which he passed in the drive from Bridgeton. He was snugly wrapped in a big winter overcoat and occupied his regular seat beside the careful and capable chauffeur, John S. Kinsey, who has carried him over many miles of South Jersey roads. Well protected from the cold, incessant drizzle, he said the air braced him, and he was in fine, good humor all day. The wonderful cordiality with which he was received by the Cumberland County voters, the warm assurances he had from Republicans that they had enlisted in his cause, and the whole outlook pleased him.

Evans G. Slaughter, who was Senator "Bob" Hand's opponent last

year, and Attorney Matthew Jefferson, Cape May County Democrats, had come up from Wildwood to pilot the party in the run into their bailiwick, and they had seats in the candidate's car with State Chairman Nugent and Mayor Hampton, candidate for Congress. The start was made from Bridgeton at 10.30 o'clock, and at the turn of the road on the west border of Millville the car was stopped by the shout of a man from the street.

"Hey, we want to see Wilson." In a minute men seemed to pop out of the ground and gather to grasp the hand of the candidate who "looked good" to them. After that it was a straightaway run through Leesburg, beyond which several miles of rather bad road were struck in which some bad chuck holes and ponds of water made the going somewhat slow. Below Dennisville, however, one of the fine links in the coming ocean boulevard was struck — a fine, even, well-packed gravel road leading all the way to Cape May Court House, forty miles from Bridgeton, which was reached at 12.30 o'clock, with no speed laws violated.

There the car pulled up at the Hotel Bellevue, upon the porch of which waited a large group of Cape May County men, for whom the rain had no terrors. Among these were Mayor Fred J. Melvin, of Cape May, candidate for Sheriff; former Assemblyman O. T. Blackwell, of Wildwood, candidate for Assembly; State Committeeman Michael Kearns, Llewellyn Hildreth, secretary of the County Committee, and William Porter, Register of Cape May and leader of the band which emitted music with skill and energy.

Dinner was served at the hotel and the candidate was escorted up the street to the old courthouse, a relic of bygone years, with its pew-like benches and oil lamps. It had been presumed that perhaps 100 persons might assemble there on such a dripping day. It amazed the leaders and the candidate, therefore, to find the room crowded and many persons standing. The room seats about 200 persons, and there were fully 100 more in it. And the appearance of Mr. Wilson was the signal for a hearty greeting, while William Porter's tooters played "Hail to the Chief."

## XVI

### HAS GRIP ON JERSEY VOTERS

“NEW KIND OF CAMPAIGN” HAS PEOPLE IN ALL PARTS OF  
STATE AROUSED

*Trenton, Oct. 9.* — The managers of the Democratic campaign are entirely satisfied with the progress thus far made and the undoubted strength which Woodrow Wilson is gaining in his swing around the state. They are sure that their candidate for Governor is making ground fast in his new kind of canvass and they get reports from all sections of the state showing that they have a fine chance of winning.

As for himself Mr. Wilson cannot understand how it is that so many people get out to hear him, and his only explanation is that the feeling of the great mass of people regarding political conditions is aroused to a state of revolt, and that the large and enthusiastic meetings he gets everywhere mean not so much curiosity for or interest in him as in the principles for which he stands. At Wildwood last night, for instance, when 500 persons waded out in the wet streets and let the heavy rain beat upon them in their desire to see and to hear him, he was nonplussed by the demonstration of interest, taking unto himself nothing of the credit for having stirred the latent energies of the voters by his new sort of campaign speech.

There is every reason to suppose that if this sort of thing keeps up it will not be possible to get halls big enough to hold the people who will want to hear him before the end of the battle is reached. He warms every heart that comes into contact with him and he has such a faculty for driving home the truths as he sees them that people carry away a conviction that he must be right. At Bridgeton last Friday night a leading Republican manager of Cumberland County declared: “I don’t wonder he gets the people out. I could have listened to him an hour longer. Three years ago, when Governor Fort was the candidate and Governor Stokes was chairman of the meeting, we had not more than half the people this man Wilson had to-night, and if he keeps this up the four more weeks of the campaign he will sweep the state by a majority

that will stagger the Republicans. He gets a grip on people that sticks, and those who think most are the ones he grips hardest, so that the teachings of his addresses are carried in the minds of those who will have marked influence over their neighbors. With that feeling spreading into all parts of the state there is no doubt as to what will happen."

It is something so new for a candidate to preach plain, homely truths and to present the loftier and more ennobling sentiments in a political campaign in New Jersey that those who have been accustomed to hear men rant and pace the platform, and run hysterical fingers through dishevelled hair in their frantic cries for support for the tariff, are surprised and delighted. Mr. Wilson explains that his Republican critics who have found fault with the character of his addresses because he has not reached the bedrock of state affairs will soon enough have no cause for further criticism on that score, as he has been only feeling his way along a new line of activity for him. And those who have been in close touch with him since he opened his fight less than two weeks ago are sure that he will.

The Republican leaders profess to be unafraid of Mr. Wilson's candidacy, expressing the belief that he will not last to the end of the fight, but that appears to be founded upon the hope that he will not. They have been unable to get together for a settlement of their factional differences, and some of the rank and file wonder if there is going to be any campaign at all. Banking Commissioner Lewis opened his campaign last night and gave his Hudson County audience the assurance that all the people need do is to trust the Republican party to do for them whatsoever they wish, but Mr. Wilson's whole argument is that the Republican leaders who control the party organization can no longer be trusted to do the things the people want and that that fact was clearly demonstrated in the convention which named Mr. Lewis, who found it necessary to insist upon a pledge for the rate-making power for the Public Utilities Commission. Mr. Lewis' insistence upon that pledge may aid him, and he is personally popular, but Mr. Wilson declares that the people are not looking to men now, but to the principles for which they stand, and that in this new awakening of the American spirit of independence will come the triumph of that great body of patriots who believe the nation cannot live if existing conditions are permitted to continue.

One of the first measures which Mr. Wilson will ask for in the event of his election will be an act to forever wipe out corrupt practices, the debauchery of the ballot, which is becoming more and more unpopular and

dangerous. He has been addressing people in two of the counties where that practice is said to prevail to such an extent as to tax the credulity of the outsider who should be told of it. When a primary fight for a legislative seat can cost one man something like \$30,000, while his opponent may not have had quite so big a pile, there is evidently something dead wrong about the elective system which needs quick attention, Mr. Wilson holds, and he adds that the only way it is likely to get attention is by the enactment of far more stringent laws upon the subject than now stand in this state. He wonders why such laws have not been passed by New Jersey when other states have them, and he says there is no chance of getting them through the present party leaders, some of whom have connived at the debauchery for their own and the special interests' advantage.

The Republicans have made the claim that they have widely extended the system of good roads, and that that explains one of the reasons for the immense increase in the total annual expenditures, and Mr. Wilson graciously accords them full credit for all they have done in that respect, but holds that there are a great many very bad roads which might have been improved with the funds wasted in useless ways. The Republicans claim that they have given to the great public school system of the state a much wider latitude and educational advantages to a much larger number of children than ever before, and Mr. Wilson grants that, but says that excellent work, in which he is so deeply interested and for which he may be expected to do his utmost in case of his election, might be increased many fold by judicious, economical methods in the conduct of the state's business. The Republicans have several candidates for United States Senator who have been fighting for recognition and support to the extent that they have well-nigh disrupted the party, but, Mr. Wilson says, only one of them has laid down any statement as to where he stands upon the vital questions which stir the nation, and all the rest of the candidates are arrayed against him. Thus the fight goes bravely on, and there are many Republicans who regard the situation as nothing to their liking. They have the notion that practically all the fighting is from the other side and that they have been placed upon the defensive from the start, a rather new position for the Republicans of New Jersey to be in.



## XVII

### LEWIS' HOME CITY WELCOMES

CROWDS TOO LARGE FOR ALL TO GET WITHIN HEARING OF HIS  
VOICE TENDER A GREETING

*Paterson, Oct. 11.* — In the home city of his Republican opponent Woodrow Wilson to-night began the third week of his new kind of campaign under conditions that must have flattered him. He addressed the largest and most enthusiastic assemblage that yet has welcomed him, and he felt the thrill of a broad encouragement, so that, in his message to the people of New Jersey, a call to action against misgovernment, he declared himself an insurgent, saying:

"I am and always have been an insurgent. Insurgency is the best prescription for good government." That that was a popular sentiment with his vast audience was instantly manifested by a storm of applause.

"By insurgency I mean," he continued, "the application of knowledge and intelligence to the betterment of government. This insurgency is not against government, but it is against the private management of government."

Throughout the address, which was interrupted by frequent strong demonstrations of approval on the part of the vast assemblage, Mr. Wilson was at ease and within easy grasp of every situation. He called for a revision of the corporation laws of the state to better regulate and control the corporations, but declared modestly that he was not prepared to say just what was the best thing to do and defied any man to say what was best.

He declared that a better employers' liability law is needed, but he was not ready to say in so short a space of time as allotted to him in a public meeting what is best in that respect. He said the taxation and assessment laws of the state need careful revision, but no man or set of men can very readily determine the exact solution of these vexatious problems of government.

"I shall make but one promise to you," declared the candidate with marked emphasis, "and that is that I shall use the best of my brains to

give the people of New Jersey good and honest government. If I am elected Governor I shall ask impertinent questions, I shall thrust myself into the inner workings of things and I shall enjoy myself talking about them. As far as in me lies I want to bring about in New Jersey a government by popular opinion."

It was one of the largest and most enthusiastic political meetings this live, hustling town of silk and locomotives ever has seen, and it was plain to even the rank outsider that, though it is the home of State Banking Commissioner Vivian M. Lewis, the Republican candidate, and though Passaic gave Senator George S. Silzer its votes in the convention, there was loyal Democratic support for Wilson and an openly demonstrative feeling for the Princeton man.

The Opera House was so jammed by the time the meeting was ready to start that fully 1000 persons were unable to get even a nose into a door, while hundreds of men stood on the stairways leading to the balcony and gallery, listening to but not seeing the candidate. The stage was filled with prominent Democrats, while in the first row of the balcony seats sat Congressman Charles N. Fowler, who was defeated for renomination in the Fifth district because of his insurgency. He afterward said that he believed Mr. Wilson was one of the greatest men of the day, and that he would be heard from in no uncertain way in America. He showed marked appreciation of the speech, which pleased all the people mightily, and scored another triumph for the leader of the movement for good government.

The meeting was called to order by County Chairman Flynn, and Mayor Alexander J. McBride, the chairman, presented Congressman "Billy" Hughes, who never has been defeated in this the Sixth district, but who has such a grip upon the industrial classes that he sweeps everything before him at every election. Congressman Hughes made a lively, entertaining speech of a half hour, and gave way to Mr. Wilson, who was visibly affected by the long and vociferous reception given him as he stepped to the front.

"I have been travelling now a good many miles in this state," said he, "and I have looked into the faces of a number of great audiences. Everywhere I recognize what I recognize here to-night, that bodies of men are coming together, not out of curiosity to see an individual, but out of eagerness to hear what can be said in what they know to be a cause, the cause of good government, the cause of government for the people, the cause of government which shall be rid of all the influences of which

men from one end of this country to the other have got tired and of which they mean to be rid. There is no mistaking the spirit which is now in the people of New Jersey.

“The cause upon which we are met is the purification of politics, is the freeing of politics from the management of machine organizations. Now, mind you, when I speak of the purification of politics I am not speaking, perhaps, of what suggests itself to you, I am not speaking of bribery and the gross forms of corruption, I am not thinking of what we have been so ashamed, of that which has been disclosed in recent investigations, for example, in a neighboring state. Those things will presently become impossible; they are becoming impossible; they will become so impressed in public opinion that it will not be possible longer to do things of that sort.

“Men will not dare receive money to debauch the process of legislation; but that is not what we have to fear. We have to fear a deeper and more dangerous thing that has taken place. We have to fear making a business of political management in the interests of special groups of persons; we have to fear that kind of management which does not rest upon public opinion, does not rest upon public discussion, does not rest upon anything except the will and agreement of party managers.

“The present tariff could never have been built up item by item by public discussion, and you know it could never have existed if, item by item, it had been explained to the people of this country. It was built up by arrangement and management of a political organization represented in the Senate of the United States by the Senator from Rhode Island and in the House of Representatives by one of the Representatives from Illinois. These gentlemen did not build that tariff upon the evidence that was given before the Committee of Ways and Means as to what the manufacturers and workingmen, the consumers and producers, of this country demanded. It was not built upon what the interests of the country called for. It was built upon understandings arrived at outside of the room where testimony was given and debate was held.

“That payment of money is very easily detected, and men of this kind who control these interests by secret arrangement would not consent to receive a dollar in money. They are following their own principles, that is to say, the principles which they think and act upon, and they think that they are perfectly honorable and incorruptible men, but they believe something that I do not believe and I do not believe you believe. They believe that the prosperity of this country depends upon the arrangements which certain party leaders make with the business leaders of the country. They believe that, but the proposition has

merely to be stated to a jury like yourselves to be rejected. The prosperity of this country depends upon the interests of all of us and cannot be brought about by arrangement between any groups of persons.

“It has been said that in some of my speeches I have been indulging in glittering generalities,” said Mr. Wilson later. “I thought I was indulging in the statement of principles, but it is so long since these gentlemen looked at principles that they do not know them when they see them, and I am not surprised at their calling them ‘glittering generalities.’ They don’t glitter, but they reflect light; they glitter by reason of the light that burns in the heart of the men themselves, the light of conviction, the light of principle, for they are the principles that have been written upon the shield of America ever since she became a nation; they are the principles which are expressed in the participation of the American people in their own affairs.”

Mr. Wilson was met at Newark by State Chairman Nugent and they motored over to this city, reaching the Hamilton Club, the Silk City’s foremost social organization, where they had dinner with Congressman “Billy” Hughes, Mayor Andrew J. McBride, former Senator John Hinchliffe, County Chairman Thomas Flynn, City Counsel Edward Murray, Publisher Robert Goodbody, former State Chairman William B. Gourley, and William Fanning.

## XVIII

### AT SHRINE OF GREAT LEADER

BREATHES INSPIRATION IN PRESENCE OF SCENES WHERE CLEVELAND WAS BORN

*Caldwell, Oct. 12.* — In the birthplace of Grover Cleveland here, to-day and to-night Woodrow Wilson was accorded signal honor. In the afternoon there was a great outpouring of people at the Cleveland homestead, a throng out of all proportion to the dimensions of the little borough and not at all in consonance with a strong tendency to give Republican majorities on election day.

To-night at Monomonock Inn, on the top of Second Watchung Mountain, fully 200 Democratic leaders of social, professional and business affairs of the upper part of the state gathered at a beautiful dinner in his honor, and the atmosphere of both large gatherings was laden with that new spirit of freedom the man has aroused in the breasts of his followers. The pilgrimage to the Cleveland home astonished Mr. Wilson, because, instead of the hundred or so persons he expected to encounter there, he found a crowd of fully 3000, at whose demand he was compelled to make a short address. In his few remarks he showed the broad-gauge manhood that actuates him, when, standing upon the threshold of the historic old house, he said it was no time to think of himself, but to recall to mind the man who had done so much for his fellows.

Nor could the day's program be accurately designated as a part of the plan of campaign, for it was directed rather to the social aspects of the outlook and he made no real campaign speech. It was presumed that the day's feature would be the dinner tendered by the Democratic Union, but the unexpected and enthusiastic demonstration at the Cleveland place stood out clearly and definitely as the strongest note yet struck.

Michael Dunn, former City Counsel of Paterson, was toastmaster and he sounded the keynote of the gathering, a crystallization of the effort to bring about a revival of the principles of government under the Constitution. In presenting the honored guest he looked back to that spirit of unrest and desire for a change which brought about the election

of Cleveland in 1888. He likened that great movement to that now everywhere apparent and conspicuous in the choice of Mr. Wilson as its leader.

A great storm of applause greeted Mr. Wilson as he rose to speak to the toast "Grover Cleveland." He had been preceded by Dr. Austin Scott, president emeritus of Rutgers College, New Brunswick, who paid a touching tribute to the distinguished guest, whom, he said, he had known and honored for years, and he exclaimed, "Men of New Jersey, you made no mistake when you took up this great man as your leader. He will be the next Governor of New Jersey, and, as under the Constitution he cannot be reëlected, I present him as the candidate of the Democratic party for the Presidency of the United States."

Then came the flash of fire that set the big company into a roar and almost brought the tears to the eyes of this man of the hour. It was many seconds before he could command his voice, and then in his first utterances, a fine tribute to the man who guided the nation so well and with no trace of a self-consciousness, he drew the concentrated attention and eloquent admiration of his auditors.

Among the leading Democrats present at the dinner it was the distinct impression that a new page in New Jersey history had been written and that here, on this high spot, overlooking miles of the most beautiful sections of the state, was given birth a new and lasting pledge of fealty to the nation.

It was an extraordinarily surprising day for Mr. Wilson, one that he can never forget—a striking feature clearly outlined against the horizon of many striking features that have been brought out in his new kind of campaign.

Arriving at Caldwell, which is eight miles from the throbbing centre of Newark, Mr. Wilson was astonished to see what had happened. On the wide lawn in front of the Cleveland homestead, under the superb old trees, a great, expectant crowd had gathered. Many occupied camp chairs, others sat on the grass, but hundreds stood on the sidewalk awaiting the arrival of the man of whom the people of the county had heard so much. A band was also there to give forth its best while awaiting the orator, and the moving crowd passed in and out of the old house, decorated with the Princeton orange and black and a profusion of "Old Glory." The band played "Hail to the Chief" as Mr. Wilson appeared and a cheer went up from the throng, and the committeemen really had to push him up the narrow stone walk to the house, which is now the parsonage of the Caldwell Presbyterian Church, of which Rev. Nelson

B. Chester is pastor. Mr. Chester cordially greeted Mr. Wilson and a committee of ladies of the church also bade him welcome.

Mr. Wilson was shown to the little room on the ground floor in the northwest corner of the house where Cleveland opened his eyes upon the world. A bronze tablet attesting the historic incident interested Mr. Wilson greatly, and he seemed to breathe fresh inspiration for the work he has mapped out for himself. Dr. Charles F. Cramer, of Caldwell, who came near defeating Congressman R. Wayne Parker two years ago, and Col. James C. Sprigg, president of the Democratic Union of New Jersey, acted as his escort, and introduced Mr. Wilson to the delighted committee of women.

Meantime the crowd outside had increased to thousands and was pressing about the house, eager to get a glimpse of the kindly face that has won the hearts of so many people in the past two weeks. Yielding to the pressure, Mr. Wilson consented to make a brief address, and, stepping out on the tiny porch, he was presented by Colonel Sprigg as the "next Governor of New Jersey." The throng of 3000 or more pressing about the doorway sent up a cheer which brought a sunny smile of appreciation to Mr. Wilson's strong and rugged face.

"It is a most unexpected pleasure to see so many of my fellow-citizens here to-day," said Mr. Wilson, deeply moved by the mark of approval. "I didn't know what was in store and I owe you my hearty thanks. Standing in this place, I do not and can not think of myself; my thought goes out to the great Democrat born in this house and whose example of character and moral force, qualities that were inherent in him, must have been due in great measure to his early training in this place. It has often been claimed that Mr. Cleveland had no touch of brilliancy or originality, but he had the judgment and force of character behind him which count for originality. It was like the great, wild wind that comes and clears the whole air so that we see the beauty of the hills revealed. The wind has merely blown the mist away. It would be a wholesome thing if every candidate for office could come and spend some time in contemplation in this place."

The throng quickly caught the spirit of the brief address and cheered and applauded lustily.

Professor Edward Berres Wright, of Ocean Grove, a gray-haired man, with gold-rimmed spectacles, was presented by Colonel Sprigg as a man who had campaigned with Lincoln. He made a five-minute speech of the

real campaign sort, declaring that he had stumped Ohio for Lincoln and had stood by the G. O. P. as long as it was reputable, but he was very sorry to say that it was no longer the party of Lincoln and he could stick to it no longer.

The crowd seemed so eager to meet the candidate that Mr. Wilson consented to hold an impromptu reception, and then in the little parlor of the parsonage, aided by Doctor Cramer, Judge Hahn and Judge Herr, he shook the hands of the passing throng which came in a stream. Among the callers was Mrs. Howell Jones, whose husband is an old Princeton alumnus, and she was particularly pleased to meet the head of the great university. Some remark was dropped about the fatigue of the handshaking, and Mrs. Jones said, with a merry smile, "You will be used to that when you reach the White House."

Scores expressed admiration of the man openly, and many Republicans came, promising support; children came shyly and women smilingly; aged men wanted to talk, but all were eager to see the man who appears to have risen for the crisis. The procession continued almost three quarters of an hour, and might have been going on yet had not considerate friends of Mr. Wilson stopped it before he became exhausted. Yet Mr. Wilson said he enjoyed it very much. It was one more new experience for him in his new kind of campaign. After the reception Mr. Wilson was taken to the Kingsley School, a mile or so away, in Essex Fells, where he addressed the lads. After that he was given a chance for an hour's rest prior to to-night's dinner.



## XIX

### FINDS TEXT IN MACHINE ITSELF

TELLS GREAT ATLANTIC CITY AUDIENCE OF CORRUPTION THAT  
HOLDS THEIR CITY TIGHT

*Atlantic City, Oct. 13.*—In one of the greatest fortresses of machine politics in the country, Woodrow Wilson to-night made what is regarded as the strongest, most telling speech of his whole vigorous campaign. It was made, too, to the largest and most demonstrative audience ever gathered by the Democrats in Atlantic County. It astounded the managers themselves. They were expecting nothing like it under conditions such as hold in Atlantic City, where Congressman John J. Gardner is the oracle and Commodore Louis Kuehnle is the king.

The telling speech was directed to corruption in politics, to the open and flagrant debauchery of the ballot, to the abject subserviency of the weary people to the Republican machine, which, Mr. Wilson declared, is responsible for the intolerable conditions. He broadly attacked the legislative record on the Public Utilities Commission question, applying it to the local situation, where, under competition, the consumers had cheap gas, but the absorption of a competing company immediately boosted the price and there was no redress.

Again he spoke of the situation regarding the doubling of trolley fares to the mainland by a similar process and again there was no redress, though the travelling public set up a vigorous protest. For these misfortunes Mr. Wilson suggested that his auditors hold to account their representative in the legislature, Colonel Walter E. Edge, who was leader in the Assembly last winter, when all efforts to give the Utilities Commission the rate-making power were side-tracked by the same machine, and that machine, he said, had again promised to give such legislation.

"It is for you, gentlemen," said Mr. Wilson at the conclusion of his great speech, "to make up your minds through which men and by which roads you are going to accomplish the most in your time." It was the most impressive address the candidate has yet made, perhaps the most

impressive meeting. The theatre on the Steeplechase Pier, seating 1200, was so filled before 8 o'clock, the hour fixed for the candidate's appearance, that scores present were standing and, as he appeared and walked up the side aisle, the place was literally jammed and Mr. Wilson's appearance on the platform was the signal for a lusty cheer, long prolonged.

Counselor Clarence L. Cole, who bravely fights the battles of Democracy in season and out under all discouragement here, presided and in introducing the candidate said that those who followed the fortunes, or rather misfortunes, of the Democratic party in Atlantic County were surprised by such a tremendous turning out of the people, because it has for years been considered a large gathering when 200 or 300 appeared for a Democratic meeting.

"Back of it," he said, "is a meaning and a cause; it is a fitting tribute to a truly great man. With a powerful man of national reputation like Woodrow Wilson as the Democratic candidate for Governor, the candidacy on the Republican ticket of a weak and negative man like Lewis would be a joke."

The great audience was quick to grasp the anomaly of the situation and between laughs it broke into a storm of applause and cheers that broke forth again and again, many women in the audience joining heartily with their gloved hands. Mr. Wilson was moved greatly by the tribute to his personality and he showed it as he stood gazing out over the vast army of eager listeners.

"I do not feel that I can gratify or satisfy the anticipations of an audience like this, but I do want to discuss with you, very candidly and simply indeed, the matters which I know we all regard as of the deepest concern, not only to ourselves individually but as of much greater consequence to the great Commonwealth of which we are citizens.

"I find myself now upon the political platform in these recent days in a somewhat peculiar position. When I started out upon this campaign we were discussing the issues which seemed to be raised by the difference between the platform adopted by the Democratic party and the platform adopted by the Republican party for the state campaign. In recent days the candidate of the Republican party, a gentleman for whom I have a great respect, has promulgated practically a platform that is one which differs very radically from the platform of the party promulgated in convention, and, as he adds item after item to that platform, I find that it very greatly resembles my own.

“So I experience a sense of relief, therefore, in finding that there is no issue between Mr. Lewis and myself. This eliminates personal considerations. I have nothing in any circumstances except what is complimentary to say about Mr. Lewis, and personal consideration would, so far as I am concerned, never enter in any case, but I mean that there appears to be no personal issue between me and the Republican candidate in respect of the sort of legislation we would desire to see adopted in New Jersey.

“The question you are called upon to consider, therefore, is whether the Republican leaders, standing alongside Mr. Lewis, will assist and permit him to carry out his ideas with regard to that government. I do not see how to escape that statement of the question. You have now to determine, in view of what he has recently said, whether you think that he or I is most likely to do the thing which he intends.

“What are the things that we are interested in? There are a great many of them, and I am not going to be tedious by enumerating all of them. I want to take merely a few specimens, and I want to choose those specimens with regard to what I suppose you have been thinking. For example, you have been thinking about the conferring upon the proper commission — a commission which already exists in name, at any rate, the Public Utilities Commission — a proper set of powers in order that they can have the power to regulate instead of the power to advise.

“You know how great a question that is; you know what great interests are involved; you know that what we all want is a commission which has a rate-making power. The rate-making power does not apply merely to railways, either the great steam railways of this state or the great trolley lines of this state. It applies also to the rates charged for water and gas and all these public utilities which so nearly concern our convenience and comfort.

“There are, for example, two competing companies supplying a town with gas. Each is charging 50 cents for gas. The one buys the other out and the result is a charge of \$1 for gas. That may or may not be legitimate. It may, for all I know, not have paid either of the original companies to supply gas at 50 cents, but when they have combined and are without competition and have the control of the whole business, we would, at any rate, like to know why it is necessary that they should charge \$1. We should like to have a commission which can find out, and upon some perfectly fair basis — for I am not in favor of confiscating legitimate profits—establish the rates which shall be charged, so that

there will be a real connection between what the public has discovered to be the basis of the business and the public convenience and comfort.

“This applies to the railway companies, to the transportation companies, as well as to the other public utilities. We would like to know why we cannot go still for five cents to the neighboring towns. If we had what we want, a commission with powers to determine, powers to regulate, they would be obliged to investigate it and tell us exactly what the cause was, and if non-competitive conditions exist, they would have the right to give us the benefit of the non-competitive conditions. That illustrates perfectly what we want and what we mean to have.

“Very well, then, let us view the situation that we may determine by our votes on the eighth of November. Mr. Lewis also desires that the Public Utilities Commission should have the power to regulate rates, and I suppose that he wishes, as I wish, that it should have the power of determining the basis of those charges so that the regulation will not be arbitrary or unreasonable.

“Is it likely Mr. Lewis can bring that about through the instrumentalities now in charge of the Republican party? What has been your experience, gentlemen? This same, unaltered organization that you have now has been in charge of the Republican party — I don't mean the rank and file of the Republican party, because they have wished to God they were not in control of the Republican party spoken of as an organization — this same group of men have been in charge of that organization during the last three years, and this same promise was made by the party and its candidate in the year 1907. Why has that promise not been fulfilled?

“And is it any more likely that it will be fulfilled under the present candidate than it was then under the candidate of three years ago? There is a very practical question for you to answer, and you had better ask that question of some gentleman very near at home, who was the leader of the Assembly during those three years. It may be, ladies and gentlemen, that that leader was himself in favor — I don't know — of redeeming that pledge; but the leader of the Assembly is generally the representative of the party organization. He does not act as an individual; he acts as the representative and the spokesman of certain party determinations.

“Very well, acting whether or not upon his own opinion and impulse, that leader assisted and led in the effort that killed that bill. That is not an understanding; that is a fact. As a certain friend of mine, with

whom I got in an argument, said, 'I am not arguing it with you; I am telling you.' And you don't need to be told; you knew it already. If you want to know whether it is likely that the same organization will back Mr. Lewis in doing what it has not backed your present Governor in doing, ask Mr. Edge. He can give you the most satisfactory inside information.

"It may reveal nothing that is crooked. I am not intimating that; for that is neither here nor there; but he will be obliged to tell you that the organization was against the measure, and it is the same organization now as then. Moreover, the present candidate for Governor, without involving himself in any dispute of any kind, has been a member of the organization for the past three years, and longer, so he is not an outside party, he is an inside party in the organization. You will have to reckon the probabilities then.

"There is another matter, a very practical matter that we ought to take into consideration. What has happened to all the attempts in the Assembly of New Jersey to pass a corrupt practices act? Every measure of that kind has been smothered or defeated. And why do corrupt practices prevail? Why are registration lists padded? Why is it impossible to detect and expose the padding of lists?

"Why? Because in every direction you turn for relief you find organization men, not the Republican party, resisting you; for I happen to know that there are hundreds, ay thousands, of thoughtful Republicans in this state who are just as anxious as any Democrat can possibly be to correct these very ugly things; but they find no means of correcting them; there are no instrumentalities through which to do the things; nobody can be brought to act who is in authority. It is impossible to discover why.

"One does not like to intimate dishonorable reasons, but the fact is, as I have stated, that it is impossible to correct these things. That it is common rumor and belief that they exist. Here is a pretty state of affairs; a self-governing people, indeed! A people of their own affairs, indeed! If they have charge of their own affairs and want them changed, why don't they change them?"

"Hear! Hear!" cried several voices in the vast assemblage.

"We are going to change them," cried another, amid cheers.

"The people of New Jersey," continued Mr. Wilson, "are just awakening to the fact that they have been balked in this power of theirs, this self-government under which they live, that somehow it is tied up in the hands of somebody, and that they themselves

are outsiders in their own business house, where their own affairs are concerned.

“Anybody who touches the use of the franchise in this country to debauch or to pervert it is a public enemy. If he calls himself a Republican he is hiding, like a coward, behind a handsome name. If he calls himself a Democrat, he is of the same cult and cut. The great curse of this country is the men in politics who, no matter by what name they are called, are in it for the sake of the game and for the sake of control.

“Now I tell you, candidly, without making any charges of fraud, that this is a campaign to break up the Republican machine, and I believe in my heart that the men who are going to assist with the greatest zest in this matter are Republicans themselves.

“And let us see about the hopeful task of conducting good government, not by private management, but by public discussion. That is the program, public discussion. There is nothing in this world to which machine men are so averse as to public discussion. It gives the ordinary politician a chill in the back because he doesn't know which side the chill will come from.

“These gentlemen believe, if I am to credit them — and I do credit them — they believe the public welfare of this country depends upon the management of the Republican machine. They believe it is necessary to maintain an organization, which they have been kind enough to call a Board of Guardians. It is the State Republican Committee when concerned with legislation, and that, if you please, is under the control of this Board of Guardians. Nothing can be done at the Capitol in Trenton without the consent of our guardians. That puts us all in the category of being under age or else *non compos mentis*. We are either defective mentally or in our minority if we have to be taken care of by a Board of Guardians. I do not know of any court of competent jurisdiction to appoint such guardians.”

The splendid speech was concluded with an impressive declaration that the independent spirit of America is returning to the hearts of the people.

“Everywhere that you turn you see that splendid thing that we call independence,” said the speaker. “There never was in America before so numerous a detachable vote as there is at the present moment. There never was a time when the politicians, accustomed to regular sessions,

were more hopelessly guessing than they are now. A free nation might almost be defined as a nation which keeps its professional politicians guessing.

“Independence, as well as eternal vigilance, is the price of liberty. There is nothing higher in the world than independence. You know, ladies and gentlemen, what independence means. I can illustrate it in this way: One great church requires of its clergy that they should not marry, and I have sometimes thought that there was a very deep, spiritual justification of that requirement. When a man is married he has given hostage to all the self-interests that are in him. Many a man will dare to do right, to abide the consequences, if the consequences descend on himself, but if they involve the fortunes and the very bread of their wives and the children he loves, how often will he yield to what seems to be the stern necessity of giving away to temptation?

“And then you reflect on all the threads and sensitive nerves that connect us, not only with our beloved families, but with our neighborhoods, with our towns and our cities, and forget how we tremble to break the tender film of these tender nerves, then you know the cost of independence, the cost of standing up ruthlessly and breaking anything rather than give up the independence of your spirit and your faith. And if that is the operation of your Government, if men will not do that, they cannot be free.

“You remember that fine story taken out of the Middle Ages, when, to humble his subjects, David, their king, said to them, ‘Fools, do you not know that I can have you condemned?’ ‘Yes,’ they said, ‘we know you can do it, and we know the result, that we can die hating you and cursing you.’ And the monarch knew that he did not dare to put those men to death, because the terror was in his heart that if those men were put to death there would be sown the seeds of hatred and rebellion. He did not dare attempt violence upon the spirited and independent men. And so, if you are free people, you will remember that the price of liberty is independence.

“I have preached you a sermon upon a great theme, but what theme could be greater than our own integrity, the integrity of our Government, the liberty of our lives, the satisfaction of having thoughts the integrity of which has not been violated?

“Do you want pure and good government? You cannot have it in perfection under any circumstances. No man dares promise you more than so much as it is possible for brave men to do in a single generation,

but you must make up your minds by which road and through which men you can accomplish the most in your own time.”

As the audience, which had sat silent, hanging intently and absorbed on the speaker's lofty sentiments and ennobling thoughts, caught the drift of his great mind it gave vent to its impulse in a mighty wave of applause that made the pier tremble.



## XX

### WINNER IN REPUBLICAN OCEAN

VASTLY GREATER CROWDS THAN TURNED OUT FOR LEWIS<sup>2</sup>PAY  
ENTHUSIASTIC HOMAGE

*Lakewood, N. J., Oct. 14* — After to-night Woodrow Wilson is not going to be surprised at anything more during the rest of his new kind of campaign. At two great meetings, one at Toms River, the county seat, and another later here, he was almost overwhelmed with tremendous and unexpected ovations from the people when, in his addresses, he continued his plea for bringing about a new order of things in state government.

The first surprise came at Toms River, where the crowd became so great that Mr. Wilson was forced to speak from the steps of the old courthouse, where only last week Vivian M. Lewis, the Republican candidate, drew an audience that barely filled the courtroom. The day's program had been changed because the people here insisted upon hearing Mr. Wilson, so the Toms River meeting was fixed for 7.30 o'clock, and at that hour the courtroom was so full and so many more were on the outside unable to get in that I. W. Carmichael, the chairman, announced that the candidate would speak outside, and the people turned out.

There, overspreading the lawn and reaching out into the middle of the street, the big crowd stood, intensely interested in the strong man who stood between two massive fluted columns, a very pillar of justice himself, with the lights at his back placing him in sharp silhouette, urging the people of America to return to the country the principles its founders laid down for it. After that meeting Mr. Wilson was whirled across the ten miles of good road to this handsome resort in the pines, where he found a great crowd eagerly awaiting his arrival in the Arcade Skating Rink, a massive hall.

There were not less than 1200, fully 700 more than gathered to hear Mr. Lewis, and Assemblyman Joseph P. Tumulty, of Hudson County,

was driving home some of the cold bare facts of the Republican legislative record when Mr. Wilson arrived. A tumult of applause, such as he has grown so accustomed to, greeted his appearance, and, although it was after 9 o'clock, the great audience, scores of whom were unable to find seats, stood throughout the meeting.

And over all the day and the night there was a distinct and tangible atmosphere that fairly tingled with the notes of victory. It inspired Mr. Wilson, but in all his utterances he gave modest disclaimers to any distinction of his own in the great movement, ascribing it to the great independent movement in the country which has reached into New Jersey.

A mile outside Cedar Run a punctured tire held up the Wilson car, and while Jack Kinsey, the chauffeur, and "Ed" Burrell, the jolly driver of the correspondents' car, adjusted a fresh tire, Mr. Wilson sat on the top rail of a fence and entertained the company happily with story and anecdote in merriest mood.

Arriving at Toms River, the party was met by a local committee composed of former Prosecutor I. W. Carmichael, Martin Schwarz, C. B. Mathis, Dr. E. C. Disbrow and others, who awaited the party in the portico of the Riverside House, overlooking the river, and Mr. Wilson had an opportunity for a half-hour's rest before dinner, though scores pressed forward to see him.

"The best way to put a baby to sleep," said Mr. Wilson, "is to repeat to it a line over and over again. The Republican speeches of this campaign read like a lullaby, but we are grown up and they can't put us to sleep any more."

The audience caught the idea readily and laughed and applauded. In both his speeches Mr. Wilson used as his central theme the awakened spirit of freedom which finally is to overthrow the domination of the special interests in New Jersey affairs, so that, sooner or later, the people will get what they want.

"But," said he, impressively, "if you elect me and fail to elect a Democratic legislature, you will discover how great a mistake you have made, for without a legislature back of me I can only say what I might have done, and that would make it easy for me. But I don't want to be that kind of Governor. I want a legislature to aid me, so that we can get together to accomplish the things we are so eager to accomplish.

“I must admit that my wonder grows as I see the great audience that is gathered here to hear the simple words I have to say. Surely, something is afoot in New Jersey. Everywhere I go are the same kind of audiences, mixed of every element of the people of the neighborhood, drawn together, I am sure, by no idle curiosity to see the new candidate, but drawn together because of their interest in the questions which are stirring the state, and giving evidence by their numbers that those questions are stirring the state.

“I have seen many sorts of audiences, I have in my time attended many political meetings, but I never have seen political meetings such as I have seen in recent years. They have not seemed to be like party gatherings at all, but it seems that we are met to discuss questions of the principles of our great Commonwealth, and how we should try to serve those interests best.

“If we met as a party assembled we would have to indulge in the old kind of party argument and the old kind of party invectives, in which there never has been anything and never will be anything as long as the world stands. It is not parties, ladies and gentlemen, that go wrong; it is the leaders of parties that go wrong.

“Think of what the parties consist; think of the great Republican and the great Democratic parties, almost evenly divided in voters of the United States, when a great Presidential election occurs, going each by the millions to the polls. Do you suppose there is anything radically wrong with the millions of men who go to the polls to vote on the one side or the other? If they are voting as I would judge in the wrong way, it is simply because they are misled by persons they are following. We talk about government by the people, and we heartily believe in government by the people, but as a fact judgment by the people consists in judging the men who lead them.

“We must conduct our affairs, earn our living and support those dependent upon us. We cannot actually conduct the Government; we can only look on and judge those who are conducting it. And in campaigns, in political campaigns, what we are met to do is to judge those who have conducted the Government, to see whether we are satisfied with them or whether we desire a change, and I am glad to say that I have not come to urge a change merely because the Republican leaders have been unsatisfactory in what they have given you. It would be easy to show, I am sorry to say, that they have been unsatisfactory, but we cannot make a change simply because we are dissatisfied; we want to make a change because we wish to accomplish something.

“I am not interested in negative reasons for a change; I am interested in positive reasons. There are a great many positive reasons why we should have a change, for there are a great many positive things that we desire to do, and for some reason we have been unable to get our leaders to do them. We have come upon a very different age from any that preceded us. We have come upon an age when we do not do business in the way in which we used to do business.

“There is a sense, ladies and gentlemen, in which in our day the individual has been submerged. You do not feel it, perhaps, in this part of the state as much as it is felt in some other parts of the state, but in most parts of our great Commonwealth men work not for themselves, not as partners in the old way in which they used to work, but as employés in a higher or lower grade of great corporations. There was a time when corporations played a very minor part in our business affairs, but now they play the chief part, and most men are the servants of corporations.

“You know what happens when you are the servant of a corporation. You have in most instances no access to the men who are really determining the policy of the corporation. If the corporation is doing the things that it ought not to do, you really have no voice in the matter and must obey the orders, and you have, with deep mortification, to coöperate in the doing of things that you know are against the public interests, and at the same time you are submerged, your individuality is swallowed up in the individuality and purpose of a great organization.

“At the same time that you are subordinated to the organization some men are supreme in the organization, and, while it is true that the individual plays a smaller part in our day than he ever played before, it is also true that he plays a larger part. Some individuals, very few individuals, play an extraordinary part in the control of the business operations of this country. If you build these corporations big enough, as they are being built, they will come into direct competition with Government itself, and presently we begin to suspect, and more than suspect, that they control the policy of the Government.

“If they control the policy of the Government, how do they control it? They do not control it through you; they do not come upon public platforms and discuss with you the matters which they wish to have decided by legislation, or try to dissuade you from the measures of legislation that they are afraid will be adopted. They go to party managers. They go to party organizations and they make their arrangements with them.

“Now don't misunderstand me; I am not suggesting that these arrangements are against the public interests, and I am not suggesting either that they are always corrupt, for very often they are not. These distressing things that have been happening in neighboring states in regard to the actual corruption of members of the legislature by the corporations in order to induce them to pass certain legislation, or to refrain from passing certain other legislation, they are not the rule, they are the exception, and I thank God that it is so.

“But the rule is that they convince party organizations that the public interests will not be served unless they, the corporations, are served. And, convincing those party organizations, there has come about in this country one of the most dangerous conditions that ever existed in alliance between parties and business. Parties have no right to ally with business; they have no right with any kind of business other than that kind of business that is not for the individual, but for the general welfare, for those things which must be done, whether particular branches of business suffer or not, in order that justice may be accomplished and an even hand held in the administration of government.”

It was a busy and very pleasing day for Mr. Wilson, and one in which much of the aroused interest of the people was displayed. In all the points in Ocean and Atlantic counties which he touched he was given the greatest encouragement. Indeed, the information was general that a great overturning of the Republican vote is impending. Starting from Atlantic City at noon, after last night's tremendous demonstration, the run was made to Pleasantville, and, though nobody had information as to the time of the party's arrival, word went out that the candidate was coming and a crowd collected in front of Leech's store and cordially greeted the man who already is loved in all parts of the state.

The crowd insisted upon hearing him, and, stepping upon the porch of the building and doffing his hat, Mr. Wilson said he had not expected to be called upon for any remarks.

“Have you all understood the character of this campaign?” he said. “Don't you think the people are demanding a change in the State Government? What kind of a man do you want? Do you want to be governed by a professional or an amateur? That is the way our Republican friends put it, and I accept it. And by 'professional' I mean the man who has not been serving the people, but has been bound by the ties of the political machine which dominates the affairs of this state.

That is the choice we have to make; that is the idea involved in this battle. We want to be governed by ourselves."

Three good cheers were given, and the crowd pressed forward, several men declaring that, though they had voted the Republican ticket all their lives, they expected to vote for the Democratic candidate for Governor this year, and they knew of many more who would do likewise.

In the glorious October sunshine the automobile ride over the fine stretches of hard road put Mr. Wilson in fine fettle, and he was alert, eager, and interested at every turn along the shore. Through Oceanville, Port Republic, New Gretna, and on to Tuckerton it was a fine drive of forty miles. The party was piloted by Clarence L. Cole and Mark A. Devine, of Atlantic City.

At Tuckerton, where a stop was made for luncheon at the Carleton House, the party was joined by Thomas J. Scully, candidate for Congress; George C. Low, of Toms River, candidate for Senator, and Harry Newman, of Lakewood, candidate for Assembly, who brought most encouraging reports of the outlook for Wilson's success. There, too, former Mayor Frank R. Austin, C. D. Kelly, a prominent oyster grower, and many others, all declared that, while the borough usually sends in a large Republican majority, there is now every prospect that it will go for Wilson. One of the oldest residents of the town, Captain Job Anderson, shook the sturdy hand of Mr. Wilson and said:

"I have just learned that I have been voting wrong. I never voted for a Democrat in my life, but this is the time I shall do it," and the old captain was not alone in his declaration.

Kelly said he knew of scores of old-time Republicans who would do the same thing. Although the town, the centre of Ocean County's heavy oyster industry, was nearly deserted, most of its men being out at work on the bay, a goodly company gathered about the hotel porch to give Mr. Wilson cordial greeting and encouragement.

A short stop was made at West Creek, another oyster village, where another group of Wilson converts was encountered. Isaac Shinn, an oysterman and fisherman, well known to scores of anglers from the cities, came up to the candidate, wrung his hand and said: "For the first time in my life I am going to vote for a Democrat, Mr. Wilson, because I believe we need a change, and a lot of men in our family are going to do the same."

"That's good, that's fine," said the candidate, smiling.

## XXI

### EAGER FOR EVERY THOUGHT

MONMOUTH COUNTIANS TURN OUT EN MASSE AT TWO GREAT MEETINGS

*Freehold, Oct. 15.* — Into old Monmouth, so uncertain and coy in its political allegiances, now favoring one and again the other party, Woodrow Wilson carried his plea for virtue in government to-day, and to-night his third week of strenuous campaigning ended with another great triumph. As in Ocean County yesterday, there came from all points reports of his growing strength here, and the tremendous outpourings of the people were forceful and indisputable evidence of the great awakening of New Jersey.

Mr. Wilson's central thoughts were the corruption of the ballot by which the Republican machine retains its grip, the alliance of the machine with the great corporate interests to the serious detriment of the people's interests, and the misrepresentation by Senators Kean and Briggs of the people of the state.

When Mr. Wilson started for the big Asbury Park meeting, which was regarded as most remarkable for that Republican town, he passed under a large banner stretched across the intersection of Main Street and Matison Avenue, which bore the inscription, "Woodrow Wilson, the Man of the Hour." That seems to be how the people of all the counties he so far has reached regard him. In this little town, the county seat, it seemed that every one of its 4000 population was determined to get close enough to Mr. Wilson, not only to hear the voice that is proclaiming the return of the Government to the people, but to feel the impulse for good that emanates from him and influences all with whom he comes in contact.

The Opera House was packed almost as quickly as the doors were opened, for the people gathered early to gain seats, and hundreds were disappointed by having to remain out of doors. Piloted by Surrogate Crater, the candidate's party made the 18-mile run to the county seat in quick order and a crowd of farmers and town folk awaited in front of

the Monmouth House, the destination for dinner. Here the three candidates for Assembly, Elmer H. Geran, Leon R. Taylor, and James A. Hendrickson; Professor John Enright, county superintendent of schools and principal of the High School; A. C. Hartshorne, R. V. Lawrence, former Assemblyman Charles McDonald, Township Committee Chairman C. B. Barkalow and other leading Democrats greeted him.

The audience was alive to the spirit of the occasion. The meeting was called to order by Professor Enright, whose appearance on the stage showed that he was not without popularity himself. He made a brief introductory address, declaring that the movement for good citizenship had been given a great impulse because it had a great man to lead it.

"Now, my friends," said he, "the time has come, the hour is here and we have the man, and he is here, Woodrow Wilson."

When the storm of applause had died away Mr. Wilson said he felt quite neighborly with the people of Freehold because he used to make frequent visits here as an undergraduate. The big gathering he regarded as fresh evidence of the interest of the people in the great questions of the day.

"We are not jealous of great business," he said, "but we want to control it. Why do you wish to control corporations? Because they are controlling you. Why do you wish to control political machines? Because you suspect they are managing you."

It was another interesting and busy day for Mr. Wilson, and, while the tours were long and somewhat exacting, he enjoyed the evident interest manifested by the people on every hand. He left Lakewood at noon after making a run about the beautiful town with its array of costly hotels and cottages, and caught an outside view of Georgian Court, the magnificent estate of George J. Gould, as his car whirled past. It was a pleasant run of twenty miles to Asbury Park, passing through Bay Head, Point Pleasant, Sea Girt, Spring Lake, and Belmar, now showing few signs of life, but the whiff of sea air as the car bowled along the ocean boulevard was like tonic.

The car pulled up at the Hotel Marlborough, one of Asbury Park's largest hostelries, where State Committeeman David S. Crater, County Chairman W. A. Becroft, City Chairman R. S. Bennett, former Senator Henry S. Terhune, R. V. Lawrence, Secretary Devereux, of the State Committee, and others warmly welcomed the candidate. The meeting was fixed for 3 o'clock, in the Hippodrome, a theatre seating 800 persons,





HON. DAVID S. CRATER



but which was jammed to the doors long before Mr. Wilson arrived, so that hundreds of men were unable to get even a peep at the speakers.

It was a repetition of all the other gatherings Mr. Wilson has addressed and of the same political character, for it was declared that scores of men who have stood in Republican lines in years past formed part of the large audience and demonstrated the utmost interest and enthusiasm in the candidate's lofty ideals.

For the first time since the campaign started former Senator James Smith heard Mr. Wilson speak. He joined a party of friends who came up from Spring Lake land occupied one of the boxes with Col. George Harvey. On the stage was Thomas J. Scully, who is making big inroads upon Congressman B. F. Howell's preserves and is said to hold a fine chance of winning out, and other well-known Democrats of old Monmouth.

The meeting was called to order by Samuel A. Patterson, who said it was an honor and privilege for the people of Asbury Park, irrespective of party ties, to have present the next Governor of New Jersey, against whom nothing had been urged except that he had an over-sufficiency of brains. A short speech was made by former Mayor Frank S. Katzenbach, Jr., of Trenton, whose popularity in Asbury Park was attested by the cheers that greeted him.

When Mr. Wilson stepped to the front of the platform the great audience arose and cheered long and loudly, and, as in all the meetings in which he has appeared, he was visibly moved by the earnest character of the lusty demonstrations. He had not expected to speak there, and when he learned that the people of Asbury Park just must hear him he decided to make a short address, and it proved to be one of the most forceful of the campaign, the central thought being the alliance between the Republican machine and the great business combinations and special interests, under which system it was not possible for the Republicans to keep their pledges to the people.

"If a party is fighting to keep its power it doesn't want any change," he said. "If I were making a machine I should want to know that the conditions were sure to continue so as not to interfere. I'm for putting the machine out of business and, parenthetically, I want to say that, if you find out I am or even was connected with any machine, I want you to vote against me.

"I have read with a great deal of interest and with some sympathy the speeches which Mr. Lewis has been making about the Republican party.

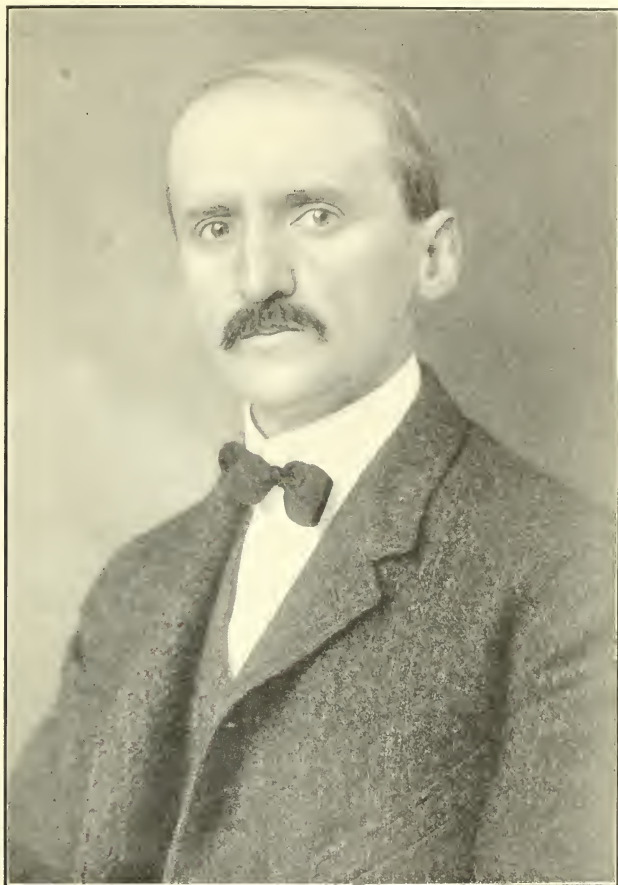
I do not wonder that Mr. Lewis in his thoughts harks back to the great name of Lincoln, which stands at the beginning of the history of the Republican party, and yet how far back must he go to find typified in the leaders of the Republican party that man of the people, that man who wished nothing so much as freedom, nothing so much as that individual man should have his shackles and trammels struck away from him, so that every man, every common man, should have his rights in America.

“There has been a long process of building since then, in which these gentlemen have insensibly been led away from the ideals and standards of Lincoln. It would be a happy circumstance for America if we should go back to the leadership of men like that, to the leadership of men in whose heart no motives had found lodgement except the motives which they drew from sympathy with the great mass of men; but we, alas, have been drawn away from these circumstances, partly by circumstances which we would not wish to reverse if we could reverse them.

“The great circumstance of modern times is the particular form in which business has grown. It has grown, as Mr. Katzenbach so admirably has pointed out to you, in these artificial forms which we sum up under the general name of corporation, combination, trust or whatever word you choose to use in connection with the great organization of business which is now so characteristic of our times. And in that process of building nothing has been more instrumental (I make this by way of a concession, but I think it is a just concession) than the policy of Republican party. The Republican party, therefore, has come to be regarded, I mean the Republican party leaders, have come to be regarded as the partners of big business.

“Now there is no doubt that big business, business on the great scale, business on the corporate scale, organized, united business, has been at the bottom of the building up of the colossal wealth and material power of this country. In the process certain men have come to the top, men of genius, men who in other circumstances would have ruled, not merely great business combinations, but great states and great empires, men of the stuff that statesmen and kings are made of; but, alas, in some respects also like the great statesmen and kings whom other ages have known, who have centred their thoughts upon their own power and have come to believe that the exercise of that power was one and the same thing with the prosperity of the country.

“Therefore, these kings and rulers have allied themselves with the leaders of the Republican party, have poured money into their coffers, have stood by them at every critical turning point in their political his-



WILLIAM K. DEVEREUX, SEC'Y STATE COMMITTEE



tory, until these gentlemen feel, and very naturally feel, an honorable alliance that cannot be broken between the corporate leaders of the country and the political leaders of the country.

“Put yourself in their places. Let yourself be engaged in great business, let yourself be as intimately concerned with big business as the two present Senators from New Jersey are both of them engaged, and ask yourself frankly what would your point of view be. Your point of view would be that anything done by the legislature or by Congress that disturbed the plan or impaired the prospect of these great bodies of business would be detrimental to the community as a whole.

“These gentlemen, I have very little doubt, honestly think that the brains of the country are lodged where the money is used, that the discussion of the country lies where great business has to be overlooked, where the vision extends beyond the boundaries of the United States, to foreign markets, to great international transactions, as great as the transactions of ancient states when they dealt with one another, until these great masters of finance are entertained by foreign monarchs not as a condescension but as those who would acknowledge the greatness of their equals—men who are presiding over the destinies of great nations.

“I am not impeaching, therefore, the motives of these men; I am challenging their thought. I do not believe that these men can do the thinking for the country, and I do not believe that they ought to be suffered to do the thinking for the country. The question you have to face in this campaign is: Who shall do your thinking and governing for you, men who think in the terms of special interests or men who have been engaged away from special interests and think in the terms of no special group of persons whatever?

“I have nothing, not a syllable, to say against the character or the purpose of my opponent, the Republican candidate for the Governorship. I have only this to say as to his situation, that he has for a great many years been allied with and connected with this group of men who have come to think that they must do the thinking of New Jersey for her, and that it is inconceivable to me that he should be able to detach himself from that connection and think independently and even antagonistically, as it is necessary he should think, to the things which they have intended and have been doing.

“Mr. Katzenbach has recited for you some of the broken promises of the Republican party, I mean of the Republican party leaders, for that is what we mean in this discussion when we say the Republican party—

the Republican party leaders have done the misleading. Now, why have they misled you? Why have they made promises which they do not keep? Because after they had made them they found it would disturb business to keep them, and, therefore, they did not keep them. Their object was and is to retain their leadership in order that existing conditions may not be disturbed. You will find great ramifications of these motives.

“It would look as if all they have to do was to prevent legislation which would actually interfere with the business of corporations. I can understand, because it lies on the surface, why they should not keep their promise about the Public Utilities Commission, which should have rate-making powers. They did not regulate all public utilities, that is perfectly plain, but why did not they pass a corrupt practices act?

“Oh, gentlemen, don't you see that the power of a political organization does not lie actually in the person who determines its policy. A political organization has branches in every community in the country. It is necessary that they should keep the offices in as many communities as possible in order to preserve the integrity of their own power unbroken. Moreover, it is necessary that they should create as many offices as possible and have as many salaries at their disposal as possible, and, in order that this community should not be able to break this grip upon them, it was necessary that the election should not be too clearly scrutinized by the voters because the spirit of insurgency, the spirit of independence, is alive, and even when it seems most to slumber.”



## XXII

### REFUTES A FALSEHOOD

DENIES HE IS A FOE TO LABOR AND PROCLAIMS FRIENDSHIP FOR  
ORGANIZED WORKINGMEN

*Trenton, Oct. 18.* — Woodrow Wilson encountered to-night in his home county another of those wholly unlooked for marks of popular approval which have become so frequent in his new kind of campaign, and in this unexpected situation he made a ten-minute address full of significance and which brought for him one of those storm waves of appreciation which so astonished him at first, but to which he gradually is adjusting his nervous system.

He flung down the gauntlet to those who have been endeavoring to paint him as a foe to organized labor and, in terms somewhat stronger and more pointed than has been his wont, he proclaimed his friendship for workingmen organized. It was this strong declaration in favor of labor that evoked the greatest and most lasting mark of approval, but the whole little speech aroused great enthusiasm.

“I am very glad to feel that this is an evening when I am with you personally and can shake hands with you,” said Mr. Wilson. “To tell you the truth, I am tired of making speeches; not that I am tired of the occasions which call them forth, for nothing has interested me more as I have gone throughout the various parts of the state than the eagerness with which men have gathered to hear the great questions discussed, which it is our duty to discuss.

“Because a very interesting thing has happened, gentlemen, we talk a great deal about the machine of this party and that party, and we seem to be very much afraid of the machine government, but machine government exists partly because we don’t take the government into our own hands, and in blaming the machines we must remember that we have allowed them to do business. Now I understand from this campaign, gentlemen, that the people are resuming control of their affairs, and what gratifies me more than anything else in going about the state

is that, if I should be chosen Governor, I will be chosen something more than Governor.

"I will be chosen the spokesman of my fellow-citizens in the way in which our Government ought to be conducted. That is what I want to be, gentlemen. I want to be your spokesman. I want, if I may have the privilege, to interpret your interests in respect to legislation and other questions in the state. I want to have the privilege of picking out for you the best officeholders that can be found in the state.

"I speak of myself on this occasion because this is not a speechmaking time, but a time when I want you to understand me as a person. I tell you frankly I am not ambitious of political office. Political office of itself has no attractions for me whatever. But when I think that I may be given an opportunity to do things not easy to do, on the contrary, difficult to do, which I will be called upon to do by a large body of my fellow-citizens, I feel that, whether I want office or not, that will be one of the most distinguished privileges that has ever been accorded an individual. Therefore, I want you to regard me as a person who desires to put himself at your service and in no other light whatever.

"Inasmuch as I am speaking of personal matters, I want to speak of something that has, I will permit myself to say, caused me a good deal of distress. Ordinarily I do not think that misrepresentation makes any difference. Ordinarily I think lies take care of themselves. But it has distressed me, I will admit, that I should have been so consistently and persistently and, I will take the liberty to say, malignantly, misrepresented in respect to my attitude toward labor.

"I am not at all afraid that the laboring men of this state will depart from their usual practice and not judge of this matter for themselves, and I am not afraid that they will oppose me, but I think that, at a reception like this, I should tell you how false the whole thing was. Because, to be represented in the light in which I have been represented, when I have been always a consistent friend of the laboring man, has distressed me.

"I want to say this to the laboring men. I claim to be a good friend of the laboring men because I am not afraid to criticise things that they do when I think they are doing things they ought not to do. I could be what a great many other men have been, a cowardly friend who was afraid to say what they thought. But if I were that sort of person I would kick myself around the block.

"I have, as you know, criticised some of the unions for doing some things in regard to the regulation of labor which I thought were inimical

to their interests and to the interests of the country, but I take the pains to say that they did not represent the mass of the workingmen, and I said the things I have said as a friend desirous of promoting their best interests. And I believe in my heart that that is the kind of friend the workingmen want.

“If you want the other kind of friend represented in the headquarters across the street, so far as I am concerned you are perfectly welcome. You have only to examine their lack of consistency in dealing with other questions and other interests of the people. For their works are written on the pages of the state’s history. If you think that these gentlemen have always acted in your interests, I beg that you will support them, for I have no jealous feeling in regard to this matter. Only I want to give myself the pleasure of telling you how I really feel.”

In referring to the headquarters across the street, Mr. Wilson meant the branch quarters of the Republican State Committee, just opposite the Temple.

There had been no intention on the part of the Democratic League to hold a campaign meeting. It was planned to get Mr. Wilson to the Capitol merely for a reception, at which the voters could be given an opportunity to meet him and shake his hand. The press became so great, however, that it was decided to rent the big auditorium of Masonic Temple, so that all who desired might come, and all who desired proved to be some 1200 or more, and many of them were compelled to stand. The hall was beautifully decorated with flags, bunting and plants, while a large orchestra let loose patriotic airs.

Mr. Wilson was brought over from Princeton in an automobile by County Chairman Hoff and E. F. Hooper, and was met at the hall by State Committeeman Charles H. Gallagher, who has been with him on much of his state tour; Mayor Walter Madden, City Assessor John P. Dullard, former Senator Jonathan Blackwell and other prominent men of the party.

His appearance in the hall let loose one of those torrents of emotion with which he has become so familiar in the past few weeks and which apparently have inspired in him the feelings to which he has given such eloquent expression that the people at last are aroused to the questions of the hour for their own better welfare.

It had been planned merely to have the candidate stand up at the end of the hall, back of an enclosure, and receive the people, but the crowd was so large, early in the evening, that the managers found it necessary

to hustle for chairs, and in a few minutes 700 eager people were seated, while along the aisles and back of the rows of chairs stood fully 500 others, all deeply interested in the proceedings. It then was found necessary to break away from the program of informality and permit Mr. Wilson to make a ten-minute address, because the Mercer County voters had urged that he make here some explicit statement on the labor question.

## XXIII

### VOTERS' SHARE IS THEME

CANNOT SERVE THEM, DECLARES THE CANDIDATE, UNLESS THEY  
DO THEIR PART

*Somerville, Oct. 19.* — "I believe in my heart that the Democratic party is offering to save you, and it is bidding me to put myself at your service; but I cannot put myself at your service unless you do your part."

That was the crux of the argument made to-night by Woodrow Wilson, the central figure of the awakened populace of New Jersey in another triumphal demonstration of his towering strength. He had come into beautiful and prosperous Somerset County, the home of many well-to-do commuters and farmers, the home of President of the Senate Frelinghuysen, which gave Governor Fort but 186 majority three years ago. He found conditions ripe for revolt, the people thoroughly aroused and ready to follow a great leader to good government.

He eloquently and forcibly pictured to the vast audience in the National Guard armory the conditions due to the partnership between politics and the special interests, under which the government of the state is run, and pointed the way to the removal of those conditions; and the 1000 or more who heard him gave emphatic endorsement to his sturdy sentiment. It was another of those great meetings which Mr. Wilson has been gathering in all parts of the state, and it was another of those remarkable demonstrations of approval of the broad, patriotic sentiments to which he is giving utterance at all the meetings he so forcibly and ably addresses.

Mr. Wilson had arrived in town early. He had been whirled across country to Bound Brook for one of those spontaneous and uncharted marks of popular esteem which stand out so clearly in the campaign; he had met many awakened Democrats, all hopeful and filled with a new energy, and his pulse quickened when he heard the expressions of good will, admiration and confidence which came to him so quickly.

The largest hall in the city of 6000 population is the handsome new armory of Company M, Second Regiment, which had been tastefully

decorated and arranged with chairs to seat 1000 persons, the gallery being reserved for the ladies. The crowd began to gather at 7 o'clock, though the meeting was set for 8, and long before the candidate arrived not an inch of space remained for another listener. And the big audience was bubbling over with enthusiasm, ready to burst forth at the slightest provocation, and there was plenty of provocation in the stirring speech of this leader of men.

Richard V. Lindabury, the eminent North Jersey lawyer, whose home is near here, was chairman of the meeting, and in his opening remarks he declared that he had been one of the Democrats of New Jersey who, realizing that the Government of New Jersey had fallen upon evil times, taking counsel together, had cast about for a man who could lead the way to better things, a strong man to lift the affairs of the state from their low level. They had found the man, and he was under no promise or obligation to any boss or special interest, but was free to serve the people of the whole state.

"He is untrammelled, free and independent, and will lift the affairs of our State Government above the standard of that Board of Guardians. He is Woodrow Wilson," concluded Mr. Lindabury.

Mr. Wilson was unable to proceed for a full minute, so full and hearty was the applause that greeted him, and that he was deeply moved by the mark of approbation was visible to all beholders.

"The chairman has said that you are about to engage in one of the most important elections that this state has known. He said, I venture to say, that when you come in future years to look back upon this election, you will realize that it afforded you an occasion to take part with the rest of the country in what is little short of a revolution in American politics. Do you realize what is happening in New Jersey and outside of it? Do you realize that both parties are almost of necessity breaking away from the past? Do you realize that our life has broken away from the past? The life in America is not the life that it was twenty years ago. It is not the life that it was ten years ago.

"We have changed our economic conditions absolutely from top to bottom and with our economic society, the organization of our life, the old party formulas do not appear in the present problem, the older crises sound as if they belonged to a past age, which men must have almost forgotten. Elderly men here will not need to be told that things which used to be put in the party platform of ten years ago would sound antiquated if put in the platform now, and therefore there is a signally vital

moment in the audiences which collect in the present, in that they collect irrespective of party, for they realize that they have not come to discuss party questions, that they are not come to hear parties denounced or to hear parties praised, but they have come to hear the interests of the Commonwealth discussed in terms of the present moment.

“It is in vain that either party turns to its past record, either for vindication or for excuse. Its past record is not pertinent to the matters now in hand. Is it not a fact that we stand in the presence of a new age to which we must give the attention of men who know that there is no guidance to be afforded them except their own intelligence and their own conscience, because what makes every man stand erect and feel his manhood is the feeling that he is determining public questions for himself at no man’s bidding, not as the slave of a party, not as the mere follower of party leaders, but as an American citizen who has the right to determine these things for himself?

“I cannot imagine a man so deaf to all the voices that are now in the air as not to know that a time of critical choice has come and that, if there is any man’s heart under his jacket, it will be true to the interests of his commonwealth and his country. If this were not such a campaign, I, for one, would not be upon the platform. If it were my function to excuse a party, if it were my task to seek an office for the sake of getting an office for a party, I would have nothing to do with the campaign. Those things do not interest me.

“I believe in my heart that the Democratic party is now offering to serve you and that it is bidding me put myself at your service. That is what I am doing. That is what it is my heart’s desire and ambition to do. But I cannot put myself at your service, gentlemen, unless you know what there is to do, unless you know what the situation is and what it is that we seek to cure. We do seek to cure certain fundamental evils in our politics, evils which have crept upon us unawares in some degree, but, nevertheless, they have come upon us until they have the grip of a giant in maintaining control of the Government of this country and of its policy.

“Now, what is the situation? The Democratic party has almost everywhere in this country broken its connections with its past and is putting up new men. What is the consequence? That men who have long been out of the Democratic ranks are coming back to them, and that men who have never been in the Democratic ranks are listening attentively to see what new things it is that this party purposes. Look at the Republican party. In many parts of the Union the Republican party

has broken with its past, has seen that the policies which it has been pursuing are not suitable to the day in which we live. Many of the most intelligent readers, young and old, have arisen to protest against policies and purposes that have prevailed in that party.

“Particularly in New Jersey has the Democratic party taken a new course, and, unprecedented in its history, it has called from outside party organization altogether not one man, but several who are to be brought in to speak the views of the new age without respect to any machine connection, without respect to any pledges of any kind, as men who seek to voice the general citizenship in this country.

“The Republican party has broken with its past almost everywhere except in New Jersey. The moral of the recent nominating convention of the Republican party is that certain men, notwithstanding the present undoubted desires of the Republican party, have managed to keep the old connections and the old control and to maintain the supremacy of an organization already discredited in its own party. One of the most distinguished representatives of the Republican organization, I mean former Governor Griggs, has said that he objects to the term reform as applied to the Republican organization. He says the implication of that word is that something has been wrong with the Republican party. He says that the only word he will accept was the word ‘improvement’ and he graciously conceded that there was some room for improvement.

“I know some of these gentlemen, and my only objection to them is that they cannot get a new idea into their heads — it would take a surgical operation — they are living on convictions of twenty years ago, they regard it a necessity, they are maintaining a policy which will maintain in the slang of the day ‘a big business with two big B’s,’ and their theory of government and prosperity is ‘keep big business going, and big business will take care of the country.’

“The idea that cannot be got into their heads is that if they take care of the country there will be something in the line of big business to take care of. They build from the top down, not knowing that every secure building is built from the bottom up and that every citizen who will take average interest, the great lever of every man’s business, as his standard of action, is sure to be certain of big business as well as a good and faithful servant of the country.”

Continuing, Mr. Wilson succinctly outlined what he regarded as the necessary steps for divorcing the special interests from control of the Government, citing a utilities commission with power to make and reg-



ulate rates, a corrupt practices act that will prevent big corporations and business concerns from making campaign contributions, and a direct primary law that will give the people power to select their officers. Concluding, he said:

“And I know from personal acquaintance with scores of members of the legislature that there is nothing they would welcome so much as the liberty of representing their constituents and not representing a political organization. I am not proposing something to you which is to indict the honesty or the right purpose of the members of the legislature of our sovereign state. I am proposing something to you that is not new; that for a long-lived period of years we have forgotten.

“I am proposing to you the government by the people of their own affairs through persons of their own choice, who are under obligations of the most solemn kind to tell them the truth, and to try to tell them the way.

“I say, gentlemen, that what we are after in this campaign is this, we are for the purification, we are for the ratification of our policies in those respects where they have become obscure. I do not doubt the result. I know the spirit of the American people. I am not one of those who believe that you have to appeal to party spirit in order to get an election in this country. I am one of those who believe that you only have to point out to the people of the United States the moral issues that lie at the basis of all other ages, and that when you have so pointed them out every pulse in their manhood will beat quick, in that they will rise in appeal, in that old spirit, which will make possible a new declaration of independence, a new revolution, the creation of a new nation.

“Americans are asleep, or, I would more properly say, they have been asleep, but, thank God, that time is past and they will awake, and the resolutions of the year 1910 are resolutions which show to America and to the world the making of a political awakening.”

Following Mr. Wilson addresses full of fire and earnestness were made by former Mayor Frank S. Katzenbach, of Trenton; Colonel William Libbey, candidate for Congress, and Senator George S. Silzer, of Middlesex County. Mr. Wilson was driven back to Princeton immediately after the meeting.

Mr. Wilson's day produced another of those wholly unlooked-for and unarranged evidences of popular feeling. He had been brought to pretty Somerville in the automobile that has carried him without mishap

over so many miles of New Jersey, with "Jack" Kinsey at the wheel, arriving about 3 o'clock, and meeting State Chairman Nugent and M. W. Scully, chairman of the Somerset County Committee. There was time to spare and, after short consultation, it was decided to run over to Bound Brook, four miles on a straight road, where it was reported lots of people were anxious to see the candidate.

In a few minutes the car stopped at the handsome home of George M. La Monte, Democratic candidate for Assembly, who is said to stand an excellent chance of election despite the fact that Somerset is usually "safe" for a Republican majority. Mr. La Monte cordially greeted the candidate, and a committee of ladies was spontaneously formed with Mrs. La Monte at their head. Mr. Wilson began shaking the hands of those who crowded about him on the leaf-strewn lawn with the glorious October sunshine streaming through the trees. Perhaps 300 persons, of whom there were some 100 well-dressed women, had shaken Mr. Wilson's hand and given him a word of happy good-will when Mrs. S. R. Kelso stepped up to Chairman Nugent and said: "We so much want to hear Mr. Wilson speak. Will you not ask him."

"It was not intended to have Mr. Wilson speak this afternoon," replied the big chairman, "but that is a matter for him to settle. You may suggest it to him."

Mr. La Monte presented him to the impromptu audience of perhaps 300 persons gathered in a semi-circle on the wide lawn and he said:

"I did not expect such an event as this, much less to speak. I am having the most delightful experience of my life, meeting earnest people bent upon the consideration of the most vital questions in men's lives. Most political meetings partake of the hilarious character consisting of cheering the candidate, booming his cause and knocking the other fellow, but in the present campaign men are showing intense interest in the things of vital importance to the welfare of the Commonwealth.

"I am not seeking office for myself, but offering myself to my fellow-citizens to undertake to do my best for whatever service I am able to render. I have for years studied the political situation from the outside, but, having been brought into intimate contact with the political leaders during the campaign, I have only to say that if all are of the kind I have met they are men who mean to work for the welfare of New Jersey."

A round of cordial applause greeted the little speech, and Mr. Wilson

shook warm hands. Then he was driven down to the Hotel Berkeley, where nearly 100 workingmen pressed forward to greet him, wishing him success. The party then returned to the Hotel Somerset here, where Colonel Nelson Y. Dungan, of the Second Regiment, National Guard, and Democratic State Committeeman for Somerset, presented a score or more of prominent residents, who dined with the candidate. Among them were James L. Griggs and Mayor C. H. Kenyon, Republicans, who openly declare that they intend to vote for Mr. Wilson. There also were present former Congressman Alvah A. Clark, L. M. Coddington, former Senator W. J. Keyes, C. A. Speer, P. W. Tunnison, D. H. Beekman, Thomas E. Gibson, State Prison Inspector Jacob Shurtz, and others.

## XXIV

### HUNTERDON BREAKS LOOSE

REGARDS HIM AS MAN POWERFUL ENOUGH TO FREE STATE FROM  
RULE OF THE BOSSES

*Flemington, Oct. 20.* — Woodrow Wilson stood forth more clearly and distinctly as the rock of the people's hopes in this wide field of a fearless Democracy to-night. He had come from Princeton, where his resignation of the presidency of the great university had been accepted, and it did seem that he breathed a freer air, as though heavy cares had been lifted from his mind. His spirit was dominant, vigorous, and contagious.

He had anticipated, of course, that in Hunterdon County, which un-faillingly gives its support to Democratic candidates, he might be warmly welcomed, but he was in no wise prepared for the mighty demonstration with which he was received. So great was the multitude in and about the Opera House when the hour for the meeting arrived that the local managers found it necessary to hastily open the old courthouse to let in the overflow crowd, and that, too, was jammed.

As soon as he had concluded one speech Mr. Wilson was hurried around to the other meeting for a brief address. In both the big meetings the enthusiasm knew no bounds and old-time campaigners declare they never beheld the parallel of this night in old Hunterdon. Mayor Hulsizer, in opening the Opera House meeting, said he had been interested actively in political affairs for thirty years and never had he seen anything like it.

"At Princeton to-day," he said, "the trustees of the university accepted the resignation of one of the best presidents that university ever had, and I will present you to the best candidate for Governor New Jersey ever had." That neat little turn caught the big crowd and it voiced its approval in a great shout. The candidate was in the full vigor of his great intellect when he faced the attentive audience, which, at many points in his address, paid him the tribute of a tense and almost breathless silence as he vigorously lashed machine politics, the

coalition of the corporation special interests and the rule of the political boss, and called the people to march under the banners of right.

Speaking with marked feeling of the severance of his ties with Princeton, Mr. Wilson said:

“I think I owe it to the people whose franchise I am asking to disengage myself from other occupations and to devote myself to the serious purposes of this campaign. And yet I sometimes wonder, when I face an audience like this, what it is that we are discussing. You know some very singular things have happened in this campaign.

“We started out with marked differences between the programs of the two parties. The Democratic platform has a great many items in it, all of which are explicitly expressed; the Republican platform has fewer items in it, most of them not specifically expressed. But the Republican candidate has added to the principles of his party platform practically everything in the Democratic platform and, therefore, it is obvious that what we have come together to discuss is not so much the differences between the professions of the two parties, as interpreted by the spokesmen, but the difference between persons — the differences as between what is to be expected of the one candidate and what is to be expected of the other.

“The Republican candidate has for a long time been part of an active party organization; the Democratic candidate has never been part of a party organization. The Republican candidate has, in more than one speech, given a sufficiently clear indication of how he expected to act. You will remember that, when he accepted the nomination, he said that he expected to be a constitutional Governor, by which he meant that he would punctiliously confine himself to those things that were intimated as his privileges and duties by the Constitution of the state; that is to say, he would send messages to the legislature, make strong recommendations to them, but that if they did not accept his recommendations he would have nothing more to say about it.

“I, following about a week afterward, said that if that was the standard I was going to be an unconstitutional Governor, because, if it was unconstitutional to urge upon the citizens of the state, in order that opinion might guide the legislature, the things that it seemed absolutely necessary the legislature should enact, then I was going to take the liberty, the utmost liberty of speech that belonged to me, not merely as Governor, but as an American citizen, to urge upon the people of the state the necessary reforms in legislation and administration.

"Then Mr. Lewis followed suit and said that he also would do that. But Mr. Lewis, as I pointed out to you, is an intimate part of an organization, and I am not part of any organization at all. The contrast in the program, therefore, is this: Will you have the things that you want attempted and carried out by the organization methods, or will you have them carried out by the other method which I have suggested to several audiences in this state, by the method of public discussion and personal responsibility? That is what I propose to you as a serious question, gentlemen. Are you or are you not tired of the organization process, are you or are you not disappointed with what you have got from party organization, from party machines?"

Continuing, Mr. Wilson said there is but one way to settle the problems which the people of New Jersey want settled and that is through public opinion and that public opinion is not a matter of reading newspapers, nor is it made overnight. He said it was in the gathering together of the people in little groups to discuss their affairs and the problems of government.

Further along he said: "What are the objects you are to demand of all of your candidates? Are you after promoting the interests you belong to or are you after settling public questions? The man who is not after settling public questions is not worth listening to, and a man who is genuinely desirous of coming at a just settlement of such questions is worth listening to whether he is right or wrong, because all force comes from the moral vigor that is in the man. All dignity, all self-respect comes from his honesty, his real desire to see the truth, and a man who has that desire and is wrong can be convinced and set right.

"So I say to you, you must demand of your candidates that they specify that the object is to settle public questions in the way that will be just and right and bring about justice in the relation of men to each other in the settlement of their affairs."

Reaching the underlying thought of his address, Mr. Wilson said one of the great matters to be settled was the question of the corporations. "I have heard a great deal of cheap and easy denunciation of corporations," he said. "It is perfectly easy to grow eloquent in denunciation of these great business organizations which we call by that name. And it is perfectly easy, by the same token, to be absolutely unjust. What we are jealous of is not legitimate business, not the right use of the power of the corporations, because they are a great convenience in the

conduct of our complicated modern business; but what we are jealous of is the wrong, the criminal, the unjust use of the corporation.

“And so all we ask in seeking to regulate corporations, public-serving corporations, for example, and other corporations, is not to break them up, but to adjust them to our interests, and we cannot adjust anything to our interests unless we study the character of the thing itself and the character of our interests as related to that thing. And every step of public policy depends upon inquiry, depends upon understanding, depends upon the comprehension.

“Now there are two things we want adjusted in respect of our corporations: In the first place, we want to make them act in a way that is fair to us, and, in the second place, we want to make them right in the way of taxation. You have heard a great deal, a great deal that is true, about inequalities of taxation in this state, and in the country, too, for that matter; and it has been said, and sometimes justly said, that the corporations which enjoy enormous legal advantages do not pay enough for those advantages, and that the taxes that are levied on their property are not levied in a way that shows equality between the taxes that are levied on their property and the taxes that are levied on the property of private individuals. Now, all of that must be adjusted in a spirit of fairness, not in order to do the corporations an injustice, but in a way to see that everybody gets his rights in a matter of that kind.”

Amid loud and prolonged applause Mr. Wilson was guided out the rear entrance of the house and to the courthouse, where other speakers had been discussing issues of the campaign and where the crowd, which chokingly jammed the room, sat patiently waiting. His appearance was the signal for another great ovation, and that he was moved as he has been moved before in this campaign was plain to all beholders. His second address was short but pointed, and the enthusiasm of his hearers was unbounded.

Others who made stirring addresses at the two big meetings were Colonel William Libbey, candidate for Congress; Assemblyman Matthews, Assemblyman Joseph P. Tumulty, Senator William C. Gebhardt, who had such an unprecedented majority for reelection last year; Captain Perry, of Atlantic City, and others. Mr. Wilson was fairly besieged at his hotel after the great double demonstration and did not seem to weary in the least. He reached town exactly on schedule time, six o'clock, as he always does, having motored up from Princeton. He

seemed greatly relieved by the action of the trustees of the university in accepting his resignation.

Mr. Wilson was greeted by William D. Bloom, State Committeeman from Hunterdon; Mayor and County Chairman A. C. Hulsizer, former Senator R. S. Kuhl, Senator William C. Gebhardt, Attorney Harry L. Stout, Paul A. Queen, J. N. Pidcock, Jr., Assemblyman John J. Matthews, [who has no Republican opponent for reëlection for a fourth term; William E. Trewin, Oliver Kugler, John W. Sharp, Morris L. Eick, A. W. Muirhead, and others of the leading Democrats of this strong old Democratic county, and former Prosecutor Samuel E. Perry, of Atlantic, a native of this town. All were delighted to grip the candidate's hand and glad to feel the warm blood that flows in his veins.

After supper at the Union Hotel, where the proprietor, former Assemblyman Joseph Chamberlin, was host, Mr. Wilson held an informal reception in the parlors, and scores of active men, Republicans as well as Democrats, came to greet him. To-morrow morning he will go by automobile through another strong Democratic county, Warren, and will speak in Phillipsburg to-morrow night.



## XXV

### READS A NEW LESSON

SAYS NEW JERSEY'S POLITICAL BOSSES HAVE REGARDED OFFICES  
AS PRIVATE PROPERTY

*Phillipsburg, Oct. 21.* — Woodrow Wilson is a weary but a happy man to-night. Nothing quite so heartening to him has happened in his new kind of campaign as his great reception in Warren County, one of the four of the state that has a fixed habit of presenting majorities to Democratic candidates. A tremendous meeting in Ortygian Hall to-night wound up for him the hardest day of his great battle.

He had made one of those old-fashioned "whirls" by automobile, covering nearly ninety miles of New Jersey's most beautiful country, stopping at eight towns and making seven speeches, six in response to insistent demands, and he was mighty weary when he reached this city to-night. And yet such was the tonic effect upon him of the gathering that he was at his best, bright, earnest, and filled with the spirit of his broad patriotism that is carrying him straight to the hearts of the people.

Old campaigners in Warren, such as Senator Cornish and former Judge Morrow, declare that nothing paralleling the Wilson visit ever has been seen here, and that, instead of the 1000 or 1500 the county usually gives, they fully expect it to give 2500 to 3000 for Wilson, whom they regard as the type of man for whom the people of New Jersey have been looking. They say that hundreds of Republicans have declared their intention of voting for Wilson, and they confidently look for a great landslide.

As in all the other meetings which Mr. Wilson has addressed, the crowd, the enthusiasm and interest were at the top notch. The hall will accommodate about 1000, but nearer 1500 pressed in and left many disappointed ones without. It seemed that half the audience stood through the delivery of the address, which occupied fully fifty minutes, with never a waver in the interest.

Mr. Wilson continued to arraign machine politics and the alliance

of the special interests with the political organization for corrupt purposes. He cited the exposures of the insurance companies not so long ago as illustrating the point he desired to make that the special interests have been allied with the political organizations or machines.

“These men,” he said, speaking of the officers of the companies contributing to party coffers, “were treating these funds exactly as if they were their own and were making a private and illegitimate profit out of them. What I want to call your attention to is that many of these men who were doing these things were not dishonorable men; they were men who had got into the slow drift of the system which they had not sufficiently examined and which their consciences had not kept tally of, and by one slow stage after another had been led to a point of view where they had forgotten the original fundamental intentions of the business in which they were engaged.

“Something very similar has happened in the field of politics, not in New Jersey merely, but throughout the United States. What has happened is that certain men connected with great political organizations have, by slow and insidious stages, found themselves treating political questions as if they were private questions and political offices as if they were for private benefit. They have lost the point of view of the business they were engaged in, exactly as the insurance men lost the point of view of the business they were engaged in. Many of these men are without intention of doing dishonorable things; many of them are without conscience of doing illegitimate things.

“They have by stages of politics, which can be traced just like the growth of a tree, been drawn into things which have withdrawn them from their consciousness of being public servants. They have forgotten what a great statesman once thrilled us by saying, that public office is a public trust. And, therefore, we say — and may with a great deal of heat — that we have got tired of the domination of the political machine.

“But did you ever stop to ask yourselves what you mean by the political machine? Do you really mean party machinery? There must be party machinery. Millions of men cannot coöperate upon a common principle without some organization to guide them and hold them together. It is not a mere question of machinery; it is not a mere question of organization. There was nothing the matter with the organization of the insurance companies. The trouble was with the use of the organization. Our real quarrel is not with the political organiza-

tions, for their use up to a certain point is indispensable, but our quarrel is with the use made of the political organizations."

Referring to the methods employed by the special interests in legislative halls, Mr. Wilson said:

"When there is an investigation, and bribery is disclosed, what is shown? Who are bribed? Is there miscellaneous bribery? Certainly not. Certain men who find they can control the organization are bribed, and, if there is any distribution of the money, they distribute it to make sure of what they want. Now what do they want? They want certain legislation passed at the State Capitol. I am drawing the illustration from a neighboring state where these things have been disclosed, and therefore it is no scandal to speak of them.

"They want certain legislation passed, or they want to prevent certain legislation being passed. What has been in the papers recently? The disclosure that something like \$500,000 was paid by certain men in New York in order to prevent legislation to stop horse racing or betting on horses in the state of New York. This was paid by men who were making profits out of that business, or getting sport out of it, who did not want this legislation passed. They therefore contributed a fund to prevent its being passed. There, in its greatest and most obvious form, is an illustration of the alliance of part of the political organization and business interests."

Mr. Wilson suggested a remedy for the wiping out of the bad conditions, in these pithy sentences: "In the proportion that we are disgusted with the process of politics we are disgusted when we know these things to exist. The remedy in the insurance field was to change the men who were wrong and radically to change their point of view. Each part of the change was important.

"First of all, they got new presidents and new Boards of Directors for these insurance companies so as to break the circuits, as it were, to curb the policy that had obtained and would obtain after that. Then they impressed upon these men by the influence of public opinion that they were administering not private but trust funds and that they must assume all the obligations and exercise all the care of those who are trustees.

"We are endeavoring to make the change and we are seeking to make it now. We are seeking to change the men who are in control of the

processes and we are seeking to get men whose point of view is an entirely different point of view, who regard public office as a public trust, disconnected with business, having nothing to do with special interests, but with general interests, the interests of every man. The motive force must come from the outside instead of from the inside in what we are seeking to do. You have got to move this machine and you have got to move it in the right direction and use it for right purposes.

"There is nothing to say against the character, and, I believe, nothing to say against the purpose, of the Republican candidate for Governor, but he always has been led into mistaken uses of political power. He is in the position of a former member of the Board of Guardians and you have to ask yourselves how probable is it that he will try to use the old organization, which is unpromising in itself, to new purposes."

Mr. Wilson made himself plain as to where he stands regarding labor questions, upon which, he said, the Republicans had taken great pleasure in misrepresenting him. "All my life," said he with unwonted earnestness, "I have been the friend of the workingman and of the workingman's organization, but when I thought the organization was doing things against the general interest, of course I criticised it. I should not hesitate to criticise anything I believed to be wrong.

"What would you think of a friend who, if you were doing a wrong, slapped you on the back and said you had never done a wrong in your life? The right kind of friend would be the one who would tell you of your wrong and try to set you straight. That is the only kind of friend I care to be. I did it once, and the Republicans are keeping that fact alive. They forget all the rest of my life. They are good at forgetting. They can't even remember a promise made to you three years ago."

Concluding in one of those strong appeals to the manhood and pride of his hearers, Mr. Wilson declared that the movement for the betterment of things is sweeping the country and that the battle in New Jersey is attracting the attention of people in all of the United States.

"It is positively exciting, positively thrilling, to be engaged in politics in this particular reign of grace," he said, "because to any man who has studied American history it seems as if here we were with the return of the tide, as if there had been for a great many years a long, dry, heated space of sand, from which the waves had withdrawn.

"And now there is in the distance the roll and thunder of the tide,

the returning purpose and consciousness of the American people, coming in, not hastily, not with a storm back of it, not with passion driving it, but slowly drawn and lifted by the great forces of nature, making up the shelving beach, cooling the sand, stretching wave after wave, higher and higher, lifting with it all the refuse of the shore, cleaning as it went and sure presently to be at the flood, when all the forces of nature will seem to be renewed and the levels of American politics lifted again to their old exaltation."

Mr. Wilson's long and arduous day began at 9 o'clock with the start in the touring cars from Flemington. After his great stir of Hunterdon County there was little chance for him to get a breath, so strenuous was the going every minute. The first objective point was Washington, Warren County, and the cars had traversed but a few miles of an excellent, even road when they were halted at a long stretch where rebuilding was under way and the only thing to do to avoid a sure hold-up was for all hands to get out and walk.

Mr. Wilson was one of the first out and he climbed rail fences to make the detour through the fields to escape the quagmire made by excavations and recent rains; he showed that he was as nimble as anybody in the party and he was one of the most cheery over the mile walk to Lebanon, where the cars, after pushing through the mud, awaited the pedestrians. The way then led through Clinton, Glen Gardner and Hampton, and while one or two short stretches of bad road were encountered, most of the way was good and, despite the delay, Washington was reached soon after 11 o'clock, a half hour after schedule.

There on the sidewalk in front of Baker's Hotel were gathered fully 500 men, and Senator Johnston Cornish, the State Committeeman from Warren, had gathered eight automobiles, prettily decorated with flags, for the run through the county. Here, too, were met many prominent men of this "always straight" Democratic county, among them former Assemblyman Joseph H. Firth, Mayor of Phillipsburg; former Judge William H. Morrow, Assemblyman George B. Cole, who is going back for another term, and William E. Tuttle Jr., candidate for Congress in the Fifth district, sometimes alluded as to "Fowler's district."

Much to Mr. Wilson's surprise, he was looked upon to make a speech and was carried almost on the shoulders of the cheering crowd up the narrow stairway to the little hall, into which 500 tried to squeeze, though it will hold only 250. The local managers declared that never had the town beheld anything to equal the unusual demonstration. Mr. Wilson

was presented by J. M. Snyder, chairman of the County Committee, and he made a brief address which greatly stirred the gathering, largely composed of workingmen.

"This is an unexpected pleasure," he said. "It is satisfactory and pleasing to me to see so many of my fellow-citizens gathered at this hour of the day. I have gone about in a good many places since the campaign opened and I have been most cordially received. I am not going about seeking office. My only desire is to serve the people of New Jersey to the best of my ability and understanding. You can't depend upon the political machine to give you good government; the members of the machine do not explain or justify themselves. I believe in personal responsibility; you can't hold a political organization responsible; it is too numerous and spread out too much. You can't kick a political organization and you can't punish it in this world or the next. It is the officers who are supposed to serve you, your neighbors, that you must get at. You should require of them that they serve you and give an account of themselves."

The crowd cheered as an earnest affirmation and then pressed in a dense mass about the commanding figure of the candidate as he was placed in Senator Cornish's car and the run begun for Hackettstown, eleven miles away, over a splendid macadam road, skirting fine hills and woodlands, the procession of eleven cars making a fine show along the way. At many points workers and drivers recognized Mr. Wilson in the forward car and set up a lusty cheer.

Hackettstown, nicely decorated for the day, was reached soon after noon, and in the street in front of the American House fully 1000 persons had gathered and a noisy demonstration greeted the arriving cars.

So insistent was the demand for a speech from the candidate that he doffed his overcoat and, standing in Senator Cornish's car, he spoke for most ten minutes, covering in a general way the points of his previous address, though couching his thoughts in new and attractive wording.

"I do not speak for the machine," he said. "I do not represent any machine, and was not even asked to represent any. I am simply putting myself at the service of the people of New Jersey. It is not office that I desire; I would be just as well pleased to serve you in any other capacity. But the offices of your state have been badly managed, and I want to see if others cannot manage them a little better."

The party had dinner at the hotel, and then drove on to Blairstown. sixteen more miles over rather poor roads through some of Warren's most beautiful hills. Mr. Wilson was greatly surprised at the big turnout there, for the population is only about 1200, and it looked as though every man, woman and child in the town, as well as the lads and lassies from Blairstown Seminary, had gathered on the porches, sidewalks and at the windows of houses in the immediate vicinity of the Blairstown Hotel, and they showed how mighty glad they were to see the candidate.

Mr. Wilson made another short speech from the touring car and shook many more hands thrust out eagerly to him. A quick run of six miles over more beautiful hills brought the party to Hope, the quaint old village founded by the Moravians, where a stone building erected in 1781 and long used as a house of worship is now an inn, where good, old Moravian applejack is dispensed to those who can stand the strain.

There, as the cars were drawn up on the village green, Mr. Wilson spoke pleasantly and hopefully of the campaign outlook. The next stop was at Oxford, the iron mining and manufacturing centre, where Mr. Wilson addressed 300 more aroused persons gathered on the walk in front of Allen's drug store. Belvidere, the county seat, one of the prettiest of New Jersey's towns, was reached at 5 o'clock, and the waiting crowd jammed into the courthouse, where Mr. Wilson spoke for a few minutes to the admiring host. A stop was made at Roxbury for some handshaking, but no speech, and the twelve miles to this city was quickly run, the party arriving at the Lee House at 6.30.

When Mr. Wilson entered the hall a crowd of jolly students from Lafayette College over in Easton, who occupied a space in the gallery, gave a few incipient war whoops, reeled off a bunch of hurrahs for the candidate and sang in student glee club style:

“What's the matter with Wilson?

He's all right.

That is just the reason we're here to night.

We've got 'Viv.' Lewis on the run.

We've got the Republicans on the bum.

What's the matter with Wilson?

He's all right.”

The meeting was called to order by Thomas Barber, who presented Mr. Wilson. After the latter's speech Assemblyman Joseph P. Tumulty,

of Hudson, who, with Captain S. E. Perry, had made the tour of the county with Mr. Wilson, made a strong address upon state issues, riddling the Republican administration and presenting many facts and figures gleaned from his four years' active work in the legislature to back his charges of misrule and extravagance. He also cited Lewis's legislative record to show that he had been a steadfast friend of the special interests which Mr. Wilson so vigorously flays.



## XXVI

### WINNER IN CONTRAST OF MEN

GETS AUDIENCE THAT OVERFLOWS HALL NIGHT AFTER HANDFUL  
HAD GREETED LEWIS

*Newton, Oct. 22.* — The paths of Woodrow Wilson and Vivian M. Lewis crossed to-day and, as they met on the road, they exchanged personal pleasantries and shook hands as though all the world were a sunny place after all. It happened just outside Hackettstown. Mr. Lewis had spoken here last night and was on his way to Flemington, while Mr. Wilson was on his way to stir up old Sussex. Their cars passed in the storm, but a flash of recognition caused a halt.

Former Senator William M. Johnson, muffled in a big fur coat, was riding with Mr. Lewis, and they jumped out to greet the rival candidate.

"I hope you are faring well, Doctor," said Mr. Lewis, in a voice so husky as to be scarcely audible. "Very well," replied Mr. Wilson; "but what are you doing for that voice?" "Oh, I'm taking medicine," said Mr. Lewis, smiling. "He'll have to take his medicine, all right," said State Committeeman Gallagher as the cars pulled away.

The contrast between the reception accorded his rival and that tendered Mr. Wilson in Sussex was sadly sharp. Last night, when Mr. Lewis spoke, the public school auditorium, seating about 1000 persons, was not more than two thirds filled, and it is said to have been a rather doleful audience, too. To-night Mr. Wilson passed a double row of brightly illuminated houses on the way and, reaching the hall on the top floor of one of the largest and best public school buildings in the state, he faced a crowd that filled the auditorium completely, and Newton's population is only 6000.

Of course, Sussex is a Democratic county and that would account for the difference in some measure, but Sussex is awake like all the other counties of New Jersey. There was a great blaze of fireworks, music, lights and enthusiasm and the people were deeply stirred. This, too, after a day of cold, sodden rain when physical effort was a task. The

enthusiasm was boundless and Mr. Wilson, despite his long, wearisome day, was in fine voice and excellent physical shape.

With a large bust of Washington at his right and another of Lincoln at his left, Mr. Wilson made one of the best addresses of his campaign, presenting to the demonstrative audience the plain truths in which he has shown such strength. He said nobody doubted for an instant that the sympathies of the Democratic party were the fundamental sympathies of the people, and he argued that, in this campaign for the revival of a government for the people, it must be to the Democratic party that the common people turn for help.

"This has been described," he said, "as a year of Democratic opportunity; it may likewise be described as a year of Republican opportunity if the Republicans could only see the opportunity. The difference between the two parties at the present juncture is that the one has and the other has not seen this. There never was a time when the voters were so detachable from their parties as they are in this particular year. The old formulas, the principles of the two parties as they were once stated, have not the same significance now that they once had, and men are holding themselves free to vote for ideas and for individuals rather than for parties.

"Don't you see how it quickens the pulse to think of such a time when the candidates for the people's favor have to stand for something besides a party name? Party names are things to conjure with, particularly the ancient name of the Democratic party, which is older than any other party name now in use in the country.

"But party names have in some degree in recent years lost their magic. Men will not wear party labels any longer; they attach themselves to causes; they seek to elevate persons who represent those causes; even insincere men in some parts of this country are now masquerading in the handsome costume of great ideas for great principles. You can see the thing best displayed in the Republicans, you can see it displayed in that party because that party has been long in power and has, in the opinion of a growing number of persons in this country, misused its power.

"Therefore the most notable insurgents in this country are at present made up of Republicans who have seen that their party leaders have been leading them in directions which are not sanctioned by principles of that party any more than they are sanctioned by the principles of the Democratic party."

Proceeding, Mr. Wilson went deep into the foremost thought of his campaign, the domination by the special interests of the political machines for their own gain and power. He said that the party that first raises the standard of the new ideas and raises it with enthusiasm is going to be the first to draw the free-thinking element to itself.

Some Republicans, he said, have sought to raise such a standard, but their party is divided and they are not united in that handsome purpose. The Democratic party is not divided, but is united in that purpose and has elevated that standard, and his prediction was that the people of this country, seeing that circumstance, are going to flock to the Democratic banner because that is the banner which now represents freedom and progress.

That evoked a mighty cheer from the men of Sussex, who say they will do handsomely for Woodrow Wilson on election day. He again discussed in new thoughts and fresh ideas the subject of machine control, and declared it was that that the people were tired of and meant to throw off.

It was another of those old-fashioned kinds of campaign days for Mr. Wilson and, though there was an all-day drive of rain or cold drizzle, he went sixty miles by automobile, visiting seven towns and shaking hands with numberless earnest men of Sussex, who declared the county is good for more than its old-time Democratic majority. In the afternoon he made a short address to a crowd that filled the public school hall, the residents braving the storm to see and hear him, and they decided that he was good.

Starting this morning at 9 o'clock from Phillipsburg, where he scored such a signal triumph last night, Mr. Wilson doubled on his trail through Warren County and passed through Washington and Hackettstown, the rain at times beating hard upon his face as the car dashed over the fine stretch of road. From Hackettstown the rain was thickest to Andover and the candidate had good opportunity to learn the source of the old campaign voters' catch-line, "From the sun-kissed hills of old Sussex," only the hills were dripping and sodden.

His travelling companions, State Chairman Nugent, Assemblyman Joseph P. Tumulty and State Committeeman Gallagher, did not care particularly to do much more motoring in the storm, but the Sussex County men had announced a schedule to which it was deemed advisable to adhere. Six other cars containing prominent Democrats of the county were on hand and, after a brief stop to shake hands, Mr. Wilson was

placed in Theodore Simonson's car in the lead for the five-mile dash to Sparta. They called it a dash because it was so muddy.

Former Senator Lewis J. Martin and Assemblyman Charles A. Meyers acted as ushers and announcers for the seeing-Sussex party, and even the Spartan mothers turned out to make the candidate feel glad. Mr. Wilson was in a happy mind despite the chill and despite the knowledge he must have had that this sort of effort is useless to the furtherance of the cause as he is presenting it. A little farther on the road and the northwesternmost corner of New Jersey was now being traversed. Ogdensburg was reached and Congressman "Billy" Hughes was picked up, for Sussex is part of the Sixth district, on which he seems to have a lien.

A short stop also was made at Franklin Furnace, the busy, hustling zinc-mining town, and the borough of Sussex was reached almost on schedule time and dinner was served at the Goble Inn, many men of the locality turning out to greet the candidate. A meeting was held at 2.30 in the public school hall in the centre of the village, a quaint old room where lads and lassies speak pieces.

Once more Mr. Wilson was astonished that on such a day so large a company should turn out to see him, for the hall was crowded and many persons stood. He seemed to open his heart to these plain country folk from the farms, for his eye kindled, the genial smile possessed his rugged face and he was close to his hearers all the time. It was here that he told the people they must keep an eye on him if they elect him Governor, because he is going to do the things they are expecting him to do. After a little side trip to Branchville, nestling among the hills and trees, Mr. Wilson came the sixteen miles to this pretty place, where the end of his fourth week of heart talks to the people was reached.

Mr. Wilson will go to his Princeton home to-morrow morning to freshen up for a full week of work, beginning at Camden Monday.

## XXVII

### LEADING PEOPLE TO LIGHT

#### NEW JERSEY AWAKENING TO THE STRENGTH OF NEW KIND OF CAMPAIGN

*Trenton, Oct. 23.* — One of the favorite questions of Woodrow Wilson to his audiences is: "Do you know what is happening not only in New Jersey, but in all parts of the United States? Why, that all over the land people are awakening to the need for a return to the form of government intended by the fathers." And in his keen, searching analyses of the conditions and of the trend of thought he never projects himself into the focus of that thought. It is always that he is only one of the instruments sought out to perform some part of the work to be done to bring about that change.

It is somewhat amazing to those who closely follow him to discover that there apparently lurks not the suspicion of a selfish thought, but that in the heart that beats beneath the broad chest there is a love for humanity and a patriotism that move every fibre of his being and bid him attend to the task to which he is devoting such splendid effort. But while he evidently sees the great popular trend of thought he must necessarily see what is evident to the close observers of his new kind of campaign, that he is the embodiment of the movement that is going on in New Jersey, that his great mind and the lofty purpose that closes his ear to the petty and inconsequential atoms of the campaign are the dominant notes of the battle for better government in this state. But never for an instant does Mr. Wilson permit himself to be led into an admission of the thought. It is a liberal education to sit under the magic of this man's voice and catch the spirit of his wide and generous patriotism.

What is happening in New Jersey, if some old political observers can be relied upon to estimate it, is that Woodrow Wilson is gripping the hearts and minds of the people, that he has gained tremendous strength in the four weeks he has been abroad among them, and that all who

see and hear the man are convinced of his greatness, of his sincerity and unflinching courage and honor. As has been previously said, he does not wear one suit in one place and another in some other spot. He does not change his mental attitude or his viewpoint, or his forward course. It is straightaway, across fields and over rocks and through woods in a drive for the mark, and the mark is so high that men are led to the very pinnacle of faith in him. Somehow, there is that about this man that compels faith, there is that about him that arouses in men all hope and confidence that the sordid things of life are not, after all, the best of living.

It was amazing to Mr. Wilson in his old-fashioned campaign swing through the hills of Warren and Sussex counties the past week to discover in the small towns so many of the plain people who were eager to hear the new sort of political address and to get the better idea of living. In one of these meetings, held in the cold drizzle of yesterday in a little old public school hall in the borough of Sussex, with but a scant 300 or so of population, he presented the view of life that right living, after all, is the only kind that wins out in the end and that men who do wrong are the losers; that it is utterly absurd for the gross and immoral to attempt to hoodwink their fellow-citizens, for there is history to be written and in history only the right triumphs.

There was much more to the speech, which was not expected to be more than a mere word or two of greeting to the handful of people expected at the meeting, but that was the dominant thought, as applied to corruption in politics and the alliance of the special interests with the political machine, and it was surprising to see with what interest the audience hung upon his counsel and drank in his words, so plainly but so impressively sent forth.

What is happening in New Jersey is that those who are so closely allied with the special interests in the combination with politics are getting the scare of their lives and they are making the effort of their careers to combat the widespreading influence of this man who is going up and down the state disclosing in stirring language and strong terms the alliance that has so long held its grip upon government when the people were presuming that they had elected men to represent them in legislative halls. What is happening in New Jersey is that at last the people are awakening to the necessity for action, that that action is likely to be taken in November and that the tremendous influence of the character and leadership of Woodrow Wilson is going to cause an upheaval.

Mr. Wilson spoke in five counties the past week and always to tre-

mendous audiences, always to crowds that overflowed the halls in which the meetings were held, though the committees in every instance secured the largest halls. In one case, that at Flemington, it was necessary to hold two meetings to care for the multitudes and the candidate had to give two speeches, which he did without a murmur of protest. In all meetings he has shown always the strong and lofty purpose, the desire to present to the people the cause for which he stands, and how he makes it plain that if chosen Governor of the state he will carry out the program he has laid down for himself with no interests to clutch him, no organization to thrust obstacles in his way. And those who know the man, have known him for some years, have intimate knowledge of his career, both as a teacher and as head of the great Princeton University, declare there is no shadow of doubt that he will do exactly what he says. It is one of the fixed habits of his life.

Therefore, what is happening in New Jersey is that the people are pinning their faith to a man who will not betray them the instant the campaign is over and he has gained their confidence and their votes to place him in office. There is no mistaking the set of this strong current that seems to be sweeping over the state. It is everywhere apparent and it looks as though it were hardly necessary for the Democratic State Committee to do any of the ordinary work usually required of such committees. It is certainly not necessary for them to "color" reports of the campaign. As a pure matter of fact no man has yet been equal to the task of adequately describing the tremendous scenes of enthusiasm that greet the candidate everywhere he presents himself and of the effect of his strong personality and his strong counsel upon his audiences. The people sit in rapt silence while with upraised finger he points the way of duty, of patriotic endeavor and shows the path to the new-old America. Then, all at once they realize something of the power that is deeply moving their better impulses and touching the vital chords within them, and they give vent to their pent-up feelings in outbursts of approval that cannot for an instant be misunderstood.

There are but two more weeks of this new kind of campaign, and in this time Mr. Wilson will have other addresses to make and other thoughts to present. So far he has made something like thirty speeches, no two of them alike, though he speaks extemporaneously and sometimes without the slightest notice, but always there is the underlying thought and purpose, always the dominant note of a desire to serve the people in the manner which he considers to be his duty. He has encountered some situations wholly new and novel to a man so accustomed to the atmos-

phere of education; he has rubbed up against some rather trying and patience-exhausting advisers, but never does he lose that calm, sunny and charitable demeanor to which so many thousands of people of the state are destined to have close acquaintance. This "man of the hour" is more than that. He is the man of the future for New Jersey and for America.



## XXVIII

### FREE OF ALLIANCES

MERCILESSLY FLAYS MACHINE CONTROL IN CAMDEN, HOTBED OF  
MACHINE POLITICS

*Camden, Oct. 24.* — It remained for Woodrow Wilson to give to the city of Camden the largest political gathering in its history, to-night. And in this hotbed of machine politics he flayed the alliance of the political machine with the special interests in a manner that must have made some of his Republican auditors wince, for there were among his hearers no small number of officeholders who must have realized fully just what he was driving at, as everybody else understood. So great was the pressure to see and hear this new leader of men that the Democratic managers were forced to arrange for two meetings and two addresses by this new sort of candidate for Governor who is setting New Jersey ablaze. He spoke in the Temple Theatre, uptown, and the Broadway Theatre, downtown, and in both the houses the jam was so great that men could scarcely breathe. Uptown an overflow meeting was arranged, the speakers talking to 2000 more persons congregated in Market Street, from a platform hastily devised upon a truck. In all some 7000 persons must have gathered, and Mr. Wilson reached at least 4000 of them with the electric thrill of his masterly voice, the magnetism of his presence and the influence of his great mind and heart. And to that immense throng the sturdy man whose courage is so refreshing gave voice to this declaration of independence, a plain, straightforward expression of his attitude toward the men who are supposed to have worked out his selection:

“I want to say, therefore, that I understand the present campaign to mean this, that if I am elected Governor I shall have been elected leader of my party and shall have been elected Governor of all the people of New Jersey, to conduct the government in their interest and in their interest only, using party and party coherents for that service. If the

Democratic party does not understand it in that way, then I want to say to you very frankly that the Democratic party ought not to elect me Governor. When I was approached with regard to the nomination for the Governorship I understood it to be distinctly represented to me that the purpose of those who asked my leave to use my name for that purpose was that I should be invited to take the leadership of the Democratic party. If they do not understand it they ought to withdraw the invitation on the eighth day of November.

“I am not claiming that I am qualified for leadership — that is not the point; but I am claiming that I did not seek the leadership, and that I was asked to take it, but that I was asked to take it with the understanding that I was absolutely free from pledges and obligations of any kind. Now, I have been asked if I have said that the Democratic party has been reorganized. No, I have not said that; I have said that the Democratic party is seeking reorganization. It depends on the voters on the eighth day of November whether it gets it or not. That is the issue. If you think I am a suitable leader and that my leadership will produce a reorganization and that I can put that party upon a new footing and give it new objects, then it is clearly your duty to support me; but if you do not think so, then I must just as frankly say that it is as clearly your duty not to support me. The only thing about it, when I say that, is that I don't know what you are going to do if you don't, because on the other side there is no principle, or any kind of reorganization. So, if it is reorganization, a new deal and a change you are seeking, it is Hobson's choice. I am sorry for you, but it is really vote for me or not vote at all.”

This declaration came almost at the end of his impressive address up-town, and it brought from the immense audience a great and powerful expression that it had gone home, replying to the criticism of those who take particular delight in alluding to the past records of the Democrats as a piece of what may be expected under the administration of Woodrow Wilson in case of his election. It is supposed also to be the epitome of the answer to George L. Record, the Hudson County “Progressive” candidate for Congress, who queried Mr. Wilson upon nearly all the topics upon which he has made himself very plain in his addresses in the campaign. The presumably unanswerable query put to Mr. Wilson was as to his party's record, and his reply, instantly recognized by the vast assemblage, was regarded as a triumph for the candidate who has previously declared his freedom in no uncertain language.



JUDGE HOWARD CARROW



Nobody in Camden ever saw the parallel of to-night's great double demonstration. It simply dazed the leaders of the Republican machine, who had clung to some faint hope that perhaps enthusiastic admirers of the opposing candidate for Governor had been injecting a little effective "color" into their reports of his receptions and the effect of his speeches in other sections of the state. They had no difficulty in discovering that there had been no deception. Camden, confidently looked forward to for its usual 6000 or 7000 majority for Banking Commissioner Lewis, was astir from Pyne Poynt to Line Ditch, and the people went wild in their efforts to see and hear Woodrow Wilson. There was a parade of clubs, and 300 first voters were among the marchers, but when they got to the Temple Theatre only half of them could get into seats reserved for them. The rest had to join the crowd out on the street. The theatre was so closely jammed that not another nose could be squeezed into an aperture, and the enthusiasm fairly oozed from the crowd.

In the boxes were a number of men and women prominent socially and most of them usually allied with the Republican party, but now devoted to the cause of Wilson and his new kind of campaign. The meeting was called to order by County Chairman William H. Davis, who presented former Judge Howard Carrow as chairman; and Mr. Carrow, in the full vigor of his resonant voice, aroused the great crowd to heights of enthusiasm in his introduction of the speaker as the leader of the new thought in American political endeavor, the greatest mind before the people of the nation to-day, a man who had never been identified with politics, except as a teacher of the youth of the land, and who was free of all alliances, "the next Governor of New Jersey!"

As Mr. Wilson stepped to the front of the brightly lighted and handsomely decorated stage the great assemblage arose as one man and cheered and cheered the man who loomed so strong before them. It was one of the most demonstrative receptions he had yet received and it moved him deeply. It was some seconds before he could proceed with his address, and then it could be seen that his heart was swelling with the sentiments that swayed him. Said he:

"I have met a great many audiences in this state in this campaign, and the interesting thing to me is that they all look alike, which I suppose shows that they are all of the true Jersey breed; but they look alike in this respect, that they do not seem to have come together for a trifling object like mere curiosity; there is a look in their faces as if they thought some new business was astir, and some business is astir. Two weeks from

to-morrow the election will come. We are on the homestretch and we are bound for home; we are bound for the place from which the Democratic party has been long excluded, but where, I will venture to assert, it has long belonged. There is an unmistakable increase in warmth and ardor as we approach the day of conquest. There is a necessary examination of our own purposes of mind as to what we intend to do, and I congratulate this body of first voters in front of me that they are going to cast their votes for the first time in such a free year, in a year of such freedom of choice, in a year when party lines are not sharply drawn, when men are chosen not as between parties, but, I believe in my heart, chosen for the future of America.

“I do not need to tell the citizens of Camden County what the boss system is. You know a boss when you see him, and you have plenty of opportunities to see him. You know, as well as I do, that the boss system has nothing to do with political questions. There was a very astute ward politician in the city of New York who said ‘There ain’t no politics in politics,’ by which he meant that when you are discussing the matter of who are going to have the offices and exercise the power, nobody is interested in public questions; men do not differ with each other as to public policies. Those are things, from the point of view of such politicians, to be talked of on the stump, to take in, to fool, to mislead the dear public, as they call them behind locked doors. The real thing to be discussed is a thing that can be discussed between the two machines without any feeling that there is any political difference between them. It is how to get hold of the spoils of office and keep them. And the boss system is backed in this endeavor by all sorts of power that ought never to be used in the field of politics. There are men here who can bear testimony to the fact that they dare not vote as they think, because of the terrorizing that some political leaders are able to exercise. There are some men here who can testify that they cannot borrow money at certain banks if they do not vote a certain particular political ticket. Give political bosses and political machines offices enough to distribute, business enterprises enough to subscribe to their funds, business connections enough to terrorize great bodies of employés — and they will defy you to turn them out of office. Give them, in addition to that, grand juries that never find true bills in political cases and public prosecutors who never try to get true bills, and the system is complete.

“It is generally supposed that men who closet themselves, as they like to say, in colleges, do not know what is going on in the actual world. We do not study politics in college out of books; we study it out of life

and out of facts. We know the calibre and the character and the motives of those men and can produce you the witnesses.

“Is this the Republican party of the county of Camden? This county is the home of men who from honorable principles as well as from long tradition have voted the Republican ticket — have voted it because of their character, adhering to it as to family traditions and to the great historical principles of a party which in the past has rendered the country a great service. But do these men accept such things and such organizations as the representatives of the Republican party? This is not the Republican party; it isn't any party; ‘There ain't no politics in politics.’ These men devoted to the traditions of the party of Lincoln, these men devoted to those great principles which that great party originated to defend, and has sought to defend in all its honest numbers ever since! They have no thought or care for any principle or historic recollections of any kind; they are in the game for what it is worth.

“You know the objects of machine government. The objects of machine government are to prevent anything being done that will be inimical to certain interests, and to get everything done which is advantageous to certain interests. By certain interests I mean business interests, not political interests. The machine is a partnership, an illegitimate and abominable partnership, between business and politics. Now the day when this thing can exist is past. The American people know it, and the American people are not going to permit it a single twelvemonth more.”

Alluding to the operation of the machine in legislation and referring to the New York exposure, Mr. Wilson said:

“You know there is only one thing about us that is immortal in this world, and that is our reputation. It does not make any difference after these exposures whether the men are put behind prison walls or not. They have forever violated their faith, and that kind of treatment is being prepared everywhere for that kind of men. Everywhere there has been a cleaning up, a cleaning of house, an absolute repudiation of all politics of that sort from one end of the United States to the other. I don't mean everywhere, but, taking the country by samples in other sections of it, there has been a repudiation of it, and don't you hear the thunder of the wave that comes on? Do you suppose this beach we stand on can remain dry much longer? Do you suppose that tide is going to be stopped because some man lifts his hand and protests and asks it to

come no farther? If you want to escape being engulfed you better retire from the reach of the sea, and there is no place to go, because the sea is human opinion, the sea is the discovery of seeing things and the overwhelming power is the overwhelming condemnation that will fall upon such men upon their discovery.

"The tide is coming in. Let those who don't know how to swim and keep their heads above water look to it.

"I know how it happens. These things drift in great drifts, as they do in politics; men do not see in which way they are moving, and everybody about them is doing the same thing. Some people think that everything is graft. Now, of course, there isn't graft in everything; we have not grown morally rotten; but there is a subtle kind of growth in a great many things. Whenever you get somebody with influence to do something that somebody else without influence cannot do, that is graft.

"I was sitting in the waiting room of an eminent surgeon one afternoon a few years ago, waiting for my turn to consult him, and I waited there for three mortal hours; and in the meantime I saw several very much more fashionably dressed people than I was take precedence over me, and I was sure that they had no prior engagement with the doctor. Now, that was graft. There is every kind of graft, from the graft which is induced by the handsome dress and the beauty of a distinguished-looking woman to the graft produced by the actual handling of hard cash. All influences that ought not to exist, all inequalities produced by 'working' some fellow, is graft.

"And so every time you wink at a friend and say 'That is all right; I will fix it up for you; I will see that you get in' — you are beginning on the road which ends at the place that I have described, and I warn you — I warn you to keep off, because the American people have their eye on you, and they are getting intolerant of that kind of thing, and you must not carry it too far."

Mr. Wilson made a great hit with his auditors by this humorous but pointed allusion to his own candidacy:

"Now, the chairman has said that the Democratic party has picked out a man whose orbit cannot be calculated. The Republicans are looking at him askance. They say: 'Who is this? A school-master, a gentleman who never before took any part in politics, or offered to take any part in politics, who has enjoyed the luxury for a great many years of going about the country and expressing opin-





JUDGE WILLIAM C. FRENCH



ions for which he could not be held responsible.' Now, 'Who in the world,' they say, 'can tell what this man is going to do?' There have been many predictions, all the way from the prediction that he would not do anything, to the prediction that if he got there, there would not be anything left of the government, the last prediction having been made by a sage statesman of the city of Camden. Well, I hope that when the Democratic candidate gets there, there will not be anything left of a certain kind of government, the kind of government with which the said sage statesman is most familiar. But I am not in the least surprised they have disturbed thoughts about the Democratic candidate. I know what his intentions are, but I cannot tell what his performances are going to be. You have got to take a sportsman's chance and risk it, but I can promise you this, that it will not be dull; it will be interesting. I doubt if it will be as interesting to you as it will be to me, but it will be interesting. There is one thing to which the candidate himself can testify. He can tell you confidentially that he knows a thing or two, that he is not as innocent as he looks, and that he is not as young as he looks. All of which, turning from jest to earnest, means this, that the Democratic party is attempting a new leadership and a new organization, and the Republican party is not. With such a candidate, so inexperienced in machine politics, and unable to understand them, it is impossible that the Democracy should run politics upon the machine basis. Their chief instrumentality would be too clumsy and bungling; whereas, it is perfectly feasible and highly likely that the Republican organization would continue business at the old stand and in the old way."

From this his deduction was that the way to break up this unholy alliance is through a corrupt practices act that will reveal and correct the evil, and a direct primary act that will give the people a chance to choose officers who will execute the laws. To this he added:

"There isn't a single reform that is interesting us in the present campaign that does not swing back upon this boss system of political control and political alliance that we want to break up. But it is not sufficient to have statutes on the books. Statutes don't work themselves. And I would rather have men who intend to serve the public trying to work a body of bad statutes than men who don't mean to serve the public trying to work a body of good statutes. Your salvation does not lie in statutes; it lies in the men, and the men who can serve you are the men

who depend upon you for political results. They want to work and not upon the machine."

After Mr. Wilson had concluded he was whirled away to the Broadway Theatre and his Temple audience was addressed by former Mayor Katzenbach, of Trenton, and former Mayor Nowrey, of Camden, the candidate for Congress, both of whom were given strong ovations. At the Broadway Theatre Mr. Wilson encountered the same big crowd, only bigger than his first audience, and it was, if anything, more demonstrative. The meeting was called to order by William C. French, and former Judge Wescott was chairman. Previous to the arrival of Mr. Wilson an address was made by Colonel Alexander Bacon, of New York, and by former Mayor Katzenbach and former Mayor Nowrey, who were then taken to the Temple meeting.

A delegation of 200 students of the University of Pennsylvania, under the leadership of Chatford Smith, of the Medical School, attended the meeting at the Broadway Theatre, having been crowded out of the Temple. These men are enthusiastic followers of President Wilson and joined with the large delegation of Princeton men who are attending the professional schools at Pennsylvania in giving him a rousing reception.

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## XXIX

### SALEM RESPONSIVE TO PLEA

HIS PROMISE TO BE A NEW KIND OF GOVERNOR ENTHUSES BIG  
AUDIENCE

*Salem, Oct. 25.* — With another masterly appeal to the people to rouse themselves to the need of the hour to action for the divorce of government from the sordid special interests, Woodrow Wilson continued his blazing of the trail for good government to-day and to-night. He addressed an immense crowd of deeply interested Salem County people here in the Grand Opera House, which was altogether too small for the purpose, hundreds occupying the stage, lobbies, aisles and doorways, as always happens when he appears.

It was a noisy, demonstrative crowd, too, for Salem, not always swift to appreciate new and good things, really has awakened to the value and importance of what this man is striving for. The Democratic party, he said, "is offering you a brand-new kind of Governor. I don't know and don't like to ask whether you like it, but you admit it is at least novel."

"I propose if elected Governor to talk about everything that happens in Trenton," he said later on, and for both of these succinct statements of his position, which had followed a more elaborate portrayal of conditions and his stand concerning them, the large audience demonstrated its mark of approval. The day had been a tedious and trying one to Mr. Wilson, with a long tour of the county, but he reached this city in time to snatch a few minutes' rest and he was in excellent form.

When he appeared on the Opera House stage the immense meeting, one of the largest political gatherings held in the city for years, was called to order by the memorable Morris Stratton, one of the city's oldest and best-known residents, who presented Mr. Wilson without delay, and a great shout greeted him. Mr. Wilson won his audience from the start by telling two or three witty stories illustrative of points he had to score, but he soon reached the more serious aspects of his

address and also had his hearers gripped with that great interest which seems so easy for the man. It was in his favorite theme of people opposed to political machine domination that brought from him the most earnest passages and showed most clearly the high purpose that sways his rugged character. He aroused great interest when 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?”

Mr. Wilson once more laid strong emphasis upon the fact that he never had made the declaration that only college-bred men should hold public office or that he had ever expressed any opposition to organized labor. These declarations pleased the large number of farmers, glass-workers and other plain but substantial people in the audience. Referring to the campaign of misrepresentation to which he has been subjected, Mr. Wilson went on:

“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 methods for the purchase of the ballot have to be resorted to more than ever? Why do these gentlemen resort to these methods unless they are hard put to it, and why are they hard put to it?

“Who are the gentlemen who are leading the Republicans in New Jersey now?” cried Mr. Wilson, impressively. “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.”

The day's trip gave Mr. Wilson one more glimpse into the old style of campaigning. Yielding to the pressure, he visited seven towns of Salem County, covering about fifty miles of roads good, bad and indifferent, especially indifferent, and making two little afternoon speeches and winding up with his fine effort in this city to-night. In all the towns the candidate was most cordially greeted by admiring crowds, who seemed to be deeply impressed with the idea that he would do.

The trip began at 11 o'clock, the automobiles meeting Mr. Wilson and his party at the Bellevue-Stratford, Philadelphia, and crossing to Camden, where a stop was made to pick up former Mayor Joseph E. Nowrey, candidate for Congress, who occupied a seat with State Chairman Nugent on all the rest of the trip, sharing the honors with Mr. Wilson and showing a popularity nearly as widespread.

The run through Camden and Gloucester counties was made quickly, and Elmer, the first stopping point in Salem, was reached at 10 o'clock, strictly on schedule time. There several hundred men were gathered on the street in front of Garrison's Hall and several motor-car loads of Salem County's prominent Democrats had stopped to greet the candidate. Among the latter were Colonel D. Stewart Craven, with Clark Pettit, Joseph K. Waddington and Charles Dunn. A short distance down the street were lined up fully 150 public school children, from the tiny kindergarten to the rosy-cheeked high-school lass, waiting to see Mr. Wilson.

Mayor Vandegrift imparted that information to the candidate, who at once made his way to the children and shook hands all around, smilingly, passing a word or two as he proceeded. One shy little girl of ten or eleven presented him with a huge bouquet of chrysanthemums, dahlias, cosmos and other autumn flowers, which greatly delighted Mr. Wilson. Yielding to the pressure, Mr. Wilson consented to go up into Garrison's

Hall, which in an incredibly short time was overcrowded with interested people.

Mayor Vandegrift opened the meeting, presenting Rev. E. J. Gwynne, pastor of the Presbyterian Church, for chairman. It had been explained that, although a Republican, Mr. Gwynne is red-hot for Mr. Wilson and he had not spoken many seconds until he proved the correctness of that statement.

"Some say he will be bossed," said the chairman. A healthy-looking specimen of manhood, who explained that Mr. Wilson had been his friend while a student at Princeton, interrupted, "But thousands know better. One look at the jaw God Almighty has given him as it comes down like a trip-hammer will tell you different."

Mr. Wilson, though he was not expected to make any remarks during his day tour, made a clever short address, declaring that he considered it a great privilege to meet such bodies of his fellow-citizens who show such interest in the offices of the state now under discussion.

"I am not seeking this office," he said. "I was engaged in a work in which I was deeply interested, but I have always taught and believed it the duty of citizens of this free land to serve their country in any way possible. And now that I have taken this nomination I want you to understand what I stand for. The Democratic party wants me to serve the people of New Jersey to obtain what they cannot obtain any other way. The Republicans have broken their promises and the people are tired of broken promises.

"The organization of the Republican party is so tied up with certain interests that they can't keep their promises without breaking faith with the interests. They don't represent any political party, they don't represent any policy; the special interests would as leave serve one party as another, and they would as leave be served by one party as another. There is no politics in their organization. The Democrats have now put up a man notoriously bold to do as he pleases. Whichever party wins command of the Government has got to keep it by deserving it; otherwise the jig is up."

Warm applause followed the brief address and Candidate Nowrey made a short but effective speech, calling upon the people to vote for better government.

On behalf of the ladies of the borough Mr. Gwynne presented Mr. Wilson three great bouquets, which brought broad smiles to his face.





CAPT. RALPH W. E. DONGES



After dinner the party pulled out for Woodstown, but the Wilson car and the correspondents' car got on the wrong road, went about eight miles out of the way, doubled on their trail, struck a quagmire in one of the state's worst pieces of road, and pulled into Woodstown nearly an hour late. There a large assemblage had waited patiently, and scout cars were out searching for the lost ones.

When they pulled up at the intersection of the main streets the crowd pressed about the cars and Mr. Wilson was pressed to say a few words to the people expressing appreciation of their mark of approval and pledging himself to be Governor for all the people. A quick run brought the party to Pedricktown, where another party patiently was awaiting the candidate's appearance. Short stops were made at Pennsgrove and Pennsville, where scores came to shake Mr. Wilson's hand.

At Pennsville Mr. Wilson was given another fine bouquet from the school children, marshalled by their principal, J. C. Lloyd, a Republican admirer of the candidate, who made a neat speech. Speaking in the most fatherly and kindly spirit, Mr. Wilson said, "Suppose I should play the flower game you all know about and say as I pick off the petals, 'I'm elected; I'm not elected.'" "Hurrah!" cried the kiddies, gleefully.

The run of twelve miles to this city included another unbearably bad bit of road, but the party arrived without accident. Mr. Wilson learned later that, in mistaking the road, the party had missed a stirring scene at Pole Tavern, where nearly 150 school children assembled to raise a great flag on his approach. They had to raise it without his presence.

Former Mayor Katzenbach, of Trenton, joined the party just after supper, ready to present Mr. Wilson's claim to the people who had so loyally supported him three years ago. Ralph W. Donges, the Camden lawyer, and John T. Rice, a personal friend of Mr. Nowrey, made the run over all the route. A party of Cumberland County enthusiasts motored over from Bridgeton to hear Mr. Wilson speak again.

Stirring speeches also were made by Mr. Katzenbach and Mr. Nowrey, who kept the attention of the big audience, and Mr. Wilson was taken to Philadelphia in the automobile immediately after the meeting.

## XXX

### SEES A BETTER DAY

NEW JERSEY'S STANDARD BEARER TELLS HUGE AUDIENCE THE  
FUTURE IS SAFE

*New Brunswick, Oct. 26.* — Woodrow Wilson's message to the people of Middlesex County especially, and to the people of New Jersey in general, was one of great cheer for the future of America. He depicted in thrilling eloquence the existing conditions of which the people are so weary, pointed the way to better things and said the future, of which some historian will one day write, is safe.

He had been whimsical in his manner, an unusual thread of humor arousing the spirits of his vast audience, but these passages only led, by way of illustration, to the more serious aspect of his address, and he gave much food for reflection to the 200,000 people of Middlesex County, where for years Republican machine politics held a grip till Senator George S. Silzer shook things up and brought a great change with a succession of Democratic victories.

Mr. Wilson's main theme was the preservation of human rights, which, according to vested interests, are the rights to which they are entitled under the law. "It is a constant unending struggle," he said with impressive emphasis, "a struggle for human rights under the law."

In all of the meetings so far held in nineteen counties in the state Mr. Wilson faced a no more interested nor more enthusiastic audience, and at no time was he in better form. His dominant thought was that, under present political conditions, human rights are held in small cause, but the time is coming when the people of New Jersey and of all of the other states of the United States are to restore the Government of their fathers.

From every point of the Opera House where a man could sit or stand an eager face was turned toward the handsomely decorated stage, where Mr. Wilson, with his escorts, entered, and a mighty cheer arose for this man, whose spare face and gaunt figure grow handsome as one comes to know him. High up in the gallery stood hundreds who could find no

seats, while all the aisles and entrances were jammed. But during all of the hour occupied by the candidate in his address there was scarcely a whisper or so much as the shuffling of a foot, so intense was the interest.

The meeting was called to order by County Chairman Hagerty, who presented Surrogate Peter F. Daly, one of New Jersey's best orators, as chairman. "At a time when the people of New Jersey are so weary and heavy-laden under the burden of bad government," he said, "it is well to have this man, with the God-given arm to fight and the God-given voice to plead for good government. This man, of whom it has been said he is not only the man of the hour, but the man of the future for New Jersey and for America, Woodrow Wilson."

Amid the wild cheers and applause which greeted Mr. Wilson as he stepped to the footlights there arose the din of a "locomotive" yell by a bunch of Rutgers students in the orchestra chairs.

"It makes me feel very much at home to face this phalanx in front of me," said Mr. Wilson. "I have been accustomed to seeing young gentlemen like these, but I know by experience they will not absorb it all. A friend of mine, who is a member of the faculty of Yale University, helped me at one time in moments of discouragement by saying that in teaching for twenty years he had come to the conclusion that the human mind had infinite resistance in resisting the influences of knowledge. In that respect the Republican organization leaders share the characteristics of the human mind. They have not received very much in respect to the movements of politics."

Proceeding, Mr. Wilson unfolded his thought, which was that the people are tired of promises that are broken and want programs that are carried out, and he likened the present spirit of unrest and demand for change to that which gave birth to the Magna Charta. On this line he said:

"I say that we are not interested in platforms as mere promises cast in vague language. We are interested in them only when they seem to be programs, and what interests me about the present time, I must admit, is that everywhere men are interested in great programs. Have you read the papers recently attentively enough to notice the rumors that are coming across the water? Some very unusual and interesting things are happening in England. The English parties are separated, so far as their progressive elements are concerned, as little as the American parties are separated, and what is happening right now is that the liberal and conservative factions are holding a joint conference in order to effect concerted action with regard to a common program.

“And what are the rumors? The rumors are that the program probably includes, not only self-government for Ireland, but self-government for Scotland and the drawing together in London or somewhere else of a Parliament which will represent the British Empire in a great confederated state upon the model, no doubt, of the United States of America, and having its power to the end of the world. What is the program? What is at the bottom of that program? At the bottom of it is the idea that no little group of men like the English people have the right to govern men in all parts of the world without drawing them into real substantial partnership, where their voice will count with equal weight with the voice of other parts of the country.

“This voice that has been crying in Ireland, this voice for home rule, is a voice which is now supported by the opinion of the world; this impulse, which has always remained in Scotland, the spirit of pride in the history of the Scottish people, is a spirit that ought to be respected and recognized in the British Constitution. It means not mere vague talk of men’s rights, men’s emotions and men’s inveterate and traditional principles, but it means the embodiment of these things in something that is going to be done, that will look with hope to the program that may come out of these conferences.

“Do you think that program means anything in that little kingdom of Portugal, that has just now changed its program over night? Do you suppose that the people there are interested in vague phrases? They have listened all their lives to the talk of law and promises of liberty, but they want the substance of the law and the substance of liberty. They had a corrupt Government which was not likely to become other than corrupt under the young, easily influenced boy who was King of Portugal. So they insisted upon taking their own affairs in their own hands. They want the real. They do not want vague promises and phrases. Men are tired of words.

“What is the oldest struggle that we read about, when men began to organize themselves in political states? It was the struggle of the individual not to be too much controlled by Government. You know what an unconquerable thing is in you. It is the feeling that you are an individual, and that you will not be subordinated to any other man or any other organization; and, therefore, when Government plays too much upon your affairs without your participation and consent you are restless under the bondage.

“If those who conduct the Government are not careful the restlessness

will spread with rapid agitation until the whole country is aflame, and then there will be revolution and a change of Government."

Slowly unfolding this thought of individual rights, Mr. Wilson brought it down to the contest with coöperative organization, citing the building of the railway, its development of the country and then the total dependence of that country upon the railroad. Said he:

"After it is developed, the movement of individuals and freight and everything you want to move, in other words, all your connections with the rest of the world, are in the hands of that corporation. That is the reason why we are so interested in having a Public Utilities Commission. We cannot move or handle our goods otherwise, but somehow it is not adjusted to us. We have all sorts of suspicions as to what it is adjusted to, but it is not adjusted to us. Our lives are unjustly inconvenienced by the way it is handled. Don't you see how that illustrates what I am talking about? We haven't got these instrumentalities adjusted for the use we want to make of them and they are so big we are bothered how to handle them. That is the reason that so many people talk in the terms of big corporations. They are all so dependent upon each other that we have to pool our interests and coöperate in every respect.

"That is the Socialistic program. My own objection to the Socialistic program is that it will not work. We are constantly struggling for programs big and little, the biggest is the Socialistic and the smallest of all programs is that of the stand-patter. In his program it is largely negative; it says we have done a lot of things, accomplished a lot of things; most of these have been disappointing, therefore let us not do anything. That is a program that is very popular, that is the program that I have every day when I am tired and want to loaf, that is the program I am going to carry out at any rate for a few weeks after the campaign is over. I don't mean to stand pat long enough to stagnate and, moreover, I expect to have something to do after this campaign is over."

A tumult of cheers followed that sally. From that on Mr. Wilson unfolded his great thought that the great future need is for action by the whole people to adjust these entanglements and that, so far as he is concerned, he means to devote his days to that adjustment.

"Shall I try to forecast the probabilities of the present Republican organization?" he asked. "How many times do you have to have them

forecasted? They were forecasted three years ago, they were forecasted six years ago, and were forecasted nine years ago. Has anything happened that you have noted? What have other states been doing? All sorts of things. What has New Jersey been doing? Nothing. Nothing in particular. Forecasts? Why, do you know what happens to you people? Well, if nothing is going to happen, in God's name what are you here for?

"I have not any respect for a large number of persons, as numerous as they are in this hall, who will come together simply to hear a man talk. If there is no dynamic power behind that man's back; if he has not got anything in his head that will make some one hum; if he has not got courage that will defy influences that you are afraid of, why then go home. There is nothing in it. It is just a lot of words. It is just a gentleman who has been accustomed for twenty-odd years to making public speeches, doing his stunt; that is all.

"If you think that he is merely the representative of an organization, and that he may or may not know what that organization is going to do, why then adjourn the meeting and come when you can get the organization on the stage and ask it what it is going to do. What are you here for, anyway? Why, you are here for a very important thing. I dare say you wanted to see whether he looked like an honest man, for one thing."

"I believe you are all right," exclaimed a workingman in a front chair, as if suddenly aroused to speak his mind as he looked up into the speaker's gleaming eyes. Cheers and applause greeted the telling point, and Mr. Wilson said: "You will have to form your own conclusions. All I can say is that you will be very foolish if you suppose that, all by himself, he can do anything except make the men who oppose him extremely uncomfortable. That I can guarantee."

Senator Silzer, whose record in the legislature is on the exact lines of active work for the people's interests so forcibly presented by Mr. Wilson, made an able and telling address.

Mr. Wilson was brought up from Princeton in a touring car by County Chairman Hoff, of Mercer, and David W. Flynn, of Princeton, arriving at the Mansion House at 5.30, where he was received by State Senator George S. Silzer, who has a singular habit of carrying Middlesex County. Chairman Thomas H. Hagerty, State Committeemen Oliver H. Kelly and Edward Furman, Surrogate P. F. Daly, whose telling speech placing Senator Silzer in nomination at the state convention aroused so much en-



thusiasm; Dr. William E. Ramsey and John N. L. Booraem, Assemblymen who have been renominated, and Augustus Streitwolf, a popular young lawyer running with them; Millard F. Ross, one of the party leaders, and other prominent Democrats of the county.

After dinner a reception was held in the parlors of the hotel and Mr. Wilson was greeted by hundreds for nearly an hour, while on the street outside and in front of the quarters of the Young Men's Democratic Club a great throng gathered, a band played enlivening airs and fireworks added a campaign touch to the occasion. The city was stirred greatly and Senator Silzer, who has proved a good measurer of things political, declared that Middlesex was good for at least 1000 for Wilson. Doctor Rowse said that measure was under the mark.

Of course, it was rather expected Mr. Wilson, of whom the state has heard so much, would be greeted by a great throng in a county which gave Fort only thirteen majority three years ago and last year elected three Democratic Assemblymen, but the local managers hardly believed the demonstration would be so overwhelming and far-reaching. They had engaged the opera house, seating 1200, the largest auditorium in the city, but early discovered that it was totally inadequate, though 300 chairs were placed upon the stage. A vaudeville company had been routed out to make way for the meeting, and when the doors were opened at 7 o'clock there was a rush for seats. In a few minutes the house was nearly filled and at 8 o'clock, the time set for the meeting, it was so jammed that hundreds were unable to get even near the doors.

On front rows of orchestra chairs sat a couple of score of lusty-lunged Rutgers College students, who gave hips and hurrahs and locomotives for Mr. Wilson, for Dr. Austin Scott, the former president; the professors and pretty much everybody in and out of sight, as irrepressible college lads are wont to do. Prominent among the men on the stage were Rev. Dr. William A. Knox, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, who was last week chosen moderator of the Synod of New Jersey, and Monsignor O'Grady, of the Catholic Diocese of Trenton.

## XXXI

### PUTS END TO LETHARGY

SPEAKER AROUSES TO THEIR DUTY MEN TOO PRONE TO LET  
OTHERS DO THEIR THINKING

*Hackensack, Oct. 27.* — In three great gatherings of deeply stirred Bergen County people to-night Woodrow Wilson was given one of the most emphatic indorsements of his great campaign. He addressed immense audiences at Rutherford at 5 o'clock, at Englewood at 8 o'clock, and in Hackensack at 9 o'clock. In each of them he made a telling speech, differing materially in all of them, while centralizing his thought upon the main feature of his new kind of campaign, the need for action to secure good government.

"It's an astonishing thing," he said, "that the only thing that stands between us and good government are the people who do the governing." From that point the deduction was plain and straight, that it is necessary to elect good men to office to get good government. He said New Jersey was lagging behind her sister states in the struggle. "Not behind Pennsylvania," he added, humorously.

He ascribed a good deal of the lethargy heretofore prevalent to the habit of men thinking in New York, where their business is, and voting in New Jersey, where their homes are, and in this strong commuter county, with its score or more of rich towns on the railroads out of New York, his sentiments and his proposed remedies for intolerant conditions were applauded to the echo.

Bergen County usually is Republican on election day by from 800 to 1500, and the state managers have been counting upon it to present Banking Commissioner Lewis with the usual majority, but if the receptions accorded Mr. Wilson and the hearty approval of his strong principles by audiences in which sat hundreds of Republicans count for anything, the county is sure to give a substantial Democratic majority. Old party adherents, like former Senator Henry D. Winton, the veteran editor of this city, say they never saw such crowds at political meetings.

At Rutherford 900 persons jammed the town hall, at Englewood more than 1200 assembled in the Lyceum, and in this city as many more squeezed into the armory, while in all three places scores were unable to get in.

When Mr. Lewis was in the county last week he drew not more than one fourth the number of listeners and the county Republican managers are in a panic, and the impressiveness of Mr. Wilson's sterling and strong personality and vigorous campaign have made most of the commuters of this section turn out to see him in unprecedented numbers. Conditions seem to be ripe for a sensational political turnover next month.

In his Rutherford address Mr. Wilson frequently was interrupted by applause when he made this pointed allusion to the spirit of independence in politics, which has a strong grip on this county:

"I know, or I think I know, what your real political sympathies are. I know that probably a large majority of you call yourselves Republicans, but do you realize that it is no longer a descriptive term. What kind of Republicans are you?

"There are many breeds of Republicans nowadays; there are all sorts and varieties. It used to be perfectly possible to describe with comprehensive accuracy a Republican by the traditional principles of his party, but there are Republicans who interpret those principles now in terms of one set of politics, and other Republicans who interpret them in terms of another set of policies, and there are all varieties. For example, even the word 'insurgent' does not describe anybody, because there is one kind of insurgent in California, there is another kind in Kansas, there is another kind in New Hampshire, there, apparently, is still another kind in Maine. And, therefore, when you speak of yourself as a Republican, I have to ask that you go into particulars and state what kind of a Republican you are, holding what purposes, what ideals of government, what opinions with regard to the present conduct of the Government, both in this state and in the nation.

"I think I can make a very fair guess as to what kind of Republicans most of you are. I think it is a fair guess to say that you are progressive Republicans, and I don't want you to be so vain as to suppose that all the progressives are in the Republican party. Frankly, gentlemen, what we are trying to do in this campaign, so far as I understand it, is to form a league of progressives to get something out of the government of New Jersey, without stopping to think what our party labels are, to pay ourselves the compliment of not going by the label, but going by the contents.

“Now, what is a progressive? I understand a progressive to be a man who insists upon bringing about all the adjustments of interests which have not been brought about and also insists upon returning to the primitive, righteous, pure and reasonable processes of popular government. In other words, I understand a progressive is a man who wishes certain reforms of our economic policy, together with certain radical reforms of our political methods, because you can't get the policy without the methods.

“Is the Democratic party progressive? It is astonishing how long it takes to make some people realize that certain things have been said. A gentleman prominent in the politics of this day addressed a letter to me recently, in which he asked my opinion about things, upon every one of which I had expressed my opinion in public. I was not in the least inclined to avoid the small trouble of collecting my opinions and putting them in one letter for him, but that is all that I did. Now I want also to remark that all of those opinions are in the Democratic platform, and that not two thirds of them are in the Republican platform. You have to distinguish when you are talking about Republican platforms, because the platform of the party is one thing and the platform of the candidate is another. The candidate has expanded his platform speech by speech until it has very extensive dimensions; but he hasn't carried the platform of the party with him.”

Mr. Wilson explained what it was that the progressive element of all parties was after, which, summed up, was efficiency in government, purity in politics and that fundamental thing that underlies all government — justice. In his Englewood address the candidate dwelt at some length upon the great movement speeding through the country to secure better and freer independent men for important offices of government.

“The evidence is,” said he, “that here, there, in every portion of the country, the Democratic party has been putting up new men as its candidates, men not hitherto connected with the active conduct of party organizations at all, men who are, so to say, drawn from that outside body of opinion which is not labelled with party designation and which has swung to the modern movements of purposes. The Republican party organization has done this to a very much less degree. If you will take the nominations made for the governorship throughout the country you will find the Republican nominees are usually men, no matter how ad-

mirable their character, who have been connected with the processes of party organization.

“What does it mean that the Democratic party in New Jersey has chosen an independent candidate, if it does not mean that the Democratic party in New Jersey sees that a new day has come, and that the old game is up? What does it mean that the Republican organization has nominated one of their own number, an admirable man, but a man trained in their own processes and of their own number, to be the Governor of the state, except that they expect to continue the old game?”

The day was one more astonishment for the candidate, who has had some chance to become accustomed to astonishments, but this one was different from all the others. He arrived at the Hudson Terminal at 4 o'clock and there, in the busy underground city of the stupendous modern enterprise, he ran plump into fully 100 Bergen County men, mostly Democrats, but many Republicans, ready to conduct him to the three points where he was to speak.

Among those in the big Reception Committee, the largest and most interested one Mr. Wilson yet has encountered, were Walker W. Vick, one of the Rutherford City Committee; County Chairman Peter W. Stagg, Mayor J. A. C. Johnson, candidate for Senator and Mayor of Englewood; G. R. Alyea and William R. Hinners, candidates for Assembly; Charles F. Thompson, candidate for County Clerk, and Robert A. Sibbald, candidate for Register of Deeds, the latter the man who has agreed to give up the job if elected to fill it because he is sure that it is not needed for the county.

A special tunnel train carried the candidate and the big Reception Committee under the Hudson and up to the Erie station, where a special car awaited to take them to Rutherford, the first stop in the county, and Mr. Wilson was for once a commuter with a fine chance of feeling what it means to that great army of Jersey men to have a sudden boost in their railroad fares, with no chance for a shot at anybody to get back. Rutherford was reached on schedule time, 5 o'clock, and the party marched up the street from the station back of a fife and drum corps, with little sprinkles of rain falling, which failed to feaze the candidate.

In the Town Hall, prettily decorated for the occasion, were assembled a crowd which, of course, filled it, when Mr. Wilson arrived. In the audience were many women, who displayed their intense interest in the topics discussed by the candidate, who drew their warm approval from the start. His address was directed principally to the local conditions

in which commuters were interested, especially the program to obtain a utilities commission empowered to regulate and fix rates.

When on that point he was calm, conciliating and practical. He took the ground that it would be necessary to find upon what basis the utility corporations made the rates, and to closely and honestly investigate the business of these corporations in order to determine whether their charges were just or not. All of the trouble, he explained, was that most of the people here do their thinking in New York and then vote in New Jersey.

"Nothing is so disastrous to a free government," he said, "as men voting from mere habit, and the mission of the present campaign is, or as I conceive it, the redemption of men from this habit. I know where your real sympathies are. I realize that most of you are Republicans, but do you know what it means to be a Republican in these days? There are many breeds of Republicans."

Congressman William Hughes preceded Mr. Wilson in a five-minute speech, in which he captured the hearts of the people. Dr. S. E. Armstrong presided over the meeting and presented Mr. Wilson in a happy speech. "The Democrats of this town," he said, "have felt very lonely on occasions like this, but we are not lonely any longer with a candidate for Governor like this great man."

From Rutherford Mr. Wilson was taken by automobile up to Englewood, another of the centres of the commuter influence, where dinner was served. Mr. Wilson was greeted by a tremendous audience, in which were many well-dressed women.

## XXXII

### CALLS FOR OLD TIMES

ASKS VOTERS TO RESTORE DAYS WHEN PEOPLE SERVED HUMANITY, NOT INTERESTS

*Elizabeth, Oct. 28.* — In the home of United States Senator "Jawn" Kean, ally of Aldrich, Cannon and the other special interest servers, Woodrow Wilson to-night dealt sledge-hammer blows at the old political system and read the funeral service of the political boss. In two powerful, forceful and enlightening addresses before audiences which jammed the two meeting halls he stirred within the breasts of Union County voters a thrill of pride in country and a new desire to get good government. In his first and greatest speech Mr. Wilson drew this deduction from the change in conditions, a sentiment that evoked a great cheer:

"Is it not a heartening prospect? Is it not like covering some of the breadth of that age in which America became a nation, when men thought not only in the terms of neighborhoods and trades and occupations, but that of the leadership of the world? What was in the writings of the men that founded America to serve the selfish interests of America? Do you find that in their writings?

"No, to serve the cause of humanity, to bring liberty to mankind, they set up their standards here in America as a beacon of encouragement to all the nations of the world, and men came thronging to these shores with a hope that never existed before, with a confidence they never dared feel before, and found here for generations together a haven of peace, of opportunity, of equality. God send that in the complicated state of modern affairs we may recover the standards and recover the achievements of that heroic age."

It generally was agreed that Mr. Wilson, despite the weariness that must have followed his trying ordeal of last night, when he made three speeches in Bergen County, made one of the best speeches of his whole

campaign. Certainly the immense crowd that pressed into Proctor's Theatre and overran even the stairways and blocked the entrances showed by voice and foot and hand its complete and hearty approval of his sentiments, so forcibly presented at times as to carry men and women off their feet, though presented in the calm, even notes so characteristic of the man.

He was in the midst of a declaration that the Republicans had made little or no effort to change their policies or their leaders, but that the Democrats had courageously tried to do both in order to assure good government, when a man in the audience cried with spontaneous energy, "Three cheers for our leader."

The effect was electrical. The 2000 persons imbibed the spirit of it all. There was a great shout, cheers, stamping of feet, and the assemblage arose to cheer the leader again when he eloquently and effectively unfolded the thought that a great change had come over the people of America; that the demand for change and reform had become insistent in the hearts of many Americans, saying: "The question for you to answer is, where do you see the road open for reform?"

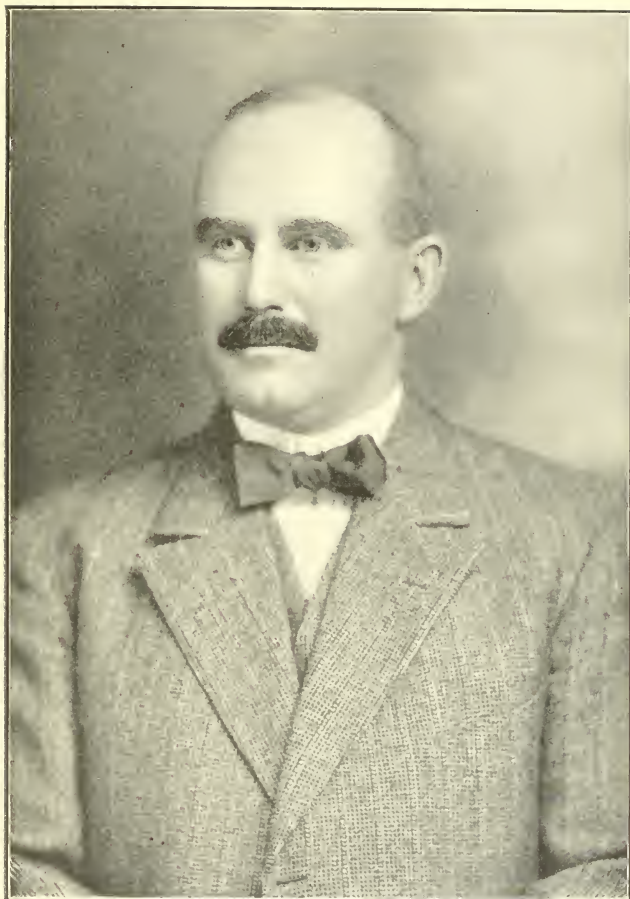
The big audience was quick to grasp his meaning and shouted back its answer in a volume of sound like the roar of a cyclone. In his main speech Mr. Wilson made pointed allusion to the great change that has come upon the country.

"I wonder if you realize how great a change has taken place in American politics since the adjournment of Congress," said he. "It is very difficult to throw our minds back to the state of affairs which existed before the last Congress of the United States adjourned. At that time the politics of the country and the policy of the country were in the control of a small group of men at one end of the Capitol, combined in action and purpose with a small group of men at the other end of the Capitol.

"It was possible to name a little handful of Senators who were the masters of the Senate and a little handful of Representatives clustered about the Speaker of the House who were masters of the House. The President of the United States, after adjournment of Congress, admitted in public speech that it was impossible for him to guide the policy of his party without the consent and the coöperation, not of the rest of the party, but of this little group of men.

"He said that in order to get the policies which he thought absolutely necessary through this House it was necessary to give these men what





REPRESENTATIVE WILLIAM E. TUTTLE, JR.



they wanted in the matter of the tariff. And what did they want? Did they want to promote the interests of the country? Did the President himself intimate that they wished to promote the interests of the country? He intimated nothing of the kind, for he knew that the country was aware that these gentlemen were arranging a tariff policy for the country with regard to certain groups of men in the manufacturing and commercial world.

"You have been reading, no doubt, in the magazines and newspapers since the Payne-Aldrich Tariff bill was passed how it has been disclosed that most of the clauses they contain are what have been called in bitter jest a 'joker,' the meaning of which has not been disclosed to the houses themselves, and which altered the tariff and adjusted it in a way in which the interests would never dare to urge their case in public, the way they wanted it adjusted. Upon the floor of the Senate Senators were unable to get explanations from the chairman of the Finance Committee, Mr. Aldrich, of Rhode Island, concerning some of the most important features of the bill, and submitted to his refusal to give them information.

"That was only a very short time ago. Have you realized how short a time ago? Now it is not only ancient history, but it is history impossible of repetition. These gentlemen have, at least one of them has, retired or announced his retirement from public life. He was able to see the signs of the times, and knew it was more graceful to retire when you may than when you must. A gentleman at the other end of the Capitol, the indomitable Speaker of the last House of Representatives, has been showing a spirit which I must say, as a sportsman, I admire. He has not admitted his defeat, and he has defied his enemies, and he has been deserted by his friends. If I had stood by Mr. Cannon in the fight he made against the House of Representatives last spring I would not have deserted him this autumn.

"Either he was right or he was wrong. If he was right, the men who stood by ought to stand by him now, and ought not to come, when they feel the wind of public opinion blowing hot against him, and say that under no circumstances would they vote for Mr. Cannon for Speaker. I want to say very frankly that I do not understand, and I have contempt for that kind of politics. But you know what it means. It means that Cannonism in these few months has become impossible.

"See how the plot of the play has changed. These men have had their brief time upon the stage and the play has read, 'Exit Aldrich, Exit Cannon.' Why have they withdrawn? They have withdrawn because, as I have just said, the plot of the play demands it. There is no place

for them any longer in our politics. The public opinion of this country has awakened, and it is impossible that these men should play the part again that they have played in the past. I do not know anything duller than the politics of this country has been in recent years, and I do not know anything more interesting than the politics of this country right now.

"It is infinitely dull to go like driven cattle to the polls and pretend that you are exercising the sovereign right of ballot, to give to men a chance to do something that they never tell us about, and that we cannot understand. That is a beautiful exercise of independence on the part of self-governing people, when our representatives are told in unmistakable terms that what they are voting for is the business of private arrangement, which is none of their business. Now I have talked with gentlemen, with my fellow-citizens, about this sort of thing; they have shrugged their shoulders and said that the legislative business chiefly affects the large money interests, and you cannot blame them for seeing that they are represented in our legislature. You cannot blame them for seeing that they are represented.

"Are these the men that we go through the motions of electing? They are the representatives of private interests, a great many of them, and not of the public. But something has happened during the summer. I did not notice anything particular or unusual about the weather last summer, but this autumn looks like another age in the politics of America. Look at the personnel of the play as changed. Look at the extraordinary number of new men or made-over men that have come to the front. Now, I do not want to display any lack of modesty as a Democrat, and I want to call your attention to the fact that most of the new men have appeared on the Democratic side, and that most of the prominent men in the Republican ranks are made over."

Speaking of the hopelessness of expecting any change from the Republican organization, Mr. Wilson said: "They held a convention on the twentieth day of September in the city of Trenton, at which strenuous efforts were made to apprise them of the change of climate. They were urged to put into the platform and to express in their nominations the new spirit of the Republican party. They refused to do so, but heaped insult and opprobrium upon those who suggested it, and since that nomination their chief spokesman has been the spokesman for the unreorganized Republican party.

"For I want to say that the Republican party in most parts of this country has renewed itself as the Democratic party has renewed itself,



GEN. DENNIS F. COLLINS, TREASURER STATE COMMITTEE



except in New Jersey. There are no symptoms upon the surface of these changes I have been speaking of, so far as the organized Republican party in this state is concerned. The symptoms are all on the Democratic side."

Proceeding to show in what this process is bound to result, he said: "Now what does this all mean? It means the end of the boss system. By the boss system I don't mean merely the system of organized politics, for parties, in order to be coöperative, must be organized, and we must not heap contempt upon the men who do the hard work in maintaining that organization. The boss system means that the boss is used for private ends. That is the heart of the boss system. The boss system does not mean the organization, but that the organization determines the policies, not from the point of view of the public, but from the point of view of certain private interests.

"Why is it that it is galling to a member of the legislature to find that the organization to which he belongs in his home county has this kind of a grip upon him? It is because that he is told that he must vote for a particular bill. He had not been told anything about that bill when he was elected; he supposed he was elected as a representative of the people, but it seems not. The bosses have let him know that he will sacrifice their friendship, that he will no longer enjoy their political contributions if he does not vote for them. There is where the pinch comes, not because it is politics at all, but because it is private business. That is the boss system.

"That kind of so-called politics has been smoked out and we are so hot on the trail of it that capture of it is instantaneously probable. It is not seen in the open, it is seen only when it is in its burrow, and when politics consists of burrows and underground passages and places of concealment, then it is neither interesting nor profitable. It is both interesting and profitable when it is brought out into the open, and becomes a matter of common knowledge and common discussion."

Former Mayor Frank S. Katzenbach, of Trenton, was given an ovation when presented as the next speaker, and he made a stirring speech, flaying the Republican record. As soon as he had finished his first address, amid a thunder of applause, Mr. Wilson, carefully bundled into warm wraps, for the night air was keen, was whirled across the city to the great industrial section, Elizabethport, where a throng of toilers had assembled in St. Patrick's Parish Hall.

Colonel Alexander Bacon, of Brooklyn, was speaking, but some one

caught sight of Mr. Wilson and set up a shout which made further effort on the Colonel's part impossible. Mr. Wilson spoke strongly, searchingly upon the capital and labor problems, presenting the case in such plain, succinct prose and so forcibly that storms of applause halted him every few minutes. His suggestion to the workingmen was that they had obtained justice only through cooperation and organization, and, while capital was absolutely necessary to the interest and welfare of the nation, capital needs labor, which is its very breath and essence.

"War between capital and labor!" he exclaimed. "Each trying to destroy the very existence of the other! How ridiculous, and yet the reason in this war is that capital studies only the interests of capital; and labor, as a natural result, has been forced to study the interests of labor. We can't get along in a free country by cutting each other's throats. The American workingman does not want any advantage; he wants a fair show, that's all."

The applause that sentiment evoked showed how heartily it was approved. Mr. Wilson then elaborated the view to show the relations between employer and employé, especially in the case of giant corporations, and this brought him to the discussion of a square employers' liability act, a subject in which much interest was displayed, and he was wildly cheered.

Arriving from Princeton at 4.45 o'clock Mr. Wilson instantly was made to feel that he has a strong grip upon the voters of Union, for on the Pennsylvania platform as the train pulled in were more than fifty prominent men, and not all Democrats. General Dennis F. Collins, the big and jolly State Committeeman and brigade commander of the National Guard, led the party, which also included William E. Tuttle, candidate for Congress; Albert A. Stein, candidate for Mayor; Edward Nugent and others. The party was whirled quickly to the Elks' handsome club-house, where for more than an hour Mr. Wilson stood in the spacious parlor greeting men who came from all sections of the county to give him a word of encouragement and to thank him for the splendid battle he is fighting.

"You're batting them out good," said former City Clerk James J. Manning, who knows everybody.

"How do you like my batting average?" queried Mr. Wilson, laughing.

"It's just great and the pennant is in sight," was Manning's sally, the wit of which the candidate greatly enjoyed.



General Collins said he would be on hand to open the Sea Girt camp for the new commander-in-chief of the National Guard next summer. He was asked if Mr. Wilson could ride a horse, an accomplishment that has given several Governors a lot of trouble.

"I asked him that," replied the General, "and he said: 'Did you ever see a Virginian who couldn't ride?' He's all right."

It was the unanimous verdict of all those who came that the candidate is all right, and James E. Martine, the "farmer orator," who is highly honored in his home county, was in a state of bewildering delight, for it was Martine who early last spring really launched the Wilson boom at a dinner at the Democratic Club, at which Mr. Wilson made an effective and compelling address on "Democratic Opportunity."

At the dinner, which followed the reception, were gathered fully 100 leading and active Democrats, all aroused to a plane of enthusiasm unprecedented in the county. The three candidates for Assembly, Calvin E. Brodhead, Hugh McLaughlin and Abram P. Morris, who are said to have an excellent show of election, despite Union's usual Republican majority, were in the party. L. T. Russell, a former Mississippi and Oklahoma editor, now proprietor of the *Daily Times*, is sure Mr. Wilson will carry the county by a clean majority.

### XXXIII

## PLEADS FOR OPEN DOOR

WANTS THE PEOPLE BROUGHT INTO CLOSE CONTACT WITH THEIR  
OWN GOVERNMENT

*Hoboken, Oct. 29.* — In a return visit to Democratic Hudson County to-night Woodrow Wilson found himself in the midst of a fresh demonstration of his following by the common people. All unexpectedly he was called upon to address three meetings, one at West Hoboken, one at West New York and a third here, every one of them attended by immense numbers of people, and all showing the utmost interest in the speaker's arguments and line of reasoning. It was a trying ordeal for the candidate, but he bore up well under it and displayed in all his addresses the same great strength and courage and valor.

Mr. Wilson was met at the University Club, New York, by former State Comptroller William C. Heppenheimer, City Chairman Griffin and a committee of local Democrats, who brought him across to New Jersey in an automobile, arriving at St. Michael's Hall, West Hoboken, for the first meeting, to the accompaniment of music of several bands, fireworks, and much cheering.

He spoke there half an hour, and then was started over to St. Joseph's Hall, West New York, where there was a brilliant electrical illumination, with more fireworks. After a twenty-minute address there he was brought to the main meeting, in St. Mary's Hall, in this city, where a great and demonstrative crowd had gathered, and his appearance was the signal for a mighty cheer, the waving of flags and hats, and, despite the lateness of the hour, the big crowd evinced an interest that was wonderful to see.

"There is a very remarkable thing in this campaign," said Mr. Wilson. "I have been struck by nothing so much in the audiences that I have faced as the evident sincerity. This is no ordinary campaign — it is evident the people have come out in order to do something, to accom-

plish something. I don't wonder you feel as you do. We have drifted very far away from a Government by the people. We have a great many things between us and the Government that belongs to us.

"I think I can tell you what I mean by that statement. You know that when a bill is introduced in the legislature, whether it be the legislature of New Jersey or the legislature of New York, or the Congress at Washington, the first thing that happens to that bill is that it goes to a committee. That committee is appointed by the Speaker, who is chiefly connected with a great political organization, which great political organization is connected with certain business interests, and then, when the bill comes to be considered, it is generally considered by the committee and not by the legislature. Are you admitted? Is the public admitted to the deliberations of the committee? Not at all.

"These deliberations are private in most instances. Of course, the committee holds hearings and allows persons who are interested in the subject matter of the legislation to come and be heard, either in person or by attorney, but those are public hearings. The deliberations of the committee are another matter. They are private, and most of the things that happen to bills happen in ways that the public cannot find out. Most of the bills that are intended for public interest are smothered in committees, and it requires an investigation which you cannot conduct to find out why they are smothered.

"Something is between you and legislation, when you come to debate upon the floor — either of the National Legislature or the legislature of the state. You know what has recently happened in Washington; what we call Cannonism is the control of legislation by the Speaker. One man who appoints all the committees, dictates to these committees what they shall do with the bills and won't allow anybody to get on the floor to oppose them who has not had a previous understanding that he will be recognized, so that you can get up and shout your throat out at 'Mr. Speaker' and you won't be seen, although you are under the nose of the Speaker, shaking your finger at him in the space right before his desk.

"He does not see you; he does not hear you; but he recognizes somebody over there in the distance who has had a previous understanding with him that he would be recognized. If you want any time for debate you have to go and dicker with the chairman of the committee and get him to share his time with you and, as if it were his time and not the time of the people, in order that he may recognize your right of debate. It is all a game, tied up in private understanding.

“Now, these understandings may be perfectly honorable, they may be intended for the public good, but my point is that they are private and not public, and that the debates on the floor of Congress, and, for most part, debates on the floor of the state legislature, do not amount to anything and are not worth reading.

“A Governor who wants to know what is going on behind all the closed doors has opportunities to find out and will greatly relish talking about it aloud. There are a good many men on the Democratic ticket with me in the several counties of this state, men who have been and who I hope will be in the legislature of this state, who are just as dead in earnest about letting the people of this Commonwealth have a grip upon this legislature as anybody else. Some of them can talk most eloquently. I don't have to talk for them; I have come here to let you see what kind of a chap I am.”

“Three cheers for Doctor Wilson!” yelled a man in the audience, and the crowd let loose with startling vim.

“Now you know a very interesting thing has happened. During the latter part of the month of November there's going to meet in Frankfort, Ky., a body of Governors, all the Governors in the United States. You know they were twice heard. Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Taft called them together. Now they have formed an association of their own and are not going to wait for the President to call them together again. They have a chairman, a secretary and a permanent organization, and they are going to hold annual meetings. What for? To compare notes, to see how their several commonwealths coöperate in respect to those matters about which the state legislatures are most interested. Don't you see how interesting that is? What are they going to do?

“Are they going to go home and twiddle their thumbs? Aren't they going home with opinions in their heads? Aren't they going home with ambitions to serve a great people, with a consciousness of what immense issues are involved, and with the desire in their hearts to submit wise counsel, gathered from such sources?

“There is, if the Governors of these states are wise enough to exercise it, a great leadership in store for them of the most legitimate sort, not given them by the law, but given them in their several commonwealths as they are about to control public opinion. That is what I call bringing the people back to their Government, giving them a spokesman, giving them direct contact with the things that are going on generally. That is what I call government by public opinion, which is what our arrange-

ments are for. Let that thing get once started and you will find that there are no locks on committee doors; you will find that everything will slowly creep out into the open.

"We want the contact of public affairs with public opinion. That is what we are after in this state, and that is what we are going to get. We are going to get it, no matter what happens, because it does not depend even on the next 8th day of November. This tide is rolling so that nobody can get out of its way. There is no dam that can stop it; there is no subterfuge that can escape it. This thing is going to rise and overwhelm everything that is antagonistic."

At the St. Mary's Hall meeting, previous to the arrival of Mr. Wilson, several speakers held the attention of the great audience. Assemblyman Joseph P. Tumulty made a strong and direct appeal to the voters to stand by Wilson as a man of the highest character and integrity, whom the party bosses cannot control, but who will be his own master when he takes the executive chair in January. Mr. Tumulty explained why Vivian M. Lewis should not be supported, the chief reason being that, while a member of the Assembly from Passaic County, he always was arrayed on the side of the special interests as against the people's interests, and always has been in the grip of the party bosses.

Mr. Tumulty presented the legislative records to show that he was talking by the book and he was cheered lustily. For the first time since the campaign opened Mayor H. Otto Wittpenn, of Jersey City, appeared on the platform and he was making a vigorous address when the candidate and his escort appeared. It was all off then, for the crowd arose and broke into a perfect storm as he was made the point of a flying wedge to force a way up a side aisle. At the close of the meeting, terminating Mr. Wilson's fifth week of campaigning, he was hustled over to Jersey City to get a train for his Princeton home.

## XXXIV

### SCORES WITH WORKERS

PRINCETON MAN PRESSES LIABILITY LAW ISSUE BEFORE CHEERING THOUSANDS

*Jersey City, Oct. 31.* — The paths of Woodrow Wilson and Vivian M. Lewis, rival candidates for Governor, converged in this city to-night and rival rockets proclaimed their coming. If open marks of approval count for anything, if the popular acclaim is a sign post, Wilson is on the sure road to a great triumph. The crowds were his and the enthusiasm was on his side. Moreover, while Candidate Lewis was discussing what the G. O. P. had achieved for the workingman in the past, only two blocks up the street his opponent was driving home some of the facts relating to the amount of legislation which had tended toward the corporation employer and how little toward the corporation employé.

“Has the present Republican organization shown any desire to legislate for the common interest, including the workingman?” asked Mr. Wilson. “If they have, I have not seen any evidence of it on the statute books in the past ten years.” Later, discussing the need for an effective employers’ liability law, which he regards as one of the great needs of the day for the working people, Mr. Wilson said:

“Did you know that we have an employers’ liability law on the books? We have one so ingeniously drawn that no lawyer can interpret it. Somebody may be able to work it, but they haven’t found the spring yet. Perhaps there’s something wrong with the punctuation.”

Both the candidates started their night addresses in Bayonne, the centre of the great Standard Oil Trust’s refining and shipping plant, and, while Wilson was piloted through the industry by Colonel Charles W. Fuller, counsel for the Standard, during the afternoon, shaking hands with the army of grim workmen, he got the people at the meeting and he devoted practically all of his address to the labor question, upon which

he elaborated upon a wider and much more comprehensive scale than at any time during the campaign.

That Mr. Wilson's position upon this question, upon which the Republican managers have endeavored to break him, is strong with the workingmen themselves was shown over and over again by outbursts of cheers and applause which frequently followed his presentation of the case in a manner at once direct and effective.

It was Mr. Wilson's third visit to Hudson since his campaign opened, and his reception by the voters in Bayonne and in this city, where two immense meetings were held, was tremendously enthusiastic. He was met at Newark by State Chairman Nugent and taken direct to the hall of the Democratic Club at Bayonne, arriving a few minutes after eight, while F. X. O'Brien, candidate for Assembly, opened the meeting with a strong, effective speech.

So dense was the crowd in the hall that a flying wedge had to be formed to rush the candidate through. His appearance was the signal for one of those great demonstrations of delight and enthusiasm which have become so familiar to Mr. Wilson in the past five weeks. It was a cyclone. There has been for some little while a distressing factional disturbance among the live Democrats of Bayonne, but it was not visible in the outpouring of voters that made the welkin ring for Mr. Wilson.

One of the first men to grip his hand as he stepped upon the platform was Rev. Peter Reilly, pastor of St. Henry's Roman Catholic Church, and City Chairman James Cronin started the meeting going. When the storm of cheers became calm Mr. Wilson launched at once upon the subject of legislation as related to the corporation and the employé.

"I want to speak to this crowd of men to-night on the subject of labor, not because my views have been misrepresented, because I know workingmen enough to know that they are not going to be misled by things of that sort. I know their independence, and I know that they are not going to be deceived by gross and wilful misrepresentation; but I want to speak of labor because I believe I am going to be elected Governor of New Jersey and because I want you men to understand how I look at the subject of labor, so that when we come to deal with this complicated and important question in later months we may know how we are dealing with one another.

"Now, there is only one way in which to look at the question of labor: It isn't fair to look at labor separately, as if laboring men did not form a part and the fundamental part of our society. It isn't fair to look at

capital separately, as if capitalists formed a separate group. Separate labor from capital and capital is helpless and labor is helpless.

"Now you have got to take a very broad view when you discuss questions on the basis of the public interest. The public, it goes without saying, is composed of all of us, not of some part of us. The public is that great body of persons, young and old, powerful men and helpless women and little children, upon whom all our relations in life depend. Men cannot be happy, men cannot be successful when they are seeking selfish advantage, one over another. They can be happy and successful only when they are trying to do something which is for everybody's good.

"Now, why is it that we have a labor question at all? It is for the simple and the very sufficient reason that the laboring men and the employer are not intimate associates now, as they used to be in the age now so far past that we have forgotten it. Most of our laws were formed in the times when the employer and the employé knew each other's characters, were associated with each other, dealt with each other as man with man. You know that that is no longer the case. You in most instances are serving great corporations. You not only do not come into personal contact with the men who have the supreme command in those corporations, but it would be out of the question for you to do it.

"Our modern corporations employ thousands, and in some instances hundreds of thousands of men. The only persons that you see or deal with are local superintendents or local representatives of a great big association, which is not like anything that the workingmen in the time that our laws were framed knew anything about. A little group of workingmen, seeing their employer every day, dealing with him in a personal way, is one thing, and the modern body of labor engaged as employés of the huge enterprises that spread all over a country, dealing with men whom they never saw and whom they can form no conception of, is another thing.

"Suppose you go back in your fancy dealing with individual employers, for instance, but you are not dealing with the individual employer, and, therefore, the law is justified in going into factories, and obliging those who are managing them to conduct them in a proper way by insisting upon proper ventilation and proper conditions for doing the work of the factory.

"What are we doing? Large artificial corporations are employing large numbers of men upon whose health and strength and morality depends the health and strength and morality of the community itself.



Who make up the community anyhow? Nine tenths of every community is made up of men who do the work.

"Most employers that have not been laborers are not worth their salt, anyhow. It is merely a question of which part of the work you are doing. If you have proved capable in the part of the work you have been doing and have become the boss of a gang, or a superintendent, that means that your intelligence has lifted you to another place, in which there is still work.

"The labor question is a question of society, of how many are going to tackle the tasks and work of the world, and how they are going to be related to it; and as nine tenths of the men of the world are workingmen that society has to protect, it has to protect this nine tenths, to see that its health does not suffer, to see that its morals are protected.

"If you oblige the laboring man to deal with these sections of society I have called corporations, let him deal with one man at a time. But when a man is dealing with an association that consists of a thousand men, the characters of which he cannot get at because they may live in distant cities, their work spread all over the United States and their offices in another section, that is not a possible proposition; therefore, the right of the laboring men to organize is not only a right, but in some sense it is a necessity. I have never found any man who was jealous in regard to the interests of the laboring man, much less jealous of his forming organizations whenever he pleased, for any legitimate purpose. The legitimate purpose of organization is to relieve the individual from what I may call his fewness — that is to say, there are so few of him and so many of the rest.

"Now, inasmuch as the corporation is chargeable with the proper protection of the workingman, what are his rights are obviously everybody's rights, the right to have a comfortable and safe place in which to work, to have suitable tools with which to work, to have reasonable regulations between himself and his employer, and the right to have reasonable compensation and reasonable hours of work. All of those things have the sympathy of every man who thinks in terms of the whole body, instead of thinking selfishly and all for himself. Nobody, no wise and just man, is jealous of the proper use of organization. But the interesting thing is that organization cannot accomplish what society as a whole can accomplish through legislation."

So many people had been unable to squeeze into the jammed hall that it was decided to hold an outdoor meeting, and while Mr. Wilson was

talking Congressman Eugene Kinkead, who is immensely popular in this district and who is to be reelected, was addressing fully 1000 people from the high steps of the building, and two blocks away, at the home of the Bayonne Republican Club, a hall by no means crowded gave Candidate Lewis scant inspiration.

As soon as he had finished his speech within, Mr. Wilson was escorted through the jam in the hall, and upon his appearance at the doorway the outside crowd cut Kinkead short with a cry for Wilson, and, standing in the dense pack of humanity, he was forced to make a few more remarks to satisfy the clamor.

The candidate was then taken in a limousine car across the lower part of the city and, escorted by a motorcycle "cop," dashed away to St. John's Hall in the Tenth ward, this city, where another jam of voters awaited his coming. It was another gathering composed largely of work people, and Mr. Wilson again spoke upon the labor question as he views it and again he scored, and the audience, quick of comprehension, showed its approval in a roar of applause.

"It is for you to choose which set of leaders you will trust," he said impressively in a summing up of how little Republican legislatures had done.

"You're the man for us," shouted an enthusiast, whose cry was instantly echoed in a furious shout and cheer.

He likened the political organization to a corporation and declared that the voters, as stockholders, have a right to know what is going on within. "The direct primary," he said, "is the best way to get stock to enable the people to get at the corporation and assist in managing it whether they are invited or not."

He said an effective Corrupt Practices act was one of the best means of removing the forces which operate against the common interests. "We are not working for classes," he said, impressively, as he concluded a strong plea for legislation devised to meet the demands of employer and employé, "but for the common cause of all, for the cause of humanity."

County Chairman Hennessy, who met Mr. Wilson at the Bayonne meeting and went with him to the St. John's Hall meeting, declares that Hudson is in fine shape for a tremendous majority for Wilson and the whole ticket, fixing the majority as high as 15,000 sure, and it looks as though he were right.

## XXXV

### SMASHES PASSAIC'S RECORD

GETS GREATEST OVATION EVER ACCORDED ANY CANDIDATE IN  
HOME CITY OF RIVAL

*Passaic, Nov. 1.* — Woodrow Wilson's return to Passaic County tonight was signalized by a reception that broke all records for political gatherings in this live city. The candidate for Governor who is getting the hearts of the people was inspired by the tremendous audiences and the great enthusiasm to bespeak his mind upon some of the topics close to the hearts of Passaic county people — railroad rates, the conservation of water rights and the direct primary. The demonstration of approval of his views concerning these topics, too, was such as to show that he had struck home, and the party leaders of this usually Republican city declare that there is no ground whatsoever for the extravagant claims of the Republicans for majorities for Lewis in his home county.

Speaking of the working out of the present campaign, Mr. Wilson said that he had endeavored from the very start to give earnest and intelligent discussion to the matters involved for the welfare of the state, but that the other side had found it expedient to indulge in personalities. He said that since the discussion had been opened the Republicans had found it advisable to follow the Democrats, so that there is now scarcely a line of demarkation between the two.

"Since the platforms were adopted," he said "the Republican candidate has added item after item till he is almost ready to make it unanimous." The immense audience laughed and applauded vigorously and it was one of the noticeable incidents of this, one of the largest and most effective meetings Mr. Wilson has yet seen assembled, that there was no noisy demonstration at any stage of the proceedings.

It was a different sort of audience and those who know say that it was one of the best ever assembled in the city, as it was the first ever held in the new and handsome high school, probably the finest and most commodious building of the kind in New Jersey. The nearly 2000 persons who sat or stood as they were able took all of their enthusiasm out in the

use of their hands and these they used to advantage at Mr. Wilson's every telling point in one of the strongest speeches of his whole campaign.

Mr. Wilson was met at Newark by State Chairman Nugent and brought to Passaic in a limousine with "Ed." Burrell at the wheel once more, and they reached the handsome home of the Acquackanonk Club in one of the prettiest parts of this mighty pretty city. There dinner was served with a number of the clubmen, without party distinction, acting as hosts and many of the local Democrats sitting down to the merry little feast.

Among them were John O'Leary, chairman of the reception committee; Anton L. Petterson, the irrepressible "Bob" Bremner, who editorially guides the destinies of the Passaic people; Frank Kilgour, W. Grafton Bateman, William R. Ryan, John T. Wynne, James J. Cowley and others.

A few minutes' ride in the cars took the party to the high-school building, occupying a whole city block and standing like a fortress of popular education upon a terraced eminence. In the brilliant lighting of the handsome big auditorium, with an audience that showed its intelligent appreciation and interest in the lofty sentiments of their leader of men, Mr. Wilson seemed to gather inspiration afresh for his message to the people of New Jersey, and over and over again he brought great storms of approval of his stand.

"This is a singular campaign," he said; "it does not belong to that ridiculous comedy of politics which we see when men are merely struggling for office. There is nothing more dull, there is nothing less worth while, there is nothing more laughable than the mere struggle of men to occupy public office. If public office is the object of politics, then politics is not worth the serious consideration of men who are interested in the betterment of communities and in the achievement of things.

"I conceive myself to have come here to-night in order to expound, if I may, what I might call the dynamics of politics. We are not interested in the mere filling of offices; they are easily filled; we can get volunteers for that at any time. But we are interested in getting something done for the state of New Jersey, and that is not easy to do and there are not abundant volunteers for that undertaking. We are interested in applying force in the direction in which we want to move, and we are interested in the movement as much as we are interested in the force.

"The force is the force of parties — the force of men united to vote together to a common end — but the force is not half so interesting as the thing it is applied to accomplish. It is applied to accomplish public

policies, and the interesting thing of the present campaign is that we have made up our minds about most of the important matters that affect the important welfare of New Jersey, from the point of view of politics. Why, if we know the direction in which we want to move, is there any difficulty or doubt as to the choice we should make regarding the means of moving in that direction?

“We have made up our minds, then, about what? Why, for one thing, we have made up our minds about the Public Utilities Commission. We all want a Public Utilities Commission, and we want a Public Utilities Commission that will have some definite and effectual powers. That is unanimous. But we have not considered this matter very carefully in its details. What, after all, is our main object in having a Public Utilities Commission?

“Many of you are commuters, and you will say that your main object in having a Public Utilities Commission is to regulate rates. Yes; but the regulation of rates rests upon a great many other things which are fundamental to the regulation of rates, and which things interest a community just as much as a regulation of rates interests us. The main function of a Public Utilities Commission, properly clothed with power, is to display to the public by inquiry full information concerning the affairs and the finances of the public utility corporations; to be a board which can hear complaints concerning all kinds of lack of service and all kinds of discrimination in service; can have the same kind of right that the Interstate Commerce Commission at Washington to rectify abuses and to correct inequalities of service; to check all these performances which may be shown to be inequitable to individuals or to localities, and then, building upon these regulations, to establish equitable rights — rights which will be equitable alike to the common carrier, to the water company, to the gas company and to the electric light company, and equitable to the communities which they serve. That is the full program. I don't believe there is any ground for serious debate by anybody on that question.”

A great storm of applause showed that Mr. Wilson had struck a popular chord. The speaker then went on to show that direct primaries and a real employers' liability act are essential to the better welfare of the state, and on the former proposition he made this brave thrust:

“The desire for direct primaries is based upon a certain uneasiness and jealousy. We see that the business of choosing candidates for office and

delegates to Congress, and all the other persons who have been chosen in the processes of politics, has been concentrated and monopolized in the hands of managing politicians. We want to see an open, not a shut game. We won't always, I imagine, make a very active use of the direct primary, but we know that we can use it if we choose, and that we can put the machine out of business whenever it occurs to us to do so."

That, too, was a popular hit, it was very plain. Another subject upon which Mr. Wilson touched was the rate question, so close to the interest of all the chain of communities along the Passaic watershed, and on this he made a fine hit.

"There has been a long history of the Passaic River," he said. "One can get a sniff of that history as he comes along the road. It is lifted to heaven out of the very waters of the stream. It has a solidity that any stream has unknown elsewhere in the fluid world. If you seek high up the stream in order to find pure waters, you find these waters going astray, you find these waters beckoned to and led off by a certain water company which says: 'This way, if you please. We have some private business to transact with you. Will you follow us? We are going to sell you wholesale and retail to certain communities who are waiting for you in the levels below.'

"In the meantime, there are all sorts of things that lawyers call riparian rights, which are lying neglected and unused and unasserted in these same levels below. Now, that has a legislative history back of it. I am not here to utter an indictment against the men who passed the legislation that made the diversion of the water of the Passaic possible.

"We were a pretty benighted people once upon a time about questions of that kind, and I am perfectly willing to admit that these gentlemen were merely benighted, if that sits better on their stomachs. But, nevertheless, there was a time when a thing very dangerous for all this section of New Jersey was done, a thing dangerous to its health, a thing dangerous to its very existence.

"Now, by some means, by some wise processes of common counsel, this part of New Jersey has got to get command again of its watersheds and of its water supply. It has got to be done legally; it has got to be done justly; it has got to be done with fair compensation to everybody concerned, who have, through mistake or error of policy, acquired any rights, but it has got to be done. We cannot afford to let this great urban area run much longer the dangers that it is now running.

"My point is this: that if we are agreed, what do we wait for? If opinion is ready, who is not ready? Why, evidently, if we are to judge by the history of the past six or eight years, the political organizations are not ready. There has been no serious debate about these things, or there need not have been, these dozen years. But if the debate is over, where is the jury? Why are they out so long? Why are they hung? What are they doing? Are they conferring privately with anybody? Have they lacked for food and starved? Where are they?

"Did I not say to you at the beginning of this address that it was a suit in political dynamics. Well, here is the power; now why don't you move something? Why is the shock just striking air and not driving the car of public opinion? Something is the matter; somebody is unwilling to move; somebody is unwilling to yield to public opinion; something is holding somebody back. And we are tired of it; we are sick and tired of it. It may be habit, it may be ignorance, it may be anything that is not criminal, but, no matter what it is, we are tired of it and we have had enough of it.

"They have insisted upon keeping things down to the low and ignoble level of personalities. Why? Is it possible that these gentlemen do not want to discuss public questions? Is it possible that they do not know how to discuss public questions? Is it possible that they think that has nothing to do with it, and are merely trying to keep possession? Is possession their notion of politics, or is action their notion of politics?

"What do I conceive the course and heart issue of this campaign? What is it about? Is it about getting possession of the government of the state, or is it about doing something with the government of the state when you have got possession? Now I must tell you frankly that I am not interested in getting possession of the government of the state. For one thing, it is an extremely and almost unnecessarily complicated government. I foresee that it will take about a twelvemonth to know its intricacies and cellars and attics and closets, and that there will be skeletons in some of the closets, and there is a possibility of exploring the premises that is not interesting."

Speaking of the attitude of the Republican campaign managers, Mr. Wilson said:

"What we want, then, is to recover an old conception of politics. What conception? Why the conception the Republican party — the rank and file — has always had is that government is in the formation of the

party; the conception that the Democratic party has always had since the days when its founders uttered those general principles which still quicken our pulses by the representation and service of the people, the conceptions once uttered in the phrase which has lived because sprung from living thought, that 'public office is a public trust,' that the object of parties is to accomplish the welfare of the people, that the central word of all political action is the word 'service.'"

Many Paterson men who heard Mr. Wilson speak on previous occasions came down to hear him again. After the great meeting here Mr. Wilson, snugly wrapped and shielded from the chill night air in the limousine car, was quickly whirled across country to Carlstadt, a cozy little nest of Bergen County commuters who are deeply interested in public utilities legislation. He was given another handsome ovation and, in the present condition of politics in the county, with an ugly perpetual fight among the Republicans, it is freely predicted that he will come mighty near pulling off a majority. Mr. Wilson went over to the University Club, New York, to-night.



## XXXVI

### WINS THINKING MEN

CONVINCES TWO OUTPOURINGS OF HOME-LOVING, TAX-PAYING,  
SUBSTANTIAL CITIZENSHIP

*Orange, Nov. 2.*— One glance over the two great audiences that greeted Woodrow Wilson on his return to Essex County to-night was sufficient to convince any observer that there was much more than the mere candidate for office in a man who could so arouse and so sway the people. Of course, Mr. Wilson has become accustomed to unaccustomed things in this campaign, but, with all his experiences in gathering to him crowds, he scarcely was prepared for the flattering receptions accorded him at Montclair and Orange, two sections of Essex in which the Democrats have been given scant courtesy in recent years, but where that strong, dominating element of New Jersey life, the home-loving, tax-paying, law-abiding citizen, abounds.

Catching his inspiration from this safe element of society, with no consciousness of an attractive force within himself alone, this new leader of American men developed a fresh and effective force, drawing to himself and the great cause he is preaching a sure, steadfast and earnest following that must mean triumph. The spirit of both his speeches, directed to thoroughbred men, was that this is not an era of choice of men, but a new day, dawning for the triumph of principle and justice.

“Unless,” he said once, “you elect all of the ticket I shall enjoy a lonely eminence and shall have to do a lot of futile talking.” That was the unselfish summing up of his position regarding this campaign for the restoration of the Government to the people.

“There is ample evidence that you have got into the game, but are you going to stay there? Are you going to be just the audience or part of the play?” He asked it another time, and the earnestness of the response Mr. Wilson received to that query gave assurance that he would have generous and effective support in the stellar rôle with which he heads this new program of government. In all, at the two meetings, Mr. Wilson addressed at least 4000 persons, all deeply moved and all dis-

playing the utmost interest in the live topics he discussed and rising to high pitches of enthusiasm at every effective touch of the electric wave that thrills men and quickens men's pulses.

He was met at Newark by State Chairman Nugent at 4.45 o'clock and whirled in the limousine to the Hotel Montclair, at Montclair, one of Essex County's most exclusive and intellectual centres. There he had a chance for nearly an hour's rest in the big and luxurious hostelry on the crest of First Mountain. Soon there gathered a host of Montclair's best citizens, headed by T. A. Adams, vice-chairman of the Essex County Democratic Committee, and a prominent business man; Harold Anderson, Rev. Henry E. Jackson, pastor of the Congregational Church; Edward W. Townsend (Chimmie Fadden), candidate for Congress; Senator Harry V. Osborne and others.

A bountiful dinner was served amid attractive decorations and Mr. Wilson graciously complied with an urgent request to say a word to some "first voters" at the board, which "first voters" meant a bunch of Republicans who are going to take the plunge and cast ballots for Mr. Wilson.

In a few minutes the party was in the auditorum of the new high-school building, which is more commodious and beautiful than that at Passaic, where he had such an ovation last night, and such a comparison is nothing to the detriment of the Passaic school. Not less than 2000 persons were gathered when Mr. Wilson appeared and they overran every point from which they could get a sight of this man who has kindled the great fire of hope in the breasts of New Jersey's best citizenship.

It was plain from the start that such a gathering was inspiring to the speaker, as was the reception accorded him as he stepped before it and paused while the wave of applause, like the boom of storm-riven breakers on the bar, subsided. Then, as he proceeded, his hearers displayed a quick and ready perception of his most subtle thrusts, and all the way through his fifty-minute address he was made to feel by every known process of communication that he had reached the minds and hearts of patriotic people.

"I feel as I look over an audience like this that something has happened in New Jersey," said he. "We have tried to introduce a new kind of political campaign, and it seems to take, for we are not interested in commending a party to you, we are not interested in commending persons for office, but we are deeply interested in commending certain political purposes to you, we are deeply interested in discussing the means of

advancing the welfare of the Commonwealth to which we should be devoted.

"We have heard a great deal in recent months of Progressive Republicans and of Progressive Democrats and of progressive men of this, that and the other creed or persuasion. I suppose that the implication is that there are also retrogressive Republicans and retrogressive Democrats and men of every sort or other who wish to stand still or to pull things back to a period which we hope we have left behind us. But whatever our understanding of the meaning of these designations may be, this thing is clear, that only those who profess progressive principles are now likely to attract the attention or to hold to themselves the purposes of this free country.

"There is no means of health except progress. Nothing can be kept, nothing that lives can be kept at a single point without disease and decay. When you speak, therefore, of a Progressive Republican I understand you to mean a man who wishes to carry forward to the uses of a new age the ancient principles of an old party. When you speak of a Progressive Democrat I understand that you mean not a man who will always be standing upon a literal interpretation of quotations of Thomas Jefferson, but one who will try to carry forward in the service of a new age the spirit of Thomas Jefferson, the spirit of this man who tried to comprehend the things of the people, and to serve them by political combinations and concerted action.

"What we want, therefore, and what I dare say a company of men like this is united in wanting, is a progressive Government. But it is one thing to use these general terms and to be sure that you want to make progress, and it is another thing to know what progress is and wherein it consists. The fact that a man is moving all the time does not prove that he is progressive; it depends where he started and in what direction he is going.

"I have seen men stumble on the right track, and I have seen men keep to the right track by a sort of an indulgent Providence, but neither sort of man is the leader of progress. Progress consists of movement from day to day, foot by foot, through a long series of practical details. We never invented and never shall invent the airship in politics; we have to keep our feet on the ground, to accommodate ourselves to slow movements and a united life in order to make progress."

This brought Mr. Wilson to a trite deduction that the kind of progress most needed in New Jersey is that which includes legislation for a

proper employers' liability act, for direct primaries, conservation of natural resources and the rate-making power for a utilities commission.

"But anybody can write out a program," said he, "and we can carry out and exhaust the program, but then will we be satisfied? Is that all we are after? That is not all I am after. That is not all that a company of thoughtful people like this is after; that will not satisfy them.

"Have we laid out a little program that in two or three years of mere keeping faith we can fulfil and establish? Then shall we merely by resolution demand this, that or the other thing for any particular part of the community? That is not what we are after. We are after realizing our purposes in action. But there is something greater than action, and that is the spirit and process of light behind it. I consider this to be a year — and it is a most exhilarating year in consequence — of renaissance of American impulse for right government in politics. That impulse will not spend and exhaust itself upon a single program and a single platform; it will go on with accumulating force until men shall stand most to see that American citizens have recovered control of their own Government, or begun to.

"The processes by which you recover control of a Government are not merely voting into office a set of men who promise to do particular things, and making them do them by fear of being anathematized if they don't. There is nothing in that, there is nothing hopeful in a program like that. You can whip any party under fear of eventual defeat into doing the will of the people if they know what the will of the people is and if you keep whipping them into action; but to whip them and force them isn't anything to satisfy the ambition of a man who would lead a great people or a great people who would be led. What we want is to recover the fundamental processes of America in an age when it will be a greater achievement to recover them than it ever could have been in any preceding age.

"Now, the enormous task of our day is for the majority of us to forget our special interests long enough to take action with regard to the welfare of the whole. That is the splendid program of the progressive — to put things forward by justice, by fairness, by a concern for all interests, by a combination of all interests, by a union of all interests, until men shall think in the terms of the common weal and not in the terms of special interests or partisan advantage. How are you going to do it?

"That is what interests me. I believe that the present specific pro-

gram can be carried out. It cannot be carried out, I am afraid — let me say parenthetically — if you send me to Trenton all by myself. Unless you elect a Democratic ticket, I submit, I shall have a very lonely eminence, and shall be obliged to indulge in a lot of futile talk, because things have to be done by the body; they cannot be done by the individual, and the individual does not want to make himself a common scold. He wants coöperation, and I believe from conferences with my fellow-Democrats on the Democratic ticket that they are ready to give me their coöperation. I believe that this program can be carried out.

“We have to make our choice how it is going in New Jersey, but the method is not enough; you have to carry the method to this point, that you have to elect men to office who represent the method, men who are in love with that method, men who are in love with publicity, men who are in love with discussion, with the settlement of things on genuine basis; men who don’t want to occupy office simply for the sake of occupying office; men who don’t care a peppercorn for an office that does not carry with it the confidence and support of their fellow-citizens.

“So far as that is concerned it would be more comfortable to occupy some other office if the difficulty is merely pecuniary, because you can find offices with better salaries. Your wife and your children do not approve of political office; it has all sorts of uncertainty about it. But it is immensely exhilarating and worth while if it is designed to lead the community to shape its affairs in the common interest.

“That is the highest privilege that can come to any American, no matter how humble a political place he may occupy, to be the real representative of thoughtful and spirited men in advancing the public interests. I do not see how anybody can read American history without feeling his pulse quicken at a conception like that.”

Though there was a great clamor on the part of the people to meet Mr. Wilson and to grip his hand, the rush to the front was restrained by Chairman Anderson, and the candidate was put in his car for the run of about fifteen minutes over to Orange in a bad drizzle. As Mr. Wilson alighted from his car he was met by Lawrence T. Fell, one of the Essex Democratic leaders, and City Chairman Finney, who escorted him into Columbia Hall.

“Why,” said the candidate, in surprise, as he looked over a room filled with empty benches. “Oh, the meeting is upstairs,” said Fell, as he led the way up a rear entrance to the stage. There, in a trice, Mr. Wilson gazed out upon fully 1500 persons, all that could squeeze into the place,

and there was a tremendous ovation for him. In the audience sat Rev. W. J. McDonald, pastor of the prosperous Catholic parish; his assistants, Fathers Marvell, Kane and Reilly. Rev. D. E. Brown, pastor of the Washington Street Baptist Church; Rev. Adolph Roeder, a Lutheran divine of much prominence, and many well-known residents of the town.

Despite the late hour the audience paid the closest attention to the speaker for a half hour, and he made many effective points, urging the people to get together for good government.

The two big meetings of the night have given renewed confidence to the Wilson campaign managers. Nobody ever saw such meetings here before; nobody ever saw the county so thoroughly aroused, and Chairman Nugent is full of glee.

## XXXVII

### COUNTY OF THE FOE WARMS

PROMISES NEW HISTORY — SAYS HE WILL NOT GIVE THE STATE  
A DULL MOMENT IF HONORED WITH OFFICE

*Morristown, Nov. 3.*— Out of a heavy snowstorm, after a day of incessant downpour, Woodrow Wilson gathered sunny prospects in Morris County, the home of "Uncle Dan" Voorhees, State Treasurer, and one of the Republican leaders of the state. Despite the nasty weather three good-sized and very deeply interested audiences gathered to greet the candidate, and all the people showed such eagerness and enthusiasm that many of the Democratic leaders of the county are thoroughly convinced that the Wilson ticket will at least come near winning, although the county is addicted to 2500 Republican majority.

The addresses were made at Madison at 3.30 o'clock, at Dover at 7.30 o'clock, and in this city at 9, and in all of them Mr. Wilson presented his lofty ideals of government and of the separation of government from the special interests which for so long have dominated public affairs.

"We are going to try an interesting experiment on the 8th of November," he said, "but it is not going to be so painfully interesting to the men who are going to be elected, for they will be permanently retired if they don't make good. If I am elected, some of the most interesting political history New Jersey has ever seen is going to be written, and I promise you that you shan't have a dull moment.

"As the campaign draws to a close I find myself feeling, in a sense, the solemnity of it. It was great fun at first; it was great fun to come out and be critically scrutinized as a closeted schoolmaster who was trying to play an unaccustomed part; but as I have faced audience after audience and have seen the eagerness of the faces I have faced to discuss not candidates, not the fortunes of parties, but the fortunes of a commonwealth and the probabilities of such policies as would lift the commonwealth to a new level of accomplishment, I felt how serious a matter it is to stand for office among a people who are expecting great things of

those whom they may elect to office, for I have never been deceived, ladies and gentlemen, about the character of government.

“Government consists of the men who compose it, and I cannot imagine anything more solemn than the fact that a great body of your fellow-citizens have deliberately trusted you with a great enterprise in which they expected you to be their spokesman and representative.

“We have discussed before many audiences this year the issues of the campaign. I have taken pride in pointing out that the platform of the Democratic party is not a body of rhetorical phrases, but a definite program of what they wish to do for the state, and I have again called the attention of the audiences we have addressed to this interesting difference between the Republican case and the Democratic case.

“In the Republican case the candidate and the platform do not match; in the Democratic case they do. I have not advanced a single position in these speeches that is not to be found explicitly stated in the Democratic platform, whereas Mr. Lewis, displaying more and more as the campaign has advanced his own liberal tendencies and opinions, has added item after item of personal conviction on his part that is not to be found in the Republican platform.

“Apparently, therefore, I have a party behind me and Mr. Lewis has not; but, inasmuch as I am arguing, to my great embarrassment, for my preference over Mr. Lewis, you will see that I am precluded from arguing it on the basis of our opinion, on the basis of what we individually stand for. What basis is left, therefore, for argument? Nothing but the personal basis, and that is extremely embarrassing. Mr. Lewis has been in active public life a long time; I have never been in active public life; I have only taken pains to understand public questions, and, therefore, there is no basis that I can think of except one for commending myself to your suffrages.

“That one is not my personal ability, not my personal character, but my — if I may so express it — impersonal connection. I have not been bred in a political organization, and Mr. Lewis has been bred in a political organization. What I want to point out to you as the main theme of what I have to say is that not only is the fundamental matter in government to find men who can be trusted in the administration of affairs, but men who can be expected in the administration of affairs to resist temptation.

“I don't mean the gross kind of temptation; I don't mean the temptation of money. I think to self-respecting men there is no temptation in money — in money evilly got — but there is a very great temptation



in those things that tug at the heart-strings. I can imagine that a man bred by long custom to coöperate with a particular body of men in party questions would find it very difficult to accomplish things according to his own judgment. That is the subtlest temptation that concerns us; and what I want to intimate to you, without desiring to cast aspersions on anybody's character, for that is not part of the argument, is that we have had programs of action before, and made rather explicitly by the Republican leaders, but they have never been carried out.

"The most interesting thing in answering that question is that we don't know why they have not been carried out. Nobody can tell you why they have not been carried out, which means that politics is now based on private understandings which are none of our business. If you will not give me some other rational explanation, and if nobody can tell me except by intimation why their programs are not carried out, I am warranted in coming to the conclusion that it is not something which can be discussed in public.

"There may be reasons for that, for there are things which, I am pleased to admit, it is not in the public interest to discuss publicly, because they would be misinterpreted and misunderstood, but what I seriously object to is any government conducted upon the basis of private understanding with anybody."

All who heard Mr. Wilson caught the ring of his sincerity of purpose and his sure destiny, for over all there hovered the feelings, oft expressed in this new kind of campaign for this intrepid leader, that the future has in store for him greater things than his present candidacy.

At the conclusion of the Dover meeting it was decided that, as the roads were lakes of slush, it would be dangerous to make the run by automobiles, so there was a rush of the meeting in order that the party might make the 8.22 train for this city. In a beating snowstorm the forlorn campaigners looked like a band of barnstorming actors. Colonel Alexander Bacon, of Brooklyn, was speaking in the Lyceum to a surprisingly large audience when they arrived, and he kept on with his address until 9.20 o'clock. The big crowd was quickly responsive to Mr. Wilson's points, and the applause came strong and emphatic.

It was a bad day for Mr. Wilson, but he weathered it finely. He was met at the Pennsylvania Railroad Station, at Newark, by State Chairman Nugent, former Senator Smith and General E. P. Meaney, former

Judge Advocate General of the National Guard, and in General Meaney's big limousine car he was made as snug as a bug in a rug and whirled out into the November rain.

It was planned to reach Madison, the first stop, at 3 o'clock, but the muddy roads made the going so bad that for almost the first time in the campaign Mr. Wilson was a half-hour late. While awaiting his appearance a bunch of students from Dover Theological Seminary, a Methodist institution, enlivened things with songs, and when Mr. Wilson did appear they let loose in this lively chorus, fitted to "Mr. Dooley":

Oh, Mr. Wilson! Oh, Mr. Wilson,  
The finest man New Jersey ever saw;  
Oh, Mr. Wilson! Oh, Mr. Wilson,  
Wilson, Wilson, Wilson. That is all.

This was supplemented by a locomotive cheer for the candidate that brought from him a broad smile. There is said to be a reason in the enthusiasm of these young theologians. All of them have registered for the coming election and are said to be unanimous for Wilson.

Besides the students there were fully 200 persons in the hall, which was regarded as very remarkable on a day like this, when nobody wanted to stir from home except on some absolutely necessary errand. Mr. Wilson was presented by Wayne Alright, a one-time Princeton man, and when he was given a chance to speak, following the applause, the candidate acquitted himself well, despite the doubtful and cheerless day.

"Those sounds I have heard," he said, "make me feel very much at home, but the only danger is that I will start out and make a speech on education rather than politics. But, after all, this has been a campaign of education and there is a growing impression in New Jersey that we are not seeking the office, but trying to solve some of the problems of government confronting the Commonwealth.

"As the campaign draws to a close," he said later, "it takes on more of the personal aspect. As the Republican candidate has followed me step by step in all that I have stood for, it becomes necessary for you to make a choice of men. As to the Republican candidate, I have no doubt of his sincerity, but he has long been associated with an organization that shows a disposition to get in the way of the process of progress, which position is impossible in the circumstances. We are not in the same America we were when their political processes were started. We

are not in the same America we were ten years ago. The stand-pat program is always wrong."

From that Mr. Wilson proceeded to unfold his thought that the people of to-day demanded a program of progress, an improvement upon existing conditions, and that it is necessary for the people to choose who shall lead them in the effort to accomplish these things. Later, in discussing the situation in which parties are apt to find themselves, he said:

"One of the great temptations to be resisted is the constant pressure for office for rewards for party services. There is the pressure for the discipline of those who have not done what their fellows regard as right. Why, the party is not for reward or discipline, but for the service of the state. You can't regard the party as anything but an instrumentality for the good of the Government.

"I know the processes of mynomination, and they were that the Democratic party should stand for certain principles and purposes. If it had not I would not have accepted the post. I represent the Democratic platform in the campaign. The weakness of the Republican candidate is that he has more of a platform than his party has. What other glory is really worth while but that of being of service to your fellow-men."

After the meeting Mr. Wilson stood on the platform and shook hands with the young seminarians as they passed up, one by one. Then he was whirled over the country, with slush and snow and rain beating against the windows of the limousine. He reached Dover at 5 o'clock and had a chance for a rest of an hour at the Hotel Dover.

## XXXVIII

### WARNS BALLOT CROOKS

SEES WAVE OF POPULAR WILL SWEEPING THEM ON TOWARD A  
DESERVED DOOM

*Perth Amboy, Nov. 4.* — Woodrow Wilson encountered the biggest surprise of his new kind of campaign here to-night. In a hard, driving storm that struck to the very marrow, he faced an audience of fully 2700 persons in one of the largest public halls in the state and an audience that was quick to respond to his appeal to the intelligent and patriotic spirit of his auditors. The Auditorium, a new structure, seating 2200 persons, was so crowded that no more could squeeze a nose in and many were turned away disappointed, while hundreds stood in the spaces back of the tiers of seats on the main floors and the balconies.

Under such circumstances Mr. Wilson was in prime shape for a telling address and in some measure he was in reviewing mood, presenting to the vast assemblage some of the points he had made so strongly in the campaign, but presenting them in new form and in fresh thought.

"The Republican party," he said, "gets in a progressive mood every three years," and when the laughter had subsided, he added: "Perhaps they haven't got up steam this year. The fact is, there is hardly anything left for me to discuss in the campaign, for the Republican candidate has taken up, step by step, everything for which our program provided.

"I want you to answer this question for yourselves — why have so many promises been made to you that have not been kept? I suspect that the trouble is they think the campaign is a dress parade, and when it is over there is nothing left to be done. They seem to think that the only thing to be done is to take care of big business."

Passing along on his strong appeal for good government Mr. Wilson made frequent allusion to the charges that the registry lists in South Jersey have been padded, saying, among other things, that the men re-

sponsible for those outrages want to take care, as the people of New Jersey are not going to stand for Philadelphia gang methods.

"The trouble is these men can't see the great wave of popular will sweeping across the country, and when it comes then will be their day of reckoning, and I don't envy them the part," he said, and went on:

"Perth Amboy is one of the first places in the state to have a non-partisan school board. I cannot imagine anything that should be non-partisan if not a school board. I have been, as you have been told by some of my political opponents, a schoolmaster for a good many years and I have never seen any propriety by any possibility of introducing partisanship into teaching.

"It is singular that it first occurred to Perth Amboy that you should have had the leadership in constituting your board in the proper way, and I congratulate you upon that evidence of progressiveness, but one does not have to go far afield in order to find out why a community like this is progressive. You know that in the history of great nations those have been most powerful that have had the greatest combination of strong blood in them.

"I know that a great many people, not knowing history and not knowing what really constitutes the strength of nations, have been jealous of our process of compounding a nation out of a store of national elements, not knowing that was the way America was compounded at first, and that in a community like Perth Amboy the American process is being repeated all over again, of the contribution of scores of nations to a rich compound that makes for new imagination, new impulses and new purposes, a nationality rich in its elements and powerful in all purposes.

"I look upon a community like this as a picture of America in the making, and there is no better means of making America the proper compound of strong national elements than by meetings like this, provided you come together in order not merely to discuss the question as to which man you will put into office, but to discuss the question of what service you will render by your vote to the great state of which you are a part.

"The only thing worth discussing is not the fortunes of individuals, not the fortunes of parties, but the promotion of a common interest that is to achieve the bettering of our interests by getting together in a common enterprise and by seeing enough to see our communities as a whole, to seek to lift them to the levels to which we would seek to see them lifted; that is what the campaign is about.

"This campaign is not intended to support the fortunes of parties. If the Republican party can serve the Commonwealth of New Jersey better

than the Democratic party, that is the only question you need answer. If the Democratic party can serve the Commonwealth better than the Republican party, that is the only question that you need be interested in, but always the question is, which will serve the Commonwealth best, not which party will prosper most in its own fortunes by filling the offices in the state.

“Don’t you see, therefore, that as public men we have to do the very thing that is done and done very wisely in a mixture of races. Men flock to America from many continents and from many countries. They come with all sorts of free dispositions, with all sorts of prejudices and with all sorts of habits. They unite together in a single community and find themselves engrossed in that thing that we call the American spirit, in that sentiment that we call the national sentiment of America.

“No man can tell how it comes; it comes in no very describable fashion, but it rises slowly in our hearts in a single generation. Men don’t forget their ancient connections and their homes in foreign lands; they still love the dear soil they have left, but nevertheless feel that they are part of America; no matter where they come from they imbibe the new spirit and become Americans.

“You have particular manufacturing interests in this community, but you should not centre your thoughts on these interests and on these alone, no matter how short a time you sojourn in this particular division of America which we love under the name of New Jersey. You should try to get some of the spirit of New Jersey in you; not a spirit that is antagonistic to your neighbors; not a spirit that is antagonistic to the homes you have left; not a spirit of jealousy of New York or of disdainfulness of Pennsylvania — though it is hard not to be disdainful of the politics of Pennsylvania — but a spirit of comradeship and a feeling that America cannot be sound unless all of you are sound, that America cannot be pure and patriotic unless New Jersey is pure and patriotic, unless she helps to lift the common levels and to take a patriotic and disinterested step forward.”

Further along he said that all of these things make a picture of what is inside of the minds of men as well as being evidence of things accomplished, and that a progressive community is not one which only makes progress, but is thoughtful of something besides the present.

“You cannot make progress unless you look at the road ahead of you; you cannot make prudent progress unless you look at the road ahead of



SUPREME COURT JUSTICE SAMUEL KALISCH

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you," he continued. "If you had been going about the state in automobiles over roads at night, as I have been in this campaign, you would be more interested in the road ahead of you than you would be in the road behind you. And a progressive community has to have its light of it penetrating every fog, disclosing every obstacle, uncovering every danger ahead, and know where to turn and the road signs.

"What does that mean? Why are the people interested all over the country in the question of conservation? What does it mean? Keeping certain gentlemen from stealing mineral lands and appropriating the public lands in Alaska. Yes, it means that, but not that only. It means keeping men from appropriating money that they ought not to appropriate except for the public benefit in and around Perth Amboy also.

"The whole business of conservation lies right around you and it is just as much your business to conserve the public health as to conserve the water resources and all these things that should be as common and as useful as the air. When you have tuberculosis, contagion of any kind, when you sweep through the streets and factories, you are interested in the deepest conservation of all conservations that start with the health of men.

"That is what public affairs are for; they are the study of things for everybody in every respect; they are not merely for promoting political projects. I sometimes think that political projects are the least part of the matter, but they are for promoting all the common interests that pertain to the health and body and spirit of man.

"It is just as important to America to be a land of religious freedom and to let every man follow the dictates of his own conscience as it is to walk the streets unmolested without proper police protection. I would a great deal rather be free in my thoughts than in my body. I would rather a great deal lie bedridden with a free mind than to go where I please in bondage to other men's opinions.

"I have heard of Progressive Republicans and Progressive Democrats and progressive this and progressive that, but I can tell them apart only by what they do. I cannot tell them apart by what they profess to believe in; I can only tell them apart by what they do in correspondence with their professions.

"Now the present Republican organization of this state might call itself progressive until it was out of breath and I could not believe it, because it has never progressed. If you wish me to regard you as movable I must trouble you to move, unless I have ocular demonstration of

proof that you are movable. Now every three years the Republican machine says that it is progressive, but it has not budged an inch.

"It may be getting up steam, it may have sent for gasoline, its sparkler may be out of order, I do not know what is the matter with it, but I know it has not moved and therefore I begin to have my suspicion whether it is movable except by dynamite.

"On the 8th of November we are going to try dynamite. It may then move in separate and scattered parts, but it will move, and the dynamite is going to be your own convictions, your own conclusions as to what sort of men you want and what you want them to do. The interesting part of this whole business is going to come in watching the men you choose; I say that with uncomfortable anticipation; I expect to be watched because I expect to be elected.

"The interesting part of it may be now for you, but it will be then for me. All I have had to do in the campaign has been to go about and make speeches to cordial and indulgent audiences. It is easy enough to have men sit and look at me as you look at me with cordiality and sympathy. Under such circumstances I can talk all night, but when you are looking at me critically after the election, and when what I say counts for very little, but what I do counts for a great deal, then there may be times when I will get nervous, but I am going to control my nerves and see if something can be accomplished, always with your assistance."

All the way along the stirring, heart-searching address Mr. Wilson was forced to halt to let the applause subside, for never before in the campaign so punctuated by forceful demonstration of approval was he given more appreciable attention or deeper interest. At the conclusion of his address a great cheer for the next Governor of New Jersey arose and the crowd was in a jubilant mood, assuring success next Tuesday. Perth Amboy has been giving Democratic majorities of nearly 1000 for two or three years, but Assemblyman Ramsey declares it will go to 2000 and that Middlesex County is safe for Wilson by that much at least.

Following Mr. Wilson addresses were made by Senator George S. Silzer, who is an idol of Middlesex people, and by the Assembly candidates. It was an astonishing thing to Mr. Wilson to see such a demonstration in Perth Amboy on a night when a storm was raging and people had to suffer intense discomfort to stir out of doors. In a cold, penetrating, driving rain from the northeast, a great crowd collected outside the Packer House, where Mr. Wilson arrived shortly before 6 o'clock, and they stuck to it until he came down to dinner, and then they stood

about the doorways and windows, eager to catch a glimpse of him and to show their interest in the battle going on all over the state.

It was an enthusiasm beyond all comparison in this campaign so full of enthusiasm. Outside the hotel a band played patriotic airs while a fine display of fireworks enlivened the scene and, despite the heavy rain, men paraded in raincoats and under umbrellas, fully 500 of them braving the storm. At the dinner Mr. Wilson met Mayor Albert E. Bollschweiler, Thomas J. Scully, the popular candidate for Congress, who is likely to get Howell's seat; City Chairman Richard F. White, County Clerk B. M. Gannon, Dr. W. E. Ramsey, an Assemblyman, who is to be reelected; W. Parker Runyon, a bunch of prominent Democrats from New Brunswick and about a score of others astir for the success of the ticket.

The way to the Auditorium, about two blocks from the hotel, was ablaze with red fire, and there was a perfect rush of people to get there. Mr. Wilson was taken in the weather-proof limousine, in which he made the long, stormy journey to Princeton from Morristown, late last night, over to Roosevelt, where he was accorded another great reception, and where he made a short but effective address.

Mr. Wilson will wind up his great campaign to-morrow at a meeting in Kreuger Auditorium, Newark, after making speeches at Bloomfield, Glen Ridge and East Orange. The Newark meeting is expected to be one of the greatest ever seen in the city.

## XXXIX

### LAST CALL GREATEST

PLEADS FOR REAL RULE — ARRAIGNS BOSS-LED REPUBLICAN PARTY  
FOR ITS PARTNERSHIP WITH INTERESTS

*Newark, Nov. 5.* — Letting down the curtain on the first act of the stirring drama of American history, in which he is the new-risen star, Woodrow Wilson to-night was accorded a mark of approval that must ring in his ears and linger in his eyes till the lights go out forever upon his stage of action.

No mortal man ever won the hearts of an awakened people like this man did those in a vast audience in the Krueger Auditorium, where, earlier in the campaign, he scored a triumph no less brilliant. No man in New Jersey has so gripped human interest, so aroused the spirit, so lifted the human mind, and it has all been so clear, so simple, so direct, so compelling that any fair-minded man must of necessity be fully convinced of his absolute sincerity and unflinching courage.

Mr. Wilson made four speeches in Essex County to-day, three this afternoon in the suburban sections of Newark, and the final appeal to-night to nearly 3000 eager, interested persons, and in all of them the ruling note was the awakened impulse of the new American, the rehabilitation of the old American, the readjustment of the Government to the needs of the people as against the behests of special privilege. It was refreshing, therefore, to watch and to hear with what a storm of unanimity the thinking people agreed that that is the great question of to-day.

Mr. Wilson's four addresses were delivered to different assemblages, but at no time was there the slightest attempt to adjust his perfect mental balance to meet the differing conditions. Always there was that frank and open discussion of the vital truths that have swayed this giant star in all his comings and goings since he began to take the people into his confidence and began to cast the searchlight of his master mind into the dark corners and up the blind alleys of machine politics.

And when he projected, with quiet reason, but in sturdy characters, the idea that the one great question of to-day for America and for New Jersey was to choose safe leaders, the mighty response which came back to him that he was the chosen one must have swelled the heart within him. At the close of the powerful speech that fairly lifted men out of themselves, one could hear almost a sob of pent-up feeling amid the intense stillness, only broken by the keen vibrant notes of the master voice.

The brilliant wind-up of the campaign included afternoon speeches at Glen Ridge, Bloomfield and East Orange, where many prosperous commuters live and where political independence is so strong that it chooses a man of the Colby type every little while. In all of his speeches Mr. Wilson thrilled his intelligent hearers, who jammed all three of the halls, with the patriotic impulse that sways his own great mind.

It was perfectly evident that, of the nearly 6000 persons who listened to him to-day, he had not before had a more sympathetic or appreciative audience, and he seemed to draw fresh inspiration, for all three of the addresses were different, and it was difficult to pick the strongest. Speaking to the 1500 persons who crowded every bit of space in Commonwealth Hall at East Orange, Mr. Wilson described that what really is happening in the whole country is that the people are seeking new leaders in whom they can trust, and this, he explained, accounts for the tremendous power over the people which Theodore Roosevelt enjoys.

Mention of the name of the Colonel elicited a round of cheers, which showed that a majority of his hearers were Republicans, though, beyond all question, in quick sympathy with the speaker. "There are so many hidden passages, so many back doors and hidden processes in this system," said the candidate, referring to the prevalent political system and its business alliance, "that we believe that somebody is working a game. That is the reason the Democrats have proposed to send me to Trenton to find out what is going on, to disclose to the people of New Jersey what is their own business."

Mr. Wilson arrived here soon after 2 o'clock and was a few minutes ahead of time at the first stop at the Town Hall, in the handsome public schoolhouse at Glen Ridge. The hall was crowded with interested persons, of course. It would be a singular thing to see a small Wilson audience. A short address was made by James K. Milod, one of the bright candidates for Assembly in Essex, who said it was quite extraordinary for so many people of Glen Ridge to gather for a Democratic meeting. With an instantly responsive audience, Mr. Wilson was in

fine form, and he made a rattling address, bristling with good, effective points.

"Politics as now operated," he said, "is a complete system, and we on the outside don't understand all its deep intricacies, but we propose to get on the inside and understand it all." He made a sharp rap at "Cannonism" in Congress and said that it also exists in the New Jersey legislature, that system of legislation by committee.

"You've got to treat diseased politics," he said, "as we have learned to treat tuberculosis, by having people live outdoors and even sleeping in the pure air."

The last was perhaps the greatest meeting of a campaign, totally unmatched by any pages of New Jersey history. People began to flock to Krueger Auditorium, the largest public hall in Newark, as early as 7 o'clock, although the meeting was not scheduled till 8. Then when Mr. Wilson arrived, accompanied by Mayor Haussling, and he was identified, a great shout arose.

But when the Mayor disdained to project his own personality into what he was quick to recognize as a mighty tribute to this new leader of men, and Mr. Wilson stepped out into the glare of electric light, the immense audience "cut loose for fair," as one on the stage expressed it. They shouted and cheered and threw their hats in the air, stood on chairs, and kept cheering and calling his name till it seemed the candidate must be embarrassed. Then he started it going all over again when he said:

"It sounds like the cheering on the homestretch."

"And Wilson wins!" cried an enthusiast, as the thousands of throats broke into another roar. Mr. Wilson in some measure made his address in review of his six weeks of campaigning, but he did it in such form and presented it with such new thoughts that the whole address sparkled with crispness and went straight with its force.

"I started out six weeks ago," he said, "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 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 self-

ishness, 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 Republicans 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 needs, 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.”

Proceeding to show the difference between the two parties in the campaign, he said:

“You did not have to question the candidate for Governor on the Democratic ticket; you did have to question the Republican candidate, because his platform did not contain anything worth mentioning, and he has, stage by stage, added to it that liberal policy which he proposed, and his party — his party organization — has been extremely reticent as to whether they agree with him or not.

“The Democratic candidate has a party behind him and the Republican candidate has not. The program contains that list of measures which is so familiar to you that it is hardly worth while to run them over by mention of the whole catalogue; you know what it includes — it includes some of the most important features.”

He then took up a discussion of the main features of his previous addresses relating to an Employers' Liability law that will do something, an extension of direct primaries, an extension of the Civil Service law, a Public Utilities Commission that can do something and a Corrupt Practices act that will stop some of the flagrant violations of the sacred rights of the franchises. These things, he maintained, were the things the people of New Jersey have demanded, but demanded in vain, from the Republicans in power; and, continuing, he said:

“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 questions 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.

"There are men who have fallen by the way, blood without stint has been shed, men have sacrificed everything in this sometimes blind, but always instinctive and constant struggle, and America has undertaken to lead the way, America has undertaken to be the haven of hope, the opportunity for all men.

“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.”

Mr. Wilson returned to Prospect, his Princeton home, late to-night, where he will remain until after the election. After voting he will hie himself away somewhere to sleep till Wednesday morning. He will not get the election returns. His place of rest is not known even to the correspondents who have followed the man through these stirring weeks of the new kind of campaign.

The state Democratic leaders are in jubilant mood. They are sure victory is with Wilson next Tuesday. State Chairman Nugent declares Essex County will give him 7500 majority sure. In one of the most prominent cafés of the city to-night was posted this notice, which attracted much attention: “We have been instructed to state that parties have money to back Wilson at 10 to 6 in any sums up to \$10,000.” Up to midnight there had been nothing to indicate a grand rush of takers.

XL

THE PEOPLE SPOKE

The appeal to the reason of the people was irresistible. They responded in mighty voice. They knew what was about to happen. They had been looking for just that man and Woodrow Wilson was accepted as leader by a plurality of 49,056, the largest ever given a candidate for Governor of New Jersey, with the single exception of that for Governor Stokes, in 1900, when the "Roosevelt tidal wave" swept the state. Governor Wilson was given fifteen of the twenty-one counties, and some of the fifteen had never before been carried by a Democratic candidate for Governor. The result is here presented:

VOTE FOR GOVERNOR—1910

	Wilson Dem.	Lewis, Rep.	Killingbeck, Soc.	Repp. Pro.	Butterworth Soc.-Lab.	Pluralities	
						Democratic	Republican
Atlantic .....	5253	9926	60	150	26	.....	4673
Bergen .....	12827	9791	474	164	54	3036	....
Burlington .....	7042	6564	85	195	19	478	....
Camden .....	12985	14651	1132	380	146	.....	1666
Cape May .....	2182	2356	31	45	5	.....	174
Cumberland .....	4424	5927	127	180	18	.....	1503
Essex .....	45279	31069	2322	185	412	14210	....
Gloucester .....	4275	4088	135	308	20	187	....
Hudson .....	49809	23687	2306	123	582	26122	....
Hunterdon .....	4818	2591	38	88	12	2227	....
Mercer .....	11839	11692	600	152	92	147	....
Middlesex .....	10195	8301	21	64	36	1894	....
Monmouth .....	12321	8932	111	95	18	3389	....
Morris .....	7395	5856	272	151	22	1539	....
Ocean .....	2798	2279	4	19	1	519	....
Passaic .....	11140	15830	1108	116	357	.....	4681
Salem .....	3069	3097	53	93	8	.....	28
Somerset .....	4151	3405	21	63	9	746	....
Sussex .....	3190	1972	15	22	5	1218	....
Union .....	13209	9895	1140	89	181	3314	....
Warren .....	5472	2717	79	136	9	2755	....
Totals .....	233682 184626	184626	10134	2818	2032	61781	12725
Wilson's Plurality.	49056						

Of the stirring sequel to that great verdict of an aroused people much has since been written. On the swell of the tremendous tidal wave that swept the state seven of the ten Representatives in Congress were Democrats, a complete reversal of the political complexion of the state's representation. The legislature became Democratic on joint ballot for the first time since 1893, when the Republicans swept the state with an overwhelming majority. Many of the counties which had hitherto tied completely to the Republican bosses' plans broke away and recorded their endorsement of the new leader of men. Some of the results were truly amazing to the old-time political managers, for they had made no calculations of any such triumph for the people. Not since 1895 had the Republicans lost the fight for Governor, and that year their majority was 26,900. The following year, with the late Garret A. Hobart, a popular New Jerseyman, as the candidate for Vice President, the state gave the Republican Presidential ticket more than 87,000 majority; in 1908, on the great "Roosevelt tidal wave," it gave the Republican electors more than 80,000, and in that year Edward Caspar Stokes was chosen Governor by more than 50,000. With this latter exception Governor Wilson's was the greatest majority ever given a candidate for Governor in New Jersey, and those who made any analysis of the result at all were as one as to the cause of this great turnover of votes.

Of the history of the legislature's endorsement of the Governor's and convention pledges, of the controversy over the Senatorship, of the attitude of the Governor in that memorable trial of machine influence versus popular feeling, another and more complete story must be written than is here permitted. Governor Wilson kept every pledge he made to the people and, it is known, at great cost to himself. His insistence upon the election of James E. Martine as United States Senator as having received the majority of the party votes cast at the legally constituted primaries cost him the uncompromising enmity of former Senator James Smith, Jr. Notwithstanding that Mr. Smith had, prior to the convention, given assurance that he should not be a candidate for Senator, he sought the aid of the newly elected Governor to win votes for the coveted honor as soon as he discovered that the Wilson triumph had carried a majority on joint ballot of the legislature. Of the workings of the legislature under the leadership of the Governor stirring chapters might be added to this history, but the aim of this modest effort is to set forth how the people of New Jersey, for so long in the grip of interests that never hesitated to direct legislatures to their own purposes, at last awakened.

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