

Wilson's Brave Stand Against Bossism

Woodrow Wilson, although a candidate for office, is not afraid to act upon the vital question affecting boss rule in New Jersey. James Smith, jr., has announced his candidacy for the senate and Governor Wilson has announced his opposition to James Smith. The governor's statement follows:

"Mr. Smith has, of course, a perfect right to offer himself at the primaries as a candidate for the democratic nomination for senator of the United States. He is acting frankly and in the spirit of the law and, if he is preferred at the primaries, it will be the duty of every democratic member of the next legislature to vote for him when a senator is chosen. But I feel that I ought to speak very frankly about the significance of his candidacy.

"It is not only my privilege as a citizen, but my duty as the leader of my party to point out just what is involved in this matter for the democratic party in this state and for the party in the nation. * * *

"Mr. Smith's selection as the democratic candidate for the senate would be the most fatal step backward that the democrats of the state could possibly take. It would mean his restoration to political leadership in New Jersey the moment my service as governor ended and, with his restoration, a return to the machine rule which so long kept every active democrat in the state in subordination to him and prevented every progressive program conceived in the interest of the people from being put into effect.

WORKING AGAINST PARTY

"I speak with knowledge in this matter, because at every turn of my administration since I became governor I have found his hand against the new plans of the party—his influence working steadily and covertly against everything that has substituted hope and pride for discouragement and shame in the politics of New Jersey during the twenty months during which I have been permitted to serve the people of the state.

"It is of particularly sinister import that Mr. Smith should seek to return to the senate of the United States at this time. He was sent to the senate once before when the tariff had been the chief issue of the national campaign and when the democrats had, for once in a generation, an opportunity to relieve the people of intolerable burdens and the industry of the country of the trammels which bound it like a strait-jacket. If the tariff could have been wisely revised then, we might have been spared some part, at least, of the crop of trusts and combinations which now rule and circumscribe our markets.

"Mr. Smith was one of a small group of senators, calling themselves democrats, who, at that critical and hopeful juncture in our politics, utterly defeated the program of the party. His election now might bring the party face to face with a similar disaster and disgrace, and would unquestionably render the satisfactory administration of the federal functions in New Jersey all but impossible for a democratic president.

"These are plain words, my fellow-citizens, but I can not permit any reluctance on my part to speak in criticism of a fellow-citizen to stand even for a moment in the way of my duty as the leader of a party pledged to the people's interest and now under peculiar obligations to fulfill that pledge. If the democratic party does not keep its promises now, it will never have another opportunity to do so. Mr. Smith could not and would not lend himself to any program of genuinely progressive legislation.

"My first allegiance is to the progressive policies, to which I have openly and solemnly dedicated every power I possess. Everything else must stand aside in the interest of the country and of the great state of which I am governor. I have pointed out to you facts and forces toward which you may, perhaps, have grown indulgently indifferent in this brighter day of New Jersey's regeneration. I know how you will act when you are reminded of them. We can indulge nothing when the stake is our country's welfare and prosperity and the honor of our party."

Mr. Smith filed his petition as a candidate for the United States senate, on last Tuesday, the final day given those who wished their names to go before the people at the preferential primaries on September 24. The other democratic candidates are Frank McDermitt, a lawyer of Newark; Judge John D. Westcott, of Camden, who nominated Governor Wilson at Baltimore; Congressman William Hughes, of Passaic, and

State Senator William C. Gebhardt, who lives in Hunterdon county and practices law in Jersey City.

Westcott, Hughes and Gebhardt set themselves forward as progressive candidates and each of them is an ardent supporter of Governor Wilson. McDermitt and James E. Martine were the only democrats who ran at the last primaries and Mr. Martine had the greater number of votes. It was the first time the preferential vote for United States senator had been taken and it was ignored by the bosses, including Smith.

In the platform on which Governor Wilson had run, however, the party pledged itself to the direct election of United States senators. When Mr. Smith, who had for a score of years been the democratic leader, suddenly announced that he would be a candidate for election by the legislature, Governor Wilson issued a statement in which he declared that the party must abide by its pledges and that the legislature would betray the electorate if any one else than Mr. Martine were chosen.

Martine went to the senate and the opposition of Mr. Smith to the governor continued unabated at home. When the primaries for the selection of delegates at the Baltimore convention came along, the Smith forces again fought the aspirations of the governor and were defeated.

A RECREANT DEMOCRAT

Evading no responsibility which his post as "party leader in the nation as well as in the state" puts upon him, Governor Wilson gives a reason of national importance as well as a reason of state importance why James Smith, jr., should not be returned to the senate.

The New Jersey reason for refusing Smith this undeserved honor is that he is the opponent of the progressive course upon which the manhood of the state is embarked, and that his election would mean the return of the machine of which he is the humbled boss.

The national reason goes back to the time when the Wilson tariff-revenue bill was being buried in the senate. Says Governor Wilson:

"Mr. Smith was one of a small group of senators calling themselves democrats who at that critical and hopeful juncture in our politics utterly defeated the program of the party. His election now might bring the party face to face with a similar disaster and disgrace."

Smith, Brice and Gorman were the malevolent three who, with some help from Edward Murphy and one or two others, betrayed their party in the senate. New Jersey owes it to democrats in other states as well as to their own self-respect not to arm him for another betrayal. —New York World.

DEMOCRACY AND BOSSISM

Theodore Roosevelt and his political henchmen are charging that the democracy is "subservient to the bosses." In order that the precise nature of that "subserviency" may be generally understood the Republic begs to place in evidence the most important document which this campaign has thus far brought forth—the letter of Governor Wilson to New Jersey democrats concerning the senatorial candidacy of former Senator James Smith, jr.

Smith has been for many years the boss of the New Jersey democracy. His word has been law. When he and Governor Wilson crossed swords on the question of the duty of the legislature to ratify the choice of Martine at the primaries the governor won. Now the former senator's late adversary has become the party's candidate for the presidency. Every consideration of political expediency, as "old-guard" politics understands the phrase, would move Governor Wilson to draw it a little easy on Mr. Smith.

Does he? Referring to Smith's tariff revision record in Cleveland's second administration, the governor says:

"Mr. Smith was one of a small group of senators calling themselves democrats who, at that critical and hopeful juncture in our politics utterly defeated the programme of the party. His election now might bring the party face to face with a similar disaster and disgrace, and would unquestionably render the satisfactory administration of the federal functions in New Jersey all but impossible for a democratic president."

In order to get the proper perspective in viewing this remarkable letter let us try to imagine

its like being written a few years since by a man still active in public life. When Theodore Roosevelt was governor of New York Thomas Collier Platt was to the Empire state what James Smith is to New Jersey. Governor Roosevelt did, it is true, refuse to make certain appointments desired by Senator Platt, but can the wildest imagination picture him flinging defiance in the face of the "easy boss," antagonizing the "organization" in campaign year?

No. In the hour of decision Mr. Roosevelt was always "right" with the organization. He had the support of Quay, the support of Hanna, the support of Platt, the support of Cannon, the support of Penrose. He has the support of Perkins and Flinn today.

In the 'nineties the republican and democratic parties alike were boss-ridden. Beside Hanna, Platt and Quay, we must range Gorman, Brice, Hill and Smith. Smith, who was one of the "sugar senators" who kept that staple off the free list of the Wilson bill, confessed in the senatorial inquiry that he had speculated in sugar at the moment when he was aiding in holding up the sugar schedule.

The republican boss domination has continued to the present. Penrose and Barnes ruled the republican convention at Chicago, even as Hanna and Platt used to rule of old. But a new day has come to the democracy and a candidate, chosen by the people, boldly challenges the organization leader in his own state and calls on all good democrats to aid in his defeat.

In the Wilson letter on the Smith candidacy may be read the spirit of present-day democracy.—St. Louis Republic.

THE SUPPORT OF HISTORY

The Sioux City (Ia.) Journal says: Mr. Bryan's Lincoln indictment of Theodore Roosevelt has the support of political history. The colonel is more a forger than a leader. The Chicago platform of his party is sufficient proof. His speeches during the past two years are utterly lacking in consistency. He has gathered from Mr. Bryan and from Mr. Debs. His frantic endeavor this year is to destroy the republican party, no matter how.

Two years ago, as temporary chairman of the New York republican state convention, he gave to Taft and to his administration unequivocal indorsement. The platform adopted by the Saratoga convention had his full approval.

Listen to this:
"The Payne tariff law reduced the average rate of all duties 11 per cent. By increasing the duties on some luxuries and articles not in ordinary use, making, however, no increase on any common food product, it turned a national deficit into a surplus. Under its first year of operation the value of imports free of duty was the greatest in our history by \$109,000,000, and the average rate of duty was less than under the Wilson law. Unlike that democratic law, its great reductions of duty have not stopped industry or deprived labor of any part of its hire. It gives free trade with the Philippine islands and it establishes a customs court. Its maximum and minimum rates give us for the first time equality of opportunity with other nations in our foreign trade."

In his speech at Sioux Falls that same year the colonel said:

"I think that the present tariff is better than the last and considerably better than the one before the last."

Turn to the speech Roosevelt made to his excited new partyites, gathered in Des Moines:

"I have remained attached to the doctrines the progressives taught three years ago. I don't believe in free trade. On the other hand, I don't believe in a stand-pat republican tariff. I believe there are a great many shams in the Payne-Aldrich bill. Among the shams and humbugs was the tariff law."

Upon what ground are the people to place trust in Roosevelt? Are they to pin faith on what he said yesterday or upon what he may be saying today?

IN CALIFORNIA

The San Francisco Star reproduces an interview with Senator John D. Works, progressive republican. In this interview Senator Works says: "It will be a close fight between Roosevelt and Wilson in California, and I rather think Wilson will win.

"Not only will all the democrats vote for Wilson, but so will a very considerable number of progressive republicans like myself.

"Besides that many Taft men will be for Wilson, knowing their candidate has no chance.

"Wilson has a very good chance, I think."