

HUGHES THE MAN, VERY HUMAN AND TRULY AN AMERICAN

Edward Marshall Finds the Nominee Wholly Patriotic, Much Interested in Fellow Men and Radiantly Genial

By EDWARD MARSHALL.

HERE is "Governor" Hughes as he appears to a more or less neutral student of this big world's events, American and foreign. On both sides of the ocean with such epoch making and novel international events that both American candidates for the Presidency must take on an unprecedented importance; here is "Governor" Hughes as he seems to a man not very much wrought up over campaign issue details.

I came home from the European war zone for a little visit in the normal quiet of a peaceful country after many months spent among war's loud alarms. An entire evening spent with "Governor" Hughes has been an episode of the vacation. Long before this article appears in print I shall have sailed out of this area of political combat into the more fatal but scarcely more noisy area of European war, and I shall go full of an entirely new conception of the man.

He will not be interviewed and never has been. It is a pity. He would make an ideal subject for the interviewer as I learned during that illuminating evening at Bridgehampton. I had not seen him previously. I expected to find him a coldly austere, somewhat repellent personality. His high forehead, heavily bearded face never wears a smile in photographs.

But although the scurry of two or three secretaries departing as I entered indicated that the Governor might have found other use for his time if I had stayed away there was scarcely a moment during my talk with him when behind the famous whiskers did not lurk curves of good nature.

Not infrequently these curves intensified beyond mere smiling. The Governor can grin, the Governor can laugh as heartily as any man I know. This literally will be news, I take it, to the great mass of American people.

"Governor" Hughes (it is impossible to call him "Mister," and it would be improper to call him "Justice" now that he has resigned from the Supreme bench) is perfectly aware that he has achieved the reputation of habitual solemnity and even grimness. He knows it isn't justified and he has his own theories as to how it came about.

It seems that he has been fighting for years against fate in an endeavor to dissipate the general impression that he is cold and stern. Living down a reputation for solemnity has been one of the great aims of his life. Once or twice he has accomplished it, but every time he has some new complication has arisen which has reminded him of the old reputation.

Hughes did not seek the kind of work which marked him as a killjoy among his fellow men. It fell on him.

To get at its beginnings we must go back a bit. Ever since he became a man he has been one of the hardest workers in this nation of supreme effort. He began life without money.

In law school by hard work he won a prize fellowship, and after the course began he kept things going by teaching four nights of every week, two in classes and two in private quizzes. Later for three years he taught three nights a week in a night school.

He did the work of a clerk in a busy law office. He had very little time, you see, for gaiety, but at the end of the three years he had created so good an impression upon those who had employed him that he was taken into the firm.

Instantly a big law business was thrust at him and he had to work so hard that two or three years of it pretty well wore him out. This made him jump at the offer of a professorship in the Cornell law school, for he had a wife and children by this time, as required.

But the law school steady income was not large, and the demand of his former partners as well as his need for money, not political ambition, took him back to active practice. He was a member of the Republican Club, but he never served no political apprenticeship, and, while his political views were recognized, he was regarded in these early days as a bit too small for big things and a bit too big for small ones.

To digress, passing ahead of my story, his first political speech was that in which he defeated the Republican nomination for the Mayoralty of New York and his second was that in which he accepted the nomination for the Governorship of New York State.

I have said his grim work fell on him. It did, after he had gone back to active practice. A Senator whom he did not know, but who was the counsel for the New York State committee devised to study gas, gas prices, gas management, gas scandals, gas influence on politics.

Hughes protested, saying that he did not wish to make a reputation as a political lawyer. He was told that when he started on a case his idea was to go through with it no matter who might be juggernauted as a consequence. If it threatened to wreck partisan bridges and tear favorites limb on limb he could not stop. The case once started, he warned those who urged him to it, would go on if he controlled the motor—and he wouldn't be a passenger.

Whether or not the lawmaker was confounded later (I don't know who was) Hughes, having started on the case, went through with it, and he had said he would. He went through with it and through it. He went all around it and all over it. He climbed mountains and spanned valleys, bulldozed his own roads and bridges. He was not daunted by barbed wire. He got on.

He was like an American boy I know of, now in France. Asked to carry to the front in his ambulance some much needed ammunition, he said cheerfully, during a brief lull in the gun uproar:

"I've got to have it?"

"Yes, you've got to have it," they should have said.

He then the boy from Boston made reply. Then: "Where does it go?"

The French officer told what his destination was and climbed into the ambulance with the shells and other delicately fashioned perils, all most ingeniously designed to explode violently under shock.

The American boy driver looked the country over and at once abandoned the proposed route for the journey on



Driving home a point.

people as a whole. Long ago I had learned that I couldn't play cards with politicians if I wished to keep my clothes."

Well, as Governor of New York he kept his clothes. He redeemed every promise he had made and the politicians fell in line when they learned that he was big boy with the people.

After that came his appointment to the Supreme Bench. Here again such politicians as went courting him (and there are those who will not keep away even from the ermine) found him chill—chillier, perhaps, than he had ever been before, as was quite right—and reported to the people of the nation that was a man of arctic heart. The people seem not to have been tremendously impressed by this. Or perhaps they like cool heads in high positions.

Among the pet aversions of the Governor has been for many years the "political judge." He very quickly satisfied the politicians and the public as to just what sort of jurist he proposed to be. It was not that kind.

When he commented on the relations between the bench and politics to me, he said that most of the people think he always speaks. He plainly didn't want even to seem good natured.

"The political judge," said he, "is truly a shocking spectacle, and thank God there have been few in the United States."

He felt at the time of his appointment that now and then the President of the United States is entitled to take a man straight from political life and put him on the bench, although he many times has admitted it to be desirable that most of the Supreme Court Justices shall be advanced from the lower bench. And he also always has felt that no President could afford to appoint to this important office a man of political strength unless he felt sure that that strength would not be evaded from the bench. So there he was again.

Once more he had lived down his chilly reputation and once more he had to build a wall of very cold reserve around himself. He even held speechmaking improper. He made but

ing to discover nothing except abuse for his class will be agreeably disappointed. Take this, for example, in the more chastened atmosphere of our Governors," and with special reference to the administration of Gov. John A. Dix.

"A new type of legislator came in too. In the days of James C. Morgan, McCarter, Nixon and Grady, the State treasury was as well protected as the counting house of J. P. Morgan. These men did not have much respect for the feelings of capitalists, but there was a final amity of interest unless two rival corporations were trying to get the same thing. In such times a Northern Pacific corner in legislation never took place."

"When it came to taking money from the State treasury, James and his kind were holdovers of virtue. They kept the expenditures down and knew no favorites."

"Then of the oray of fraud that was coincident with the Dix administration the author says:

"The Civil Service Commission unlocked the doors for all sorts of appointments. Canal and road contracts were made over night for the right sort. Barbers became specialists in road work and were thought more of if they did their inspection of work at home."

What the author refers to as "personal adventures with the treasury" were everyday occurrences in those days when "even office boys of Democratic parentage were ambitious to share in the recrudescence of their famous party, and one of them stamped the 'O. K.' of the Governor on many big accounts against the State, thus permitting" the author continues, "the Chief Executive to attend to those social duties which required him to pay \$100 a dozen for napkins and to acquire a line of thermos bottles sufficient to strain the manufacturing facilities of a modest plant."

New York's greatest need, Mr. Hennessy is quite positive in stating, is a business Governor.

"Our last business Governor was B. Odell, Jr., of Newburgh, Orange county," he says. "The percentage of politics in his mind caused a little mildew to gather in certain departments, not unknown, perhaps, to this alert and able man, but permitted so that the orderly processes of Republican caucus might not be jarred by too much civic virtue. Mr. Odell knew the State down to its toes. If his administration lacked vigor, virtue or economy in spots the facts were not unknown to him. He lived in political



He makes a hit at a ball game.

one public address during his whole time on the bench, and this was forced on him, for the New York bar invited him a full year in advance, thus making it impossible for him to frame a reasonable excuse for refusal. That the speech was non-political in every detail. He felt it necessary thoroughly to establish a judicial character, for he expected to remain upon the bench until the end of his career.

He did not neglect his job as Justice of the Supreme Court in order to secure the Presidential nomination. He was at work on the last phrases of an opinion on Thursday, was informed on Friday that his chances for the nomination were good, though he thought otherwise on Friday evening, and on Saturday he was nominated.

He doesn't pretend, that he didn't see it coming, but he does say that if, six months previously, he could have said that he wouldn't take the nomination he would have done so.

He had no personal relations with Chicago, and accordingly refused to say or do anything, one way or another, in connection with the conduct of the convention.

I shall quote his actual words to me (as far as I can recall them) in connection with this matter. He has again explained that he has no authority to use any quotations in this article.

"I had decided," he told me, "that there were those at Chicago who so strongly opposed me that my nomination, if it came, would mean something."

"That was it. His nomination would mean something if it came, because all knew his rules of life so well and so many were opposed to him. Personally I think that he would not have been disappointed for himself or for the country if Col. Roosevelt had been nominated. No, he did not tell me, but I can even intimate it to me. It is a mere guess, but I believe it."

Before the convention he had received hundreds of letters asking him to work for the nomination, but he did not work for it. He believed, he only felt, would be any effort of his own.

If the leaders decided on his nomina-

Pen Picture Reveals That Earnestness in Gas and Insurance Inquiries Led to Idea He Was Coldly Austere

tion it would mean that they had had reports from many sections of the country indicating that the people wanted him to head the ticket. They could have no other motive possible, being his nomination, for he had made no promises, was known as anti-politician and un-mortgaged.

"In a way," he said to me (and again I have no right to quote him), "I was honestly surprised when the news came from Chicago, although various men had told me, 'You're to come. I had not said 'no' nor 'yes.'"

When he had the news that the convention had taken two ballots and adjourned he had said to Mrs. Hughes: "That settles it. I shall not be nominated. I am going to bed." He did so forthwith. He slept very soundly, being so weary. I believe he has not been actually relieved, thinking that the unexpected delay meant opposition strong enough to defeat him in the end.

When next morning he found that he had been mistaken he was honestly sorry. He did not dictate a signed copy of his accepting telegram till he actually had been nominated.

Sunday morning all Washington was at his door.

"This is no place for me," he told his wife and forthwith he went to the New York hotel which had been his legal residence when he was Governor of New York State.

"Within twenty-four hours," he told me, "everything had become as if six years had been eliminated from my life. I had resigned from the Supreme bench and again was in the turmoil of work to do for beyond that and private campaign address and in the meantime, adjusting myself to an old-new mental attitude."

"The transition from the judicial frame of mind demanded of a Supreme Court Justice to the keen mental activity on many topics and the earnest effort required of a presidential candidate is an extraordinary experience to pass through."

He spent two weeks in New York and then fled to the country home, where we had our talk far out on Long Island, to prepare his speech of acceptance, and in his methodical effort to bring his mind and private campaign address to a point, by the way, will be very short and very witty. And it is fair to predict that whatever of promises came from Gov. Hughes in his campaign speeches will be held by him as pious.

When we were in the Governor's being fresh from the European war zone, I was especially interested in his idea of the relations of the Wilson Administration to the great conflict. Carefully explaining once again, that this is not an interview, I feel safe in saying that I think the Governor, as a proper American attitude had been adopted by the Administration at Washington and had been clearly indicated to the warring European Powers at the outset of the conflict no summation would have gone within the hour, but that the Governor, being fresh from the European war zone, I was especially interested in his idea of the relations of the Wilson Administration to the great conflict.

Again, in a general way, I gather it to be his belief that if the Mexican troops had not been pulled away from Vera Cruz, and if men of priceless value to the diplomatic service abroad had not been replaced by men of smaller measure, the Russian or any of the other ships carrying the American flag, being in the Gulf of Mexico, would not have been pulled away from Vera Cruz, and if men of priceless value to the diplomatic service abroad had not been replaced by men of smaller measure, the Russian or any of the other ships carrying the American flag, being in the Gulf of Mexico, would not have been pulled away from Vera Cruz, and if men of priceless value to the diplomatic service abroad had not been replaced by men of smaller measure, the Russian or any of the other ships carrying the American flag, being in the Gulf of Mexico, would not have been pulled away from Vera Cruz, and if men of priceless value to the diplomatic service abroad had not been replaced by men of smaller measure, 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