WILSON AND WHAT HE IS LIKELY TO DO WITH THE TARIFF

Governor of New Jersey Thinks The Tariff is at The Heart of Every Economic Problem—People Demand Change in Trusteeship of Government—Publicity is Great Purifier of Politics

GOVERNOR WILSON made his winning campaign for the presidency upon the tariff issue and the related issue of handling business monopoly.

In Hawaii, the biggest question today is, Will President Wilson stand for and indorse a radical cut in the sugar tariff?

The entire attitude of Wilson on the tariff is set forth clearly below, in the form of an authorized interview. This interview was given in response to the question — "What is a Progressive Democrat?" — and Wilson answered

A quizzical smile stole over the intellectual features of Woodrow Wilson, governor of New Jersey, as he leaned back in his chair and repeated the question: "What is a Progressive Democrat?"

The former president of Princeton University paused for a moment, [illegible]

[illegible]

industrial system stand stubborn and unconvinced."

Eighty Per Cent. Protest.

"What do you thing of the increase in the Socialist vote?"

"I cannot give my own impression about it better than by quoting what a Socialist acquaintance of mine in Nebraska said to me last May when I passed through Nebraska on my way westward. At Wymore, while the train lingered some fifteen minutes, I had the pleasure of talking with the very frank and intelligent young Mayor of the town. He is a Socialist. When I asked him how he interpreted the vote by which he had been elected, he said, 'Why, I think all that it was about twenty per cent. Socialist and eighty per cent protest.'

"There is a rapidly growing body of voters who are utterly disgusted with those who have controlled political affairs, because they have seemed unable or unwilling to do anything to meet and correct the evident situation of things."

From Governor Wilson's manner there could be no doubt that he has abundant confidence in his own ability to "meet and correct" the existing evils. So the next question was:

"Is the demand of business most to be 'let alone' reasonable in the circumstances?"

Gov. Wilson tapped for a moment with a pencil on the desk, and said:

"The demand does not come from the rank and file; it comes from those who have created the very conditions we wish to correct. They wish—so far as I can make them out—to have the Government accept the consequences of what they have done, legalize them, and assume control of them, without the least correcting effort.

"There is nothing the matter with the mass of business in this country. It is as sound as it ever was. No change contemplated need touch ordinary business men at all, except to set them free of some of the trammels and disadvantages under which they now labor. The very object is then it, to set business free—free from the control of the few—and then let it alone to follow its own right law.

"It is not the [illegible] who have created the situation [illegible] interfered with by legislation. If business is now embarrassed, were it let alone, it would be let alone to continue upon a basis upon which business can never safely rest—the basis of universal distrust and suspicion."

With more feeling than he had previously displayed, Gov. Wilson sat up in his chair, swept his hands in a gesture of denunciation and, speaking in the low, emphatic voice of the well-trained lecturer, said:

"Those smaller men, who constitute the body of the nation, so far as business is concerned, do not want to be let alone. They want to be set free of artificial trammels, of high prices, and of the restricted opportunities that have been created by our tariff-walled system of privilege."

What Gov. Wilson is Like.

Gov. Wilson's [illegible] features were lighted up with enthusiasm. He is [illegible]—a man of very commanding personality [illegible] wins immediate sympathy, but his individuality is cloaked by a very unostentatious manner and democratic bearing. He is not an inspired genius who proceeds to force his views upon those surrounding him; on the contrary, his mind is of a very formative character and his opinions are slowly and gradually evolved as the results of investigations and experiences. He is a man who does nothing hastily.

"The very antithesis of Roosevelt" is perhaps the most accurate and concise description that can be given of Woodrow Wilson. It is true both mentally and physically. Gov. Wilson is a man who ponders long and carefully before he casts, he is modest and unassuming to a degree, and he is accurate in his speech and truthful in his statements. Also he means what he says.

Physically, the Governor of New Jersey is a tall, spare man, one might almost call him lean [illegible] are set high up on the sides of the head, and this, with the prominent cheek bones and aggressive chin, give the jaw an appearance of great length.

The face is a pleasing one. Very refined but not exactly handsome, and yet it is hard to tell why. The eyebrows are beautifully arched and the mouth is uncommonly well shaped for a man. It is sensitive but firm. The eyes are blue gray, and although generally very kindly, at times take on a hard, piercing expression. The tip of the nose is most mobile, and twitches whenever the Governor lays emphasis on a word.

Gov. Wilson's reference to "our tariff-walled system of privilege" suggested the question:

"What is the greatest issue of the campaign?" There was no hesitation in Gov. Wilson's answer.

The Tariff the Greatest Issue.

"The tariff, of course. It must be so by its very nature. No frank mind can doubt that the great systems of special privilege and monopolistic advantage that have been built up have been built up upon the foundation of the tariff. The tariff question is at the heart of every other economic question we have to deal with, and until we have dealt with that properly we can deal with nothing in a way that will be satisfactory and lasting."

Gov. Wilson is for a "tariff for revenue only," first, last and all the time. He believes that tariff revision is the most pressing need of the country, and that the people are right in their determination to settle this question unequivocally at the coming election.

In reply to a question as to what value he attaches to President Taft's Tariff Board, Gov. Wilson said:

"So far the Tariff board has served chiefly as an excuse for delay in doing things which it was obviously fair and necessary to do. It may serve a very useful purpose in supplying information. At least it will so soon as it is given [illegible] authority to obtain information. At present it cannot command it. It can only ask for it. No one need supply it who does not wish to.

"All economists agree that there can never be any such thing as an expert tariff board. There is no expert in the business of the entire country. There can be no such thing as an expert in the general adjustment of the tariff schedules.

"In the somewhat rough and ready and experimental readjustments that it will be necessary to make, the judgment of an expert committee of Congress is as good a guide as the judgment of a professional board. The question is then one of statesmanship.

"Since it is a question of statesmanship, the principle to be followed is that in a country of developed commerce and industry the only legitimate object of duties on imports is revenue for the support of the Government. We have under our Federal system a great many governments to support. Direct taxes must, for the most part, be left to the individual States. The Government at Washington must depend chiefly on indirect taxes.

"But a great system of industry has, as a matter of fact, been built up on the basis of a protective tariff, and the question of statesmanship ahead of us is one of fairness and good judgment. It is a question of expediency in the large sense of that word. Where shall we bring our tariff duties to a revenue basis at once? Where must we go slowly and ease the process off by well-considered, gradual measures of reduction?

Congress Understood; President Did Not.

"The economic life of the nation is a very delicate, very sensitive fabric. We are all business men, as I have just been pointing out. What affects the business of the country affects all of us. Whatever changes may be made must be made in the interest of all; must be thoughtfully considered and carefully squared with actual circumstances.

"With regard to some schedules it is already abundantly evident what it is just and necessary to do. Congress in the special session showed that it understood which they were and how they ought to be dealt with. The President did not seem to understand either the spirit and purpose of Congress or the temper and opinion of the country."

"But, Governor, it is being urged that the interests of the East and West are divergent as to the tariff. Do you think that is so?"

"No; the interests of the East and the West do not seem to me to be divergent in any important matter of national policy."

"What effect has the tariff had on wages?" Gov. Wilson was next asked.

"Very little directly. When wages have risen they have generally risen more in response to the demand of organized labor than from any other cause. The men who have chiefly profited by the tariff have not many of them voluntarily shared its benefits with their workmen. The workingmen of the country have been grossly deceived about this matter from the first. But, fortunately for the country their eyes are being opened now to the real facts and to the real forces that are at work."

A pile of reports of investigating committees, and of the Department of Commerce and Labor, on the Governor's desk was evidence of the interest he takes in the so-called "trust problem." It suggested the next line of questioning.

"How are the trusts to be dealt with?"

"The tariff lies at the bottom of much of the trust question. That is the reason why the tariff question is the central and dominating question. It is behind the shelter of the tariff wall that the trusts have been able to build up a system by which they have limited opportunity and all but shut the door upon independent enterprise."

The Power To Throttle.

"Will the reduction of the tariff schedules by which the greatest trusts thrive virtually solve the trust question, then?"

"By no means. It will do a vast deal to cut away the artificial advantages upon which the trusts depend for establishing monopoly; but there is something beyond that. Looked at from the side of business organization the trusts are chiefly a means of economy and efficiency. It is from this side that they are so vigorously and persuasively defended by their advocates and by many thoughtful students of modern economic effort. But along with their efficient organization goes a tremendous power and they have used that power to throttle competition and establish virtual monopoly in every market that they have coveted."

"Do you think, Governor, that competition can be re-established by law?"

"It is not necessary to answer that question until we have done what the law certainly can do. The methods by which the greater trusts have driven competitors out of business are well known. So are also the methods by which those who have financed them have seen to it that those who tried to establish rival enterprises were prevented from doing so. There are lawyers available who can describe these methods with abundant precision in statutes. Those methods can be made criminal offenses and the monopolistic use of every person who tries to make such use of their power.

"Guilt is always personal and we shall never get at the root of these things by changing merely the size and organization of our business corporations. The offenses they have been committing against freedom of opportunity and of enterprise are well known and can be put a stop to. It is not a question of their size but of their acts. These have been brought out in detail by the inquiries of half a dozen committees and many legal contests."

Gov. Wilson had looked at his watch, and rising asked his interviewer to walk with him to his street car. On the way he answered two more questions in terse, epigrammatic form.

"Do you think Governor, that the direct primary and direct nominations will eliminate the 'boss'?"

"Nothing will eliminate the 'boss,' but such a simplification of the processes of government as will enable public opinion to control it without the intervention of the elaborate organization at present needed to take care of nominations and to keep the separate parts of government working at loggerheads with one another [illegible] unity. But the direct primary and direct nominations do afford the people an opportunity to override the 'boss' or thrust him aside when they choose to do so. They are indispensable instruments of reform. They will at least create honest and open political managers. The 'boss' is a secret political manager."

Publicity The Great Antiseptic.

"What of publicity, Governor? Is it the salvation of the Republic?"

"There is, of course, no single, sovereign remedy for anything, but publicity certainly acts upon crooked projects like the fresh and open air upon tuberculosis; it is a great antiseptic against the germs of some of the worst political diseases. [illegible]

[illegible]

POLITICAL WISDOM FROM WOODROW WILSON

"The Republicans have been both blind and selfish."

"When the representatives of 'big business' think of the people, they do not include themselves."

"The man of affairs and the politician must come into conference with the student and the ardent reformer."

"There is a rapidly growing body of voters who are utterly disgusted with those who have controlled political affairs."

"There is nothing the matter with the mass of business in this country. It is as sound as it ever was."

"The tariff will be the greatest issue of the coming campaign. Until we have dealt with it properly we can deal with nothing in a way that will be satisfactory and lasting."

"So far the tariff board has served chiefly as an excuse for delay in doing things which it was obviously fair and necessary to do."

"The men who have chiefly profited by the tariff have not many of them shared its benefits with their workmen. The workingmen of the country have been grossly deceived from the first."

"Along with their efficient organization goes a tremendous power and they have used that power to throttle competition and establish virtual monopoly in every market that they have coveted."

"Guilt is always personal. It is not a question of their size [illegible] but of their acts."

"The boss is a secret political manager."

"Publicity is a great antiseptic against the germs of some of the worst political diseases."

"It is behind the shelter of the tariff wall that the trusts have been able to build up a system by which they have limited opportunity and all but shut the door upon independent enterprise."

[illegible]

WILSON IS CLEAN, HARD FIGHTER

Woodrow Wilson's life is a positive inspiration to young men of education and high ideals who aspire to public office not for money or for brief fame, but for service to city or country.

Wilson has been that ideal of a sportsman—a clean and fearless fighter. He was a fighter in college and a fighter in the political field.

He was born in 1856 in Virginia, where he was baptized under the full name of Thomas Woodrow Wilson.

He dropped the Thomas about the time he completed his first book and took his first position as a teacher.

Mr. Wilson cannot, like many an officeseeker, appeal to the sentimentality of the public by an account of a self-made man's rise from poverty. His father and grandfather were educated men, prominent in their communities, and while not rich, were able to give the inspiring young scholar a liberal education. It was not toward scholarship, however, that his earliest ambitions led him.

While in college he resolved to become a public man. To that end he studied law and hung out his shingle. But his legal practice was not lucrative and after eighteen months of it he gave it up [illegible] for years to come, his desire for office. His father, Rev. Joseph Ruggles Wilson, moved to Georgia when the boy was 2 years old and later preached in various churches in North and South Carolina.

Young Wilson entered Davidson College at the age of 17. After two years he entered Princeton, from which he was graduated in 1879. He then studied law in the University of Virginia, receiving the degree of [illegible]

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