

WOODROW WILSON SAYS HE CAME TO OREGON TO LEARN

Word Picture Points Out Difference Between New Hope of Democracy and Strenuous Roosevelt.

By Marshall N. Dana. Standing before the people of Portland, Theodore Roosevelt said: "I came here not to teach but to be taught."

Both proceeded then to speak of the Oregon system. The people, appreciating their opportunity, meanwhile studied the men. It was a good deal to have the progressive leader of the Republicans and the new hope of Democracy within the progressive state both in the same year.

Roosevelt has gone back to the east. Wilson is returning. Roosevelt commended the Oregon system unqualifiedly all save as to the recall of judges. Wilson commended the Oregon system, but qualified by naming the initiative and referendum expedients until representative government shall have been restored to the people, and adding that he did not approve of the recall of the judges, because the recall would be like a club held over the head of the interpreter of the law, preventing him from giving honest opinions and judgments in his desire to wipe away the stain that hangs over his job.

Why Wilson's comment on the recall of the judiciary should come in the first paragraph of this little character sketch is explainable only because he hit that point harder than any other subject Roosevelt while here, and now that he is but removing his shadow from among us, it seems the bravest of a good many brave utterances.

Having had the opportunity to see and hear both Roosevelt and Wilson during all the time they were under the Oregon influence, it seems interesting to recall that Roosevelt gave the impression of a sledge hammer, smashing his points with stung drivers. If he broke the machine he didn't much care. Wilson simply took the machine apart, and by showing how it was made, demonstrated the need for improvement. Roosevelt established his belief through the power of his conviction; Wilson analyzed—such the difference between the statesman politician and the statesman educator.

Roosevelt did not fall, during the 10 times I heard him speak while in Oregon, to express his belief that an improved manhood will be ultimately cause of an improved national government. Thus he was enabled to define the importance of the mother's place and the need for not only many children, but well trained sons and daughters.

The undercurrent of what Wilson said during his numerous addresses while in contact with the Oregon system expressed his belief that we can get good government by placing large responsibility for administration upon responsible leaders. In other words, that we can make good government out of the men and forces and interests we have, providing nothing is secret and everything is public.

Roosevelt gave no interview to any newspaper man while in Oregon. He talked pleasantly personally as he had opportunity, but when he said for publication what he said in public addresses. Wilson, on the other hand, gave nearly as many interviews as were asked of him, answered all questions asked of him, and evaded none. He said in fact that he considered it as dangerous to evade as to refuse to answer.

Roosevelt is a smashing character with a smashing physique. His best friend would not call Woodrow Wilson handsome.

Wilson's humor is quaint and irresistible. He told few stories, but he told them well. When he wanted to illustrate Oregon's pace he said we were like the darky who had been fired on and nearly killed. He dropped and laughed at his master's door step two miles from the place of shooting, his master asked:

"Who are you?" questioned the householder. "I'm the man who's got the contract of doing the work for all the rest; who in the hell are you?" was the unexpected answer.

Wilson wanted to impress on the people at the Armory that the trustee theory of government is wrong. The trustee theory, if it may be explained, is that entertained by the rich and influential, who, because they have much at stake, consider themselves as trustees for the people, who are not contributors to campaign funds, which are not contributions at all, but like the Indian paddle, things they expect back again.

"It is like the old style of pump," said Wilson, "that goes dry over night. The careful housewife draws a bucket of water in the evening with which to prime the pump next morning. But when she does so it is always noticed that the water she put in is the

Impressions of Woodrow Wilson Expressed by Representative Men of Portland



R. W. Montague.

Roger B. Sinnott.

John M. Gearin.

W. D. Fenton.

L. A. McNary.

LOOMS LARGE IN THE PUBLIC MIND

By Hugh Hume.

Today, Governor Wilson is a new, wholly unexpected, and brilliantly successful politician with a fine felicity in expressing the desire of the multitude to make, interpret, and execute the laws themselves, without the aid, advice, or intervention of anyone; tomorrow will prove whether Woodrow Wilson is a statesman who will point out to the people the folly and danger of trying to usurp all the functions of the legislative, judicial, and executive branches of government. Governor Wilson sees that danger, as he rebuked Colonel Wood for voicing the hope that the people would shortly rule themselves, as free from the advice and domination of leaders as from the lessons and warnings of history.

Governor Wilson is a recent convert to the initiative and referendum, and like all recent converts, and especially those who have been most severe in their ridicule and derision of the thing they have but newly adopted, is an ebullient worshiper at the lately erected shrine. I expect to see him modify his transports over the initiative and referendum; of our republican life they are the Scylla and Charybdis between which the ship of state must be dangerously steered to avoid national disaster. Woodrow Wilson opposes the recall of judges—wisdom born of the reverence the able lawyer has for the trained law writer.

Governor Wilson occupies a large place in the public regard today, because he is a great man in the very great men in the country. Having something to think with, he thinks; and having thought, and formulated convictions, he has the courage to express them—and so sincerely and earnestly steered to avoid national disaster. Woodrow Wilson is the best presidential timber in the Democratic party today.

Wilson is a full-size man—big, briny, and fearless—the kind of man to make you glad you are an American and have a share in the world, and the kind who moves the plow to which Wilson has put his hand.

UNLIKE THE OLD LINE POLITICIAN

By Roger B. Sinnott.

Woodrow Wilson's visit to Portland has proved that he is more than a mere college professor or pedagogue. It has shown that he is a man of the world and understands the world, that he is a person who knows the live issues of the day and is willing to meet them face to face. He is unlike the old line politicians, who will not admit of a new order in politics. He realizes that the "world do move" and we must move with it. He seems abreast of the times, a conservative progressive.

I was particularly well pleased with his advocacy of the commission form of government for cities, also the short first to come out. The contributors get back what they gave in political protection.

Wilson in Oregon gave us plainly to understand the Oregon system is the outgrowth of the hitherto silent partner, the "little fellow," to have a voice in his own affairs. For this reason the initiative and referendum, which it was evident he thinks should be used only in extreme cases when "purchased legislatures" hear only the voices of their employers, the interests, and not at all the voice of those who elected them, the people. His argument for the short ballot was another way of getting to the same point, namely that one man should be given so large a burden of responsibility that he will be unable to carry it in his pocket or in secret, but must bear it openly, in the sight of all, and well. Hence his plea for the commission plan in Portland which came at a time that made it seem peculiarly in line with the people's temper and wish.

Direct, fixed responsibility, placed on a few men, kept straight by publicity's power, he averred, would solve our governmental problems, by making the people supervisors of their own interests, rather than attempt the impossible, which is to do it all, elect all officials, and keep control of each. No one, he said, could vote intelligently for the long Oregon ballot because no one could know all the names and offices, and few could find out about the candidates if they tried.

Galveston had to be nearly swept away by the sea before they adopted the commission plan. The Chinese had to give a taste of the delicious roast pig, but Portland need not burn down her house, nor be swept away, to avail the experience of the 150 cities that are, by the commission plan, getting public business transacted by responsible men, as if it were business.

Nation Cleaning Houses. In the rambling recount of impressions given in the foregoing paragraphs is contained reference to nearly everything that Wilson said he wanted to see come to pass in the great national movement for better government and political wholesomeness. His belief is that the entire nation is cleaning its political house, that the advance is irresistible, and that it consists in restoring to the people real representative government, with executives vested with large responsibilities for the administration of which rigid publicity must systematically call them to account.

Wilson's coming to Oregon was, of course, significant. He is pointed to as the standard bearer for Democracy in the next presidential campaign. He has proven his leadership; he has said he would not refuse the nomination. The people of Oregon know where he stands and he made every effort to tell them, and no effort at all to deceive.

form of ballot, for as he says it is impossible for the people to become acquainted and familiarize themselves with the great number of persons whose names now encumber our ballot.

Mr. Wilson has not brought the people of Oregon any new message, but he has couched our ideas in better and more forcible language than any person from the efforts east that I have heard. As he says, the spotlight of publicity is all we need to keep our public officials in the straight and narrow path.

To me, a Republican, he is neither a Bryan nor a Parker, but a happy medium between these two extremes. He may never be president, but the country is better off for having produced a Wilson, an honest, sincere, fearless and upright man. May his kind increase.

SHOWS QUALITIES OF REAL STATESMAN

By Dan J. Malarkey.

Anyone who listens to Woodrow Wilson's frank and clear discussion of existing political conditions must admit that he is a brainy and broad-minded and truly patriotic American citizen and that his entrance into the field of active politics is highly beneficial to the political welfare of the whole country. In not hesitating to express views unpopular where expressed, such as his views concerning the recall of the judiciary, he discloses qualities of honesty and fearlessness that mark the real statesman. He has said much to Oregonians concerning the Oregon system that they can and should profit by. The Oregon system has come to stay. No good citizen should desire a return to the system it supplanted; and all good citizens should unite in trying to correct its defects and prevent its abuse. In my opinion, Woodrow Wilson is the best presidential timber in the Democratic party today.

Wilson is a full-size man—big, briny, and fearless—the kind of man to make you glad you are an American and have a share in the world, and the kind who moves the plow to which Wilson has put his hand.

ABLE ADVOCATE OF POPULAR REFORM

By W. D. Fenton.

Woodrow Wilson is, in my opinion, one of the greatest popular advocates in the discussion of the problems of

government. He has remarkable capacity for direct, clear and convincing statement and a sincerity of manner and clearness of thought which carries conviction to his hearers, and what is particularly fortunate for him is that his thoughts thus expressed reach a larger constituency, the general public losing none of their clearness and force, but deprived of that genial and graceful manner of delivery which immediately disarms criticism of those who may disagree with him.

His tentative approval of the initiative and referendum and other agencies intended to confer power by direct legislation upon the general electorate is cautious, qualified and deliberate. He accepts these measures commonly known here as the "Oregon system" as a temporary expedient needed to restore representative government in its purity and in the vigor and honesty with which representative government should be administered. His acceptance and approval of this fundamental departure from all principles that underlie and create representative government is justified by him upon the claim that representative government has broken down by reason of corruption in the representatives chosen by the people, and he necessarily lays down the postulate that the people by direct legislation and by direct action may be trusted to act honestly conscientiously and intelligently in the choice of representatives, and that no honest man can be found who may be chosen to act as faithful representatives of the people.

I do not assent to these views. It seems to me to involve the assumption that all public officials chosen to represent the people are now unfaithful to their trusts and that representative government has broken down because either the people cannot or will not choose honest representatives, or else there are no honest men who will undertake to represent the people. If these erroneous assumptions are conceded to be true, popular government has failed. I do not believe that either is true. I have confidence in the people and in their ability to choose honest men to represent them and I have confidence that the people are chosen to represent the people are honest. At least it is the fault of the people if they do not choose honest, capable and efficient representatives.

Governor Wilson, however, in assum-

ing that representative government has failed, and that most representatives are dishonest, has touched a popular chord quite in line with more than seven years of popular agitation along these lines. He is therefore abreast of the most popular question of the day and in my judgment is the ablest advocate of either party, of these new remedies in government. I hope and believe his views will be modified upon further consideration and trial of these experiments.

If Governor Wilson shall be nominated for the presidency by his party, he will be a formidable candidate and will bring to that office great executive ability, strength and character and a sincere desire to administer the government in the interest of all the people, but he will probably not be able to satisfy the radical element of the country that is now pushing to the front his candidacy and their cause.

COMBINES WORDS WITH ACTION

By D. O. Lively.

Woodrow Wilson is that combination of a man of words and executive force. It is not often that the political reformer who talks much personally accomplishes the things he advocates, but in Woodrow Wilson we have the idealist and the man of practice. He gives the impression of having the ability to play politics and remain clean. While of the opposite political faith, I deem Woodrow Wilson as a man truly great; one of those characters which this country develops from time to time and if he should be elected president of the United States the people need not fear that there shall be a backward step in the progress of our country.

EARNESTNESSES IS WHAT APPEALS

By R. W. Montague.

The thing which first impresses one in the discourse of Woodrow Wilson is that of remarkable clearness and simplicity. Any intelligent boy of 14 could have followed the entire discussion in the speech of Friday night and enjoyed not only the piquant bits, but the body

Governor of New Jersey as Armory Audience Saw Him



Characteristic gestures assumed by distinguished educator while emphasizing points in address before vast throng Friday evening.

WILSON APPROVES RAPID SPREAD OF COMMISSION FORM

Tells Seattle How Great an Improvement It Is Over the Present "Ambush" and "Jungle" Methods.

(United Press Leased Wire.) Seattle, Wash., May 20.—Governor Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey addressed a public meeting in the Dreamland Auditorium tonight. He devoted the greater part of his address to a discussion of the commission form of government in cities, and, among other things, said:

"No single movement of reform in our governmental methods has been more significant than the rapid adoption of the so-called commission form of government in the cities of the country. The rapid spread of this reform has been extraordinary. In many states cities are now to be found which have adopted the new form of government, and everywhere, so far as I have been able to learn, the results have been admirable and the cities which have made the change have congratulated themselves upon it.

"The most interesting thing about the reform is that it has a very much wider significance than a mere change in the form of city governments would have. There are principles involved in the change which it is very interesting to see people stepping into recognition, principles which only a few years ago would hardly have been willingly conceded in any quarter in America.

"For one thing, the most conspicuous feature of the new form of city government negatives the greater part of our present efforts in trying to establish popular control. In the past the movement of reconstruction in city government it was the commonly accepted doctrine in America that the way to make the people supreme was to make every office elective, was to have as few appointive officers as possible and to put every choice for office, whether the office were great or small, in the hands of the people.

"We now see that that was exactly the way in which not to make popular control effective. I suppose that there is not a single voter who has ever voted a ticket with more than ten or fifteen names on it who does not admit that he knew absolutely nothing about the names of the persons he was voting for and cared very little about them. Moreover, it has become obvious to anybody who knows anything of the practical operation of politics that the politicians who make up the long tickets with scores of names upon them are able to exercise perfect control of all the nominations and those for a few conspicuous offices. They often feel that they have to be careful about a nomination for governor or for congressman or for mayor or for judge, but beyond these few conspicuous offices they can do what they please, depending upon the more or less excellent and well known names to pull the rest of the ticket through. This means, of course, that they put up for genuine election one or two men and virtually appoint the rest to office. Very few except those of the 'inner circle' of party politics are able to see you any thing about the nominees on a long ticket or what their nomination signifies and is meant to accomplish. The small talk of politics is full of stories thought to be amusing of how long tickets can be manipulated and all sorts of personal struggle in at the pleasure of party managers.

"Too Big a Job for People. It is evident upon the face of it that this is not a process of selection or election either on the part of the people. It is a process of appointment at the hands of the political manager. It has become an axiom among those who understand practical politics that if you give the people anything to do which they cannot do you virtually take it away from them. It is as impossible for the people to select a miscellany of officers to serve them in posts big and little as it would be for the head of a great business to select the whole body of his employees down to the boy who sweeps out the office. The only way in which he can make his business effective is to put these matters in the hands of responsible superintenders whom he must hold answerable for anything that goes wrong and for the inefficiency of their subordinates.

"And People Have Found It Out. The very fact that they are almost everywhere adopting the commission form of government for their cities shows that the people have at last discovered this fundamental thing. The central feature of the commission form of government is the very short ballot used in municipal elections. A ballot containing no more than five or six names, the names of the commissioners who are to be held wholly responsible for the conduct of the government of the city.

"(Continued on Page Three.)"

that he never could have obtained from books. The visits of such men will tend to bring about a better understanding between eastern theory and its conclusions and western practice and its results.

As Governor Wilson admits, he comes not as a teacher but as one desiring to be taught, and there is much to learn—not only in regard to the "Oregon System," but other things equally, if not more, important. In view of the accomplished legislation of the past and the contemplated national legislation of the future affecting our interests, it is of vital importance to us that a knowledge of our industries and resources and their needs and requirements should go first-hand to those whose business it may become to understand them. If all the other eastern governors and senators would come out here and look over the ground themselves they would acquire a practical knowledge of conditions in this northwest territory that might astonish but could not fail to educate them.

"Who are you?" questioned the householder. "I'm the man who's got the contract of doing the work for all the rest; who in the hell are you?" was the unexpected answer.

Wilson wanted to impress on the people at the Armory that the trustee theory of government is wrong. The trustee theory, if it may be explained, is that entertained by the rich and influential, who, because they have much at stake, consider themselves as trustees for the people, who are not contributors to campaign funds, which are not contributions at all, but like the Indian paddle, things they expect back again.

"It is like the old style of pump," said Wilson, "that goes dry over night. The careful housewife draws a bucket of water in the evening with which to prime the pump next morning. But when she does so it is always noticed that the water she put in is the

HAS FAITH IN PUBLIC HEART

By L. A. McNary.

Every appearance and utterance of Governor Wilson are indicative of an able, scholarly and sincere man who believes that good intentions and actions prevail in the national and political life. He believes that the heart of the American people is right, but that there has been a tendency to thwart its proper expression by selfish interests of an inconsiderable minority. His directness and simplicity are charming knowledge of our people and our state.

VISIT RECONCILES THEORY AND PRACTICE

By John M. Gearin.

Governor Wilson is a national character—a presidential possibility—and his visit is timely and opportune. His pleasing personality and scholarly speeches will make him friends and his personal observation of conditions and opportunities in the west will give him