

An Address to all First Voters

By Governor Woodrow Wilson

TO ALL WHO VOTE THIS YEAR FOR THE FIRST TIME:

You are about to choose sides. You cannot choose upon the basis of what parties have done in the past, because the present happens to be radically unlike the past, particularly in America. Conditions have changed so fast within the last few years in the United States that nothing remains the same that it was, either in politics, in industry or in trade. Parties must deal with a new age.

It is for that reason that parties have of late seemed to be breaking up and that their programs have become confused. Their old way of looking at national questions does not suit the matters they have to deal with. The Republican party is going to pieces because it has used its power in the wrong way, and those men who acknowledge the fact have become "insurgents." The Democratic party has seemed, once and again, to break up into groups because great varieties of opinion were to be found among those who called themselves Democrats, and no common responsibility for the present conduct of the Federal Government has obliged them to draw together. Wherever Democrats have been entrusted with power and responsibility, as, for example, in individual States and the lower branch of Congress, they have shown no uncertainty of purpose. In choosing for the future, therefore, how are you to be guided? Upon your choice will largely depend the future action and character of parties.

Both parties ask you to follow them in a constructive program; both promise to choose with a free hand the measures which will be best for the country. Your question, then, comes to this: Which is freest to choose rightly, and which is most likely to choose what the mass of the people would choose, who do not wish to see special interests favored by the action and policy of the government? For, after all, the question resolves itself into, Who will serve you and who will serve special classes of your fellow citizens?

The Republican party has been in practically complete control of the Federal Government throughout the greater part of the last fifty years, and throughout that period, the period during which America was gaining her growth and all her national habits, it has followed one invariable and consistent policy; it has fostered every special interest, every body of capital that desired to exploit the natural resources up wealth. Its argument has been: then the interests will take care of the prosperous, and then big business will vast sums of money out of the pockets actions and make everything they buy them, in part, in wages." The doctrine on the other hand, that "the aim of masses prosperous, and that the intersequence; that the people must first be able to look out for themselves; that robs no one, but protects all."

A partnership of fifty years' standing party has for fifty years maintained a upon them for support and maintenance ing to pieces. It is not free to choose. evitably create a new party, start a new virtually join the Democrats, who are pathies and confidences of the Demo- people; its wish is to choose policies is free to do so.

The policy of the Republican party is. The tariff has become, not a means age. The tariff legislation of recent general and healthy economic development and of all extension and equalization of the opportunities of the people, but to secure prots to particular classes and combinations of producers.

Having created trusts, the dominant party has tried to "regulate" them, but its regulation has threatened to transfer the actual control of business to the government itself, and may in the long run only cement the partnership and corrupt the government; only make it the more necessary that the interests should maintain the party and control the government.

The Democratic party believes in such a revision of the tariff as will take out of it every feature of patronage and special favor, as will base it entirely on the need of revenue for the government and the wisest adjustment of the taxation involved to the interests of the people. It believes, moreover, not in such "regulation" of the trusts as will put business in the hands of the government, but in such laws as will punish individuals, the individuals in and behind the trusts, for every breach of public policy, for every act hostile to the common interests and to fair competition and a free opportunity for every man. In the language of Governor Harmon: "The evils with which we are now confronted are corporate in name, but individual in fact. Guilt is always personal. So long as officials can hide behind their corporations no remedy can be effective. When the government searches out the guilty man and makes corporate wrong-doing mean personal punishment and dishonor the laws will be obeyed."

The whole atmosphere of government, under Republican rule, has become an atmosphere of patronage, of governmental favor or hostility. Patronage is the mother of graft; favor breeds servility. The trusts control. Controlling markets, they control supply; controlling supply, they control price; controlling price, they control life. They control also employment. Who has now the full traditional American freedom of opportunity? What are you free to choose when you seek an independent opening in life, except either to serve a trust or to defy it? And who, under our present laws, has the strength to defy it?

This, then, is your choice: Will you act with those who have created this system and who cannot honorably extricate themselves from it, or will you act with those who mean slowly, steadily, persistently to change it, and draw the country forward to a better, a freer system; a system of more open opportunity, in which the government will accord no patronage and in which the law will make men as individuals responsible again.

WILSON—THE PEOPLE'S CANDIDATE.

Gov. Wilson is the only candidate who is more interested in reducing the cost of living for the people than in keeping up dividends for the trusts.

He is the only candidate before the country who is basing his campaign on the needs and rights of the whole American people.

He is the only candidate before the country to whom the people can look for a reduction of the high cost of living.

Gov. Wilson is the candidate whom the trusts fear and the people need.

or use the labor of the country to build "First take care of the interests, and common people; first make big business make the masses prosperous; first take of the people in the shape of tariff ex- more expensive, and then pay it back to of the Democratic party has always been, government must first be to make the ests will then prosper as a natural con- taken care of, and then the interests will the only right government is that which

cannot easily be broken. The Republican partnership with the interests, depends and cannot break with them without go- Those within its ranks who revolt in- party tradition. They fling out and free from entangling alliances. The sym- cratic party are with the masses of the which will be in the interest of all; and

has made the power of the trusts what it of protection, but a means of patron- years has been designed, not to effect a of the opportunities of the people, but to