

COX AND ROOSEVELT DEFINE THEIR AIMS

Presidential Nominee for a Government That Is Progressive, but Not Radical.

WILL TRY TO REDUCE TAXES

Stands for a Definite Solution of the Country's Foreign Problems.

PORCH CAMPAIGN DEcriED

Roosevelt Declares There Is Need for the Candidates to Meet the People.

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COLUMBUS, Ohio, July 20.—It was a momentous occasion, fraught with human pathos, when Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States and leader of the Democratic Party, surrendered its leadership into the hands of James Middleton Cox on the south portico of the White House on Sunday last. The three men, Wilson, Cox and Roosevelt, who were present sensed what the exchange of authority meant to the President and also to his successor. Behind the exchange of greetings there was a feeling in the air, all unexpressed, that they were lifting the weight from the tired shoulders of the President and transferring the burden to the willing ones of Cox.

Now that the conference is over and Governor Cox has returned to Columbus, I asked him to give to THE TIMES his plan of campaign and to outline what he thought were to be its salient features. He said:

"In the forthcoming campaign and election the people of the United States will be given very definite choice between the hope of a better tomorrow and the known despairs of yesterday. The Republican candidate and the Republican Party have announced a desire to return to the times when progressiveness was unknown. The Democratic Party, with achievement the watchword, would march on into the golden sunrise of a new day.

"Fortuitous circumstances made me the champion of the new order in Ohio in 1912. By a strange coincidence the leader of the opposition then is the leader of the opposition now. And when a new Constitution was adopted giving a positive mandate for new Progressive legislation I, as Governor seeking to enforce the people's order and desire, was met in opposition by all the special privilege interests which now support the Republican candidate seeking to reverse the order of advance and turn to rout the Progressive victories which have been won.

Wants Foreign Problems Met.

"There is the problem of the relation of the United States with other countries and a definite solution is not to be avoided. A definite settlement must come or chaos, unbelievable will follow, and the settlement must be along the lines to which America is pledged.

"We must also give attention to domestic affairs. We must re-establish the confidence of our own people who have doubts. Our entire economic status seems to be unnatural.

"To remedy this there must be an increase of production and a decrease of waste. The people, all of them, must go to work. There must be a renewal of the spirit of patriotism. Restriction of production, either by combination to uphold prices or by joining of hands to increase personal profit, must be characterized as a type of savagery.

"I believe that a modern budget system is necessary. A simple but effective budget plan would be that the Executive should make a careful survey of the needs of the Government and submit a budget presenting an estimate of revenues required for the period of appropriation, together with the sources of income to meet the needs. The legislative branch of the Government should have the right to diminish any item, but should not be privileged to increase expenditures or add new items unless provision is also made for a sufficient revenue to meet the increased cost.

"These are some of the salient features that we will advocate. It has been truthfully said that the people get the kind of Government they deserve. If they want a Government that will be progressive, yet not radical; that will strive to strike a just balance between labor and capital; that will enforce the laws that are on the statute books; that will not be led off by every vagary of the passing moment; that will strive to reduce taxation and the high cost of living; that will strive to proportion the necessary cost of Government equitably; that will be just to foreigners and yet support American rights, then I feel justified in saying they can find these qualities in the Democratic Party."

Roosevelt Assails Porch Campaign.

After the conference at the White House Assistant Secretary Roosevelt, the Vice Presidential candidate, gave me his views as to how the campaign should be conducted. It will be no porch campaign for him.

"It seems to be the avowed intention of the Republican candidates," he said, "to carry out their throttled or back-porch campaign. I do not hesitate to state that this is wholly foreign to my conception of a candidate's clear duty. It is a comparatively easy thing, physically and mentally, to sit in an arm-chair and allow one's self to be surrounded by experts and highly paid publicity agents, and to give to the country an impression of dignity and wisdom. It can be readily understood that the nation may thereby gain a wholly erroneous impression of the candidates. Photographs and carefully rehearsed moving picture films do not necessarily convey the truth. How much do we know of the true personality of the actors we see in the moving-picture houses? The play is the thing of four hours of amusement, but hardly the thing when the Government of the United States for four years to come is at stake.

"In 1910 when I accepted the nomination for the State Senate in a hopelessly Republican district, I realized that my political opponent had for years adopted this same manner of sanctified mystery. A delightful old gentleman, Lou Payn, an Old Guard leader who had fought Theodore Roosevelt in the State of New York, was the great sanctified mystery in the district. The voters had never seen him, but he permitted a chosen few of his chosen lieutenants to visit him on the porch of his home.

"The Republican candidates, after he had approved them, acquired much of the same spirit of importance and aloofness. They issued vigorous declarations through their publicity agent, bought large advertising space in the newspapers and delivered one or two orations at the county seat.

How He Won State Senate Fight.

"The Democratic candidate for Congress and I decided that the old-fashioned procedure was un-American, that it contributed to the evils of boss rule under which the counties had been laboring. We conducted therefore an automobile campaign, sending word ahead to every village and cross-roads that we would arrive at a given time and that any one interested enough would have an opportunity to discuss with their candidates the issues of the campaign.

"The responses were surprising and gratifying, and the result was not one-sided, because we, as candidates, gained from our contact with thousands of people a truer insight into their needs and wishes than we could have done in any other way. I might add that the result on election day showed the election of every Democrat.

"Frankly I can see no difference in the principle between an election con-

ducted in three counties and one covering forty-eight States. The size of the country will make it impossible to visit every town and crossroads, but we will have three months to work in, and this period will be sufficiently long to enable us to visit all of the principal centres and nearly all of the States.

"I make the special point that it is just as important for the candidates to get in touch with the United States as it is for the voters to have a chance to see and hear them. No man having the viewpoint merely of Ohio, or Massachusetts, or New York, is fitted to be President or Vice President. He must know the nation; I happen to have been, first and last, in every State in the Union, but I am not satisfied. I want to know this country. I want to come in contact with the people and understand the views held by every section.

Scoffs at "Alleged Omniscience."

"On the other side of the picture, I believe it is fair to give just as many people as is humanly possible a chance to see their candidates and find out for themselves, whether the paraphernalia of photographs and campaign documents about them is true or is merely a carefully staged scene.

"In the same way I am perfectly willing to tell my views on all subjects that at present interest the nation. I shall be frank in telling what I do not know just as much as what I do know. I feel certain that the average voter would, at the bottom of his heart, rather support those whom he regards as human, those with whose weaknesses as well as whose strength he is acquainted, than support the alleged omniscience of a mysterious figure whom he has never seen and whose doctrine had been edited and compromised by the bosses of his party.

"Whatever the results of the election, I shall feel that I have acted on the square with the American people. All of my friends know that I am not given to pussyfooting and evading, and that I am totally incapable of the old-fashioned oratorical speech, which clothes definite issues with glittering generalities. The candidate should clothe the true expression of his belief in language which will be understood by the average person and not merely by the philologist."

I am reliably informed that at the White House conference the President's feeling of solicitude for the measures dear to his heart caused him to dwell on a broader vision for America in his talk with his visitors. He called to mind the striving of America for freedom and independence and the right of her people to govern themselves. In 1776 America began the herculean task of wresting freedom from the hands of those opposed to complete liberty—the liberty of America for Americans. A little nation of three millions fought against overwhelming odds to assure to her people the right to work out their own destiny. Since then America, having tasted the sweet fruits of victory, has been champion of liberty for the world. The Monroe Doctrine was adopted, securing the right of self-government to the other and weaker nations on the American Continent. In 1898 she fought to secure for Cuba the same blessed privilege, and now her destiny is to secure the same rights for the whole world.

The League of Nations was discussed on broad principles, its necessity for the salvation of the world, and the duty of America to carry out its promise of helping in that salvation. Even Germany accepted the peace terms on the understanding that peace was to be based on Wilson's fourteen points, which assured that an attempt would be made for a lasting and just peace.

There was entire sympathy of purpose between the two men, the one who gave up the leadership being confident that his successor was also inspired by the same high sense of America's duty.

The President was in fine form. The accustomed merry twinkle that is present in his eye when with friends and intimates was there. For some reason the impression is general that Mr. Wilson is always solemn and austere. This is a mistake. No one has a keener sense of humor than Woodrow Wilson, and on Sunday he was at his best. He enlivens his conversation when with his friends with a bountiful sprinkling of anecdotes, most of which are original and all of which are apt and to the point. In this characteristic he particularly resembles Lincoln. On Sunday he felt that he was among friends. When it came time to go, they parted with mutual respect and confidence.

Agree on Frank Campaign.

The lessons to be drawn from this meeting are:

First—The League of Nations is to be the chief issue of the campaign. On this subject, as on every other subject, there will be no dodging or pussy-footing. Governor Cox will stand flat-footedly upon the position that America is committed to the ratification of the League of Nations in a form that will not cancel America's usefulness and influence in the League, and it is the purpose of the Democratic Party to see that these commitments are carried out to the letter.

Second—The complete agreement between Wilson and Cox is no indication that Cox is to be the tail to Wilson's kite. Wilson, as Jefferson did after his retirement, will advise and support, but he will not direct, the campaign nor the subsequent administration if Cox is elected. The campaign will be directed by Cox, and he will be the Executive if elected, for two perfectly good reasons; the state of the President's health is not such that he could stand the strain, and, more pertinent still, Cox is not a man who will take dictation. Mr. Wilson, as the older statesman of the party, will be consulted, but the final determination on all subjects will rest with Cox.

Third—The Democrats will wage an aggressive campaign, and one in the open. Both of their candidates intend to tour the country from Maine to California, giving reasons for the faith that is in them.

Fourth—The White House conference indicates that the Democrats will go into the campaign as a united party.

Complete unity between Cox and Wilson means unity with all of the Administration leaders. The McAdoo following has fallen into line, and National Committeeman Thomas B. Love, a McAdoo leader at the convention, is in conference with the Governor, devising ways and means to further the Democratic cause.

Mr. Love assures me that they are anxious to serve the party and that it will not be merely lip service to preserve party regularity. Palmer men are now Cox men. So are the followers of Owen, Davis, Hitchcock and Bryan. The State leaders will support him. They did so at San Francisco, and their own interest would indicate that they will continue to do so. The whole party is united; there will be no Achilles sulking in his tent.

As a result of the conference with the President on Sunday, Governor Cox has a smiling face. He feels an added assurance that the American people are back of him.