

the opinion of expert engineers. Legislation of 1902 dealt with the problem.

In 1903 the Bankers' Life Insurance Company of New York City, whose affairs were in bad shape, made Voorhees its president in an attempt to reconcile differences among its officers. In 1906, only months before the New York Insurance Department prohibited the company from doing further business, factional strife and reorganization caused Voorhees to resign and go back to his law practice in Elizabeth. In 1908 a special grand jury indicted him and the company's former secretary for perjury, charging that in 1904 Voorhees had signed a false statement that dividends worth \$20,000 were not due certain stockholders. He pleaded not guilty and told the press that "it is simply a case of my signing certified reports without careful inspection." He had "reposed trust in subordinates, as is done every day by hundreds of busy men, and . . . [been] misled into signing padded documents." The indictment was dismissed in 1910.

In 1925 illness forced Voorhees to suspend his business and professional activities and retire to his farm in High Bridge for a few months. During the first six months of 1927 he had several severe heart attacks that made him discontinue daily visits to his Elizabeth law office and eventually confined him to bed. Exactly eighteen years to the day and hour after his father's death, Foster M. Voorhees succumbed to chronic myocarditis.

He bequeathed his High Bridge property to the State primarily "for forestry and similar purposes." The land is now Voorhees State Park, Hunterdon County.

Records of Governor Foster Voorhees, New Jersey State Library, Bureau of Archives and History, Trenton, N.J.

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Harris I. Effross



FRANKLIN MURPHY (January 3, 1846–February 24, 1920), governor of New Jersey from 1902 to 1905, was born in Jersey City, the son of Abby Elizabeth (Hagar) and William Hayes Murphy, a shoe manufacturer. He was a descendant of Robert Murphy, who settled in Connecticut in 1756 and whose son Robert, Franklin's great-grandfather, fought in the Revolution. When Murphy was ten, his parents moved to Newark, where he attended Newark Academy. In 1862, at the age of sixteen, he left the academy to enlist as a private in Company A, 13th Regiment, New Jersey Volunteers. For the next three years he was on active duty, both with the Army of the Potomac and with General William T. Sherman in the West and "from Atlanta to the Sea." He fought in nineteen engagements, including Antietam, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Missionary Ridge, and Lookout Mountain, and in June 1865 he was mustered out as a first lieutenant.

With capital his father advanced in 1865, when he was nineteen, Murphy established a small varnish manufacturing business in Newark. The venture prospered and became the nationally known Murphy & Company, incorporated in 1891 as Murphy Varnish Company. Over the years it established additional plants and outlets in cities from Boston to Chicago. Murphy served as its president until 1915 and as chairman of the board of directors until his death.

Meanwhile Murphy had become active in Republican politics. From 1883 to 1886, he was a member of the Newark Common Council, serving the last year as presi-

dent. During his years in office the council undertook an extensive program to improve streets and parks and introduced electricity for street lighting. In 1885 Murphy went to the state legislature, where he served one term as assemblyman. In the 1890s he struggled within his party to wrest more power for the populous North Jersey counties from state Republican boss William J. Sewell, who dominated the party from his base in South Jersey. Murphy became chairman of the Republican State Committee in 1892, and, assisted by favorable population and economic trends and scandals in the Democratic regime, he helped transform New Jersey into a solidly Republican state. After being made a member of the Republican National Committee, Murphy joined its executive committee. In 1901 he received the Republican nomination for governor and easily defeated his Democratic opponent, Mayor James M. Seymour of Newark.

On assuming the governorship, Murphy, as a successful businessman, was appalled by the unbusinesslike way in which the state government was conducted. He attacked the widespread absenteeism of state officials, partly through his own example: he moved into a house in Trenton and urged the establishment of a permanent governor's mansion. He found state funds held in favored banks at no interest and secured the passage of a law requiring their deposit in interest-bearing accounts. He ordered regular audits of all departmental finances and worked for the abolition of the fee system in state and county offices.

Murphy also showed his business point of view by his strong defense of New Jersey's corporation laws, under increasing attack as breeders of the trusts, and by his action on the attorney generalship. When Thomas N. McCarter resigned as attorney general to head the giant new Public Service Corporation—a firm almost certain to become involved in litigation with the state—Murphy complacently appointed McCarter's brother Robert H. McCarter in his place.

But Murphy was no simple stand-patter: he wanted business and politics conducted in a decent orderly way, and to that end he was willing to support needed reforms. Struck by the rampant corruption accompanying New Jersey's unregulated primary elections, in 1903 he strongly backed the passage of a new primary law. Although it provided direct nominations (with which Murphy had little sympathy) for only very minor offices, it carefully regulated the election of delegates to state and local nominating conventions, and it became the base on which all subsequent primary reform was built. Murphy also secured the gradual introduction of voting machines, but, proving unpopular, they were abandoned during the administration of Woodrow Wilson.

When Murphy learned that New Jersey's weak child-labor laws were virtually ignored, he forced out the incompetent state factory inspector and backed new child labor legislation that compared favorably with that of most of the other states. He helped secure New Jersey's first tenement-inspection law (although it proved weak in practice), a law establishing a state tuberculosis sanitarium, and an act establishing boards of education with fund-raising powers independent of local politicians. Concerned about the effectiveness of state charitable institutions, he urged the legislature to support them generously, as befitted a wealthy state. Murphy faced up to the perils of the dawning automobile age; and although the legislature did not heed his heroic suggestion to prohibit automobiles geared to run over fifteen miles an hour from the roads of New Jersey, it began the regulation of motor vehicles. But it turned a deaf ear to his proposal to ban billboards from railroad rights-of-way. The governor also tackled two perennial problems—the cleanup of the sewage-laden Passaic River and the abandonment of the Morris Canal—unsolved until long after his term of office.

Murphy's governorship coincided with the rise of progressivism in New Jersey, a

part of the larger progressive movement sweeping the nation. Among its primary objectives was the more equal taxation of railroad property, championed particularly by Mayor Mark M. Fagan of Jersey City and his corporation counsel, George L. Record. Jersey City and other financially hard-pressed Hudson County municipalities found much of their most valuable real estate in the hands of railroads with tax rates severely limited by state law and mainstem property that paid taxes only to the state, not the municipalities. Fagan and Record also sought legislation empowering municipalities to tax public utility franchises at full local rates. Supported by other North Jersey municipal executives, they urged the Republican-dominated 1904 state legislature to pass remedial legislation, but the party leaders would have none of it. Railroad and utility interests were too powerful to challenge, and though the local taxation of mainstem railroad property would benefit municipalities, it would deprive the state of a prime source of revenue. This raised hackles in South Jersey and other areas with little or nothing to gain from the proposal, facing instead the possibility of a state tax to replace lost mainstem railroad revenues. When the legislature adamantly refused to act, Mayor Fagan in exasperation addressed a stinging public letter to Governor Murphy, charging that the railroad and utility interests controlled the Republican legislature and the party was subservient to corporate greed and injustice. Although Murphy refused to comment, the letter spurred the party to action: a commission to investigate the railroad tax issue was appointed, and the following year, under Murphy's successor, tax legislation was passed that went far toward meeting progressive demands.

Murphy's influence in the national and state Republican party did not end with his governorship. He had long held the chairmanship of the Republican State Committee, and from 1900 to 1918 he was a member of the Republican National Committee, except for a brief period in

1912 after the progressives had carried the New Jersey Republican presidential primaries. In 1897 he was offered the post of ambassador to Russia but for business reasons he declined. He was a delegate to five national conventions (1900-1916) and a contender for the vice-presidential nomination in 1908. In 1910 he tried unsuccessfully to win the Republican senatorial preference primary. Six years later, with strong organization support, he made a fight for the United States senatorial nomination but lost in an upset to Joseph S. Frelinghuysen.

Despite certain progressive aspects of his governorship, throughout his political career Murphy was basically conservative. He once described himself as "an old fashioned republican, the son of an old fashioned whig," who had "marched as a boy with the wide-a-wakes in the Frémont campaign of fifty six." He became an implacable foe of the direct primary, opposed the popular election of United States senators, expressed doubts about the civil service law, and once declared that all officeholders, including judges, should contribute annually to the party that elected them. In the growing split in the national party that culminated in the 1912 Roosevelt revolt, Murphy stood solidly with the regulars.

Murphy's public services were not limited to strictly political office. For over twenty years he was a member of the Essex County Park Commission. He long served as a member of the board of managers of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers. He was one of the American commissioners to the Paris Universal Exposition in 1900, and in 1916 he headed the Committee of One Hundred, which planned the 250th anniversary of the founding of Newark. A member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, he was a trustee of Drew Theological Seminary. Particularly interested in patriotic societies, he belonged to a number of them and once served as secretary-general and then president-general of the Sons of the American Revolution. While governor he received the LL.D.

degree from both Princeton University and Lafayette College.

In his private pursuits, Murphy lived graciously. He was concerned with books, art and music; late in life he taught himself to play a large pipe organ installed in the music room of his Newark home. His large collection of books on art, architecture and related subjects was sold some years after his death. In 1868 he married Janet Colwell of Newark, who died in 1904; only two of their eight children survived them. In the winter of 1920, while vacationing in Palm Beach, Murphy suffered an intestinal obstruction. He underwent surgery on February 18 and died six days later.

Records of Governor Franklin Murphy, New Jersey State Library, Bureau of Archives and History, Trenton, N.J.

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Ransom E. Noble



EDWARD CASPAR STOKES (December 22, 1860–November 4, 1942), governor of New Jersey from 1905 to 1908, was born in Philadelphia, the son of Edward H. and Matilda G. (Kemble) Stokes. His parents, both of whose families had lived in New Jersey for generations, soon moved back to the state, settling eventually in Millville. There Stokes attended the public schools; later he went to the Friends School in Providence, Rhode Island. He was second in the graduating class of Brown University in 1883. Returning to his home town, he took a position in the Millville National Bank, where his father was cashier.

Stokes developed an early interest in

public education, serving as superintendent of schools in Millville from 1889 to 1898. He had meanwhile entered politics as a Republican, and he was elected to two terms in the state assembly (1891–1892) and three in the state senate (1893–1901). As an assemblyman, Stokes introduced and pushed to passage a bill requiring the payment of weekly wages in cash, aimed at industries that still paid in orders on company stores. As a senator he fought against the passage of racetrack gambling bills and joined the movement that led to antigambling amendments to the state constitution. When the senate Democratic majority, repudiated at the 1893 election, attempted to retain its seats and exclude newly elected Republicans, Stokes was a leader in the successful fight to thwart its efforts. At the 1895 session he served as senate president. In 1901 he was appointed clerk of the court of chancery, where he served until his inauguration as governor.

When Stokes was nominated for governor in 1904, the New Jersey progressive movement, with its animus against railroads, trusts, and old-line political machines, was well under way in the northern part of the state. The problem of equal taxation of railroad property had been a major issue in the 1904 legislature. Stokes had entered politics under the aegis of South Jersey Republican boss William J. Sewell and had, by 1904, become a bank president and railroad director. This seemed to make him vulnerable as a candidate, particularly since his Democratic opponent, Charles C. Black, had something of a reputation as a champion of equal taxation. But the Republican party showed a willingness to make concessions on the issue and united solidly behind Stokes, who won easily with a plurality of over fifty thousand.

A growing split between the regular Republicans and the progressives within the Republican party, with the latter faction soon becoming known as the "New Idea," marked Stokes's term of office. The progressives were demanding the taxation of all railroad property at full