

Gov. Cox's Acceptance Speech

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continuous service is a policy of fair-dealing. Too often the genius of man prompts him to play for governmental advantage, and the success which has been achieved in this particular, has led to the formation of groups which seek this very advantage. We are a busy people, preoccupied in too large degree with purely commercial considerations, and we have not recognized as we should that the failure of government to prevent inequalities has made it possible for mischievous spirits to develop prejudice against the institutions of government, rather than against administrative policy. There is a very important difference here. This difference bears directly on profiteering, which is today the most sinister influence in American life. It is not a new thing in America. The tribe of profiteers has simply multiplied under the favoring circumstances of war. For years, large contributions have been made to the Republicans campaign fund for no purpose except to buy a governmental underhold, and to make illegal profits as the result of preference. Such largesses are today a greater menace to our contentment and our institutions than the countless temporary profiteers who are making a mockery of honest business, but who can live and fatten only in time of disturbed prices. If I am called to service as president means will be found, if they do not already exist, for compelling these exceptions to the great mass of square dealing American business men, to use the same yardstick of honesty that governs most of us in our dealings with our fellowmen, or in language that they may understand, to suffer the penalty of criminal law.

There is another reason for the fabulous contributions to the present Republican campaign fund. Much money, of course, has been subscribed in proper partisan zeal; but the great bulk has been given with the definite idea of gaining service in return. Many captains of industry, guided by a most dangerous industrial philosophy, believe that in controversy between employer and employe their will should be enforced, even at the point of the bayonet. I speak knowingly. I have passed through many serious industrial troubles. I know something of their psychology, the stages through which they pass, and the dangerous attempts that are sometimes made to end them. Disputes between labor and capital are inevitable. The disposition to gain the best bargain possible characterizes the whole field of exchange, whether it be product for product, or labor for money. If strikes are prolonged public opinion always settles them. Public opinion should determine results in America. Public opinion is the most interesting characteristic of a democracy, and it is the real safety valve to the institutions of a free government. It may, at times, be necessary for government to inquire into the facts of a tie-up, but facts and not conclusions should be submitted. The determining form of unprejudiced thought will do the rest. During this process, governmental agencies must give a vigilant eye to the protection of life and property, and maintain firmness but absolute impartiality. This is always the real test; but if official conduct combines courage and fairness, our governmental institutions come out of these affairs untarnished by distrust. This is not an academic observation. It

is the mere recital of experience. Unrest has been reinforced in no small degree by the great mass of unassimilated aliens. Attracted by an unprecedented demand for labor, they have come to our shores by the thousands. As they have become acquainted with the customs and opportunities of American life, thousands of them have become citizens and are owners of their own homes. However, the work of assimilation too long was merely automatic. One million six hundred thousand foreign born in this county cannot read or write our language. Our interest in them in the main has been simply as laborers, assembled in the great trade centers, to meet the demand of the hour. Without home or community ties, many have been more or less nomadic, creating the problem of excessive turnover, which has perplexed manufacturing plants. But this has not been the worst phase of the situation. Unfamiliar with law, having no understanding of the principles of our government, they have fallen an easy prey to unpatriotic and designing persons. Public opinion has had no influence upon them, because they have been isolated from the currents of opinion, all due to their not being able to read or write our language. It is the duty of the federal government to stimulate the work of Americanization on the part of church, school, community agencies, state governments and industry itself. In the past, many industries that have suffered from chronic restlessness have been the chief contributors to their own troubles. The foreigner with European standards of living was welcomed, but too often no attempt was made to educate him to domestic ideals, for the simple reason that it adversely affected the ledger. It has been my observation that the man who learns our language, yields to a controlling public opinion and respects our law; besides, in proportion as his devotion to American life develops, his interest in the impulsive processes of revolution diminishes. We must be patient in the work of assimilation and studiously avoid oppressive measures in the face of mere evidence of misunderstanding. We have a composite nation. The Almighty doubtless intended it to be such. We will not, however, develop patriotism unless we demonstrate the difference between despotism and democracy. The necessity for the drastic laws of war days is not present now, and we should return at the earliest opportunity, to the statutory provisions passed in time of peace for the general welfare. There is no condition now that warrants any infringement on the right of free speech and assembly nor on the liberty of the press. The greatest measure of individual freedom consistent with the safety of our institutions should be given. Excessive regulation causes manifestations that compel restraint. The police power, therefore, is called to action because the legislative authority acted unwisely.

A forbearing policy is not the proper one for the deliberate enemy of our institutions. He is of the kind that knows conditions abroad and here. The difference between autocracy and democracy is well marked in his mind. He is opposed to government in any form, and he hates ours because it appeals to those whom he would convert to his creed. Any policy of terrorism is fuel to his flame of anarchy. Those whom he seeks arouse, in time, realize the difference between his and their mental attitude, so that when the law lays hand upon his wilful menace to government, the purpose of it becomes plain to them. Official con-

tempt for the law is a harmful exhibition to our people. It is difficult to follow the reasoning of anyone who would seek to make an issue of the question of law-enforcement. The executive obligation, both national and state, on assuming the oath of office is to "preserve, protect and defend the constitution of the United States." The constitution, on its essence, is the license and limitation given to and placed upon the law-making body. The legislative branch of government is subjected to the rule of the majority. The public official who fails to enforce the law, is an enemy both to the constitution and to the American principle of the majority rule. It would seem quite unnecessary for any candidate for the presidency to say that he does not intend to violate his oath of office. Anyone who is false to that oath is more unworthy than the law violator himself.

Morals cannot easily be produced by statute. The writ of injunction should not be abused. Intended as a safeguard to person and property, it could easily by abuse cease to be the protective device it was intended to be.

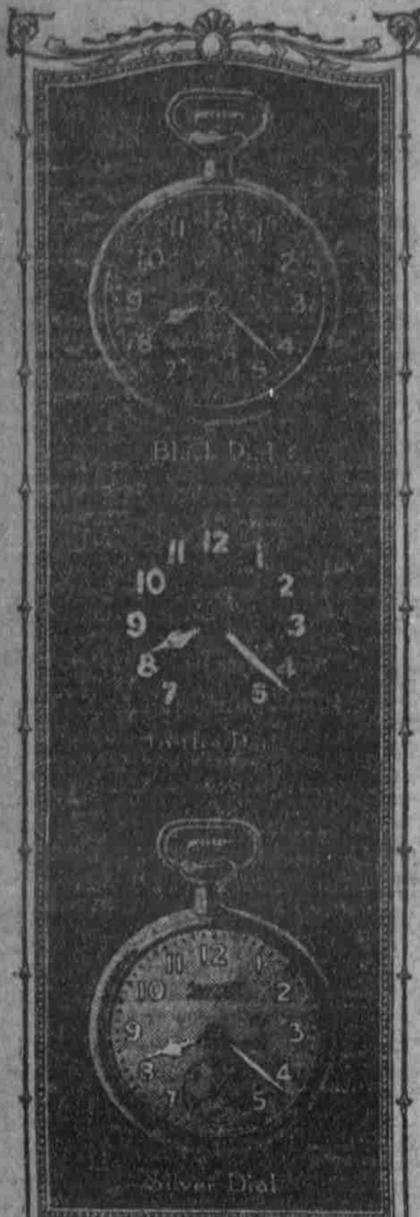
Capital develops into large units without violence to public sentiment or injury to public interest—the same principle should not be denied to labor. Collective bargaining through the means of representatives selected by the employer and employe respectively, will be helpful rather than harmful to the general interest. Besides, there is no ethical objection that can be raised to it. We should not, by law, abridge a man's right either to labor or to quit his employment. However, neither labor nor capital should at any time or in any circumstances, take action that would put in jeopardy the public welfare.

We need a definite and precise statement of policy as to what business man and workingmen may do and may not do by way of combination and collective action. The law is now so nebulous that it almost turns upon the economic predilections of the judge or jury. This does not make for confidence in the courts nor respect for the laws, nor for a healthy activity in production and distribution. There surely will be found ways by which co-operation may be encouraged without the destruction of enterprise. The rules of business should be made more certain so that on a stable basis, men may move with confidence.

Government, however should provide the means in the treatment of its employes, to keep in touch with conditions and to rectify wrong. It is needless to say that in order to be consistent, facts should at all times justify the pre-supposition that the government employes are properly compensated.

The child life of the nation should be conserved; if labor in immature years is permitted by one generation, it is practicing unfairness to the next.

Agriculture is but another form of industry. In fact, it is the basis of industry because upon it depends the foods supply. The drift from countryside into the city, carries disquieting portents. If our growth in manufacturing in the next few years holds its present momentum, it will be necessary for America to import foodstuffs. It therefore devolves upon government, through intensive scientific co-operation to help in maintaining as nearly as possible the existing balance between food production and consumption. Farming will not inspire individual effort unless profits, all things considered, are



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