

HUGHES LANDS HARD ON WILSON SHAMS

Trade Commission Law Muddles Instead of Clarifying Situation.

FUTURE FOR AMERICANS

(Continued from Page One.)

ample, it is now said in substance that if I am elected to the position of executive responsibility for which I have been nominated, that it will result in installing invisible government. What a preposterous suggestion!

No Invisible Government.

"I came into public life long before this administration was thought of as the opponent of invisible government. (Applause.) The fact that I was an opponent of invisible government was my title to public confidence, and it was because I was an opponent of invisible government that, not according to my liking, indeed, against my desire, I was nominated for the presidency of the United States. (Applause.) I know that we are in constant danger of subversion of the principles of government, and I desire to say that as there was no invisible government in the state of New York when I had the honor to hold the executive place there, there will be no invisible government in the United States if I have the honor to hold the position of president.

"I believe in government through constitutional agencies. I believe in government through the recognized officers of government according to the intent of the constitution and the statutes. I think, indeed, it might be said that the present administration has been in large measure an administration of unofficial spokesmen, of mysterious influences, and I can say, in entire good humor, that I desire government through two houses and not three. (Applause.)

Not an Agent of War.

"Now, another thing that surprises me very much; and that is that in answer to our criticism of the record of the administration, it is said that a vote for me is a vote for war. I have devoted myself to the institutions of peace. My whole energies have been spent in connection with the peaceful settlement of controversies, and it is in the idea that controversies, however sharp and determined, can be satisfactorily disposed of, provided there are adequate tribunals, and opportunities for peaceful disposition. Who desires war? Who, in the face of the present conflict in Europe, could think without horror of the ravages and waste of war? Who, indeed, would think for a moment of plunging this country into war? On the other hand, does anybody suppose that it is the path of peace not to stand firmly and convincingly for our known rights under international law? (Applause.)

Does anyone suppose for a moment that any nation desires our enmity? We desire the friendship of every nation. We wish to live in amity with all, and to pursue our ideals, which can be attained only through the activities of peace. We are a great peaceful people, fortunately removed from all temptation to strife. We have no desire for dominion beyond our borders. We do not desire for territory that we do not possess. We do not seek by aggression anything to which we are not entitled. We have no wish to exploit. We are fortunately free from policies that endanger our peace. The peace of the United States need not be forfeited by standing for its rights. We stand in self respect before the world, maintaining our prestige, demanding only that to which we are known to be entitled, ready for any emergency, and you may be sure that our just rights will be acknowledged by every nation. (Applause.)

Mexico and "Peace."

"And then it is said by way of illustration that in that unfortunate country to the south of us may be found the policy of peace. If that is not a most extraordinary assertion. I have never heard of one, for the policy there taken is worthy of our criticism and we ought to exercise it, because it was not the policy of peace. The policy of peace was the policy which would not have intermeddled with affairs which did not concern us. (Applause.) I do not speak of the question whether Hureta should have been recognized or not have been recognized. That is a false issue. He could have been recognized if the administration thought his government was a stable government, and could perform its obligations. If the administration did not think his government was of that character, it was not under obligations to recognize him. That was a matter for executive discretion. But, neither under international law nor under the constitution of the United States was the executive entrusted with the broad power to launch this nation into war, not for the purpose of withholding recognition, but of destroying the only government that Mexico had. (Applause.) That was not a policy of peace, and the contrary was soon demonstrated, for in the pursuit of that policy our armed forces went to the invasion of this neighboring republic; we seized a customs house, we engaged in battle, several hundred men were slain, a score were slain of our own soldiers, that was not to enforce American rights; that was not to maintain the dignity and honor of this nation. As subsequently confessed by a member of the cabinet, and as the plain shows, it had but one object, the elimination of the disliked government of that country. That was a war, not a policy of peace. (Applause.) That led to Carrizal, another instance of war; we recently had upon our entire Guard assembled on the ground stated as an official condition of war. We were not to detail the existing, or the record of the administration in respect to protest against the administration is a

Hard Hits Made by Hughes in His Omaha Speech

How to Obtain Peace.

The peace of the United States need not be forfeited by standing for its rights. We stand in self-respect before the world, maintaining our prestige, demanding only that to which we are known to be entitled, ready for any emergency, and you may be sure that our just rights will be acknowledged by every nation.

Shipping Bill Unwise.

If rates are too high, provision can be made to correct them. If there is unjust discrimination, provision can be made to eliminate it; but the creation of a government board to purchase ships, even foreign-built ships, and allow them the privilege of our coastwise trade, is, to my mind, not an aid to business, but a very unwise governmental policy.

American Business Abroad.

Dr. Eliot, former president of Harvard, a man whom I hold in the very highest esteem, examined the record of the administration and came to the conclusion that its record, with respect to Mexico, meant this: That hereafter we did not propose to afford full protection by force of arms to those who represented American enterprise in foreign parts. Yet, it is said that we have the best genius in the world, and should go forth into all parts of the world bearing the fruits of this genius for the benefit of others. What does that mean practically?—It means American engineers, it means American salesmen, it means American bookkeepers, it means American clerks of every description in branch establishments in connection with enterprise in various places, in some of which revolution is frequent, where only the flag of their country stands between them and death; and, fellow citizens, while there is no occasion to use the force which that flag symbolizes, if we are firm and strong in the protection of American rights, it is unbelievable that we should depart from the historic doctrine of protecting those who carry American trade to the four corners of the globe.

What Future Demands.

We must have an application for the benefit of American labor; for the benefit of American agriculture and for the benefit of American industry, of the doctrine of a

protective tariff to safeguard our industries. If there were ever any opportunity for debate on that question that time has passed. If there ever was a chance for a doctrinaire discussion, that time has passed. We are facing today economic problems which we must meet squarely according to the facts.

Prosperity for All.

Now, we must not conserve our industries alone, but we must conserve our human life and resources. I am not interested in mere statistics of wealth; I am interested in protection for the sake of protection. I am not interested in seeing a prosperity which is not justly distributed. This is a country of men and women devoted to work. It is not a country intended for a few to prosper at the expense of the many. It is the country of plain people, and I want to see prosperity in order that the plain people may have a proper basis for that prosperity.

For the Eight-Hour Day.

Now I believe in the general principle of an eight-hour workday. That principle has this for its basis, that by a restriction of hours of labor there will be a more wholesome life; there will be not only an absence of excessive strain, but there will be opportunities for leisure, there will be opportunities for education, opportunities for enjoyment; in short, a better rounded life, which tends to contentment.

Who Pays the Bill?

You will find that rates must be raised in order to pay expenses if expenses are increased. And, now, who pays the rates? Well, you say the shipper pays the rates. Well, if the shipper is a farmer, I guess he will understand fully what that means; and the farmers of Nebraska have not been slow to understand what railroad rates mean. But, if he is a manufacturer, what does he do? Why, he passes it along to the jobber with his percentage, and the jobber passes it along to the retailer with his percentage, and the retailer, my friends, passes it right along to you, and you, and every man in the country. That is to say, the great consuming public of which the workmen themselves constitute the large majority; and that is where you come again to greet our dear old bosom companion, whom we cannot lose, "The High Cost of Living."

ping bill. Now, that is the kind of aid to business which it does not seem to me business can afford to have. I do not believe in introducing the government into competition with private industry in this country. (Applause.) This is a serious thing. We can encourage industry. We should do all we can honorably to stimulate industry, but the introduction of the government into the shipping business, while I admit that the terms of the act are of such a character as to make it impracticable for the present, yet the act constitutes a menace to an important industry in this country, and in my judgment should not have been passed. If rates are too high, provision can be made to correct them. If there is unjust discrimination, provision can be made to eliminate it; but the creation of a government board to purchase ships, even foreign-built ships, and allow them the privilege of our coastwise trade, is, to my mind, not an aid to business, but a very unwise governmental policy.

In a Fool's Paradise.

"But, when we consider the relation of the administration to business, we have a far more important matter under review, and that is in connection with our domestic activities. No thoughtful student of our affairs can fail to look with apprehension on our present condition. What is our present condition? American trade is under a stimulant. We are dragged by the demand created by the European war. We are living in a fool's paradise, entertaining hopes that are destined to be blasted. We have got labor abundantly employed in satisfactory work, but that will cease as soon as the war is over. Why is that? It is because on the other side millions of men have been taken out of their ordinary pursuits. They have been taken away from agricultural plants, by the million, they have been set to fighting, and consuming, instead of producing. The result is a great abnormal opportunity for American labor; and American labor is employed on every side. Now, in filling that demand, I do not refer simply to munitions of war. That is a small part. Our exports, as you know, have been going abroad in tremendous quantities to fill this gap, created by the condition of things in Europe that cannot last. That labor so employed will shortly, when the war ends, be turned into competition with other labor in this country. We have had, through this abnormal employment on an unprecedented scale, the purchasing power developed in this country, by which all of our trade has been stimulated, and men are going about feeling prosperous and happy; just because they are under the influence of this abnormal stimulant, the withdrawal of which will bring them down to the actual conditions of normal life in times of peace. (Applause.)

No Protection for Americans.

"And then, a little later, under the administration, we had the action in Mexico, which disclosed one thing very clearly. I say this, because we have the word of one of the most distinguished supporters of the administration for the constitutional rights of American citizens should go with them throughout the world, and that they should have full protection wherever they were lawfully, for their lives and their property. (Applause.) The result is that, according to the analysis made of the record of the administration, notice has been served that full protection will not be accorded to those who go abroad carrying American enterprise in foreign parts; and yet, it is said we should encourage foreign trade; yet, it is said that we have the best genius in the world, and should go forth into all parts of the world bearing the fruits of this genius for the benefit of others. What does that mean practically?—It means American engineers, it means American salesmen, it means American bookkeepers, it means American clerks of every description in branch establishments in connection with enterprise in various places, in some of which revolution is frequent, where only the flag of their country stands between them and death; and, fellow citizens, while there is no occasion to use the force which that flag symbolizes, if we are firm and strong in the protection of American rights, it is unbelievable that we should depart from the historic doctrine of protecting those who carry American trade to the four corners of the globe. (Applause.)

it because we want the facts. We do not want abuses to creep in. We do not want unnecessary duties. I would be careful to prevent the abuse while I was using the power. (Applause.) And, so we desire the facts. But a tariff commission does not legislate. It is congress that passes the bill. It is idle, if we judge what is said by the leaders of our opposing party, to accept the application of the protective principle by that party. They do not believe in it. If you want to see the protective principle fairly applied, then send a senator and representative to congress who believe in the protective principle. (Applause.)

Who Pays the Freight?

"Why, the effect, when you raise the expenses of railroad companies by millions of dollars is that somebody pays those millions. If you think the railroads are not thinking you have another guess coming, when you buy your goods. (Applause.) You will find that rates must be raised in order to pay expenses if expenses are increased. And, now who pays the rates? Well, you say the shipper pays the rates. Well, if the shipper is a farmer, I guess he will understand fully what that means; and the farmers of Nebraska have not been slow to understand what railroad rates mean. (Applause.) But, if he is a manufacturer, what does he do? Why, he passes it along to the jobber with his percentage, and the jobber passes it along to the retailer with his percentage, and the retailer, my friends, passes it right along to you, and you, and every man in the country. That is to say, the great consuming public of which the workmen themselves constitute the large majority; and that is where you come again to greet our dear old bosom companion, whom we cannot lose, "The High Cost of Living." (Continued applause.)

"So, my point is this, that this is not a matter when you are dealing with the expenses of railroad companies, to toss off in a playful way and dispose of as though it were not a serious problem. Someone told me today that it seemed that the motto of the administration was, 'A problem avoided is a problem solved.' (Applause.)

"If this is right, then it will bear investigation; but, we ought not to have legislation on any subject without inquiry. We ought not to have, least of all, legislation with regard to a matter affecting the transportation systems of our country without inquiry and knowing that what is done is fair. If there is an industrial grievance, let us go to the bottom of it and find out what is right, and then attend to it.

"The public has got to bear, even if it does not like it, whatever rates are fair. The public has got to bear whatever increases are fair; but, be sure you know what you are doing before you legislate wage increases overnight. (Applause.)

It Will Work Both Ways.

"Now, then, with respect to that, I want to say this additional word: I think that this is a very serious blow at labor, and I think so for these reasons: If you have by the application of force, a legislative act passed without inquiry, to increase wages overnight, then, by the application of force, you can have, without inquiry, legislative action to decrease wages overnight. (Applause.) I do not think that labor, when it comes to think this matter over, and when it comes to study carefully what has been done and the way in which it was done, will care to ratify that

Effect of Adamson Law.

"Now, in railroading at this time to which we are referring men were not paid on the basis of hours alone. They were paid on the basis of hours and miles. In other words, the basis was ten hours and 100 miles. If a man made his 100 miles, say, in four hours, he got his 100 miles. If he made his 100 miles in two hours, he got his day's pay and two hours, additional pay. It was a basis of hours and miles. Now, this proposition was not a proposition to put in an eight-hour work-day. Not at all. That was not the proposal, and that was not done. It was not proposed to restrict the hours of labor. Men were left to work just as long as before. Whereas, the very principle of an eight-hour work-day statute is that they should not be allowed to work more than the prescribed period except in an emergency. (Applause.) We have railroads with their divisions points and hours of duty. There was no notion of revolutionizing the practical business of railroading; there was no notion of putting in an eight-hour work-day. The men particularly represented in this bill never desired anything of that sort. Sometimes hasty legislation has extraordinary surprises as a result; for now, some of our friends do not quite know whether if they complete their 100 miles in less than eight hours they are going to get a day's pay or not if it is on an eight-hour basis. (Applause and laughter.) But, so it is in this, what we do want to change the basis for paying wages, not to impose an eight-hour work-day, but to make a different basis for wages and thus increase wages. So, you see what a subterfuge it was to invoke the principle of an eight-hour work-day, in justification of that measure. If that measure, as a wage measure, was a justifiable one, then there was no need in trying to cloak it with the eight-hour work-day suggestion. If, on its merits, it was not justifiable, then it was inexcusable to try and bolster it up by talking about it as an eight-hour work-day measure. (Applause.)

Why Make Distinctions.

"It is said that the judgment of society had passed upon the matter, so it was not arbitrable, so it was not open to discussion. If that was so, why did they give it to the 100 per cent instead of the 20 per cent? (Applause.) If that was so, why did they except men who work on electric railroads? Is the man working on an electric interurban railroad outside the pale of the judgment of society? (Laughter and applause.) Does the eight-hour work-day have no application to him? And then think of the poor unfortunate who labor on railroads that happen to be less than 100 miles long. Because it is ninety-nine miles instead of 101, the judgment of society does not seem to move any in their favor. (Applause.)

"Why, of course, the answer is that we have nothing to do with the judgment of society; that that was not applicable, was not involved because the eight-hour work-day was not involved. What was involved was an increase of wages by chang-

course of action. Only two years ago, or less—about that time—the American Federation of Labor passed a resolution putting itself on record against legislation fixing hours of labor and fixing wages, except in the case of governmental employees or where health or morals were involved. They passed the same resolution in 1915. Now, what was the point of that? It was not that labor did not want shorter hours and did not want improved wages, but they recognized that in the long run it was better not to have those matters fixed by legislation. I am not speaking now of the validity of this bill; I am not speaking of its effectiveness. Those are questions of law. I am talking of the policy of the bill. Labor has stood for collective bargaining; that has been its principle. Labor has stood for arbitration; that has been its principle. There was a time, not so long distant, when labor did not get the hearing it thought it was entitled to when it asked for arbitration of great disputes that affected society. We had, in 1898, an act passed providing for a method of conciliation in connection with disputes affecting interstate commerce, that was re-enacted with some amendments in 1913, indicating the policy of the country.

Why We Are Great.

"The old theory of our government is that we have organized public opinion; and that we have schools and newspapers and every chance for public information and of public discussion. The idea is that while we think differently, we have the freedom of controversy; while we have many points of view and a variety of interest, we have a way of threshing out our difficulties in open discussion and following the processes of reason. That is the way we have won in the past against every form of tyranny and every form of force. Every step of progress has been through the rescuing of a people from treason by those who would not permit treason to rule. Every vantage ground we got with pride in these days has been for an opportunity to take counsel and enforce a reasonable judgment. We have fought for it in the past and it was a plain people who rebelled against it. It was the plain people who finally became victorious over every form of tyranny and established this free country where we can reason things out.

Will Solve Our Problems.

"I know the problems that will press upon us. I can see the social difficulties confronting us. I can see the great ambitions and aspirations that move us. I know the difficulties in our path in these years of the Twentieth century, but America can solve them. We have the fullness of vision and we have the determination to solve them and advance progressively if we hold to the path of reason, and say now for all time, in rebuking this administration for this act, that in this country force shall never prevail." (Great applause.)

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