HUGHES LANDS HARD ON WILSON SHAMS

Trade Commission Law Mud dles Instead of Clarifying Situation.

FUTURE FOR AMERICANS

(Continued from Page One.)

le, it is now said in substance that ample, it is now said in substance ter-if I am elected to the position of ex-ecutive responsibility for which I have been nominated, that it will result in installing invisible government. What reposterous suggestion!

No Invisible Government.

"I came into public life long before this administration was thought of as 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 in-visible government that, not accord-ing to my liking, indeed, against my desire, I was nominated for the presi-dency of the United States. (Ap-plause.) I know that we are in con-stant 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.

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 said that the present administration has been in large measure an admin-istration 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.

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 peace-ful settlement of controversies, and if there is anything that I represent, it is the idea that controversies, how-ever sharp and determined, can be it is the idea that controversies, how-ever sharp and determined, can be satisfactorily disposed of, provided there are adequate tribunals, and op-portunities 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 plung-ing 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 mo-ment that any astron division

law? (Applause.) "Does anyone suppose for a mo-ment that any nation desires our emnity? We desire the friendship of every nation. We wish to live in aminy with all, and to pursue our ideals, which can be attained only through the activities of peace. We are a great peaceful people, fortu-not strife. We have no desire for do-minon beyond our borders. We have no desire for territory that we do not posses. We do not seek by aggres-sion anything to which we are not en-titled. 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 for-teited by standing for its rights. We stand in self respect before the world, mintaining our prestige, demanding only that to which we are known to be entitled, ready for any cmergency, at you may be sure that our just rights will be acknowledged by every sation. (Applause.) Mexico and "Peace." es anyone suppose for a mo-

be applied in Latin-America and in Mexico and throughout the world if we are to have lasting peace and accurity. (Applause.) They are, first, that we do not meddle with matters which do not concern us, and, second, that we not only say, but that in fact we do respect the rights of other states, small as well as great; and finally that it must be known in this hemisphere and throughout the world that American lives and American property and American commerce will be asfeguarded. (Applause.) There are some, when that assertion is made, who think that it means war. It does mean the asarction of peace. What it does mean is this: You have in organized society, the sanction of force behind your courts, behind all your peaceful instrumen-talities. You do not have to induge in riots and bloodshed to carry out the decrees of your courts, because, behind all that is done through the peaceful activities of free institutions, you have the sanction of the force of organized society. And in our inter-national relations, if we are to invite respect, we must respect ourselves. If we are to have the esteem of other national relations, is the are to invite respect, we must respect ourselves. If we are to have the state of other nation all that is done through the ve understand its dignity and are pre-national relations, if we are to invite respect, we must show that we under-stand our rights and respect them, if your citizenship is to have its dig-nity maintained, we must show that we understand its dignity and are pre-make we understand ourselves, and make our convictions known and stand before the world prepared, is maintained, secure. (Applause.) In the Matter of Business. "And then it is said by way of instration that in that unfortunate pantry to the south of us may be und the policy of peace. If that not a most extraordinary asser-on. I have never heard of one, for policy there taken is worthy of llustra 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 inter-meddled with affairs which did not In the Matter of Busin "Now, then, I turn from consider-ations of this character. I meet with the suggestion that the present ad-ministration has done a great deal for business. It is as and-1 believe it poncy which would not have inter-meddled with affairs which did 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 recog-nized if the administration thought his government was a stable govern-ment, and could perform its obliga-tions. If the administration did not think his government was of that character, it was not under obliga-tions 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 States was the executive entrusted with the broad power to launch this nation into war, not for the purpose of withholding recognition, but of de-stroying the only government that Mexico had: (Applause.) That was not a policy of peace, and the con-trary 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 core were slain of our own soldiers. That was not to enforce American this; that was not to maintain the The many constraints of the second provide the second product of this constraints of the distinct, and as in the second product of this second product of this second product of the second product at was not to enforce American hts; that was not to maintain the mity and honor of this nation. As subsequently confessed by a ber of the cabinet, and as the d plainly shows, it had but one the elimination of the disliked of the only existing govern-that country. That was a war, not a policy of peace. c) That led to Carrizal, another instance of war; ve recently had upon our entire Guard assembled ion stated on official be a con

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 foreignbuilt 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 es-teem, 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 de-bate on that question that time has passed. If there ever was a chance for a doctrinary 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.

or 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 enjoy-ment; in short, a better rounded life, which tends to contentment.

Who Pays the Bill?

ping bill. Now, that is the kind of

You will find that rates must be raised in order to pay expenses if expenses are in-creased. 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 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 you, and every man in the country. That is to say, the great consuming public of which the workingmen 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."

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 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 protec-tive 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 pro-tective principle. (Applause.) tective principle. (Applause.)

"Now, we must not conserve our in-dustries 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 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 prosper-ity. (Applause.) And, so I desire that in connection with all these matters we recognize the interests of labor. I desire to see proper, reasonable we recognize the interests of labor. I desire to see proper, reasonable hours of work, wholesome conditions of labor, the best wages that industry can afford. And I desire to see peo-ple engaged in the peaceful pursuits prospering according to the American method of free institutions.

Stands for Shorter Workday.

"Let me say a word with regard to the bill that was passed in con-gress the other day. I thought a few minutes ago I heard a whisper about the bill from the gallery. I may have misunderstood it, but I do not intend to let any views I have regarding that isil to be stated at this time (An. fail to be stated at this time. (Ap

"Now, I believe in the general prin-ciple of an eight-hour workday. (Ap-plause.) 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 eluca-tion, opportunities for enjoyment; in short, a better rounded life, which tends to contentment. The principle involved is this: That through a re-striction of hours of labor there will be added health, greater happiness "Now, I believe in the general prin

involved is this: That through a re-striction of hours of labor there will be added health, greater happiness, and a greater efficiency in labor it-self. Now, whether you apply that principle at a particular time to a par-ticular activity or industry, depends as a matter of common-sense upon the condition of that activity, and what it can fairly bear. Of course, as I said a moment ago, the first thing for labor is work; there is no use talking to a man who cannot get work about wholesome conditions of work and good hours of work and of the things desirably incident to work, if work cannot be had. And I may digress to say that under the policy of our opponents here, less than two years ago we had the unemployed walking the streets of all our great cities, looking for work, and it would have been perfectly idle to discuss with them the conditions of employ-ment when the very foundation of everything is employment itself. So, I want recomerity as a basis for soeverything is employment itself. So everything is employment itself. So, I want prosperity as a basis for so-cial justice. But I do not intend to stop when I get that foundation laid. I want to see, as I say, the principle recognized, where it is fair to recog-nize it. And, whether or not it is practicable at a given time to apply the principle depends on the con-ditions of the industry at that time.

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 day's pay. If he made his 100 miles in twelve hours, he got his day's pay and two hours?

ing a wage scale. Now, if that was a right thing to do, let it stand on its merits. I do not oppose an im-crease of wages, if it is a fair thing and shown to be a fair thing after a proper inquiry. But when we deal with increases of wages for a select group, amounting to millions of dol-lars, we must understand what the effect? effect?

Who Pays the Freight?

American recertation of Labor passes a resolution putting itself on record labor and lixing wages, except in the case of governmental employes 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 mate there here and did not

want shorter hours and did not want improved wages, but they recognized that in the long run it was better not

this. I say it is un-American, abso-lutely without justification, ever to surrender either executive power or

Why We Are Great.

is that we have organized

"The old theory of our government

cussion. The idea is that while we

Will Solve Our Problems.

"Why, the effect, when you raise the expenses of railroad companies by millions of dollars is that some-body pays those millions. If you think the railroads are not thinking to have those matters fixed by legto have those matters fixed by leg-islation. 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 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 chieve may the rates? ed. And, now Well, you say rates. Well, if 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 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 great disputes that affected society. We had, in 1898, an act passed pro-viding for a method of conciliation 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. in connection with disputes affecting 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 the retailer, my friends, passes it in the state to you, and you, and you, interstate commerce, that was reright along to you, and you, and you, and every man in the country. That is to say, the great consuming pubis to say, the great consuming pub-lic of which the workingmen them-selves constitute the large majority

legislative power to the demands of force of either labor or capital. and that is where you come again to greet our dear old bosom com-panion, whom we cannot lose, 'The High Cost of Living.' (Continued (Applause.)

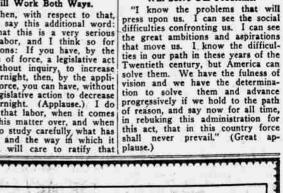
High Cost of Living.' (Continued applause.) "So, my point is this, that this is not a matter when you are dealing with the expenses of railroad com-paies, to toss off in a playful way and dispose of as though it were not a serious problem. Someone told me today that it seemed that the motto of the administration was, 'A problem avoided is a problem solved.' (Applause.) "If this is right, then it will bear investigation; but, we ought not to opinion; and that we have schools and newspapers and every chance for public information and of public disthink differently, we have the free-dom of controversy; while we have many points of view and varieties of interest, we have a way of threshing out our difficulties in open discussion and following the processes of rea-son. That is the way we have won

"If this is right, then it will bear investigation; but, we ought not to have legislation on any subject with-out inquiry. We ought not to have, least of all, legislation with regard to a matter affecting the transporta-tion systems of our country without inquiry and knowing that what is done is fair. If there is an industrial reinverse between a statement of the systems son. Inat 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 per-mit treason to rule. Every vantage ercound was get with pride in these ground we got with pride in these days has been for an opportunity to take counsel and enforce a reasongrievance, 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 able judgment. We have fought force

ir the past and it was a plain people who rebelled against it. It was the plain people who finally became vicir the it does not like it, whatever rates are fair. The public has got to bear whatever increases are fair; but, be torious over every form of tyranny and e tablished this free country where we can reason things out. sure you know what you are doing be

fore you legislate wage increases overnight. (Applause.) It Will Work Both Ways.

"Now, then, with respect to that, 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 application of force, a legislative act thes in or passed without inquiry, to increase solve the cation of force, you can have, without inquiry, legislative action to decrease 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 plause.)



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non of the government into the sup-ping business, while I admit that the terms of the act are of such a char-acter 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, nos, an aid to business, but a very unwise governmental policy.

very unwise governmental policy. "If we desire, however, to ascertain what is the real attitude of the ad-ministration to business, we have lit-tle difficulty in ascertaining the fact. "We saw at the very outset of the 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 tre-mendous 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 our other labor in this country. made his 100 miles in twelve 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 make in a labor. Men were left to "We saw at the very outset of the administration a great opportunity for this nation to participate—I mean for certain bankers who had taken up the work really, I believe, at the sug-gestion of former administrations—to be the same which had taken which participate in the great loans which were to be made for the development of China. Here was a legitimeter with our other labor in this country We have had, through this abnor 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 division points and tours of duty. There was no no-tion of revolutionizing the practical business of railroading; there was no notion of putting in an eight-hour work-day. The men particularly rep-resented in this bill never desired any-thing of that sort. Sometimes hasty legislation has extraordinary sur-prises as a result; for now, some of our friends do not quite know whether if they complete their 100 with i lass they ainthe hours they employment on an unprecedente scale, the purchasing power developed of China. Here was a legitimate basis for the extension of American enterdesired that we should have Ameri-can enterprise expanded throughout the world, and that we should have and happy, just because they are un-the world, and that we should have our just influence in the Far East, stimulant, the withdrawal of which in this country, by which all of ou trade has been stimulated, and mer there was an opportunity for a proper basis for it. Instead of that, it was discouraged, and the result was that the participation was not taken adwill bring them down to the actual conditions of normal life in times of peace. (Applause.) What the Future Holds. "It is a very serious situation to consider. We shall have, as 1 say, labor to compete with labor. We shall have reduced purchasing power, and on top of that, we shall have the product of Europe at peace, dis-ciplined and strong in production. competing with our own products in our own markets. We have stores of gold accumulated here, as a result of the present condition. War factories on the other side can be easily con-verted, and are made so that they can be converted, into peace factories Those nations, every one of them, are stronger economically because of the discipline that they have undergone, and because of the knowledge that they have acquired. They are ex-traordinary in organization. They are already planning for the future. We do not seem to be planning much for What the Future Holds. No Protection for Americans. prises 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. (Ap-plause and laughter.) But, the point is this, what was done was 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. 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 justifithey have acquired. I ney are ex-traordinary in organization. They are already planning for the future. We do not seem to be planning much for the future. They are planning for the future. After the cessation of the war, If, on its merits, it was not justifi-able, then it was inexcusable to try and bolster it up by talking about it as an eight-hour work-day measure. there is not the slightest doubt that they are looking to the American markets. Now, what must we do? Well, it is perfectly plain that we can-

aid to business which it does not seem to me business can afford to have. "But, when we consider the rela-tion of the administration to business. 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 ship-ping business, while I admit that the

carry American trade to the four cor ners of the globe. (Applause.)

In a Fool's Paradise.

we have a far more important matter under review, and that is in con-nection with our domestic activities. No thoughtful student of our affairs No thoughting student of our artains can fail to look with apprehension on our present condition? American trade is under a stimulant. We are drugged by the demand created by the Euro-pean war. We are living in a fool's paradise, entertaining hopes that are destined to be blasted. We have got labor abundantly employed in satisfy-ing wants created by war, 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 industrial plants, by the million, they have been set to fighting, and con-suming, instead of producing. The re-sult 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 a munificant of the sour That is can fail to look with apprehension on our present condition. What is our

the suggestion that the preach ad-ministration has done a great deal for business. It is said-I believe it was said in this city-that it had un-shackled busness. Well, when I in-guire how this has been accomplished I am referred to the anti-trust act. It is said that business was heavy with uncertainty, because of the lack of clear definition of the wrongs described in the anti-trust act, and that this administration had come to the relief of business, and had se-cured adequate definition of evil. "I know something of the statutes, and I think I know what they de-clare and what they mean, or at least what it can be said they do not accomplish, and I am free to say that I am amazed at any such claims as there has been put forward. There has been no clarification of the anti-trust act. There has been no defini-tion of the offenses described by the anti-trust act. What has been done is the addition of a phrase to the law, the content of which no lawyer knows. (Applause.) I refer to the phrase "unfair competition," which has been introduced into the law through the Federal Trade commis-tion bill, a term of unknown pur-port. When statutes are used they are supposed to be used in connec-tion with the meaning they have ac-quired, and so the ancient meaning of words referred to has a sort of index to the meaning they have action with the meaning the statute. "Ample remedies exist for that. vantage of.

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 dis-tinguished supporters of the admini-stration for the conclusion that is to he stated. I refer to Dr. Eliot, for-mer president of Harvard, a man whom I hold in the very highest eateem. He examined the record of the administration, and he 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; and yet it was only four years ago that our op-ponents wrote large in their platform, that the constitutional rights of American citizens should go with them throughout the world, and that they should have full protection wherevet they were lawfully, for their lives and their property. (Applause.) The result is that, according to the analysis made of the record of the ad-

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