

# WHY HUGHES SHOULD BE ELECTED

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**H**E HAS "the habit of straightforward thinking, which means that his words will be correlated with his deeds and translated into facts——"

Here, in a score of words, Colonel Roosevelt stated the essential qualities which absolutely differentiate Charles E. Hughes from Woodrow Wilson—the qualities which make him fit to act as Chief Executive of the Nation. This country needs straightforward thinking in the days that are to come; we need a policy which can direct us at home and abroad—a policy which will be founded upon something more than the whim or the political expediency of the moment; and above all we need a policy which will be correlated with facts as they exist.

In any discussion of our politics it is necessary first to grasp certain fundamentals, which rest on no partisan basis and without which an intelligent comprehension of our affairs is impossible. These fundamentals are denied by William Jennings Bryan, Senator Stone, Representative Kitchin and certain other party leaders and committee chairmen of Democratic persuasion, but elsewhere have support which ranges from verbal assent to the most profound conviction.

Here are the fundamentals.

*The United States is a world power and must be administered as such; we have escaped the entangling alliances of which Washington spoke, but we have the entanglements without the alliances; being a world power, it is impossible to administer national affairs in a small town way, and we cannot escape our duties and obligations by declaring that they do not exist.*

Our nation lacks the racial solidarity and nationality which are essential to the best progress.

We have expanded our production beyond the normal buying power of our own people; and we must sell abroad to maintain prosperity at home. We must be nationally efficient or we cannot sell.

*In the present state of world civilization we cannot be safe without the instrumentalities and personnel for military and naval defense.*

*As a complement to our foreign trade we need an overseas merchant marine to carry our products.*

Business should be constructively regulated and working conditions and wages made fair both to employer and employee.

*A citizen venturing beyond the boundaries of the United States does not, by the very act, convict himself of moral turpitude.*

These general principles were not accepted by President Wilson at the beginning of his administration, but he now gives at least a verbal acquiescence to all. They have also been accepted in the Democratic platform, and the Democrats, with the exception of the leaders noted, give them lip service.

When we leave the simple statement of these postulates we find the two parties and the two candidates following diverging paths. The Republican Party offers definite remedies. The Democratic Party offers grounds for discussion.

#### THE FUTURE OF THE COUNTRY

What is the task ahead of the country? *We are now prosperous, and we are rapidly becoming the world's storehouse of gold because we are working for the world that is in arms.* It does not require an astute political economist to trace our present prosperity to the war-time needs of the belligerent nations. It was their urgent demand for munitions and for foodstuffs that, dropped like a stone into our economic pond, sent the ripples of prosperity into every quarter. The foreign nations have not now goods to sell us or cannot send them over—the selling is all in one direction—

and hence we find *our industries protected in spite of the Underwood tariff.*

This prosperity has not come upon us as the legitimate result of sound and efficient national policies, but it is solely transient, and, while temporarily valuable, can only be retained by making ourselves fit to compete with the world when the war ends. *We know from the past that the terrible ordeal of a great war does not, as might be expected, leave the warring nations prostrate. Rather they go forward mightily in the energy of desperation.* As Justice Hughes said on January 14, 1916, before the New York State Bar Association: "We are living at a time when men and women in a large part of the world are undergoing a discipline unrivaled in its severity and are exhibiting a heroism that has never been surpassed. Let it not be supposed that those who survive will lack the strength which such sacrifice and such discipline must give. Let us not content ourselves with the comfortable thought of hardships we have escaped, but rather reflect upon the vigor, self-discipline and patriotic ardor, which alone can make us worthy of opportunity or able to use it."

#### THE FIGHT FOR TRADE

*It will be necessary for us to fight in the world of trade.* We must be prepared for peace, and to be so prepared we must safeguard our great home markets and extend a normal competitive trade into foreign markets—we shall not get the foreign markets by default. To further these ends, we must co-ordinate government and industry upon a basis that will beget the highest efficiency in each, and we must also hold to a firm and well considered foreign policy that will strengthen both our commercial and political foreign relations.

*Our foreign policy, in the days to come, will have a more vital and intimate meaning to the citizens of this country than ever before. Our great store of gold will be viewed with envious eyes by our great trade rivals—England and Germany; they will wage a commercial war beside which the military battles of to-day will be insignificant in strategy and*

in mass. And if we are to be properly prepared for peace we must also be prepared for war; we must be in the position to command respect throughout the world; not the fear of the bully, but the respect which is tendered to the firm, soft-spoken man who is known to be thoroughly capable of going through with whatever he undertakes. This means that we need a navy of sufficient size to be a real first line of defense and an army organization which can quickly take the field to meet an invader on at least equal terms. *And this army and navy must exist in blood and iron and not in the portfolio of the politician.*

#### AMERICA FIRST

*The war abroad has taught us that our population is not united and that it does not always consider "America first." Some of the representatives of each of the belligerent countries, whom we thought were component parts of our own system, have demonstrated that they think more of their native than they do of their adopted land. And we have also discovered that a considerable portion of our immigrants come to live among us but not of us. This condition is not the fault of the newcomers, but of ourselves, and we can meet the situation only by helping them to become real citizens of our great nation; we do not help them by epithets.*

Throughout our whole business and political organization is a great waste which must be eliminated if we are to hold the position which we now have, to say nothing of going forward to a more commanding position. Neither labor nor capital are in mutual adjustment; both are dissatisfied. Probably both would be satisfied if the present waste could be turned into profit. A more intense nationalization is imperative.

These are the big questions that are before us for solution; I have merely indicated their fundamental scope and have not gone into their infinite detail. But it will be noticed that they are all national questions—they have to do with the whole body of the nation in its internal and external relations.

Are national questions best answered by a party section

or a nation? By words that are only words or by words that connote deeds?

The normal Democratic Party derives the bulk of its support from the South, Tammany Hall and the city of Boston. The principles of the party are free trade and state's rights, which found their genesis in the South. Tammany and Boston tagged on because of local conditions and not because they were ever in harmony with the creed. These men are constitutionally incapable of national vision; they are either patriarchs or demagogues in their communities—sometimes a little of both.

Southern pork has been included in every administrative measure of importance—the government nitrate plant to be located in the South, the uplift of certain useless Southern navy yards, the militia bill to favor certain friends of Chairman Hay and to pay a stipend to impecunious voters, the twisting of the Federal Reserve Act to serve Democratic communities. A careful examination of all the bills upon which the Administration prides itself will show that the bills were only passed after the interests of the South had been well provided for. The national viewpoint is absent; the Democratic Congressmen see the United States as a collection of States and as nothing more. It is a matter of supreme indifference to them when a citizen of the United States is murdered beyond our borders; *in almost every debate on foreign affairs* contained in the Congressional Record *you will find Democrats interpolating remarks to the effect that our citizens have no business in foreign countries.* Because these men do not conceive of a nation they cannot understand national measures.

A party of this limited intelligence is scarcely a party to trust with the affairs of a great nation at a time when broad constructive intelligence is so important. But the Democratic Party, as a party, has been in restraint during these majority years. They have altered measures. They have been rambunctious one day and sullen the next, but, in the main, they have permitted President Wilson to manage them—they have learned, though not very graciously, to

jump when he cracks the whip and not to reason why. Occasionally they must be fed to keep them in even moderately tractable humor.

Therefore the Democratic Administration stands or falls on the record of President Wilson and his direct appointees. Has that record been such as to warrant his return for another four years?

President Wilson's record has been extensively reviewed by the Republican candidate. I do not wonder that the Democrats protest loudly that this record should not be critically examined.

First, look at the men whom President Wilson picked as his advisers! There is William Jennings Bryan, who could not stand the pace; it is not necessary to comment upon his statesmanly abilities. We still have Josephus Daniels; would it not be sheer waste of public funds to build a great navy under his guidance? The only man of real ability in the whole cabinet—Lindley M. Garrison—resigned because he would not learn the administration trick of doing and not doing at the same moment.

#### FOREIGN POLICY

Has President Wilson had a foreign policy either across the Atlantic or below the Rio Grande? He has either had all possible policies or none. I can only compare his foreign policy to a shifty weather vane which registers all zephyrs and yields to every gust of the wind.

We know what has happened in Mexico. We know how hopelessly our relations with all the European belligerents have been muddled in spite of a long series of miasmatic "diplomatic victories." *We have seen the destruction of the belief that an American citizen is entitled to the protection of his country wherever he may be.*

*The President has asserted his abhorrence of "dollar diplomacy"; he has termed the men who go abroad to make their fortunes "adventurers" and "exploiters." He killed a participation in a loan which would increase our markets*

*in China. And he also counsels the expansion of our merchants into the foreign trade!*

The other day the Chairman of the Democratic National Committee proudly published a list of the important progressive measures passed by the Administration. There were twenty in the list; an examination disclosed that eight of them had been signed by President Taft. The Federal Reserve Act was a direct result of the investigations of the previous Republican Administration and was the Republican act, somewhat shorn and twisted to meet the strong sectional objections of the Democratic members.

What has the Republican candidate to offer? Possibly my comment on the Democratic record has been destructive; but it is necessary to clear a wilderness before going to the planting.

#### HUGHES' RECORD IN NEW YORK STATE

Take Charles E. Hughes, the man! He has seen the government from the point of the executive as Governor of the State of New York and from the judicial as a member of the highest court of the nation. And in both of these places he has always followed the course of well-informed, sound and fearless intelligence.

His record in New York State is recent enough to be familiar. It is a record of trustworthy common sense and remarkable progressiveness.

No sound idea of Mr. Hughes' administration in New York State can be gained merely from the direct primary fight, the insurance fight, the reorganization of the State administration and the achievement of adequate public service regulation. During his administration the field of social legislation was more thoroughly plowed than it had ever been in New York State, and perhaps in any State. In 1909, in his annual message, Hughes introduced a policy the influence of which has become nation-wide—workmen's compensation; a provision for an automatic compensation system to replace the fallacious "Employers' Liability" policy, which had gained a strong and dangerous hold on the industrial life of

this country. The Workmen's Compensation Act of 1910 gave this country its first draft, in tentative form, of a principle recognized and generally applied in nearly every other advanced industrial country years before. He greatly improved the system of factory inspection of the State by adding more and more expert inspectors to the work (1907). He definitely and wisely limited the hours of labor of women and children according to certain years and classes (1907). The application of the ten-hour law for street railways employees was also extended from cities of 100,000 population to cities of 50,000 and upwards, thus adding to New York, Buffalo, Rochester and Syracuse the cities of Albany, Troy, Utica, Schenectady and Yonkers (1907). An act—vigorously advocated by the railway brotherhoods—providing for payment of wages by steam railways twice a month instead of once a month (1908). An act for facilitating and specifying the means of the enforcement of sanitary provisions in factories (1908). A measure designating the number of occupations in which children under 16 may not be employed. And an amendment of the eight-hour law and the law concerning the employment of children in mercantile establishments, in order clearly to define their scope as originally intended (1909).

Mr. Hughes has many other distinctly social measures to his credit; but he showed himself equally courageous to combat false theories. An instance was his veto of the two-cent fare bill which was introduced into the legislature after the enforcement by the railroads of certain annoying requirements in the sale of mileage books. It made investigation impossible as to the fairness of a two-cent rate. The new Public Service Commission, his own creation, was to take office within three weeks and had the rate-making power. "Injustice on the part of railroad corporation toward the public," said Governor Hughes in his veto message, "does not justify injustice on the part of the State toward the railroad corporation. The action of the government should be fair and impartial, and upon this every citizen, whatever his interest, is entitled to insist. \* \* \* Where a matter requires investigation in order that a just result may be reached,

the obvious course is to create a body which can investigate with expert assistance as summarily as possible and which shall have adequate power to make appropriate orders. Such a body has been created in this State through the Public Service Commission law recently enacted."

Thus Governor Hughes, in marked contrast to the record of Mr. Wilson in his recent attempt to deal with railroads, refused to act precipitately without investigation. He thereby adhered strictly to the principle of arbitration through the instrument which he himself had provided. Is it possible to imagine Mr. Hughes as a vacillating president? Is it possible to imagine him as other than a strong man seeing clearly the main issue and going forward, in firm preparedness, to meet it? And are those not the qualities which we now so sorely need?

The question is often asked what would Mr. Hughes have done in the situations in which President Wilson from time to time found himself? I cannot answer such a question, for I cannot think of Mr. Hughes as getting himself into such diplomatic brambles as President Wilson continually stumbled into. The daily crisis with Germany, England, Austria or Mexico—to which we have become so accustomed during the last three years—is only the inevitable sequence to the abandonment of the national duty to protect American lives and property throughout all the world and on sea or land. Mr. Hughes would have neither abridged nor abandoned that duty.

It is not necessary here to argue the principle of protection; it has now been adopted by nearly all nations and the Democratic Party has adopted it in principle through the vain and shifty expedient of an "anti-dumping" act which is unworkable. Every attempt to destroy the principle of a protective tariff has brought disaster to our country.

But, over and above all, the united Republican Party is a truly national party. *It represents all sections of the land and they view the United States as a nation and not as a collection of States.* The importance of that attitude cannot be exaggerated.

# RAW LAND

KATE SMITH

## PART II

**J**UNE 20—This has been the first summery seeming day. The warmth of the sun drew a rattler from his hiding place to enjoy it at full length in the hot sand. Unfortunately, he chose to lie directly in the path down the hill that leads to the stage. I was escorting a friend, who was returning to civilization, when we came upon him. He never batted an eye as she walked in front of him, nor did she. But she did not see him. I was just behind her and stopped up suddenly at sight of his tail. It was beastly unfair of me. I picked up a large stone and landed it squarely upon his forequarters, having aimed at his death-dealing head. That is always the way. We go a thousand times near danger and danger lets us go unharmed. Then we hunt danger out, molest it, are hurt by it, and place it on a list of fearful things to be destroyed at sight. As with every one of his kind I have seen—and that is a good many—he at once gave a warning rattle, square beast that he is, and then started fast as he could away from his danger. Not till I pursued and hit him again did he turn and try to strike. I finished my cruel, but I thought necessary, work and left him in a twist against a giant sage where he had tried to hide. I marked the sage by tying my handkerchief to a flower stalk and went on to the stage, meaning to stop when I came back to be sure he was dead, not merely hurt. I met some men a few yards on and told them he was there for fear he just might crawl into their unseeing path. When I came back they had pulled him out of the sage and taken his rattles. Later I saw them going away again and they asked if I wished the trophy. Not I. They told me an excited tale of how he was not nearly dead and had struck at them repeatedly. I have my doubts as to his not being nearly dead, though his jaws probably did work on. They wanted an adventure to tell. I could