

## PRESIDENT WILSON'S RECORD FOR LABOR

Union Coal Miner in his Cabinet.	Boiler Inspection.
Labor Not a Commodity.	Government Armor and Nitrate Plants.
Anti-Injunction Provisions.	Alaska Railroad.
Trial by Jury in Contempt Cases.	Shipping Bill.
Labor Exemption from Trust Laws.	Seamen's Act.
Mediation and Conciliation Measures.	Tariff Exemption for Necessaries.
Eight-Hour Day.	Income Tax.
Anti-Stop-Watch Provisions.	Inheritance Tax.
Workmen's Compensation.	Munitions Tax.
Child Labor Law.	Rural Credits.
Bureau of Mines.	Federal Reserve Act.
	Larger Army and Navy.

WHAT IS **YOUR** RECORD, MR. HUGHES?

WHICH OF THE ABOVE  
WILL YOU REPEAL?



### RISE OF PROGRESSIVES

"You remember that four years ago there was a great body of spirited Republicans who said: 'This thing is becoming a fraud and a sham. We have been taking care of some people, but we have not been taking care of the great body of the people. We have not thought about their morals; we have not thought about their health; we have not thought about their rights as human beings and we insist that you put the policy of this party in our hands or we will go off and form a party of our own.'"

"And thereupon the great Progressive Party sprang up—great not because it turned out to be more numerous than the party from which it had seceded, though it did that, but because it had the real red blood of human sympathy in its veins and was ready to work for mankind and forget the interests of a narrow party."

"I want to pay my tribute of respect to the purposes and intentions of the men who formed that group in our politics. But the interesting thing is that, inasmuch as they did not get the opportunity, we took advantage of our opportunity to do the things that they wanted to do. And I want you young fellows to understand the reason for that."

"There are standpatters in the Democratic Party. There are men sitting down hard on the breeching strap. There are men who are trying to hold back and to serve what they believe to be conservatism, though it is really reaction. But the interesting thing about the Democratic Party is that those men are in a small minority in its ranks, whereas in the party of the opposition they are in a majority and are in control."

### OUTNUMBER EITHER PARTY

"The interesting thing for all politicians to remember is that the progressive voters of this country all put together outnumber either party. I venture to say they outnumber both parties put together. This country is progressive and if you youngsters are going to be in the running you will throw in your fortunes with the party of which the progressives have the control."

"I am a progressive. I do not spell it with a capital P, but I think my pace is just as fast as those who do. It does not interfere with the running and I am very much astonished to see the company that some gentlemen who spell their name with a capital are keeping."

"They are engaged in the interesting enterprise of trying to capture a party which is fortified against them and refusing to enter a party which is already captured by those who believe in their principles. The intellectual processes by which they arrive at their conclusions are entirely obscured to my intelligence."

"But you will notice that parties that merely want control do not have any principles. That is the reason why surprise that a programme has not been announced is unreasonable. Look over the ranks of the supporters of the Republican Party. Did you ever see a more motley company in your life? Did you ever see elements so absolutely contradictory of each other as the elements of that party? If they moved in any direction they would have to move in many directions; and if I am trying to get into power by the support of the people that do not agree with one another, it is very dangerous for me to profess my own opinion."



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### WANT POLITICS OF EUROPE

"Back of that party are those who want to inject into our politics the politics of Europe. But not all who have that purpose in mind are on the same side. Some want to inject those politics in order to move in one direction, and others want to inject them in order to move in exactly the opposite direction.

"In these circumstances, it is not wise to announce your direction. Some of them are Progressives or were and profess themselves dissatisfied with the present leadership and guidance of the party, and the others are so well satisfied with it that they are afraid that the entrance of this new element will disturb some of their favorite plans and so, looking at each other with suspicion, they have only one enthusiasm and that is the enthusiasm to 'get in.' I see in my mind's eye this great motley company enthusiastically united in a great drive for possession.

"Unfortunately, however, one thing has become reasonably clear, my fellow citizens, and it is a very serious thing indeed. One thing has become evident, not because it was explicitly stated, for nothing has been explicitly stated, but because it is unmistakably implicit in almost everything that has been said. Am I not right that we must draw the conclusion that, if the Republican Party is put into power at the next election, our foreign policy will be radically changed? I cannot draw any other inference.

"All our present foreign policy is wrong, they say, and if it is wrong and they are men of conscience, they must change it; and if they are going to change it in what direction are they going to change it?

"There is only one choice as against peace, and that is war. Some of the sup-

porters of that party, a very great body of the supporters of that party, outspokenly declare that they want war; so that the certain prospect of the success of the Republican Party is that we shall be drawn in one form or other into the embroilments of the European war, and that to the south of us the force of the United States will be used to produce in Mexico the kind of law and order which some American investors in Mexico consider most to their advantage.

### "INTERESTS" IN MEXICO

"I do not find that anybody else's counsel is taken in respect of the policy that this country should pursue with regard to Mexico except those who have hitherto acted as the counsellors for the vested interests in Mexico. The whole country is acquainted with the gentlemen who have been consulted. There is no concealment, even by themselves, whose attorneys they are. They have talked to me. I know exactly what they want. I have declined to give it to them, and now they are going where they think that they can get it. And there is every indication, on the surface at any rate, that their calculation is well founded.

"There is a more serious aspect even than that. There is an immediate result of this thing, my fellow-citizens. From this time until the 7th of November it is going to be practically impossible for the present Administration to handle any critical matter concerning our foreign relations, because all foreign statesmen are waiting to see which way the election goes; and in the meantime they know that settlements will be inconclusive.

"The conference which is being held with regard to Mexican affairs is embarrassed every day by the apparent evidence which



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is being produced that hostility to Mexico is being traded upon by one of the great political parties. These gentlemen may reconcile these influences with patriotic purpose, but it is difficult for all of us to do so. And the one thing I want to lay emphasis upon in this connection is this—that a great, fundamental, final choice with regard to our foreign relationships is to be made on the 7th of November. Some young men ought to be interested in that.

### MIGHT STRIVE FOR PEACE

"Some men who want to see the future cleared of the passion which governs the present ought to be interested in that. Men who love to see a great peaceful force expended by America for the service of the world ought to be interested in that.

"Singular, isn't it, that that should have been the only thing disclosed by the opposition. But I suspect that they are well enough content with many of the things that have been done in domestic legislation, provided they can get in and control them.

"Let me illustrate it. Take the Federal Revenue System, the great banking system by which the credits of this country hitherto locked up, the credits of the average man, have been released and put into action; the great system which has made it possible for us to absorb two thousand millions' worth of American securities held on the other side of the water which have been offered for sale, nearly, if not quite 50 per cent. of the whole body of the American securities held abroad, a thing that would have been impossible otherwise.

"You know that one of the many things that the Republicans promised and never did was to reform the currency system. They did what they have always done in

such circumstances. They had a thorough inquiry and report made without any purpose of following it up.

"The report was made after long and expensive inquiry and much interesting travel by a committee presided over by the late Senator Aldrich; and that report is a very valuable document. It is full of a great deal of useful information, along with a great deal of useless information. I dare say that in any report the useless predominates over the useful, but if you know what you are looking for, you can find it in that report.

### ALDRICH CURRENCY PLAN

"And when we came to do this thing that ought to have been done long ago but which because of a kind paralysis which cannot be called infantile, it was impossible for the Republican Party to do—I should call it a paralysis of the will—we found that we could take the skeleton of what we wanted to do from the Aldrich report, but that we could not take the heart out of it. We so absolutely altered the heart that Senator Aldrich himself denounced the thing that we produced.

"Now the heart of the Aldrich plan was a single central bank which was susceptible of being controlled by the very men who have always dictated the financial policy of the Republican Party, whereas the heart of our system is not a great central bank, but a body appointed by and responsible to the Government and, by the same token responsible to the people of the United States.

"The hand is the hand of Esau, but the heart is the heart of Jacob, and that heart is the heart of the Democratic Party, the



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control by representatives of the people of the things that concern the whole people.

"There was universal hostility among the bankers of this country—not unanimous, but universal—to the adoption of the present system, and all of that opposition had its impulse from that central group which knew that that was going to happen which did happen—that they were going to lose their grip on the Treasury of the United States.

"They are perfectly content, my fellow-citizens, to take over the Federal Trade Commission, providing they can select the Commissioners and suggest whom they shall consult. They are perfectly willing to have a tariff board. At least they were willing to have it before we created it, provided they can determine before hand what its conclusions are going to be by determining the quality and antecedents of the men who compose it. You can very easily determine beforehand what is going to happen.

"For example, if you want certain things to happen, select the most eminent—it may be the most honest—corporation lawyer in the country and put him on the Supreme Court. His character is not going to fail you. He may have as good a character as any man who ever lived, but his training is going to determine everything that he sees. You do not have to do these things corruptly; you only have to do them astutely.

### WALL STREET IN TREASURY

"Similarly they would be perfectly content to control the board which is to govern the rural credit system. They would be perfectly willing to appoint the board that is to control the development of the merchant marine and the regulation of marine charges in the carriage of freight on the

high seas—perfectly willing. The only thing that makes them uneasy is that Democrats should be running these things.

"I am not saying this in jest. I am not saying it to make a point. I am saying it out of my personal experience. Until the present Administration, Wall Street controlled the actions of the Treasury of the United States. I do not like those words, 'Wall Street,' because there are some men in Wall Street who have visions. There are some men who see things large and see them true; there are some men with fine statesmanlike gifts, and I do not like to include them; but the main impulse in Wall Street is not given to it by them.

"Many of these gentlemen honestly believe that only they understand the interests of the country, and they were genuinely uneasy to see the Treasury conducted without their consent. Again and again I have received intimations from these quarters during the last three and a half years that they would very much like to be consulted, and I have invariably returned the same answer. I have said if these gentlemen have any advice to give I shall be most pleased to receive it. All they have to do is to ask to see me and tell me in the frankest way, like any other American citizen, what they think ought to be done. But they would not accept that kind of an invitation. They wanted to be sent for, and they wanted to be reasonably certain before they went that their advice would be taken. They did not want to come in on the same terms with other citizens of the United States offering their advice as to what ought to be done.

"It has been interesting and it has been very amusing that any set of men should think they knew what the interests of the country demanded and nobody else did. So that since they would not volunteer to come,



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we have made shift to conduct the Treasury of the United States without their assistance. And it must surprise them in their private thoughts to have to admit that it has been better conducted than ever before in our generation; more successfully as a business Administration, and infinitely more helpfully to the general body of the American people.

"Such assistance as the Treasury of the United States can legitimately extend in times of financial stress used always to be extended to Wall Street. Now it is extended to the country.

### BANKERS NEARER TO MASSES

"It was no doubt shocking to see the money deposited in the country banks and not in Wall Street, but the country banks knew how to use it and they were very much nearer the great masses of the people who need it than were the great depositaries of financial resources in New York.

"I would not have you consider me prejudiced against New York City. Why, gentlemen, the great City of New York is one of the most vital parts of the United States, but the City of New York does not consist of the gentlemen in Wall Street. And I would have you understand that I am very much prejudiced against them as they were against me. No, not prejudice, but aware.

"They have suffered another inconvenience. They used to be able to do a great deal in the way of legislation by means of a lobby, the people knew very little about, and the lobby, thank God, has disappeared.

"I do not mean the legitimate lobby, the lobby that will go to the hearings of committees and argue their case in public with the reporters present, but I mean the but-

tonhole lobby, I mean the lobby that uses influence and not argument, that uses inducement and not fact, that understands some special interests and does not give a cent for the general interest, that is the lobby I mean, and the little cowards scuttled the minute they were mentioned. I had only to say in a casual interview with the representatives of the press that there was such a lobby, when all at once the rats began to scuttle.

"So the instrumentalities of control have been destroyed, and the object of the present campaign on one side is to rehabilitate them.

### GOOD OLD DAYS OF HANNA

"Why do I say that? Because I see? Not more than you do. You see who are controlling the present campaign on the Republican side. There is no concealment about that. Two years ago the Republicans fancied that there was a reaction against the Democratic Party, because it had been going some I admit. And so in the campaign for the Congressional elections two years ago some of their most distinguished leaders spoke very indiscreetly. They said that what this country needed was a business administration, which from one point of view we might have concurred in if they had not added to this definition that what the country wanted was to return to the 'good old days of Mark Hanna.'

"Further definition was unnecessary. The good old days of Mark Hanna. No thoughtful man in this country would propose that we should return to the methods of political control practised by Senator Hanna. It happened that at that time a very lovely, trustworthy gentleman was President of the United States. I mean Mr. William



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McKinley. He had no part discreditable to himself, so far as I know, in the political arrangements and the expenditure of unlimited money in campaigns for which Senator Hanna was responsible.

"But now, you will notice, we have returned to the good old days of Mark Hanna in the Republican Party. Some of the very gentlemen who were prominent in that odious regime are now at the head of affairs in the management of the Republican campaign. The lieutenants of Mark Hanna have returned to authority, and the lieutenants of Mark Hanna represent the choices, the determinations and, so much as we can conjecture, the policy of the Republican Party.

"What they want to do is to get control and then determine the policy in private conference. We are not going to be taken into their confidence. It would not be wise for them to take us into their confidence. They want to control, possess. Those are the magic words for them. They do not think we have sense enough. They do not think a great body of free people know how to hang together in its own cause and that a little body of men that always hangs together can in the long run manage the people, and it is up to us to shew them that that is impossible.

"Henceforth, understand that, so far as I am concerned, I will excuse these gentlemen from answering questions, because I know they cannot answer them; that if they answered them they would lose half of their following on any particular subject and the confidence of the people of the United States altogether; therefore I, for my part, do not intend to ask them any questions. I have other uses for my mind, because I am on to the game already.

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### A CHALLENGE TO ALL

What it is our imperative duty to do, my fellow-citizens, is to make everybody we know understand what the Democratic Party stands for and what it intends to do. It has begun a great process of liberalization for the business of this country and it intends to strengthen that system at every point, extend it wherever it needs extension, strengthen and fortify it against all attacks, and once for all make good the domination of the American people in their own affairs.

"On that programme we are challengers to all comers. We have shown our hand. It cannot be doubted. All you have got to do, if you want to know the lines of the future policy of the Democratic Party, is to extend the lines of the past policies of the Democratic Party, and you have an absolute standard. You know which way we are going. The question is, do you want to head us off? And it is for the young men of the country in particular to answer.

"I do not know, for my part, how the spirit of a nation gets into one generation after another, but I do know by long contact with young men that the spirit of a nation is perhaps more intense in the generations coming on than in the more sophisticated generations that have become deeply immersed in particular lines of business.

"The point of view of the young man is of the horizons. He looks abroad upon a wide world, because he is choosing his path. He looks curiously upon many of the aspects of human affairs, because he hopes and intends to play a part of importance in some of them.

"And so the young men have the impulse, the momentum, the whole vision of the

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people more intensely in them than older men who have grown a little tired, some of them grown a little pessimistic, some of them grown a little discouraged, some of them having had many hard knocks and suffered many disappointments, but who yet, nevertheless, with stubborn courage and steadfast strength are themselves struggling toward the light.

"And they are calling to the young: 'Come, recruit our ranks. Some of us are falling by the way. We need your force. We need your hope. We need your courage. We need your capacity to get together and stay together and follow lead. Come, strengthen the great arm of men who have their eyes lifted to the horizons where shines the light of peace for men of every nation and of every generation, where rests the reassurance of the world's peace and of the world's happiness.'"



*The* RECORD  
of  
ACHIEVEMENT



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*Constructive Action Must Be Weighed Against  
Destructive Comment and Reaction.*

*Woodrow Wilson*





### 16 YEARS OF INCOMPETENCE

**DURING** sixteen years of uninterrupted control of Congress and the Presidency, the Republicans **FAILED**—

**TO** prepare the nation for defense.

**TO** reform a currency system that caused panic after panic and placed the power over the financial affairs of the nation in the hands of a few Wall Street millionaires.

**TO** enact an income tax law.

**TO** enforce the anti-trust laws effectively.

**TO** strike by new legislation, as has been done by the Clayton act, at interlocking directorates, holding companies and other trust abuses not covered by the Sherman Act.

**TO** adopt and apply an effective conservation policy.

**TO** eliminate graft, special privilege, and monopoly-giving duties from the tariff law.

**TO** root out the old system by which the Bosses and the Lobby ruled the House and Senate.

**TO** grant labor its just due as provided in the "Magna Charta" and many other progressive labor laws enacted by the Democrats.

**TO** enact a Rural Credits Law and to encourage agricultural development by such enactments as the Good Roads Act, the Agricultural Extension Act, the Cotton Futures Act, the Grain Grades and Warehouse Act, which have recently become law under Woodrow Wilson.

**ETC., etc., etc. ! ! !**

### "DEEDS NOT WORDS"

**Story of Accomplishment Under Woodrow Wilson  
Without Equal in Nation's Entire History**

**T**HIS is the summary of results wrought by masterly leadership of the Democratic Party.

It is the plain review of fact which demonstrates that not since the first years of the Republic when everything was to be done, has so much of real public moment been done during a single Administration.

It is the condensed story of domestic regeneration, material and moral; of peace and clean prosperity; of high honor for his country won by Woodrow Wilson.

It bulletins victory won again and again for popular, progressive measures and policies in the face of the forces of organized selfishness and reaction, now aligned solidly with the Republican Party and behind the candidacy of Charles Evans Hughes.

The Record of Achievement proves the Democratic Party the greatest agency of political reform and progress entrusted with National power in generations.

It also proves the Republican Party incompetent and criminally negligent because, during sixteen consecutive years, the Republican Party had full opportunity to enact the long bill of popular rights made operative under Woodrow Wilson in little more than three years—and not only failed but refused to do so.

*Mr. Hughes, would you have protested against the violation of Belgian neutrality and have backed the protest by plunging America into the European carnival of slaughter?*



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## The Record of Achievement

1. **PEACE**—Maintaining National honor and dignity throughout, President Wilson has kept America at peace, safe in the midst of a "world on fire," and free to serve both the welfare of her own people and the broad cause of all humanity. This is the chief cause of the general prosperity in the United States today.
2. **AMERICANISM**—President Wilson's doctrine of "America First," announced immediately at the beginning of hostilities abroad, has proven to be a virile doctrine of devotion to his country's right and best interests, in the face of constant attack both at home and from abroad. There has not been the slightest modification of this policy by President Wilson since the European War began.
3. **PROSPERITY**—Free of the horrors of war, enjoying the blessings of peace, aided by the constructive legislation and administrative enterprise of the Wilson Administration, the country has entered upon an era of prosperity hitherto unequalled in this or any other land. This prosperity is only in a small part due to the traffic in war munitions, the latter having amounted to only two-thirds of one per cent. of the total industrial production of the United States since the European War began.
4. **PREPAREDNESS**—As insurance against war and its enormous losses in blood and property, a program for immediate expansion of the army, navy and coast defenses of the United States, has been adopted by Congress in response to recommendation by President Wilson. Thus Preparedness is no longer agitation but fact. The peace strength of the regular army has been increased from 100,000 to 216,000 men; and a three-year building program has been adopted for the navy, which calls for the construction of 10 super-dreadnoughts, 6 battle cruisers, 10 scout cruisers and 50 torpedo boat destroyers, and 67 submarines. The total preparedness appropriation for the current fiscal year approximates \$650,000,000.
5. **EUROPEAN WAR**—With skill, address and courage that has won the world's admiration, President Wilson has forced the belligerents of Europe to respect the rights of Americans and all neutrals on the high seas and has secured recognition of the rights of neutrals as defined by international law. The President's success in forcing Germany to abandon submarine warfare upon merchant ships has been hailed by unprejudiced authorities the world over as the greatest diplomatic victory of history.

*Will you, Mr. Hughes, recommend, and will the Republican Party in Congress support a law establishing universal compulsory military service in the United States?*

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

6. **NEUTRALITY**—Following traditional American policy, the President has asserted and compelled with all the means in his power observance of the national and international duty of the United States to maintain absolute neutrality toward all the nations at war in Europe. Scorning threats against his political interests, he has bravely and relentlessly trodden down disloyal endeavors to swerve him from enforcing this policy.
7. **MONROE DOCTRINE AND PAN-AMERICAN AFFAIRS**—Firm maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine and a new policy of absolute fair dealing with all the Republics of the Western Hemisphere has substituted a feeling of trust and confidence among the Pan-American countries for the feeling of distrust and doubt that formerly prevailed. This has resulted in agreements assuring lasting friendship and already has led to large expansion of American trade in South and Central America.
8. **MEXICO**—The Administration has dealt with Mexico in the kindly spirit of tolerance and forbearance, engendered by the possession of superior power and a devotion to ideals of free government. Intent upon encouraging the development of constitutional government in Mexico and fostering the feeling of kinship which his entire Latin-American policy was building up among the Republics of this Hemisphere, the President has maintained the attitude of an indulgent friend toward the war-wracked Southern Republic, holding in reserve at all times the policy of physical force as an effective and decisive last resort.

THIS RECORD OF ACHIEVEMENT SHOWS THAT THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY UNDER WOODROW WILSON HAS MADE GOOD.

### WHY CHANGE?

AS EVERY INFORMED AMERICAN MUST HAVE OBSERVED, THE REPUBLICAN PARTY UNDER HUGHES IS SPLIT, WITH THE PARTY'S MACHINERY IN FULL CONTROL OF THE REACTIONARIES. THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IS UTTERLY INCAPABLE OF THE SUBSTANTIAL AGREEMENT IN ITS OWN COUNCILS WHICH IS ESSENTIAL TO CONSTRUCTIVE PERFORMANCE.

### AGAIN WHY CHANGE?

*Mr. Hughes, would you have tried the policy of diplomatic negotiation as a means of summoning the moral force of law and neutral opinion to stop Germany's illegal use of submarines?*



**9. PERSHING'S EXPEDITION**—When the raids of Villista bandits upon American soil at Columbus, New Mexico, and other border points, which were inspired by persons intent upon provoking American intervention, made it clear that the United States should take drastic measures to prevent their recurrence, the Administration despatched a powerful column of American soldiers into Mexico, under command of Brig. Gen. Pershing. Villa's bands were dispersed and the American troops have remained on Mexican soil to protect the border, pending an improvement in conditions which will insure against new outrages.

**10. CALLING OUT NATIONAL GUARD**—When a body of American troops were attacked by Mexicans at Carrizal, Mexico, in June, and 17 of their number were taken prisoners by the Carranzistas who claimed that the Americans had been the aggressors, the President at once sent an ultimatum to the de facto Government demanding their immediate release together with all equipments and properties of the United States taken with them. At the same time, the President mobilized the National Guard in order to be prepared to back up his ultimatum if drastic measures proved necessary. The prisoners were released and the American demands promptly complied with in every way.

**11. FOREIGN DIPLOMATIC RESPONSIBILITIES**—The war in Europe thrust upon the foreign services of the United States the duty of representing nearly all the warring countries throughout the civilized world, as well as in belligerent territory—a task of enormous proportions which has been performed so efficiently that the suffering of millions of war stricken people has been substantially alleviated. The diplomatic and consular services of the United States never before in the history of the country have been as efficiently administered. The consular service under Woodrow Wilson has been made an effective agency in procuring foreign trade for American exporters.

**12. SERVICE TO AMERICANS ABROAD**—Three hundred thousand Americans caught in Europe at the outbreak of the European war were afforded relief, protection and transportation home through the State Department and its Diplomatic and Consular representatives. The State, Treasury, War and Navy Departments cooperated in this work. The U. S. S. Tennessee was dispatched to Europe with \$1,500,000 gold

*Mr. Hughes, do you favor repeal of the Federal Reserve Act passed by a Democratic Congress, recommended and approved by President Wilson, under which the danger of financial panics is forever banished from the United States?*

on board belonging to the government, and \$3,000,000 gold forwarded by bankers to protect holders to their letters of credit. Thus countless Americans scattered through Europe were rescued from indescribable suffering and possible death by the United States Government under President Wilson.

**13. DANISH WEST INDIES**—By negotiating a treaty for the purchase of the Danish West Indies, the Wilson Administration succeeded after Republican Administrations had failed in accomplishing an important step for the protection of the Panama Canal and the Southern Atlantic coast from naval attack.

**14. PANAMA TOLLS REPEAL**—By firmly standing for strict observance of America's treaty obligations, President Wilson brought about repeal of the exemption clause of the Panama Canal Act. Under this exemption clause American coastwise shipping would have received a subsidy of \$2,000,000 a year, America's pledges in commercial treaties with foreign nations would have been broken. In the vote, 23 Republican Congressmen and in the Senate 13 Republican Senators voted to support Wilson's recommendation for repeal of the exemption clause.

**15. EUROPEAN WAR EMERGENCY LAWS AND AMENDMENT OF ALDRICH-VREELAND ACT**—Acting promptly and effectively, the President sponsored and Congress passed measures enabling American finance and commerce to meet the staggering blow to business dealt by the sudden outbreak of the European war. These measures included the amendment of the Aldrich-Vreeland Act making it a workable measure; the enactment ship registry measure; and the passage of the law creating a government bureau of war risk insurance as inherited from the last Republican Administration. The Aldrich-Vreeland Act contained so many restrictions and imposed such high taxes on special issues of circulating currency provided for in it that it was entirely useless. The changes made by the Democrats reduced the rate of taxation on and modified the conditions upon which this currency could be obtained. Thus the law became of practical use and tided over the crisis following the outbreak of the European War until the Federal Reserve Act became operative Nov. 16, 1914.

*Mr. Hughes, do you favor repeal of the Rural Credits Act, passed by a Democratic Congress, recommended and approved by President Wilson, which gives long-term credit at interest rates that promise an annual saving of \$150,000,000 to the farmers?*



**16. JAPANESE AFFAIRS**—Conspicuous success has crowned negotiations with Japan over the California Alien Land and Labor questions, so that now the most cordial and friendly relations exist between the United States and the chief power of the Orient. In these negotiations the policy of "diplomatic postponement" scored a conspicuous triumph. In the summer of 1914 Alfred H. Fried, the distinguished statesman and scholar, said: "The manner in which the United States delayed rushing into precipitate action in the California-Japanese controversy, the quarrel with Great Britain over the Panama Canal tolls, and the situation with Huerta is characteristic of the peace policy which America deliberately pursues."

**17. DOLLAR DIPLOMACY**—By placing the rights of nations above the dollar in determining foreign policy—by substituting for "dollar diplomacy," "decent diplomacy"—the divorcement of the Government from affiliations with special financial interests has been accomplished and the exploitation of the smaller Latin-American countries by private financial interests has ceased. At home, the Wilson Administration has served all the people. Abroad, it has served all the world.

**18. FOREIGN TRADE**—With the substantial aid of the Federal Reserve Act and other progressive legislation and the active and fruitful help of Government administrative agencies, the foreign trade of the United States has been developed to unprecedented volume. Active cooperation of the consular service, expansion of the bureau of foreign and domestic commerce of the Department of Commerce and intensive investigations made by the Federal Trade Commission, all have been potent factors in aiding American foreign trade.

To Candidate Hughes:—

It is arrant nonsense to talk about action that would have prevented the Lusitania tragedy. The vague advertisement did not appear until shortly before the hour of sailing. The occurrence was one of those things that civilization had made the world regard as incredible. The only honest question is this: Would you have made the disaster the subject of diplomatic negotiations or would you have broken relations with Germany at once?

*From list of ten questions addressed to Charles Evans Hughes August 1, 1916, by a Committee of thirty-six famous authors.*

**Mr. Hughes, do you favor repeal of the Clayton Anti-trust Act, passed by a Democratic Congress, recommended and approved by President Wilson, which overthrew the principle that the labor of a human being is a mere commodity of commerce?**

## CONSTRUCTIVE LEGISLATION

**19. CURRENCY REFORM**—By the enactment of the Federal Reserve Act, the industrial and commercial interests of the United States have been emancipated by Democratic agency from domination by special interests. The nation was freed from the danger of financial panics, and the foundation laid for the existing wonderful prosperity of the country. All other than such as are controlled by narrow, selfish partisan motives, praise the Federal Reserve Act as the greatest piece of constructive legislation enacted under any political party in the United States since the Civil War. The statement by Candidate Hughes that the Republicans are entitled to the credit for this great law because of investigations by and the recommendations of the National Monetary Commission under President Taft are absolutely refuted by the facts. The plan recommended by the National Monetary Commission, which was insisted upon by President Taft and the Old Guard Republicans then led by Senator Aldrich in the Senate, proposed a private Wall Street-controlled Central Bank. The Federal Reserve System provides 12 regional, government-controlled banks through which mastery of the Nation's currency and credit is wrested from Wall Street and distributed fairly throughout the country; this law was nipped in the House by 35 Republicans and 13 Progressives and in the Senate by 3 Republicans and 1 Progressive.

**20. RURAL CREDITS**—The passage last July of the Federal Farm Loan Act remedied an imperative need entirely ignored by the Republicans for years and assures adequate means of providing capital at fair rates of interest for the further development of the agricultural resources of the United States and promises an annual saving of interest and principal to farmers of \$150,000,000 a year. The Federal Farm Loan Act has become an important complement of the Federal Reserve Act and rescued rural borrowers from oppression by usurers. Rural interest rates have already decreased though the farm loan banks provided by the law are not yet in operation. In the House 101 Republicans and in the Senate 16 Republicans voted for this measure.

**Mr. Hughes, do you advocate repeal of the Federal Trade Commission Act, passed by a Democratic Congress, recommended and approved by President Wilson, which has given so much assistance to legitimate business enterprises and under which adequate protection against unfair competition is provided?**



**21. GOOD ROADS**—In the new Federal Good Roads Law, approved by the President last July, the Democratic Administration makes available seventy-five million dollars for the development of highway systems throughout the United States, under safeguards which prevent wasteful use of the money. Thus the Democratic Party under President Wilson has made good its platform pledge to aid the cause of good roads and has enacted a law that has the endorsement of State Highways Commissioners, automobile societies and agricultural organizations. The Good Roads Act is second only to the Farm Loan Act as an aid to agricultural development. The Good Roads Act was passed unanimously in the Senate and got 101 Republican votes in the House.

**22. EIGHT-HOUR LAW AND PREVENTION OF RAILWAY STRIKE**—By securing passage of a law applying the principle of the eight-hour day to railway operation, President Wilson prevented a general railway strike last September that would have crippled the country's prosperity and have caused loss, suffering and perhaps starvation in the great cities from the Pacific to the Atlantic Coasts. The President intervened on behalf of the 100,000,000 people of the country and not on behalf of either side in the dispute. With like forceful action, the President brought about the substitution of the Newlands Industrial Employees' Arbitration Act for the then obsolete Erdmann Act in June 1913, thereby preventing a strike upon all the railways East of the Mississippi River. Throughout his administration, President Wilson has stood for the eight-hour workday. He is now advocating legislation supplementary to the eight-hour law which will provide still more effective federal machinery for dealing with industrial disputes which threaten to tie up essential public utilities.

**23. EIGHT-HOUR DAY IN THE GOVERNMENT SERVICE**—To the laws passed by the Democratic majority of the House in the Sixty-second Congress applying the eight-hour day to all work done by the Government whether directly or by contract, has been added the act requiring the eight-hour workday for women in the District of Columbia. When a member of Congress in 1890, William McKinley of Ohio, afterwards a Republican President, sponsored and supported in the House of Representatives his bill establishing the eight-hour day in the Government service. President Wilson has the support of the best Republican as well as Democratic precedent and authority in applying the eight-hour principle to railway operation.

*Would you, Mr. Hughes, have broken relations with Germany and sent our young men by the hundreds of thousands to nameless graves at the bottom of the Atlantic or in Flanders before the policy of diplomatic negotiation had had thorough trial?*

**24. TARIFF REVISION DOWNWARD**—In keeping with the platform pledge of 1912, the Democratic party revised the tariff downward, and put the Underwood-Simmons Tariff Law upon the Statute Books, thus unfettering industry and commerce, depriving monopoly of its former control over production, distribution and prices, and providing adequate customs revenue for the maintenance of the Government. The Underwood-Simmons Act has wiped out the discriminating and extortionate schedules of the iniquitous Payne-Aldrich Law and placed the necessities of life, raw materials and unmanufactured articles on the free list or given them the advantages of the minimum rates of duty, while the maximum assessments have been levied upon the luxuries of life.

**25. INCOME TAX**—The Income Tax Law, opposed by the Republican Party for a generation, shifts the burden of taxation from those least able to pay to those best able to pay. Under the new rates the income tax will yield about \$230,000,000 for the current fiscal year and go far towards paying the cost of "Preparedness." By the Income Tax Law the Wilson Administration by deeds has proven that it stands for just, instead of unjust, taxation; that it applies the sound and unerring test of ability to pay to every citizen in raising money to defray the costs of government.

**To Candidate Hughes:—**

As Governor of New York, you opposed the income tax amendment to the Constitution. Does this antagonism persist? Do you or do you not believe in paying for preparedness out of a tax on incomes, inheritances and munitions?

**26. TARIFF COMMISSION ACT**—In this law the Wilson Administration has provided for the creation of a non-partisan tariff commission which constitutes an important step towards taking the tariff out of politics. The law also affords American manufacturers guarantee of protection against any emergency that may follow the end of European War. The Administration has moved promptly and effectively to meet a business man's question in a businesslike way.

**27. WAR REVENUE LAW**—To meet the cost of "Preparedness," the Wilson program, carried out in the so-called War Revenue Act, increased the income tax, provided for an inheritance tax and levied a special tax upon muni-

*Mr. Hughes, will you undertake to repeal the income tax, passed by a Democratic Congress, recommended and approved by President Wilson, which places a just share of the burden of taxation upon those best able to bear it?*



tions of war. Thirty-nine Republicans in the House and all the Democrats voted for this plan. Speaking for these thirty-nine Republicans in the House July 10 last, Representative Good of Iowa laughed to scorn the stand-pat Republican contention that higher tariffs could be made to pay the needed extra revenues, saying that with the old Payne Law still in force the special taxation resorted to by the Wilson Administration would still be needed.

**28. THE FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION**—This new Commission in the year and one-half of its operation with signal success has supplied the demand for a tribunal to arbitrate commercial disputes, to prevent "unfair competition," and to do justice between the public and the great industrial corporations. The law creating the Trade Commission was passed by the House unanimously and was supported in the Senate by twelve Republicans.

**29. DIRECT ELECTION OF UNITED STATES SENATORS**—This was a reform inspired and carried into effect by Democrats, which does much to restore popular Government at Washington. The Democratic party has shown itself the constant friend of popular election of Senators while the Republican leaders have done little or nothing to aid this epoch-making change. The masses of all parties have favored direct elections, but the Old Guard Republican bosses opposed it and for years succeeded in preventing action.

**30. SHIP PURCHASE ACT AND THE MERCHANT MARINE**—By persistence in the face of determined opposition by Republican reactionaries, the new Shipping Law for the development of an American merchant marine was passed last August. A series of prior progressive Democratic enactments, including the Ship Registry Act and the law creating the War Risk Bureau, already had done much to aid American shipping and the new law is certain to cause a quick and much larger expansion of our merchant navy. The Ship Purchase Act was supported in the House by seven Republicans, one Independent, one Socialist, one Prohibitionist, one Progressive-Protectionist, and two Progressives. This great measure, combining economic and military preparedness, creates an American merchant marine in time of peace and a naval auxiliary in time of war.

**31. SEAMAN'S ACT AND SAFETY AT SEA**—By a series of laws, chief of which is the Seaman's Act, working conditions of sailors in the American merchant service are improved and precautions are taken to avoid the fearful

*Mr. Hughes, do you favor violating neutrality and risking the future safety of your country by placing an embargo on munitions of war?*

loss of life at sea that accompanied the Titanic disaster. The Seaman's Act provides (1) for the just protection of sailors against involuntary servitude and oppression by employers and (2) for the safety of the travelling public at sea and upon the Great Lakes. It ends "slavery on the high seas."

**32. CLAYTON ANTI-TRUST ACT AND THE "NEW FREEDOM"**—In the face of the massed forces and persistent opposition of the special interests, and in the Fall of 1914 when the gravest international questions pressed upon the President and Congress, passage of the Clayton Act, a complete revision of the trust laws, was secured. The Clayton Act does away with interlocking directorates, defines and expands the prohibitions of the Sherman Act, modifies the powers of Federal courts to issue injunctions in labor disputes, and strikes at a multitude of abuses that have been in controversy for years. Under the Clayton Act such cases of railway looting as the Frisco and New Haven investigations disclosed will be impossible. All told, this law and the Trade Commission Act, the tariff and currency and rural credits acts, set business free and give it the solid foundation it has waited for so long. The Clayton Law was supported in the House by forty-one Republicans and fifteen Progressives and in the Senate by six Republicans and one Progressive.

**33. AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION**—Under the Smith-Lever Agricultural Extension Act elaborate machinery has been put into operation by Woodrow Wilson that involved the expenditure of nearly five million dollars during the last fiscal year, a sum which will increase automatically year by year until 1922, for the dissemination of scientific knowledge concerning farm operation and management. This law is expected to double the productiveness of American farms. When the act is in full operation there will be expended annually under its terms, from Federal and State sources alone, a total of over \$8,600,000 in the direct education of the farmer; and this amount is being and will be increasingly supplemented by contributions from local sources. It will permit the placing in each of the 2,850 rural counties of the Nation two farm demonstrators and specialists. This Democratic law was recognized as so good that it was passed unanimously in both Houses of Congress.

**34. WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT**—The new Workmen's Compensation Law applies to over 400,000 persons in the employ of the United States Government. This includes all the civil employees, whereas the former law covered less than one-fourth of them. It provides for the pay-

*If you had been President, Mr. Hughes, what would you have done that President Wilson has not done and what would you not have done that Wilson did?*



ment of two-thirds of the wages during the period of incapacity resulting from personal injury the payments beginning three days after the accident; and medical care is provided. Up to the time of the passage of this law the New York State law was the most liberal, but this surpasses it and is considered the most scientific as well as the most liberal compensation law in the world.

**To Candidate Hughes:—**

You are frank in stating that Huerta's morals were of no concern to America. Does this mean that you would have recognized Huerta?

**35. LABOR'S MAGNA CHARTA**—The provisions of the Clayton Act preventing the abuse of the injunction in labor disputes and declaring the labor of a human being not a commodity of commerce open to barter and sale like inanimate things are called Labor's Magna Charta. These grants of Labor's just demands were ignored for years by the Republicans and efforts to secure their repeal or impede their enforcement are certain if the Republicans are restored to power.

**36. CHILD LABOR LAW**—President Wilson's personal intervention brought about the enactment of this foremost of important social justice measures. The Federal power is used to emancipate children from industrial oppression. For the first time, the Republican platform of 1916 included an indorsement of child labor legislation, a declaration which followed the action of the Democratic House of Representatives in twice approving the measure now enacted.

**37. COTTON FUTURES, GRAIN-STANDARDS AND WAREHOUSE RECEIPTS ACTS**—These are part of the Wilson Administration's constructive work in behalf of the farmers. The cotton futures law establishes standards for cotton, prevents gambling in cotton on the stock exchanges and places the sale of cotton on a firmer basis. The grain-standards law secures uniformity in the grading of grain, enables the farmer to get fairer prices for his product and provides an incentive to raise better grades of grain. The warehouse law enables the Department of Agriculture to license bonded warehouses and makes warehouse receipts more widely and easily negotiable.

*Mr. Hughes, do you favor repeal of the Agricultural Extension Act, passed by a Democratic Congress, recommended and approved by President Wilson, which for the first time provides facilities for carrying direct to the farmer practical scientific knowledge of how to increase the profits of his farm?*

**38. ALASKAN RAILWAYS**—In providing for the construction of Alaskan railways by the government, the Wilson Administration took the one step necessary to open up Alaska. The first of the railways connecting the Man-tanaska coal fields and the city of Fairbanks the year-round by rail with the Coast at Seward are rapidly being pushed to completion. This plan, which took control of Alaskan transportation from favored special interests, was bitterly opposed by the reactionary Republicans in Congress.

**39. CONSERVATION**—Under Woodrow Wilson large American resources have been opened to development. Monopolization, overuse or misuse of the remaining timber, mineral, oil and land resources of the country have been prevented. Laws have passed the House providing for proper conservation of the water powers both upon the public domain and upon navigable streams. Homesteaders have been encouraged and measures for the development under proper conditions and terms of phosphate, potash, oil and gas deposits on the public domain have passed the House. The principles of scientific conservation have been rigidly adhered to in administering the National Forests.

**40. PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE**—In a new Philippine Law, a greater measure of freedom is allowed the Filipinos and their ultimate independence is assured. The new law declares the intention of the United States to free the Islands upon the establishment of a stable government. The people of the islands are permitted to elect a Senate. Hitherto oppressed Filipinos are given an enlarged franchise, and hence a greater share in their own government.

**41. CHANGE OF HOUSE RULES**—Keeping its pledges in the campaign of 1910, the Democratic House of the 62nd Congress abolished the system of czarism which so long had put the House in full control of a small group of men representing the special interests. The new and liberal rules then adopted have been continued in effect under Democratic majorities during the 62d and 64th Congresses. The Republicans of the House have never abandoned their adherence to the boss system and if they are restored to control of the House, the old plan will be adopted again.

*Mr. Hughes, what is your attitude toward the disloyal-ists of your party who have attempted to prevent the enforcement by President Wilson, both on the part of the American government and by all American citizens, of an honest neutrality towards all the warring nations of Europe?*



## EXECUTIVE

**42.** THE PRESIDENT'S DEVOTION TO DUTY—The Record of Achievement has been made possible by the President's unceasing labor, firmness, clear thought and infinite patience and self-sacrifice. No President has been under greater strain continuously throughout his term since Abraham Lincoln's day. He has worked hard and incessantly.

**43.** THE LOBBY—Fearless exposure of "invisible government" at Washington by President Wilson has driven the lobby from the National Capital. The President's expose occurred when leaders of lobby, seeking to influence tariff legislation as they had done under the Republican Administrations, infested Washington—the Underwood-Simmons Act was pending. Investigation followed which disclosed the activity of Chas. B. Warren of Michigan, now on Hughes' campaign committee, as active in the manipulations of the old sugar trust.

**44.** POPULAR GOVERNMENT RESTORED—Government of, for and by the people of the United States has been restored at Washington by President Wilson and the Democrats. The President led the fight for a series of legislative reforms to this end, has enforced these measures after enactment and has applied the rule of the public first throughout the government service.

**45.** UNEMPLOYMENT—An intelligence system has been put in operation in the Department of Labor which brings the jobless man and the manless job together. Seventy-eight offices have been created throughout the country which cooperate with state and municipal labor exchange offices to assist in bringing man and job together. In the year ending July 1 last, 50,000 men obtained places through Uncle Sam's new employment agencies.

**46.** CLOSE RELATIONS WITH CONGRESS—By appearing at the Capitol in person and addressing Congress upon urgent questions, the President gave emphasis to his belief in a return to Government by public discussion and brought about team-work between the Executive and Congress which has been the marvel of the country.

*Mr. Hughes, inasmuch as the largest amount collected in any one year under the highest tariff ever enacted (Payne-Aldrich Act) was \$333,000,000, what form of taxation would you substitute to pay a "Preparedness" cost of \$630,000,000?*

**47.** GENUINE TRUST DISSOLUTION—The Department of Justice under President Wilson has enforced real dissolution of monopolies and combinations adjudged unlawful in lieu of the sham dissolution characterizing the outcome of trust cases under the Taft and Roosevelt administrations. The decrees secured by the Wilson Administration in the Union Pacific, Harvester, New Haven, and Kodak Cases, all brought about real dissolution of these monopolies and contrast vividly with the ineffective results of the Tobacco and Standard Oil Cases under the Tariff Administration.

**48.** CLARIFYING TRUST LAWS—The Department of Justice has done much to bring about more exact definition of the anti-trust laws, and thus has practically ended the uncertainty as to the legality or illegality of many practices. This has developed a spirit of cooperation which has led to the settlement of great trust cases by the now famous "consent decrees" which avoid years of expensive litigation and uncertainty.

**49.** POST OFFICE SELF-SUPPORTING—In the fiscal year ended June 30 last, the Post Office returned a profit of \$5,742,445.20, and during the four fiscal years of the Wilson Administration a net surplus has been recorded as contrasted with deficits of \$48,739,637 for Roosevelt's second term and of \$26,495,914 for Taft's term. This record itself is adequate to answer Candidate Hughes' charge of inefficiency in the government service under President Wilson.

**50.** PARCEL POST—This service has broken up an extortionate monopoly by the private express companies and has been developed under President Wilson from a mere shell to the most gigantic, useful and far-reaching express service in the world. The parcel post is now handling more than 1,000,000,000 parcels a year at rates much lower than were charged by express companies before the government entered this field of transportation. The development of the parcel post is wholly due to liberalization of rates, weight limits and other regulations under President Wilson and Postmaster General Burleson.

**51.** POSTAL SAVINGS—Deposits in the Postal Savings System have increased from \$30,000,000 to more than \$85,000,000 under the Wilson Administration. The law has been amended liberalizing the conditions under which de-

*Mr. Hughes, do you stand with those Progressives and progressive Republicans in Congress who voted for practically all the progressive Democratic measures mentioned above, or do you stand with the reactionary Republicans who voted against them?*



posits may be made, thus vastly expanding this System as a means of keeping money in circulation. Effective work in informing the foreign born population of the country of the advantages of the postal savings system has been largely responsible for this growth.

**52. CROP MOVING**—By placing the surplus funds of the United States Treasury directly in the banks of the South and West, at crop moving periods, the Wilson Administration has greatly aided the movement of crops to market and has put an end to the practice of previous administrations of concentrating these much needed funds in the New York banks.

**53. INTEREST ON GOVERNMENT DEPOSITS**—By requiring two per cent. interest on the deposits in the banks of the country the former practice of allowing favorite banks the use of huge sums of the people's money free has been ended and more than one million dollars' revenue derived annually. Republican administrations gave this money amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars to banks favored by them, and, except as to the small fraction of the whole ("inactive accounts"), charged no interest whatever for its use.

**54. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE REORGANIZED**—The Department of Commerce has been reorganized with the result that the work of its several important Bureaus has become of vast practical value to industry and the general business of the country. Closer cooperation with business and industry has been introduced in the Bureaus of Standards, Fisheries, Census, Steamboat Inspection and Foreign and Domestic Commerce. The Census Bureau, which has been especially attacked by Candidate Hughes, issued its 1914 census of manufactures months ahead of the date at which it was formerly released.

**55. PROMOTION OF COMMERCE**—Facilities for aiding American conquests of foreign markets have been added and administered with conspicuous success through the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Department of Commerce. Business mounting to millions in individual cases and enormous figures in the aggregate has been obtained to American firms through the work of the new corps of commercial attaches created by the Wilson administration. These attaches work under the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce.

*Mr. Hughes, do you favor repeal of the "porkless" Good Roads Act, passed by a Democratic Congress and approved by President Wilson, for the development of rural highways?*

**56. NATIONAL PARKS**—Administration of the National Parks Ssystem has been reorganized so that travel and accommodations in the parks have been much improved, and the legend, "See America First," has added attractions and following. A National Parks Service has been created which assures efficient administration of these great public playgrounds. The splendid roads of the Parks have been opened to automobiles and new hotels and camps are going up in all the parks.

**57. IMPROVED MARKETING SYSTEM**—The organization by the Department of Agriculture of an Office of Markets and Rural Arganization applies scientific and modern business methods toward the elimination of waste in transporting and distributing farm products. This work, an important feature of the aid given under Wilson in solving the problem of the distribution of agricultural products, is highly praised by all authorities on agricultural subjects.

**58. HELPING THE FARMER'S WIFE**—The Secretary of Agriculture has made the introduction of labor saving devices and of new methods of improving farm domestic conditions an especial feature of his great Department's expanded activities, and to that end has secured the services of thousands of women who serve as demonstrators of the latest and most economical methods.

**59. INDIAN REFORMS**—The great Indian reservations have been made larger contributors to the Nation's food supply and a vocational system of education has been introduced which prepares Indian youth for competition in later life with white men and women. Introduction of a cost-accounting system has affected large savings in the administration of Indian affairs.

**60. THE "CONSTITUTION OF PEACE"**—The President's famous "Constitution of Peace" policy resulted in the voluntary breaking up of interlocking directorates, which all admit have been the backbone of the trust system. There has been no attack on "Big Business" under Wilson merely because of size. Every corporation showing a desire to obey the law has ad practical help in adjusting its organization and practices to sjuare with the law.

*Mr. Hughes, do you favor repeal of the Child Labor Law, the Anti-Injunction Law, the Seaman's Act and related social justice measures of high importance, passed by a Democratic Congress and recommended and approved by President Wilson?*



**61. NEW LAND POLICY**—The new public land policy of the Secretary of the Interior combines conservation and the proper use of the land of our national domain. More than 20,000,000 acres of lands withdrawn by prior administrations have been restored to public entry. The policy is that the land should be used for the purpose for which it is best fitted, and that it should be disposed of by the Government with respect to that use under such conditions as to prevent monopoly, and under certain well-defined restrictions and limitations. To this policy the West is reconciled.

**62. RURAL SANITATION AND VOCATIONAL DISEASES**—The vital importance of directing the federal power and resources to the conservation and protection of health has been recognized by the expansion of the Public Health Service into a highly useful agency for attacking the problems of rural sanitation and of industrial and vocational diseases. Appropriations for these purposes have been much increased. Startling successes in stamping out typhoid and malaria in rural districts have been scored.

**63. OLEO LAW ENFORCED**—Over \$1,000,000 back taxes have been collected and the fraudulent sale of oleomargarine has been stopped through the Treasury's vigorous enforcement of the oleomargarine law. The Treasury lost at least \$27,000,000 in revenue from stamp and special taxes through oleomargarine frauds which went unchecked during the Taft and Roosevelt administrations. Farmers National and State organizations the country over have adopted resolutions praising the Wilson Administration's efficient handling of this matter.

**Mr. Hughes, do you favor re-enactment of the Payne-Aldrich Act which betrayed your party's campaign pledge of 1908 and which has been repudiated by many Republican and all Progressive leaders?**

Cutting out the froth and foam, Mr. Hughes do you favor repeal of the Adamson Law granting the eight-hour day to railway trainmen?

What would you have done to prevent the great railway strike, Mr. Hughes?

Why didn't you propose a way to avoid the railway strike, Mr. Hughes, before the country escaped the danger by the way adopted and carried out by President Wilson?

It is the same old Republican party that it always has been. It has a new man at the head of the ticket, a man acceptable to the old gang. But the gang's all there down below the head of the ticket—and it is the same old gang. The answer to this is simple:

Vote for Wilson—the man who unhorsed the Republican "Black Horse Cavalry"—and vote for a Democratic House and Senate.



## **AN AMERICAN CITIZEN**

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I am the candidate of a party, but I am above all things else an American citizen. I neither seek the favor nor fear the displeasure of that small alien element amongst us which puts loyalty to any foreign power before loyalty to the United States.

## **PROMISES FULFILLED**

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**From Woodrow Wilson's Speech Accepting  
His Second Nomination for President**

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"Boasting is always an empty business, which pleases nobody but the boaster, and I have no disposition to boast of what the Democratic Party has accomplished. It has merely done its duty. It has merely fulfilled its explicit promises. But there can be no violation of good taste in calling attention to the manner in which those promises have been carried out or in adverting to the interesting fact that many of the things accomplished were what the opposition party had again and again promised to do but had left undone. Indeed, that is manifestly part of the business of this year of reckoning and assessment. There is no means of judging the future except by assessing the past. Constructive action must be weighed against destructive comment and reaction. The Democrats either have or have not understood the varied interests of the country. The test is contained in the record."



**D**IVERSE and discordant political elements nominated Hughes as a mask for their divisions and inherent differences.

His candidacy now stands for these discordant groups and consists, therefore, of a Colossal Evasion.

Hughe's divided backing is incapable even of substantial agreement, to say nothing of concerted action, upon domestic or international policies, and, if in power, could not unite upon a plan of constructive action. The Hughes candidacy can not deliver and hence does not promise performance of any consequential sort.

Hughes has no program.



# WILSON — AND — LABOR

**"A Man's Labor is Not a  
Commodity, but a Part of His Life."**  
*The Clayton Anti-Trust Law.*





### SPIRIT OF THE ADMINISTRATION

In my experience with United States Congresses during two score years I have not seen anything like the fine spirit toward labor, toward the rights and welfare of all the people, pervading all the branches of the Wilson administration. Labor has been recognized neither in the spirit of deference on the one hand, nor of patronage on the other.

But the spirit of recognition has been the right one: that labor should be made part of the National Councils; that its patriotism should be conceded, and that its knowledge of its own needs should give it paramount voice in legislation directly and peculiarly affecting its own rights.

This fundamental right spirit has guided the Wilson administration to wise and righteous labor legislation. Because of that spirit and its results in definite laws and policies, how can liberty-loving Americans loyal to the Republic and its ideals fail to sustain an Executive who has done so much for their realization?

SAMUEL GOMPERS,

President, American Federation of Labor.

*Washington, D. C., August 25, 1916.*

## WILSON AND LABOR

THE earnestness and sincerity of President Wilson and his administration in their attitude toward labor explain the great enthusiasm that all workers have for the Wilson Administration. Had they done nothing more for labor than enact the Clayton Anti-Trust Law, the Seamen's Act and the Child Labor Law, they would deserve the whole hearted support of all labor.

During the sixteen years of Republican rule, before the Democrats gained control of the House of Representatives, the labor committee was a burying-ground for all labor legislation. The Industrial Commission Act, the Children's Bureau Act, the Parcels Post Law, the Anti-Phosphorus Match Law, the law providing for a Department of Labor and making the Secretary of Labor a member of the President's Cabinet, passed by the Democratic Congress, could never have become law so long as the Republican Party of Special Privilege dominated legislation.

Besides the Clayton Anti-Trust Law and the Seamen's Act, which constitute in themselves a Bill of Rights of Labor, the Democratic congresses under President Wilson have enacted much legislation of interest to Labor. Besides special labor legislation, such as the Eight-Hour Day Acts, the Child Labor Bill and the Workmen's Compensation Bill, President Wilson's administration has put through the following progressive measures: The Federal Trade Commission, the Federal Reserve Banking Law, the Underwood Tariff Act, the Rural Credits Bill, the Agricultural Education Bill, the Sherwood Pension and the Income Tax.

Labor knows the importance of these measures. Valuable as they are, none is greater than President Wilson's greatest achievement—that of keeping the country out of war. The same spirit which has exalted the real preparedness for industrial justice has animated the Administration in all its labor legislation and in all its administration of labor laws.

Tremendous pressure was brought to bear upon the President to interfere in Mexico, but he steadfastly resisted every such suggestion and demand. Intervention, which implies military subjugation, is revolting to the people of the United States.

There are those whose financial interests were endangered by the Mexican revolutions, who sought to precipitate intervention in Mexico in order to make good their investments. That Woodrow Wilson heeded the will of the people has confirmed the belief of the people in his right-mindedness. For a war of conquest in Mexico would have meant the sacrifice of the lives of thousands of workers for the protection of property interests. This country presents the sublime spectacle of being at peace, when the rest of the world is in the midst of turmoil. President Wilson has kept us out of war.



## DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

**F**OR the first time in the history of the American Republic, Labor has its seat in the national council in the Cabinet of President Wilson. The general purpose of the Department of Labor is to promote the welfare of wage-workers and to increase their opportunities for profitable employment. This Department ranks with the other great departments of the Federal Government—State, Treasury, Commerce, Agriculture, etc.—and its Secretary is a member of the President's Cabinet. William B. Wilson, the present Secretary of Labor, is a Trade Unionist, a member of the United Mine Workers of America, one of the most powerful labor organizations in this country. He is eminently fitted for his position and the Administration's sincerity in its effort to deal adequately with the problems of labor is demonstrated by the appointment of such a man.

The one great specific duty devolving upon the Secretary is to act as a mediator in trade disputes, or to appoint conciliators, when in his judgment it is wise to do so. It has been the policy of the Department, in the cases in which it has been called upon to intervene and adjust trade disputes, to seek some common ground upon which both employer and employee could stand. Employer and employee have a mutual interest, not an identical interest. If council table discussions can make clear the issues between the two through the aid of the Department of Labor, then its work is worth while. The Department has been successful in 90 per cent. of the cases in which it has acted.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics has collected data regarding wages and hours of labor in the most important industries and has humanized the purely statistical information to which these investigations hitherto had been confined.

In addition to keeping the people of the country advised upon the fluctuations in wholesale and retail prices, this Bureau has made investigations covering almost the entire field of industry, and has for the first time in the history of the Government been called upon by other Departments to investigate the prevailing rate of wages in the vicinity of government plants in order to determine the rate of wages which should be paid in government works.

**Bureau of Naturalization.**—There is a general movement on foot to promote in aliens a desire for citizenship. When an alien has signified his desire to become a citizen, not only the welfare of the alien himself, but the welfare of all citizens, native and naturalized, requires that in the interim between his declaration of intention and his naturalization he should be given an opportunity to become as familiar as possible with our language, our customs, our form of government and the fundamental principles underlying it.

The Bureau of Naturalization, in cooperation with the Department of Labor, has interested school authorities all over the United States

to provide school facilities in English and Civics at night for those who work in the daytime, and in the daytime for night workers.

**Unemployment.**—The Department of Labor has secured the cooperation of the Departments of Immigration, Post Office, Interior, Agriculture and Commerce in dealing with the problem of Unemployment. Commissioner Caminetti, of the Immigration Bureau, directs the Unemployment Service of the Labor Department. Contact is had with the existing city and state labor exchanges in order to broaden the scope of their activities and add to the effectiveness of the Federal system.

The Post Offices are being used as clearing houses, and the United States Government intends to protect workers, men and women, from the wretched schemes of such companies as refuse to pay the promised wages at the end of a few days' work, after which the men are forced to accept the lower wages given. Bulletins are sent by the Department of Labor to the Post Offices or State Bureaus, showing where workers are needed, what wages will be paid, and the Government will see that they are paid, or pay them; employers that need laborers can write to the Department and get in touch with the men they desire. Workers will not be sent to localities where labor troubles exist or are threatening, or to places where labor conditions would be disturbed by the influx of additional workers.

### SEAMEN LIBERATED.

I am for the election of Woodrow Wilson and a Democratic Congress because of the enactment of the Seamen's Law and the liberation of the seamen, the enactment of the Clayton Law recognizing and enforcing the equality before the law of workmen with other citizens. These laws must be maintained.—ANDREW FURUSETH, President International Seamen's Union of America.

Medford, Wis., August 25, 1916.

A Federal Employment Bureau for women and girls has been organized along the same lines as that already established for men. The character of the places and employers is investigated, and must satisfy the officers in charge of the Bureau. It is intended to create a similar department for young men and boys.

Arrangements have been made with the Army and Navy Departments to find work for enlisted men when they retire from active service.

Certain industrial conditions may exist at times, when every available job will be filled by competent workmen, and unemployment still be in existence. To cope with this plans are being made for a real back-to-the-land movement.



In short, the Department of Labor, through the establishment of a country-wide system of employment agencies, has undertaken to bring together the jobless man and the manless job.

The Bureau of Safety Devices creates in the Department of Labor a clearing house for devices preventive of industrial accidents, to supply employers and employees with methods and devices to reduce as far as possible the maiming and killing of human beings.

3,200,000 human beings are killed and maimed annually in industry in the United States. The Wilson administration is the first to take this needless slaughter to heart.

The Bureau of Mines has been enabled to extend its work through the establishing of seven new safety stations and ten new experiment stations.

**Children's Bureau.**—The bill creating the Children's Bureau was passed by the Senate during President Taft's administration, but it could not be gotten through the House until Cannonism was destroyed by a Democratic majority in 1910.

The Bureau promotes the welfare of children and devises means whereby the development of the child shall not be prevented by the poverty of its parents. It has been dealing with problems of child life. It is preparing publications on child labor, birth registration, the proper care of babies and children, prenatal care of mothers and care of infants during the first year. It has made investigations of sanitation, safety, hygiene and allied subjects and is gathering statistics on infant mortality. All of these results of investigations (as well as a review of the child labor legislation in this country by states) are being widely distributed.

The whole subject of the employment of children in industry is being dealt with by this bureau. The enforcing of the minimum age at which children can be employed, the granting of employment certificates by the different states, and how far these certificates actually safeguard the child from the point of view of physical health and mental development—whether the compulsory education law is enforced or evaded—in short, the child in industry is being studied so that the whole subject may be adequately dealt with by legislation. The Bureau has paved the way for the enactment of the new Child Labor Law, which President Wilson has just signed.

During the Democratic administration the appropriations for the Children's Bureau have increased sixfold.

#### HIS MEXICAN POLICY

"I have constantly to remind myself that I am not the servant of those who wish to enhance the value of their Mexican investments, but that I am the servant of the rank and file of the people of the United States."—PRESIDENT WILSON.

## CLAYTON ANTI-TRUST LAW

THE most important legislation in behalf of the workers enacted by any American Congress is the Clayton Anti-Trust Law. Human labor has been lifted from the category of commodities and the workingman has secured the right of voluntary association for his protection and welfare. The rights of the worker have been protected against the unwarranted issuance of writs of injunction wherever the Federal Courts have jurisdiction, and he has been guaranteed the right of trial by jury in cases of alleged contempt committed outside of court.

Section six declares that "the labor of the human being is not a commodity or article of commerce." Labor produces commodities but is not a commodity itself. It cannot be a commodity under any other condition but that of slavery or serfdom. If it is not a commodity then it cannot become an article of commerce. For the same reason a restraining order or writ of injunction cannot properly be issued against it. With the legislative statement that labor is not a commodity or article of commerce, the basis for the issuance of an injunction in a labor dispute is immediately removed. A restraining order or writ of injunction may issue whenever necessary for the protection of property or property rights from irreparable injury where there is no other adequate remedy at the law. The Clayton Act declares that labor is not a commodity and, therefore, interference with it cannot be restrained or enjoined by an equity court. Such interference must be dealt with by the law courts, where it properly belongs.

Section twenty declares that it is no longer a violation of any Federal law—

- First: To terminate any relation of employment.
- Second: To cease to perform any work or labor.
- Third: To recommend, advise, or persuade others by peaceful means to terminate or cease to perform labor.
- Fourth: To attend at any place where the person or persons so attending may lawfully be, for the purpose of obtaining or communicating information.
- Fifth: To peacefully persuade any person to work or to abstain from working.
- Sixth: To withhold patronage, either singly or in concert, from any party to a dispute concerning terms or conditions of employment, or to recommend, advise, or persuade others, by peaceful and lawful means, so to withhold patronage.
- Seventh: To pay or give to, or withhold from any person engaged in such dispute, any strike benefits, money, or other things of value.



- Eighth: To peacefully assemble, in a lawful manner, and for lawful purposes.
- Ninth: To do any act or thing which might lawfully be done in the absence of a dispute concerning terms or conditions of employment.

Nor shall a restraining order or writ of injunction be issued by any Federal court forbidding the doing of any of these things.

William B. Wilson, Secretary of the Department of Labor, says:

"A law enacted for the purpose of preventing monopolies or combinations in restraint of trade should not be expected to apply to those who have neither trade nor commerce to restrain. The wage-workers are in that position, and the restraint of trade features of the Clayton Act do not apply to them. As wage-workers, they have no interstate or foreign commerce. They lend themselves, or refuse to lend themselves, toward the production and transportation of the articles of commerce owned and controlled by others. They produce and transport the commodities that constitute commerce, but they are neither the commerce nor the commodity itself.

"The combinations known as trade unions that he enters into are not for the purpose of creating a monopoly in trade or to restrain commerce, but for the purpose of securing the best terms possible for the loan of himself and his labor power, which is a part of him, to those who are engaged in trade and commerce and desire his services.

"The question of whether or not persons engaged in labor should be permitted to combine is an entirely different question than whether persons or corporations engaged in commerce should be permitted to combine. Capital has always been permitted to combine. Neither the Sherman Anti-Trust Law nor the Clayton Law prevent the combination of capital. They only prevent certain methods of combination having certain results which are considered injurious to the general welfare. Every co-partnership and every corporation is a combination of capital. Capital has been encouraged to organize not only to bring large amounts of it together, but to utilize its combined efforts in such manner as to get the very best results. That has not been the case with labor. It is only in recent years that labor unions have been considered legal if they undertook to utilize their energies to secure the best results obtainable for them. The struggle has been one of centuries, and the biggest single step that has been taken since serfdom and slavery were abolished is the enactment of the Clayton Law."

## SEAMEN'S ACT

THE Seamen's Bill has been called the Emancipation Proclamation for seafaring men. It deals mainly with two important phases: freedom, human liberty for the men employed on board ship, not only on passenger boats, but on freighters, and safety at sea.

The Seamen's Act says to the American ship owner that American seamen shall be free to leave their vessel when the vessel is in a safe port in this or any other country, and it says to the foreign ship-owner, "When your seamen come into American ports, the very fact that they are in our waters, and under our jurisdiction makes them free men."

In dealing with the question of safety at sea, safety has been too often dealt with exclusively from the standpoint of the passenger; and seamen in our freighters, vessels carrying no passengers, received scant consideration except that which grew out of the fact that certain conditions were dangerous to passenger vessels.

The Seamen's Bill provides that seventy-five per cent. of the crew, no matter what department they may be in, shall understand the language of the officers of the vessel; there must be no interpreter standing between the master of the ship and the crew when an emergency arises, when a second's time may mean the saving or the losing of a thousand lives. It is essential that there shall be a sufficient number of qualified men to man the vessel under abnormal conditions as well as under normal. The Seamen's Bill provides also for a standard of skill not only with regard to sailors, but with a new class that has been created called life-boat men.

The principal objects of the Seamen's Bill are:

- To abolish imprisonment as a penalty for quitting work.
- To abolish corporal punishment on board ship.
- Sunday work while in safe harbor reduced and regulated.
- To establish seamen's right to half wages on arrival at any port; also 120 feet boat space for each seaman and apprentice.
- Two years' service on lakes, bays and sounds to entitle the sailor to rank of able seaman; and 12 months on the sea.
- To regulate the number of lifeboats and saving equipment each vessel is to carry.

After a legislative struggle of more than twenty years in which the seamen were vigorously supported by the trade-union movement, the Seamen's Bill was enacted into law by the Democratic Congress under President Wilson and the last vestige of serfdom by legal requirements was thereby wiped from our statute books. The seamen are freemen now and are able to stand erect before all the world, the owners of themselves and of their own labor power.



## COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

**A**N INQUIRY into the causes of industrial unrest conducted by the United States Commission on Industrial Relations, appointed by President Wilson, revealed the labor situation and the general industrial situation with a thoroughness and vividness that had never before been approached in the United States. The hearings covering nearly two years, and held in fourteen of the principal cities of all sections of the country, brought out the testimony of 230 employers of labor or their agents, of 245 witnesses connected with labor or affiliated organizations, and of 265 witnesses not affiliated with either group.

This testimony covered the whole range of industrial relations and included every angle of interest and viewpoint. It was furnished by any and all who had intelligent information to give. Nine non-partisan commissioners, representing in equal number the employers in industry, the employes, and the general public, constituted this commission, the chairman being one of the latter three.

The Commission, with Frank P. Walsh as its chairman, laid before the country a verified picture of conditions as they existed, performing the true obligation of Jeffersonian democracy of placing all facts and full information before the people, for the people to deal with in their tribunals of opinion and legislation.

The work of the Commission and the spirit in which it did its work constituted a Bill of Rights or Great Charter of industrial as well as political liberty. The work and the spirit of the work put special privilege on the defensive without defenses. They heartened wage earners with the knowledge that governmental power and governmental machinery could be put at their service as well as at the service of others. The full Congress, without a recorded opposing vote, authorized the printing and distribution of the ten volumes of the testimony and exhibits and the final report with particular reference to the main report prepared by the director of research and investigation for the commission, Basil M. Manly. This work performed in the Wilson administration will furnish a vast source of knowledge and of expert interpretation of industrial relations from which future legislation and future industrial development will draw for their guidance.

## EIGHT-HOUR DAY

**T**HE enactment of eight-hour laws as applying to work done for the Government as well as by the Government voices a rapidly spreading demand by labor for a general eight-hour working day. The eight-hour day has been a slogan of organized labor for years. The Federal Government has enacted such laws, applying them in the following cases:

1. To men employed in dredging work in rivers and harbors.
2. To female employes in the District of Columbia, over whom Congress has jurisdiction.
3. To all women and child workers in the District of Columbia.
4. To civilians engaged in the manufacture of ordnance and powder for the Government.
5. To Post Office clerks and carriers.
6. To the mining of all coal used for the Navy.
7. To employes engaged in operations under the Alaskan Coal Land Act.
8. To work done for the Government as well as work done by the Government.

### WILSON'S RECOGNITION OF EIGHT-HOUR DAY

\* \* \* "THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY, to which the whole economic movement of the time seems to point"

*—On the demand of the railroad employes for the eight-hour day.*

## ANTI-PHOSPHORUS MATCH BILL

**F**OR years the phosphorus match industry rotted the flesh and bones of men, women and children workers in the industry. A Democratic Congress ended this horror.

The Anti-Phosphorus Match Law placed a prohibitive tax upon the manufacture of poisonous phosphorus matches. It protects both the worker and the consumer, and has been entirely effective. There is not a poisonous phosphorus match manufactured in the United States to-day.



## WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

**T**HE new Workmen's Compensation Law which was passed August 19, 1916, applies to over 400,000 persons in the employ of the United States Government, including all civil employes, whereas the former law covered less than one-fourth of them.

It provides for the payment of two-thirds of the wages during the period of incapacity resulting from personal injury, the payments beginning three days after the accident; and medical care is provided. The compensations to dependents of injured are also liberal.

Up to the time of the passage of this law the New York State law was the most liberal, but this surpasses it and is considered the most scientific as well as the most liberal compensation law in the world.

### HAS KEPT US OUT OF WAR

**T**HE labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce. The declaration in the Clayton Anti-Trust and Anti-Injunction law is a milestone commemorating a great accomplishment for human uplift. Woodrow Wilson as President signed the Clayton Act. For this he is deserving of Labor's support.

The wise statesmanship of President Wilson has kept our country at peace with other nations, thereby preserving the lives of our young men for lines of future constructive service. The American people who earn their daily bread by labor approve the President's actions and should so declare by their ballots at the November election.

Under the administration of Woodrow Wilson, the common people's interests have been promoted by wise legislation such as the Income Tax Law, Federal Reserve Act, Good Roads Law, valuable amendments extending the scope of the existing Eight-Hour Laws, Children's Bureau, Seamen's Law, Keating Child Labor Law, etc. No President since Abraham Lincoln has promoted legislation so thoroughly in the interest of the masses. For these reasons my utmost efforts will be exerted to secure his re-election.—

JOHN B. LENNON, *Treasurer American Federation of Labor.*  
Bloomington, Ill., Aug. 21, 1916.

## CHILD LABOR LAW

**T**HE problem of Child Labor is of vital interest to the whole community, including labor. But it is of special interest to labor because the children involved are their children; not only does the employment of children affect the children directly, in retarding their mental and physical development, but it is a menace to labor in that children constitute a class of labor exploited by employers and are used to displace adult labor which commands higher wages.

It no longer can be held that only the States individually have a right to prohibit child labor, and to impose a penalty upon the manufacturer who employs child labor. The Federal Government has a right to keep the products of child labor from interstate commerce, and the Wilson administration has exercised that right.

The Keating-Owen Child Labor Bill, as passed, provides that it is unlawful to ship from one State to another:

1. The product of any quarry or mine employing children under 16 years of age.
2. The products of any mill, cannery, workshop or factory employing children under 14 years of age or children from 14 to 16 years of age who work more than 8 hours per day, more than six days per week, or later than 7 p. m. or require such children to get to work before 7 a. m.

President Wilson directly intervened on behalf of the passage of this bill, insisting that it be not deferred until the December session, and through his efforts it has become law.

### GREATEST FORWARD STEP

Only two American Presidents, LINCOLN AND WILSON, have understood or sympathized with the aspirations of labor. Lincoln's great action, however, affected only one race; the Seamen's Act and the Child Labor Act are landmarks of labor history. Wilson's unequivocal endorsement of organization and the eight-hour day in the present controversy is the greatest forward step ever taken by any American statesman.—BASIL M. MANLY.

Washington, Aug. 21, 1916.



## OTHER LEGISLATION

**B**ESIDES the foregoing measures that directly affect labor, the Democratic administration has enacted many progressive ideals into laws to safeguard the people from special interests and to restore to them their government.

**Federal Reserve Act; Rural Credit Act.**—Money panics are disastrous to the community at large, and so to the workers. Not only are savings lost when the banks fail, but financial depression throws men out of jobs. The Federal Reserve Act benefits the worker, as it does all the other people of the nation. The Rural Credits Law has given special heed to the farmers' need of credit. These two

### MILESTONES OF PROGRESS

President Wilson has truly earned the undivided support of the working people because he has unflinchingly upheld human rights.

By freeing the seamen from all vestiges of involuntary servitude he has completed the work of Lincoln and made America's soil sacred ground upon which no bondman may set foot without losing his fetters.

By approving amendments to the Clayton Anti-Trust Act he has secured for the workers invaluable fundamental rights and put an end to the judicial iniquity under which wage earners were classified in the same category with the product of their toil.

These two achievements will ever be regarded as milestones in the march of human progress. The working people of California understand and may be depended upon to rally for Wilson. Antiquated and meaningless party issues have no charms for Californians. My hope is that other States will do as well.—PAUL SCHARRENBURG, Secretary California State Federation of Labor.

San Francisco, Aug. 20, 1916.

monumental acts establish a true democracy of credit under Government control, placing abundant credit at the disposal of legitimate industry and making currency panics impossible. This constructive legislation has already enabled the United States to withstand the financial shock caused by the European war.

No other measures in the Wilson record of achievement better exemplify the President's purpose of serving all the people in their fight against special interests.

**Alaskan Railway.**—For years the rich resources of Alaska were held out of productive use. The Wilson administration, appropriating \$55,000,000 for a government railroad, is now developing the mineral wealth of the land for the benefit of the whole people.

**Postal Service.**—The Parcels Post has been advanced to genuine efficiency. The Postal Savings system has been enlarged. Ten thousand rural delivery routes and extensions have been added, thus reaching 2,500,000 additional people. The postal service has been

### TO ALL WHO ARE NOT BLIND

The passage of the Seamen's Act gave freedom to the seamen and made American soil free soil in fact as well as in theory. The enactment of the Clayton Law declaring that the labor of human beings is not a commodity or article of commerce, restored to the working people their rightful position under the law and will humanize industry.

The recent passage of the Child Labor Bill is the most important national action ever taken for the protection of children against the grind of industry.

The enactment of an eight-hour law for women in the District of Columbia is equal to a call for the enactment of similar laws in all States.

Through these acts, which appear to us to stand out among the great achievements of the Wilson Administration, the great principles of human freedom, rights of working people, and protection of women and children have been declared and the United States set well in the lead in the march of progressive nations.

They who will not see this are blinded either by political party prejudices or ignorance of facts.—T. A. HANSON, Secretary-Treasurer International Seamen's Union of America. Chicago, Aug. 23, 1916.

improved in every branch, and for the first time in our history the postoffice system has been placed on a self-supporting basis, with actual surplus in 1913, 1914 and 1916.

**Pensions.**—The Sherwood, or General Pension Law, which bases the amount of pension upon age and service, and which has largely increased the amounts paid aged and disabled veterans or their dependents by the Government, was passed in May, 1912. But for the amendment made in the Senate by the Republican majority the General Pension Law of today would be even more liberal than it is.



**Good Roads.**—The Federal Road Building Act provides that state and national governments shall contribute equally to construction. This law will develop good road building along right lines, stimulate larger farm production and better marketing, promote a fuller and more attractive rural life, and add greatly to the convenience and economic welfare of all the people.

#### JUSTICE FOR ALL.

President Wilson has shown, during his administration, marked intent to be reasonable and fair with regard to those measures and claims of organized labor calculated to maintain the highest standard of equity for all the people. While he has been eminently fair to the great mass of wage earners, at the same time he has predicated his judgment upon the very evident desire to be fair to all.

President Wilson has been beset with a greater number of serious and all-important problems than any chief executive of our country during the past half century. Through all the trials of greater or lesser importance, he has retained and preserved the dignity of his office and nation, the while mindful of the fact that all men of our time and country are entitled to equal rights and consideration.

For his general interest in labor's cause and for his masterly administrative powers, I favor his return to office for the best good of all the people.

I submit this as a personal opinion and believe that this opinion will be reindorsed most emphatically by the voters of our country and that as a sequence President Wilson will be re-elected.—JOHN R. ALPINE, *President United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters.*

*New York, Aug. 23, 1916.*

**Federal Trade Commission.**—Created to deal with the perplexing questions arising under the anti-trust laws, so that monopoly may be strangled at its birth and legitimate industry encouraged, this new Commission in the year and one-half of its operation has with signal success supplied the demand for a tribunal to arbitrate commercial disputes, to prevent "unfair competition," and to do justice between the public and the great industrial corporations.

**Taxation.**—The Income Tax and the Inheritance Tax place the burden of taxation upon that part of the community best able to bear it. This spirit pervades the downward revision of the tariff in the Underwood Tariff Act, under which labor has prospered as it never has before.

## OPPORTUNITY AND PROSPERITY

IT was ascertained by the Secretary of Labor that more than 5,000,000 men were affected by wage increases between July 1, 1915, and May 15, 1916. There is practically no unemployment at present and only about one per cent. of labor is employed in the munitions industries. It should be borne in mind that the present demand for exports from the United States to European countries does not come alone from military sources. A vast quantity even of those articles which are classed as secondary war supplies goes to the imperative uses of the civil population of the warring nations. The charge that our export business depends wholly upon war demands and has created a prosperity that is blood stained and unworthy, is a political fabrication. Munitions exports were only a fraction over one-eighth of agricultural exports, and less than one-eighth of the total exports of manufacturers.

The building trade industry, which produced nothing for consumption abroad, reports 187 wage increases in 34 states.

There is nothing in our economic program today which speaks in stronger and more convincing terms of the prosperity which the American people now enjoy under "the New Freedom" of Democracy than the wage raise of the average workman. The \$1,800,000,000 increase in the pay envelope which American labor realizes in 1916, as compared with 1909, shows how labor has fared under this Democratic administration.

The tremendous gains achieved through the efforts of the present generation of working people will be lost, if a reactionary Administration should return to power. Labor, in order to maintain the splendid results obtained in these past few years, must rally to the support of the Democratic ticket and work and vote for the reelection of a Democratic Congress and President Wilson.



## DAWN OF GREATER AMERICA

We hold very definite ideals. We believe that the energy and initiative of our people have been too narrowly coached and superintended; that they should be set free, as we have set them free, to disperse themselves throughout the nation; that they should not be concentrated in the hands of a few powerful guides and guardians, as our opponents have again and again, in effect if not in purpose, sought to concentrate them. We believe, moreover—who that looks about him now with comprehending eye can fail to believe?—that the day of little Americanism, with its narrow horizons, when methods of “protection” and industrial nursing were the chief study of our provincial statesmen, are past and gone and that a day of enterprise has at last dawned for the United States whose field is the wide world. \* \* \*

We must hearten and quicken the spirit and efficiency of labor throughout our whole industrial system by everywhere and in all occupations doing justice to the laborer, not only by paying a living wage, but also by making all the conditions that surround labor what they ought to be. And we must do more than justice. We must safeguard life and promote health and safety in every occupation in which they are threatened or imperiled. That is more than justice, and better, because it is humanity and economy. \* \* \*

Upon this record and in the faith of this purpose we go to the country.—WOODROW WILSON.

Sept. 2, 1916.

## FREE MEN AND WOMEN

FOR years Organized Labor contended for certain fundamental and remedial Governmental action to protect, conserve and advance the rights, interests and welfare of the working people.

Under previous Democratic or Republican administrations, controlled by “Big Business,” the rights of the workers were flouted and almost totally ignored.

Under the present administration three of the most important demands of Organized Labor have been enacted into law:

First, THE CLAYTON ACT, which compels the Federal Judges to regard the workers as human beings, and not as property or a commodity at the behest of “Big Business.”

Second, THE SEAMEN’S BILL, which ended the last vestige of human slavery which was tolerated by the United States. Human beings employed in marine and seafaring are no longer regarded as property or used as slaves.

Third, THE CHILD LABOR BILL, which is the first plank in the Preparedness Program of the Chicago Federation of Labor, and which has been urged upon our lawmakers all these years without success.

The administration that successfully handled the most vital affairs of this Republic, while a great crisis has confronted the European Nations, and has successfully proceeded in reconstructing its own foundations so that this will be a Republic in reality, as shown by the enactments of these three great measures, must and surely is deeply imbedded in the hearts of all loyal and liberty loving citizens. Just so sure may we be that President Wilson’s re-election means the realization of the hopes for the future of the common people, and is the only hope for the establishment and perpetuation of a nation of free men and women.—JOHN FITZPATRICK, Chicago, Aug. 20, 1916.

[John Fitzpatrick is the President of the Chicago Federation of Labor.]



## LABOR NOT A COMMODITY

Referring to the sixth section of the Clayton Anti-Trust Law, the section in which the obvious is stated, namely, THAT A MAN'S LABOR IS NOT A COMMODITY BUT A PART OF HIS LIFE, AND THAT, THEREFORE, THE COURTS MUST NOT TREAT IT AS IF IT WERE A COMMODITY, BUT MUST TREAT IT AS IF IT WERE A PART OF HIS LIFE. I am sorry that there were any judges in the United States who had to be told that. It is so obvious that it seems to me as if that section of the Clayton Act were a return to the primer of human liberty; but if the judges have to have the primer opened before them, I am willing to open it.

If any part of the United States, through habit, through ancient prejudice, through long addiction to technical ideas, insists upon living in an age which everybody else with his eyes open knows has gone by, why then we have got to sound some great note that will wake them up, but wake them up always to the same thing, with which we would thrill as well as others; that it is take as well as give; that the other man has as much right as we have; that we are not to seek for an advantage but for an equality; that though we have been put upon, we do not desire to see any other man put upon, or any other class, but that we should all have as our highest ideal merely to bask in that only nourishing sun that has ever shone upon the human heart, the sun of justice and of truth and of humanity.—PRESIDENT WILSON, at the Dedication of the A. F. of L. Building, Washington, July 4, 1916.



Workingmen, Read and  
Reflect!

“Reward Your Friends and  
Defeat Your Enemies”

The Deeds of Lewis  
The Words of Wilson  
Compare Them!



# The Labor Record

of VIVIAN M. LEWIS in the New Jersey  
Assembly

The present Republican candidate for Governor worked for the passage of the following bills during his three terms as Assemblyman, in 1899, 1900 and 1901:

Prohibiting the sale of prison made goods.

Compelling the employment of union labor on all public work.

To prohibit the vicious "company store" evil, which had permitted grasping corporations to make "profitable servants" out of their employes by means of extortionate charges.

To make 8 hours a days work upon all public buildings and improvements.

The Mechanics' Lien Law, of 1899, as well as several supplementary acts thereto, tending to secure to building mechanics the payment of their wages.

The bill to license stationary engineers.

The Child Labor Bill, of 1899, to limit the age and employment hours of women, children and minors. The scope and benefits of this particular bill, to labor, were too small to suit Mr. Lewis, and his record shows that he voted and worked for the passage of two supplementary bills to lighten the burdens of the weak and oppressed.

Limiting the compensation lawyers may charge injured workingmen for bringing and conducting damage suits.

Compelling manufacturers to install dust appliances, to protect the health of their employes.

To create the State Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Requiring the payment of wages in lawful money of the United States every two weeks.

To provide for Free Public Employment Bureaus in cities.

Requiring the union label on all State printing.

To secure the payment of wages to operatives in factories.

Securing to dyers of all kinds their money, by making their bills liens upon the goods.

A supplement to the law, requiring the payment of wages weekly. THE MOST OF THE ABOVE BILLS PASSED THE ASSEMBLY AND EVENTUALLY BECAME LAWS THROUGH THE UNTIRING EFFORTS OF VIVIAN M. LEWIS.

Since retiring from the Assembly, Mr. Lewis has been at all times kindly, courteous and genial to representatives of labor, and has voluntarily used his best efforts to advance labor measures. His influence did much to secure the passage of the law raising the age limit of children employed in factories at night, and HE VIGOROUSLY FOUGHT THE COMPROMISE AMENDMENT WHICH DELAYED THE FULL BENEFIT UNDER THE LAW FOR 15 MONTHS

# The Labor Record

OF WOODROW WILSON

The Aristocratic Candidate of Democratic  
Bosses and Their Wall Street Allies,  
Has Been One of Sustained Opposi-  
tion to Labor's Welfare

## READ

"Labor unions reward the shiftless and incompetent at the expense of the able and industrious."—Woodrow Wilson, February 26th, 1905.

"You know what the usual standard of the employe is in our day. It is to give as little as he may for his wages. Labor is standardized by the trades unions and this is the standard to which it is made to conform.

No one is suffered to do more than the average workman can do; in some trades and handicrafts no one is suffered to do more than the least skillful of his fellows can do within the hours allotted to a day's labor, and no one may work out of hours at all or volunteer anything beyond the minimum. I need not point out how economically disastrous such a regulation of labor is. It is so unprofitable to the employer that in some trades it will presently not be worth while to attempt anything at all. He had better stop altogether than operate at an inevitable and invariable loss. The labor of America is rapidly becoming unprofitable under its present regulation by those who have determined to reduce it to a minimum. Our economic supremacy may be lost because the country grows more and more full of unprofitable servants."—Woodrow Wilson, June 13th, 1909.



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*Fellow Workingmen!*

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*We give you the "Past Performances"  
of the Two Candidates.*

*Make the Majority for Vivian M. Lewis  
so large as to leave no doubt of the  
concrete judgment of Labor.*

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*Fraternally yours,*

***The Progressive Voters of Labor***

*LUKE McKENNY, Secretary*

*Trenton, N. J., October 6, 1910*

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