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MY CONCEPTION of the PRESIDENCY By CHARLES EVANS HUGHES

On the eve of Election Day the American people are entitled to a summary of the things I have stood for in this campaign, as they are the things I shall stand for as President.

No man can tell in advance what unexpected demands the next four years may present but one whose conception of the President's duty rests upon fundamental principles can describe with entire sincerity how the problems of administration would be approached and in what spirit they would be solved.

A man charged with the duty of reaching a desired goal knows that the road to it is found in following that path which sound judgment and clear vision open up step by step. I can show the road I expect to travel.

I propose first of all to start right. The President is primarily an executive. It is his supreme duty to attend to the business of the nation, to safeguard its interests, to anticipate its needs, to enforce its laws.

The first act of a President who takes this view of his duties is to call about him the ablest cabinet the country can furnish, men who can deal with the tremendous international and domestic problems which will confront us in the next four years.

My conception of the Presidency differs absolutely from that of Mr. Wilson. I look upon the President as the administrative head of the Government. He looks upon the President as primarily the political leader and lawmaker of the nation.

In the two departments of Government most closely touching our foreign relations—the Department of State and the Department of the Navy—he chose men whom he knew to be wholly unequal to their duties. Administrative obligation was subordinated to political exigency. I can assure the country that any administration under my direction will stand upon sound administrative ground with the ablest cabinet the country can supply.

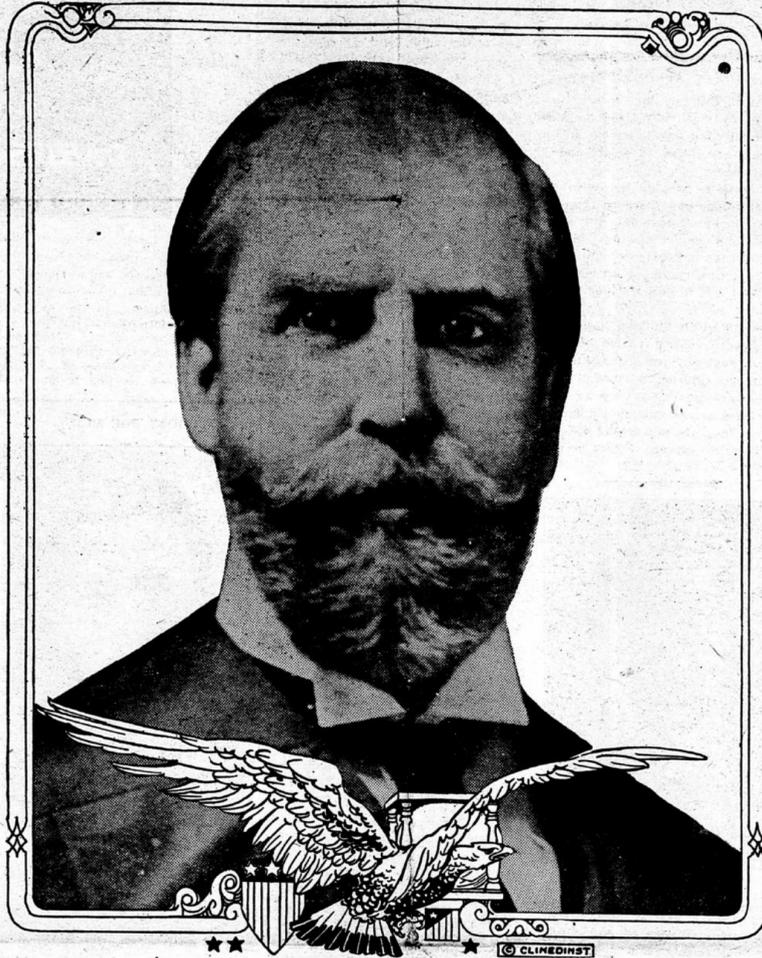
Across the road we are to travel this next four years, even though we start right and move with prudence and courage, serious hazards are thrown like breaks in a roadway made by a torrential rain. These all rise out of the war torrent which has overwhelmed Europe. The first has to do with our foreign relations. It is the President's duty to safeguard the interests of our own nation and to preserve the friendship of every other nation.

No man is more determined than I to maintain the peace which the United States, Spain, Sweden, Norway and all the American republics now enjoy. But I should seek to maintain that peace by a firm and courteous insistence on the rights of our citizens at home and abroad.

An American in Mexico is subject to Mexican law, but he is an American still and is entitled to the protection of his own government in his lawful business. For one I shall never consent to a policy which leaves Americans helpless against the lawlessness of any country in which they have a right to do business.

There confronts labor in the next four years a condition more serious than any that American laboring men have been called upon to face. When this war began over a million American working men were seeking vainly for employment. When the war ends and the developed energies of a new Europe are thrown into commercial production, our nation will face a competition such as it never knew.

One of two things must happen—either millions of men will be seeking work in vain or else there must be thought out in advance the problem of commercial organization as France and England and Germany are seeking to think out the problem today. Every one of these nations is preparing to defend its own market by a protective tariff. The end of the war will end also the opportunities for labor created by the war. The millions in the trenches today will be our industrial competitors tomorrow. If we are to save our laboring men from a catastrophe we must plan a tariff protection



CHARLES EVANS HUGHES
Next President of the United States

Vote Republican Ticket Straight

along sound, just and economic lines. To this endeavor I pledge myself and the men who are to be my colleagues.

In this matter again I differ absolutely from the policy of the present administration. Democratic platforms have declared that the Government has no right to levy tariff duties except for income. This is the fundamental faith of the Democratic party.

I pledge myself and those who stand with me to deal with the needs of laboring men the country over, whatever their trade or organization, upon the principle of giving the largest protection possible to every American working man and the largest participation possible in the prosperity of our industries with special favors to none.

Finally it is to be remembered that every European government is putting itself behind its industries; organizing them, encouraging them and suggesting economies. When the commercial struggle begins anew, the industries of every European country will go into the world markets backed by the effective co-operation and intelligent oversight of their government.

Our national policy requires that government maintain a strict supervision of business organization. This can be done effectively and yet leave the Government free to encourage legitimate and wholesome business enterprise. I stand for such supervision and control of business, but I demand also that business great and small (and especially the small business) be treated fairly and justly. Only under such conditions can business pay living wages or compete with foreign manufacturers.

In this respect again the present administration holds a policy entirely opposite. It has viewed business enterprise with suspicion and has made the government a brake to stop the wheels of legitimate industrial progress. It has treated the business men of this country as though they were suspicious characters. It has assumed that capital and labor are natural enemies. In four years it has put this country further on the road to class war than has been accomplished in a generation before. The men who stand with me believe in the honesty of the American working man, they believe no less in the honesty of the American business man, and they believe that the common good is to be found not in class war but in mutual justice and fair dealing, not as between capital and labor in the abstract but as between men and men.

You know the road we have traveled this last four years. Mr. Bryan and Mr. Daniels are its monuments of executive efficiency. Our murdered and forsaken citizens in Mexico reveal a conception of American citizenship plain enough to see but a new one for American patriotism to adopt; the monument of class bitterness raised by this administration throws a sinister shadow across our political horizon; the unjust accusation against business men has left a bitter taste in our national life. If you prefer this path it is plainly marked. And the end of it is class war.

You ask what road I propose to travel? These are the milestones which mark it—an executive responsible to the whole nation, a cabinet chosen from the ablest Americans, a foreign policy that stands courteously but firmly for American rights, a flag that protects the American in his lawful rights wherever his legitimate business may take him, a preparation for trade competition which shall protect all groups of American workmen, a government oversight of business which will fearlessly eliminate abuses, but will act on the assumption that the average business man is honest, and finally a domestic policy which looks to industrial peace, and to sound and permanent prosperity based upon the development of American trade and the building up of American industries.

We Americans are in one boat. You cannot strike a blow at one group without injury to all. Common justice and fair play will settle our difficulties if suspicion and bitterness are let alone. These are the principles by which I propose to be guided.

CANDIDATES ON THE REPUBLICAN STATE TICKET

 THOS. FRANKSON for Lieut. Governor	 FRANK B. KELLOGG for United States Senator	 LYNDON A. SMITH for Attorney General
 JULIUS A. SCHMAHL for Secretary of State	 J. A. ABURNQUIST for Governor	 HENRY RINES for State Treasurer
		 HIRA B. MILLS for Railroad & Warehouse Commission

ADDRESS TO THE COUNTRY OF THE NATIONAL COLORED CITIZENSHIP CONGRESS AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

The National Colored Citizenship Amendment to the Federal Constitution Congress which met in Washington finally put the power into Federal hands to prevent its recurrence on the adoption of an address American soil. For many years after the close of the Civil War penance was practiced in the South, which never become thoroughly reconciled to the laws prescribing equality of citizenship.

Works of the South. This fact is seen in the widespread efforts to defeat the great purposes of the War Amendment, by the enactment of laws making the disfranchisement of the race a practical reality, by provisions for the separation of Colored passengers from all other racial elements on common carriers by of statutes annulling it within their several borders; and the national government by the enactment of the 13th

charged with offenses never proven in the courts of justice, has become almost a national disease. These social disorders are the aftermath of slavery, and we appeal to all fair minded men and women, to the enlightened moral forces of the country, to unite in a nation-wide effort to correct these abuses to the end that justice may prevail in all sections of our Republic.

Capacity of Colored Americans. The great progress of the Colored race since the day of their liberation from bondage has been made in the face of stupendous difficulties in the face of hate and prejudice, proscription and injustice, and is all the more remarkable because of the powerful influence exerted by these evil agencies. The race has greatly multiplied in numbers, and in usefulness. It has reduced its illiteracy to a very low percentage. It has multiplied its wealth in lands. In religious, educational and industrial movements, it has become an important factor in the national life with ever increasing efficiency. Wherever the door of opportunity has been opened to them, Colored Americans have demonstrated their ability to meet the most exacting

requirements of our civilization. The Colored people have made valuable contributions to Science, Invention, Art, and Literature, and their achievements in our national wars have maintained at a high level the best military traditions of this nation. We desire to express to the friends of liberty and justice for all men throughout this broad land, our grateful appreciation for every service of any character which they have rendered in the past.

We seek nothing but justice, and that equality of rights and that equal opportunity which are denied to none of the other groups in this country, because of race.

Against Reactionary Movement. We denounce the segregation of Colored employees in the civil service of the Federal government as un-American, unjust, a wicked, shameful and disgraceful abuse of power. We denounce the spirit of those so-called representatives of the people in the halls of Congress, who are constantly seeking to decitizenize the Colored race by the introduction of reactionary legislation which belongs to a past age, and which the great body

of the American people have outgrown. Racial Organization, Opposing Segregation.

We call upon the leaders of our race in every section of our country to unselfishly guide the people through the difficulties by which they are beset, and to organize them locally and nationally to resist and combat denial of civil and political rights and especially the policy of separation from fellow Americans of every race in the public life, opposing segregation, the perpetrator of race prejudice.

Those who have wisdom let their counsel be heard. Those who have wealth, let them assist materially where the need is great. Those who have courage, let them stand and contend for justice.

Signed by: Maurice W. Spencer, Del.; Rev. J. H. Eason, Penn.; Rev. J. E. Wood, Ky.; Wm. Monroe Trotter, Mass.; J. H. Murphy, Md.; Rev. R. C. Ransom, N. J.; Mrs. Robert Googins, Mich.; E. W. Powell, Cal.; Rev. E. P. Sydes, R. I.; E. D. Williams, N. C.; Rev. Byron Gunner, N. Y.; Mrs. S. L. Adams, Ill.; Rev. S. L. Corrothers, D. C.; J. L. Peaker, Conn.; Rev. W. H. Powell, Va.

DEMOCRATIC SENTIMENTS. "Every negro must understand here, now, right off, once and forever, that the Southern people will never, even for an instant, agree that the black race is the equal of the white."—New Orleans Times-Democrat.

"The States said years ago, the first and most important step towards a solution of the negro problem should be the withdrawal of the right of suffrage to the negroes by abrogating the Fifteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution."—New Orleans States (Dem.)

Intelligent Negro Disturbing Influence. "The uneducated Negro is a good Negro; he is contented to occupy the natural status of his race, the position of inferiority. The educated and intelligent Negro, who wants to vote, is a disturbing and threatening influence. We don't want him down here; let him go North. I favor, and if elected will urge with all my power, the elimination of the Negro from politics."—Hoke Smith, United States Senator from Georgia.

"Turn the African Tree Climbers Out."

Go down to the Pension Office and take out the Africans. Then go down to the War and Navy Building and take those black sons of the cocoanut region, who sit there with big brown drops of sweat coming out of their foreheads, kick them out. Turn this brood of African tree climbers out to earn a living on the farms and in the fields.—Congressman Roddenbery (Democrat) of Georgia, in a speech in House of Representatives, April 19, 1912.

If Necessary Every Negro Will Be Lynched.

"How is the white man going to control the government? The way we do it is to pass laws to fit the white man and make the other people (Negroes) come to them. . . . If it is necessary every Negro in the state will be lynched; it will be done to maintain white supremacy. . . . The Fifteenth Amendment ought to be wiped out. We all agree on that; then why don't we do it?—Ex-Governor James K. Vardaman of Mississippi, now U. S. Senator-elect.