

COX HELD RAILED BY WILSON AND BOSSES

Hays Opens Maine Campaign With Financing Talk.

PARTY METHOD IS UPHELD

Most of Republican National Committee Chairman's Address Is Devoted to Funds.

AUGUSTA, Me., Aug. 21.—Will H. Hays, chairman of the republican national committee, today opened his party's campaign in this state for election of members of congress with a speech in which he asserted that Governor Cox was dominated by President Wilson and four unnamed "bosses."

Mr. Hays devoted much of his speech to discussing campaign funds, denying vigorously that the republican party planned to spend excessive sums to elect Senator Harding and Governor Coolidge. Also denying that millions had "gone into the republican treasury" from "certain interests banded together to buy the presidency"—a statement which he credited to Governor Cox—Mr. Hays declared that this amounted to a charge of conspiracy to betray the country.

Financing Plan Discussed.

Referring to the republican plan to limit individual campaign contributions to \$1000, Mr. Hays said: "If this attempt fails to produce the requisite sums, we shall so state publicly, increase the maximum, and seek additional contributions."

Declaring that the party needed about \$3,000,000, Mr. Hays said that no criticism of the democratic candidates would be offered. "Nor shall we, in resentful emulation of the positive character of the democratic candidates, so much as intimate that their responsible officers will use any part of their funds corruptly," he said. "Frankly and squarely, as between mutual respecting citizens, we don't believe they will or would if they could."

"But I give fair warning now that neither the republican candidates nor the republican management will take false aspersions lying down. If, at the decision of our adversaries, this campaign shall finally resolve into a question of personal charges, we know of no reason, aside from national detestation, why we should meet that issue as readily as any other."

The text of Mr. Hays' speech follows:

Chicago Speech Recalled.

The functions of the chairman of a national committee have never been precisely defined, but, by common consent, however, has convinced me that the tasks which devolve upon me are sufficiently numerous and onerous without including more of speech making, the principal part of my duty is to see that our platform, are elucidated by our candidates and amplified by our public speakers and our public journals. It is an admirable arrangement and one that should suffice.

And yet I did make a speech at the Chicago convention. It was not long. Indeed it was such a little one that you may not have noticed it. I uttered three sentences, possibly four. One I recall distinctly. It was to the effect that the republican party was meeting to accept from the people a mandate for the government of the United States. That statement was made in anticipation of the election to come in November. My accuracy I am more firmly convinced now on the eve of September than I was then at the beginning of the year. I declared further that the great party of the union had become united and that there would be no bolt from that convention. That prediction has been fulfilled to a degree that seemed hardly imaginable. There was no bolt from the convention then; there has been no bolt from its candidates since. Probably never before in the history of our party has the natural estrife of over nominations been followed by so complete unanimity of acceptance and approval. It is a part of my business to detect and see signs of disaffection, and I tell honestly that I have found none, either in factions or among individuals. The bringing of this splendidly encouraged message constitutes the chief reason for my being here today.

Campaign Is Opened.

I addressed these few heartening words to the delegates in Chicago as your party chairman, merely to "open the convention." It is in the same capacity that I now speak to you on behalf of the republican national committee, an organization—to open the campaign.

I shall say little of the issues involved. It is not necessary. They are being raised more clearly and daily with incomparable lucidity, directness and frankness by your candidates. It suffices for me to direct your attention to one point of particular significance. We have a wonderful readiness to meet your adversaries upon any battlefield they might choose.

When they concentrated us on the league covenant in the course of an "ir" or the crossing of a "U" we met them squarely. When, through their national managers, they opened a conference with their candidate, they pronounced the covenant only "secondary issues," and you acquiesced. When the candidates reversed their former attitude and declared the Wilson league the sole issue, we accepted most readily.

Where issues, they have found it wholly conjectural. They may conclude to stake their all upon the weighing of the relative merits of the respective candidates. They may prefer to contrast recent republican cabinets with that which maintains a wayward and hardly recognizable existence.

Profiteering Is Considered. They may wish to stand upon the actual results of their eight-year-old pledges to reduce the cost of living, their fresh promise to dilate upon the fact of the fact that all profiteering brings an end to itself, and continues to flourish upon their own supplies.

They may like to contrast the types and characters of justices of the supreme court to be appointed by one or the other of the two nominees. They may again rest upon their stogans of four years ago—"He kept us out of the war," "Peace, preparedness and prosperity," "World peace in Europe, peace in America, thank God for Wilson."

They may seek popularity in substituting for "first in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen," an application of that old maxim of the moment, "last in war, last in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen."

It is for their new leader, now zig-zagging back and forth from the sister blight of the solist of the democratic party to the further presence of its quartet of bosses, to make his selection. It matters not to us. Our only requirement is that there shall be no restrictions. This referendum is going to be great, the solemn, impressive known. Before ended it will have comprised every phase of maladministration and every flock of miseries upon a people who have every right to be prosperous and contented.

The democratic candidate appeals

to both the Wilson and the anti-Wilson factions of his party. To the former he holds forth the president's platform, to the latter he exhibits himself as an advocate of complete change in administration. Idealism for the sentimentalists, patronage for the machinists—that is his motto, and he offers to the country for foreign use the Wilson government and domestic service Tammany hall—truly a marvelous combination of impotence and ill-repute.

At the highest authority we are informed that no man can serve two masters. But what of one master and four others? Obviously, if he recognized dexterity, the democratic candidate hopes to be able to hold to both, seemingly despised by the one, not loved by the other. What, pray, can be deduced from the master processes of one who solemnly defines the Monroe doctrine as "the very essence of Article X" precisely as, while like accuracy, one might define vaccination as "the very essence of smallpox." But I have no wish to follow the tortuous road to the trail's end—at least not.

Thus far, but one of the joint assertions of the democratic candidates bears directly upon my department. Speaking in Chicago on August 11, Secretary Roosevelt announced that the republican campaign fund would exceed \$30,000,000, and added that "such a sum could not be honestly expended." Three days later, to "bring up" the republican party to the New York Times' report, Governor Cox "caused a sensation and broke the hearts of our republican friends when he charged that certain interests were banding together to buy the presidency—and that millions had been contributed to the campaign fund of the republican party with sinister intent."

"They want to be the sponsors of the American government," said Governor Cox. "I assure you that they are not, and they certainly will not be." Their check-books are ready, and open, and hundreds of thousands—yes, millions—have gone into the republican treasury to buy an underhold on the government.

Financing Plan Explained.

Mr. Roosevelt gave as his authority for his accusation "an item he had read in a newspaper." Mr. Cox submitted no evidence whatever. Both these men knew that the republican national committee had adopted a year ago, for financing our campaign by a method of decentralized giving, not from a central fund, but from a great many, with a limit of \$1000 to each contributor. It was publicly approved the plan, and that the committee had adopted it after he was nominated.

Knowing all this, Mr. Roosevelt asserted that the republican campaign fund would reach the colossal sum of \$30,000,000. Mr. Cox declared, apparently of his own knowledge, that millions had already "gone into the republican treasury" from "certain interests banded together to buy the presidency."

They thus deliberately accused Mr. Harding, your national committee and myself of being engaged in a conspiracy to betray our country. If that I submit is a serious charge, it is one which I cannot but consider. If it could be substantiated no pun being as faithful as Washington, as humble as Lincoln and as unfrail as Roosevelt—your leader, your candidate and your friend. I should never have to ask you, Americans of Maine. My sole injunction would be: you hold the post of honor, you must point the way. So before you go to the polls, let your eyes rest for a moment upon the 23rd part of the 48 which gleam from the background of blue. That star, the star of Maine, the north star of the republic, the north star of the galaxy on our national emblem. Let it not be tarnished now.

Illumine it fresh by sending forth the message that Maine continues inflexibly American and rejoices in the privilege of being the first to voice to her sister states the spirit of complete victory which surely in November will crown Warren G. Harding and Calvin Coolidge, now leaders of the party, then leaders of the republic.

Difficulties Are Cited.

What does sadden me is that calumnies such as this can be spread broadcast through the columns of great journals without evoking rebuke from the guides and leaders of public opinion who control those powerful agencies. There has been no secret about what we are doing. We have discussed the matter personally with many of the foremost editors of independent and democratic newspapers throughout the country. I have found it difficult, naturally, involved in effecting so marked an innovation. I have sought their advice and suggestions and they have received assurance of sympathy and support. I have endeavored to no more, no less than an earnest endeavor to eliminate money as a controlling factor in our politics.

Nothing has been said, of course, nothing will be concealed. By reason of the enlarged electorate and the greatly increased cost of all things, we figure that there will be required a total of about \$3,000,000, an average of about 10 cents per voter. This has been received in small contributions from 50 per cent of whom have never before subscribed to party funds. The larger sums we shall no longer be able to raise under the plan of limited contributions which you must have proved successful. If this requisite should fall to produce the requisite sums, we shall no longer be able to increase the maximum and seek additional contributions. But should it succeed, as I believe it will, the achievement, if I may quote a prominent democratic editor, "would transcend in ultimate and definite good to the country the election of a dozen presidents."

Endeavor Declared Worthy.

In any case, the endeavor surely cannot be considered unworthy of commendation or even of encouragement. We have not tried to make public our campaign. We have not been criticized and have not thought of criticizing our opponents for adhering to the old method of accepting the largest contributions obtainable. What is their right and privilege under the existing statutes. Nor shall we be resentful of the positive charges of the democratic candidates nor emulate them even so far as to intimate that their responsible officers will use any part of their funds corruptly. Frankly and squarely, as between mutual respecting citizens, we don't believe they will, if they could. But I give fair warning now that neither the republican candidates nor the republican management will take false aspersions lying down. If, at the instance of our adversaries, this campaign shall finally resolve into a question of personal character, we know of no reason, aside from national detestation, why we should meet that issue as readily as any other.

With Warren G. Harding and Calvin Coolidge as our candidates, all we propose to have is a fair and honest picture of a man and the sons and daughters of American. Sometimes a picture points a principle no less than a moral. Such an one recurs to my mind. It was a cartoon published recently in the Boston Herald. It showed the speaker of the republican party, Governor Cox, delivered his chief newspaper supporter in New York City. It depicted the candidate hauling a flag to the top of a pole.

The banner was unfamiliar to the eye but unmistakable in its meaning. It bore no heraldic device or other symbol. The words "Peace, preparedness and prosperity" were written on a strip, not a suggestion of a star. Emblazoned upon a plain background in large letters were the words, "the league of nations," and "peace, preparedness and prosperity" of an old party. It symbolized the surrender of American independence—a surrender, please God, that shall never be made so long as the spirit of patriotism continues to animate the leaders of the American freedom.

Portrait Declared Apt.

But a more apt or more exact portrayal of the chief purpose of the democratic party, dictated by its leader and declared by its candidate, could not be devised. It is a picture which I am proud to have on my wall. As I looked at that striking and significant picture, I was reminded of the words of the poet, "I wish that I were capable of not but a companion picture that should emphasize the contrast between our aspirations and ours. There would be nothing strange to the vision, nothing startling to the emotions. It would be a mere reproduction of that first star-spangled banner, produced by the nimble fingers of Betty Ross."

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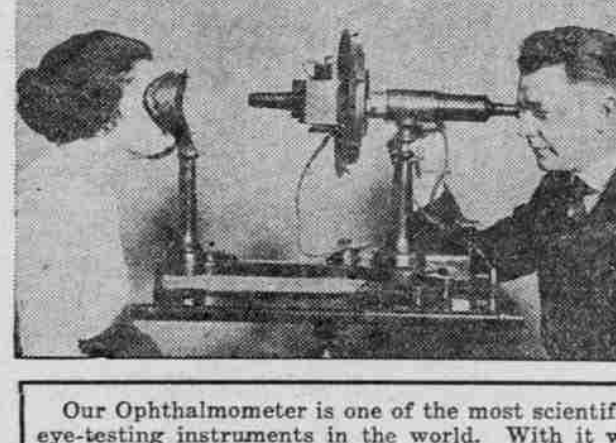
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