## Cox Wildly Applauded When Driving Home Points in Speech at The Auditorium

## LEAGUE WOULD END WORK OF WAR, SAYS DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE, SPEAKING BEFORE HUGE MID-AFTERNOON CROWD

stand as a reactionary in the battles of the world?"

The speaker touched upon the fight that had been waged in his own state for progress in government. He spoke of the enactment of the mothers' pension law, of the industrial accident insurance act, and of other enactments of similar type, and he said "the women of Ohio knew what we were talking about long before the men of the state, for they knew what we were talking about long before the men of the state, for they were interested in the humanitarian things of the world, the men in the things material. They knew, as the people have learned," he said, "that the child better off with its mother than in a public institution, no matter what the

In his discussion of the workmen's compensation law he switched his guns Oregonward to say, "I know something of the newspapers of the country, I am a publisher myself, and I know there was but one newspaper in America which openly opposed the workmen's compensation act, and that newspaper was published in Portland."

The full text of the speech follows: Chairman, and Ladies and Gentlemer deem it a great honor, and one quite the like of which I have not known before, to be presented as I have been this afternoon. The chairman of the meeting has made some reference to an hour spent within four walls yesterday. It a recollection that will always be eweled with many joys in my mind, and as this great philosopher left the hotel. to be severed with the world and that cept government. he was to live, and live only, with his WOMEN PROGRESSIVE great soul. What a sublime thought it in Ohio, when we began our prois! What a privilege it is to live in a gressive fight—I want to be frank, I do not want to be invidious—the women and his aspirations for humankind find knew what we were talking about betheir way into the columns daily of a

the visit to your state. I came across the plains and then the mountains, and when we crossed what is known as the Great Divide, there was a thought that took possession of me. Dr. Goldsmith took possession of me. Dr. Goldsmith and I were talking together at the time. But even though he might have made some reference to it in audiences that he has addressed. I must speak the sensation that I felt as we crossed the Great Divide. Leaving the Mississippi valley empire behind and looking westward to the mysteries of this great Pacific land in which you live, I could not but feel that we had come to the turn of the road in the civilization of the world, that we were leaving the old order behind us and that the almighty had given to us an opportunity to estabsation had never known anything about. PEOPLE DRAWN TOGETHER

You know, as I said a while ago in speaking of the almighty, he never takes us into his confidence, and if we will but us into his confidence, and it we will but reflect upon the great tragedies of his-tory, if we will but reflect upon what for the time seemed to be tragedies in our own lives, we will find hidden someour own lives, we will find hidden some-where a great compensation. When the flood of 1913 struck the commonwealth of Ohio, I chanced to be its governor. Whole communities were desolated. It looked as though they were beyond re-pair, but the destruction was only that of material things. The reward was that the communities found their souls. They sensed their strength. People had lived across the street for generations with only a passing acquaintance and lived across the street for generations with only a passing acquaintance, and during the days of the flood rich men and poor men, millionaires and working people, marched as members of the bread line, getting their rations of bread and potatoes. Out of all came an entirely new order. Out of it came better communities; out of it came a scheme carefully and scientifically engineered, and as a result of that, the sons of men in the future, in the valleys of Ohio that were devastated, will be held free. The floods are checked by the hands

able tragedy through which we hav

tions that have preceded us, and it is fitting that we of this day should render service to the generations which were to come?

\*\*KEEP CHILD AT HOME\*

"We have received much from our fathers." the speaker said. "therefore we owe much to the next generation. How can anyone in the face of the mary velous advancement of the present stand as a reactionary in the battles of the world?"

lived.

And then, if we analyze that, we will be reminded of this, that the genius of civilization in the main is the service that one generation will render and the sacrifice that one generation. We live in the soiden day of humanity, measured by the past and the present. It has been rendered such by the service of generations that have preceded us and it behoved us to make some great contribution to the generations to come. Civilization, if you please, is nething more nor less, anyhow, than a great relay race. I liken it to a great athletic event, and each generation gives

SEES GREAT CHANGES

As we crossed the Great Divide, I was impressed not only with the beauties of this great country, but I was impressed with the changes that are constantly coming through the genius of man. I could see the high tension wires. I could see the power that was taken from the waters and promite was taken I could see the power that was taken from the waters and passed over the mountains to serve the purposes of man. I could see how different all of that was from the agencies of civilization that our fathers knew. And then I said to myself, "How can anyone in the face of the marvelous development in the world, scientific, governmental and otherwise, how can anyone be a reactionary in these days of intellectual awakening?" (Applause.)

(Applause.)

(Applause.)

Now, it has been my special joy to fight reaction for eight years. The Lord has been good to me, and the force that has always been opposed to me has been that of reaction. I decline to believe that if we were progressing in the arts, in the sciences, in every departure of life, that government ought to stand still, the only non-progressive part of all our civilization, because I believe that hundreds and thousands of human intelligences are every day beating and pounding on Mother Nature's storehouse of mysteries, and every hour and every will not be violated, and every law on the statute books and every section of my reflection was that God moves in of mysteries, and every hour and every mysterious ways, and in shaping the destiny of this man, his mandate was that his communication into sense was

fore the men knew what we were talk-ing about (applause), and they did for this reason: Women in government are This has been a very delightful visit, more progressive than men are in gov-he visit to your state. I came across ernment, and they are more progressive he plains and then the mountains, and ference between progress and reaction, and the difference is this—I stated it this morning: I state it this afternoon—the difference is this: The reactionary I were talking together at the time, is interested in the materialistic thing; teem though he might have made the reference to it in audiences that has addressed. I must speak the sential and in the humanitarian, and it is the humanitarian thing in government that holds the interest and claims the understanding of women.

went to work. I that was all right. award a pension to these mothers, that no matter how humble the home was, the child was better off with the mother

tions of a free government amount to

FELL ON INDIVIDUAL .

And then, when we talked about pro-tecting people in the mills and the fac-tories, when we called attention to the fact that there will always be an average of accidents but that the average can by care be reduced, and that the old order was unfair, and so unjust, so cruel, that the burden holding to the average of accidents in the past fell upon the individual and the new order said that was not fair, that the service that was help reduced. floods are checked by the hands genius. And now it may be that great reward that is to come to generations in the future is, after the compensation of this unspeak-

talking about it, women understood, women atcod behind me in the great fight. Men marched into my office, sometimes 300 strong, urging that the bill be not passed, claiming we would have smokeless chimneys in Ohio if it were passed, and I asked them how many had read the bill, and I was not able to find one that had read it. But the women of Ohio builded the public opinion. They buttressed what we were seeking to do with their prayers and their labors, they spoke the gospel of humanity everywhere, and when the vote was taken, in both branches of the legislature, there was not a member of either branch that dared to vote against it. (Applause.)

I have been told that when the workmen's compensation law was passed in this state, that appeone had the effrontery to carry it to the people. How proud I am of the citizenship of Oregon, after knowing that every county sustained that righteous law. So far as I know—and I have a considerable acquaintance with the newspapers of America. I am a publisher myself—there never was but one so-called large America. I am a publisher myself—there never was but one so-called large newspaper in America that ever openly opposed the workmen's compensation law, and that newspaper is published in Portland. (Applause.)

PROHIBITION NOT ISSUE

I don't want to be misunderstood, but, oh, the false philosophy of newspa-per publishers who are unfair to their readers. When Senator Harding's speech of acceptance was made, I instructed of acceptance was made, I instructed both of my newspapers to publish every line of it in full, because the people of our communities were entitled to know what he said. I mention that only in a spirit of fairness. Now then, when we come finto this great Western country, spirit of fairness. Now then, when we come finto this great Western country, I find here that there is a disposition in the face of the greatest problems man has ever known anything about to divide the forces of world peace by introducing an extraneous question in this campaign, as I see it, a question that is not an issue-in this campaign, and the newspaper has become singularly dry in its predilections (laughter and applause), and wants to know how I feel about it. Well, I will tell them. That is not an issue in this campaign; neither is slavery. (Laughter and applause.) The amendment has been written into the constitution; the question in the future. (Applause.)

Now then, there are attempts being made to divide these forces in other ways. When Columbus discovered America he threw back the curtain, and there began the greatest drama in all the history of the civilization of the world. For hundreds of thousands of years the bow-els of the earth had been stored with minerals; for thousands, and thousands of years the forests had grown, the soil had been given fertility; this continent which we now call America had been preserved, had been prepared by a hand on high. In preparation for what? It was to become the field of experimentation. tion. Here a democracy in government was to grow, not only to carry the bless-ings of a free government to our own people but it was to be an inspiration and a lesson to the peoples in other parts of the world; it was to be an asylum, if you please; it was to be a haven.

that was all right. The new order said, "Let us preserve the homes. It will be a real contribution to society, and society can afford to pay in proportion to what it receives." Therefore, the new there the Puritan, there the old Covenier proposed that the counties should nanters, there the cavaliers, there the Award a pension to these methers that Huguenots met for the first time in all the history of this earth. They met on the soil of Ohio; they intermarried; they the child was better off with the mother than it was in a public institution. (Applause.)

Oh, the thousands and thousands of homes in our state that look upon government with reverence, with affection, that realize after all that the institutions of a free government amount to the soil of Onio; they intermarried; they followed their beloved dead to the grave, and the dust became the it and America became their home. We became their home. We became their home. came a composite people. It was in the something and that the phrase is not divine scheme of things that we should an idle one.

And I ask you in that connection whether you can't see the unfolding of it now with the small nations of the world striving for their own freedom with the small nations of the world—I mean ra-clal groups—with the small nations of the world, governmental entities already established, anxious and desirous that they can maintain their freedom without the expense, of building and holding large armaments. Here we have in America a composite people making the heart of America sympathetic with what is going on overseas. It is beyond question a part of the whole scheme of things that the moral force of America shall that the moral force of America shall be exerted in the settlement of this great

SUBTLE LIBERTY

Now what is being done in America? Sums of money are being expended in the most subtle and insidious way. The Italian groups are approached with the statement that except for this administration Fiume would have gone to Italy; and then paid emissaries to go to the Czecho-Slavs, the Jugo-Slavs, and say. "Except for America Dalmatia would have been definitely disposed of"; then they go to the Jews and say "Except for America the question of persecution for religious belief might have had more America the question of persecution for religious belief might have had more consideration"; they go to the Irish and say. "Except for America Irish freedom would have had more attention at the peace table;" they go to the Germans and say, "Except for American indemnity would not have been so severe." What is the result of this? The engendering of racial feeling in a country made dering of racial feeling in a country made up of a composite people. If we are to render any real service to humanity we must be harmonious in America, and any group of men, any political party which adopts deliberately the policy of stirring up racial feeling between groups in America ought to be ashamed of it-

Now in the early days out in this country everybody was permitted to car-ry either a rifle or a pistol, for the rea-son that individual pretection necessi-tated it; but civilization in her steady normal evolutionary processes brought changes, and when you established a county the people elected a sheriff, and upon the sheriff was visited the task of seeing to the enforcement of a new law which provided that men should not carry concealed weapons. Why? Because the peace of the community in a sense was disturbed. And then when cities were formed police forces were established and ordinances were passed making the carrying or concealed weapons.

ing the carrying or concealed weapons il-

MAKE WAR IMPOSSIBLE Now the nations of the world have not progressed as have the states and the counties of the United States, and after years and years of the waste of resource, the civilization of the world out of breath, out of money, out of strength, finally recognizes that the old order won't do and that a new order must be established. Linder the old order the went do and that a new order must be established. Under the old order the divine right of kings was not challenged. Who would think of proposing such a thing now? Under the old order kings and potentates could order the sons of men into the trenches of battle over-night. They can't do it any more. Ev-ery imperialist in Europe is opposed to ery imperialist in Europe is opposed to the League of Nations. Why? Because he realizes that a world league of nations means a world democracy. (Ap-

Now, as I said this morning, when your soldiers went overseas there was a pledge given to the mothers and the fathers of this state. When went to salt water with every large Ohio unit I said "God speed" to all our boys, and the last forewell to some; when I came back the pledge in the mame of our state was just what you gave out here, and that was that we were going to fight and win this war in order to make wars in the future impossible. (Applause.) Now then, I ask you whether we are going to keep the faith: I ask you whether that ought to be a political outsetler.

TREATY REMAINS BUTT

I am reminded, after reading a book printed by our distinguished Dr. Lovejoy on the stage, I read there what Herbert Hoover said, in which he expressed his regret that this subject would ever become a political subject. Now why was it made a political subject? Our soldiers won our war in about 18 months time, and it has taken the United States senate longer to conclude the treaty of peace than it did the soldiers of the United States to win the war. (Applause.)

More than a year ago I talked with one of the greatest—perhaps the great-est—spiritual leaders of this war. He When we talked in Ohio about a mother's pension, most men said that I was an uplifter, but women knew what I was talking about. Under the old order in Ohio, when a man without to a public institution and the widow went to work. Under the old order the ol about it. I am compelled to tell you the truth. They don't ratify it because there is a group of men there that want to multiply the woes of mankind; they want them to accumulate; they want them to be at the very acute stage in 1920, in order that they may be charged 1920, in order that they may be charged against the administration in power, and in order that they may win a presidential election." Well, he said: "If they only knew the conditions overseas, if they only knew how civilization on one side of the water, can easily be affected by the disorders on the other side of the water, they would stop playing with the heartstrings of humanity; because, unless they stop this business, there might not be a presidential election in America in 1920."

BOUND ROBIN SIGNED

ROUND ROBIN SIGNED That was the thought of that great man of God, expressed at that time. Long before you knew what the league was, long before it had been concluded was, long before it had been concluded in Europe, a group of men in the United States senate signed a round robin that they were against the league. Why? Because they thought it might reflect Because they thought it might reflect some credit upon the president of the United States, who; chanced to be of the opposition party. (Applause.) A few days ago when I started telling the truth about campaign contributions someone charged me with getting a little rough, and I made the simple inequiry, "Who is it that is complaining, except a band of men who have fought without feeling and without conscience a sick man who could not defend himself?" (Great applause, the audience standing). a sick man who could not defend him-self?" (Great applause, the audience standing). Now my contest in this cam-paign is with that group. I have no quarrel with the rank and file of the Republican party: I recognize that it is a great organization: It has contributed much to the glories of this republic; but I am opposed to this group, because it has departed from the idealism of Abraham Lincoln, it has departed from the idealism of William McKinley, it has departed from the idealism of Theodore Rossaveli (appliance) Theodore Roosevelt (applause), and it has paid no attention whatsoever to the rank and file of that party in nominating the candidate for the presidency this year.

this year.

Now I revert to the question. First of all it was said that the instrument was faulty, that it ought to be patched up and that then it probably might be all right. But the Lodge reservations were contended for, the senate adjourned, they were not adopted, and when the convention assembled at Chicago nothing was said in behalf of the Lodge reservations. On the contrary, in the face of the most staggering responsibility that this country has ever known anything about the senatorial oligarchy wrote into the Republican platform a plank on the subject of the League of Nations that you do not know the meaning of, and no one else knows the meaning of it. (Laughter.)

BOTH JOHNSON AND TAFT

BOTH JOHNSON AND TAFT

Now, what was the plank? It was rendered ambiguous for a very deliberate purpose, because if ambiguous, then all elements of leadership might accept it. Hiram Johnson, a great progressive (scattering applause), a man who has rendered great service in his own state—I commend a man who speaks plainly; whether I agree with him or not, I respect a man who talks in terms you can understand [applause])—and that is why I respect H Johnson of California; but Johnson said "The platform is all right." Now, Johnson is against any kind of a league whatsoever. President Taft, who is for the league, an ex-president, said it is all right; and he is for this league or some league at any rate. And then the candidate of the party came forward and he expressed his opinion. First of all he said he was going to make a separate peace with Germany. Now let us analyze that just for a moment. Who made that peace with Germany? President Wilson didn't; Lloyd George didn't; the soldier boys of America stood watch on the Rhine with 2,000,000 splendid fellows behind them, and while they were there Germany signed the peace treaty. (Applause.) BOTH JOHNSON AND TAFT

(Applause.)

And now it is proposed by the candidate of reaction to scrap that treaty, the treaty made by our soldier boys, and he proposes another treaty with Germany, and then he says, after having made a separate peace pact with Germany, he is going to turn to the other nations of the world and establish

Well, then, time passed on and other changes came from the reactionary candidate. In one speech he said that the peace pact, or the covenant, rather, might be put to some use after all, and in the same speech—and I have his literal words—he said that it was absolutely beyond recall. Now I can't follow these mental processes. I do not know just precisely what is in the mind of the senator, but I do want to meet an objection that probably has been expressed here, and that is this: Some people have said—some people have people have said—some people have said it sincerely, some leaders have said it hypocritically—that the League of Nations would mean that our boys Nations would mean that our boys could be and would be ordered over-seas every time a controversy arose in Europe. There is not a high school bey Europe. There is not a high school bey nor girl here but who knews perfectly well' that the only power to declare war is with the congress of the United States. (Applause.)

The president is the commander-in-chief of the army and the navy, but he can't declare war. In the face of all the grievances that America had in April, 1917, it was necessary for the president, before we could move a step, to go into the congress; there he met the members of both houses; there he recited all that had taken place, and he urged the congress to declare war; and there would not have been war if the congress had not declared it. Now then, I repeat there can't be war without a declaration by congress. Congress has a new mas-ter, or, rather, a new mistress now, and it will be infinitely harder for any de-cree of war in the future than it ever has been in the past, because the mother heart of America knows what war is and knows it better than the male heart of America; and it seems to me providential that the mothers of America are given a vote this year, because they will have the opportunity of saving the civilization of the world, (Applause.) STRENGTH IS MORAL

Now, there is another reason why the boys can't be ordered overseas. If any difficulty arises which might even threaten hostilities of any kind, the matter will be brought up in the council and there can be no action in the coun-cil at any time except by unanimous vote, and America herself could veto it by the expression of her voice; and even then, if favorable action should be taken, that action amounts to nothing except to advise America of the situation, and the action again is with the

people in order that we whould be free an entirely new relationship. Nobody the moral strength. I remind you of second might be just as unfair, leaning advocated—I am sorry I can't discuss absolutely from racial prejudice. knows what it is; the specifications have this: That we have lived almost 100 toward the other extreme, as the first knows what it is; the specifications have not even been hinted at; but I can give years under the Monroe doctrine in the you a hint as to how successful it. will be when I suggest that if we perform the perfidious act of deserting our allies, how many nations of the world will have anything to do with us in the establishment of a new relationship? Russia—yes, Turkey—yes; Mexico—yes. (Laughter). But America—and I do not lies, how many nations of the world will have anything to do with us in the establishment of a new relationship? Russis—yes, Turkey—yes; Mexico—yes. (Laughter). But America—and I do not speak unkindly of those countries—America wants to keep different company, if you please. (Applause.)

MEANING AMBIGUOUS

Well, then, time passed on and other changes came from the reactionary candidate. In one speech he said that the peace pact, or the covenant, rather, might be put to some use after all, and in the same speech—and I have his literal words—he said that it was absolutely havend recall. Now I can't follow

a group of nations in Europe, cannot pay their national debt? I recognize that big business in America this year is casting its strength for reaction. It usually does. It does not want changes made, because it gets on very well under the existing status quo, and it does not want to be routed out. BUSINESS MUST BEHAVE

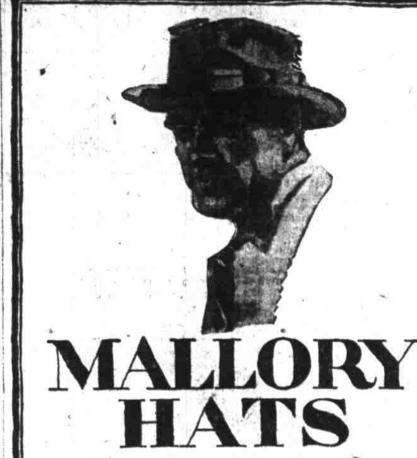
BUSINESS MUST BEHAVE

Before responding to the guestion that I propose, I want to remind the business, interests so-called in America;—and I am a part of the business organization of America; I have my own business; I built it out of its own innards; it has been the joy of my life—the policy of the government should not be destructive of business, but business must behave itself, and no business interests, vested or otherwise, by any preferences, can gain any insights, can acquire any government underhold. acquire any government underhold.

Now, I ask the conservative whether
this is not true: If you have a pendulum here and pull it to the ceiling
over here and let loose of it, what is
going to happen? Just what happened
in France in the French Revolution: in France in the French Revolution; just what has happened in Russia. Someone, when I passed over North Dakota. said to me, "What about Russia." And I raplied then, and I rapeat an observation I made this morning, because it is vital in the contemplation of present conditions, "The situation in Russia is this: The disorder is not the result so much of present governmental conditions," and I am not expressing any sympathy with them, "but the disorder in the main is the result of accumulated despotism for hundreds and hundreds of years in Russia." (Applause.) And I said to the farmer, "If you don't cultivate your corn it gets full of weeds?" And he said, "Yes." And if we don't cultivate the practices and the principles of progressive and just and fair ples of progressive and just and fair government in America, we are going to develop radicalism in America.

Now my belief is that we can avoid radicalism by maintaining the right kind of governmental policies. It is very essential that that be done. But, Businessman, no readjustment has to be made—no readjuste under reactionary auspice made under reactionary auspices is going to carry with it the confidence of congress.

Now, the truth of the matter is that the great strength behind this pact, the great strength behind this agreement, is going to have another one, and the



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