

Complete Text of Acceptance Speech by Col. Frank Knox

By United Press
CHICAGO, July 31.—The full text of the address of Frank Knox accepting the Republican nomination for Vice President:

Senator Steiwer, fellow citizens: You have heard the eloquent words of that stalwart statesman from our sister state of Oregon, Senator Steiwer. You have heard him convey to me the official notification of my nomination by the Republican Party for the high office of Vice President of the United States. You have heard his call to all citizens to join in a crusade for sound government in America. You have heard his friendly and flattering references to me.

It becomes my privilege and my duty to accept this call to service. I am deeply conscious of the personal honor that has been conferred on me by the Republican Party. I am deeply conscious also of the responsibility that rests on me to bear this honor worthily. But I am, above all, conscious of the opportunity for service. Even above and beyond my profound appreciation of the honor and the responsibility that have been given me is my appreciation of the opportunity to serve not only my party but my country.

It is customary in acknowledgments of this kind to avoid personal references. Tonight, I am going to depart briefly from that custom. I am a working man. I have always worked. I began to work as a small boy in a small town in Michigan. Throughout my life, I have followed one guiding principle. That principle was to do as best I could the job that lay before me. That principle carried me into life and work in a fine New England town. It took me into difficult and responsible work in the great city of New York. It carried me into the service of my country in two wars. It brought me to my work and my home in the great city of Chicago, the metropolis of a great state in a great Middle West empire.

"I ACCEPT CALL"

And I am moved tonight by a realization that in this crusade for the restoration of sound government in our land there is before me the greatest opportunity for service that has ever come to me. Long years ago, I learned as a buck private the lessons of duty and of loyalty. In the years that have passed I have learned the equally important lesson that the greatest achievement of any man is service to his fellow citizens. In this spirit of service I accept the call of my party. I pledge my loyalty to the principles of the Republican Party. I pledge my loyalty to the principles of sound and honest government. I pledge my personal loyalty to that great Governor of a prairie state, the next President of the United States, the Honorable Alf Landon.

It is no ordinary campaign that confronts us. It is no ordinary political choice that the country must make next November. In every other, it is for the nation to decide whether the Administration in office has performed its duty. There is always the question whether the Administration in office has met its responsibilities honestly and fairly and wisely. There is always the question whether it has fulfilled the stewardship entrusted to it and earned thereby a renewal of its direction of government for four more years. In every election the people must decide whether they shall say: "Well done, thou good and faithful servant."

In this first and ordinary issue the present Administration is found wanting. It has failed to meet its responsibility for the orderly, economical, and impartial administration of the affairs of the nation.

More than three years ago the present Administration took command of the American government. No Administration in the history of the nation has had so glorious an opportunity. The country had already begun to emerge from the bottom pit of a grievous world depression, caused by a calamitous World War. A sore and wounded nation needed pathetically a wise

ACCEPTS REPUBLICAN NOMINATION



Col. Frank Knox

and far-seeing government. The millions of stagnant enterprises needed only the encouragement of sensible government policies to take on renewed life. A stricken agriculture needed only the encouragement of sound agricultural policies and wise legislative assistance. The timid beginnings of renewed investment needed only the encouragement of sound laws of banking and credit. The spirit of American enterprise, discouraged by vanished markets and reduced consumption, needed only the encouragement of economy and moderation and helpfulness in government. No Administration in our history since Lincoln's time has had so grand an opportunity to lend aid to a distressed people.

CHARGES ABUSE CAMPAIGN

The present Administration in the winter of 1933 had just one immediate responsibility to meet. That responsibility was to promote the little flame of recovery that had begun to burn in the summer of 1932, before the blessings of a New Deal were even imagined. The present Administration had just one job to perform. That job was to carry out a program that would enable American enterprise to put twelve million unemployed back at work, twelve million men and women workers who were the unhappy and helpless victims of a world depression for which this nation was not responsible. The present Administration had just one moral obligation to keep. That obligation was to fulfill the solemn promises of economy and moderation with which it lured the people in the campaign of 1932.

How did it meet that responsibility? How did it do that job? How did it keep that moral obligation? From the day that it took office it embarked on a series of hysterical experiments on the economic life of a burdened people. At a time when universal co-operation was a necessity it initiated a campaign of abuse and vilification of business men. At a time when

the credit of the country should have been strengthened it inaugurated a policy of credit adulteration and currency experiment that demoralized foreign trade and frightened domestic finance. It set up a system of regimentation of industry that reduced production and prevented re-employment. By coercion of Congress it forced the passage of reform measures so recklessly drawn that they hampered the revival of enterprise and paralyzed the renewal of investment. It installed a regimentation of agriculture that destroyed food and reduced foreign markets and increased the cost of living and multiplied the expense of relief.

At a time when private industry was struggling desperately for a new start it set up governmental enterprise to compete with private business. At a time when the burden of taxation was already hard to bear it embarked on a policy of squandering public funds and increasing the weight of taxes. At a time when united effort and mutual good-will would have completed recovery it promoted sectional hatred and class strife. At a time when returning business confidence was ending depression it began a campaign to terrorize business and subjugate the banks. At a time when confidence in the character of government was vital, it established a spoils system. At a time when the economic system was worn and enervated it performed major surgical operations upon the industrial body to see what was inside. It adopted an economic philosophy of scarcity and forced it upon a hungry and distressed people.

'ADMINISTRATION FAILED'

The present Administration ignored its responsibility, failed in its job, defaulted in its obligation. It did not need to tell you the results. The inevitable recovery could not be permanently blocked by governmental error. It is still on its way. But it was retarded and discouraged. And we slowly emerge from

its thralls with the menace of governmental insolvency and non-descript currency and business disturbance shadowing the future. You see the results in the fourth year of mounting deficits, in the chaotic condition of our currency, in the swollen expenditures for relief. Above all, you see the results in the millions still unemployed. I charge the present Administration with delaying recovery in the United States and in the world.

I charge the present Administration with responsibility for the ten millions still unemployed. It would not be truthful to say that all the measures of the present Administration have been failures. In the whirl of economic experiments there have been a few sound and desirable measures of regulation. That must be freely conceded. But in the major measures of recovery and in the task of administration it has failed completely.

It has not kept faith with the nation. It has not fulfilled the duties of its stewardship. On this issue, that it has not conducted the affairs of government efficiently and economically, it should be condemned and rejected by the people.

This endless succession of interferences and experiments was inaugurated under the deceptive slogan of a New Deal. This policy of government by guess, officially explained by President Roosevelt as founded on a philosophy of try-anything-once, was initiated under the title of economic planning. No one of its proponents has been able to define the New Deal or to explain what it is aimed at or where it is going. No one of them has been able to make clear what the economic plan is. It began with a proposal for a belt of trees in a territory that nature had decided should not have trees. It is ending with the use of public funds to conduct classes in tap dancing. No one can explain the New Deal, or economic planning, but every one knows what came from it. The major measures were the NRA, the AAA, the FWA, the CWA, the WPA and devaluation of the dollar. Such measures are not new. They were old in history before America was discovered. They were old in Babylon and Rome and England centuries ago. Not one of these New Deal measures is mentioned in the 1936 platform of the Democratic Party.

There is no reference to the fate of these strange experiments. There is no reference in all that platform to the New Deal or to economic planning. But in this omission they are entirely consistent. There was no mention of them in the 1932 platform either. They are a strange interlude between the solemn promises of the 1932 platform and the vague generalizations of the 1936 platform.

'WE CONDEMN ABUSE'

It is constantly asserted that the Republican Party has always stood for a strong Federal government. The assertion is correct. It still stands for a vigorous Federal authority. But it advocates this authority within the limits set by the Constitution. It has always exercised that authority by legislation constitutionally passed and constitutionally executed. It always will. It always has exerted that authority without passing the boundaries of states' rights and local self-government.

The Republican Party recognizes that changing social and economic conditions call for increased Federal activities. But it always insists that such activities shall be legalized by proper constitutional amendment. It always will. It approves the horse-and-buggy method of changing the Constitution, and it disapproves a philosophy that laughs at the horse-and-buggy method and wants to use only the buggy whip. It condemns the abuse of Federal power to invade local rights.

It does not believe in putting a New Jersey pants-presser in jail for charging less than the amount dictated by a board in Washington. It disapproves a government of men instead of a government of law. It

prefers a government guided by constitutions to a government guided only by caprice.

The Republican platform of 1932 lay down in simple language the program of Federal regulation and legislation to which it commits itself on many issues. Where the specific program is not definitely outlined the details will be presented in the coming campaign. On certain matters Gov. Landon made the issues clear in his telegram to the Cleveland convention. In his acceptance speech one week ago he presented specific policies in reference to other important issues.

Whatever concrete measures the Republican Party has in mind will be presented to the voters before election, not after. And whatever measures the Republican Administration may urge upon Congress, not one will flout the Constitution of the United States. Not one will violate the obligation of contracts. Not one will break a promise.

I already have said that this is no ordinary campaign. On the mere issue of efficiency in administration the present government stands convicted of failure. But there is a larger issue, an issue that goes to the heart of American life. It is the issue of the kind of economic system the American people will live by. For more than three years the economic life of the country has been at the mercy of a crew of amateur experimenters, hacking at the life of American industry, agriculture, commerce and finance. Driven by a fanatic impulse to shape our economic structure to their fantastic designs, they have usurped the power to be created by the authority of the courts, invaded the powers of Congress, and undermined the institutions of local self-government.

'RECOVERY RACES CREDIT'

As one experiment after another has ended in ignominious failure or repudiation by the courts, new experiments have been attempted, from laws to put producers of potatoes in jail, to proposals to cut Florida in two. Driven to desperation by failure the present Administration undertook to gamble with fate. Realizing that recovery was inevitable, in time, it undertook to overcome the depressing effects of its experiments by an artificial prosperity to be created by the squandering of public funds. It is now a race between the exhaustion of Federal credit and the coming of natural recovery. It is a race between inflation and the revival of normal business activity. The race is not yet decided.

The fundamental issue is now clear. No one can define the New Deal or even describe it. But we know what it means. It means Federal control over local business, over local credit, over local wages, over local conditions of work. It leads to Federal regimentation of the labor, the business, and the home of every American citizen. It leads to price fixing and production control by Federal authority. It leads inevitably to the extinction of the small business man, to the end of free enterprise in America. There is no half-way house in which American enterprise can take shelter. The coercive control of bank credit leads unavoidably to control of investment and that leads to the end of competitive industry and free enterprise. The country must choose between the regimentation of the economic life of a hundred and thirty million people by politically appointed Federal bureaucrats and the continuance of the American system of free enterprise under a government of constitutional powers.

It is not a question whether Federal regimentation of the economic life of a great nation can be successful or not. It is the verdict of history, from Diocletian in Rome to Mr. Roosevelt in Washington, that no one man can successfully guide the course of industry for a great nation. All the major New Deal experiments have ended in failure and economic loss. There are known and true principles of economic life. There are, for that matter, competent economists, if you will look for them outside of Washington. There are limits to the ability of government to regiment the

Knox Highlights

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"The Republican Party . . . approves the horse-and-buggy method of changing the Constitution, and it disapproves a philosophy that wants to use only the buggy whip."

"The people want recovery, not rhetoric. They want dignity in government, not a merry-go-round. . . . They are not going to exchange our economic system for the rainbow millennium of political magicians."

"The President has recently told the American people they have a rendezvous with destiny. As I understand the term, a rendezvous is a date. . . . Under present conditions, the most likely rendezvous is with a receiver for the Treasury. . . . When the American people have a date with destiny they want to know what the lady looks like."

economic life of a people. When it blindly passes these limits, it does not encourage industrial production, it destroys it. Such interference always encounters a drought or some other force beyond the control even of a New Dealer. There are limits beyond which Federal regimentation would not go, even if it could be efficient. When it passes these limits it destroys personal initiative and individual liberty. The American people do not want Federal regimentation of their economic activities even if it could be efficient and fair. As Alf Smith has expressed it, the American people do not want a dictator, not even if they could get a good one.

'HERE IS THE ISSUE'

Here we have the issue that must be decided next November. It is whether the American people shall have an orderly and economical government recognizing the limitations of Federal power or a government determined to reorganize the American economic system by experiment. We know what the decision will be.

The people want recovery, not rhetoric. They want economy, not waste. They want work, not relief. They want co-operation among the partners in production, not industrial strife. They want order in economic life, not an occasional breathing spell. They want dignity in government, not a merry-go-round.

They do not believe that all bankers are scoundrels, that all employers are exploiters, that all business men are motivated by greed, that all working people are victims of oppression. They do not believe that the American system was failure until the New Deal came along to save it from its sins. They do not believe that American industry is a jungle of cut-throat competition dominated by entrenched greed. The people know that with the election of a New Administration next November the damned-up forces of recovery will burst forth in a magnificent prosperity.

The American people know that in man's long and troubled journey through the ages he has faced flood and famine, pestilence and drought, conquest and slavery, tyranny and injustice, poverty and depression. They know that he has overcome these savage enemies through his unrelenting determination to work out his own economic salvation. Poverty and insecurity are not yet exterminated in our land. Economic hardship and economic injustice are along to save it from its sins. In the United States, in the last hundred years, the American people have come nearer to these goals than any other people anywhere in history. Brave pioneering and hard work and patient saving have made this the richest and fairest civilization in history. It has not been made

and agriculture, the problems of poverty and insecurity.

Above all, it promises you that in its efforts to aid in these problems it will not prevent you from trying to work out your individual and personal problems for yourselves, with your own ambitions, your own enterprise, and your own energies.

Through the two thousand years of Christian civilization the price of progress has been sacrifice. Three hundred years ago our forefathers could have purchased safety, but at the price of liberty. They could have remained safe in England and left the new world to be conquered by others. The men who signed the Declaration of Independence could have lived safely as colonists in the British Empire, but not as free men. Seventy years ago our fathers could have avoided civil war at the price of a disrupted Union. They all preferred sacrifice to safety.

TWO WAYS LIE AHEAD

Again we reach a point where the blazes along the trail run out. Two ways lie ahead. One lies along the apparently easy valleys of a regimented society, maintained by a paternalistic government which falsely promises to provide its subjects with a security that men went to purchase in the past by their own efforts. The other lies along the rugged heights of self-support, self-government and self-respect.

Which will we choose? We know the path our fathers chose. More often than not the right way of life is not the easy way. Because we have always taken the self-reliant way, the self-respecting way, American character has emerged as our greatest national asset. Take from us every vestige of three hundred years of progress, leave only the raw materials that God placed here, give us the American character, and we would swiftly reconstruct here a civilization as great as that we have today. America is too young, too vigorous, to be deceived by false promises of an easy way.

And so I preach to you the doctrine, not of the soft and spineless kept citizen of a regimented state, but of the self-respecting and self-reliant men who made America. Which way shall we go? The answer is in your hands. I know what it will be. Next November, you will choose the American way.

CATCH ALLEGED THIEF

Victim, Volunteer Apprehend Suspect After Washington-St Chase.

Looking back after he had parked his car in the 1200 block on E. Washington-st last night, James E. Nicely, Greenfield, said he saw a man open the door and remove a suit and a bag.

Shouting as he sped after the alleged thief, Mr. Nicely, with the assistance of Charles Collins, 1611 E. Washington-st, captured and held for police a man who gave his name as Herbert Sullivan, 48, Philadelphia. Sullivan today faced charges of vagrancy and grand larceny.

G. O. P. CLUBS TO MEET

First, Second Ward Groups to Hear Alexander G. Cavins.

The First and Second Ward Republican Clubs are to hold their fourth outdoor meeting at 8 p. m. today at the home of Scott Gehring, 2009 Nowland-av. Alexander G. Cavins, former U. S. district attorney, and N. A. Junip are to speak.

Victim Identifies Suspect

Melvin Crouch, 19, was arrested on a vagrancy charge last night after James Krieger, 44, of Hamilton, O., pointed him out to police as the man who had slugged and attempted to rob him in Camp Sullivan a few minutes before. Police said Crouch refused to give his address.

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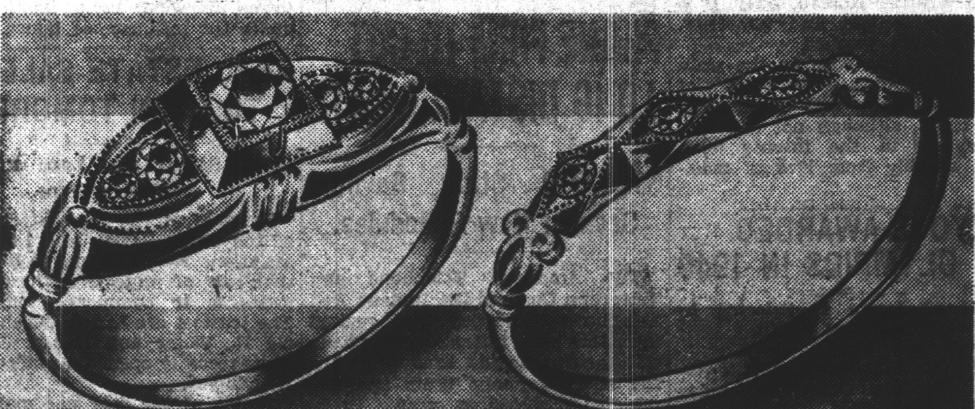
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