# TIVE, REFERENDUM RECALL NO FIELD **NATIONAL POLITICS**

NTATIVE GOVERNMENT, AS CON-BY FRAMERS OF CONSTITUTION,

by the Fathers

DELIVERED BY MR. UNDERWOOD BEFORE CATHOLIC CLUB OF NEW YORK CITY DECEMBER 19, 1911.

purpose of government is the protection of life, liberty and prop-safe-guarding of property rights is essential to the advancement of

not always awake to the realization that the just enforcement of more essential to good government than the enactment of new

a century and a half ago the Federal Constitution was written; ne pattern in its fundamental features for our State Constitutions. and experimented with almost every conceivable method of govern-ousands of years before the birth of our republic. The statesmen

ousands of years before the birth of our republic. The statesmen the form of the new government were essentially students of the government and lovers of the liberties of the people. Most of ered their lives and their fortunes in the struggle for their country's. No man can justly charge them with either lack of informang the essential principles of government, or want of honesty ocreate a government that would secure to themselves and their nore perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, he common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Liberty to themselves and their Posterity."

#### World's First Written Constitution.

med to the world its first written Constitution, created a govw in absolute contradistinction to a government of men. The Federal Constitution were familiar with the repeated failments based on the principle of a direct democracy, where the direct law-making power and in some instances the ultimate of the country.

Dangers of a Direct Democracy.

ory of the past that those governments had failed liberties of the people had been destroyed by the forum by the assembled multitude, and were not the men especially trained for the work in hand. It can be part of the aggregate citizenship astudies, and lacked intimate knowledge of the reindividual entity will controvert the Golden by the populace.

ns, individual entity will controvert the Golden Rule b others as they would be done by, but it is rarely populace can divorce itself from its selfish desires e to those who may be temporarily in the minority, d excesses of a direct Democracy, the framers of d, to establish a government that would protect the individual and at the same time reflect ultimately the enactment of the law of the land.

esentative Form of Government.

they established a representative form of govern-

they established a representative form of governaw-making power responsive to the will of the they wrote in the Constitution certain checks and the more brutal force of a majority from decry rights of the individual.

I mind that the remers of our Constitution were freedom of Government, for they created a Govdelegated powers expressing given to the Nation by a States the right to make most of the laws that e citizen. The underlying principle of the Constitution is the constitution of the citizen and the protection of his power of the Government itself.

nt Judiciary Established.

these rights, an independent idiciary was established Executive nor the Legislative branches of the Govern-

he framers of the Constitution were unwilling to trust body, held in check by the veto power of the Executive; unbridled abuse of the power, they established Constitution that a majority of the people could not trample titself destroy.

majority of the people will not endanger the liberties dual. I wish that this were true, but the history of shown that at times the people, when unchecked by es, have destroyed individual rights and individual

Unwise Changes Now Proposed.

me that we shall in part abandon the representative Revolutionary fathers, and adopt a system that in direct democracy when the ultimate power to make y in the hands of all the people, and the independent et the Constitutional guarantees of individual liberty to the will of the majority through political com-

dison and Hamilton, soldiers in the war for Ameriint their great minds and mature judgments to the on of the United States, but there is one whose sincere justed as to the value of a representative government et one, even by those who doubt the sincerity of pur-

Jefferson's Wise Views.

the equal rights of man," Thomas Jefferson declared:

have the signal advantage, too, of having discovered which these rights can be secured, to wit: Govern-ying not in person, but by representatives chosen

> aration of Independence, knowing that all popular e, resting on the direct decisions of the people, had reverted into uncontrolled despotism, rejoiced that representative government could express the will w proposed to abandon the representative principle by our fathers and revert to the direct action of ple of an Athenian democracy adapted to modern

### ment Only Check on Excesses and Passion.

ernment was established to guard against the exthe ancient direct popular government to destruction, at does not at all times immediately respond to public who insist that the principle of government is at They do not reflect that at times they may mis-that at other times the instrument of the governwhom the people can change at recurring periods) ic principle of the government itself, slator leads me to believe that the Congress of the

ultimately respond to the enlightered and matured of public sentiment, we have repeatedly experienced

the taxing powers. ative branch of the government in direct response ent years enact railroad rate legislation, pure food city of campaign funds, national quarantine, irrigate the Isthmian Canal. Can it be truthfully said that mately to place on the statute books the laws that mately to place on the statute books the laws that mately to place on the statute books the laws that mately to place on the statute books the laws that

# TIME TO ABANDON **UNWORTHY SECTIONAL**

What has been the answer of the South—at least, the answer of the interpreted by the silence or the diffidence of hundreds of thousands of representative Southerners?

short of arrant sectional cowardice, there is a feeling among many South-erners that the wraiths of the sixties till stand between the South and the White House—the South and that par-icipation in the nation's voice, the na-ion's destiny, to which the nation is ager to admit us.

The consequences of this abnegation of common manhood could not be more forcefully portrayed than in the words of the Constitution's Washington correspondent, in a dispatch discussing the presidential status resulting from the Harvey-Wilson-Watterson episode. writes our correspondent, canvass ing the possibilities of Oscar Under-wood, the brilliant Alabamian, along with other Southerners, "pays the penal-ty of being a Southern man, it will be the South and not the North to ex-act it."

South's Politica | Stage Fright

A New Leader

Alabama's

Southern men.

The civil war, the memories of which furnished the nursery for this indefensible sectional abasement, is 50 years at our back. Ninety per cent of the American voters who elect a president remember this war and its dividing rancor member this war and its dividing rancor calls as history. With outstretched does not bridle at mention of Bull Run ican voters who elect a president remember this war and its dividing rancor only as history. With outstretched hands, having given every proof of viewing Mason and Dixon's line as no more a political barrier than the more does not bridle at mention of Bull Run or Gettysburg. It remains for the South to develop political stage fright over FE BULWARK OF CIVIL LIBERTY

In a political barrier than the Mississippi or the Rockies, the dominant generation at the North invites the South, its public men, by right of citizenship and by right of demonstrated ability, into full fellowship in the nation's counsels.

South Wanting in Boldness

To develop political stage fright over these diminishing chapters in our hisfully yielding command to with a smile, it has steen the Spanish-American war. The last barriers between North and South were crumbled before the achievements of Joe Wheeler, of Fitzhugh Lee, and of many of the younger generation on both steel-riveted Republican, many of the younger generation on both steel-riveted Republican,

The most convincing evidence of this fact is the manner in which the nation received the announcement of the broad and patriotic action of President Taft Obsessed by the ghosts of half a century ago, guilty of an embarrassment and a self-consciousness that is nothing the United States Supreme Court, the United States Supreme Court, and a self-consciousness that is nothing the United States Supreme Court, and the United S in elevating Justice White, a Confederate veteran, to the Chief Justiceship of protesting snarl rose here and there from the irreconcilables. And the voices most bitter in denunciation of that jaundice came from—the Northern press! It is only essential for the occasional freak firebrand to rise and attempt to wave the "bloody shirt," to be buried with ridicular and the property of the control of the buried with ridicule, not only by his confrères, but as well by the news-papers of all sections of our common

#### Not a Question of Expediency or Discretion

In the face of these cumulative facts, are are some in the South who still

The most humiliating paradox in American politics to-day is the shrinking attitude of some of our own people toward the presidential possibilities of the manner in which the North views course, as a people, to be so interpreted. It is not in human nature to accord as an illustration, though his magnineent respect, where self-respect is absent. How, then, can we expect the remainder of the nation to continue to respect us, when we grovel in the dust of a bygone era, and let go by default the rights inherent in American manhood For virtually half a century the South has furnished the hewers of wood and drawers of water for the Democratic party. It has, faithfully with each re-current four years, furnished the Democacy's army and its line officers-cheerully yielding command to other sections With a smile, it has steadily forsworn the political loaves and fishes, content, for the sake of the party, that they go to doubtful States—time and again to States most of us knew at the time were steal rivered Routhliese.

ABASEMENT

#### Let Us Claim Our Birthright

For 50 years we have eaten in the political kitchen. Consistently, we have waxed cheerful when denied even the dubious privilege of the second table. And to-day, when the clock of destiny traits when the deep of expectantly is strikes, when the door of opportunity is wide ajar, when the North actually lives up to that prophetic utterance in the Senate of Ben Hill, "We are back in the house of our fathers, and we are here to house of our fathers, and we are here to stay, thank God!"—a few of us are still blushing and stammering, still wearing political sackcloth and ashes, still up to the old "easy mark" game of doing all the drudgery, with none of the cakes and ale! Let's end this disgraceful farce! We furnish, have long furnished, the electoral votes, the powder and shot, the munitions, of the Democratic party. Let's assert those equal rights and privi-Let's assert those equal rights and privi-leges as American citizens, as the re-mainder of the nation fraternally bids us to do. Let's cease the stultification of informing the nation, by our actions, question if, "on account of past of-fenses," it is "discreet" or "expedient" for a Southern man to offer himself for presidential honors! We insult ourselves, we debase our manhood, we surrender the rights the North is so willing and ungrounded admission.—The Control of the southern man to offer himself for the presidency. For the sectional cowardice, here and there manifested, is equivalent to that shameful and ungrounded admission.—The Control of the conceder us when we permit out the control of the control o fested, is equivalent to that shameful and ungrounded admission.—The Con-That is also an accurate delineation to concede us, when we permit our stitution, Atlanta, Ga., January 21, 1912.

# Underwood

# for President

The argument that he lives too far South to be available is without weight. The country has reached that state of union—has been so closely drawn to-gether by railroad and telegraph—that llabama is brought to the door of New York. Massachusetts and Texas are near neighbors and even the two Portlands, of Maine and Oregon, stand within easy hailing distance of each other. So far as any feeling of sectionalism is concerned, or any prejudice against the se-lection of a Southern man for the presi-dency, Underwood is, like Lincoln, a Southerners as prominent candidates for the Democratic presidential nomination dency, Underwood is, like Lincoln, a native of Kentucky, and therefore as much Northern as Southern, was born much Northern as Southern, was born the Civil War, and grew to man-—Clark, Underwood and Wilson—the nation is certainly more united than at any time since the Civil War. No man rejoices more over this changed situation than Underwood. He is even more interested in the solidarity of the forty-aight States than in the union of the light States than the light States than the light States than the light interested in the solidarity of the forty-eight States than in the union of the Democratic party."—Burton J. Hen-drick in McClure's Magazine, February, 1912

#### Underwood Presidential Timber

Mr. Underwood's service to the country during nine terms in the National House of Representatives has been most distinguished, and has made his name a household word in the homes of the people. For more than 20 years he has been in the very front of his party's battle line, a leader from his youth, and ever faithful to his party's principles and candidates. No Democrat can find a flaw in his political record; no charge of desertion in any campaign; no accu-Candidate

There is no flub-dub about Mr. Unhim for his sincerity, his high sense of honor, his sagacity and his acknowledged ability, and this in itself is an without his lightning rod out to attract edged ability, and this in itself is an infallible proof of his merit, for none know so well the capabilities of a statesman as those who have saved many years with him and noted his conduct in days of peace and those of political storm.—Cincinnati Enquirer, October 23, 1911.

without his lightning rod out to attract the Democratic nomination for the presidency, and largely on that very account he is liable to be the very man that will get in the way of the bolt that may elevate him to the White House.—J. W. Flenner, in the Times-Democrat, Muskegee, Okla., October 28, 1911.

(Continued from First Column.)

The response may to the as rapid, but it is probably more permanent and much danger of enacting hasty, ill-considered or bad there is certainly not

Cannot a committee of the Congress, composed of representative men, initiate legislation, within the limitations of the Constitution, guard against excesses and abuses, protect the rights of the minority, voice the wishes of the majority, as well or better than t': partisan friends of a measure who, in order that they may accomplish one result, are tempted to reach so far that they leave a wake of destruction as to collateral matters the measure touches?

# Untrustworthiness of Petitions.

It is true, that under the system proposed, a petition by a percentage of voters would first have to be obtained. But let every man ask himself how often he has signed petitions to please or get rid of the person who presented the paper, to determine what thought and deliberation will be exercised by the average man who signs a petition.

#### People Suffer More From Failure of Law Enforcement Than From Lack of Proper Legislation.

Should I stop to criticise our government, I would say that the people suffer far more from the failure to enforce the laws on the statute books than they do from the lack of proper legislation. How many remedial laws are to be found on the statute books, that if fairly enforced would remedy the evils we complain against; but it is so much easier to cry out for new legislation than to insist that our neighbor shall go to jail for violating the law we already have

If there are evils in our government as it exists today, it is not in organic form. It is due to the failure of those in office to honestly, fairly and justly perform the duties imposed upon them. The remedy is plain and the way is clear. The people should drive from the places of power and responsibility the unfaithful servant and elect those who will be faithful and true to the trust imposed upon them.

The People and the Representatives.

You tell me the people cannot elect honest and faithful servants. I tell you that the masses of the people are far better judges of men than they are of measures, and are far more likely to select an honest man than an honest is soin of the tariff downward and the destruction of special privilege. His qualities of leadership have been tested and approved. In his personality he is solid, clean and sane, with the court of special privilege.

When you say that the voter cannot select a public official who will reflect the will of the people in his office, and be faithful to the Constitution of his country, I say you reflect on the very first principle of free government and misjudge the honesty and the intelligence of the American people.

Our Constitution was born in the hour when the love of liberty and freedom was rice in the hearts of men. For a conturn it has withstead the streams of

was ripe in the hearts of men. For a century it has withstood the storms of war, greed, and intolerance; through the tempests of discontent, danger and disaster, it has protected the lives, liberty and property of our people.

Let us elect honest men to public office, men who have the courage to stand

# Southern

### Leaders

"Naturally the men who have led the Democrats in the House of Representatives so successfully under trying conditions are freely mentioned at the present time as possible candidates for the presidential nomination by the Democratic Convention. These leaders are Champ Clark, Speaker of the House, and Oscar W. Underwood, a new and oming man.

"Both are Southerners, by the way, but in my mind there is no reason in these days of broadening views and lessening prejudices why a Southerner should not be nominated and elected to the presi-dential chair of the United States. In fact, there are many reasons why it should be so."—London cable of William Randolph Hearst in the New York American, Monday, September 25, 1911

# Takes Up

# Underwood

The years since the Civil War have rolled too fast and far to permit it to be conceivable any longer that the circumstances of Southern birth should constitute in Northern judgment a disqualification in any degree whatever. Both as to nomination and as to elec-tion the Southerner will be rated in 1912 on his individual merits. As far as this particular Southerner, Mr. Oscar W. Underwood, is concerned, it is agreeable to note the absence of geography in the regard in which he is held in all parts of the Union .- New York Sun,

### A FALSE POSITION

Rumors generally believed to have manated from the camps of men who either are or have been considered as Democratic presidential possibilities, that Mr. Underwood, of Alabama, could not command the support of the North because of the fact that he is a Southerner, are not only poppycock, pure and simple, but they place the men of the North in a false position in the eyes of the people of the South and tend to sectional feeling which has been buried for many years. The effects of such rumors are nil in the North because the people of the North know they have not one iota of truth, but people n the South are apt to take them more seriously, and there is where they may prove harmful, not only because of their tendency to cause dissatisfaction on the part of Southern Democrats, but because of the effect they may have in giving rise to sectional prejudice through false representations of conditions which do not exist. No Northerner would hesitate to support Mr. Underwood because he comes from the South.—The

### UNDERWOOD THE MAN

We have been humbugged and scared off long enough by the bogy of Northern prejudice against a Southern candidate. Underwood stands for just those things which recent Northern majorities have declared they want-a reviage of a fighter and the clairvoyance of a true reformer, and if the South preratifies her choice this fine, strong char-acter of a new day in our annals will catch both the sentiment and the sober indoment of the North, sweep away the last remaining débris of the dead old war and its dead issues and carry enough States in that section to give as

# A Bill of Direct Benefit to the Farmer, Whose Hopes Were Dissipated by a Republican President

FREE LIST BILL VETOED

MR. UNDERWOOD THE FRIEND OF ALL CLASSES

DRAWN BY CHAIRMAN UNDERWOOD OF THE

WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE

BY PRESIDENT TAFT

MR. UNDERWOOD, FROM THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS, SUBMITTED THE FOLLOWING REPORT (EXTRACTS).

[To accompany H. R. 4413.]

The Committee on Ways and Means, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 4413) to place on the free list agricultural implements, cotton bagging, cotton ties, leather, boots and shoes, saddlery and harness, fence wire, meats, cereals, flour, bread, timber, lumber, sewing machines, salt, and other articles, having had same under consideration report it back to the House without amendment and recommend that the bill do pass.

#### AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS.

By this measure agricultural tools and implements of every kind are placed on the free list, in order to remove or to prevent any possible discrimination against our farmers in the prices of these necessary articles, and to place them on an equal footing with their competitors elsewhere in the world. Our domestic manufacturers of agricultural tools, implements, vehicles, and machinery have grown to great proportions and are largely organized into great trusts and combinations. These organizations are selling their products all over the world, meeting and overcoming all competition. They need no protection, and, as a rule, ask for none. For a number of years they sold many of their products in foreign countries at lower prices than at home, and so recently as 1907 agricultural associations in public resolutions protested against this practice. The imports of these agricultural implements are into \$122,302. The exports of these implements have become a matter of more importance than the domestic trade, the figures indicating an increase from aided by the removal of duties from lumber, as provided for in this bill.

#### BAGGING AND BALING MATERIALS.

BAGGING AND BALING MATERIALS.

It is of the greatest importance to our producers of cotton and other agricultural commodities that the materials necessary for bagging, sacking, baling, or otherwise packing these commodities be made free from duty, so that they may be available to the producers at the most favorable prices possible, without shelter for the exaction of unreasonable prices by trusts and combinations of manufacturing interests. The bill, therefore, places all such materials and articles on the free list, including cotton bagging and cotton ties, jute and jute butts, hemp, flax, seg, tow, burlaps, and other materials or fibers suitable for coverings, and bags or sacks made therefrom, together with all hoop or band iron or hoop or band steel for baling any commodity and wire for baling agricultural products. All these coverings and materials for making coverings are essentials in the transportation of agricultural products to their markets. The products can not receive the benefit of any protection in these markets, and for this and other reasons it is unfair and unjust to continue duties on coverings for agricultural produce. These duties have annoyed and burdened farmers and have served principally to increase the profits of exacting trusts and combinations.

62d Congress, 1st Session. H. R. 4413. An Act to place on the free list agricultural implements, cotton bagging, cotton ties, leather, boots and shoes, fence wire, meats, cereals, flour, bread, timber, lumber, sewing machines, salt, and other articles.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That on and after the day following the passage of this Act the following articles shall be exempt from duty when imported into the United States:

Plows, tooth and disk harrows, headers, harvesters, reapers, agricultural drills and planters, movers, horserakes, cultivators, threelying, machines and actions.

Plows, tooth and disk harrows, headers, harvesters, reapers, agricultural drills and planters, mowers, horserakes, cultivators, threshing machines and cotton gins, farm wagons and farm carts and all other agricultural implements of any kind and description, whether specifically mentioned herein or not, whether in whole or in parts, including repair parts.

Bagging for cotton, gunny cloth, and all similar fabrics, materials, or coverings, suitable for covering and baling cotton, composed in whole or in part of tow, aloe, mill waste, cotton tares, or any other materials or fibers suitable for covering cotton; and burlaps and bags or sacks composed wholly or in part of products.

Hoop or band iron, or hoop or band steel, cut to lengths, punched or not punched, or wholly or partly manufactured into hoops or ties, coated or not coated with paint or any other preparation, with or without buckles or fasten-

coated with paint or any other preparation, with or without buckles or fastenings, for baling cotton or any other commodity; and wire for baling hay, straw, and other agricultural products.

Grain, buff, split, rough and sole leather, band, bend, or belting leather, boots and shoes made wholly or in chief value of leather made from cattle hides and cattle skins of whatever weight, of cattle of the bovine species, including calfskins; and harness, saddles, and saddlery, in sets or in parts, finished or unfinished, composed wholly or in chief value of leather; and leather cut into shoe uppers or vamps or other forms suitable for conversion into manufactured articles.

Barbed fence wire, wire rods, wide strands or wire rope, wire woven or manufactured for wire fencing, and other kinds of wire suitable for fencing,

Beef, yeal, mutton, lamb, pork, and meats of all kinds, fresh, salted, pickled, dried, smoked, dressed or undressed, prepared or preserved in any manner; bacon, hams, shoulders, lard, lard compounds and lard substitutes; and sausage and sausage meats.

Sausage and sausage meats.

Buckwheat flour, corn meal, wheat flour and semolina, rye flour, bran, middlings, and other offals of grain, oatmeal and rolled oats, and all prepared cereal foods; and biscuits, bread, wafers, and similar articles not sweetened. Timber, hewn, sided, or squared, round timber used for spars or in building wharves, shingles, laths, fencing posts, sawed boards, planks, deals, and other lumber, rough or dressed, except boards, planks, deals, and ber, of lignum-vitae, lancewood, ebony, box, granadilla, mahogany, rosewood, satinwood, and all other cabinet woods.

Sewing machines, and all parts thereof.
Salt, whether in bulk or in bags, sacks, barrels, or other packages.
Passed the House of Representatives May 8, 1911.

Attest:

South TRIMBLE,

#### UNDERWOOD A UNIFYING FORCE

The Republicans cannot agree with his tariff views; the country, we are sure, will never put him into the presidency, but assuredly he must be con-ceded to be the ablest, the strongest, the most influential Democrat in Congress to-day, and he has shown a marvelous capacity for leadership. His party asso-ciates stand solidly behind him, and that could not have been said of any other man in recent years who led the Democrats in the House of Representatives.

The shrewd Republican politicians who predicted that the Democrats in the House would be split into a dozen itterly fighting factions in less than a nonth, are now amazed at Underwood's

# FORAKER ON UNDERWOOD

Mr. John Temple Graves will be in town soon to make us a speech. He was in Birmingham the other night and The Age-Herald printed an interview with the former Georgian, in which that gentleman discussed Mr. Underwood as a presidential candidate. Mr. Graves said: "Mr. Foraker used to be very bitsaid: Mr. Foraker used to be very bit-terly opposed to the South, but softened a great deal after his elevation to the Senate. I asked Mr. Foraker if in case Senate. I asked Mr. Foraker if in case Mr. Underwood is nominated for President, will it make any difference to you that he is a Southern man?"

"'Absolutely none,' said Mr. Foraker.'
'Of course, I cannot vote for him, as I am a Republican, but if any Republican should get up and decourse him because

should get up and denounce him because he is from the South, I would take the stump in Underwood's defense,'

That reads well, coming as it does from a man whose antagonistic attitude towards the South in other days gave him the appellation of "Fire Alarm"