

Dawes Rallies Nation to Fight for Constitutional Liberty

Freedom of Individual Endangered

Nominee Tells Hearers La Follette Plan Substitutes Rule of Congress for Three-Way Control. Constitution Is Attacked

(Continued from Page One.)

as are not specifically delegated to the federal government by the constitution. It would bring disaster to the happiness, prosperity and peace of the American people as a whole if, in place of our stable, constitutional government, under which we have lived for 135 years, we should establish a government by congress. This would be practically equivalent to a government of free democracy, which history has proved is most futile and disastrous for the proper protection of a people.

"I want this evening to discuss particularly this proposition as it affects the inalienable rights of the individual, referred to in the 'Declaration of Independence,' for the protection of which rights the constitution of the United States was framed. Alexander Hamilton said 'The constitution itself is, in every rational sense and every useful purpose, a bill of rights.'

"Under the constitution, the courts are the guardians of the inalienable rights of the individual.

"A bill of rights is a statement of those inalienable rights of the individual in which his government

must protect him, and which any opposing power, within or without the government, must concede to him; such as the right to worship in the way his conscience may dictate; the right to own property; the right to peacefully pursue any proper avocation; the right to trial by jury; and such rights as protect him in the peaceful pursuit of happiness.

INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY BASED ON BILLS OF RIGHTS.

"After ages of conflict during which mankind has passed through martyrdom, all civilizations recognize an individual bill of rights. Indeed, the growth and establishment of bills of rights marks the growth and establishment of civilization.

"The citizen formerly had to defend his individual bill of rights from the kings and princes and tyrants of the past. The Magna Charta was a bill of rights, and as Hamilton said, 'It was forced from King John by the barons, words in hand; the Declaration of Rights,' exacted from Charles the First, and the 'Declaration of Rights,' drawn by the lords and commons in 1688 and exacted from the Prince of Orange, were bills of rights.

"The bill of inalienable individual rights, the general recognition of which is the foundation of civilization, would be, under the La Follette proposition, at the mercy of congress. It wickedly challenges the professed purpose of every civilized government to remove from the realm of public conflict those individual rights the reasonableness and necessity of which have been demonstrated by warfare as old as the world, and to establish which the blood of untold millions, throughout the ages, has been shed.

"Since the inalienable rights of the individual are those which are always threatened by mob action, and since, in this country, it is government under our constitution which is their only sure protection, I want to point out the difference between the rule of the people and the rule of the mob.

ULTIMATE JUDGMENT OF THE PEOPLE ALWAYS SOUND.

"The fact that the ultimate judgment of the people is always sound and always just is the rock upon which representative constitutional government stands. History and all experience shows that in the process of forming ultimate judgment, public opinion passes through a series of changing and temporary phases.

"What has destroyed free democracy in government in history is the fact that a temporary phase of public opinion would determine governmental attitude. This temporary phase being wrong, governmental ac-

tion was taken, and then the ultimate right judgment of the people was too late to correct the mistake.

"As someone has said, in the free democracy of Greece, Socrates was compelled to drink the hemlock one year, while a statute was raised to his memory the next year.

"Under the constitutional government of the United States a system of checks and balances exists by which it is rendered certain that only the ultimate right and sound judgment of the people crystallizes into law.

"That government whose policy is determined by the ultimate judgment of the people will permanently survive. The government whose actions are determined by the passing phases of popular opinion, as distinguished from ultimate opinion, will perish. The constitution of the United States establishes the rule of the people, as distinguished from the rule of the mob. The difference between the demagogue and the statesman is that the demagogue appeals to the mob and the statesman to the sound judgment of the people.

BETWEEN THE PEOPLE AND THE MOB IS VAST DIFFERENCE.

"Between the people and between the mob there is all the difference between daylight and darkness. Let us consider this carefully for a short time:

"What is going on throughout the United States and the world at this time as regards the relationship of government to their people is best outlined in a series of books written by Gustav LeBon.

"LeBon points out that when people are massed in crowds, a singular phenomenon occurs and a new entity seems to be formed. The crowd, as a crowd, has little intelligence—and Herbert Spencer was mistaken when he assumed that the intelligence of a crowd was the intelligence of the average individual composing it. LeBon points out that the genius or mental entity of a crowd is made up of those instincts and feelings which the individuals composing it possess in common. A vast chaos, he says, may separate in intellect the mathematician from his bootblack, but in their elemental desires and feelings they are much alike. It is a fusion of the latter which comprises the mind of a mob. The amalgamation of people into crowds creates a living organism possessing a definite character and definite mental attitudes, and one of these is the almost total lack of reasoning power. A mob reasons like a little child. It is moved and indulged in no appeal to reason, and exhibits the methods of mob leadership, as well described by LeBon as consisting in violent affirmation without appeal to reason, repetition and a trust that contagion will spread conviction.

"Taking up the La Follette Labor day speech, what do we find? Violent and unsupported affirmations—references in a general way covering the supremacy of the so-called interests, their wickedness, Wall street, the down-trodden condition of labor and the farmer, the hopeless slavery of the courts and the constitution to congress, a principle, the recognition of which at one blow would destroy the fundamental and balancing division of powers of the American government?

"The courts of the United States are the guardians of the inalienable rights of individuals, including the freedom of the press, the rights of property and religious tolerance. They interpret laws passed by congress in their relation to those rights upheld by the constitution. What kind of a government would this be if congress had the right to pass a law taking property from one man and handing it to another, directing a man where he shall go to church, the individual rights recognized by all civilization?

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finally produces a contagion from which springs mob action.

THE CROWD HAS NO SELF-CONTROL; MOVED BY EMOTION.

"LeBon points out that a crowd because collectively it acts as a unit of little intelligence, can under the influence of strong leadership, be induced to commit deeds indescribably more base than any individual by himself could be persuaded to do; and, on the other hand, can be led to acts of heroism and self-sacrifice to which again no individual member of it by himself could be persuaded.

"He points out that that which interferes with the creation of mobs and the mob spirit are the fundamental institutions of the land with which its life has been closely associated—the family and the church—and he maintains that as family ties loosen and the church tends to fall into disrepute, the obstacles to mass movement under unworthy leadership are greatly lessened. It is significant in this connection that the representatives of mobs at the time of the French revolution decreed the abolition of all religion, just as in soviet Russia today the church has been assailed and the young men are attacking religion and the church as one of the agencies of oppression.

"As wealth and prosperity increase in a peaceful country, we know too well that the hold of the church and the hold of the family upon the individual is lessened; and, while in this great country of ours that hold persists among great masses of people as a safeguard, the American citizen feels that he is face to face with danger to his liberties if he is not protected from organized mobs of minorities under sinister leadership.

"We have seen in this country tremendous power wielded by certain leaders who understand mob psychology, and who, following the LeBon formula of violent affirmation and indulgence in no appeal to reason, lead masses of people to lawless action.

"The principles which LeBon sets forth are so old as humanity. The depths of suffering endured by the world during the ages as the result of mob leadership, history only too well records.

LA FOLLETTE SCHEME WOULD UNDERMINE CONSTITUTION.

La Folletteism in this campaign represents the quintessence of demagogism, animated by the vicious purpose of undermining the constitutional foundation of the republic.

"In analyzing the speech of Mr. La Follette, one cannot but be impressed with the thought that beyond another political leader in our country, he represents the qualities and exhibits the methods of mob leadership, as well described by LeBon as consisting in violent affirmation without appeal to reason, repetition and a trust that contagion will spread conviction.

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things under which again, in poverty, confusion and misery, the people must evolve among themselves, constitutional instruments of stable and free government, under which the inalienable rights of the individual are protected from the aggressions of the majority and from government itself. Let us not deceive ourselves. The doctrines of the socialists of the United States, headed in this campaign by Robert M. La Follette are the reactionary doctrines. The heterogeneous collection of the representatives of organized minorities which endorsed the candidacy of Robert M. La Follette, could never have evolved a platform of their own, so diverse were their doctrines, and so impracticable and impossible their scattered viewpoints. It seems that there was but one man in the United States who could impose a platform upon them, and he only could do it because the cardinal principle of his platform was an attack upon the courts and the constitution of the United States. The fair sounding phrases of some parts of his platform would not have been sufficient to weld together behind him the forces against the existing order of things had not this attack upon the constitution irradiated them.

PATRIOTIC MEN SHOULD KNOW LA FOLLETTE SCHEME.

"I recognize that there are in this country many men who are justly discontented, but who are patriotic at heart—who love their country, its constitution and flag. They may be opposed to certain things in the existing order, but they are not opposed to the existing order of things, and I warn them that they should not be deceived by the catch-all phrases of this master demagogue, endeavoring to amalgamate them with the socialists, flying the red flag, in an attack upon the constitution of their country.

"There is no half-way ground. It is useless for any party to intervene in the battle alignment of those who favor the constitution of the United States, and those who would destroy its essential parts. They are in no man's land. They are only gain any recruits from either battle line, but they will be fortunate if by flight they escape with their political existence.

"In one battle line is Calvin Coolidge, the leader, standing on the platform of the constitution of progressive conservatism and under the American flag; in the other, La Follette with a mobilization of the forces of extreme radicalism of which the largest part, the socialists, fly the red flag.

GET OUT YOUR FULL VOTE. DEFEAT SOCIALISTS.

"Citizens of Wisconsin, I have outlined the greatest issue in this campaign. You are to vote on it next November. Let this decision be made by a full vote of the registered voters, not by the fractional vote which, for the last four years, has been cast in Wisconsin. What issue was ever more important? Let us find out, as a people, where we stand—on the rock of law and order and the constitution, with the Stars and Stripes, or on the sinking sands of the socialists, with the red flag.

"For myself, I cannot doubt that the great state of Wisconsin will stand behind our flag, and that the first thought in the hearts of a great majority of its citizens is 'My Country 'Tis of Thee, Sweet Land of Liberty.'"

policians, about the rights of this class and that class of this organization or the other organization, of this industry or that industry, of this section or that section, of this bloc or of that bloc.

"Amid the din of the conflict and inconsistent demands of those organizations for preferential legislative treatment we hear, at times, the plaintive cry of disturbed trimmers, and watch the confused and panic-stricken scurrying of politicians whenever a determined minority marches on the scene of legislation. But the American people know that in attempting to please minority organizations, the defense of the constitution which protects individual rights, has been neglected.

POLITICAL CONDITIONS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE RED FLAG.

"No wonder, in the midst of such political cowardice, the enemies of constitutional government become defiant and the socialists fly the red flag. Unless patriotic citizens arouse themselves in the face of this mobilization of extreme radicalism by an individual, in a formidable attack upon the constitution of the United States, the foundations of the republic may be torn away. It is thus, always, that governments are overthrown. The leader arises, preaching that destruction of government means the re-establishment of individual liberty, means all things good to all men, means that if they will place him and his associates in power, as the true exemplars of fairness and justice, that all will be well—that the faults of civilization do not have their foundation in the faults of the individual, but in the particular form of government which they happen to be attacking.

"Sometimes, in countries where liberty does not live as it lives in this country, and where the yoke of despotism and wicked government has pressed heavily upon the necks of the people, the masses, believing in such leaders, or at least believing that no change could be for the worse, place them in power, as they did recently in Russia, what happened then is only what has happened in history. Then came the most terrible form of despotism, with massacre, with indescribable confusion, with confiscation with assaults upon religion, assaults upon the freedom of the press, with proscription of business, with starvation of the masses. In their adversity, disillusioned with that knowledge which experience alone gives, the chastened Russian people, after years of misery, will again establish justice under law and order in a government not ruled by individual ambition, but upheld and participated in by the people as in our own government, in which the inalienable rights of the individual are recognized and protected.

THE COURTS ARE THE CHECK THAT PROTECT LIBERTY.

"Who is there who cannot recognize the fundamental nature of this La Follette attack upon the constitution of the United States, having as one of its cardinal principles the transfer of the guardianship of the inalienable rights of the people from the courts and the constitution to congress, a principle, the recognition of which at one blow would destroy the fundamental and balancing division of powers of the American government?

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Gen. Dawes Denounces Socialists

Accuses La Follette of Vicious Attack to Determine Constitutional Foundation of Country.

Appeals for Full Vote

(Continued from Page One.)

other, directing a man where he shall go to church, and undertaking to encroach upon the individual rights recognized by all civilization.

The present constitutional government of the United States, Mr. Dawes said, provided in its system of checks and balances sufficient safeguard "to render certain that only the ultimate right and sound judgment of the people crystallizes into law.

"The government whose policy is

determined by the ultimate judgment of the people will permanently survive," he added. "The government whose actions are determined by the passing phases of popular opinion, as distinguished from ultimate opinion, will perish. The constitution of the United States establishes the rule of the people as distinguished from the rule of the mob."

His Not a Reactionary Policy.

Such doctrine could not be classed as reactionary, Mr. Dawes said, adding that all good citizens should condemn the reactionary as usually pictured—"one who stands against honest progress in government and in favor of some status quo from which he is supposed to derive an unfair individual benefit."

"The most dangerous reactionary is the man attacking the constitution of the United States," he said. "Such a man would open the way for a condition of things under which again, in poverty, confusion and misery, the people must evolve among themselves, constitutional instruments of stable and free government, under which the inalienable rights of the individual are protected from the aggressions of the majority and from government itself. Let us not deceive ourselves. The doctrines of the socialists of the United States, headed in this campaign by Robert M. La Follette, are the reactionary doctrines."

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Farmer's Daughter Crowned as Queen at Humboldt Festival

Humboldt, Neb., Sept. 11.—The Humboldt fall festival and livestock and poultry fair opened with coronation of the queen-elect, Miss Thelma Powell, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. O.H. Powell, farmers. When the queen, the maid of honor and two attendants, with a retinue of pages and flower girls, approached the throne on a large platform in the city park a chorus of 80 voices sang an appropriate selection. The golden crown was placed upon the queen's head by Frank Boss, chairman of parade committee. The queen was robed in royal colors.

Several playlets were given by a group of children. The ceremonies opened with a short concert by the Humboldt band. Miss Larson of Omaha assisted in the decorations for this occasion; also in decoration of the many beautiful floats appearing in the parades. An attractive float especially for the queen and attendants appears each day.

Reprise—At a special meeting of the city commissioners plans were adopted for the installation of a settling basin at the city waterworks plant to cost approximately \$10,000.

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