

IMPROVED POLITICAL MACHINERY

REMARKS

OF

HON. DICK T. MORGAN

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

AUGUST 23, 1912



WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

1912

60313—11533

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DICK T. MORGAN.

Mr. MORGAN said:

Mr. SPEAKER: During the time which I have been a Member of this House there has been much discussion over measures which have been proposed for the purpose of giving to the people a more direct, efficient, and effective machinery for the control, management, and direction of the affairs of both State and National Governments. The propositions which have been the most favorably received are as follows:

1. The initiative, referendum, and recall.
2. The election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people.
3. The limitation and publication of campaign expenses.
4. The nomination of candidates by direct primary election laws.

THE INITIATIVE, REFERENDUM, AND RECALL.

The initiative, referendum, and recall became to some extent an issue in this House when we had under consideration the bill to admit the Territory of Arizona as a State in the Union. The constitution presented by the people of Arizona reserved to the people the right of the initiative, referendum, and recall. It was urged by some that Arizona should not be admitted into the Union with these provisions in her constitution. I voted for the bill to admit Arizona with the initiative, referendum, and recall provisions in her constitution, which bill, when passed by both Houses of Congress, was vetoed by President Taft. I advocated the admission of Arizona with these provisions in her constitution, asserting that the initiative, referendum, and recall were not dangerous to our free institutions, and that these provisions placed in the constitution of our State might be used by the people as additional machinery with which to work their will and with which to direct, control, and manage the affairs of the State.

ELECTION OF UNITED STATES SENATORS.

Since I became a Member of this House we have passed a resolution submitting to the States for their ratification an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, providing for the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people. The people have learned, as I believe, that the use of legislative machinery in the election of United States Senators is wholly unnecessary, and that the people have the intelligence and patriotism which will enable them to elect United States Senators by direct vote more satisfactorily than they have heretofore done through the agency of legislative bodies. The object of abolishing the legislative machinery in the election of Senators is simply to give the people a more direct method of elect-

ing these important officials and thus keep the United States Senators in more direct touch with the masses of people throughout the entire country. I gave my support and vote to this proposed amendment to the Constitution, and I would like to see a sufficient number of States ratify this amendment to place this provision in our National Constitution.

LIMITATION AND PUBLICATION OF CAMPAIGN EXPENSES.

In order that the will of the people may be supreme and that we may remove every obstacle which might thwart the will of the people, and in order that the voice of the people, as expressed at the ballot box, shall have full sway in this country, we should, so far as possible, by laws limit, restrict, control, and prohibit the excessive use of money in election campaigns. No one will deny that money is a potent factor in elections; no one will deny that money has heretofore been used to excess. I am therefore heartily in favor of the restriction, limitation, and publication, both before and after elections, of all moneys expended by any candidate, individual, committee, or political party in political campaigns. The bill which this Congress has passed limiting the amount of money a candidate for Congress can lawfully spend, either in primary or general election, received both my vote and my hearty approval. The present law is not comprehensive enough. It should be amended, after a most careful study and investigation, to the end that money shall no longer be an important factor in the nomination and election of any candidate for the office of Representative or Senator in the Congress of the United States.

PRIMARY ELECTIONS.

Until in recent years, candidates of the various political parties for various State and National offices were nominated through the instrumentality of a nominating convention. As the people have learned that legislative bodies are not necessary in the election of United States Senator, so they have learned that nominating conventions are not necessary in selecting candidates for office. The people can more successfully and satisfactorily select their candidates by direct vote at a primary election. In my judgment, the primary election has come to stay, and its provisions will be extended until sooner or later candidates for President and Vice President of the United States will be nominated by some system of primary election.

IN GENERAL.

The initiative, referendum, and recall, the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people, the limitation, restriction, and publication of campaign expenses, and corrupt-practices act, the nomination of all public officers by direct primary elections, all have in view one great purpose, namely, more effective political machinery, better instrumentalities, and superior means and methods through which, by which, and with which the people may control, direct, and manage the affairs of their own governments, both State and National. In all organized governments the people must employ agents and servants in the form of public officials to conduct a very large part of governmental affairs; but I see no danger to our republican form of government in giving the people all the political machinery whereby they may eliminate so far as possible all

agents, servants, and public officers, and perform directly themselves every function of the government that is possible.

LAWS ENACTED FOR THE BENEFIT OF SECOND (OKLAHOMA) CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT.

In my service in this House I have constantly kept the interests of the people of my own district in mind. I have felt that my first duty was to look after the welfare of my own people. Since I have been a Member of this House the following special laws or provisions have been enacted for the benefit of the people of the district which I represent:

ORPHANS' HOME.

A law enabling the Masonic fraternity of the State to secure from the Government on favorable terms a section of land near the city of El Reno with buildings thereon formerly used for Government Indian School, and valued at \$200,000. The property is now used for a Masonic Industrial School and Orphans' Home.

LAND OPENED TO SETTLEMENT.

An act, which opened to settlement 11,500 acres of land in Canadian County, providing homes for about 500 people and adding largely to the wealth and the taxable property of the county.

THREE HUNDRED AND THIRTY THOUSAND DOLLARS TO INDIANS.

A provision which gave to the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians the proceeds from the sale of the foregoing lands amounting to \$330,000, which, placed in the Treasury to their credit, brings them 3 per cent interest, or an annual income of about \$10,000.

FOUR HUNDRED AND SIXTY-THREE ACRES FOR ANADARKO.

An act enabling the city of Anadarko, or the Commercial Club of the city, to secure 463 acres of Government land lying immediately north of the city, which was subdivided, platted, and sold with a good profit to the city.

UNITED STATES COURT FOR NORTHWEST.

An act requiring United States court to be held at Woodward, which will be a great saving and convenience to the people of six or eight counties in the northwest.

FORTY-SEVEN SPECIAL PENSION ACTS.

Forty-seven special pension acts were passed, increasing the pensions of ex-Union soldiers generally to \$30 per month.

GREATER PUBLIC BUILDINGS FOR OKLAHOMA CITY.

Two hundred and thirty thousand dollars have been appropriated to finish the construction of the Federal building at Oklahoma City, nearly \$130,000 of which was secured to purchase additional site for said building, which insures, when the building is completed, will cover an entire half block and will probably cost in the total nearly \$1,000,000.

PUBLIC BUILDING FOR EL RENO.

One hundred thousand dollars was authorized to be expended for the erection of a public building and the purchase of a site therefor in the city of El Reno.

EXTENSION OF PAYMENTS.

An act was passed extending time in which the Masonic fraternity of the State could pay for the land and the buildings heretofore referred to.

TIME EXTENDED FOR SETTLERS.

An act was passed extending time in which settlers could pay for the lands entered under act of June 17, 1910.

UNITED STATES CLERK AT OKLAHOMA CITY.

A provision was enacted which requires the clerk of the United States Court for the Western District to keep an office in charge of himself or deputy at Oklahoma City.

PUBLIC HIGHWAY OPENED.

An act granting Caddo County a public highway across the Government land occupied by an Indian agency at Anadarko.

OKLAHOMA NATIONAL GUARD.

An act by which the United States donated to Company I, Oklahoma National Guard, a valuable lot in the city of Alva to be used as a site for an armory.

BUILDING DONATED.

An act whereby the Government donated to Company I, Oklahoma National Guard, at Alva, the building formerly used by the Government for a United States land office, to be used by said militia company for purposes of an armory.

RIGHT OF WAY FOR RAILWAY.

An act granting the Clinton & Oklahoma Western Railway Co. the right of way across the Red Moon Indian Agency in Custer County.

LAND WITH SPRING FOR ORPHANS' HOME.

An act giving the Masonic fraternity of the State the preference right to purchase a tract of land located near the orphans' home, on which land there is located a valuable spring of water, and which was desired to be used in securing a supply of water for the industrial school and orphans' home.

PROPOSITIONS FOR WHICH I HAVE VOTED.

In looking back over the RECORD during the time which I have had the honor to be a Member of this House I find a vast variety of measures have been considered. I have tried to vote conscientiously on all propositions which have been presented. Among the important measures for which I have voted the following may be mentioned:

I voted for the proposed income tax amendment to the Constitution, that wealth might be made to pay its just share of taxes.

I voted for the bill establishing postal savings banks, designed to help the masses of the people.

I have voted for every conservation measure to place our public lands, forests, minerals, and power sites beyond the reach of greedy syndicates, unscrupulous corporations, and monopolistic combinations.

I voted for the measure which placed a tax of 1 per cent upon the profits of the big corporations, which brings into the Treasury annually \$30,000,000.

I voted for the provision which requires the big corporations to make annual reports to the Government and gave officials authority to examine the books of such corporations.

I voted for the provision which conferred upon the Interstate Commerce Commission for the first time the authority to fix rates charged by railways engaged in interstate commerce.

I voted for the provision which passed the House requiring the Interstate Commerce Commission to make a valuation of

the physical property of railways engaged in interstate commerce.

I voted for the appointment of a commission to make a full investigation of the issuing of stocks and bonds by interstate railways, with a view to requiring all such bonds and stocks to be issued under the supervision of the Government.

I voted for the safety-appliance act, requiring railroads in the use of appliances to exercise the highest care for the safety of employees and passengers.

I voted for the employers' liability act, increasing the liability of corporations and other employers for injuries sustained by employees.

I voted for the act creating the Bureau of Mines, to more carefully safeguard the lives of the 750,000 miners and to prevent the killing annually of 3,000 persons and the injury of 10,000 others by accidents.

I voted to place telegraph and telephone companies under the control of the Interstate Commerce Commission, with power to fix the rates and charges for messages.

I voted to place petroleum and all its products on the free list, thus taking all benefit of a protective tariff from the Standard Oil Co., then the largest corporation and greatest trust in the world.

I voted to create a permanent tariff board, with a view to having the most thorough knowledge of the cost of production, so that in tariff legislation Congress might reduce rates when ascertained to be higher than necessary to afford reasonable protection.

I voted for a resolution submitting an amendment to the Constitution requiring United States Senators to be elected by a direct vote of the people.

I voted for a bill limiting campaign expenses and requiring such expenses to be published, both before and after election.

I voted for the income or excise tax bill, which passed the House of Representatives.

I voted for the admission of Arizona with a constitution which provided for the initiative, referendum, and recall—a bill the President vetoed.

I voted for the bill giving national aid to promote the building of good roads in the States in the interest of the 6,400,000 farmers.

I voted for the anti-injunction bill, limiting the power of Federal courts to issue injunctions, a measure designed to prevent Federal judges from abusing their authority in labor disputes.

I voted for the bill providing for jury trial in contempt proceedings when the act complained of constitutes a criminal offense, another measure intended especially to protect members of labor unions against unjust imprisonment.

I voted for the eight-hour-day law, to prevent avaricious employers from imposing upon wage earners, a measure of great importance to laboring men of all classes.

I voted for the so-called farmers' free-list tariff bill, and voted to pass the measure over the President's veto.

I voted to abrogate the discriminating passport treaty with Russia.

I voted for the new pension law, which adds about \$30,000,000 per year to the pensions of ex-Union soldiers.

I voted for the new homestead law, of vast importance to the settlers upon the public domain.

I voted for the repeal of the Canadian reciprocity act, a measure I opposed when it was passed.

I voted both in the Sixty-first and Sixty-second Congresses to increase the pay of rural route carriers, as a matter of justice to the carriers and to perfect this service in the interest of the farmers.

I voted for the parcel-post provision in the Post Office appropriation bill, with a view to giving the farmers better facilities for transporting packages, including farm products and merchandise, to and from the farm, for the convenience and benefit of both farmers and residents of towns and cities.

MEASURES WHICH I HAVE SUPPORTED.

I believe that the votes which I have cast since I have been a Member of Congress have been in harmony with the sentiment of the vast majority of people of my district. I have stood for progress and have voted for all progressive measures which have come before Congress. I voted for an income tax, for postal savings banks, for every conservation measure, for special tax on the big corporations, to give the Interstate Commerce Commission the power to fix rates and charges of railroads, express, telegraph, and telephone companies, and to make a physical valuation of railroads, for the safety-appliance act, employers' liability act, for the farmers' free-list tariff bill, for election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people, to limit and publish campaign expenses, for the excise-tax bill, for national aid to good roads, for parcel post, for the anti-injunction bill, for limitation of power of Federal courts to issue injunctions, for a trial by jury in certain contempt proceedings in Federal courts, for the eight-hour-day law, for the new pension act, the new homestead law, for the repeal of the Canadian reciprocity act, and against its passage.

CONTROL CORPORATIONS.

I believe that the National Government should exercise much larger control, supervision, and regulation over the big corporations engaged in interstate commerce, and I will vote for legislation giving the National Government such control over such corporations as will prevent them from imposing upon the people through improper practices or unjust prices.

OPPOSED TO MONOPOLY.

I am opposed to private monopoly, and where any corporation possesses monopolistic power one of two things must be done: We must either destroy the monopoly or control its business.

AGRICULTURE MUST BE ENCOURAGED.

I believe that agriculture is the basis of all other industries, and I will vote for national appropriations to encourage agriculture, to promote its prosperity, to extend its growth, to make farm life more attractive and profitable, and to add to the comfort, convenience, and prosperity of our farmers.

WAGE EARNER MUST BE PROTECTED.

I believe that the welfare of the wage earners of this country is of the highest importance, and I will vote for any legislation

that will insure just and proper increase of wages, reasonable hours of labor, the improvement of conditions and environments under which labor is performed, and that will guarantee improvement of the social conditions of the laboring men of this country.

POLICY OF PROTECTION.

I believe thoroughly in the principle and the policy of a protective tariff and shall oppose free trade or a tariff for revenue only. I am in favor of revising the tariff schedule by schedule and will vote for any reduction that does not mean destruction to American industries, the reduction of the wages, and loss of employment to the laboring men of the United States.

LIBERAL PENSIONS.

I believe in the most liberal pensions to the soldiers who have fought battles of the Republic and who have preserved its life and honor.

PROPERTY RIGHTS SACRED.

The rights of property must be held sacred. Business must be encouraged. Individuals must have the greatest incentive for honest effort. Rewards for industry must be sure and great. I will, therefore, vote for any measure that will promote business, enterprise, and industrial progress.

MORALITY NECESSARY TO NATIONAL GREATNESS.

I believe firmly that we can not be a great Nation or a happy people unless we are morally sound. The church, the school, and the home are the three great lights, and I will vote for any measure that will promote a higher moral standard among our people.

60313—11533