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An Explanation for Senator Bailey

THE following letter, dated July 12, 1935, was received this week from Senator J. W. Bailey:

"I have read your editorial entitled 'Another Victory for the Power Interests.' Promptly upon finding that the appropriation for building the Hiwassee Dam had not been included in the House Bill, I appeared with Mr. Weaver, Mr. Reynolds and one or two others, before the Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee in the Senate, and I have assurances that the Hiwassee Dam has been included in the report of the Committee; and I think when the second Deficiency Bill shall pass, this project will be properly provided for. I am very greatly interested in it and am doing all I can. You are entirely mistaken about my stand here. You imply that there is some opposition by me to TVA. I voted for TVA on every occasion and I am now trying to get it extended into North Carolina."

We are happy to acknowledge this letter and are glad of the opportunity to congratulate the senior North Carolina senator on his stand in regard to TVA. We are extremely sorry that he misinterpreted our editorial, "Another Victory for the Power Interests," as an accusation that he had not stood by the administration's program for development of the Tennessee Valley, and we sincerely hope that none of our other readers received this impression. We did not state or intend to infer that Mr. Bailey had not supported TVA legislation. Let us clear the atmosphere by quoting a paragraph from the editorial referred to:

"Congressman Zebulon Weaver of this district, who only a few weeks ago sponsored legislation directing the Tennessee Valley Authority to play hands off in areas such as Macon, Swain and Graham counties, where the Mellon-controlled Aluminum Corporation of America owns hydro-electric properties, manifested surprise and concern when he learned that the Hiwassee Dam appropriation had been killed in committee. Now, with the aid of Senators Reynolds and Bailey, he is endeavoring to have this appropriation restored in the Senate. But neither of North Carolina's senators has been wholeheartedly in support of the Roosevelt program to bring the power companies under proper control, and many of their constituents are wondering how effectively they will go to bat for it in this particular instance."

In making this statement we had in mind, not the record of the two North Carolina senators on TVA measures, but how they voted on legislation to abolish "unnecessary" public utility holding companies. The Wheeler-Rayburn Bill, with the "death sentence" clause included, was, in our humble judgment, equally as important as the TVA in the administration's program to put the big utility companies in their proper place. The power companies have fought it tooth and nail and, unless the situation changes in the House of Representatives, it looks as if they have succeeded in defeating the purpose of the bill.

Press dispatches from Washington stated that both Senators Bailey and Reynolds supported the Dieterich and Lonergan amendments to the Wheeler-Rayburn bill, amendments which the administration strenuously opposed as they would have virtually emasculated the bill. The amendments were defeated by the barest of margins and the bill itself was passed, 56 to 32. Senator Reynolds voted in opposition, stating later: "When I take a side I go the whole hog." Senator Bailey voted for the bill; but prior to the final vote he supported the amendments which evoked from President Roosevelt a pencilled note holding them "contrary" to his recommendations. In view of this, we think we were justified in our statement that "neither of the North Carolina senators has been wholeheartedly in support of the Roosevelt program to bring the power companies under proper control."

There has been so much erroneous information disseminated by press agents, so much pressure brought to bear by lobbyists—at home as well as in Washington—that we are not surprised that congressmen and senators experience considerable difficulty in determining the desires of their constituencies in regard to holding company and TVA legislation, or, for that matter, in arriving at their own conclusions as to the merits of such legislation. As General Johnson, of NRA fame, might put it, "the air is filled with dead cats."

It is encouraging to know that a busy man like Senator Bailey has his ear so close to the ground, or his eye so close on the newspapers, that an editorial in a comparatively obscure weekly newspaper has attracted his attention. We feel flattered; but what pleases us most is that he certainly must be on the job. He has his finger on the pulse of the folks back home. He may be fooled sometimes; the best are. But he won't be fooled for long. Though we may differ with Mr. Bailey on some things,

ON THE GASOLINE CIRCUIT — by A. B. Chapin



we have long been one of his admirers and supporters. We wish there were more lawmakers like him in Washington. If they will follow his example and keep close contact with the people back home, lending their ears to the voters instead of to lobbyists, they, as the sailors of old, will be less likely to be led to destruction by the wails of the sirens. And, what is more important, we will have government more representative of the will of the people.

The Story of the Constitution

by CALEB JOHNSON

THIRTEEN FREE AND INDEPENDENT NATIONS

WHEN we start to study anything, we must begin at the beginning. The Constitution of the United States begins with a Preamble. A Preamble is intended to explain the purpose of what follows. The Preamble to our Constitution does that in 52 words.

"We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America."

That explains what the Constitution was expected to do. It does not, however, explain why it was necessary to draw up a Constitution, eleven years after the English Colonies of America had declared their independence of Great Britain. The Declaration of Independence was signed in 1776. The Constitution was adopted in 1787. Before we can understand the why of the Constitution, we must understand what kind of a government we had in America before there was any Constitution.

The very first phrase of the Constitution raises questions. "We, the people of the United States." How were the States united before there was any Constitution? What had kept them together throughout the War of the Revolution? What had held them together after the Revolution and before they adopted the Constitution? For, as they expressly stated in the Declaration of Independence, they were not only free states; but independent states.

For that matter, what did they mean by the word "states," in the Declaration of Independence and in the Constitution itself? When the Founding Fathers of the Republic said "state" they meant exactly what we mean today when we say "nation." In the 18th century the word "nation" was seldom used; the

word "state" was always understood as meaning a nation. The Declaration of Independence, after declaring that "these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States," continues: "and that all political connection between them and the STATE of Great Britain is, and ought to be, dissolved." "United States," then, meant "United Nations."

Thirteen independent nations, seeking to free themselves from the domination of another nation, fought the War of the Revolution. They called their union a "Confederation of States." Exactly the same meaning would have been conveyed if they had called it a "League of Nations."

In the beginning, this union of independent states was nothing more than a mutual alliance to carry on the war. It was almost exactly the same sort of a "union" as that between the allied but independent nations of Europe, for the conduct of the World War from 1914 to 1919. The American States had the common background of having all been subject to the same domination by another nation. But the utmost their leaders had in mind in the way of a union, at the beginning of the Revolution, was an alliance of independent nations in what they explicitly termed a "League of Friendship."

The only central government that existed in America for the first five years of the war with Great Britain was the Continental Congress, composed of delegates from the thirteen states. It had so little power or authority that it could hardly be called a government at all. The Continental Congress could borrow money, if anyone would lend it, but could not levy taxes to repay such loans. It could issue requisitions to the separate states for supplies and troops, but it could not make its acts effective.

(Next week: The Seed From Which Grew the Constitution)

FRANKLIN METHODIST
Chesley C. Herbert, Jr., Pastor
(Each Sunday)
9:45 a. m.—Sunday school.
11 a. m.—Morning worship.
7:15 p. m.—Epworth League meeting.
8 p. m.—Evening worship.
Carson's Chapel
(Each Sunday)
2:30 p. m.—Sunday school.
(2nd and 4th Sundays)
3:15 p. m.—Preaching service.