

Washington, D. C.

JAN 14 1911

PRESSED TO A VOTE

Direct Election of Senators
Fight to Be Pushed.

Under the leadership of Senator Borah, members of the Senate who are strongly in favor of the election of senators by direct vote are going to push hard for a vote on that proposition in the upper house before the end of the present session.

Not despairing because of his failure yesterday to get the Senate to agree to a vote on the proposition, Senator Borah will early next week again ask that a date be fixed for a vote. The happenings of yesterday afternoon, when the first efforts along that line were made, indicated that the Senate is generally favorable to putting the matter to a vote. Some preliminary work is to be done during the next few days by conferences, and it is being predicted that an agreement upon a date will be reached soon.

It was a bold move which Senator Borah and other senators who have been pressing for a vote on the matter for some years made in the Senate yesterday afternoon. It is generally interpreted as showing the confidence which they have that the Senate will give the necessary two-thirds vote to the proposed amendment to the Constitution. The little opposition which was encountered, too, has made them the bolder and more confident.

Yesterday's Vote Analyzed.

The vote taken in the Senate yesterday afternoon during the discussion of the subject is interpreted as showing which way the wind is blowing. The opponents of the amendment to allow the direct election of senators tried to postpone consideration, but their motion was voted down, 42 to 17. On that roll call the vote in favor of a delay was less than one-third of the total. Friends of the amendment, therefore, are claiming today that two-thirds of the Senate are favorable to it and they are anxious to get a direct vote on the amendment.

When the proposed amendment was reached on the calendar its friends pressed for its consideration at once. No objection was made, and the discussion was opened by Senator Sutherland. He offered an amendment, and upon it will hinge much of the discussion of the proposition. The amendment to the Constitution as framed by the Senate committee on judiciary and favorably recommended by it allows each state to control the

manner, time and place of the election of its senators, and Senator Sutherland's amendment proposes to reserve to Congress some authority over the election, such as in fixing the qualifications of voters, to make the elections uniform throughout the country.

The discussion of the amendment occupied but a few minutes, and the friends of direct election of senators appeared to be willing to let the amendment be put to a vote. Senator Hale, however, made a motion that the Senate adjourn. A roll call was demanded, and the motion was overwhelmingly defeated. The senators who voted for adjournment and who are therefore classed with those opposed to the general proposition of direct election of senators were Senators Brandegee, Burnham, Crane, Depew, du Pont, Frye, Gallinger, Guggenheim, Hale, Heyburn, Johnston, Keam, Money, Oliver, Root, Warren and Wetmore.

Senator Heyburn Objects.

Encouraged by this vote, Senator Borah proposed that the Senate agree by unanimous consent upon a date upon which it will vote on the proposed amendment to the Constitution and all proposed changes in it. He suggested January 24, but later named January 24. He did not explain whether or not he feared the hoodoo of asking Friday, the thirteenth day of the month, for a vote the twenty-third day of the month. Senator Hale suggested that the unanimous consent agreement also specify that the matter be taken up immediately after morning business on that day, and Senator Borah agreed to the change. It looked like clear sailing for an agreement.

Then Senator Heyburn rose from his seat. It was immediately recalled by all in the Senate chamber that Senator Borah, who was now asking unanimous consent, had earlier in the day prevented the consideration of a bill in which Senator Heyburn was interested. There was no surprise, therefore, when Senator Heyburn objected, and prevented the agreement upon a date for voting.

Senator Borah immediately announced that he would make a similar proposition early next week. Senator Sutherland's amendment was then pressed to a vote, but before the actual roll call had been begun, Senator Cullom proposed an executive session. The friends of the constitutional amendment were satisfied with the day's progress and did not oppose that motion.

"Heights Signal"
Chicago, Ill. Jan. 19-1911.

The most powerful argument ever submitted to the United States senate advocating the election of senators by direct vote of the people is found in the report written by Senator Borah on behalf of the judiciary committee when he favorably reported the joint resolution providing for the submission of a constitutional amendment to the various states.

Washington, D. C.

JAN 14 1911

Proposed Amendment Gets Strong Support in Senate.

RESOLUTION TO BE ADOPTED

Opponents of Measure Try to Postpone Consideration, but Are Decisively Voted Down — Senator Borah Threatens to Hold Up Other Business Until Matter Is Settled.

A vote in the Senate yesterday indicates a strong drift in that body in favor of the adoption of the proposed amendment to the Constitution providing for the election of Senators by popular vote.

Opponents of the measure as introduced in the Senate by the Judiciary Committee sought to postpone consideration of the matter when it came before the Senate, and were voted down, 42 to 17. Several of the Senators expressed confidence on the floor that the resolution would be adopted. Senator Sutherland, of Utah, offered two amendments which strike out of the Judiciary Committee resolution the prohibition against Congress prescribing rules in regard to the time and place of holding elections.

Will Support Measure.

Senator Sutherland announced that he would vote for the resolution proposing the election of Senators by popular vote, whether his amendments were adopted or not, but he declared that, in his opinion, it was highly important that Congress should be allowed to prescribe rules and regulations for the proposed elections.

Such rules and regulations were in force in regard to the election of Representatives, and to take the power away from Congress in the case of the popular election of Senators would, in Senator Sutherland's opinion, lead to great confusion. The resolution before the Senate proposes to leave to the State the prescribing of rules and regulations for the elections.

Senator Hale, of Maine, suggested that the amendments proposed by Senator Sutherland were most important, and should not be voted on without serious consideration. He moved that the Senate adjourn. It was the purpose of the Senator from Maine to shut off the discussion for the time in this way. Senator Hale's motion, however, was voted down, 42 to 17. The vote is regarded as indicating the drift of sentiment in the Senate toward the election of Senators by popular vote, although there were a good many absentees.

Asks Unanimous Consent.

Senator Borah asked unanimous consent that January 22 be set as the date for a formal vote on the resolution.

Senator Heyburn, of Idaho, Senator Borah's colleague, objected, and thus the effort to fix a time for the vote was defeated.

Senator Sutherland's amendments then came before the Senate for immediate consideration.

Senator Carter announced that he expected to vote for the resolution in some form or other. He asked, however, that the matter be given more consideration than would be possible if the amendments are rushed to a vote as is now proposed. He declared that the Senate seemed bent on voting on these amendments altering the fundamental law of the land with a haste that would not be employed in considering an unimportant bridge bill.

It was apparent that the advocates of popular election of Senators had taken the opponents of the measure off their guard in rushing the subject before the Senate yesterday.

Believes It Will Pass.

Senator Carter declared that there is now no doubt that the resolution will be passed by the Senate in some form at this session.

Senator Borah said that he was disposed to urge immediate action on the resolution, because he had been informed that some who are supposed now to be in favor of the resolution intend that it shall not be brought to a vote at all in this session.

Senator Cullom then came to the rescue of the Senators who were sparring for time with the request that Senator Borah yield to allow him to move for an executive session.

The Senator from Idaho said he was not disposed to yield, but he finally consented after serving notice on the Senate, however, that he would call his resolution up again on Monday or Tuesday, and if a date for voting on it was not fixed at that time he promised the Senate that there would not be much other business transacted.

The announcement from Senator Borah amounted to a warning that he would hold up other business until the question of the election of Senators by direct vote was acted upon.

DIRECT ELECTION OF SENATORS.

Senator Borah, a Republican, and Senator Rayner, a Democrat, outnumber Senator Dillingham, a Republican, as members of a sub-committee of the Senate committee on judiciary, and they will offer to the full committee a recommendation for a constitutional amendment for the direct election by the people of all United States Senators. It is interesting to recall that Senator Borah was the popular choice of his party, expressed through a state convention, and got the unanimous vote of the Republicans in the Idaho Legislature. Senator Rayner has just been endorsed by the Democratic primary of Maryland for re-

election. Senator Dillingham doesn't have to worry about re-election till 1916, and he stands pat. He always has stood pat. He may in time find, however, that his state doesn't stand pat. Other old-time Senators have been rudely awakened from their peaceful slumbers in Washington to find that the procession had moved along.

Senator Borah wants no expedients or makeshifts or roundabout methods in the direct election of Senators. Senator Rayner agrees. Senator Dillingham doesn't want anything but to be let alone.

Yet the Senate will be forced to act favorably on the measure—if it gets the chance. The Senate knows that the people want, and long have wanted, their Senators elected by direct vote. They want the real thing in direct elections. The Senate judiciary committee would appear to be up against it this time. It will take adroit sidestepping or a fine assortment of grand and lofty parliamentary tumbling, to avoid a vote on the question at this session.

SENATOR BORAH'S PLEA.

In reporting to the Senate the proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution, providing for the election of Senators by direct vote of the people, Senator Borah, of Idaho, expressed the opinion that such a change would avert such scandals as that in regard to the selection of Senator Lorimer by the Legislature of Illinois.

There can be no doubt that this would be the case in regard to most of the larger States, although such artificial commonwealths as Nevada would probably remain the property of the enterprising mine owner who had the largest number of miners on his pay-roll. It is much easier to buy the votes of eight or ten venal legislators than to corrupt a populous and self-respecting community. But it must be confessed that the recent revelations in regard to the vote of West Union, Ohio, shows that wholesale corruption of the voters is not impossible even in a comparatively large constituency.

DIRECT ELECTION OF SENATORS.

It is stated in despatches from Washington that Senator Borah's bill by which congress would submit to the states a constitutional amendment providing for the popular election of United States senators will not prevail at the present session. It is contended that a majority of the senate would vote for the bill but that a determined minority can filibuster sufficiently during the short session to keep a vote from coming up. Senators Penrose of Pennsylvania and Hale of Maine are pointed out as Senator Borah's chief opposition in the senate. They believe in retrogradation rather than progress and stand for old-line policies and inveigh against direct primaries. Senator Hale will not succeed himself from Maine but Penrose, as the very able successor of Senator Quay, will probably remain in the senate from a state which is controlled by high finance through either party organization.

In many states the primary election law provides for the choice of senators by direct vote. But this vote is advisory rather than real and a state legislature can do as it wants to with regard to carrying out the expressed wishes of the majority. The validity of an election could not be attacked if the legislature elected a different senator from the one who received the highest number of votes in the primary. The constitution provides that senators shall be elected by the legislatures of the several states and to safeguard a choice directly by the people it is necessary that the constitution shall be changed to permit of it. Some urge that under the present primary laws the voters really vote directly for their senators, but as a matter of fact they only act in an advisory capacity to their state legislatures which may or may not carry out the instructions given them at the ballot box. Besides the several states have different primary laws and there is no uniformity to the present system of choice in the primaries as between the different states.

Senator Borah's bill will prevail in time, and the next senate will no doubt pass it, even if the expiring one decides with Penrose and Hale that it does not want it.

From "Sun"
Baltimore, Md.,
Dec. 19-1910

**THE FIGHT OF THE "OLD GUARD"
AGAINST DIRECT ELECTION
OF SENATORS.**

At intervals for more than twenty years the House has passed a resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution for the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people. One after another these resolutions have been promptly pigeon-holed by the Senate and have died in committee. The Senators themselves, all elected by Legislatures and some of them by methods more than questionable, strongly opposed any change that threatened their political supremacy. Controlling the Legislatures on the one hand and the Federal patronage on the other, they were enabled to make their positions almost impregnable in many States. They seemed to be as impervious to such a suggestion as the British House of Lords would be. But the nomination of Senators by direct primary in the Southern States and in the West has wrought a decided change. One by one Senators have been pledged to the principle of election by direct vote, and it appears that an actual majority is now pledged to the submission of an amendment to the Constitution providing for this radical change.

Senator Isidor Rayner, of Maryland, has been an earnest advocate of the change. He has been fighting for this principle for the past twenty-five years. He has made a strong fight to bring this resolution before the Senate, and at last success is in sight. Senator Bristow, of Kansas, who introduced the particular resolution now under consideration; Senator Borah, of Idaho, and Senator La Follette, of Wisconsin, supported by the Democratic members under the lead of Mr. Rayner, have succeeded in forcing the Judiciary Committee to agree to report the resolution to the Senate, where they will be able to force a vote and have every Senator show exactly where he stands upon the question.

The Insurgents have been able to accomplish this only by the co-operation and support of the Democrats. The old-line Republican Regulars, who are bitterly opposed to any change in the system, dare not face a vote on the direct proposition in open Senate. With their ancient enmities, they are endeavoring to accomplish its defeat by "loading it down" with other propositions.

They propose to couple with the resolution looking to the election of Senators by direct vote the proposition that Congress shall take charge of Federal elections in the various States, and providing that in such elections the entire male population shall be allowed to vote. This would at once nullify the elaborate constitutional

amendments by which the Southern States have been enabled to prevent the participation of the ignorant colored vote in elections, and would upset the election laws of every State which imposes any qualification upon the suffrage. Another amendment they suggest is that the representation of States in the Senate be according to population, annulling the present plan by which all States are equally represented in the upper house of Congress.

The purpose of these amendments is so plain that their mere announcement should be sufficient to insure their defeat. The one is designed to force the opposition of all the Democratic Senators from the South; the other, to array against the resolution the representatives of all the smaller States, which would never consent to the domination of the Senate by New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and Illinois.

There is no doubt that the advocates of the change will be compelled to face the opposition of the most adroit political manipulators in the country. The Aldriches, Hales and Depews will not miss this opportunity to fire a parting shot. The Guggenheims and Penroses will not voluntarily vote to retire themselves to private life.

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POPULAR ELECTION OF SENATORS.

The chances are that the Senate will agree, at the present session, to an amendment to the Federal Constitution, providing for the popular election of United States Senators. Already twenty-seven of the forty-six States have declared in favor of this measure, and only four more are needed to make it effective. Twenty-eight States hold their regular sessions next month, and it is believed that no difficulty will be encountered in getting from among these the four additional approvals that are required.

The House of Representatives has voted three times in favor of the amendment, the last time unanimously; and the only obstacle in the way of the change has so far been the Senate. In view of the fact that a majority of the Senators did not submit their names to the voters in a primary, and could not have been elected had they done so, but owe their positions in the Senate to money or to the influences, interests and trusts behind them, they naturally oppose a change that would shut them out of the upper house, nicknamed "The Millionaire Club." But even the Senators see the handwriting on the wall, that they cannot long resist the popular demand, and are trying to find some plan that will defeat this senatorial election

KANSAS CITY, MO.

JAN 13 1911

THE PEOPLE'S BUSINESS.

There are many reasons why senators should be elected by the people, not by the state legislatures, and Senator Borah yesterday emphasized one of the strongest—that the time of the legislatures should be devoted to the people's business, not to the electing of senators. This point is doubly strong. The legislators have less time than they should have for their proper service to the people and the people can transact the business of electing senators more expeditiously and with less risk to their own interests than the legislatures can perform that service.

The people elect many officers that should be appointed by the higher officials, but they should take from their legislative bodies the function of choosing senators.

SENATOR BORAH gives numerous reasons for the election of United States senators by direct vote, but many of his colleagues think this plan savors too strongly of legislating themselves out of office.

"Daily Times"
Brooklyn, N. Y.
Jan. 12-1911

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There can be no doubt that this would be the case in regard to most of the larger States, although such artificial commonwealths as Nevada would probably remain the property of the enterprising mine owner who had the largest number of miners on his pay-roll. It is much easier to buy the votes of eight or ten venal legislators than to corrupt a populous and self-respecting community. But it must be confessed that the recent revelations in regard to the vote of West Union, Ohio, shows that wholesale corruption of the voters is not impossible even in a comparatively large constituency.

scheme. The question will have to be met very soon, for Senator Bristow of Kansas, an advanced progressist, has brought it before the Senate in a resolution for the immediate submission to the States of a constitutional amendment requiring the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people. This resolution was submitted to the Senate Judiciary Committee, which resubmitted it to a subcommittee consisting of Messrs. Borah of Idaho, Dillingham of Vermont and Rayner of Maryland. Messrs. Borah and Rayner favor the election of Senators by the people, and will so report a few days after the holiday recess, thus bringing the matter directly and squarely before the Senate. The chances in that body are favorable to the passage of the measure, for thirty-five Senators, including twenty-two Republicans and thirteen Democrats, have declared in favor of it, and only twelve, of whom nine are Republicans and three Democrats, have placed themselves on record as in opposition.

At the very last moment, however, "the old guard," or standpat Republicans, who are opposed to all changes, have brought in the negro question as a part of their programme to defeat action, hoping to divide the Southern forces, who constitute the most aggressive element fighting for this proposed reform. This scheme is exposed by an amendment offered in the Judiciary Committee by Senator Depew of New York, providing that "the qualifications of citizens entitled to vote for United States Senators and Representatives in Congress shall be uniform in all the States, and Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation and to provide for the registration of citizens entitled to vote, the conduct of such elections and the certification of the result."

Of course, if this amendment were adopted it would give the Federal government the absolute control over the elections of Congressmen, and the various provisions in regard to negro suffrage passed by most of the Southern States would be swept away. It is upon this point—the election of Senators by "the whole male population"—that the opposition is making its fight. The fact that Senator Depew should have offered the resolution would alone condemn it, for he is one of those Senators whose mode of election is most objectionable, and who represents in the Senate not the people of New York but the New York Central railroad and kindred interests. The proposition is objectionable also from a constitutional point of view, for a Senator, in spite of his popular election, will continue to represent the State; and if done, and not the Federal government, must therefore, control the suffrage at the election.

It is presumed that both Senators Foster and Thornton will vote for the amendment, although the manner in which the latter was elected, and his voting down of a primary by the Legislature which chose him, was the severest attack this democratic measure providing for the popular election of Senator has ever received.

Enquirer Sun
Columbus, Ga.
Jan. 14-1911.

ELECTION OF SENATORS.

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The indications are, according to dispatches from Washington received by the Enquirer-Sun Friday night, that the United States senate must face, at this session, the question of electing United States senators by direct vote. Senator Borah's resolution for an amendment providing for this manner of electing senators was called up in the senate Friday, and was discussed at some length, despite the fact that Senator Hale attempted to stave it off by making a motion to adjourn, which was defeated by a decisive vote.

Senators regard the vote as something of a test, and Senator Borah felt so much encouraged over the result that he attempted to have the senate name a day upon which action upon his resolution would be taken, but his colleague, Senator Heyburn, blocked his scheme. Senator Heyburn is the fellow who has been criticised quite harshly during the past few months because of his attitude against the placing of the statue of General Lee in statuary hall.

The demand upon the part of the people of the various states of the union for an amendment to the federal constitution providing for the election of senators by direct vote has been growing during the past few years. It has been quite insistent at times, and many of the states have already gone on record as favoring the proposition. Political parties have adopted planks in their national platforms favoring it, and it will be a difficult matter for the senate to refuse to take favorable action upon the proposition without subjecting its members to adverse criticism.

Should congress pass the proposed amendment it would then have to be submitted to the legislatures of the various states for endorsement, and it is generally believed that there would be few if any that would refuse to favor it.

Evening Sun
Baltimore, Md.
Jan. 14-1911.

THE DIRECT ELECTIONS CAMPAIGN

The count of noses in the Senate yesterday, upon Mr. Hale's motion to postpone consideration of the Constitutional amendment providing for the direct election of Senators, must have given great comfort to the friends of that measure, for it showed more than a two-thirds vote in its favor, and a two-thirds vote is all that will be needed, under Article V of the Constitution, to place it before the people. The House of Representatives has already approved the amendment more than once and by overwhelming majorities. On July 21, 1894, for example, it was passed by 141 to 51, and on April 13, 1900, by the decisive vote of 240 to 15. That the House will approve the present resolution, once it is received from the Senate, seems to be beyond a doubt.

But will it pass the Senate? Yesterday's vote, it must be remembered, was not actually a vote upon the amendment itself, nor was it a vote of the full Senate. There are 92 Senators, and but 59 of them voted. Some of those who were not in their places are avowedly enemies of the amendment—Lodge, for example, and Penrose and Aldrich and Burkeley. A few, again, voted against the Hale motion, but without thereby pledging themselves to vote for the amendment. But against these may be set a number of Senators who will assuredly vote for the amendment, but were not present yesterday. Senator Owen, of Oklahoma, is one of them. He introduced the direct elections resolution of 1908 and fought for it stoutly until it was buried in the files of the Committee on Privileges and Elections. Other Senators absent yesterday who have indicated that they will vote for the present resolution are Messrs. Bailey, Bourne, Brown, Chamberlain, Clapp, Dick, Gore, Perkins, Smith (of South Carolina), Stone, Taylor, Warner, Nixon and Tillman.

The present Congress will end, by Constitutional limitation, on March 4. In the new Senate, it seems likely, the majority in favor of the amendment will be larger than it is today. Not a few bitter foes of the proposed reform will lose their seats at the end

of the present short session. These include Senators Depew (who has sought to kill the amendment by attaching a Force Bill rider), Kean, Bulkeley, Hale, Money, Oliver and Scott, not to mention Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts, whose opposition to direct elections has helped to put him in grave peril, though he still stands some chance of being re-elected.

But Senator Borah, of Idaho, who has constituted himself the champion of the amendment in the Senate, is eager to force a vote at once, without waiting for the reinforcements due on March 4. No doubt he would not be so eager if he were not pretty sure of polling the necessary 63 votes. So far not more than 29 Senators have openly announced their determination to vote against the amendment. Opposed to them are 35 who are its uncompromising advocates and about 49 who seem willing to be convinced.

The Legislatures of 39 States—or but five less than the Constitutional three-fourths—have already passed resolutions in favor of the amendment. In a number of States which have not yet passed such resolutions public sentiment is overwhelmingly in favor of direct elections. In Florida, for example, the people actually nominate United States Senators under a law passed so long ago as 1901. The same is true in North Dakota, Mississippi and South Carolina. In half a dozen other States the popular election of Senators is indorsed by the platform of the dominant party. All these States, it is plain, will approve the amendment, once it is passed by Congress, and so the necessary three-fourths vote of the Legislatures will not be hard to obtain.

Fi. Wayne (Ind.) Journal-Gazette, Saturday, Jan. 14, 1911.

OPENING VICTORY WON.

Democratic principles have won their first important victory in the national congress; precedent has been set in the senate and the demands of the people, mirrored in the general discussion and crystallized in the last congressional elections, are receiving ear. Yesterday, in the national senate, there was forced a test vote upon the question of the popular election of senators, a principle declared for a score of years by the democratic party, a question which has grown to have general favor, and the senate then and

there went on record as ready to face the question. Forty-three out of sixty senators opposed adjournment when Senator Borah's resolution was brought out for consideration.

The victory of the test vote is looked upon by the friends of the popular election of senators as an important victory for them. It shows the tendency toward a change in the higher house of congress; it proves that the solons, heretofore immune from the effects of public opinion, are now bending ear to that same opinion. Senators declare they will force a final vote upon the resolution, and that soon. The matter has precedence and will be brought up again for consideration at the next session of the senate Monday. That the champion assailant of the resolution should have been Senator Hale of Maine, who has been relegated to the past as too conservative and too slow to keep up with the public of his own state, is no surprise.

"Star"
Kansas City, Mo.
Jan. 14-1911.

DIRECT ELECTION OF SENATORS.

Senator Borah is more than justified in pressing his resolution to submit to the state legislatures a constitutional amendment for the direct election of United States senators. Having failed to procure a date for bringing this question to a vote, and considering the status of the question before the people and before Congress, he is right in using reasonable parliamentary advantages to procure action.

The legislatures of thirty-one states have adopted resolutions favoring the popular election of senators. In the year 1910 alone the Democrats of twenty-seven states, in convention, indorsed this method and the Republicans of ten states included it in their platforms.

The Democratic national platform of 1908 includes a plank indorsing this system of choosing senators. A similar plank, offered by Senator La Follette, was rejected by the Republican convention of that year. The House adopted the resolution last session, as it has many times in the past. It is high time to put every member of the Senate on record on this question, and Borah is going to do it.

"North Western,"
Ashkosh, Minn.,
Jan. 14-1911.

Popular Election of Senators.

A significant test vote occurred in the United States senate yesterday which is taken to indicate the senate is inclined to yield to the widespread demand for the election of United States senators by direct vote of the people. The question arose in connection with the joint resolution for the amendment of the federal constitution, recently reported by the committee on judiciary, immediate consideration being objected to by Senator Kean, as part of the plan of the opponents of this proposed change. Senator Borah, however, quickly decided to force the issue, and therefore moved to take up the resolution in spite of Senator Kean's objection. After considerable parliamentary maneuvering the senate was brought to a division on a test vote for adjournment, which resulted in forty-three yeas to seventeen nays, the former representing friends of the resolution and the latter its opponents. With this point gained Senator Borah withdrew his original motion, but he gave notice that unless a specific time is set for consideration of this resolution, little other business will be permitted.

On numerous occasions the house of representatives has adopted resolutions for the direct election of senators, but always when such motions have reached the senate they have been either smothered or uncerimoniously turned down. Apparently, however, there is a marked change of sentiment among senators at the present time respecting this question, and the test vote referred to seems to indicate favorable action on this question before the present congress adjourns. It is a plan that is strongly favored in many of the states, in fact public sentiment generally approves this plan, although of course there are some who object. The breaking up of the "old guard" and the growth of progressive sentiment seem very likely to bring about this reform quite soon, however, and in fact it now seems probable that the desired constitutional amendment will soon be adopted and passed along to the several states for their rejection or approval. And it is practically certain that if it reaches this point the change will be effected.

Journal Gazette
Fort Wayne, Ind.
Jan. 14-1911.

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Democratic principles have won their first important victory in the national congress; precedent has been set in the senate and the demands of the people, mirrored in the general discussion and crystallized in the last congressional elections, are receiving ear. Yesterday, in the national senate, there was forced a test vote upon the question of the popular election of senators, a principle declared for a score of years by the democratic party, a question which has grown to have general favor, and the senate then and there went on record as ready to face the question. Forty-three out of sixty senators opposed adjournment when Senator Borah's resolution was brought out for consideration.

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"Guardian"
Paterson, N.J.
Jan. 14-1911.

THEIR LAST FIGHT.

Hale, Guggenheim, Lodge, Kean, Dewey, Root, Frye, Crane, Gallinger and the rest of the stand-pat Old Guard in the United States senate are lined up in their last fight to prevent the people from having any voice in the selection of senators.

They will lose. Their first defeat came yesterday afternoon, when the resolution providing for submitting direct primary constitutional amend-

ment adopted by the judiciary committee last Monday, unexpectedly came up in the senate for discussion, having been reached on the calendar.

"Let that go over!" shouted Kean, of New Jersey.

"I move to proceed to its consideration," said Senator Borah.

Senator Gallinger said it should not be necessary to force matters.

Senator Hale moved to adjourn. In so doing he lost the leadership of the senate and it passed to the Far West. It is an open question whether the Old Guard will be able to regain its domination.

The motion to adjourn was defeated, 17 to 42.

It is well understood that an organized movement, headed by Senators Hale, Kean, Root, Lodge and Gallinger, has been framed up to filibuster against the resolution. It is the purpose of this band to discuss the question until adjournment, on March 4, when it will die of inaction.

Journal
Providence, R. I.
Jan. 15 - 1911.

An Object Lesson from Albany.

To the reactionary Republican faction in the United States Senate, now strenuously engaged in obstructing the passage of a resolution submitting the question of the popular election of Senators to the States, the illuminating situation at Albany may be commended. At the New York capital the old-time system of "legislative selection" is visible at its worst. It is legislative selection by courtesy only. Many of the members of the State Senate and Assembly are merely puppets—pawns in the experienced hand of Mr. Charles F. Murphy, who proposes to play them for the benefit of the Tammany organization. If he succeeds in his sinister purpose, and puts Mr. Sheehan, the former boss of Buffalo, in the seat now occupied by Mr. Dewey, we shall see enacted one more travesty on popular government. New York will have government by Murphy, as Pennsylvania so long had government by Quay.

The Tammany boss is directing his fight at close quarters. The New York Times correspondent at Albany says:

"Mr. Murphy has been a most persistent visitor in nearly all the State departments, from the legislative chamber down. To some of the State officials whom he is supposed to control he has issued orders that certain appointments must be held up until after the senatorial contest has been settled. Nothing seems to escape the Tammany boss. He can see the possibilities in the smallest job. Even the little \$5 a day stipends are used as pawns in the game he now is playing."

In view of a spectacle like this, some of the theorists in the United States Senate who are fearful lest the beneficent balance between the State and the individual unit of representation shall be disturbed by transferring to the people the election of the upper house of Congress should moderate their apprehensions. Is any evil worse than that of a Murphyized government likely to grow up under a system of popular elections? Already a large number of the States have by various methods approximated such a system. They hold primaries of differing degrees of authority, and thus in practice usurp a function that theoretically continues to belong to the Legislatures. In New York, however, there is no senatorial primary; if there were the Honorable William Francis Sheehan would not stand his present excellent chance of preferment.

The truth is that Legislatures have very largely discredited themselves in this country by their aloofness from the people and ease of manipulation by the bosses. Instead of regarding themselves as public representatives, they have too often taken their orders from the party machines. It is a question whether our American experiment has "fallen down" more lamentably in the administration of our cities, as is often charged, or in our State law-making processes. Our legislative failures are largely responsible for the current demand for such inconvenient devices as the initiative and referendum; the American people are thoroughly tired of the subservience of elected public servants to professional lobbyists and unofficial dictators.

The reactionary Senators at Washington will do well to understand that if they block Senator Borah now it will be of temporary avail. The Senate will be differently—more radically—constituted after the fourth of March.

*Age Herald
Birmingham, Ala.
Jan. 15 - 1911*

Popular Election of Senators

The public service has not felt an impulse equal to that which the Senate will impart if it forestalls public sentiment by passing a joint resolution for an amendment of the constitution permitting the states to provide for the direct election of United States senators.

The indications are that the Senate will pass the resolution and the House surely will and then the great reform will be fairly before the states for ratification. It has been an issue about ten years, but if it can now become a part of the constitution it will be a great reform quickly brought about by public sentiment.

More than ten years ago public sentiment turned against conventions, bosses and machines, and then it dawned on the people that direct action by the people in all possible public matters is the true remedy for the ills that affect the body politics in this country. This sentiment has gone on gaining strength year by year, and if this winter the Senate meets public sentiment in this matter it will indeed be a great victory. Even if the present Congress does not do this the next Congress will, for it is one of those revolutions that never go backward.

Senator Borah of the Senate judiciary committee has charge of the joint resolution in the Senate, and he has given notice that he will continue to bring it up until it is adopted or rejected by the Senate. It promises to become a most important and far-reaching piece of legislation in a Congress that has passed many remarkable measures.

JAN 16 1911

Two Senate Threats and a Difference.

Senator BORAH, aware that the stand-patters intend to obstruct and defeat, if they can, the resolution for an amendment changing the mode of electing federal senators, serves notice on the dwindling "old guard" that precious little business will be transacted until the right and reasonable thing is done with reference to that important and progressive resolution, at last favorably reported by the judiciary committee. He, with the other advocates of direct elections, asks merely for a fair chance to put the august chamber on record. There is no disposition to limit debate unduly or to hurry matters; the objection is to tricky, improper tactics. And Senator BORAH knows that under the rules of the Senate he can carry out his implied threat.

On the same day Senator BAILEY, a statesman with a badly mixed record, melodramatically informs the Senate that the tariff commission bill favored by the President and public sentiment will not become law at this session. What he means is that, if necessary, he will organize a filibuster and talk the measure to death.

BORAH stands for genuine and constructive reform; it is impossible not to sympathize with his threat, not to resent the continued and perverse obstruction of the amendment for direct election of senators on the part of the stand-patters and reactionaries. Still, if the Senate had rational procedure, majority rule, no threat, no filibuster for a good cause, would be possible. BAILEY is allied with reaction, and it is impossible not to feel that in fighting the tariff commission idea he is utterly wrong-headed and reckless. The first thought in one's mind is that the rules that afford a BAILEY such license are intolerable and ought to be revised forthwith. But if you do away with obstruction for bad purposes you do away with it for good purposes at the same time. The safe policy is to disregard isolated instances and advocate changes on the basis of reason and ample experience.

For the rest, the rules being what they are, we hope that BAILEY will fail and BORAH succeed. The public interest demands both a tariff commission and an amendment calculated to prevent LOXMER scandals, legislative deadlocks leading to bribery, intrigue, what not.

Newspaper Clipping Bureau in the World

From

Address

Date

SCIENCE MONITOR
BOSTON, MASS

JAN 16 1911

Direct Election of Senators

WHATEVER may be the sentiment of the country with reference to the desirability of a change in the method of selecting United States senators, it is safe to say that the country will not approve of a hasty or emotional decision in the matter. In the course of a decade the country thinks it wants many radical innovations or alterations, and thinks that these would be corrective and improving; and in the course of a decade it changes its opinion almost as many times, especially where the proposed changes impinge upon fundamentals. The country has provided safeguards against its own impulsiveness. One of these is the Senate itself. Whatever may be the clamor outside, and however responsive the popular branch of the national legislature may be to its demands, the country expects the Senate to be calm, deliberate, conservative, judicious.

This is the province of the upper chamber. It was established as a check upon the lower. With all the complaints at times against the seemingly sluggish procedure of the upper body, the people are inwardly glad that it moves with caution. And while thousands are applauding Senator Borah for the attempt he made on Friday last to obtain immediate action upon the joint resolution to amend the constitution so as to provide for the election of senators by direct popular vote, tens of thousands will be thankful to Senator Carter for the determined stand he took in opposition to such action. The latter, although declaring his intention of voting for the measure in one form or other, "denounced in emphatic terms the ostensible plan to push through the resolution." "We are proposing," he said, "to alter the fundamental law of the land with less consideration than we ordinarily give to a bridge bill."

Postponement of decisive action in this matter will simply give the country as well as the Senate further opportunity of thinking it all over. Delay cannot prejudice the proposition in the least. The question is too important to be dealt with in an off-hand manner, or to be decided with regard simply for the public opinion of the hour. What is proposed is to undo a part of the work performed by the wisest and most patriotic group of citizens the country has ever known. It may be quite proper to do this in our time, but it will not be quite proper to do it without giving every phase of it adequate and serious consideration.

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Record - Herald
Chicago, Ill.

Jan. 16 - 1911

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For the rest, the rules being what they are, we hope that BAILEY will fail and BORAH succeed. The public interest demands both a tariff commission and an amendment calculated to prevent LOUPEL scandals, legislative deadlocks leading to bribery, intrigue, what not.

PLAINTIFF, N. J.
JAN 18 1911

FAVORS DIRECT VOTE FOR U. S. SENATORS

The joint resolution to amend the constitution to provide for the election of Senators by direct popular vote brought the State to the verge of upheaval in Washington Friday. Charges of undue haste to change the fundamental law of the land and counter charges of designs to smother the resolution were exchanged and a more spectacular conflict was averted only by the decision of Senator Borah, sponsor of the resolution, to postpone further debate until next week. Incidentally, however, the sentiment of the Senate was foreshadowed in the vote on the motion to adjourn, made by Senator Hale, the purpose of which was to head off the possible adoption of the amendment. He was supported in his attempt by only seventeen Senators, while forty-three voted against him. Meanwhile the senior Senator from New Jersey was audible as well as visible.

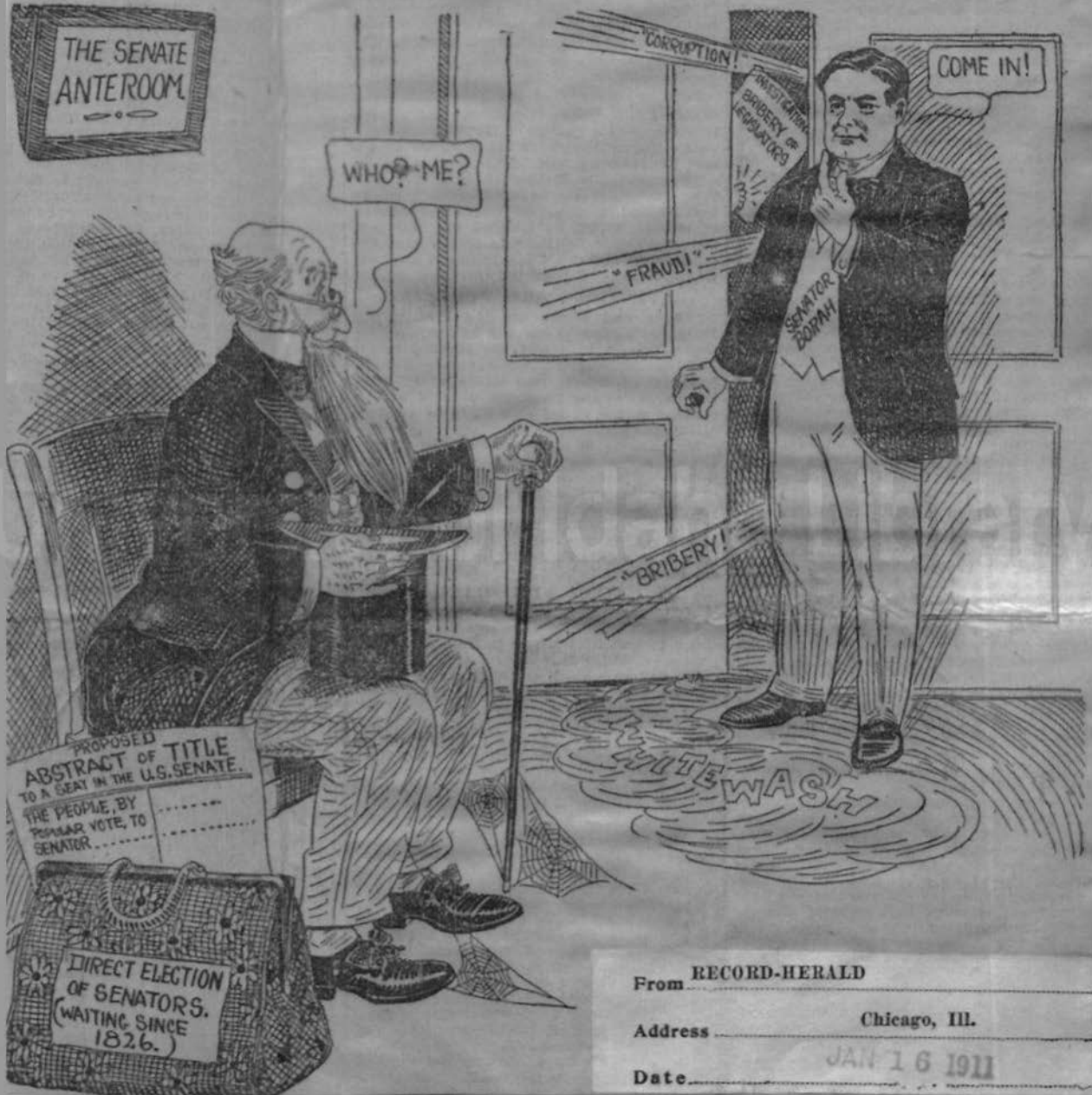
When the resolution was reached Senator Kean was ready with an objection which would have prevented immediate consideration.

"Then," said Mr. Borah, "I move to take up the resolution notwithstanding the objections of the Senator from New Jersey."

"Oh, don't do that," pleaded Mr. Gallinger, in charge of the postal subversion bill, "the effect of favorable action would be to displace the ship bill as the unfinished business and I know the Senator does not want to do that."

He appealed to Mr. Kean to withdraw his objection. The New Jersey Senator consented, and the Senate, which had been giving its attention to perfunctory legislation, suddenly found itself on the point of upsetting its traditions and voting to change the Constitution without debate.

AT LAST?



From RECORD-HERALD

Address Chicago, Ill.

Date JAN 16 1911

EVE. TRANSCRIPT

Boston, Mass.

SS

JAN 17 1911

DIRECT ELECTION OF SENATORS

Senator Borah of Idaho encounters difficulty in his attempt to have the Senate fix a day on which it will vote on the joint resolution proposing a constitutional amendment providing for the election of United States senators by direct vote. Every time that he seeks the required unanimous consent objection is interposed, and it is evident that his colleagues are by no means disposed to "rallroad" so important a proposal as that the Judiciary Committee has reported. In some form or other the resolution may be passed by the Senate and transmitted to the House before the present session is over. Such is the tenor of Washington opinion, but as senators study the project as it is those who appreciate how much broader its scope is than it appears to be must see the need of the fullest and freest debate.

In effect the proposed amendment, which directs that senators shall be chosen by the voters of the respective States, sweeps away all supervisory power with which the Constitution vests Congress. Oddly enough, the judiciary committee did not perceive that, as it drew the resolution it left the election of representatives still subject to that regulation by Congress which it would deny in the choice of senators. Senator Sutherland of Utah has offered an amendment restoring the supervisory authority of Congress which is pending, and has reminded the framers of the resolution that should it be put into the Constitution in its present form there would be two laws for the election of the two Houses—conflicting systems or requirements, in fact. States would be free to do as seemed good to their eyes in electing senators, whereas in choosing representatives they would be governed by the authority of Congress. At first glance this discrimination looks like the result of oversight, but on reflection it is apparent that it is the outcome of design. States might make such regulations as to the time, place and manner of election as they saw fit, and partisanship would be ever on the alert to get all possible advantages. One party might very readily fix the senatorial election date at some opportune time when it could catch the other party napping. One State might appoint a date in November, and another a date in August. All uniformity would be lost, and if the committee's proposal is made the law of the land Congress would be constitutionally unable to interfere. Its hands would be tied in face of a revival of the condition of chaotic senatorial elec-

tions which led it to enact the law of 1866, under which we now live. It could enact no remedial legislation, because the amended Constitution would prohibit it, enactment. Surely, if we must have the projected amendment to the Constitution, the safeguard proposed by Senator Sutherland is the very least precaution Congress should insist upon.

The Sutherland amendment undoubtedly marks the fighting line of debate. The insurgent Republicans are up in arms against it already. They want no restrictions imposed upon the States. They are not willing even to revert to the system in force prior to 1866, for then the Constitution lodged in Congress a supervisory power which they would now abolish. Naturally they declare their proposal a panacea. The will of the people will be exercised without resort to any intermediary; money will be eliminated, and the mass of voters will invariably act with discriminating intelligence as between candidates. Such is the alluring vision set before the country by men who choose to ignore the patent fact that the primary system where in operation imposes expenses that practically bar all but very rich men from the competition.

*Journal
Ithaca, N.Y.
Jan. 17-1911.*

The proposition to amend the Constitution in such manner as to provide for the election of United States senators by popular vote seems to be making unexpected headway even in the senate itself. When the Borah joint resolution was under discussion last week some of the senators who think it is not expedient at this time to consider the resolution sought to delay action. But a motion to adjourn and thus head off the possible adoption of the amendment was defeated by the decisive vote of forty-three against the motion to adjourn and only seventeen in favor. The matter was finally settled by an agreement to postpone further discussion until this week. Of course the vote last week was not conclusive, and the resolution has still to pass the house of representatives. But at the present juncture it looks as though the senate may approve the proposition.

In both houses of congress republican impotence under present control to do anything worth while was again on exhibition yesterday. In the senate there was a filibuster against agreement to fix a day for vote on the constitutional amendment for election of senators by the people. In spite of Borah's efforts no day was fixed; the apparently small opposing minority prevailed while Hale, though one of the opponents himself, warned his party associates of the unprecedented congestion of business before them and the increasing likelihood that practically nothing can be done beyond the passage of routine appropriation bills. Some little progress was made on the bill for codification of the law relating to the judiciary.

In the house the day was consumed in giving Speaker Cannon another thump, which was finally, after profuse speechmaking and many roll calls, done by the union of 23 insurgents with the democrats to override the speaker's ruling. The issue was over the new rule adopted in the last session designed to prevent the old abuse of smothering bills in committee by giving the house power to discharge a committee from further consideration and thus bring the bill before the house itself. The contention of the democrats and insurgents was that the new rule is iron-clad and on the first and third Monday of each month, after the "unanimous consent" business, the house is bound to take up any motion to discharge a committee. Such a motion was on the calendar, but the republican effort to avoid it was made on a motion of Hull of Iowa to go into committee of whole on the military appropriation bill. Cannon ruled in favor of the latter motion, holding that appropriation bills always have the precedence, at least until the house votes them aside. As there are nearly always appropriation bills before the house, this would mean practically that the new rule would amount to nothing for its purpose. Yesterday was the third time the rule has been before the house with slightly varying application.

Meanwhile President Taft had to give a "harmony" dinner last night over the Longworth and Daddell tariff commission bills. Defective as the former is for good faith procedure under the idea, the standpatters are resolved that only a measure that means much nearer nothing shall pass. The outcome is likely to be some "alf and 'alf" concoction between schemes neither of which is enough.

Wayne Co. Record
Jan. 19 - 1911.

The citizens of Wayne county, irrespective of party politics, may be proud of Senator Borah, of Idaho, for his manly stand on the question of the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people. He called up the question in the Senate on Thursday of last week, and showed himself a parliamentarian the equal of any of the older members. It looks like he and the progressive element of both parties who are united on the question will be able to force the question of a submission to the states of the change in the constitution, changing the method of electing senators. Senator Borah, who is right on this question and with the people, is also scheduled for a speech against Senator Lorimer. For his stand on both of these questions, his old friends at this the home of his boyhood and early manhood are proud of him.

An ardent supporter of the direct vote by the people and determined to keep the issue before them while in public or private life, Senator Borah recently said at Boise that he was prepared to put forth every effort to give the direct primary law a fair chance and that he believed no man had a right to condemn the law until it had been tried and found wanting. In his opinion that day would never come so far as the fundamental principles of the law are concerned, although he admitted that it might be possible that certain amendments to make the law more stable might be needed.

Senator Borah is determined to have a vote on his United States Senator direct-vote resolution in the Senate, and it looks as if he will get it. The indications now are that there will also be a vote on the Lorimer case.

THE RECORD-HERALD

COMPRISING

THE CHICAGO HERALD, THE CHICAGO TIMES,
THE CHICAGO RECORD.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 21, 1911.

"Despairing of the Republic."

"I have begun to despair of the republic."

These were the solemn words of the veteran Senator FRYE of Maine—a conservative, stanch American of "the old school"—apropos of the evidence in the LORIMER case. If such things—jack-pots, bathroom sessions of bribers and bribed, perjury and rascality reduced to a science, bipartisan traffic in votes and senatorships—can be, it may indeed seem that the republic is in danger.

But it is not in danger if veterans like Mr. FRYE feel as they do and are willing to translate their alarm and disgust into appropriate acts. BORAH, who quoted FRYE, logically used the Illinois scandal as an argument for direct election of senators. He made an effective, convincing plea for relieving legislatures of functions alien to their nature and composition, functions which have made for corruption, confusion, deadlocks and disgrace.

If honest conservatives like FRYE will vote with progressives like BORAH on the pending amendment a very great victory will be assured for public integrity and national progress.

If the Senate will do its share the republic need not be despaired of. Direct primaries, advisory votes, Oregon plans, publicity, corrupt practice acts, are having their effects, but they are not sufficient. The mode of electing federal senators should and must be changed.

It will be changed if FRYE and his colleagues will frown on reactionary obstruction and vote to submit the pending constitutional amendment.

Instead of despairing, let us fight, reconstruct and regenerate.

The Shame and the Pride of Illinois.

Illinois is one of the great commonwealths of the Union. She is rich, marvelously rich, in natural wealth, and strong in the splendid strain of citizenship which makes up her population.

Within her territory is one of the most marvelous cities in the world, and on her bosom sleep the ashes of the truest child of clean and wholesome democracy ever born upon the earth.

No commonwealth is better fitted in tradition, in pride of history, in the intelligence and manhood of her people to meet and discharge the duties which properly pertain to the state. Yet her prominence now and during the last year is not due to her great wealth, her industrial prowess, but to that scandal and shame which has been fastened upon her by reason of a senatorial election.—Senator WILLIAM E. BORAH of Idaho.

It requires no expert skilled in logical subtleties and legal technicalities to understand that. For it came straight from the heart and was an eloquent statement of facts.

Every citizen of Illinois must feel the appeal that it makes to his pride, must feel the shock of the quick transition from pride to shame. The state that gave LINCOLN to the nation is now on trial before the nation. Within its own borders it has done something to recover its fame: It has shattered if it has not wholly destroyed the alliance that made WILLIAM LORIMER senator. But WILLIAM LORIMER remains in the Senate. He remains also the outward and visible sign of the inward and spiritual grace of bribe givers and bribe takers.

And unless the Senate decides to reject him he will keep publishing the state's shame at the capitol in Washington until 1915. He may speak or be silent, may affect an interest in public business or neglect it; whatever the pose, whatever the pretense, he will stand for nothing but the tainted election. The visitor in the gallery will see in him only the representative of the jack-potters, the bribe givers and bribe takers, the perfect flower of legislative corruption. His very presence will proclaim to them and to his associates on the floor the continued degradation of Illinois.

Have the people of the state deserved this because they have been betrayed? Are their protests to be ignored? Are they to be excluded from a full and fitting representation in the Senate because of an interpretation of evidence that is an affront to the intelligence and that they repudiate?

The Senate must not put a miserable pettifogging above their honor and its own. It must let their just pride reassert itself as they condemn the corrupt legislature's shameful acts; must help them remove the stain that has come upon them; must give them the opportunity to prove that the state is still loyal to its best traditions, still worthy to hold "the ashes of the truest child of clean and wholesome democracy ever born upon the earth."

Washington III Gazette
Tuesday, Jan. 17, 1911,

TO SENATE THREATS AND A DIFFERENCE.

Senator Borah, aware that the stand-patters intend to obstruct and defeat, if they can, the resolution for an amendment changing the mode of electing federal senators, severs notice on the dwindling "old guard" that precious little business will be transacted until the right and reasonable thing is done with reference to that important and progressive resolution, at last favorably reported by the judiciary committee. He, with the other advocates of direct elections, asks merely for a fair chance to put the august chamber on record. There is no disposition to limit debate unduly or to hurry matters; the objection is to tricky, improper tactics. And Senator Borah knows that under the rules of the Senate he can carry out his implied threat.

On the same day Senator Bailey, a statesman with a badly mixed record melodramatically informs the Senate that the tariff commission bill favored by the president and public sentiment will not become law at this session. What he means is that, if necessary, he will organize a filibuster and talk the measure to death.

Borah stands for genuine and constructive reform; it is impossible not to sympathize with his threat, not to resent the continued and perverse obstruction of the amendment for direct election of senators on the part of the stand-patters and reactionaries. Still, if the Senate had rational procedure, majority rule, no threat of

filibuster for a good cause, would be possible. Bailey is allied with reaction, and it is impossible not to feel that in fighting the tariff commission idea he is utterly wrong-headed and reckless. The first thought in one's mind is that the rules that afford a Bailey such license are intolerable and ought to be revised forthwith. But if you do away with obstruction for bad purposes you do away with it for good purposes at the same time. The safe policy is to disregard isolated instances and advocate changes on the basis of reason and ample experience.

For the rest, the rules being what they are, we hope that Bailey will fail and Borah succeed. The public interest demands both a tariff commission and an amendment calculated to prevent Lorimer scandals, legislative deadlocks leading to bribery, intrigue, what not.—Chicago Tribune.

"Press"
New York City, Jan. 24, 1911.

A Still Unyielding Senate.

If New York follows the recommendation of the Governor the number of States that will have petitioned Congress for direct election of United States Senators will be thirty-two. Yet we are told that the Senate will smother the Borah resolution submitting the constitutional amendment which the House has voted for so many times.

With a very few more States in line it will be possible to ignore the Senate in the attempt to popularize that body, by forcing the calling of a constitutional convention. Of course the Senate will yield when it becomes certain that its long resistance can no longer avail. To put an end to the scandals attaching to the present method of choosing United States Senators the New York Legislature should not fail to adopt a resolution demanding this constitutional amendment.

Detroit Mich News
Friday, Jan. 20, 1911.

THE SENATE MIRACLE.

Nothing more heavily charged with significance than the favorable vote in the federal senate on the submission of a joint resolution for amending the constitution for the popular election of senators has occurred in national politics since the November elections. Surely the influences are profound which can in so brief a time win over the ponderous and conservative United States senate to the voluntary popularization of itself. We are witnessing the most conservative and reactionary legislative body in the world deliberately reducing its own privileges, relinquishing its hold upon the states, sacrificing its political advantage and setting its house in order for a new regime. For the popular election of senators means inevitably the dismantling of the great structure of political and commercial privilege, with which Messrs. Hale, Aldrich, Elkins, Smoot, Guggenheim, Lorimer, DuPont, Depew, Kean, Dryden, Penrose, Foraker and Burrows were so intimately associated.

The reforming of the British house of lords by themselves under the Lansdowne, or the Rosebery resolutions, is not more full of meaning than is the advancement of the judiciary committee's report in the United States senate. A wave of popular influence has passed over this country, shaking it from stem to stern, and the vibration has stirred the political heart of the nation profoundly.

The highest expression is in the Borah joint resolution. It is pathetic to find among the 17 senators who voted against the consideration of the Borah resolutions those names that have become symbolic of the "good old days": Depew, DuPont, Guggenheim, Hale, Kean, Oliver, Money and Root. Senator Lodge was present but not voting.

Thus, in the very hour when their triumph seemed the greatest, with the tariff revised upwards, the conservation policy in the hands of Ballinger, the monetary commission in the hands of Aldrich, the house in charge of Cannon; when their assurance was in its prime and their arrogance in full flower, they fell. Who could have pictured the United States senate favoring the Borah joint resolution on popular elections two years ago? Slowly, but surely, these fundamental reforms which have been fearlessly advocated these ten years are being cemented into the foundations of our government. Without any ill will towards Messrs. Aldrich, Guggenheim, Hale, Depew and associates, the advocates of the restoration of popular government can say, "Good-by, boys. Take care of yourselves."

THE EVENING STAR,

WASHINGTON.

SATURDAY, February 4, 1911

The Senate and Senators.

Good luck to Senator Borah. He is a sturdy and resourceful fighter, and in the matter of the election of United States senators by direct votes represents an overwhelming popular sentiment. The people desire that change made, and have so expressed themselves in party deliverances and otherwise. A few years ago the proposition was characterized as populist and classed with the vagaries of the then famous Ocala platform. Today as many republicans as democrats favor it, and among its leading champions are leaders of American political thought in both parties.

Look at the existing Albany situation. A number of important issues were involved in last year's New York campaign, and the successful party received a mandate to deal with them. The democrats control both branches of the legislature and the governorship. They should have set to work at once upon their task.

But what do we see? A deadlock over the senatorship, and everything at a standstill awaiting the choice of a successor to Mr. Depew. Three weeks have passed, and no legislation yet.

This is bad enough, but it is not all. Albany is crowded with machine politicians, all devoting their attentions to the senatorship, and all in ugly and aggressive mood. There exist all the elements of a scandal, and a scandal is feared. The Sheehanites are watching the anti-Sheehanites, and vice versa. The tone of the press of the state regardless of party is that of censure. The condition of the party that won in November is that of demoralization. Every aspect of the case is unfortunate and unworthy.

Had the people voted on a senator as they did a governor, their business would not have been delayed. The legislature would have set at once about legislating. The issues pronounced upon in November would now be under consideration. There might have been, probably would have been, a muster of politicians at Albany, but not in the present numbers, nor with the power for mischief they now possess.

The argument in this business is all with Mr. Borah and his friends, and they are handling it well, but the Albany situation is even more convincing than the spoken word. And that situation should assist the Idaho senator in the fight he is making.

*"Guardian"**Paterson, N. J. Jan. 20-1911.***BORAH HITS BRIBERY.**

In a powerful speech yesterday, Senator Borah, of Idaho, defended his joint resolution amending the constitution by providing for the popular election of United States Senators.

Mr. Borah's argument was along the line that only by popular elections could the original intention of framers of the constitution be carried out under present conditions. He made the point that the Lorimer affair now pending before the senate bore witness to the inefficiency of the election by legislatures now that great corporations have arisen that are interested in the election of candidates.

"In some fourteen instances states have gone without full representation in the senate because of deadlocks in the legislatures," Senator Borah informed the senate. "In other instances bribery, corruption and scandal have attached to the sessions."

"It is not alone that direct and open bribery sometimes prevail; but that which is equally as bad more often prevails. Bills and measures are traded up or killed; the public interest is sacrificed or actually bartered away; patronage and office enter in the deal and the whole affair becomes a disgrace and is of itself sufficient condemnation of the present system.

"Prior to 1872 we had but one case of alleged election bribery connected with a seat upon this floor. Since that time we have had ten, to say nothing of a number of investigations before state legislatures which never reached this body.

"If there is any state where the present system might be fairly tested it ought to be in Illinois. No commonwealth is better fitted in tradition, in pride of history, in the intelligence and manhood of her people to meet and discharge the duties which properly pertain to the state. Yet her prominence now and during the last year is not due to her industrial prowess, but to that scandal and shame which has been fastened upon her by reason of a senatorial election.

"Men bartered their honor like the courtesan of Babylon and at last performed the task amid charges and

counter-charges, criminations and re-criminations between legislative members. And now we are solemnly told by a committee of this body that so shameless and demoralized, criminal and degraded were many of the members of that legislature that they cannot be believed under oath.

"No wonder that one of the old and honored members of this body, a veteran in unselfish devotion to his country, said with reference to that election: 'I have begun to despair of the Republic.'"

Senator Borah concluded with an appeal for a popular vote and selection of candidates in "the open forum upon which beats the fierce light of public opinion."

*"Exc. Transcript"**Boston, Mass. Jan. 21-1911.***Indication That Controversy May Defeat Plan for Direct Election**

For the first time since the report of the resolution looking to the election of United States senators by direct vote of the people, that resolution yesterday became the subject of general debate in the Senate and the debate served to indicate the chief danger threatening the success of the measure. Senator Rayner was the chief speaker, but the discussion was participated in by Senators Bacon, Borah, Sutherland and others. It grew out of the Maryland senator's assault upon the Sutherland amendment giving Congress such power to control the time and manner of holding senatorial elections as is now possessed by it in the election of members of the House of Representatives. This amendment gives friends of the resolution, their principal concern. It appeals to many of the Republican senators, but not to the Democrats. The apprehension is that it may be voted into the resolution and in that event it is probable that the provision as a whole would be defeated. A majority vote would be sufficient to adopt the amendment, while two-thirds would be necessary to insure the success of the resolution as a whole. Both Senators Rayner and Bacon charged that the Sutherland provision would authorize the use of Federal agents at all the polls, and while Mr. Sutherland admitted that such exercise of authority would be possible, he contended that it would be invoked only in case of abuses. When in the course of his remarks Mr. Rayner attacked the Sutherland amendment, Mr. Sutherland was pressed to say whether he would vote for the resolution without his amendment. Replying in the affirmative, he attempted to turn the tables by asking Mr. Rayner whether he would vote for the provision if the Sutherland amendment should be accepted. The Maryland senator refused to commit himself on that point.

"Record-Herald"
Chicago, Ill. Jan. 21-1911.

"Despairing of the Republic."

"I have begun to despair of the republic."

These were the solemn words of the veteran Senator FRYE of Maine—a conservative, staunch American of "the old school"—apropos of the evidence in the LORNER case. If such things—jack-pots, bathroom sessions of bribers and bribed, perjury and rascality reduced to a science, bipartisan traffic in votes and senatorships—can be, it may indeed seem that the republic is in danger.

But it is not in danger if veterans like Mr. FRYE feel as they do and are willing to translate their alarm and disgust into appropriate acts. BORAH, who quoted FRYE, logically used the Illinois scandal as an argument for direct election of senators. He made an effective, convincing plea for relieving legislatures of functions alien to their nature and composition, functions which have made for corruption, confusion, deadlocks and disgrace.

If honest conservatives like FRYE will vote with progressives like BORAH on the pending amendment a very great victory will be assured for public integrity and national progress.

If the Senate will do its share the republic need not be despaired of. Direct primaries, advisory votes, Oregon plans, publicity, corrupt practice acts, are having their effects, but they are not sufficient. The mode of electing federal senators should and must be changed.

It will be changed if FRYE and his colleagues will frown on reactionary obstruction and vote to submit the pending constitutional amendment.

Instead of despairing, let us fight, reconstruct and regenerate.

"Globe"
Boston, Mass. Jan. 21-1911.

VALUE OF DEADLOCKS.

FEW ever thought that senatorial deadlocks were detrimental until Senator Borah pointed out how 14 states had suffered through lack of representation in the upper branch at Washington on account of deadlocks. Of course the occasions when deadlocks last for weeks and are finally broken are not counted. This citation of the senator was made for the purpose of proving the value of the deadlock as an object lesson, and as an argument in favor of the direct method of electing senators by the people.

The argument has much force. Many persons honestly believe that the present method is to be preferred, but there can be no doubt that the direct method of election places the people in closer relation to their senator and makes him feel more responsible to his constituency. The chief outcry at present raised against members of the senate is excited by their coldness to the interests of the public.

If the direct method did no more than make senators less inattentive to the welfare of all the people, it would vindicate itself. No fear need be felt that the special "interests" will not make their wants known to senators, but there is grave danger that others may have their welfare overlooked under the present system.

The old guard was beaten in its attempt to sidetrack the bill for popular vote for United States Senators. Senator Borah succeeded after shrewd parliamentary tactics in placing it in unfinished business, and it is liable to be called up at any time.

DIRECT ELECTION GAINS IN SENATE

Borah by Hard Parliamentary
Fight Prevents Shelving
of the Issue.

IS UNFINISHED BUSINESS.

Must Come Up Every Day in the
Upper House Until Finally
Disposed Of.

Washington, D. C., Feb. 3.—After a series of thrilling experiences today, Senator Borah, supported by progressive Republican and Democratic senators, made tremendous advances through the lines of the old guard Republicans and placed the resolution for the election of senators by direct vote of the people in a most advantageous position squarely in front of the enemy's goal.

After taking a number of rebuffs the Idaho senator, with persistence not often witnessed in the upper house, pounded away until he landed his resolution in the favored place on the legislative program, and it must come up every day as the unfinished business.

The moment the Lorimer case was laid aside today, Senators Nelson and Borah clamored for recognition. Vice President Sherman saw Mr. Nelson first and gave him the floor. He moved to take up the bill to regulate the leasing of Alaskan coal lands, whereupon Mr. Borah promptly moved to lay that motion on the table, which failed, 36 to 41.

Most senators thought this settled the question and that the Borah resolution had been successfully relegated to a position where it would not prove a dangerous factor in the legislative program during the short period remaining of the present congress.

Borah Again in Fray.

After the senate had proceeded with the Alaskan bill for a short time Mr. Nelson gave way to Senator Warren to make a motion that the senate adjourn over until Monday. Mr. Borah jumped into the fray again. He said he would object, and that he did so because it had become apparent that senators opposed to his resolution would not give consideration to it if they could help it. He demanded a roll call on the motion to adjourn until Monday, and this time he won by a small margin.

Thus encouraged, Mr. Borah asked that his resolution be made the unfinished business of the senate.

From the previous roll call it appeared this resolution might be given this preference, and Senator Penrose hurriedly moved an executive session. Such a motion, under the rules of the senate, may be made at any time, and, therefore, Mr. Borah again found himself elbowed out of the way. As the executive session motion was being put to the senate Mr. Borah made a demand for a roll call, obtained a sufficient number of seconds, and the call was ordered.

Significance in Vote.

On what was regarded as the most significant vote of the day, the executive session was denied, 36 to 40. All of those who voted in the affirmative are regarded as lined up against popular elections of senators and those who voted in the negative are known to be in favor of this policy.

All of the affirmative votes were cast by Republicans, but a number of Republican senators voted with the Democrats against the closed session, as follows:

Beveridge,	Burkett,	Gronna,
Borah,	Clapp,	Jones,
Bourne,	Crawford,	La Follette,
Bristow,	Cummings,	Nixon,
Brown,	Dixon,	Perkins,

Recognizing that Mr. Borah had the votes, no further objection was made by the opponents of popular election of senators, and the resolution became the unfinished business of the senate without a roll call.

Mr. Hale even aided the supporters of the resolution in accomplishing the parliamentary proceedings necessary to that end. Good feeling was restored, and Mr. Borah announced that he had no disposition to prevent any senator from taking the time required to prepare speeches on the question. He also withdrew his objection to an adjournment until Monday.



A HOPELESS EFFORT
From the Sun (Baltimore)

REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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No. 2

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Senators
by
Popular Vote* Many years ago, but for the obstructive attitude of the Senate itself, the country would have adopted the plan of electing United States Senators by popular vote. If this had been done, some painful scandals would have been avoided; the United States Senate would have been a body of higher average mentality and moral character; the State legislatures would have been relieved of a function for which everybody now knows that they are unfitted in the very nature of the case. There is prospect that this long-delayed reform may soon be accomplished. The Democrats in their national platforms have declared for the popular election of Senators, and the Republican masses in every State of the Union are in favor of the change. The Constitution declares that the "Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators for each State, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote." The prescribed method of amending the Constitution is by vote of Congress and ratification in the States. A proposed amendment must have a two-thirds affirmative vote of each house of Congress, and must be ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the States. The States are quite ready to ratify in the case of an amendment providing for the popular election of Senators.

*The
Borah
Report* The only difficulty has been to persuade the Senate itself to give the States an opportunity to express their preference on the subject. On January 9, the Senate Committee on Judiciary voted in favor of reporting the amendment favorably to the full Senate. The decision was reached by a vote of 10 to 2. The two objectors were Senators Depew of New York and Dillingham of Vermont. It is fair to explain, on behalf of Senator Depew, that

his objection was urged, not on the main point of the amendment, but on its exact phrasing. Since the Senators, when elected, are officials not of the States but of the United States, Mr. Depew thinks that the Constitutional provision authorizing popular choice should reserve to Congress the right to prescribe certain conditions governing the election. The amendment as pending leaves the details to the States. Southern Senators have regarded Mr. Depew's suggestions as in conflict with their present laws restricting the suffrage. It is the commonly accepted view that the voters in the States who elect the legislatures should vote directly for United States Senators. The resolution was reported on January 11, by Senator Borah, of Idaho. The committee presented an elaborate array of

facts and arguments in its report, showing conclusively the reasons for a change in the method of electing Senators. Opponents of the change, like Senator Hale, of Maine, and Senator Heyburn, of Idaho, were energetic in trying to find ways to prevent the fixing of a time for a vote. But the subject is one that has now for years been thoroughly studied and discussed by the whole country, and there is no reason for further delay. Senator Borah will have been justified in forcing the matter to a vote at this session, throwing the responsibility for a possible extra session where it must clearly belong, upon an obstructive and mischievous minority. For it is well known that more than the requisite

two-thirds of the Senate favor the resolution and are prepared to vote upon it.



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SENATOR WILLIAM E. BORAH, OF IDAHO

(Who has had the honor to report from the Committee on Judiciary, for the first time in all the years during which such bills have been pending, a resolution providing for an amendment to the Constitution prescribing the direct popular election of Senators)

Jan. 20-1911

Washington, D. C.

DIRECT ELECTIONS FAVORED BY BORAH

Eloquent Plea for Primary Made by Idahoan.

REPRESENTATION UNCHANGED

**Crowded Galleries Hear Statesman
Give Eloquent Plea in Favor of
Amendment to Constitution—Cites
Lorimer Bribery Case as Argument
Against Legislative Elections.**

Senator William E. Borah, of Idaho, made a notable speech in the Senate yesterday afternoon in support of the resolution submitting to the States for ratification a constitutional amendment providing for the popular election of Senators. Senator Borah had a distinguished audience on the floor and in the gallery, and he was followed with intense interest.

The Senator from Idaho supplied the necessary vote by which the subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Judiciary agreed to report the resolution to the full committee. Joining with Senator Rayner, Democrat, of Maryland, they overcame the vote of Senator Dillingham, of Vermont, chairman of the subcommittee. Senator Borah was later authorized by the Committee on Judiciary to report the resolution to the Senate.

Among the visitors in the Senate gallery yesterday during Senator Borah's speech were Judge and Mrs. E. H. Gary, of New York, who occupied Vice President Sherman's row in the reserved gallery.

Representation Not Changed.

Senator Borah spoke, in part, as follows:

"The question of whether representation in the Senate should be in proportion to population or equal as to all the States was in no way affected or controlled by the question as to the mode of electing Senators. Equal representation in the Senate and proportional representation in the House was one of the great compromises of the Constitution between the large and the small States. This compromise was neither augmented nor retarded, embarrassed or accelerated by the question of the mode of electing Sen-

ators. Akin to this argument and to the same effect is the argument that by changing the mode or manner of electing Senators we will change the nature of the organization of our government and of the relation of the States to the Federal government and of the relation of the Senators to the States. This broad and startling proposition seems worthy of consideration. What possible structure of our government will be affected by the fact that a Senator appears in this body as a result of the direct vote of the people, rather than by the vote of an agent selected by the people to cast that vote?

"There are at least a dozen Senators upon this floor who, as a practical fact, were elected by the direct vote of the people. The people selected them and elected them. The legislatures but recorded the decree already rendered. Do they stand in any different relation to their States? Are they less regardful of its interests or hampered more in representing it than those who were elected by the legislatures? If the rights of these States are invaded, are their Senators less sensitive to that fact? Does the current of political power flow any better by flowing in a roundabout way through a legislature than when it flows directly from the source of power to one who is to exercise that power?

Favors Central Power.

"We need not fear to put a little decentralizing influence into our legislatures or our government. It will not by any means neutralize the centralizing influence which from day to day we plant. We need not fear or apologize for going back occasionally and connecting up the sources of political power directly with the people. Immediate, direct, constant contact will not hurt us. It will prove wholesome even if it is somewhat ancient and out of style. It will by no means recompense the people for the rights of sovereignty stolen under the constant asseveration of public welfare. We have traveled a rapid pace since the civil war. The dynasty of the bureau was born shortly thereafter. It has grown to wonderful proportions. It is now arrogant and imperious, hungry and insatiable for power. It may be possible that there is a worse form of government than a bureaucratic form of government, but if there is, it has yet to be born, for it has never appeared upon the face of the earth.

"In the last twenty years there have been a great many prolonged contests in State legislatures, which illustrate one of the great evils of the present system. The entire session of one legislature was occupied in the electing of a Senator to the exclusion of everything else for which they were called together.

Cites Lorimer Case.

"Prior to 1872 we had but one noted case of alleged election bribery connected with a seat upon this floor. Since that time we have had ten, to say nothing of a number of investigations before State legislatures, which never reached this body. Take as an illustration the matter now before the Senate. Let us look at it a moment aside from

any question of technical guilt and said from any particular one's moral responsibility for what happened, but simply as an illustration of the vice of the system under which we now elect Senators. If there is any State where the system might be fairly tested, it ought to be in Illinois.

Illinois is one of the great Commonwealths of this Union. Rich, marvellously rich, in natural wealth and strong in the splendid strain of citizenship which makes up her population. Within her territory is one of the most marvellous cities in the world and on her bosom sleeps the babe of the truest child of clean and wholesome democracy ever born upon the earth. No Commonwealth is better fitted in tradition, in pride of history, in the intelligence and manhood of her people to meet and discharge the duties which properly pertain to the State.

Yet her prominence now and during the last year is not due to her great wealth, her industrial prowess, but to that scandal and shame which has been fastened upon her by reason of a Senatorial election. The legislature met, spent weeks and months in the vain effort to elect. The whole body became demoralized. Men bartered their honor like the courtesan of Babylon and at last performed the task which charges and counter-charges, criminations and recriminations, between the legislative members, reminding one of the days when the prong of Cataline was the scepter of power at Rome.

Hits at Committee.

"And now we are solemnly told by a committee of this body that so shameless and demoralized, criminal and degraded, were many members of that legislature, that they cannot be believed on oath, and that the legislature of that great State, by reason of that election, commenced this year under the eye and

surveillance of a grand jury. No wonder that one of the old and honored members of this body, a veteran in unselfish devotion to his country, a man who stood stateliness in the maelstrom of filth and corruption which stained the reputations of such men as Coffay and Garfield and Blaine, not a demagogue, not a sentimentalist, not a sensationalist, said, as he listened in a recital of the facts, with reference to that election:

"I have begun to despair of the Republic."

"I assert, and I now challenge the presentation of anything to the contrary,

that such a change would not work any change in the fundamental principles of government. The checks and balances are still there. The time and deliberation and conservatism are still there. The equal representation of the States is still there. The individuality and the representation of the whole State is still preserved."

Spokeman Reiter Spokane, Wash. Feb. 6. Federal Senators Fighting Direct Election.

Direct election of United States senators by the people has a sturdy champion in Borah of Idaho. He keeps slugging away, until now, with the aid of progressive republican senators, he has placed his resolution for popular election of senators where the senate must consider it.

Why should the national senate oppose direct election?

What reason is there why it should not be chosen in the same way as the representatives?

Federal senators are intended to be representatives of the people as well as of the states. The indirect election of them through legislatures is a piece of political machinery that has become as outworn as the electoral college.

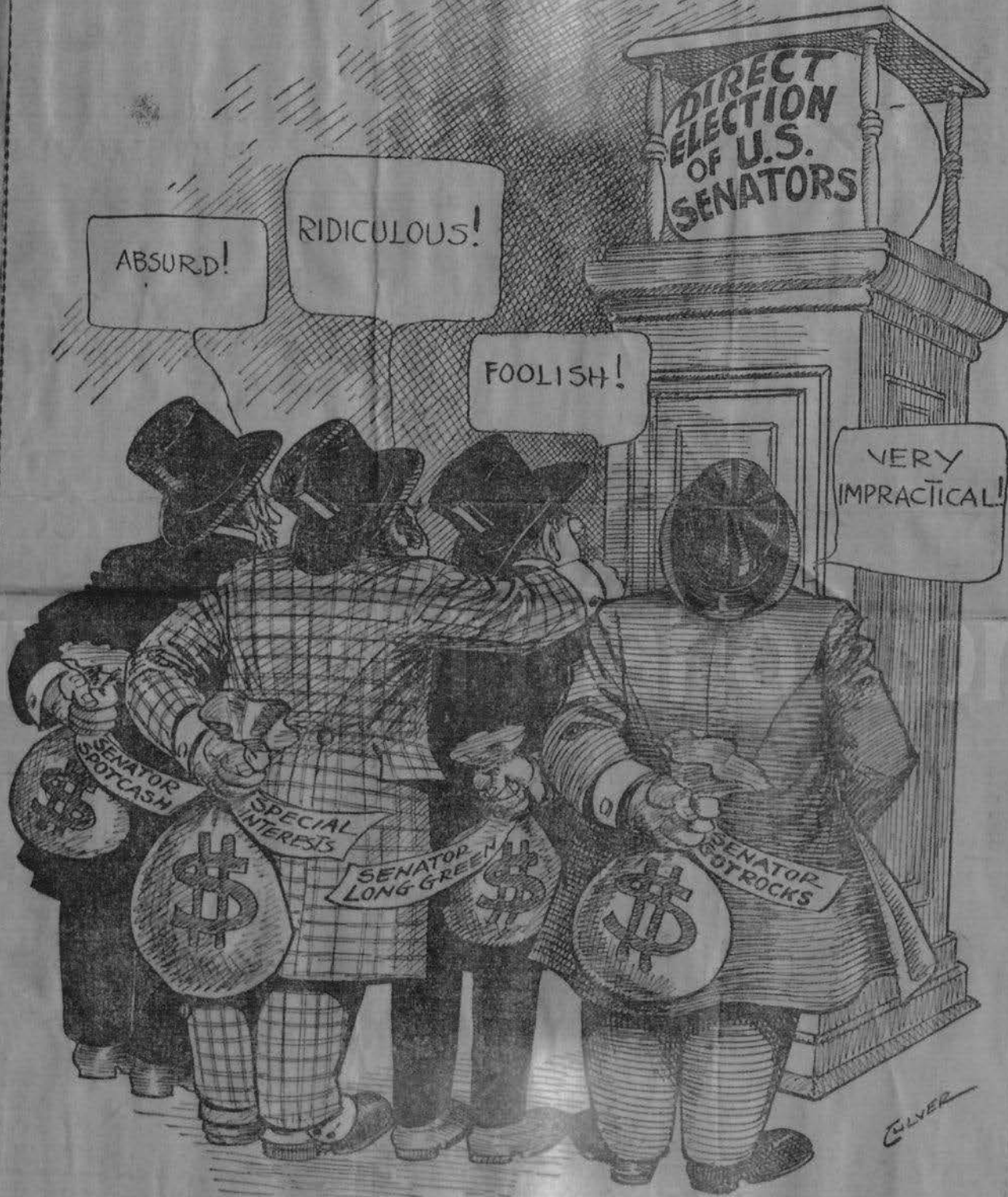
The object of the Constitution and the congress which the people created is to put and keep the government into the hands of the people. The manner of choosing their agents is immaterial, and is left open by the Constitution to alteration by the people.

The indirect method of electing senators has given the state legislatures tasks that do not properly belong to them and has worked immense mischief.

It has largely taken popular self-government out of the hands of the people, and in the case of the senate has tended to lodge government in the hands of privileged and selfish interests.

If the senate continues to oppose direct election of its members by the people it will strengthen the feeling that it is under the control of private interests and will still further weaken its influence and standing.

THOSE OPPOSED



"Journal" Jan. 27-1911
 Rexburg, Ida.

Election of Senators By Direct Vote

The Idaho legislature has passed a resolution memorializing congress to submit a constitutional amendment making the election of U. S. senators by popular vote.

The need of such a reform is strongly felt. At the present time a number of state legislatures are dead lock in the matter of electing senators. Colorado has 9 democratic applicants and 7 republican. Meanwhile legislation is being neglected there and the law makers of the state are drawing pay to spend time in this contest for personal recognition. And the people will be in anxiety lest the state go without representation.

The case of Senator Lorimer is still an unsavory matter in the public mind. Although the committee of the senate appointed to investigate the manner of his election, gave the necessary whitewash the matter will not down. Idahoans will be especially interested in these matters because of the opposite attitude of her senators. Senator Borah has introduced a bill in the senate amending the constitution to elect senators by popular vote while Senator Heyburn is opposing the measure by every means possible to him. Senator Borah is with the minority report of the investigation committee and opposes the seating of Lorimer. Senator Heyburn is championing the cause of Lorimer in the sen-

ate. Men of Heyburn's views predominate in the senate and his way will most likely prevail.

A majority of state legislatures have passed resolutions favoring election of senators by direct vote. It may be necessary to elect men to that chamber who are pledged to such a measure in order that the people's wish may be complied with. But it will come. Popular demand for this reform is unmistakable.

This is another good democratic doctrine formerly scouted as populastic radicalism but now earnestly looked forward to as a needed reform in our government.

The People Win.

The report of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, stating that State legislatures have ceased to be fit instruments for the election of United States Senators, is one of the most significant political incidents of our day. But more remarkable still is the unanimity with which that report was adopted by Republicans and Democrats alike, said committee consisting of ten Republicans and five Democrats. In recommending the change, the committee made public some interesting facts which cannot fail to make a lasting impression on thoughtful minds.

Among other things worth knowing the report shows that from 1789 to 1872 only one case of alleged election bribery had been presented to the Senate for investigation, but that since 1872 ten such cases have been under investigation. These did not include other charges probed by State legislatures. In the past twenty years there have been numerous instances of prolonged deadlocks in legislatures, and during the same periods there have been fourteen instances when States, by reason of such deadlocks, have been without full representation—some without representation at all—in the Senate. There was cited one particular case where a "combina-

tion" for twenty-eight days broke a quorum, making it impossible to do any kind of legislative business. Then there were cases of deliberate absentees, scenes of violence, fist fights, breaking of furniture, hurling of inkstands, and similar disgraceful exhibitions.

Senator Borah, who made the report on behalf of the committee, was very outspoken in his condemnation of the old system. He said, among other things:

"Why keep up such work? Why give selfish and corrupt influences such an advantage for evil? Why not send the fight to the open forum, into the limelight of public opinion? Why not put it where candidates may appeal to the honor and patriotism of the masses and not be compelled to fight the combinations and the trickery of a caucus?"

This is proof conclusive how far the Senate itself has advanced toward popular election of its members. Less than five years ago such a reform was stubbornly objected to by the Senators. Their present attitude may have been caused by the Lorimer incident, or by the fierce fight which Gov. Wilson had to make to carry out the pledges of his party to the people, or by the spectacle now presented at Albany. But whatever may have been the cause, the Senate at last realizes that the people are right in their demand to be allowed to choose their own Senators.

TRIBUNE

Feb 13-1911.

New York City.

NO TIME TO DISARM.

In his speech in the Senate on the Borah amendment to the federal Constitution Mr. Root laid timely stress on the fact that that amendment, besides sanctioning a change in the method of naming Senators, from which little good can be expected, strikes down one of the essential powers of the national government—that of regulating, when need be, the manner in which members of the federal Congress are chosen. When the Constitution was framed the necessity of federal control was self-apparent. Under the Articles of Confederation each state chose its representatives in Congress as it pleased, and those representatives considered themselves state agents rather than federal officers. The federation had fallen to pieces of its own weakness, and the framers of the Constitution wanted to create a legis-

lative body responsible to the federal government as well as to the states. It therefore gave Congress the necessary power to supervise the manner in which Senators and Representatives were to be elected, thus subordinating state sovereignty to federal sovereignty.

Why should that status be disturbed now and the federal government be asked to part with a right, surrendering which, as Mr. Root justly says, it "surrenders the power of its own preservation"? That would be an excessive price to pay to secure a trivial change in the method of naming Senators—a change which any state can make today on its own responsibility by adopting the Oregon plan of direct instructions at the polls or the alternate plan of direct nominations in a party primary. Mr. Borah has spoken slightly of the safeguard to national sovereignty contained in the grant of power to Congress to regulate the elections of Senators and Representatives. He has said on the floor of the Senate that the states are entirely competent to manage their own elections, and has expressed the hope that the time will soon come when they will be freed entirely from federal control in choosing members of Congress. That view is lighthearted and superficial. It is based on a fallacious interpretation of the relations established by the Constitution between the nation and the states. We prefer—and we think that the country will prefer—to accept the judgment in this matter of Justice Samuel F. Miller, one of the greatest of the many great judges who have sat upon the Supreme Court bench. In the opinion in the *Yarborough* case Justice Miller said:

If this government is anything more than a mere aggregation of delegated agents of other states and governments, each of which is superior to the general government, it must have the power to protect the elections on which its existence depends from violence and corruption. If it has not this power, it is left helpless before the two great natural and historical enemies of all republics—open violence and insidious corruption.

There are to day, as ever, dangers to which the federal government would be exposed if it should renounce its right to supervise the elections of members of Congress, and it would be folly for the nation to think of disarming itself before such peril.

*"Nerve"**Jan. 16-1911,
Denver, Col.*

ELECTION BY THE PEOPLE

THE other day Senator Borah of Idaho made a strong, thoughtful plea for the election of United States senators by direct vote of the people. He declared that it would remove one great source of legislative corruption to take the choice out of the hands of the legislature, and that it would send quite as high a class of men to the senate as go there now. Moreover, it would send to the senate men who owed a more direct responsibility to the people than is possible under the present system.

Senator Borah was wise and moderate in his statements.

The present plan of selecting senators is a relic of the Hamiltonian doctrine that it won't do to trust the people. How it has worked, a few examples will help to show.

In New York it worked out into a nearly life tenure for Chauncey M. Depew.

In Pennsylvania the Hamiltonian scheme gave us Matt Quay.

In Montana, at the end of the worst riot of open corruption ever seen in a western state, the indirect plan of choice made William A. Clark a member of the national senate. In Kansas, in the old days, it resulted in the choice of Pomeroy, who bought his seat with cash, and was caught with the goods on trying to buy it a second time.

In Illinois, just now, it resulted in the "elevation" of William E. Lorimer, whose name in three short months has become a synonym of legislative corruption.

In Colorado it has inflicted on us a Guggenheim, and threatens us with the further punishment of a Robert W. Speer.

Isn't it about time to change a system which works like that?

The indirect method of choice inevitably works to the advantage of the machine candidate, the back-room caucus candidate, the candidate who is willing to spend money in return for advancement. Nothing but the amazing political genius of the American people has made the wretched system give as good results as it has done. But isn't it about time to stop depending on genius and good luck, especially when the luck shows so many signs of changing?

"States"

Jan. 23-1911.

New Orleans, La.

THE PLEA OF SENATOR BORAH.

In reporting to the Senate the proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing for the election of Senators by a direct vote of the people, Senator Borah, of Idaho, made the point that the change would avert such scandals as that in regard to the selection of Senator Lorimer by the Illinois Legislature.

The strongest argument in favor of the popular election of Senators is that this would be the case in regard to all of the larger States, because it is much easier to purchase the votes of eight or ten venal legislators than it is to corrupt a populous and self-respecting State, although such small commonwealths as Nevada and Rhode Island would probably remain the property of the wealthy mill owners and mine owners who had the greatest number of operatives and miners on their pay rolls.

At the same time it is obvious that there will be corruption wherever the people themselves are willing to be corrupted. The recent revelations in regard to the voters of Adams county, Ohio, show that wholesale corruption of the electors is not impossible, even in a comparatively large constituency, but it does not prove that the large States or a majority of the voters of any one of them can be corrupted by the use of money.

In an open race for the senate, before the voters of the state of Colorado, Mayor Speer would stand about as much chance as a babe unborn. His candidacy on the Democratic ticket would turn the state Republican in the strongest Democratic year it has ever known.

Mayor Speer is known throughout the state as the man who was counted into office by 10,000 fraudulent votes.

Mayor Speer is known throughout the state as the man who, in defiance of the laws of the state, the ordinances of the city, and his own oath of office, leased the gambling privileges of Denver to a syndicate of his political friends.

Mayor Speer is known throughout the state as the man who took \$4,500 of the gas company's dirty money during the franchise fight.

Mayor Speer is known throughout the state as the very archetype of a municipal boss, ruling by virtue of the alliance between privilege seekers above and privilege seekers below. The mere fact that he can be named and considered a candidate for such an office as the United States senate is an indictment of the present system of choosing senators.

Telegram — Feb. 3-1911
Salt Lake City, Utah.

HOW IT IS WORKED

We note that Senator Borah favors direct primary for giving the legislature instructions how to vote for a senator. We do not appreciate the strength of his argument. He says the present system is attended with so much corruption. His theory is that when a legislature is elected, an unscrupulous man can, by the devious ways of politicians, reach certain of the legislators and corrupt them. That, no doubt, has often been done. But has he thought of the other way, what it is possible to do in almost any state except in Utah, where we have no corruption at all, where, when we want a senator, we get him by inspiration or revelation, and where there can be, of course, no mistake? We have in our mind's eye a senator who was holding a little office in a state east of here. No one in the state had ever dreamed of his becoming a candidate for a senator, at least for many years. But we will say the primaries and conventions were to be held in June. A shrewd friend of this senator, who knew the state very well and knew the apportionment of each county, picked out certain men in each county to be delegates to that convention, and picked out the men to be nominated at the conventions for the legislature. He and another man or two went through the state without any noise, they fixed the whole slate, then fixed who should nominate certain men, had it all prepared, and when the conventions met the state was elected. They went to the state capital and met as a legislature and to the surprise of everyone, when a candidate for the senate was named, with a wonderful unanimity a full majority of these gentlemen voted for this unsuspected candidate and he was triumphantly elected; and the papers were all astounded next morning to find that this man had had such a hold on the people. So quiet had he been, so unostentatious and so lacking in aggressiveness. And they did not see that the whole thing was prepared beforehand. The man was innocent, too, because he had no money. People could not suspect that he had spent any money in the campaign. But the truth was he had a wealthy relative that had fixed it with the manipulators and no one has even known how much money that relative spent.

Now, if the direct primary had been in vogue, the same game would have been played, only the money spent to insure the legislature would have been spent to insure a sudden boom in favor of

Continued from page 32

this one candidate, and the surprise would have been just the same. The truth is, it is pretty hard to keep money from doing its work among a good many citizens. No restrictions that can be worked into the laws will check it. We see the same thing in business every day. A company gets possession of a deep mine; we see published now and then an article that says that on the eighth or twelfth level something wonderful is promised in that mine. Those notices get more and more frequent, and by and by some rare specimens are brought up and there is a statement of the presentation which that special level makes. Perhaps two or three citizens go down and examine it. It is fixed for examination. They come up from the mine and commence to buy the stock and then there is a boom in the stocks. But the ore does not materialize, and people find out after a little that the men who were supposed to own much more than control, have but a few hundred shares left. They have unloaded. The men swear. Then they unload their stocks for what they can get, swearing all the time; and then some morning it begins to go up again in spite of all they can do, and it transpires that there is a real bonanza there. And the inside men have taken from their neighbors a great many thousand dollars, sometimes hundreds of thousands, and they still own the stock. We do not say that it is the rule, but it is often the case, and we mention it merely to illustrate how difficult it is when men possessed of large means determine to play upon the cupidity of their neighbors and clean them out. It is the same way in politics, and there is only one thing that will cure a knave from selling his vote when he gets an opportunity, either at the direct primary or in the legislature, and that is for public opinion to ostracize him and make him realize that he really is a felon and unfit to associate with honest men.

Globe - Democrat
St. Louis, Mo. Feb. 8.

No Senatorial Revolution.

That league of insurgent and Democratic seators which defeated the Republicans in their chamber on the question of the election of senators by a direct vote of the people began to rejoice too soon. Under the lead of Senator Borah of Idaho the coalition succeeded in making that question the "unfinished business" of the Senate, but the proposition for an amendment to the constitution to choose senators in the same way that representatives are elected is very far from being enacted. There are details in the scheme which threaten a division among the allies. Even if they were all united there is a strong likelihood that they would fail to get the two-thirds vote necessary to get the matter submitted to the states. Even if it did reach the states it is far from certain that three-fourths of them would ratify the changes suggested.

It is possible that the proposition for the election of senators by the people is gaining ground. Mr. Taft, during the campaign of 1908, said he favored it. It has never been adopted as a tenet of the Republican party, however. A large majority of the Republicans in Congress are against it. But as all the insurgents and nearly all the Democrats favor it, the few Republicans who may join the coalition would be sufficient to give it a majority. The two-thirds vote, nevertheless, does not seem to be in sight. Heretofore the Senate has been against the proposition. Several times it passed the House, but the Senate, the branch which has the largest interest in the suggested change, has opposed it. There is no doubt that the two-thirds vote can be mustered at any time in the House for the proposition, but in the pressure of much more important matters that measure can safely be allowed to lie over for a while.

"Bee" Jan. 20-1911.
Sacramento, Cal.

United States Senator Borah well says that if the electors ever get the chance no power on earth can prevent them from adopting popular election of Senators. To the truth of this assertion everybody subscribes except those Senators who went into the market place and bought their seats.

"Telegram" Jan. 21-1911.
Portland, Oregon.

SENATOR CLAPP'S PERTINENT QUESTION.

IT IS A TIME of righteous protestation in the United States Senate, and of much logical argument in favor of a long-delayed reform which the American people imperatively demand. Senator Borah, of Idaho, leads the way toward the removal of the only obstacle to election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people. Quite contrary to the procedure of former years there seems to be a Senatorial standing in line for a chance to give oratorical support to this reform. Possibly some of that oratory is for home consumption, and may be it is all the more fervid because the orators entertain the belief that the whole heroic business will evaporate in talk. Amid it all, however, we detect this one pertinent question, propounded by Senator Clapp: "Why should the Senate seek to stem a tide so clearly in the interests of popular government?"

That question in one form or another has been asked by some millions of citizens during the past ten or fifteen years, and those same millions of voters have had a habit of answering it after their own peculiar fashion; but entirely as the most palpable facts and circumstances suggested and warranted. The fact has been — perhaps we should not say that it now is — the Senate has been the service chamber of corporate interests

in the election of its membership, when that devolved solely and without any modification on the State Legislatures, there was a field in which those interests could work with certain assurance of results, and that they did so labor in that field and profit by it is matter of history, and not of conjecture.

To ask or to demand that those interests should relinquish their control and forego the advantage it gave them was futile almost to the point of foolishness. They were too well represented in the very body that could effectually prevent any compliance with the popular request or demand; and until the people took a hand in an extra-constitutional way to the popular compulsion of legislative selection of Senators there was absolutely no hope that the Senate would ever listen to the voice of the people. Senator Clapp's question, had it been asked, was by existing conditions answered fully and understandingly.

There is no argument against the constitutional reform, now under discussion in the Senate, that will appeal to the people, or that will tend to dismiss from the public mind the memory or the present knowledge of abuses by power and corruption that have made the Constitutional system of electing Senators a blot upon the political escutcheon of the Nation. The people are no more convinced of the evil of the system now than they were twenty years ago; but on their own initiative and by the exercise of what we think is well defined as "broader democracy," they have found a way to grad-

ually change the personnel of the Senate from that of corporate servants to public servants.

There now is fair promise that the people are about to achieve that which at one time seemed to be impossible. The old answer to Senator Clapp's question is not now so clear, except as to certain individual Senators; and there is excellent prospect that the Senate which will assemble as a branch of the next Congress, will answer that question entirely as the people desire.

Considering the situation as a whole, we have an accomplishment by democracy working directly towards a given end, that those who profess to lack faith in the judgment of the people will do well to chew upon.

"Tribune"
New York City, Feb. 6-1911

DEFEATING ITS OWN PURPOSE.

The combination of insurgent and Democratic Senators which has taken control of the upper house of Congress for the purpose of submitting a Constitutional amendment which will permit the election of Senators by direct vote will probably defeat its own ends, for, instead of proposing a single change in the Constitution, the amendment now pending alters it at two points, and the second alteration is one for which the country is plainly not yet prepared. Under the guise of substituting a popular choice of Senators for the present method of indirect election through the state legislatures the Insurgent-Democratic coalition covertly aims at depriving the federal government of all control over the senatorial elections. By dropping the latter half of the first sentence of Article I, Section 4, of the Constitution the legislatures will be left free to fix the times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators without any restraint on the part of Congress, and this means that the states may follow their own volition in regulating a process which the framers of the Constitution thought it highly advisable to make subject to the strict supervision of the federal power.

Congress has always exercised its present option of altering any regulations respecting the choice of Senators which state legislatures have made, and in the present federal law the details of the process of election are elaborated with minute care. Congress has tried to prevent deadlocks and to discourage conspiracies to keep seats in the Senate vacant by compelling legislatures in which no choice is made on the first ballot to continue balloting daily until a Senator is selected or an adjournment

is taken *sine die*. The Senate has also refused to recognize the credentials of an appointee named by the Governor to sit *ad interim* after a legislator has had a chance to elect and failed to perform its duty. This federal supervision has proved altogether beneficial. Why should it be discontinued now so far as the Senate is concerned, though retained so far as the House of Representatives is concerned, when the advocates of the pending amendment are trying to abolish the old distinctions between elections for Senators and elections for Representatives? There is no logic in the proposal to use the right in one case and surrender it in the other.

We do not think that the Borah amendment as it stands would, if submitted and ratified, invalidate in any way the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment. Congress would still retain the power to reduce the representation in the lower house of states which failed to give the suffrage to all male citizens over twenty-one years of age, for the Fourteenth Amendment provides that "when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a state or the members of the legislature thereof is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such state, being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime," Congress may diminish the representation of those states. That section is unaffected by anything in the Borah amendment. But the amendment renounces a federal right which has been used to good effect and ought to be preserved as a safeguard against extreme or foolish action on the part of the states. In its present form it ought not to be able to obtain a two-thirds majority either in the Senate or in the House.

"Press" Feb. 12-1911.
New York City

Senate Reaction's Last Stand.

Mr. Root's defense of unpopular election of Senators would be regarded with some favor as oratory if it had been made in a high school prize debate. Coming as it does from an advocate of brilliant attainments, it must be distinctly disappointing to the Reactionaries. The only possible explanation for the weakness of the Root argument is that the usually resourceful Senator could not discover any point that would give plausibility to his reasoning. The case was hopeless. That is why Mr. Root was as dull and unconvincing as if he were defending a pauper criminal by appointment of the court in a case where the evidence of guilt was overwhelming.

That also is why the generally skillful New Yorker abandoned his usual dependence on argument and resorted to tactics calculated to prejudice the jury in his favor. And so he threatened the South with Federal supervision of State elections if the constitutional method of electing United States Senators were changed.

While the race question has no rightful place in the discussion, and would not be dragged into it if the Reactionaries were not driven to a desperate defense of their position, Mr. Root is hopeful of scaring Southern Senators away from the direct election cause by telling them that grandfather clauses and white supremacy will be imperiled by the success of the Borah resolution.

No Southern Democrat who really wants to see the United States Senate popularized will be driven off by such intimidation. The Senators from the South know that Mr. Root and most of those who oppose the direct election amendment have no interest in the Southern negro who is kept away from the polls by grandfather clauses or shotguns. Their concern for the disfranchised colored voter was not manifested until it seemed wise to affect sympathy for him in order to frighten the white South with the bogey of a Federal Force bill as a means of defeating the popular demand for the Borah amendment.

When the people shall have won their irresistible fight for the direct election of Senators the Roots will get

all about the disfranchised negro. If occasion should demand it, and it would serve the cause of special privilege so to do, the present champions of the trampled colored voter would no doubt some day strike hands with Southern Senators to keep him ground to the dust, and would defend, in impassioned pleas for white sovereignty at the South, the electoral injustice they now sanctimoniously condemn.

When he sticks to the real argument Mr. Root cuts as sorry a figure as Mr. Lodge or Mr. Depew. Thus he suggests, as a means of avoiding deadlocks in Legislatures, that after a reasonable time a plurality, instead of a majority, shall be enough to elect. The application of this scheme would make William F. Sheehan the colleague of Mr. Root, as the junior Senator from New York, without giving any more votes to him than he has been getting every day at Albany. Such a plan might have avoided the scandal in Illinois by making the purchase of votes for Lorimer unnecessary, but it would have put Lorimer in the United States Senate just the same. It is a device that would defeat the popular will often more easily than the trick can be done now.

Another fallacy in the erroneous Root argument is that to take away from the Legislature the choice of Senators is to rob the Legislature of dignity and power and reduce its members to the level of Aldermen. This is sheer rubbish.

The powers and duties of the Legislature in State affairs are enormous. They are so great and so vital that it is heavily to the public detriment to paralyze the Legislature's functions in lawmaking by deadlocks on Senatorships, to encourage bargaining and bribery in patronage when a Senatorship is being fought about and to involve nominations and elections to the Legislature in the sordid scrambles for the prizes at its disposal which have created so many scandals and perverted the representation of the States in the Senate.

Up to date no speech in favor of the Borah resolution has helped to strengthen conviction of its wisdom more than Senator Root's brief against its adoption.

Register Leader
Des Moines, Iowa Jan 27

SENATOR BORAH'S ARGUMENT.

Senator Borah made a powerful argument for the popular election of United States senators. He did not confine himself to glowing pictures of an ideal future. He pointed out, rather, the evils of the present situation from which we might reasonably hope to escape.

It was never intended to be the business of a state legislature to elect national representatives. The legislature is chosen to attend to the things that are peculiarly within the province of the local community. The division between state and national authority suggests the exclusive field of the legislature.

The moment the legislature begins to busy itself with national representation interest in local affairs ceases, everybody becomes embroiled in national politics, the work of the state languishes, in the end the people come to look to congress for local relief.

Can anybody dispute this: "The members of the legislature should be elected upon the sole question of their fitness for the duties of state legislation?" Or this: "After they are elected they should be permitted to perform that important work with an eye single to the moral and industrial interests of the state."

And yet what does the senator find wherever the senatorial apple of discord has been thrown into the legislative hopper? "The entire session of the legislature is occupied in the electing of a senator, to the exclusion of everything else for which they were called together. In some instances special sessions are called at great expense."

There is no answer to the senator's indictment of the legislative procedures in senatorial contexts.

In one state in 1901 in order to prevent the breaking of the deadlock the democrats and independents joined to prevent a quorum, and for twenty-eight days they made it impossible to do business of any kind. In another state in 1901 upon roll call one senator and six members of the house answered to their names. The chairman of the joint assembly then ordered the adjournment.

erms to being in the absence, whom he reported he could not find, whereupon the assembly adjourned for lack of a quorum. In another state in 1900 the election took place in the midst of a riot. In order to prevent the hour of adjournment before an election could be secured an attempt was made to stop the clock. The democrats tried to prevent this, the republicans tried to bring it about. A set night and general all-around row started; desks and furniture were torn up and destroyed; the clock was battered with ink wells and broken; the whole assembly became a yelling, infuriated mob that would have done credit to the cellar scenes where met the Jacobins in the French revolution. Similar scenes have been enacted time and time again in many other states, and these particular instances are not cited except as an illustration of what very often happens and what may be expected at any time in any of the states of the union. And instead of such things becoming less frequent, they are becoming more frequent.

No legislative session ever opened with brighter prospects of important service than is now on in Des Moines. The men are here and the avenues of progress are well marked. And yet the first month is passing and nothing done and nothing begun.

We have had no scandals; no jobbery is charged; but feeling is growing bitter and cooperation in the work of the session is daily becoming a more remote prospect. What may be done if the contest runs on no man foresees. Iowa has not been without its scandals in the past, and similar conditions usually induce resort to similar expedients.

It is too late now to urge that Iowa of all states should have avoided such a scene. It is not too late to join with Senator Borah in a frank pledge for the future. Never again should a legislature of Iowa on any pretext whatever engage in a work for which it was not elected, and which destroys its efficiency in the work for which it was elected.

"States"

Jan. 23 - 1911

New Orleans, La.

A REMARKABLE POLITICAL INCIDENT.

No political incident in recent years is more remarkable than the action of the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate in making a report saying that State Legislatures have ceased to be fit instruments for the election of United States Senators. The membership of this committee consists of ten Republicans and five Democrats and it is practically unanimous in favor of electing Senators by direct vote of the people. In recommending that the change be made the committee brought out some rather interesting facts which have made a deep impression on the minds of thoughtful citizens.

For instance it was shown that from 1789 to 1872 only one case of alleged election bribery had been presented to the Senate for investigation, but since 1872 ten cases have been investigated, which did not include others inquired into by State Legislatures. In the last twenty years there have been numerous instances of prolonged deadlocks in Legislatures, and during that period there have been fourteen instances when by reason of deadlocks States have not had full representation in the Senate.

The committee also called attention to one case where a combination broke a quorum for twenty-eight days and made it impossible to do any kind of legislative business. In another case the joint assembly, called to vote on the election of a Senator, ordered the sergeant-at-arms to bring in the absentees, but they could not be found and the Legislature was forced to adjourn for lack of a quorum. In other cases the attempts to elect Senators resulted in scenes of violence, first fights, the breaking of furniture, the hurling of inkstands and similar disgraceful exhibitions.

Commenting on these matters Senator Borah, who made the report in behalf of the committee, said: "The Legislature is the arena, narrow and confined, wherein selfish and corrupt influences can successfully operate. The members are few. The chance for combination and approach is always at hand. Why keep that arena for this work? Why give selfish and corrupt influences such strategic advantage. Why not send the fight to the open forum upon which beats the fierce light of public opinion? Why not put it where candidates may appeal to the honor and patriotism of the masses and not be compelled to fight the combinations and trickery of a caucus?"

This shows how far the United States Senate itself has advanced toward the popular election of its own members in the last two years. Less than a half decade ago it was stubbornly and apparently irreconcilably opposed to any change in the method of electing Senators, but its present attitude may have been influenced by the Lorimer scandal, the fierce fight which it was necessary for Governor Woodrow Wilson to make in order to carry out the pledges of his party to the people, and by the present spectacle at Albany. But whatever may have caused the Senate to change front on this question there is not the least doubt that it realizes that the people are right in their demand to choose their own Senators and this important reform cannot longer be delayed.

Senator Borah in his recent review of the Lorimer case, spoke of the corrupt influences that have prevailed in the election of more than one member of the august body he was addressing—the senate of the United States. But while he was speaking doubtless other notorious examples besides that of the Lorimer case arose in the minds of his hearers.

In his book entitled "The Beast," Judge Lindsey has discussed the methods of the election of Senator Guggenheim, the copper king of Colorado. "It was no news to me" says Judge Lindsey, "that Guggenheim was to have the senatorship" and he might have added that it was no news to any one who had followed the course of political events at the time in Colorado. The copper king had bought and paid for the members of the legislature and he was quoted as saying that he intended to get the senatorship even if it cost him a million of dollars.

Judge Lindsey asserts that in an interview after the election Guggenheim "admitted that he bought his place," and this statement has never been denied. But there are others who could be named whose presence in the United States senate can be explained only by purchase.

In his speech opposing the amendment to the constitution of the United States providing for the election of senators by the people of the several states Senator Carter, of Montana, charged southern senators with seeking to deprive the federal government of all power to protect the elections of members of the senate from such fraud, violence or corruption as may taint a senatorial election north or south. There is no justification for such a charge and no doubt it will be resented, not only by the southern senators, but by those northern Republican senators who favor the adoption of the amendment.

THREE DEADLOCKS.

With the Senatorial deadlocks in Iowa, New York and Massachusetts, it looks as if the argument for the popular election of United States Senators would be stronger than ever. This will receive emphasis if the contest is long continued. Senator Borah who is in charge of the amendment for the election of Senators by the people will find additional reason for pushing the amendment to a speedy conclusion. It comes up in a few days for determination. A popular election settles the issue and there is no long drawn out contest in the legislature and no scandal of legislators corrupted. These senatorial deadlocks are breeders of crooked methods, as many illustrations of recent years demonstrate.

Kalamazoo, Mich. Gazette,
Sunday, Feb. 5, 1911.

BORAH'S VICTORY.

Senator Borah achieved a parliamentary victory of large proportions when he secured a place on the senate calendar for his resolution to amend the constitution to elect United States senators by direct vote.

It has been a favorite trick in the senate for years to let meritorious legislation die for want of attention. Mr. Borah knew that there was one place on the senate calendar where his bill could not be killed without the senate going on record. That place on the calendar is known as unfinished business, and everything under that head must come before the senate every day until it is finally disposed of. Other measures may be shelved and crowded off the program of things to be considered, but anything labeled unfinished business must receive formal consideration before final adjournment.

To be sure, the conservatives may defeat the resolution in the end, but if they do, they will have to go on record. And any man who goes on record against such a resolution is himself inviting defeat when he gets back home.

"Sun" Jan 25-1911
Baltimore Ind.

THE FIGHT IN THE SENATE TO DEFEAT THE POPULAR WILL.

In the debate by the Senate upon the joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to change the manner of electing Federal Senators the two speeches that have attracted the greatest attention are those of Senator Rayner, of Maryland, and Senator Carter, of Montana. Mr. Rayner's speech was a powerful argument in favor of the election of Senators by the direct vote of the people, and Mr. Carter's speech was in opposition to the joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution to that effect. The House of Representatives, representing the people of the United States, has several times passed such a resolution and sent it to the Senate. But this, we believe, is the first time that it has emerged from the pigeon-hole of the Senate committee room. Its present position before the Senate is due to the action of the committee which is controlled by Democrats and insurgent Republicans. According to a statement made on the floor of the Senate by Mr. Borah, of Idaho, no less than thirty-two of the States of the Union have declared in favor of the amendment or the principle embodied in it.

The clause of the Constitution, as it now is, relating to the election of Senators is contained in Article I, Section 3, as follows:

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof for six years, and each Senator shall have one vote.

Section 4 of the same article provides:

The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be as prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

It is proposed to amend both of these paragraphs. The resolution reported by the committee is as follows:

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof for six years, and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislatures.

Senator Sutherland, of Utah, proposed to add these words to the resolution:

But Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

This clause is already in the Constitution, and Senator Sutherland proposes to retain it. The committee amendment would repeat it, and Mr. Rayner objected to Mr. Sutherland's proposition.

It was then suggested that the amendment as passed by the House would empower Congress to take control of the polls and regulate the popular election at which Senators were to be chosen. Indeed, Senator Depew, of New York, desired to have this set forth in explicit terms and he proposed the following amendment:

The qualifications of citizens entitled to vote for United States Senators and Representatives in Congress shall be uniform in all the States, and Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation and to provide for the registration of citizens entitled to vote, the conduct of such elections and the certification of the result.

This would have the effect of putting the old Force bill into the Constitution, and it is not believed that Mr. Depew offered this proposition in good faith, but only to secure the defeat of the whole plan by putting the proposed amendment in such form as to compel its rejection by the States.

Another clause to the proposed amendment which was offered to meet an objection raised—namely, that the plan would give Congress the right to interfere with the conduct of elections in the States—is as follows:

The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators shall be as prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof.

It was to this clause that Senator Carter, of Montana, largely addressed himself in his notable speech on Friday last. "Under such a Constitutional provision," he declared, "Congress would be unable to make any law or regulation for the protection of Senatorial elections against fraud, violence and corruption." Under the amendment, he continued, there is nothing to prevent a State from electing one person for ten terms in the Senate or ten persons for one term each at the same election.

By such extreme language as this the Senator greatly impaired his argument. If this proposed amendment should be adopted and incorporated into the Constitution, the clause under which the Lorimer investigation was made will still remain in the Constitution—to wit, that the Senate shall be the judge of the election and qualifications of its own members. If bribery and corruption at the popular election are shown, what would prevent the Senate from rejecting or unseating such a Senator? That is what the clause was put into the Constitution for. The Senator further contended that the adoption of the amendment giving the States the entire control of the election of their own Senators would be in effect a repeal of the Fifteenth Amendment. Such a result would be absolutely prevented by the clause which provides that "the electors in each State shall have the qualification requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislatures."

Senator Carter's argument against the amendment thus appears to be far more specious than sound. His opposition, like that of other members of the "old guard," is evidently dictated not by a desire to protect the Constitutional powers of the Senate, or to defend the rights of any portion of the electorate, but to defeat the will of the people and to continue the present Senatorial regime. He and other Bourbon are fighting in the last ditch and fighting desperately, but in the end they must either surrender or be crushed. The stars of popular government in their courses are fighting against political Siseros, and there can be but one termination of the struggle.

*Courier News Jan 27.
Plainfield, N.J.*

Whatever argument is made against the proposition to amend the constitution to permit of the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people, the fact remains that such amendment was suggested as long ago as the year 1826, only a comparatively few years after the adoption of the constitution. It was seen then, that the most desirable object in the provision of the constitution for the election of Senators by the several State Legislatures, was likely to be in danger of being lost through the machination of politicians, and such election be controlled by a few who were not close to the people, and who did not have to go to the people for approval of their actions. The aim of the constitution in this particular, was correct in theory, but it failed more or less in practice. It was supposed that Legislatures chosen by popular vote would be composed of the most representative citizens. While it may be said that in most cases they have been such, yet there was no restriction placed upon the qualifications of legislators as to their ability or knowledge of the duties of the office, but it was the hands of men chosen without such restriction that the selection of men for the highest office in the land, next to, if not equal in importance to, the office of President, was placed. The people, to be sure, had the House of Representatives, of their own choosing by popular vote, a body more numerous in membership, than the Senate, and strictly representative, as far as population was concerned, but beside this body and with equal power, sat the Senate, chosen without regard to the will of the people, and able to control legislation by a negative attitude and whose sanction was necessary for anything that the House of Representatives might try to legislate. In the Congressional Record of January 18, 1911, appears a speech by Senator William E. Borah, of Idaho, concerning the proposed amendment to the constitution to

provide for direct vote for Senators, an extract of which is as follows:

"No complaint can be had at this time as to haste or lack of consideration in regard to this amendment. It has been before Congress session after session for 85 years. It has been given the approval of the first branch of Congress many times. It has received serious discussion in the Senate upon different occasions by some of the ablest men who have occupied seats in the Chamber. At least 32 States have declared in favor of the amendment or the principle. It has been the subject for years of discussion by editors and publicists. And now after nearly a century of discussion and consideration the sober, second thought of the people upon which the fathers so implicitly relied is greatly in its favor. If government of the people, by the people, and for the people has any bearing this record ought to be made now and the judgment of the people here entered in accordance with this earnest and long-standing demand."

*"News" Jan. 20-1911.
Grand Rapids, Mich.*

SENATE ULTIMATUMS

Senator Bailey of Texas broadly intimates that he will defeat the pending tariff commission bill even if he has to "talk it to death." Senators Gallinger, Hale and others of the "Old Guard," having shown a disposition to thus "hold up" the direct senatorial amendment, Senator Borah gives notice that "very little business is likely to be accomplished in the senate until an agreement is reached for a vote on this amendment at a time certain."

When matters reach such a stage that the only hope of defeating any measure is to prevent a vote on it, its final success is assured. Whatever may be the fate of the tariff commission bill at this session, nothing at this time seems more certain than that a fair and square vote will be had upon the direct senatorial amendment, and with the chances in favor of its securing the two-thirds vote needed for its submission to the states for ratification.

BORAH'S ENERGY GAINS HIS POINT

Senate Will Act on Direct Election.

Bills and Oregon.

BY HARRY J. BROWN
OREGONIAN NEWS BUREAU, Wash-
ington, Feb. 3.—If the pending consti-
tutional amendment providing for popu-
lar election of Senators is submitted to
the respective states for ratifica-
tion, it will be solely because of the
tireless energy, dogged persistence and
adroit maneuvering of Senator Borah,
of Idaho. For it is solely due to the
efforts of the junior Idaho Senator that
the joint resolution proposing this
change in the Constitution is now be-
fore the Senate in a position of advan-
tage, known as the "unfinished busi-
ness." And, for that matter, it is due
also to the fight made by Borah that
the resolution was reported from the
Senate committee on judiciary.

Never before in the history of the
Government has such a resolution been
before the Senate for consideration;
never before has such a resolution ever
been reported by a committee of the
Senate. The subject has been discussed
by various Senators in times past, but
the speeches have been made while the
resolution still slept in a committee
pigeon-hole, and the speeches went for
naught.

Borah Staggered Old Guard.

When Borah two years ago made
a fight for a place on the judiciary com-
mittee, he had in mind the promotion
of this very legislation. He knew that,
as a member of that committee, he
would be in a position to demand ac-
tion, but he hardly expected at this
early day to get a favorable report.
When the subject was brought up, how-
ever, Borah had an opportunity to feel
out the committee and discovered to
his surprise that a majority of the
members were ready to join him in mak-
ing a report. He quickly followed up
this bit of information with a demand
for a vote, and the resolution was
favorably reported by the judiciary
committee early in January.

The Senate was astounded to find
this proposition in a position where it
might be called up for action. Mem-
bers of the "old guard" had relied upon
the judiciary committee to see that the
resolution was effectively chloroformed;
they thought the chairman, Clark of
Wyoming, would be adroit enough to
fix it. So when the resolution came
out of committee bearing a favorable
report, there was much consternation—
among Senators who are well aware
that they can never be returned if their
people have the selection of Senators in
their own hands.

Action Constantly Shelved.

Time and again, when the Senate was
passing bills on the calendar, Borah
asked for the consideration of his joint
resolution and time and again its con-
sideration was refused, for when bills
and resolutions on the calendar are
taken up in regular order, the objection
of a single Senator is sufficient to post-
pone. Usually it was Heyburn who
made the objection, sometimes it was
Kean of New Jersey or Penrose of
Pennsylvania. But always objection
was forthcoming from some quarter,
and always from Senators who know
what the result will be if the amend-
ment prevails.

Borah had the same difficulty in the
early stages of his fight, when he asked
the Senate to fix a time for taking a
vote upon his resolution. Unanimous
consent was necessary, and of course
it could not be had. And it was usually
Heyburn who refused unanimous con-
sent. Others would have objected if he
had not, but Heyburn has been con-
stantly on guard to prevent its con-
sideration.

Finding that unanimous consent was
out of the question, Borah adopted the
only other tactics by which he could
possibly hope to get a vote on his resolu-
tion. He bided a time and, when
the ship subsidy bill was out of the way,
marshaled his force and prepared to
move that the Senate proceed to the
consideration of the popular elections
resolution.

Old Guard Tries Chloroform.

The old guard surmised his plan, a
secret conference was held and it was
decided to bring forth the Nelson bill,
providing for leasing the coal lands of
Alaska, and have that made the "unfin-
ished business," thus crowding out the
Borah resolution. Vice-President Sher-
man was told of the deal and became a
party to it.

The following day, after the discussion
of the Lorimer case, Borah rose promptly
and demanded recognition. Nelson
was on his feet at the same time, and
although Borah stood immediately in
front of the Vice-President, while Nel-
son was in the extreme left of the
chamber, the Vice-President recognized
the Minnesota Senator and ignored Bo-
rah.

Nelson moved that his Alaska coal bill be taken up and be made the "unfinished business." Borah addressed the chair and moved to lay the motion on the table. He was considerably angered at the partiality shown by the Vice-President and, in making his motion, stated that his purpose was to get the Alaska coal bill out of the way so the Senate could proceed with the consideration of the Senatorial election resolution. The Vice-President, hoping to drown Borah's words, so that uninformed Senators might not appreciate the significance of the maneuver, shouted at the top of his voice that "the motion of the Senator from Idaho was not debatable," reiterating it when he saw Borah continued his statement. Borah did not subside, however, until he had stated his purpose and had added that the "purpose of the chair is perfectly apparent to me." This language, by the way, failed to appear in the printed record. It was a direct attack upon the Vice-President and was so intended.

Borah Gets Votes by Rustling.

The Senate voted against Borah by a majority of five, several Pacific Coast and Western Senators who favored popular election voting to take up the Alaska coal bill because they believed it was highly important and could be readily disposed of. But these Senators were not aware of the deal that had been made to keep the coal bill before the Senate until very close to the time of adjournment, in order to prevent consideration of the popular elections resolution.

Not in the least disheartened by his temporary defeat, Borah went to work among Senators on the floor while the Alaska bill was being read and after two or three rollcalls on dilatory motions, took the breath of the "old guard" by breaking in on the consideration of the coal bill and moving that the popular elections resolution be taken up. Nelson rose and contended that such a motion was not in order, the Senate having just made his coal bill the unfinished business, but the Vice-President, finding himself cornered, held that the Senate could at any time vote to make any bill the unfinished business. Then came the

vital rollcall showing that Borah's forces were fully united. Instantly the opposition lay down and acknowledged defeat. Without a final roll call, the Borah resolution became the "unfinished business" of the Senate and so it will remain until disposed of, unless trickery proves too potent for mere votes.

Resolution Now Has Advantage.

By becoming the "unfinished business," the resolution is to come before the Senate daily at 2 o'clock, and after that hour can exclude all other business except appropriation bills. This means that Senators who want to talk on this resolution will have to prepare and unboason themselves, for the minute the debate closes, the Senate must, on motion, proceed to a vote. A bill that is the "unfinished business" enjoys a position of advantage, for it cannot be displaced by any other matters save appropriation bills. It is no longer necessary to fix a time for a

vote. It is only necessary to keep up the debate until the opponents are talked out, and the vote follows as a matter of course.

Borah believes he will get a vote on his resolution in ample time to permit this resolution to get through the House and go to the President for signature. A number of other Senators are of the same opinion, and, strange to say, some of them, like Hale of Maine, do not favor popular elections. There is always a possibility in the Senate that anything may happen; there may be a filibuster; the discussion of appropriation bills may be prolonged or, when the Borah forces are not in evidence, the opposition may displace this resolution and make some other measure the "unfinished business." The chances are of course not so good as they would be if the session was unlimited. There remains only a little over three weeks to get this resolution to the President, and ordinarily it would be said that the Senate could prevent a vote. But if the Borah resolution continues the unfinished business and the Senate acts in good faith, a vote will be had and the resolution will be passed.

If constant attention and clever management can accomplish it, Borah will get his resolution through, for he is one of the most constant Senators in attendance has developed into a shrewd parliamentarian, is a good organizer and is fast becoming a recognized leader. So far as this particular movement is concerned, he is the only leader, and to him is due most of the credit for results thus far accomplished.

Armour S. D.
"Herald" - Feb. 17-11

SENATOR Borah of Idaho, although a republican, is making a grand fight for direct vote for senators in the U. S. senate. The politics in his state are controlled by the Mormon church, which will fight to the bitter end any attempt to elect senators by any other method than the present one. Borah will have the vials of Mormon wrath poured upon his head from this time on for his bravery in lifting a stone in a sling and throwing it at the giant Mormon graft. He realizes to what extent the Mormon corruption fund corrupts the politics of his state and is not afraid of the consequences that he invites by defying this draded oligarchy.

Orleans La Democrat
Saturday, Feb. 4, 1911

DIRECT ELECTION OF SENATORS.

By making the Borah resolution relative to the election of United States Senators by direct vote the "order of unfinished business," senatorial friends of that reform are hopeful that they have scored a distinct advantage in the fight for its adoption. They have felt that the attempt thus to give the resolution parliamentary right of way would serve as a fairly reliable test of the strength of their support, and of the opposition. The vantage was won yesterday only by a hard fight, members of the "Old Guard" seeking to have the Alaskan coal land bill given the place as "unfinished business" just vacated by the ocean null bill of Mr. Gallinger.

Whether the advantage thus gained will prove so important as Senator Borah and his friends hope will depend very largely, if not altogether, we suspect, upon the Senate's course with respect to the amendments by which it is sought to load down the resolution. As "unfinished business" the champions of the resolution may demand a vote at any time this order is taken up and no Senator is prepared to speak upon it. While there seems as yet no disposition to fix a day for the vote, it is reported that only one Senator—Mr. Heyburn of Idaho—so far has shown a desire to filibuster. Sundry irreverent correspondents, after "sizing up" that gentleman, venture the opinion that his physique, stamina and vocabulary are not strong

enough to enable him long to continue a single-handed filibuster.

The foes of the resolution will therefore bend their effort, no doubt, to adoption of fatal amendments. That already introduced, giving Congress the supervision of elections and the power to prescribe regulations under the amendment, is readiest to their hand. There is no reason why the Senators should not be elected in the same way and under the same conditions as are now prescribed for the election of Representatives. The sole purpose of the insistence upon the proposed amendment is to render the measure impossible and save those secret foes of the reform from the risk they would incur by an outright vote against it. The restrictive proposal emanates from the "Old Guard," and so far as known, has the support of reactionaries alone. Its danger lies in the fact that some of the Senators who are actually ready for the previous question and will vote with Senator Borah may be led by sophistry or pleas of "political expediency" to vote in the amendment—whose adoption would spell out, we think, the temporary defeat of the reform, and its postponement until its friends in the States represented in the upper house by its foes, have opportunity to retire them and return as substitutes Senators sincerely in favor of preventing such scandals as that which has recently given so much undesirable advertising to Illinois.

In spite of the efforts of the covert opponents of the Borah resolution to fog the issue, it is pretty clearly understood, in and out of the Sen-

ate, that the proposed amendment is designed only to compass the defeat of the movement for direct election of Senators. It is as mischievous and as meritless as was the notorious force bill, and is injected for no other purpose than to stave off a reform which is now supported by a large majority of the voters. If a vote on the Borah resolution can be forced at this session, the Senators who support the obnoxious amendment may be set down as enemies of the plan to elect United States Senators by direct vote quite as surely as though they had registered their votes in direct opposition—an alternative which most of them are desperately striving to avoid.

Feb 9 - 1911

New York City.

MUDDLED.

The confusion which exists in the public mind as to the effect of the amendment to the federal Constitution now pending in the Senate, ostensibly providing for the popular election of Senators, is strikingly illustrated in an extract which we reproduce from the editorial columns of 'The New Orleans Times-Democrat.' Our Louisiana contemporary completely reverses the positions of the advocates and opponents of the amendment when it says:

The foes of the resolution will therefore bend their effort, no doubt, to adoption of fatal amendments. That already introduced, giving Congress the supervision of elections and the power to prescribe regulations under the amendment, is readiest to their hand. There is no reason why the Senators should not be elected in the same way and under the same conditions as are now prescribed for the election of Representatives. The sole purpose of the insistence upon the proposed amendment is to render the measure impossible, and save those secret foes of the reform from the risk they would incur by an outright vote against it.

"The Times-Democrat" guilelessly admits that "there is no reason why the Senators should not be elected in the same way and under the same conditions as are now prescribed for the election of Representatives." But that is just what the supporters of the Borah amendment want to avoid and just what its opponents want to accomplish. The amendment as drawn, though requiring that the Senators shall be chosen by the same electorate that is now qualified to participate in elections for Representatives, namely, the voters who choose the most numerous branch of the state

Legislature," attempts to take from the federal government its present right to alter state regulations governing the election of Senators while not interfering with its present right to alter state regulations governing the election of Representatives. The new plan would make Senators merely Representatives-at-large with longer terms, yet at the same time would draw a new and revolutionary distinction between Senators and Representatives, so far as their character as federal officers is concerned. The opponents of the amendment are merely trying to preserve a supervisory power put into the Constitution by its framers. If "The Times-Democrat" believes that "the same con-

ditions as are now prescribed for the "election of Representatives" should continue to apply to the election of Senators, even if Senators are to be chosen directly instead of by the legislatures, it should stoutly oppose the Borah amendment and favor the change in its phraseology suggested by Senator Sutherland.

We acquit Mr. Borah of any purpose to conceal the true nature of the change in the Constitution which his amendment contemplates. He is entirely frank in his championship of state sovereignty as against federal sovereignty. But many of his followers have not yet discovered what the amendment aims at and are supporting it under a misapprehension. They do not see that it upsets a status which they themselves say should not be disturbed.

OUR SENATORS SPLIT.

It is to be regretted that North Dakota's senators failed to see the importance of the resolution for the popular election of United States senators in the same light in the recent divisions in the senate over this important question. The Congressional Record shows that on the first of the three ballots which occurred over this question Senator Gronna voted with those who wanted to advance the Alaska coal leasing bill, but on the two following ballots stood with Senator Borah in favor of pushing through the popular election of senators joint resolution. On the other hand the senior senator stood pat all the way through against Borah's motions, notwithstanding the fact that it was commonly understood that votes against the motions meant votes against action being taken on the resolution at this session of congress.

The people of the entire country are especially interested in this legislation to encompass the election of United States senators by direct vote. Several times the legislatures of this state have endorsed the proposition, and both political parties in this state adopted a platform last fall having this plank in it. It may be that the senior senator favors the popular election of senators—we believe he has so stated—but we cannot see why, when the importance of the measure demanded prompt action, he should vote regularly with those known to be hostile to the resolution and determined to defeat action on the measure at this session, if possible.

From "Census Rules" Harper N. D. Feb 8-11

SENATORIAL ELECTIONS.

THE proposed amendment to the federal Constitution to enable the election of senators by direct vote of the people appears to stand a better chance of definite settlement at the present session of Congress than it has ever had. A few days ago Senator Borah, of Idaho, almost succeeded in getting the Senate to fix a date for a vote on the resolution for the amendment of the Constitution which was recently reported from the Committee on Judiciary. Unanimous consent to this proposal was defeated only by the opposition of Senator Heyburn, but the futility of further attempts to prevent consideration of the measure is recognized even by its most determined opponents. Therefore it is altogether probable that the resolution will be brought to a vote in the near future.

The actual election of senators by the people, the same as representatives are elected, cannot be done without amending the Constitution, but in a great many states the desired end is attained by other means. By the adoption of direct primary laws of one kind or another the people are enabled to express a choice as to who shall be elected senator, and this choice is binding on the legislature. In several cases this procedure has resulted in the defeat of men whose only strength lay in their control of the party organization, and the election of candidates who unquestionably were favored by the voters. This was notably true in Kansas when Bristow defeated Long for reelection.

But there is hardly a doubt that it would be better to remove the constitutional inhibition against the actual election of senators by popular vote. Already about one-half of the state legislatures have petitioned Congress to submit an amendment, and if a few more of them follow this procedure Congress will have to comply whether it wants to or not. If the legislatures of two-thirds of the states petition Congress to submit a proposed amendment there is no alternative, and if the proposal is then ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the states it is adopted.

However, Congress has the right, by a two-thirds vote of both houses, to submit amendments on its own initiative, subject to ratification by the legislatures or conventions of three-fourths of the states. It would be more creditable to Congress if it were to submit the amendment in question without awaiting the mandate of two-thirds of the legislatures, and in the present state of public feeling it is altogether probable that the amendment would soon become a part of the Constitution.

THE POPULAR ELECTION OF SENATORS ASSURED

A test vote has substantially given assurance that the resolution submitting to the States a constitutional amendment for popular election of senators will pass the United States Senate. Senator Borah forced the measure, by skilful and determined parliamentary tactics, into the advantageous position of unfinished business. The real test came on a motion for an executive session, which was designed to prevent Senator Borah forcing a parliamentary advantage he had already secured.

This vote is recognized as an index of the Senate's division on the measure. While fifteen senators did not vote, the line-up of the seventy-six who did vote, together with the known views of most of those not recorded, makes it sure that when the vote comes on the main proposition the resolution will pass.

Thirty-six senators indicated opposition to popular elections, forty indicated favor for it. No Democrat voted against it. Eleven Republicans who have recently been defeated or have voluntarily retired and will not be senators after March 4 voted against popular elections.

This test vote probably gives a more accurate view of senators' attitudes than will the roll call on the resolution itself. There are usually a few who, while willing to support dilatory motions, will not vote open-

ly against the popular side of such a question. The roll call last week shows only one Republican of the thick-and-thin "regular" persuasion voting for popular election—Mr. Perkins of California. A solid Democratic, solid insurgent and near-insurgent vote did the business.

In some ways it is the most significant test vote taken in the Senate since the schism on progressive and reactionary lines came into the Republican party. The senators favoring direct election were:

Republicans—Beveridge, Borah, Bourne, Bristow, Brown, Burkett, Clapp, Crawford, Cunnings, Dixon, Greenna, Jones, LaFollette, Nixon, Perkins, Smith of Michigan.

Democrats—Bacon, Bailey, Bankhead, Chamberlain, Clarke of Arkansas, Culberson, Fletcher, Foster, Frasier, Newlands, Overman, Owen, Paynter, Percy, Shively, Simmons, Smith of South Carolina, Stone, Swanson, Tallaferro, Terrill, Thornton, Tillman, Watson—45.

Those whose votes indicated opposition to direct election were:

Republicans—Brandegee, Bulkeley, Burnham, Burrows, Burton, Carter, Clark of Wyoming, Crane, Cullom, Curtis, Depew, Dick, Dillingham, du Pont, Flint, Frye, Gallinger, Gamble, Guggenheim, Hale, Heyburn, Kean, Lodge, Lorimer, McCumber, Nelson, Oliver, Page, Penrose, Richardson, Root, Scott, Smoot, Warner, Warren, Wetmore—35.

There is every probability that the resolution will pass House and Senate this session.

States Jan. 31-1911
New Orleans, La.

A SAMPLE OF PARTISAN BUNCOMBE.

In his speech opposing the amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing for the election of senators by the people of the several States Senator Carter, of Montana, charged Southern Senators with seeking to deprive the Federal government of all power to protect the elections of members of the Senate from such fraud, violence or corruption as may taint a senatorial election North or South. There is no justification for such a charge and no doubt it will be resented, not only by the Southern Senators but by those Northern Republican Senators who favor the adoption of the amendment.

"The position taken by Senator Carter is wholly unsound," says the Buffalo Courier. "The proposed amendment does not affect to the slightest extent the existing power of the Senate to judge the qualifications and elections of Senators—a power that covers the right of the Senate to investigate and pass upon all charges of fraud, violence or corruption."

This is true, and in his argument in favor of the amendment Senator Borah called attention to the fact that the election of Senators by the direct votes of the people instead of by the votes of their representatives in the State Legislatures would not change the constitutional power and functions of the Senate or the right of the States for equal representation in that body as guaranteed by the Constitution as it stands today.

Such talk as that of Senator Carter is partisan buncombe put forth with the hope of stirring up Republican opposition to the growing demand for the elimination of the evils which have been developed under the present system of electing Senators, the demoralizing effect of which has been increasing to an alarming degree during the last ten years.

"Express" Feb. 6-1911
Los Angeles, Cal.

Forcing the Issue

Senator Borah rendered a notable service to the cause of popular government when, by the clever employment of parliamentary strategy, he succeeded in making the measure providing for the popular election of senators the unfinished business of the senate, entitled as such to the legislative right of way.

That the people demand the proposed change has been made clearly apparent. Were it put to a popular vote, it would be accepted by an overwhelming majority. Obstruction and reactionary delay have been interposed again and again to prevent action, but all Washington signs indicate that such tactics have been exhausted of their power. It is evident that the senate now must either meet the issue or face the certainty of an extra session. At last reform is resolute.

New York City.

Adoption of Sutherland Amendment, Leaving Congress in Control, Defeats Plans of the Radicals.

(Special to The World.)

WASHINGTON, Feb. 5.—The proposition to amend the Federal Constitution so as to permit the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people was killed late this afternoon when the Sutherland amendment was made a part of it. Next Tuesday, immediately after the reading of the journal, was fixed as the time for holding the funeral services.

The Sutherland amendment was adopted by a vote of 59 to 37. It places in the suggested constitutional amendment precisely the same provision now in the Constitution which gives Congress authority to supervise elections.

The fifty affirmative votes were cast by Republicans. Eight Republicans voted with twenty-nine Democrats against the amendment. These Republicans were Senators Borah, Bourne, Hrislow, Brown, Clapp, Cummins, Gronna and La Follette.

The adoption of the Sutherland amendment alienated every Democratic vote from the constitutional resolution for the election of Senators by popular vote.

Some of the more radical New England Senators will vote against the resolution. In that way the advocates of the change are left in either event short of the sixty-two votes necessary to make up the required two-thirds essential for the adoption of the resolution.

Mr. Crane Gives the Signal.

The decisive vote by which the Sutherland amendment was adopted came without a word of warning. Senator Crane had been on the alert throughout the day and finally reported that everything was in readiness for killing the constitutional resolution. While the Lorimer case was still being discussed in a desultory manner somebody shouted "Regular order."

"The regular order is the unfinished business," said Vice-President Sherman.

The constitutional resolution was the unfinished business.

The Chair announced that the pending question was the Sutherland amendment, the ayes and noes had been ordered, and that "the clerk will call the roll."

So rapidly was his programme executed that a large proportion of the Senators had not recovered their self-possession when the clerk was ready to call the first name on the roll. Senator Smith of Michigan was the first to

awaken. He spoke for two or three minutes in favor of the change. He favored the Sutherland amendment but said he would vote for the resolution with or without it.

The roll call followed.

Speaking for the Democrats, Senator Bacon said he could not now support the resolution. The addition of the Sutherland amendment made it unacceptable. He denied time in which to outline his reasons for opposing the resolution. An agreement was then made to vote on the resolution itself Tuesday morning. Its defeat is a certainty.

Drop Plan to Prevent Vote.

For several days the progressive Republicans have been figuring on the advisability of preventing a vote on the Sutherland amendments and the constitutional resolution, arguing that their position would be greatly improved in the Senate as constituted after March 4. It was subsequently realized that nothing could be gained in that way. It would be necessary to have the resolution go through all the processes of introduction, committee examination report and discussion before a vote could be reached. It was then decided to let a vote come.

The regular Republicans who oppose the change in the method of choosing Senators also realized they were in control and determined to force a decisive vote if possible.

A suggestion was made to couple the constitutional resolution, the Lorimer case and the Tariff Board in one comprehensive proposition for a final vote. A near riot was promptly precipitated.

Senator Bailey violently objected to the Tariff Board end of the suggestion. Others would not permit the Lorimer case to be hooked on, and the resolution was eventually left to stand alone.

"Post" Feb. 17-1911
Worcester, Mass.

Senator Borah is a semi-insurgent, it is true. But his speech yesterday for the direct election of senators and against the Sutherland addition to the amendment propounded what has come to be the real if not pretended position of the republican party—that it is time for the party to stop feeding "soothing syrup" to the negro and leave him to work out his own salvation.

ROOSEVELT AT GRAND RAPIDS.

Theodore Roosevelt made the occasion of his Lincoln day speech at Grand Rapids an opportunity on which to give emphatic approval to the movement for the direct vote on the election of United States Senators.

Compared with the efforts of his friend Henry Cabot Lodge and the usually able and convincing Root, it was a masterpiece of sound sense. These two Senators have seldom shown to poorer advantage than when seeking to defend the old system against the new demand of the people.

The Colonel punctured the high-flown rhetoric about sustaining the Constitution in a few pithy sentences. He showed how the earlier plan of placing a check on the popular choice in the matter of the presidency, by providing an electoral college, had been proven needless and had become inoperative.

The electoral college was originally conceived as a body of superior intelligence elected by the people to name a President. It has become a mere formality by which the direct vote of the people for President is ratified without question. As the Colonel said, it might now be abolished without any interest of the nation suffering, or without anyone being the wiser, for the matter of that.

No ill has followed the direct election of Presidents. The people would not tolerate any interference with their right to name the Chief Executive of the nation. An electoral college that presumed today to exercise its own discretion, and place in the White House some man other than he who was shown by the popular vote to be the choice of the people, would precipitate a revolution.

If we can so elect our Presidents, why should we apprehend any peril from applying the same method to the election of United States Senators?

Practically this is the policy that has been adopted by Oregon. It has made of its Legislature an electoral college that merely ratifies the popular choice. If Congress refuses to provide for such amendment of the Constitution as will permit the direct election of Senators, individual States can follow Oregon's example.

...in his general assertion that the Republican party must be progressive or forfeit excuse for its existence, Colonel Roosevelt laid down the principle upon which The Herald stands in its advocacy of Republicanism.

There is no future, but oblivion in this country for any party that adheres to reactionary policies. In the ranks of the Republican party are to be found the men of breadth of vision and faculty for constructive statesmanship that gives the highest promise of that progress which is at the same time vigorous and sane. We do not find these men so numerous or so prominent in the ranks of Democracy. It cannot match the leaders like Cummins, Beveridge, La Follette, Bristow, Bourne, Borah, Murdock, Norris and others, not overlooking the Colonel himself and President Taft. Champ Clark and Woodrow Wilson may be put forward, but who else is conspicuous as offering material for leadership?

Bryan attempted to direct the Democracy into progressive ways, but Bryan is superficial, vacillating and un instructed in the fundamental principles of economics. He missed his aim, however excellent his intent may have been. He had his opportunity and wasted it.

While the Republicanism of the country has put the stamp of impossibility upon the service of such former stalwarts in the party as Aldrich, Hale and Cannon, Democracy is still in large part lead by men like Bailey, in the Senate, and Judson Harmon, Governor of Ohio.

The real progressive spirit is stronger and more promising in Republicanism, and the future usefulness of the party lies in conserving and developing it.

From Herald

Louisville Rep. Feb. 19/11

TRIBUNE

New York City.

FEB - 8 1911

BACK TO 1788.

Senator Lodge was right in saying on Monday that the ostensible aim of the Borah amendment to the federal Constitution providing for direct elections of Senators was relatively inconsequential compared with its covert purpose of annulling federal control of such elections. As Mr. Lodge put it, the first change proposed is simply one "in the mechanism of government," but the second "is not an alteration in the mechanism of the system; it strikes at the very foundation of the national government."

We have not been able to see how the direct method of choosing Senators would guarantee any improvement in the quality of the Senate's membership; yet direct elections, however barren of that or any other good result, would only involve experimenting in all the states with a system now in use practically in about half of them. The annulment of the federal power to supervise the manner in which Senators are elected would, on the other hand, upset the balance between the states and the nation, so carefully established by the Constitution, and encourage a recurrence of evils which the constitutional convention was so insistent in averting. Its members had had some bitter experiences under the system which permitted the states to have entire control of the election of their representatives in the federal Congress. They therefore wanted to see Senators and Representatives chosen who would be responsible not alone to the states but also to the nation, and as to the manner of whose election the federal government would have the final word. The supervisory power embedded in the Constitution was one of the wisest guarantees of federal sovereignty as opposed to state sovereignty, and it would be the extreme of folly to surrender it now hastily and by indirection under the guise of shifting the responsibility of naming Senators from the Legislature to the voters of a state.

Most of the advocates of the amendment have been disingenuous in seeking to cover over its real effect, and many persons have been led to believe that its opponents are trying to put into the Constitution a provision for federal control instead of simply demanding that

an existing provision be not surreptitiously stricken out. A few of the amendment's champions are frank enough, however, to admit what it does and what it sets a precedent for doing. In a colloquy in the Senate on January 13 Mr. Borah bluntly conceded that the amendment would, so far as the election of Senators was concerned, put the states in the same position that they occupied before the Constitution was adopted, and he went so far as to add: "It is to be hoped, Mr. President, that 'in time the wisdom of this will be observed, and that there will be a law leaving entirely to the legislatures of 'the states the control of the manner of 'electing Representatives also.'"

The Borah amendment aims at carrying the state rights theory further than it was carried in the days of Jefferson or in the days of Calhoun. He would return to the discredited theory of representation in Congress which was abandoned when the Articles of Confederation fell to pieces of their own weakness and were superseded by the Constitution of the United States.

Clipping from

"Billiothe Mo Constitution"
Friday, Feb. 24, 1911.

SENATOR BORAH'S FRANKNESS

In championing the bill for the election of senators by direct vote of the people, Senator Borah of Idaho, has come to the front as one of the greatest modern statesmen. Although a Republican, and a Northerner, he refuses to be bound by blind party prejudice. In discussing the efforts of some of the millionaire senators to defeat the popular election bill by interjecting the race question into it, Senator Borah made a declaration that is destined to become history making.

Huron, S. D., February 4th, 1911

Borah Won a Great Victory.

Through courage, endurance and rare tactical skill, Senator Borah, of Idaho, yesterday gained a victory over the reactionaries of the senate that caused them to sit down and ponder.

With the support of the progressive republicans, and others not so progressive, and the democratic senators, he smashed the standpat opposition to the election of senators by direct vote and placed in the order of unfinished business the resolution for a constitutional amendment changing the process by which United States senators are made. The resolution can now be brought to a vote and it is believed that it will pass the senate by a slight margin.

At the close of the discussion on the Lorimer report, Mr. Borah attempted to gain recognition, but failed, the reactionary Nelson being recognized. Mr. Borah endeavored to place Mr. Nelson's motion on the table, but a roll call went against him. Sparring for an opening and finally finding one, Mr. Borah asked that the constitutional amendment resolution be made the unfinished business of the senate.

A motion to adjourn and a motion to go into executive session were interposed and on each the Idaho senator demanded a roll call and won. Resistance there ended, the resolution was made unfinished business, and for the first time in years of effort to submit the senatorial election question to the country at large, it has been placed in a position where the senate must meet the issue directly.

The house has many times passed resolutions of a similar character and they have invariably been stifled in the senate. The victory gained in this instance is one of far reaching consequences.

The public will applaud Mr. Borah's achievement perhaps without knowing that he jeopardized his political future in his fierce struggle on the floor of the senate in behalf of a popular cause.

The Mormon church is a controlling power in the politics of his state and men do not often go into the United States senate without its consent. The Mormon church has declared, through Apostle-Senator Smoot, against the election of senators by direct vote, being one of the special interests that form the alliance against good government.

The hierarchy at Salt Lake will undoubtedly oppose Mr. Borah's return to the senate, when the time comes. But he put personal interest behind him and did what was right, defying the consequences. Men of that sort are scarce in these times of political degeneracy.

'Star' Feb. 15-11. Wash. D.C.

Senator Borah Announces Purpose of Forcing Vote on the Measure.

Those who are advocating in the Senate the proposed constitutional amendment to allow the election of senators by the people will force a vote on the measure, if possible, tomorrow. Many conferences of the friends of the measure were held yesterday, and the result of their discussions was voiced by Senator Borah on the floor late yesterday afternoon.

"I give notice that Thursday, when this matter comes before the Senate, I will ask the Senate to remain in session until it is disposed of," Mr. Borah announced.

"I presume," Senator Heyburn interrupted to say, "the senator from Idaho intends to say that he will ask the Senate to remain in session until some other order of business having a right of way shall have been reached."

"I am always under great obligation to my colleague," replied Mr. Borah, "but in this instance the senator from Idaho meant precisely what he said."

Borah Is Obdurate.

Mr. Borah endeavored, however, to reach a compromise and asked unanimous consent that the matter be finally disposed of before adjournment Friday. Senator Heyburn objected, and Senator Borah reiterated his previous announcement to force a conclusion tomorrow, if it is possible to do so.

Chicago (Ill.) Record-Herald
Monday, Feb. 27, 1911.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1911.

A Sham Issue to Kill a Reform.

Senator Borah may be a little unjust to certain of his colleagues in charging that the supporters of the SUTHERLAND amendment are guilty of trickery and actuated solely by the desire to defeat the proposition for popular election of senators. It is highly probable that some of them sincerely believe the SUTHERLAND amendment to be necessary as a safeguard and preventive of injustice to the black men of the South.

But it is the merest truth to say that the amendment itself is utterly needless, and that it can be and is being used by reactionaries as a handy tool with which to kill the vital and ripe reform.

The people of the United States favor—nay, demand—a change of the constitutional provision regarding the mode of choosing senators. They want and demand direct election of senators. A simple amendment should be submitted effecting the change. The SUTHERLAND amendment befores and complicates the whole issue. It offends the South, reminds it of the "foren-bills" of unhappy memory, and creates opposition where otherwise sympathy and harmony would prevail.

It is greatly to be feared that the adoption of this amendment, providing for congressional instead of state control of the process of electing federal senators, spells the defeat of the direct election amendment Tuesday. Even northern Democrats are strenuously opposed to the SUTHERLAND rider, although they realize that it is an academic proposition, that the period of interference with and harrying of the South is past, and that the reserved power will as a matter of fact never be offensively exercised by Congress.

However, nothing can be gained by trickery except a little additional delay. The legislatures are calling for a convention, and before long the requisite number of formal "applications" will be "in" and Congress will be compelled to act in the premises.

If Mr. Borah carries out his purpose, and there is every reason to believe he will, it will mean that the Thursday meeting of the Senate will be a protracted one—maybe an all-night session. The opposing senators may attempt a filibuster, possibly by continuous talking. Mr. Heyburn shows no weakening in his announced intention to resist the resolution to the utmost and he may be one of the leaders in the filibuster.

Friends of popular election show a great feeling of confidence. Not only does the announcement of Mr. Borah indicate that, but they say privately that they can maintain a quorum for the transaction of business for an indefinite session tomorrow.

They have been given hope by the democrats. Consultations yesterday, after the adjournment of the democratic caucus, gave grounds for believing the democrats will support the direct election amendment, even with the Sutherland amendment. That amendment retains in Congress the supervision over the senatorial elections and has been resisted by the democrats because, as stated, they feared Congress might interfere with some of the "grandfather clause" provisions in the election laws of southern states.

Senate's Attitude Indicated.

The attitude of a majority of the Senate toward the direct election proposition was indicated just before the Senate adjourned yesterday afternoon. Senator Scott of West Virginia made an effort to have the Senate take up the Sulloway service pension bill. Senator Borah raised the point that an agreement to the motion to take it up would result in displacing the unfinished business, the resolution for direct election of senators. The proposition was being discussed when Senator Cullom moved an executive session. This motion prevailed, and the direct election resolution was safe.

Courier Journal
Louisville, Ky. Feb. 11-11

THE LATEST.

Sectional feeling was aroused in the Senate by Senator Root, who, in a vigorous speech in opposition to the election of Senators by direct vote, attacked the franchise laws of the South. His charges brought sharp rejoinders from Senators Bacon and Fletcher, but the New York Senator only made more emphatic his accusations. The debate was ended only when Senator Borah, in charge of the resolution, moved that the matter go over because of the lateness of the hour. Senator Johnston delivered a set speech in favor of Lorimer's retention of his seat.

"Herald" Feb. 26-1911.
Louisville, Ky.

THE SUTHERLAND AMENDMENT.

The adoption of the Sutherland amendment to the bill providing for election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people means almost certainly that the bill itself will be defeated when action is taken Tuesday.

The amendment was offered ostensibly to safeguard the method of electing Senators by ensuring Federal supervision. Its underlying motive was the killing of the whole project, and it was a realization of this fact that brought to it the support of many stand-pat Republicans who prefer the old way of winning Senate seats to the new.

A big majority of the Democratic Senators are in favor of the principle of the bill, but they object to Federal control on the ground that it will prevent the regulation of the franchise generally practiced in Southern States by which the negro vote is practically excluded from the polls. Sooner than permit action that may lead to a removal of State-imposed barriers against the colored vote, they will oppose the passage of the amended measure. Without their aid it cannot pass, since there are enough of the stand-pat Republicans to defeat it in alliance with the Democrats.

We regret the probable failure of a great principle on an issue that is subordinate to it. While believing in Federal control of all elections to Congress as the only logical and fair policy, we would be ready to run the risk involved in the passage of the measure without the Sutherland amendment for the sake of securing the important reform its enactment would assure.

This is the position adopted by such progressive Republicans as Cummins, Borah, Bristow, Bourne, Gronna and LaFollette, who were numbered in the minority that voted against the amendment.

At the same time the blame for this temporary check in a movement to strengthen popular government must be divided between the stand-patters, on the one side, and the Democrats, on the other. Both are actuated by prejudice. The one by prejudice against trusting the people;

the other by prejudice against the negro race. Neither displays any high sense of statesmanship.

But, although failure in Congress seems inevitable, the individual States have still an open road to reach the goal which is thus denied them. The Oregon plan has blazed the way. It is to be hoped that the lesson of Lorimer, emphasized by the four Senatorial deadlocks now making a burlesque of our institutions, will be enough to drive the Commonwealths to action.

The party platforms in Kentucky ought to include a plank calling for the direct primary and incorporating the Oregon plan for the election of Senators. Then we could afford to wait until Congress outgrows some of its prejudices, and becomes wholly and soundly converted to the doctrine of popular government.

Moline, Ill. Dispatch.
Saturday, Feb. 25, 1911.

Borah's amendment to the constitution providing for direct election of senators is to be voted on in the senate next Tuesday. As it now stands it does not take away from congress the supervision of senatorial elections, it having been amended by Sutherland of Utah. There is large prospect that the measure will pass. Then it will be up to the legislatures of three-fourths of the states to ratify the amendment and thus surrender their long-time prerogative of electing senators. After this is done, it may be possible to elect legislatures to do business for the state as a first and principal duty, instead of making state affairs subsidiary and senatorial elections the main (and in some instances the most personally profitable) thing.

ROOT DEFENDS NATIONAL LAW

Riddles Borah Resolution For Election of Senators by People.

New York Senator Deplores Lynching and Peonage in the South and Warns Congress Not to Surrender Its Rights in the Matter of Regulating the National Franchise.

By OLIVER RANDOLPH.

Washington.—The recent speech of Senator Elihu Root of New York in the senate of the United States is being discussed on all sides by leading colored men of Washington and by other leading colored men who have been here lately. Mr. Root, as is well known, is one of the greatest lawyers in the senate. By some he is considered the greatest not only in the senate, but in this country, and his remarks on the vital and far-reaching question of Negro suffrage are of the deepest significance.

Mr. Root addressed the senate in opposition to the resolution offered by Mr. Borah of Idaho which provides for the election of senators by the people of the several states instead of their election by the legislatures of the states. What brought up the discussion of the suffrage of black men was that the Borah resolution takes from congress the right in any way to have any voice in the election of senators by omitting that clause of the fourth section of the first article of the constitution which reads, " * * * "But congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations," etc.

Mr. Root took the strong position that congress should not surrender its right to interfere in the matter and strengthened his position by pointing out instances when it may become necessary for congress to act.

Mr. Root said in part: "It is true, Mr. President, that the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments will still remain in the constitution, but so far as those amendments affect the exercise of the power of the states or of the individual voters in the states to con-

stitute a member of this body the second part of this resolution would rob the government of the United States of the power to make those preliminary dispositions regarding elections necessary for the enforcement of the amendments."



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SENATOR ELIHU ROOT.

He administered a sarcastic rebuke to Senator Percy of Mississippi, who had said that the "extension of the power of the federal government as provided by the Sutherland amendment is a price greater than the south is willing to pay for the election of senators by the direct vote of the people," by telling him that "the time has not yet come when the people of this nation are entering the market place to buy from them or from any of them the right to preserve and protect by the exercise of our own national power the government of the United States under its constitution."

But it was in answer to a question by Senator Bacon of Georgia that Senator Root spoke with such certainty and much emphasis. Mr. Bacon wanted to know what were the things to which Mr. Root alluded in a part of his speech when he said that there were things happening in the southern states which the southern states ought not to permit and which, if the southern states do permit, the national government should correct and prohibit. Mr. Root gave the answer to Mr. Bacon in unmistakable language. He said:

Mr. President, the senator from Georgia will recall that I was discussing the sur-

render by the government of the United States of the power necessary effectively to enforce the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments. Those amendments were designed to give to the black men of the south protection through the exercise of the power that rests in suffrage. The power of self protection was one of the great moving considerations of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments.

Sir, there have been in the south—and my remarks are limited to the south—because it is there that the questions arise under the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, and for no other reason, and I accompanied it, the senator will remember, by a frank admission that there are many things done in the north also which call for the reservation of the same power on the part of the national government—there have been in the south lynchings, which I am sure the senator from Georgia deplors as much as I do; there has been peonage, which I am sure he deplors equally with myself; there have been introduced into the constitutions of the southern states clauses which are grouped under the general description of "grandfather clauses" and which are apparently adapted to limit the operation of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments.

Mr. President, the people of the United States are willing apparently to hold their hands and to give godspeed to the people of the south in working out the great and difficult problem that is before them; but, sir, if it should come into the mind of the people of the United States that the protection of the blacks, which was designed in these amendments, is not being secured—if it should come that the people of the United States are convinced that injustice and oppression are being visited upon them, then the great reserve power of the national government to enforce in full the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments will be exercised and ought to be exercised. So long as the people of the south are working out their difficult problem in kindness to the blacks, so long the rest of the country looks on with sympathy and with good wishes.

But if it shall ever come that the spirit of lynching and peonage denies to those poor people the protection that these amendments of the constitution were designed to give to them then the reserve power will be re-energized. That is what I meant by what I said.

My proposition is that if the members of the senate are to be elected at popular elections the government of the United States must retain the power to make those elections honest and fair and free, the power to say, if the regulations prescribed by the state are not adequate to that end, that they shall be superseded by regulations made by the congress of the United States. My proposition, further, is that without that power accompanying this change in the method of the election of senators, if the change be made, the government of the United States has surrendered the power for its own preservation and protection.

Again did Senator Root put the Georgia senator to flight when he laconically answered another question propounded by Mr. Bacon. The question of Mr. Bacon and Mr. Root's reply follow:

Mr. Bacon—Mr. President, do I understand the senator from New York to mean that if the states have now upon

their statute books laws which regulate the suffrage in those states, such as the senator speaks of as "the grandfather clause," though that is simply a term generic in its character which relates to a general class of legislation—does the senator mean that, with the laws now upon the statute books of the several southern states, if the proposed amendment of the senator from Utah [Mr. Sutherland] should be adopted and we should pass the joint resolution to amend the constitution and it should be ratified by three-fourths of the states, it would then be within the power of congress, if it conceived that these grandfather clauses, as they are called, all the body of laws with reference to the regulations and limitations of the suffrage in the southern states—if congress should conceive that they were unconstitutional—does the senator mean that in his opinion congress would have the power under the amendment of the senator from Utah to annul those provisions and to make federal laws to control the election of senators in such way as to insure the right to vote to all persons thought by congress to be entitled to vote?

Mr. Root—Without the slightest doubt.

One of the afternoon papers stated that Mr. Root's reply was "so direct, so unequivocal, that Mr. Bacon was silent for a minute." When Mr. Bacon recovered he said:

"Well, Mr. President, it is well that we are given this notice of what the senator does mean and of what the Sutherland amendment means."

To which Mr. Root replied:

"I meant to put you on notice, and I mean to put the whole country on notice, if my words are able to do so."

Mr. Root's speech has had the effect of lining up the colored men either against the Borah resolution or putting them on record as being pronouncedly in favor of the Sutherland amendment. This amendment proposes "to carry over to the new body of electors," as Senator Root expressed it, the same control which the present constitution attaches to the existing power of electors.

A prominent colored business man and politician who comes from one of the middle western states, where the Negroes hold the balance of power, was heard to express his high approval of Senator Root's position. "The colored voters of the middle west," he said, "should at once take up the question in earnest and petition their senators and representatives to stand by the Sutherland amendment."

A remarkable feature of the debate was the attitude taken by Senators Borah and Beveridge as to the Sutherland amendment. Both of these gentlemen expressed regret that the question of Negro suffrage should be brought into the debate. Both of them carefully avoided expressing themselves on the Sutherland amendment.

Mr. Beveridge said: "I regret that it was ever brought into the case. I am not without sympathy with the senator's proposition, though I do not believe that I am prepared to go as far as to say that I would be willing to preserve that power and lose the main thing."

Mr. Borah showed evident dissatisfaction over the present turn of the debate when he said, "The question of lynching and the question of peonage can have no possible relation with this subject in any way, shape or form, and every one understands precisely why they were brought into this debate."

Both Senator Beveridge and Senator Borah are from states with a large number of colored voters.

The larger questions connected with the election of senators by the people instead of the legislatures have been opened by Senator Root, and it is very evident that the rights of the colored man to participate in elections in the future will not be very bright if congress should surrender its power to regulate and supervise those elections.

Vicksburg, Miss Herald
Sunday, Feb. 19, 1911.

"SURPASSING IMPORTANCE" OF
THE SUTHERLAND AMENDMENT.

The speech of Senator Root on the Borah resolution—providing for popular election of senators, through a constitutional amendment, and the proposed Sutherland amendment thereto—is said by the New York Sun to have been "one of the most impressive delivered in congress in many years." "One of the most" mischievous would have described it better. The article is quoted from:

We print in another column, from the Congressional Record, that part of Mr. Root's speech and of the subsequent running debate which makes clear the surpassing importance of the point which he has raised. As Senator Percy, of Mississippi, very frankly puts it, "the extension of the power of the Federal government as required by the Sutherland amendment is a price greater than the South is willing to pay for the election of senators by the direct vote of the people." It is a greater price, Senator Percy added, than the South ought to pay.

But the "price," as has been so clearly shown by the senator from New York is not an "extension" of

Federal power. It is the retention and preservation of a power always possessed, always exercised, and indispensable and vital. "The time has not yet come," said Mr. Root, referring to the Southern advocates of direct election of United States senators, "when the people of this nation are entering the market place to buy from them or from any of them the right to preserve and protect by the exercise of our own national power the government of the United States under its own constitution."

Seeking as he was to create all possible disfavor to the popular election

of senators, it is not to be doubted that Senator Root strained construction of law to the utmost, in his reply to the statement by Senator Percy of the Southern ultimatum. Senators Borah and Rayner have replied to the New York senator, ably contending that adoption of the Sutherland amendment is not "essential to the retention and preservation of the national power" as he insists. Though Senator Rayner, a lawyer of national reputation, said it would create a new power—one making it possible where it "is now impossible to go behind the action of legislatures in the election of a senator." But whichever contention is correct, whether the Borah resolution with the Sutherland amendment adopted would—as stated by Senator Root—place it within "the power of congress to amend the state suffrage restrictions and make Federal laws to control the election of senators so as to insure the right to vote to all persons thought by congress to be entitled to vote," or not; it is of "surpassing importance" to the South to take no chances with it. And the inflammatory race appeals in favor of the Sutherland amendment by Senators Carter and Depew made it incumbent on some Southern senator to state the case from the view point of their section, "frankly as Senator Percy puts it."

Since Senators Carter and Depew hoisted the force bill banner over this question, Senator Curtis, of Kansas, as earnest in support of the general proposition for popular election of United States senators as Senator Root is against it, has spoken in endorsement of the notice served by him. In criticism of his state colleague,

Senator Bristow, for supporting the Borah resolution, Mr. Curtis said:

Mr. Curtis. Again, if I read the Record correctly, the senator from Mississippi (Mr. Percy) considered the change very material, for he said:

"In my judgment the extension of the power of the Federal government as required by the Sutherland amendment is a price greater than the South is willing to pay for the election of senators by the direct vote of the people. I have no hesitancy in saying that it is a price greater than it should pay."

The senator from Mississippi must have thought the change very material, or he would not have spoken so strongly. Yet the senator from Kansas says "he does not consider the change at all material."

In this connection I wish to call attention of the senate to what was said upon this subject by a man loved by all the people, our fearless ex-President, Theodore Roosevelt, who at Grand Rapids, Mich., in a speech before the Lincoln Club, at the nineteenth annual Lincoln day banquet, said:

"I ask that we trust the people to elect senators just exactly as we trust them to elect Presidents and congressmen."

"That is trace work. Now for britchin' work."

"Don't couple that proposition which is to go forward with another proposition which is to go backward and that is just what has been done with the amendment in its present form in the senate. The proposal is to take away from the national government some of its power in dealing with the election of United States senators. That is all wrong. That is a step backward and not a step forward."

The colored people are entitled to protection in their rights, and congress should not directly or indirectly say it was willing to let the states take away the right which came to them as a result of the civil war. After that war was over, and it was the greatest war the world has ever known, in order to meet new conditions the constitution was amended, and the fifteenth amendment declares that—"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

This amendment was made to protect the former slaves who had been freed, and yet we find state after state, by "grandfather" and other clauses, depriving them of their rights. Of course there is no word in the acts referring to "race, color, or previous condition of servitude," yet every one knows that when a state undertakes to keep his grandfather was a voter, the ob-

ject is to deprive the colored man from his right of franchise.

I shall vote for the amendment offered by the senator from Utah (Mr. Sutherland), which, if agreed to, will strike out the objectionable features added to the original joint resolution and will permit a vote to be taken upon the joint resolution in the form in which it has been considered by the people. The Sutherland amendment takes nothing from the state, but it continues the power of congress to of his right of franchise.

The injection of the race question and the South's laws thereupon into this, or any other question before the national congress, is most unfortunate. In this view, believing that the less said the sooner mended, controversy over mere opinions and views of those who contend for negro political equality and its assertion by the national government is deprecated; further than to present a "last ditch" front to any step of measure antagonistic to the legislation by the Southern states which restrict, or deny, such principle. The Sutherland amendment crossing this dead line of the Southern political and social creed, the key note so clearly and frankly sounded by Senator Percy was the word spoken in season. It has been so signalized by the future course of the debate, and its endorsement by Southern senators generally. It meets instinctive approval by Southern sentiment, as it is thus endorsed by the Houston Post—one of the chief papers of Texas and the South:

Should the Sutherland amendment to the resolution calling for the election of United States senators by direct vote of the people of the several states be adopted, it is a safe guess that the resolution as thus amended will fail of passage in the senate, either at the present session now nearing its close or at any succeeding session until the views of the Southern people regarding the insidious danger of Federal control of such elections shall have undergone complete change which we may say is rather a remote possibility.

In addressing himself to the proposed amendment, Wednesday Senator Percy, of Mississippi, was very emphatic in stating that the South would prefer the defeat of the resolution, if it were tacked on, as it would give the national government a control over the electors and might be so employed as to result in the appointment of supervisors of elections, a bitter experience to which the South had to sub-

mit during the reconstruction period and subsequently which will not soon be effaced from its memory.

The attitude of Senator Percy we have no doubt correctly reflects that of every other Southern senator—the extension of the Federal power as contemplated by the Sutherland amendment is a price greater than the South is willing to pay for the right of electing senators by direct vote. Hence, we agree with Senator Percy that the South is wise to reject the proposed innovation at the price of Federal omnipresence of its elections.

Register Leader
Des Moines, Iowa
Feb. 12-1911.

SENATOR ROOT'S WARNING.

"If the constitution should be so amended," said Senator Root, "as to provide for the election of senators by direct vote, the national government must retain the power to make these elections free and unhampered. Without this privilege the government of the United States surrenders the power of its own preservation."

"Does the senator contend for the power of congress to amend laws now on the statute books of the states, such as the grandfather clause?" asked Mr. Bacon.

"Without the slightest doubt," said the New Yorker.

"Well," returned the Georgian, "the senator has certainly put us on notice."

"I meant to put you and also the country on notice," replied Mr. Root, speaking with force.

Senator Root may have had no more in mind than to prejudice the south against the proposed popular election of United States senators. Senator Borah has intimated on several occasions that Senator Depew, as well as his more distinguished colleague, has been playing politics in thus dragging in federal supervision of senatorial elections.

Whatever his purpose, however, the country will take note of this phase of the matter, and, if the issue is to be drawn, will rather delay the constitutional amendment than concede the point to Senator Bacon. The nation not only has a technical right to know that its officers are fairly elected, but it has a much larger right to know that a republican form of government is being maintained south of Mason and Dixon's line.

The south must sooner or later recognize that a policy of race exclusion is impossible and intolerable. The country will submit to any reasonable limitations upon suffrage

that apply to all alike, but no man can defend a rule that shuts an intelligent citizen of one race out while it admits an ignorant citizen of another race. Senator Root says the country as well as the south is being put upon notice. Some of these days the country will take notice in a way that will sweep the last vestige of barbarism from our code of citizenship.

Citizenship and all that goes with it is of right a national affair and should be so by law. It is absurd that a man may be a voter on one side of an imaginary line and not on the other. It is absurd that representation from one state should be of actual voting population and from another state of a voting population that does not exist. In conventions, in congress, everywhere in the government the south has influence that it is not entitled to. The north is beginning to rebel. The agitation will not subside, it will grow.

The southern states cannot do better than to heed the warning of Senator Root. Their grandfather clause evasions of the war amendments are doomed. It may not be in this congress or in the next, but the congress will come that will go about it in earnest. There can be only one standard of Americanism, and that every man according to what he is and does. There is too much of humanity in our thinking and planning in these days to put up much longer with the lingering race prejudices of the civil war.

"Free Press"
 Milwaukee, Wis.
 Feb. 20-1911.

SENATOR BORAH, IDAHO.

Advocate of the Popular Election
 of United States Senators.



Mr. Borah, in a recent speech in opposition to the Sutherland amendment for the election of senators by popular vote bluntly declared that prejudice against the negro is just as intense in the north as in the south and that the north plays the hypocrite by contention to the contrary. The Idaho pronouncement on the race question was made in response to the recent assertion of Senator Root of New York, that without the Sutherland provision the resolution would deprive the southern negroes of federal protection in the exercise of the franchise. Senator Borah asserted that the race question had been brought into the controversy as a means of imperiling the resolution.

BORAH REBUKES NORTH'S HYPOCRISY AS TO THE NEGRO

Fearlessly Scores Senators for
 Injecting Race Question in
 Direct Vote Debate.

CASTS ROOT INTO SHADOW

Idaho Orator Now Believes the
 Popular Senate Election
 Issue Will Prevail.

By JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES.

(Editorial Correspondence of the New York American.)

Washington, Feb. 16.—A new great orator was born into the Senate to-day. The laurels which Bailey and Beveridge and Dooliver have won in times past are now richly and abundantly shared by Borah, of Idaho.

No greater speech has been made in the Senate this year, or within the decade, than the bold and virile young Senator from Idaho delivered in advocacy of the constitutional amendment for the election of Senators by the people.

The constitutional argument, it is generally agreed, was worthy of the elder days of the American Senate and the spirit of catholic regard for the rights and the worth of the people lifted the speaker to a high and inspiring point of eloquence.

Fearlessly Rebukes North.

The most notable among many notable things in Borah's speech to-day was its fearless rebuke to Northern Senators for their hypocrisy in dragging the race question into the discussion of the constitutional amendment and his direct charge that the white man was the same, North or South.

The Western statesman, with the virile freedom and the aggressive clearness of his great section, touched this vital question with fearless and incisive vigor. He declared that the race question had been used for the past thirty years as a demagogic appeal to benighted and defeat righteous issues.

The effect of Borah's great speech was immediately evident upon both sides of the chamber. Senators of the three political camps united in pressing about him and congratulating him upon the masterly effort, and the ova-

tion he received surpassed in heartiness and in enthusiasm that which was given on Monday to Senator Bailey, in another great speech in a less worthy cause.

Cast Shadow Over Root.

The frank and bold discussion of the negro question by a Northwestern Senator so prominent and influential created little less than a sensation, and cast a distinct shadow over Senator Root, of New York, who had injected it into this popular cause. The Idaho Senator spoke for nearly three hours, and at the conclusion of his speech the Senate adjourned without an effort to press for a vote to-day.

The question comes up promptly again to-morrow. Mr. Borah expresses the belief that there is now sufficient strength for the movement to pass the resolution by a two-thirds vote. Upon the other hand, Senator Crane, in opposition, declares that Mr. Borah is wide of the mark.

To-morrow promises to be another great day in the Senate in the discussion of this vital public question.

"Universal Equality Is the Only Rule."

Washington, Feb. 16.—Senator Borah, in his speech to-day, said prejudice the North as in the South, and that the North plays the hypocrite in his contentions to the contrary.

This was at the close of a long speech against the Sutherland amendment to the Senate resolution for the popular election of Senators—the amendment that would give Congress control of Senatorial elections.

Senator Borah's pronouncement was in response to the recent assertion of Senator Root that without the Sutherland provision the resolution would deprive the Southern negroes of Federal protection in the exercise of the franchise.

He contended that as the resolution stands, notwithstanding it gives State legislators control of Senatorial elections, Congress still would have the right to interfere in protection of any citizen whose right of franchise had been interfered with.

"North Burns Negro at Stake."

"I wonder how long the North is going to play the hypocrite and the moral coward on this question," Borah said, and added that that section always had assumed more wisdom and more tolerance in dealing with this problem than had been displayed elsewhere.

"The Northern States have exhibited the same race prejudice that has been shown elsewhere," he asserted. "In the North we burn the negro at the stake, and, as in other sections, have our race wars. We push the negroes to the outer edge of the industrial world. We exhibit the same prejudices, the same weaknesses, the same intolerance that is apparent in the southland."

"The negro has been used as a political football," he said, "about as long

as our own sense of decency and his developing intelligence will permit. We should no longer mistreat him, but should have the courage to inform him as to the real situation. The colored race has advanced to the point where we well may dispense with the perennial distribution of soothing syrup and give them solid food in the way of facts.

"The negro should know that while his slave chains have been broken, the chains of industry are being forged around him, and will continue to hold him unless he himself can break them. He must work out the problem under the Constitution.

"When the exigencies of debate are over it will be found that no measure will be offered in the Senate to protect any supposed right of the colored man anywhere. If those who are interested will turn to the Constitution they will find there the one universal rule of equality, the only rule to be applied to the negro, and the only rule under which we can legislate."

San Francisco Examiner

By John Temple Graves

(Special by leased wire, the longest in the world.)

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No greater speech has been made in the Senate this year or within the decade than that the bold and virile Senator from Idaho delivered in advocacy of the constitutional amendment for the election of Senators by direct vote of the people.

The most notable among many notable things in Borah's speech was its fearless rebuke to northern Senators for their hypocrisy in dragging the race question into the discussion of the constitutional amendment when the real attitude of the white man was the same north or south.

He declared that the race question had been used for the last thirty years as a demagogic appeal to bedload and defeat righteous issues.

The effect of Borah's speech was immediately evident upon both sides of the chamber. Senators of the three political camps united in pressing about him and congratulating him upon the masterly effort, and the ovation which he received surpassed in heartiness and in enthusiasm that which was given on Monday to Senator Bailey in another great speech in a less worthy cause.

The bold discussion of the negro question created little less than a sensation and cast a distinct shadow over Senator Root of New York, who had injected it into this popular cause. The Idaho Senator spoke for nearly three hours, and at the conclusion of his speech the Senate adjourned without an effort to press the question to a vote to-day.

Feb. 17th 1911

NASHVILLE BANNER.

BORAH'S SPEECH.

The practice of insurgency that some Republican Congressmen have adopted has served in several respects not only to improve their vision respecting national questions generally, but has enabled them to speak with a candor that puts to shame the cant and hypocrisy growing out of the fanaticism of reconstruction days that the party leaders in the past seemed to think they were pledged to preserve. An example of this was given in the Senate yesterday by the Hon. William E. Borah of Idaho, who replied in Senator Root's old-time Republican tirade against the South as to its alleged unjust restriction of the negro vote.

The Senator from Idaho was exceptionally frank and told plain truths that it may be wholesome for some people at the North and some negroes in the South to learn.

Mr. Borah's speech is the more to be appreciated because it exposed the rank hypocrisy of Senator Root. What the New York Senator said was intended for a political effort so plain as to require no acute power of discernment to understand his purpose. His speech was made in the discussion of the Sutherland amendment to the proposed constitutional amendment providing for the election of United States Senators by popular vote. The Sutherland proviso would take such elections out of the control of the states and place them under control of Congress. It was intended purely to kill the amendment by awakening Southern opposition. Not only would the Southern Senators and Representatives in Congress vote against the proposed constitutional amendment with such a provision attached, but should the amendment pass Congress, no Southern State would ratify it under the conditions.

Senator Root demonstrated in a speech made by him at the Pennsylvania dinner in New York, while he was a member of the Roosevelt Cabinet, that he stands for centralization in advance of anything advocated by the Federalists in the early days of the republic. He would destroy state lines and the principle of local self-government. For this reason the Sutherland amendment would be entirely agreeable to him should the plan of electing Senators by popular vote be adopted, but in making the assault he did on the South concerning the negro vote, he was practicing pure hypocrisy and playing a part. He sought to introduce the race issue and arouse Southern resent-

ment for the patent purpose of defeating the whole measure. His pretended regard for the negro was but a piece of strategy and stage play.

This fact gave point to Senator Borah's declarations that so plainly portray the true attitude of such Republicans as Senator Root towards the negro. Senator Borah said the North was a hypocrite in its pretended attitude toward the negro and added:

"The negro has been used as a political football about as long as our own sense of decency and his developing intelligence will permit. We should no longer mistreat him, but we should have the courage to inform him as to the real situation. It does not benefit him to make him the subject of our sophomoric rhetoric. The colored race has advanced to the point where we will dispense with the perennial distribution of soothing syrup and give them solid food in the way of facts. We should tell him the truth and conceal nothing.

"The negro is beginning to realize that the white man of the North is of the same race as the white man of the South, and that in his blood is the virus of dominion and power. He should know that, while his slave claims have been broken, the chains of industry are being forged around him and will continue to hold him, unless he himself can break them. This badge was placed upon him by his maker, and it can be removed only by the negro himself with the aid of those who have the courage to tell him the truth, which is, that we have the power to guarantee to him the equal protection of the law and to protect him against discrimination. To attempt anything more would be ruinous to the colored man and demoralizing to the white political body. He must work out the problem under the constitution."

He also said: "The Northern States have exhibited the same race prejudice that has been shown elsewhere. In the North we burn the negro at the stake and there, as in other sections, we have our race wars. We push our negroes to the outer edge of the industrial world. We exhibit the same prejudice, the same weaknesses, the same intolerance that is apparent in the Southland."

There is one important difference the Senator failed to note. The negro is not discriminated against in the unskilled labor field in the South. His labor, especially on farms, is sought and generally preferred to that of whites. He finds no manner of preferment in the North.

Everybody North and South of clear intelligence knows the general substance of what Senator Borah said is true. He was born in Illinois, reared and educated in Kansas, has been a life-long Republican, and is not infected with any kind of Southern virus. He speaks as he does, because, having become an insurgent, he is emancipated from the old-time Republican obligation to be a hypocrite and give utterance to cant when he comes to talk in public about the negro.

As the slavery issue and the civil war recede into history and the black population is scattered all over the country questions concerning the negro will be questions between the races and not between sections.

Salt Lake, Utah, Tribune.
Saturday, Feb. 18, 1911.

Pittsburgh Courier
Feb 25-1911

Borah Makes Strong Speech for Popular Election of Senators.

NOT A RACE QUESTION

Declares Constitutional Rule of Equality Applies to Colored Man.

[By Associated Press to The Dispatch.]

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 16.—That prejudice against the negro is just as intense in the North as in the South and that the North plays the hypocrite in its contentions to the contrary was boldly and bluntly asserted in the Senate today by a Republican Senator.

The speaker was Senator Borah of Idaho. His declarations regarding the negro were made at the close of a prolonged speech in opposition to the Sutherland amendment to the Senate resolution providing for the election of Senators by popular vote. That amendment would have the effect of giving Congress control of Senatorial elections.

The Idaho Senator's pronouncement on the race question was made in response to the recent assertion of Senator Root that without the Sutherland provision the resolution would deprive the Southern negroes of Federal protection in the exercise of the franchise. Mr. Borah dissented from the New York Senator's view and in doing so used language which elicited congratulations from many Senators.

Notwithstanding Mr. Borah's notice that he would ask the Senate to sit today until a vote could be reached on the elections resolution, the proceedings on that measure were confined to his own discussion of it. He succeeded, however, in getting a concession that the resolution should be taken up tomorrow immediately after the disposition of the routine business.

BOERAH'S SOUND SPEECH.

Mr. Borah's speech in the U. S. Senate on Thursday was a plain, straightforward recital of well-known facts. He was advocating the passage of a constitutional amendment providing for the selection of the Senators from the States by direct vote of the people. And he pointed out clearly that there is no upsetting of the Government, neither legally nor traditionally, in this proposition. As a matter of fact, a large number of States already select their Senators in this way. The Legislatures, it is true, are made the official record-makers of this selection, but that is all. The people really elect, just as they really elect the President, although officially and legally the election of President is in the hands of the college of electors, that does not meet to make the official election until some two months (the second Monday in January) after the popular election has been had. In like manner, the Legislature would, on assembling, record officially the determination reached by the people at the popular election for Senators. One might with far greater reasoning argue that the constitutional method of electing the Vice-President had been subverted and that the Government is thrown out of gear by reason of the practical change made in the election of President and Vice-President, than to suppose the plan of Government to be upset in electing Senators by direct vote.

Passing to the question of the right of Congress to supervise the election in case the proposed amendment passes, Mr. Borah, who is a good constitutional lawyer, took direct issue with Mr. Sutherland of Utah, who is a much inferior constitutional lawyer, and who held that the right should still remain in Congress to supervise elections in case any injustice was done. Mr. Borah holds that no such right of supervision exists. And he has, we think, very properly contended that the provisos submitted by Senator Depew and Senator Sutherland were simply disguised efforts to defeat the amendment, the movers of the new propositions disliking to come out in the open in a manly fight against the amendment, but undertaking to defeat it by the indirect method of tacking upon it obnoxious provisions.

In this same connection Mr. Borah put his antagonists to rout by calling

upon them to act upon the statement of facts which they had made. They had made the claim that in the Southern States the negroes were disfranchised in violation of the fifteenth amendment. Now, said Mr. Borah, in substance, if this is true, it is clearly illegal, and an infringement upon the voting rights of the negro. If this is a fact, and if Congress has a power in this respect, that these opposing Senators wish to preserve, why is it that they do not move for interference in these elections? Why do they not object to the presence in the Senate of men unlawfully therein by reason of the violation of the fifteenth amendment? Either these opposing Senators do not believe what they themselves say, that a right now possessed is to be taken away from Congress, or else they do not believe that the Southern States are violating the fifteenth amendment. And if it is true that in view of the present situation there is not a Senator to move for the Congressional control of those elections, nor a Senator to object to the swearing in of a Senator from a Southern State, why so strenuous on a neglected right? If it is true that those Southerners are there unconstitutionally by reason of the tramping under foot of the fifteenth amendment, why does not Senator Sutherland or Senator Depew, or some other Senator of that way of thinking, object to the swearing in of Southern Senators who are claimed to be there in violation of the Constitution? Why does not some one of them move to exercise the power which they assert exists?

All this is a very strong presentation of the case. It is a fact that the Senators who are trying to defeat this amendment by reason of the appeal in behalf of the negro, make that appeal, not as a matter of conscience or of right, but simply to disguise their position on a question wherein they do not dare to take their stand in the open. The cry in behalf of the negro is a fruitless, hollow cry, unless it is proposed to do something by way of protecting the negro in his rights. And it is surely incumbent upon those who raise this cry to make good their pretense by coming to the front and undertaking to protect the negro, to enforce his rights, and to vindicate the fifteenth amendment, which they profess so much to love, instead of resting their case on empty words.

The Idaho Senator denied the existence of the power that is claimed by these Senators, who make the pretense

that they wish still to preserve it. The election of the Senators is a matter for the States themselves to regulate and control. The language of the Constitution is absolutely clear upon this point, as contended by Mr. Borah. And certainly whether his position upon this is sound or not, it is a clear case that a power which so attempt is made to exercise, is a power that is not worth while to contend for. Inasmuch as those Senators who are making such a strenuous pretense that they wish to retain this power in the hands of Congress, have never made the slightest move toward the exercise of this power, it is a clear case that the position they now occupy with regard to it is a trumped-up position, merely a dodge to shield them from the logic of their unpopular position. It allows them to say that they did not oppose the popular election of the U. S. Senators, while at the same time they are, in fact, opposing it to the utmost extent of their power. Senator Borah made a powerful argument, and indeed he stripped off the disguise, the masks, and the hypocritical pretenses of those who claim one thing and do another; and who in all this matter certainly lack the courage of their convictions.

"Standard" Feb. 27-11.
Hartleton, Pa.

BORAH BARES SCHEME

The speech of Senator Borah, of Idaho, on the resolution providing for the election of United States senators by popular vote, is worthy of serious consideration. If it develops but the one fact, that the negro is given the equal consideration in the south that he is in the north, it will have accomplished much. Coming from a Republican senator, representing a northern state, the speech will command all the more attention as to the attitude toward the colored race displayed in various sections. His address was singularly forceful, presenting to the senate the truth of situation in a manner to give that body a shock such as it has not experienced in recent years.

He was speaking in reply to Senator Root, of New York; Curtis, of Kansas; Carter, of Montana, and other representatives of the interests that prey and who are endeavoring to ham string the pending resolution

with an amendment that will deprive it of the support of the southern members. He demonstrated that northern politicians had long maintained a position of hypocrisy and moral cowardice with respect to the negro question, and proved conclusively that the north gives the black man no better treatment than the south, if as good.

It might be well, in this respect, and in connection with the senator's frank exposure of the situation, to consider the relative enormities of one alleged crime the partial disfranchisement of the negro in the south, and the certainty of another, his wholesome bribery and deceit by the white politicians in the north. The moral effect is certainly greater in the latter case.

It is a patent fact, as pointed out by the senator, that the northern Republicans have obtained from their own conduct no right to charge the southern Democrats with race discrimination. The mistreatment of the negro in the north, and there are many instances of it, both in the matter of the franchise and others arising upon social crimes has, if anything, been worse than any repression the south ever attempted. The crime and lawlessness of many northern mogs in cases of blacks accused of one heinous crime are matters of frequent report. The senator pointed out in an unsparing way that for forty years the republican party in the north has charged the south with mistreatment of the negro and never in that time has attempted to better his treatment.

The old cry of slavery is raised, as he stated, with force and truth, not to benefit the condition of the negro in any way, but to perpetuate a system that makes only for special privileges and corruption in the elections to the greatest legislative body in the world. The whole scheme is one of false pretence, designed to mislead the sentiment of both whites and blacks. Should the resolution be defeated the ranters against domination of the negro would conveniently forget him as they have done for the past 30 years.

The direct election of senators does not curtail in the slightest degree the power of the federal government to protect all citizens in the rights guaranteed them by the constitution. But as Senator Borah showed the constitution leaves to the state the determination of the qualifications of its own voters beyond the power of federal interference.

Possibly the greatest crime against the electorate of the whole nation, which Senator Borah's address suggests, is the use of the negro vote through debauchery in the south to influence the election of delegates to the Republican national convention.

SENATOR BORAH'S SPEECH

There is more truth than poetry in the utterances of Senator Borah in his recent speech before the United States senate on the question of direct vote for United States senators.

That we have been getting altogether too much salve from the white man of the north, and not enough of the real truth and fair play, is a conviction of long standing. Only God is responsible for the speech of Senator Borah, who stood before the highest law making body in the United States and dared to tell the white man of his deceit, false interest, and hypocrisy, so long practiced upon the Negro under the colors of the Republican party.

We should like to tell the senator that we have been awake to the situation for some time, but our sad lack of a representative with nerve and manliness enough to present the case has held us silent and helpless. We have very few Sumners or Garrisons these days to take up the cause of the black man and present it squarely before the world, and his recent attitude towards the Negro finds absolute approval in the breasts of 18,000,000 Negroes, at least—and there are a few whites who have a similar conviction. We pray for another Borah, and that right early.

The Pittsburgh Courier Feb. 25-1911

PUBLICAN INSINCERITY.

Senator William E. Borah, who is a very Northern man, representing a State that extends 130 miles farther north than the city of Quebec, held the mirror up to the other Northern Senators on Thursday and let them see for themselves that on the negro question they are arrant hypocrites. He showed them that their present excuse for voting against the constitutional amendment for the popular election of Senators is a sham, a fraud and a pretense.

Senator Root argued against the amendment because it seemed in his opinion to surrender the right of Congress to protect the negro against disfranchisement and other ills. He also warned the Southern people that by pressing this amendment they might get their grandfather clauses and other disfranchising devices in trouble with the Federal Government, and spoke of Southern lynchings and other anti-African manifestations.

Senator Borah's reply was crushing. If the power of protecting the negro and of safeguarding the election of Senators is so necessary for Congress to retain, why has Congress never in all these years exercised that power? If the grandfather clauses are so obnoxious, why has not Congress intervened in all these years? "When are you going to deal with these questions?" the Senator asked, and then added: "It is my deliberate opinion that we have not an iota of power to deal with the question of suffrage in any State in this Union so long as it complies with the Fifteenth Amendment of the Constitution, and that can be tested under the provisions of that amendment alone and of itself."

Of Senator Root's charges and imputations about the lynchings and ill-treatment of the negro in the South, Mr. Borah spoke with scorn. He said:

The Northern States have exhibited the same animosity, the same race prejudice and race hatred that have been developed in other parts of the Union. We have burned negroes at the stake. Our Northern lands are cursed with race wars. We push him to the outer edge of the industrial world; we exhibit toward him the same intolerance as they do in other parts of the land, and in the same way. I have not a particle of doubt that if we had to deal with this subject in all its widespread ramifications as others have to deal with it, judging from what happens in Colorado and in Illinois and in numerous other States in the North, we should exhibit the same qualities and the same weakness and the same intolerance that others have been chided on the floor of the Senate with possessing.

In all this Senator Borah did not depart one hair's breadth from the truth. In their determination to defeat the popular will by denying the right to the people to elect their own Senators, the standstillers have brought up this negro question. There never was a more flagrant and palpable exhibition of political blindness of heart, pride, vainglory and hypocrisy, of envy, hatred and malice and all uncharitableness than has been made in this debate by those who wish to do by devious ways and in the dark what they are afraid and ashamed to do in the light of day and by direct methods. But the people will not be deceived.

"Press" Feb 18-1911
New York City

Misleading the Negro.

Senator Borah's speech for the popular election of Senators shows that the object of the Sutherland amendment is not to protect the legal rights of negro voters, and that it is to defeat popular elections. This has been shown again and again by other speakers and by newspapers. Nobody has shown it so conclusively as Mr. Borah.

But his speech has a larger and more permanent interest. Not for a long while has so able and frank an utterance, upon one of the more important problems that we have always with us, been heard in this country. With kindness and sympathy Mr. Borah tells the negro race that it has nothing to hope from the intervention of the United States Government to make its right to vote, and to have its vote counted, in States where negro voters are in a majority, a fact and not a few words on paper. He says they are hypocrites or mistaken who tell the negro voter that the United States will so intervene. This is absolutely true, but the saying of it took courage. Nor could it be said as Mr. Borah has said it without uncommon tact.

Mr. Borah does not go an inch too far when he says that we in the North have given this race no better treatment of late years than it has received in the South. Sound advice based upon facts frankly recognized is the keynote of this passage:

He [the negro] is beginning to realize that the white man, whether in the North or in the South, is a member of one and the same race and that in his blood is the virus of dominion, of rule and of power; that while the slave chains have been broken the industrial chains are being forged and his race will inevitably wear those chains unless through self-discipline and self-help and frugality and industry and patience and long suffering they are strong enough themselves to break them. It is a badge of sufferance placed upon them by the inscrutable wisdom of their Maker, and it can only be solved through their own efforts and through the sympathy, encouragement and aid of those who have the courage to speak to them as to their real rights and opportunities.

We shall be surprised if the leaders of the negro race do not agree with these wise and useful words.

"The Sun" Baltimore, Md.
Feb. 18-1911

FEBRUARY 1911

Senator Borah Warns Negro That White Race Must Rule

Denounces Attitude of Northerners as Hypocritical in Speech
Urging the Direct Election of Members of
the United States Senate.

TIME THE PLAIN TRUTH IS TOLD, HE DECLARES

HERALD BUREAU,
NO. 150 N. STREET, N. W.,
WASHINGTON, D. C., Thursday.

Sharp notice was served to-day in the United States Senate upon the negro that he must recognize and accept for all time the control and domination of the white man. Senator Borah, of Idaho, urging the passage of the resolution to amend the constitution so that Senators will be elected by direct vote, turned back to take up the race issue raised by Senator Root in his debate with Senator Bacon, of Georgia.

He said that this had been thrown into the discussion to kill the resolution and then warned the black man that he cannot expect to dominate where the white man also lives.

There was a sharp clash just before the Senate adjourned over the arrival at a vote on the measure. Senator Borah has given notice that he will press it. Senator Beveridge wanted to have the Senate meet at eleven o'clock to-morrow. This was unpopular. The resolution will be taken up after the morning routine. Senator Borah occupied the afternoon. Senators Carter, of Montana; Sutherland, of Utah, and Nelson, of Minnesota, wish to make speeches.

Senator Borah's declarations regarding the negro were made at the close of a prolonged speech in opposition to the Sutherland amendment, which would have

the effect of giving to Congress control of Senatorial elections.

"I wonder how long the North is going to play the hypocrite and the moral coward on this question," he said. "The Northern States have exhibited the same race prejudice that has been shown elsewhere. In the North we burn the negro at the stake and there, as in other sections, we have our race wars. We push our negroes to the outer edge of the industrial world. We exhibit the same prejudices, the same weaknesses, the same intolerance that is apparent in the Southland."

"The negro has been used as a political football about as long as our own sense of decency and his developing intelligence will permit. We should no longer mistreat him, but we should have the courage to inform him as to the real situation. It does not benefit him to make him the subject of our sophomoric rhetoric. The negro race has advanced to the point where we well may dispense with the perennial distribution of soothing syrup and give them solid food in the way of facts. We should tell them the truth and conceal nothing."

"The negro is beginning to realize that the white man of the North is of the same race as the white man of the South, and that in his blood is the virus of dominion and power. He should know that while his slave chains have been broken the chains of industry are being forged around him and will continue to hold him unless he himself can break them."

"When the exigencies of debate are over it will be found that no measure will be offered in the Senate to protect any supposed right of the colored man anywhere. If those who are interested will turn to the constitution they will find there the one universal rule of equality, the only rule to be applied to the negro, and the only rule under which we can legislate. If applied it will be proved to be the correct rule, the rule for all of us."



WILLIAM F. BORAH

From Collier's.

A Speech Every Southerner Should Read

WITHOUT an accurate searching of the records, it is reasonably safe to say that the first occasion since the Civil War when any Republican member of the United States Senate has dealt with the question of the negro in the South, with candor, frankness, and good faith, was on Thursday, February 16. The Senator was William E. Borah of Idaho. His speech may well turn out to be a milestone. The Congressional Record, in the speeches by Northern Senators on the subject of the negro in the South, both before and since Senator Lodge's "force bill," is filled with cant, hypocrisy, and violence. There is no aspect of the present state of this nation more important than the fact that the North is now ready to agree that the negro in the South is the South's own unhappy problem, to be dealt with by the South itself, with all the wisdom and sympathy that the leaders of Southern thought can contribute, *and without interference from the North.* The assurance of immunity from outside meddling in this one matter will have a most hopeful and wholesome effect upon the South's immediate future, politically and economically. Senator Borah's speech carries this assurance in eloquent sentences:

We ought no longer to put into the Congressional Record and embalm there the tender protestations given from year to year in campaign and campaign. The colored race has advanced to that point where we may well dispense with this perennial distribution of political soothing sirup and give him some substantial food in the way of plain facts. Let us conceal nothing, and the truth is that the negro is beginning to learn his first great and sad lesson in the upward struggle of civilization.

"Daily Chronicle" of Houston, noted the feeling which the South universally had concerning those senators who repudiated the party machine against free lumber

speech, every Southern clergyman, teacher, and leader of public opinion should read it. COLLIER'S will undertake to procure copies for any who request us so to do.

*Chronicle Telegraph, Feb. 20/11
Pittsburgh, Pa.*

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 26, 1911.

Borah Kills the Race Question.

Senator Borah has taken Senator Root's race question and tossed it out of the arena. The question of the direct election of United States senators has nothing to do with the right of colored men to cast their votes—north or south. The resolution proposing the constitutional amendment came from the Senate committee with a provision that not Congress but the state legislatures should supervise senatorial elections. But whether this provision stands or falls, the rights of

soffrage guaranteed by the Constitution are not touched. In either case Congress would, of course, have power to safeguard all constitutional rights of franchise. And the United States courts would have power to protect any such right from local interference. Mr. Root has done his best to roll the waters of race and sectional prejudice—but to no purpose. His glittering show of legal learning and his pose of prophetic fear have failed to impress the country. Borah's tranquilizing exposition of the law and the facts should quiet even Root's overwrought nerves.

MR. BORAH'S HONEST WORDS.

One of the ablest and one of the bravest and one of the most honest men in the United States Senate is Mr. Borah, of Idaho. He won his place by conspicuous courage as an attorney, and in a short time he has won place as a national leader, who leads in right directions. He was reared a Republican but has nothing in common with such men as Root, Lodge, Depew, Aldrich and Cannon, except the party label. The editor of this paper, when in Washington a few weeks ago, heard Mr. Borah deliver an able speech on the Lorimer case, showing that this whole senatorial election was honey-combed with fraud, and that the Senate should receive no members with such a tainted title. Reference was made in these columns at the time to Mr. Borah's fine speech and his utter annihilation of his colleague, Mr. Hayburn, who always stands for what is wrong, narrow and sectional.

In his speech in the Senate on Thursday, discussing the bill for the election of Senators by a vote of the people, Mr. Borah went to the very bottom of the matter and exposed the hypocrisy and insincerity of such representatives of plutocracy as Root and Depew, who have raised the question of negro suffrage restrictions in the South, for the purpose of trying to defeat the popular election of Senators by the people. Among his utterances

that ever crossed the threshold of the Senate, and Senator Hoar lived to see the day that he regretted his advocacy of it."

This much should be said as to the difference between the attitude of Lodge and Hoar then and Root and Depew now:

Then the purpose was to guarantee the ballot to every ignorant negro and to use the Federal Army, if necessary, to let him vote. Now the purpose is to hypocritically pretend to be concerned about the ignorant negro merely to defeat the bill to elect United State Senators by direct vote of the people. The first was fanatical and based upon a feeling of devotion to the negroes whom Hoar believed the South was persecuting; the second and the present is a hypocritical affectation of interest in the negro because the Senators from Trustville see no chance to defeat the popular election of Senators by anything but a threat to restore the South to the old conditions that compelled it to form restriction suffrage amendments.

from EVE. NEWS.address Newark, N. J.date FEB 21 1911

THE NEGRO AND POLITICS.

To the Editor of the NEWS:

Sir—In following the discussion upon the Sutherland amendment to the Borah resolution providing for the popular election of Senators, now going on in the United States Senate, one fails to see the reason for the great fear which possesses the Senators from the South, as evidenced in the debate between Senator Bacon, of Georgia, and Senator Root of New York.

The gentlemen from the South apparently believe that with the adoption of the amendment Congress is given powers which it does not possess at the present time so far as concerns the grandfather clauses to the constitution of those States which have practically disfranchised the black man. If Clause 1 of Section 4 of Article I. of the Constitution means what it says, Congress has always had this power and Section 1 of Article XV. of the amendments but strengthens it.

Negroes long ago discovered this fact and long since came to realize that they were being used as the football of politics. This hypocrisy has been responsible for the withdrawal of many intelligent negroes from political activity until to-day it is a hard task for white party leaders to interest the intelligent negro in matters of political concern and hence their recourse to the non-intelligent and to the negro of foreign extraction, who is ever ready to be the "instrument," in spite of the fact that not infrequently he does not even take the trouble to become naturalized.

Not since the days of Sumner and the Civil War has one read as brave a speech as that of Senator Borah in which he upbraids himself and his party. What he said was the plain unvarnished truth and this is what the black man wants and needs. The days of political "puff" for the negro are passed. Believing as he does that the badge of color which nature has given him is no more a mark of shame and inferiority than that of any other race, he has come to know that it remains with him alone to force recognition by the demonstration of worth and abilities. In this demonstration politics will play a very small part.

ROBERT TRAVIS,

President Negro-American League
of East Orange.

February 18, 1911

THE VOICE OF A STATESMAN

OCCASIONALLY, above the petty partisan bickering and the efforts of cunning politicians to evade carrying out their pledges to the people, there is heard the voice of a statesman, speaking the words of truth and honesty.

Such a voice was raised in the senate the other day, when Senator William E. Borah answered the pettifogging speech of Senator Root against the adoption of the amendment providing for the direct election of United States senators. Senator Root, conscious of the almost unanimous demand for direct election on the part of the people, realized the impossibility of combatting their desire directly, and so attempted to inject the race question into the discussion, claiming that the adoption of the amendment would be a practical disfranchisement of the negroes of the south.

To this pitiful attempt to dodge the question, Senator Borah made answer. Only a reading of the speech will show how masterfully he met every point raised by Mr. Root; how unerringly he hit the bull's eye, and proved beyond all cavil that no regard for the rights of the negro, but opposition to direct election, was at the bottom of Mr. Root's efforts.

As Senator Borah showed, the negro is now "disfranchised," as Senator Root calls it, in the south. The law as it stands permits Senator Root and those others like him who prate in public of their love for the negro to take the matter up, if the south is wrong, and force the southern states to repeal the grandfather's clauses, by refusing to seat their senators and representatives.

Why doesn't Senator Root act? If it would be wrong for the south to disfranchise under the direct election plan, it is wrong now. The rights of the negro are as much disregarded now as they would be then. Why doesn't this fine moral indignation of Senator Root's, and Senator Sutherland's, and Senator Heyburn's, manifest itself now?

Because, as Senator Borah showed, those senators are among the northerners "who play the hypocrite and the moral coward on this question." They shout for justice for the negro, in order to attract the votes of colored men. But that is as far as they go. In the matter of working for constructive legislation, to enable the negro to develop his latent possibilities, and place himself on an industrial equality with white men, they do actually nothing.

It is such demagoguery that has added greatly to the almost insuperable obstacles against which the negro has had to contend. That he has made such wonderful progress as has been recorded in the years since slavery was abolished is due, not to politicians like Root, but to earnest workers like Becker Washington. The negro problem is one of the greatest that has ever confronted any nation. Such disreputable tactics as those employed by Senator Root make its solution all the more difficult. The self-respecting negro, who has made himself industrially efficient, who has become a solid factor in his community, will find no difficulty in securing the right of franchise, even in the south, — unless northern politicians with selfish interests to subserve persist in stirring up race hatred.

The south's problem is difficult enough at best. Every man of the north who really has an interest in the negroes, and in securing their progress, should certainly render every sympathetic assistance in his power to the solution of the problem in the only way it can possibly be solved,—that is, by making the negroes industrially and economically independent, by removing the race problem from politics.

Senator Root, however, is willing to stir up race feeling, and to retard the development of the negro, in order to use him for his own selfish purposes,— and then contemptuously stamp on him. Root's, in this instance, was the speech of a paltry politician; Borah's that of a far-seeing and patriotic statesman. Idaho may well take pride in the courageous and eloquent young senator who so ably represents her in the United States senate.

direct special attention at this time, but to the truth which he laid bare with reference to the treatment of the negroes, by the whites North and South.

It took some courage for a Republican Senator to declare from his place on the floor, that while the Republican party habitually makes capital of the pretense of protecting the negro in his political rights it has not protected him nor tried to do so. While proclaiming that there is a power in the Constitution to protect the negro against the "grandfather clause" and other disqualifying amendments to the Constitutions of some of the Southern States, the party had not enforced that power although in complete control of the government.

It is a fact which Mr. Borah stated with admirable candor that the negro is not treated any better in the North than in the South and that the decent law-abiding negro has advanced to that point where he begins to realize it; to a point where we had better dispense with this perennial soothing syrup and give him some substantial food in the way of plain facts; to a point where he is "beginning to realize that the white man, whether in the North or in the South, is a member of one and the same race and that in his blood is the virus of dominion, of rule and of power; that while the slave chains have been broken the industrial chains are being forged and his race will inevitably wear those chains unless through self-discipline and self-help and frugality and industry and patience and long suffering they are strong enough themselves to break them."

And the South is doing more, by sympathy and encouragement and industrial education, to enable them to break those chains than the North with all its boasting, and all the gushing oratory spouted for its effect on the negro vote, by the champions of special privileges.

"Patriot" Feb. 18-1911
Harrisburg, Pa.

BORAH'S GREAT SPEECH

Before he was elected to the United States Senate almost four years ago, William Edgar Borah, of Idaho, had gained a national reputation as a jury lawyer. Since then he has been steadily forging to the front in the Senate and his speech on Thursday, in favor of the resolution to amend the Constitution so as to permit the election of Senators by direct vote of the people, placed him abreast of the foremost debaters in the Upper House of Congress.

It is not the merits of the proposition in favor of which he was speaking, to which THE PATRIOT wishes to

LEWISTON TRIBUNE

SENATOR BORAH AND THE
NEGRO PROBLEM.

The Tribune, regretfully, has not been able to say many approving things, as it would like to have done, upon Senator Borah's work in the national legislature. His direct elections measure, the reasons he gives for urging the income tax, his unsatisfactory position on forest reserves at the critical period of its application to the state, and in some other relations, have, on the contrary, been the occasion for criticism here. It is therefore all the more gratifying now to be able to approve unreservedly his brave and thoughtful speech on the negro in national politics, not simply because of his position but because of the reasons by which he arrives at that position. That the negro has been made the football of bad politics and that it will continue to be so as long as the politicians have the power to make it so, is true as scripture. For ourselves, we would go a step further and declare that the same is equally true of the tariff, of the railroads, of temperance, of legislation as a whole, and would be so of holy church itself if the chances favored success as, unfortunately, has seemed to be so already in some instances.

It is difficult to conceive of anything that would weaken and destroy the negro more completely than the guardianship the republican politicians have assumed to exercise in keeping the "door of hope" open for Jim. Just where political supervision of class, caste or race should begin and end has never been definitely determined. One fact is recognized by all economists, and the fact is that the self-reliance of the citizen is largely a result of necessity. Even strong men will rely upon others if they find it easy and profitable to do so. A poorhouse is a good institution in its way, but free soup has never failed to increase the ranks of the free soupers. It is not selfishness, but wisdom born of centuries of observation, that leads one irresistibly to the conclusion that the best way to produce a community of incompetents and dependents is to adopt paternalism as a public policy, while the only way to produce a community of strong, industrious and patriotic citizens is to limit the powers of government and leave the individual to do at least as much as he can for himself. Even the Indian had learned to rely on

his bow, his skill and his cunning. It required only a few invitations to visit the agency and there receive free supplies to bring him off the strenuous trail. He merely changed as others have changed under similar treatment. The negro, wherever he has been petted, nursed, voted and misused and then left derelict by the politicians of either party or of any section, has not failed to find "paternalism" not a blessing but a curse, just as other races have done. From the old fallacy by which the races have been misled and afflicted from the beginning may the good Lord deliver the black man, the red man and the white man.

New Orleans La Democrat
Sunday, Feb. 12, 1911.

MR. ROOT LETS IN THE LIGHT.

Senator Root's direct attack upon the Southern franchise laws, in his address last Friday opposing the direct election of Senators, throws a good deal of light upon the senatorial controversy over the Borah resolution. The New York statesman is one of the few who are brave enough openly to avow their opposition to the resolution, amended or unamended. He has stated, without equivocation, the only purpose which the proposed amendment giving Congress control of senatorial elections could have—aside from its convenience as an obstruction to the reform which the country demands. It is to be held in reserve as a weapon for annulment of the Southern franchise laws, he virtually admitted in his colloquy with Senator Bacon.

This frank admission goes far to clear up the whole situation. It explains, for one thing, why the amendment would make the Borah resolution impossible and insure its defeat—which is, after all, the prime purpose of those who are supporting it. It sweeps aside the meretricious arguments offered by other Senators, that adoption of the amendment is necessary to "insure the purity of senatorial elections and prevent corruption," contentions that have been, by the way, already riddled. It puts squarely before the people the question whether they favor the revival of dead issues, the reopening of rightly settled questions, the iniquity of force bills, before the privilege of electing their Senators direct.

With great labor and skill most of the Southern States have solved the delicate political problem posed by the war amendments in ways proof against constitutional attack. Efforts to renew the attack by Congress have failed. Mr. Root himself refers to the "voluntary surrender" of the power on which he now lays much stress. "As to the conduct of elections of members of a State Legislature," declared Senator Carter, who also

opposes the Borah resolution, in the course of debate the other day, "the Federal government is now absolutely powerless under the ancient and unbroken line of holdings on that subject. We accord full faith and credit to the organized Legislature of the State, the body charged with the election of a United States Senator. There is no power to go back to the polling place."

It will be seen, therefore, that the Borah proposition, far from being "revolutionary," merely continues in effect the practice and precedent already established with respect to the Senate. With Senator Root's suggestion of a revival of the agitation of the seventies and the possibility of efforts to enact such laws as the Lodge election bill, the country may decide whether it is ready to approve the fight sundry Senators are making against a minor feature of the Borah resolution. With the Lodge bill Senator Carter confesses he was not in sympathy, though he voted for it. "It was a mistaken attempt," he admits, "to exercise power under circumstances and conditions certain to bring forth resistance, with an attendant train of social and political disturbances, if not disasters." Why, then, reopen the way to further mistaken attempts of the same sort, when the Senator admits that, as matters now stand, the Federal government is "absolutely powerless" to interfere with the conduct of election of members of the State Legislature, who in their turn elect the Senator. If there is anything revolutionary in the proposals with respect to this feature of the Borah resolution on which its opponents are laying exaggerated stress, it would seem to be the proposal to overturn a condition supported by "an ancient and unbroken line of holdings." The Senate will remain "the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications" of its own members, and under that constitutional provision will exercise all the rights with respect to these things that it exercises today.

The Macom Daily Telegraph
Feb. 18 - 1911

SENATOR BORAH'S FRANKNESS.

Everybody knows that the color line is sharply drawn in the North, that race prejudice is as intense there as elsewhere, and that the average Northerner is even less tolerant than the Southerner of the shortcomings of the individual negro. Tacit admission and quiet acknowledgment of the real conditions have not been wanting, but it is as new as it is refreshing to find a Republican Senator boldly charging on the floor of the upper chamber that the pretense of solicitude for the welfare of the colored brother on the part of the North is altogether hypocritical.

Discussing the Federal control of the direct election of Senators, as proposed

by the Sutherland amendment, Senator Borah, of Idaho, on Wednesday expressed regret that the race question had been brought into the controversy, said he wondered how long the North will continue "to play the hypocrite and moral coward," and asserted that the Northern States have exhibited the same race prejudice that has been shown elsewhere. "In the North," he said, "we have our race wars. We push our negroes to the outer edge of the industrial world. We exhibit the same prejudices, the same weaknesses, the same intolerance that is apparent in the Southland." He said further:

"The negro has been used as a political football about as long as our own sense of decency and his developing intelligence will permit. We should not longer mistreat him, but we should have the courage to inform him as to the real situation. It does not benefit him to make him the subject of our sophomoric rhetoric. The negro has advanced to the point where we well may dispense with the perennial distribution of soothing syrup and give him solid food in the way of facts. We should tell him the truth and conceal nothing.

"The negro is beginning to realize that the white man of the North is of the same race as the white man of the South, and that in his blood is the virus of dominion and power. He should know that while his slave chains have been broken, the chains of industry are being forged around him and will continue to hold him unless he himself breaks them. This badge was placed upon him by his Maker, and it can be removed by the negro himself, with the aid of those who have the courage to tell him the truth, which is that we have the power to guarantee to him the equal protection of the law and to protect him against discrimination. To attempt anything more would be ruinous to the colored man and demoralizing to the whole political body. He must work out the problem under the Constitution."

Such an unreserved statement of the truth on the floor of the United States Senate is a welcome indication that the time is not far off when hypocrisy and pretense in connection with this question will no longer be possible. When the North consents to be as frank as the South about this matter it will be better for all concerned, including the negroes themselves.

Senator Borah has performed a public service, and it should be fully acknowledged, whether or not it can be counted on that, as he predicts, "when the exigencies of debate are over it will be found that no measure will be offered in the Senate to protect any supposed right of the colored man anywhere."

BORAH, OF IDAHO.

The speech of Senator Borah, of Idaho, in the United States Senate a few days ago was an expose of the hypocrisy of the North towards the negro. True, as the distinguished Senator said, that the Republican party has been fooling the negro about long enough and using him as a cat's paw ever since his emancipation. If the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments of the Constitution of the United States mean anything, they are sufficient, as the Senator said, to protect the negro in all of his civil and political rights. The Republicans of the North are just as inimical toward the negro as the Democrats are in the South. It is self-preservation with the Southern Democrats. They know that the Republican party is only using the negro for self-aggrandizement, and nothing more. Why is not the Constitution enforced? If the negro is an American citizen, he is entitled to protection under his Constitution. The negro is docile, sympathetic and grateful. He is not rebellious or vindictive. He is unlike the foreigners, who are continually in strikes and riots. The negro is satisfied with almost anything. Senator Borah has a clear conception of the negro in politics. He is learning some sense, just as he said in his reply to Senator Root, of New York.

The speech of Senator Root, while it was a bold defense of the constitutional rights of the negro, is the first utterance he has ever made in defense of these faithful allies. The condition of the negro in the several departments of the Government is fearful. There never was so much prejudice and discrimination against him. He will not be fooled any more, and the Republican party might as well understand it.

The Bee extends to Senator Borah, of Idaho, its congratulations on his expose of the hypocrisy of the Republicans of the North.

The Salt Lake Tribune.

Saturday, February 18, 1911.

BORAH'S SOUND SPEECH.

Mr. Borah's speech in the U. S. Senate on Thursday was a plain, straightforward recital of well-known facts. He was advocating the passage of a constitutional amendment providing for the selection of the Senators from the States by direct vote of the people. And he pointed out clearly that there is no upsetting of the Government, neither legally nor traditionally, in this proposition. As a matter of fact, a large number of States already select their Senators in this way. The Legislatures, it is true, are made the official record-makers of this selection, but that is all. The people really elect, just as they really elect the President, although officially and legally the election of President is in the hands of the college of electors, that does not meet to make the official election until some two months (the second Monday in January) after the popular election has been had. In like manner, the Legislature would, on assembling, record officially the determination reached by the people at the popular election for Senators. One might with far greater reasoning argue that the constitutional method of electing the Vice-President had been subverted and that the Government is thrown out of gear by reason of the practical change made in the election of President and Vice-President, than to suppose the plan of Government to be upset in electing Senators by direct vote.

Passing to the question of the right of Congress to supervise the election in case the proposed amendment passes. Mr. Borah, who is a good constitutional lawyer, took direct issue with Mr. Sutherland of Utah, who is a much inferior constitutional lawyer, and who held that the right should still remain in Congress to supervise elections in case any injustice was done. Mr. Borah holds that no such right of supervision exists. And he has, we think, very properly contended that the provisos submitted by Senator Depew and Senator Sutherland were simply disguised efforts to defeat the amendment, the movers of the new propositions disliking to come out in the open in a manly fight against the amendment, but undertaking to defeat it by the indirect method of tacking upon it obnoxious provisions.

In this same connection Mr. Borah put his antagonists to rout by calling upon them to act upon the statement of facts which they had made. They had made the claim that in the Southern States the negroes were disfranchised in violation of the fifteenth amendment. Now, said Mr. Borah, in substance, if this is true, it is clearly illegal, and an infringement upon the voting rights of the negro. If this is a fact, and if Congress has a power in this respect, that these opposing Senators wish to preserve, why is it that they do not move for interference in these elections? Why do they not object to the presence in the Senate of men unlawfully therein by reason of the violation of the fifteenth amendment? Either these opposing Senators do not believe what they themselves say, that a right now possessed is to be taken away from Congress, or else they do not believe that the Southern States are violating the fifteenth amendment. And if it is true that in view of the present situation there is not a Senator to move for the Congressional control of those elections, nor a Senator to object to the swearing in of a Senator from a Southern State, why so strenuous on a neglected right? If it is true that those Southerners are there unconstitutionally by reason of the tramping under foot of the fifteenth amendment, why does not Senator Sutherland or Senator Depew, or some other Senator of that way of thinking, object to the swearing in of Southern Senators who are claimed to be there in violation of the Constitution? Why does not some one of them move to exercise the power which they assert exists?

All this is a very strong presentation of the case. It is a fact that the Senators who are trying to defeat this amendment by reason of the appeal in behalf of the negro, make that appeal, not as a matter of conscience or of right, but simply to disguise their position on a question wherein they do not dare to take their stand in the open. The cry in behalf of the negro is a fruitless, hollow cry, unless it is proposed to do something by way of protecting the negro in his rights. And it is surely incumbent upon those who raise this cry to make good their pretense, by coming to the front and undertaking to protect the negro, to enforce his rights, and to vindicate the fifteenth amendment, which they profess so much to love, instead of resting their case on empty words. The Idaho Senator denied the exist-

ence of the power that is claimed by those Senators, who make the pretense that they wish still to preserve it. The election of the Senators is a matter for the States themselves to regulate and control. The language of the Constitution is, absolutely clear upon this point, as contended by Mr. Borah. And certainly whether his position upon this is sound or not, it is a clear case that a power which no attempt is made to exercise, is a power that is not worth while to contend for. Inasmuch as those Senators who are making such a strenuous pretense that they wish to retain this power in the hands of Congress, have never made the slightest move toward the exercise of this power, it is a clear case that the position they now occupy with regard to it is a trumped-up position, merely a dodge to shield them from the logic of their unpopular position. It allows them to say that they did not oppose the popular election of the U. S. Senators, while at the same time they are, in fact, opposing it to the utmost extent of their power. Senator Borah made a powerful argument, and indeed he stripped off the disguise, the masks, and the hypocritical pretenses of those who claim one thing and do another; and who in all this matter certainly lack the courage of their convictions.

Lincoln, Neb., State Journal
Saturday, Feb. 18, 1911.

Senator Borah says in a loud voice what a few people in the north have for some time acknowledged in whispers, namely, that we of the north are somewhat subject to the charge of hypocrisy on the negro question. We have talked grandly to the south of its duty to the negro and have criticised the south for its discrimination against him. Senator Borah asserts that we have in reality no more love for the negro than the south, though we are absolved from exposure by the fewness of the negroes in the north. The enthusiasm with which we do not welcome negro neighbors in our northern cities seems to bear him out. And race wars in southern Ohio and southern Illinois, two places in the north where a large negro population has gathered, furnish further evidence.

Times Democrat
New Orleans, La. Feb. 18/91

THE BLOODY SHIRT AGAIN.

We hear very little of the negro question in Congress to-day, save when some Republican, driven into an ugly corner, drags it out to try to save the party from a drubbing. It is now and has long been recognized that the South has struck the right key in the solution of the race problem, particularly on the political side; and that the peace of the country and the improvement of the negro race can be assured only by letting the Southern whites, who know the blacks best, solve the problem correctly. It is true that the Republican leaders are not willing to admit their failure, to recognize that the negro has improved tenfold more under the Southern regime than during the twenty years of reconstruction. They have insisted that "the war amendments" shall remain on the statute book, even as dead letters, or as a memento of the folly and bitterness of reconstruction days. They have gone no further, but are willing to let matters go on as they have recently gone. We hear no more of force bills, and "the bloody shirt" is no longer waved. The courts have declared that the Southern method of solving the problem of negro suffrage is legal and constitutional; and the issue is never raised save by the handful of fanatics who can find no other means of getting notoriety for themselves.

In the light of these facts, therefore, it is a surprise, and not a pleasant one, to see a man of the high standing of Senator Root dragging out this loathsome skeleton and trying to breathe life into it. Senator Borah has been too mild in dealing with him and with the men of his type, of undoubted ability but who prostitute their talents to call up the old bitterness, laid at rest in the best interests of the negroes, as well as the country at large, in order to prevent the election of Senators by the voters, and continue a system which enables millionaires to buy seats in the Senate as though it was a millionaire's club, or the trusts to put their tools in the upper house of Congress.

What Senator Borah says about the hypocrisy of the North in the treatment of the negro is known to all, and is not ever denied by them; but to use that hypocritical plea against the voters in the interest of the trusts, and for the perpetuation of senatorial debauchery, is more than the American people ought to stand. Mr. Root and his backers have shown little interest in the negro until they thought they could use him to stir up old prejudices and to defeat true democratic principles.

It is wholly unnecessary to show how utterly illogical is the plea of Federal interference in the popular election of Senators. The Constitution makes the Senators the representatives of the States, to be chosen by the Legislatures; it is proposed only to let the people elect directly instead of through the intermediary of a General Assembly. The same men will vote for Senator as now elect those officers by choosing the legislators; and the Senators, representing as they do the States in Congress, the latter should and must control their election. The idea of Federal inter-

ference with the State's choice would rouse "the fathers of the Constitution" from their graves.

He is an enemy of the peace and prosperity of the country who tries to stir up race and sectional prejudice and bitterness to-day; and he is doubly an enemy who uses this base means to defeat the will of the people, and to fill the Senate with De-
pens, Lorimeres et al., with men placed in office by the big corporations, or who buy their way into that body.

"Constitution" Atlanta, Georgia
Feb 18-1911.

SENATOR BORAH ON THE NEGRO PROBLEM.

Twenty, perhaps even ten, years ago the recent speech of Senator Borah, of Idaho, in which he declared that the negro problem, and racial prejudice, were in no wise different in north or south, might have created comment.

Delivered today, it is principally significant as contrasting the antipodal viewpoints of the senators of one state. Heyburn, of Idaho, and his intolerance of expression, need no elaboration. But he serves as a foil to accentuate the breadth and the national vision of his colleague, Borah.

No reasonable and reasoning man can deny the truth of Senator Borah's allegations.

The sole distinction between the negro problem, north and the south, is expressed in the terms of numbers—the south has the larger burden, and that is all.

The Idaho senator did not go even far enough.

In the south the negro is at least given an open chance to work at those occupations for which he is fitted, and in the following of which he has given evidence of capacity. He is even encouraged to improve his equipment, that he may be better able to render service to himself and to the section in which his destiny seems to be cast.

In the north, and in other sections of the country, Senator Borah stated the case correctly—the effort is increasingly to "push him to the outer edge of the industrial world" into the darkness of a closed door.

But the thing that matters principally, and in which lies largest hope for the nation and the negro himself, is that now all sections are united in trying to understand him, to get at what there is in him of the possibilities of good, and, in the south especially, those possibilities of evil which must be rigorously safeguarded.

A problem that is nationally understood is at least on the road to solution.

The Oregonian

PORTLAND, OREGON.

CONGRESS AND THE NEGRO.

The injection of the negro question into the debate on the popular election of Federal Senators is a mere piece of political strategy and not by any means straightforward. Clearly its sole purpose is to help defeat a measure which on its merits would be sure to pass. It may be useful to remind the reader just how the negro creeps in here where he certainly does not belong. The Borah resolution submits to the states an amendment of the Constitution giving the people the right to choose Senators directly and taking away from Congress, ostensibly, the power of supervision which it now enjoys over Congressional elections. The opponents of popular election see in the latter provision a terrible danger to the negroes. What will become of this persecuted race if the protection of the Government is withdrawn from them? What can prevent Senatorial elections from contamination by fraud and corruption if the purifying supervision of Congress should cease? Even Senator Root took up the hue and cry the other day in his speech on the subject and made a great deal of the threatened danger to the rights of the negro.

In accordance with this sentiment the Sutherland amendment has been introduced to correct the Borah resolution. It restores to the Federal Government the right of supervision over Senatorial elections which the resolution would seem to impair. No doubt the Sutherland amendment will be adopted when it comes to a vote, and in consequence of that action the Southern Senators will oppose and probably defeat the Borah resolution. Thus a measure which the people of the country almost unanimously favor may fail because of the dexterous introduction of a purely extraneous issue. It is perhaps useless to call attention to the fact that the Federal power of supervision over elections is purely a matter of theory. In practice it is never exercised until after the election has ended and the new member attempts to take his seat. The constitutional authority of Congress over the elections gives the negro absolutely nothing. The states which wish to disfranchise him do so. In the states where public sentiment is more kindly toward him he votes if he likes. Congress never dreams of interfering in his behalf. Even the Supreme Court has turned him over to the merces of the states and will not intervene to sustain his theoretical rights.

Thus the negro question in this matter is a pure chimera. Underlying it there is no reality and its introduction betrays a lamentable lack of political rectitude. So far as fraud and corruption at elections are concerned, who ever heard of Congress interfering to prevent them at Salem, Olympia, Albany, Harrisburg or Helena? Corruption rages without stint in far too many Senatorial elections. It raged at Springfield in full sight of the Nation and the scent of it was in everybody's nostrils, but Congress religiously abstained from interfering. There never has been a grosser piece of hypocrisy than the pretense that the Federal right of supervision over elections is a thing worth fighting about in so far as it is threatened by the Borah resolution.

We do not mean to say that Congress ought not to possess a right to supervise the elections, qualifications and returns of its members in either house. It certainly ought to have such power. It already possesses the power fully, and there is nothing in the Borah resolution which would essentially impair it. The people of the states would not tolerate Congressional interference with their elections on the day when the votes are cast or before that time. The attempt to exercise it would excite a revolution, as every member of the Senate well knows. Even in the dismantled and disheartened South after the close of the Civil War it was almost impossible to exercise this power efficiently, though the Federal Army was at the call of the inspectors. How could it be exercised in forty-six angry states at the same time? The thought is absurd. Congress can adjudicate upon an election after it is finished, however, with the greatest ease. The authority to do so is explicitly bestowed in the Constitution and the Borah resolution does not touch it. If Congress is offended by the exclusion of the negroes from any election, all it has to do to remedy the matter is to refuse to seat the member from the offending district, or all the members from the offending state. No remedy could be more complete. The application of it requires a little moral courage, to be sure, but not half so much as would be needed to order a body of Federal troops to oversee the polls in Oregon or New York.

It is surprising that a man of Mr. Root's ability should have permitted himself to make use of this superficial expedient. He certainly knows how little it concerns the subject under debate. His other argument was scarcely more respectable intellectually. He said in effect that it would impair the dignity and usefulness of the State Legislatures to deprive them of the right to choose Senators. When a statesman is driven to employ

sophistry of that sort his cause must be forlorn indeed. What is the notorious truth about the corruption, inefficiency and general debasement of the State Legislatures? Does not everybody know that the prime cause of it is the intrigue connected with the election of Federal Senators? What is blocking the usefulness of the New York Legislature today but the unspeakable contest between those two lovely specimens, Depew and Sheehan, for a seat in the Federal Senate? There is no conceivable measure which would do so much for the dignity, purity and efficiency of the State Legislatures as to take from them the election of Federal Senators and give it to the people.

Milwaukee Wis Journal
Wednesday, Feb. 22, 1911.

CROCODILE TEARS.

When Senator Root of New York injected the race question into the discussion of the election of United States senators by direct vote he did so unquestionably to offer justification to southern senators to oppose it. Senators from southern states who take their orders from Mr. Root's constituents in Wall-st. may find excuse to vote against the resolution looking to a constitutional amendment to provide for the direct election of senators, but in view of Senator Borah's speech frankly confessing that the Republican politicians in the north have made the negro a football of politics, there is no occasion that the people of the south should look for recurrence of force bills and return to the days of reconstruction if we shall have popular election of United States senators. When Mr. Borah said that the Republican politicians have been arrant hypocrites in dealing with the race question he stated a patent truth. Mr. Borah recited a simple fact when he said:

"The senator from New York said, 'Let the truth be told; let us conceal nothing.' And the truth is that the negro is beginning to learn his first great and sad lesson in the upward struggle of civilization. He is beginning to realize that the white man, whether north or south, is a member of one and the same race; that in his blood is the virus of dominion, of rule and of power, and while the slave chains have been broken the industrial chains are being forged, and that his race will inevitably wear those chains, unless through self-discipline and self-help and through frugality and industry and patience and long suffering they become strong enough of themselves to reject them. It is a badge of sufferance placed upon them by the inscrutable wisdom of their Maker, and it can only be

Courier Journal
Louisville, Ky., Feb. 17/11

In a speech on the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people, Senator Borah declared yesterday that the North has played the hypocrite toward the negro. "The negro has been used as a political football about as long as our sense of decency and his developing intelligence will permit," he declared.

solved through their own efforts, through their own help and through the sympathy and encouragement of those who have the courage to speak to them as to what their real rights and opportunities are."

The Idaho senator may have given the negro credit for greater perspicuity than he deserves. He still names his babies "Theodore Roosevelt" or "William H. Taft," and is disposed to imagine that his redemption is to come through an act of congress or an appointment to a federal office. But whether the negro is aware how thoroughly he has been humbugged or not, the people of the north are aware that he has been gulled and they are not in a mood to give it further sanction.

Mr. Root's fears for the negro deceive no one that does not want to be deceived. Root represents men and interests that are seeking to enslave white and black alike. They care no more for the negro, save as they can exploit him, than they care for the white man upon whose backs they are riding. What they demand is the privilege of levying tribute upon the men who produce the nation's wealth. It is monopoly, privilege, dividends, interest, rents, profits secured by law and buttressed by court decisions that concern them. Their tears for the negro are the tears of the crocodile; their sympathy, the sympathy of the shark.

THE EVENING STAR.

With Sunday Morning Edition.

WASHINGTON.

SUNDAY.....January 1, 1911

MAY OUST LORIMER

Resolution Will Challenge His
Right to Senate Seat.

CALLS ELECTION ILLEGAL

To Be Presented Few Days After
Congress Reconvenes.

MR. BORAH REACHES DECISION

Report of Committee Will Be At-
tacked Vigorously — Fight
Will Be Bitter.

"Resolved, That William Lorimer was not duly and legally elected as a senator of the United States from the state of Illinois."

A resolution phrased as above will be presented to the Senate within a few days after Congress reconvenes next week. If a report accompanied by a resolution as stated is not submitted by Senator Beveridge, who has the natural right to take the initiative by reason of his place on the committee on privileges and elections, the duty of formally challenging the title of Mr. Lorimer to his seat will be assumed by Senator William E. Borah of Idaho.

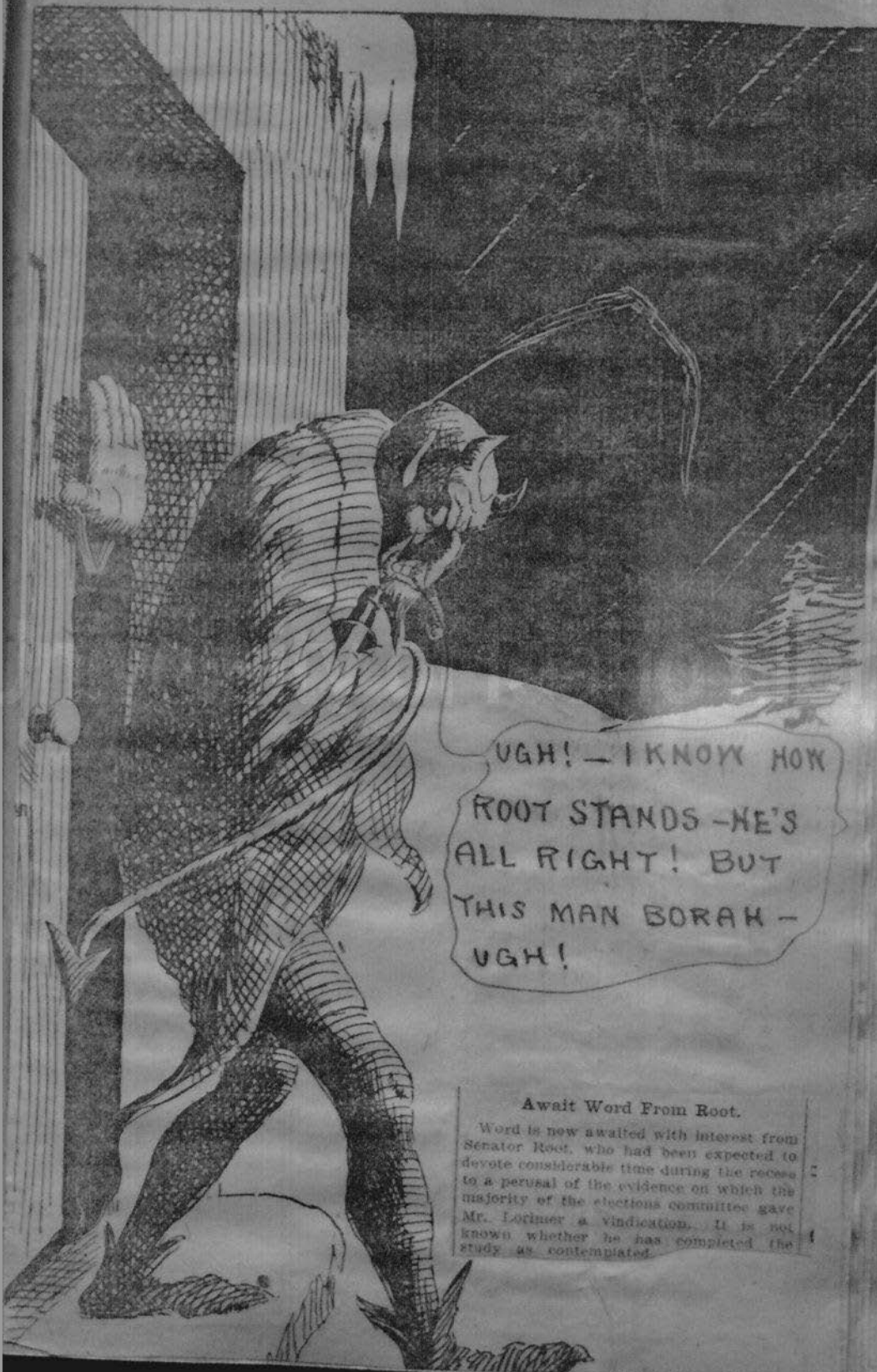
Senator Borah, it was learned yesterday, has reached a conclusion in the Lorimer case and has determined upon his course of action. This development of the day formed the first actual news of the situation involving Senator Lorimer's seat since the elections committee submitted its report the day before adjournment for the holidays, and certain senators announced the purpose of studying the testimony taken by the subcommittee in the investigation held at Chicago.

The position of Senator Borah was made known after conferences held between several senators, who, like himself, had been studying the nearly 800 printed pages of testimony. The alignment that is being developed for the fight on the floor of the Senate obliterates the old stand-pat and insurgent mark of cleavage. It is understood that, along with Senators Borah, Cummins, La Follette and Beveridge—assuming the latter will oppose the majority report, although he has not yet taken any one into his confidence and has not so far as is known participated in the recent conferences—are likely to be found Burton of Ohio and Warner of Missouri.

"Star" Feb. 18-1911.
Pasadena, Cal.

Senator Borah is broad enough of mind and generous enough of heart to perceive and declare the race question as it is in this country. When all men come to apprehend this problem as does the Idaho statesman and have the moral courage to speak and act upon their convictions, there will be a great stride made toward ultimate solution.

"AUNT, VILLAIN!"



UGH! — I KNOW HOW
ROOT STANDS — HE'S
ALL RIGHT! BUT
THIS MAN BORAH —
UGH!

Await Word From Root.

Word is now awaited with interest from Senator Root, who had been expected to devote considerable time during the recess to a perusal of the evidence on which the majority of the elections committee gave Mr. Lochner a vindication. It is not known whether he has completed the study as contemplated.

New York City.

JAN 8 1911

MR. TAFT AND THE LORIMER CASE.

Mr. TAFT is quite justified in interesting himself in the case of Mr. LORIMER, whose election as Senator from Illinois is under consideration by the Senate. It is not necessary to assume any official character in Mr. TAFT's interest in this important case, yet, as President, all of whose nominations and the treaties he might negotiate must be passed upon by the Senate, he cannot desire that a vote in that body should be cast by a man with a tainted title. On the other hand, the duties of Mr. TAFT as the recognized head of his party plainly include watchfulness that the party in the upper chamber of Congress shall not be polluted or discredited. This is particularly true at the present moment, when the party has suffered severe reverses which were largely due to popular belief that tariff legislation was improperly influenced by powerful and hungry financial interests.

It is a well-known fact that the deep split in the Republican ranks was caused by the revolt of a number of active and earnest Senators and Representatives who openly proclaimed the existence of this mischievous influence, fought the Tariff bill in Congress, and went before their constituents and denounced it. In the defeat that fell on the Republicans last November nearly all these men escaped, while the authors, supporters, and apologists of the tariff were very roughly handled everywhere. Since the elections, with their very clear results and lessons, Mr. TAFT has been anxiously studying the situation in the hope of finding some way to heal the divisions in his party, frankly abandoning the foolish effort to force the insurgents to submit to discipline. Now it happens that in this Lorimer case the action of the sub-committee of the Elections Committee of the Senate was suspected by several insurgent Senators, who determined to subject it to strict inquiry and to fight anything like whitewashing. The Democrats, though not very prompt in the matter, occupied a sound position because one

of their number, a member of the sub-committee, Senator FRAZIER of Tennessee, refused to accept the report of the sub-committee and declared that a really thorough and searching examination of the facts had not been made.

The situation thus brought about is exceedingly uncomfortable for Mr. TAFT as a party leader. He sees the peril of having his party divided in the Senate, on a question of honesty, with the insurgents and Democrats, demanding inquiry and opposing claims believed to be dishonest, on the one side, and the conservative or standpat Senators on the other. It is the wretched business of the tariff all over again and in a more distinct and offensive form. Under these circumstances Mr. TAFT is within his rights and is very sensible in using all the influence he can command to prevent action favorable to Mr. LORIMER without complete investigation and discussion. He is the more impelled to such use of his influence because Mr. LORIMER is very far from showing any willingness to face such an ordeal. He did not go before the committee, and the committee amiably refrained from calling him. Considering that corruption was testified to by witnesses who confessed to it, the burden of proof, morally, rested on Mr. LORIMER to show either that he knew nothing of it, or, knowing, opposed, denounced, and tried to punish it. Mr. TAFT is entitled to take note of this fact and to see to it, so far as he can, that the Senators take note of it, particularly those generally recognized as his immediate friends. Our dispatches from Washington indicate that he is acting in this direction, and it is a good thing that he is. If Senators like Mr. BURTON, Mr. BORAH, and Mr. ROOR—who may take up the matter—go into it carefully, we may be sure either that Mr. LORIMER will retain his seat with a title generally recognized as clear, or that he will lose it.

WILL LORIMER "GET THE HOOK?"

The Lorimer scandal will probably draw attention this week. The prediction is now freely made by reliable Washington correspondents that the gentleman from Illinois will lose his seat. This prediction is based on the apparent awakening of the decent element in the senate.

Mr. Lorimer is in the peculiar position of finding himself damned by the report which was intended to be friendly. Senator Burrows and his colleagues on the committee, like Depew and Joe Bailey of Texas, rested their defense of Lorimer on legal technicalities. They did not deny that the element of fraud entered into the election, but they took the position that there were enough votes to elect without the purchased votes. They fell back also on certain precedents which they claimed were conclusive. Finally they attempted to railroad the verdict. The subcommittee which made the investigation formulated its report, which was adopted by the majority of the committee before the majority or anybody else had time to even read the testimony.

Progressives in the senate at once took up the fight. As a member of the committee, Senator Beveridge announced on the floor of the senate that he refused to be bound by any report made by the committee, exposing in his statement the attempt to railroad the majority verdict. He announced that he would start in at once to read the testimony and would make his report when he had the facts all well in hand. Other members of the senate—men like Borah, Bristow and La Follette—started in at once to read the testimony, and to prepare speeches to be delivered as soon as the report should be brought up for consideration. The fight which was taken up so vigorously by the progressive group in the senate has already found recruits among members of the senate ordinarily classified as reactionary members. Burton of Ohio is said to be preparing arguments in favor of a minority report in the Lorimer case, and it has been reported in administration circles that even Root and Lodge were considering a movement in the direction of the band wagon. Beveridge and Owen are to be early in the forensic field. So we may look for heavy firing in behalf of righteousness when the anti-Lorimer senators get into action. And we may even witness the spectacle of a senator actually "getting the hook."

IDAHO SENATOR AND THE FIGHT AGAINST SENATOR LORIMER.

Because Senator Borah has spent some time going over the evidence in the Lorimer case, the conclusion is drawn that he is preparing to align himself with Senator Beveridge in the fight against the Illinois solon with the tainted toga. Quite as likely the Idaho senator was dissecting the evidence in an entirely unprejudiced way, seeking for light that might shine favorably upon Lorimer or that might place him in a deeper shadow. The Idaho senator is not in the habit of jumping at conclusions; and he will want all the evidence before he commits himself.

If any of the material charges against Lorimer are sustained by the evidence, it may be expected that Borah will oppose him vigorously. Borah isn't the kind of citizen who would palliate corruption, especially in high places, and he isn't that kind of a United States senator. If his analysis of the Lorimer evidence should lead him into the opposition camp, Lorimer might wish he had never been born. The Idahoan is quite an adept at wielding the scalpel.

BORAH MAY SUPERSEDE.

But Beveridge's leadership is only a nominal one, for he never yet has been able to muster a following in the Senate, and any attempt in that line will scatter the committee opponents. It is probable that the final leader in the fight will be Senator Borah of Idaho.

Senator Beveridge demonstrated his inability to become the actual floor leader of the fight this afternoon, when he tangled himself up in an attempt to have the Senate set a date for the disposition of the matter. He rambled along through two or three arguments and finally sat down without getting anywhere.

To a number of Senators today Senator Root confirmed the report that he would oppose Mr. Lorimer's retention, and would make a speech against the report of the committee. This is a big blow to Lorimer's hopes, and the report was again circulated but he would resign his seat before the final vote. Few persons here, however, credit this, and Mr. Lorimer's own attitude lends no encouragement to the idea. His friends greatly deplore the illness of Senator Aldrich.

THE LORIMER SPECTER.

No less persistent than Banquo's ghost in appearing to the guilty Macbeth is the Lorimer specter haunting the senatorial whitewashers. The ghoully apparition advances upon them momentarily, and before many days there will be an uncanny spilling of whitewash, marking a memorable session of the most august assembly on earth, providing, always providing, that certain members stand by their present firmly expressed intention to do some plain and fancy rattling of the skeleton, says the Pittsburg Post.

The more they look at the report vindicating Billy Lorimer of the charge that he owes his seat in the senate to bribery the less impressed are they with the artistic and elegant job at whitewashing performed by the committee on privileges and elections. This committee which exonerated the Illinois boss contains several conspicuous lame ducks, including Burrows, of Michigan, and Depew, of New York.

About eight Republican senators are named so far to oppose the Lorimer vindication, and the alignment is a picturesque combination of insurgents and standpatters, including Borah, of Idaho; Cummins, of Iowa; La Follette, of Wisconsin; Beveridge, of Indiana; Warner, of Missouri, and Root, of New York, who has been teetering delicately on the fence pending his perusal of the 800 printed pages of testimony. To the list of those opposing the whitewash are added the names of Ohio's senators, Burton and Dick, though what influence prodded this paid into action is left to surmise.

Senator Frazier, of Tennessee, on the Democratic side, is in the front rank of the movement to repudiate the scandalous seating of Lorimer. As one of the investigators, he was convinced that the acknowledged bribery of seven Illinois legislators to vote for Lorimer brought the case within the law against corrupt practices.

The contention by the whitewashers that Lorimer was elected without counting the seven votes in question may satisfy them because they are easily satisfied. Their further contention that the evidence does not show Lorimer gave the money for the votes leaves the inference that the legislators bribed themselves to vote for Lorimer. The whitewashers may believe their quibbling because they want to. The country is not so easily gulled.

Incidentally, before the affair reaches its final stage it is expected to raise the old question as to whether a majority or a two-thirds vote is necessary to vacate the Lorimer seat. Only a majority vote is needed to prevent a member from taking his seat on the ground of illegality of election, and this may be the course

followed by the anti-Lorimer side. His supporters, however, may take the position that his credentials have been accepted, that he is regularly a member, and that he can be removed only through expulsion. It requires a two-thirds vote to expel a member.

FOUR MORE UNITE TO FIGHT LORIMER

TAFT TO FORCE INQUIRY.

Opponents Say That 'Blond Boss'
Will Be Ousted if the Case
Comes to a Vote.

Demands Made by President.

"Now what President Taft is insisting on is that the senators shall recognize the clear obligation resting upon them to decide the Lorimer case upon its own merits alone and without regard to any effect such action may have upon their personal complications at home. He wants a square, honest verdict, honestly made, upon a full examination of the case, and with that and nothing less will be satisfied.

Perhaps the first indication of the personal interest shown by the president in the Lorimer case is the announcement that Senators Burton and Dick of Ohio are to take a hand in the discussion when the matter comes before the senate.

It is expected now that Senator Burton will take a leading part in the discussion in the senate. He has had several consultations with other senators who are going to oppose the whitewashing of Lorimer, and is finding out where the senate as a whole stands in the matter.

Stand Taken by Burton.

The position of the Ohio senator regarding Lorimer is just the reverse of that of the committee on privileges and elections. Mr. Burton holds that Lorimer should not be permitted to retain his seat until it is shown that it was not obtained corruptly.

The committee report was to the effect that Lorimer should not be deprived of his seat until it was shown that his election had been obtained corruptly. At the same time it reported that evidence had been adduced tainting seven of the votes that elected Lorimer. It contented itself with arguing that, since the four men who had confessed to taking bribes had named only three others, these seven must represent all of the tainted votes.

But the senators who are opposing the whitewashing of Lorimer insist this fact should have suggested the great probability—so great as to be almost a certainty—that where there were seven corrupt votes there were more. Yet nothing effective was done by the subcommittee to ascertain whether or not the corruption ended with these seven. The chief lobbyist for Lorimer, who was interested in the raising and distribution of the corruption fund, was not even summoned as a witness by the subcommittee.

Rapid Change in Position.

The real feeling of the senators about the whole matter is clearly revealed by the way in which the number of those opposed to whitewashing Lorimer without further proceedings has increased lately. For some time after it became public that the report of the investigating subcommittee would be favorable to the Illinois statesman there was not a senator who would say he intended to do anything about it.

Senator Frazier filed a personal report of his own and went away to Tennessee to look after his chances for reelection, consenting, on the demand of some of Lorimer's friends, to have his opinion left out of the committee report. Senator Beveridge, who was known to be out of sympathy with the action of the subcommittee, contented himself with announcing in the senate that he was not able to vote either way in the matter, not having read the testimony taken by the subcommittee.

There the matter was resting when it became known generally about the senate that Senator Borah, one of the soundest lawyers in that body of lawyers, was making a personal study of the testimony, and would not submit to final action by the senate without expressing his opinion of the case. That information was soon followed by the news that others of the progressive or insurgent Republicans were taking the same stand that Mr. Borah had taken.

Taft Acts as Party Head.

Meantime there was nothing from the White House to indicate that the president had decided to take any hand in the matter, although it was learned that he was much interested in the outcome. It should be said that it is not in his capacity as president that Mr. Taft has done what he has in the matter; but he is the head of the Republican party, and he is reported to feel that it would be a grave misfortune for the party to have the final verdict about Lorimer made without a full and complete airing of the whole case.

Other Republican leaders have recognized this fact also, and they have seen, as well, that it would be unfortunate for the party to have the demand for full investigation come only from one wing of the party, instead of from both progressives and regulars.

Three lines of action are under consideration by those who are standing with the president for complete examination of the case. One is a direct motion to declare sustained the charges against Lorimer. Another is to refer the matter to a new committee with directions to make a full and exhaustive investigation of the whole question of corruption. The third is to refer it back to the committee on privileges and elections for further investigation.

BITTER FIGHT IS EXPECTED.

St. Louis, Mo., Jan. 3, 3 a. m.—[Special].—The St. Louis Republic prints the following this morning under a Washington date:

"When Senators Borah of Idaho and Bailey of Texas cross controversial swords in the senate early this month, the former attacking and the latter defending the committee report exonerating Senator Lorimer of Illinois on charges of procuring his seat by corrupt practices, a debate at once the most bitter and the most brilliant of a decade is certain to follow.

"Borah is the first senator to openly declare an intention to argue that Senator Lorimer is disqualified to hold his seat in the upper house. Both Borah and Bailey have won name and fame as oratorical lawyers, and Bailey is by far the most effective legal debater of the senators who signed the whitewashing report of the senate committee on privileges and elections.

"Of the ninety-two senators these two probably are the best equipped to furnish a spectacular, pyrotechnical, and leonine presentation of the issues, both as to law and fact, involved in the Illinois bribery case.

Borah Outlines His Fight.

"Mr. Borah today gave a farther outline of the arguments he will advance. He will not hinge his case upon the close contention that by casting out all the votes tainted by evidence of corruption, and by thus figuring upon all the votes in the legislature a tie, and hence no election, would have resulted.

"He will declare that the senate is confronted with the necessity of taking a firm stand in behalf of clean senatorial elections and therefore must overthrow the precedents which hold that in such contests proof of corruption must be presented vitiating enough votes to change the result of the election.

"He will contend that the common law justifies ignoring the precedents, since the common law holds that an election is void if evidence be produced showing that corruption was merely inherent of the election. He will argue that there is proof enough to declare a senatorial seat vacant when that proof is such as to create a reasonable supposition from evidence that election was obtained by bribery.

Corruption 'Inherent to' Election.

"I have read the evidence with care," said Mr. Borah, "and I find that this record of fact is more than sufficient for the foundation of the legal argument I intend to make. I will contend that that corruption was 'inherent to' the senatorial election of Springfield."

"The Idaho senator will not spare Lorimer personally. He will say that, in his judgment, the use of money as brought out by the testimony of Hofstetler, if by no other witness, could not have been unknown to Senator Lorimer himself. He will conclude his arraignment of the blind boss by asserting that such men and such methods should be scourged out of the United States and out of public life wherever found.

"Mr. Bailey will found the defense upon an entirely opposite view of the law, contend

that the law of elections in and out of the senate requires either proof of the beneficiary's use of corrupt methods or proof of corruption among enough votes to alter the result of the balloting, and say that any other view is an attack upon law and an advance into anarchical conditions.

Others Agree with Borah.

"Other senate lawyers of distinction are known to agree with Borah. A statement of his purpose is eagerly awaited from Senator Beveridge of Indiana. He is expected either to join with the dissent of Senator Frazier or as a member of the committee to himself bring a separate minority report decrying the committee's report and recommending Lorimer's expulsion from the senate. If Beveridge adopts this course Borah will speak to Beveridge's proposition. Otherwise Borah himself will offer a resolution declaring Lorimer's seat vacant.

"La Follette of Wisconsin, it is learned tonight, will contribute to the bitterness and vindictiveness of the Lorimer fight. He will declare his purpose of taking the stump in their states against every senator who votes for the Lorimer report. La Follette's influence already is counted among the strong forces which have brought about the retirement of former Senators Hemenway, Spooner, and Long and the coming retirement of Scott, Hale, Dick, and Kean."

WAIT ACTION BY BEVERIDGE.

BY JOHN CALLAN O'LAUGHLIN.

Washington, D. C., Jan. 2.—[Special].—Because of the important bearing upon the action of the senate his decision will have, senatorial Washington is awaiting with anxiety the conclusion Senator Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana will announce in the Lorimer case.

More or less accurate information is leaking out as to the attitude various senators will adopt toward the report of the "Rescue Corps of Ten" of the committee on privileges and elections, but it is practically impossible to get a line on what Mr. Beveridge proposes to do.

The Hoosier representative has been approached by a number of his colleagues desirous of ascertaining the view he has reached as a result of his careful examination of the testimony taken by the investigating committee, but his invariable response has been that he has not finished the work and until he has done so he is unable to indicate what position he will adopt.

Minority Report Is Lacking.

The importance of Mr. Beveridge's attitude lies in the fact not only of his well known ability but his membership upon the committee on privileges and elections. Observant as it is of tradition and senatorial courtesy, the disposition of the upper house of congress is to defer always to the views expressed by the majority of the committee, except when they are so outrageously contrary to truth as to call for repudiation. In this case the senate usually adopts the recommendation made by the minority.

If there should be no minority, then the senate feels itself bound, in a considerable degree, to approve the unanimous finding submitted.

The refusal of the country to accept the whitewash of Lorimer as conclusive has caused senators to examine for themselves the testimony taken by the investigating committee and to await the minority reports, if any, that may be submitted. At this time there is nothing in the way of a minority finding before the senate.

Frazier May File Report.

Through the use of decidedly questionable methods the "Rescue Corps of Ten" succeeded in preventing the submission of the minority views of Senator Frazier, a member of the investigating committee, to the senate. Mr. Frazier, however, is the kind of a man who is impervious to pressure, and while he was willing to consent to the withholding of his minority views, as described in a report to the full committee on privileges and elections, he insisted the senate be advised that he reserved the right to file a minority report.

It is expected he will return to Washington in a few days from his home in Tennessee and probably on the day congress reconvenes or immediately thereafter he will submit his report to the senate.

Mr. Frazier's views will have weight not only with his Democratic colleagues but with Republicans who know his fine character and his reputation for probity. Senator Beveridge is a Republican, and although he has been identified with the progressives he has influence and standing among conservative Republicans. So, if he should submit a minority report, it is bound to have a potent effect upon the action the senate will take. If, on the other hand, he concurs with the majority report, then those advocates of a decent senate, of a senate free from men elected by bribery and corruption, will be seriously handicapped in the fight they propose to make for the expulsion of Lorimer.

Bailey as Leading Defender.

The chief defender of Lorimer will be Senator Bailey of Texas, the leading Democrat upon the committee who signed the majority report. It is in accordance with the character of Lorimer's election that it should be upheld by a Democrat, and particularly of the type of Bailey, who himself was investigated by the Texas legislature for corruption.

Bailey is a man of wonderful capacity and is skilled in technical evasion, and he unquestionably will bring all his powers into play in defense of himself and his associates of the majority of the committee.

The Republican who will be charged with the duty of defending Lorimer probably will be Heyburn of Idaho, who not only signed the majority report but presented an individual statement. The weakness of Heyburn lies in his personal unpopularity in the senate, particularly with the southern Democrats, who cannot forgive his revival of civil war animosities, and in the reference in the individual statement he filed to the fact that "much testimony and much scandal" had been brought to the attention of the committee "in connection with Mr. Browne's methods of dealing with the Democrats who voted for Mr. Lorimer under his leadership."

Senate Has Last Action.

He closed his statement by asking: "Can it be urged that the senate, in determining the truth of the charges affecting the election of Mr. Lorimer, should disregard the verdict of the courts and of the people before whom the charges were urged and considered and unseat a member upon testimony held insufficient by the people of the state of Illinois?"

The answer to this question, of course, is that jurors were bribed and that the prosecution has not abandoned its efforts to bring the culprits to punishment, but, above all, that the senate of the United States, under the terms of the constitution, is the "judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members."

The senate can expel a member if all the courts of a state uphold him. It can retain a member if all the courts of a state denounce him. So far as the senate is concerned, it is not a question as to whether Browne, or Broderick, or Wilson, or Clark, or any other member of the legislature was convicted of bribery and corrupt practices. The single question it has to decide is whether or not, in its deliberate judgment, there was bribery or corrupt practices in connection with Lorimer's election. If there were, then it must declare vacant the seat he occupies.

Burrows Not a Debater.

So Mr. Heyburn is not in as good a position as the Loricrites would like in order to make that complete defense of the "vindication" given the "blonde boss" which it is realized he will need. Senator Burrows, chairman of the committee, may read a speech, but he is unable to take part in the lively debate which will occur.

Senator Depew had not read all the testimony when he signed the report, being ill at home, and he has not had much opportunity to do so during the Christmas holidays. He will not participate in the debate. Senator Dillingham is practically in the same situation as Mr. Depew.

Senator Gamble of South Dakota never has been recognized as a force upon his feet, and Senator Bulkeley of Connecticut, who swore that he believed it proper to buy a man's vote provided you had the man vote right, has figured on few occasions in senatorial debate. None of the Democrats, with the exception of Bailey, Paynter of Kentucky, Johnston of Alabama, and Fletcher of Florida, has any reputation as a speaker in the senate chamber.

The battle promises to be bitter. It will be a fight for principle on the part of opponents of Lorimer and a fight for the continuance of corrupt practices on the part of those defending him.

LORIMER UPHELD, THEN DENOUNCED ON SENATE FLOOR

Burrows Opens Defense by
Discrediting All Accus-
ing Testimony.

BORAH MAKES HOT REPLY

Declares Fraud Fully Proved
—Beveridge Offers Cor-
rupt Practices Bill.

BY SUMNER.

[SPECIAL TO THE RECORD-HERALD.]

WASHINGTON, Jan. 18.—With an opening speech for the defense by Chairman Burrows of the elections committee and a scathing address for the prosecution by Senator Borah, the Lorimer trial was begun in earnest on the floor of the Senate this afternoon.

Senator Burrows delivered a set speech which already has been put in document form for distribution. Senator Borah spoke unexpectedly and without preparation save for the references to the testimony taken by the investigating committee which he had tabulated. He broke in immediately after Burrows had finished, with the idea of showing that the conclusions of the latter were illogical while the argument still was fresh in the minds of the rest of the court.

Speaking generally Senator Burrows took the ground that the evidence against Lorimer is of no worth because the witnesses who testified to having been corrupted are not credible. Against the confessions of four members of the Illinois legislature that they

were bribed to vote for Mr. Lorimer for senator, Chairman Burrows placed the denials of those who were said to have done the bribing.

Senator Borah contended that in all cases involving election bribery it is practically impossible to secure the testimony of unimpeachable witnesses relative to the passing of money; but he insisted that the circumstances in this case were such as to show that the cumulative corroborating testimony could not have been manufactured, that there was an undeniable connection between the "Lorimer money" and the "jackpot," that the whole series of events leading to Mr. Lorimer's election showed corruption and that every one of thirty or more Democrats controlled by Lee O'Neil Browne were tainted in casting their votes for the bipartisan candidate.

The most sensational moment of the day came at the close of Mr. Borah's speech, when, facing the member whose seat is in question, the speaker depleted the stream of corruption flowing ever since the day Mr. Lorimer declared his candidacy for the Senate and attributed it not to accident, but to the work of "some powerful or organizing mind."

As an interesting prelude to the real commencement of hostilities in the Lorimer case Senator Beveridge presented a corrupt practices bill, which, contrary to the usual order, was read in full to the Senate before being referred to the committee on judiciary.

The measure provides that any person who gives or receives any valuable consideration whatever, or offers or promises, or accepts any offer or promise of any valuable consideration whatever to influence any person in voting for or against any person for any office under the Constitution and laws of the United States shall be guilty of a felony and shall be fined not less than \$1,000 nor more than \$5,000 and imprisoned for not less than six months nor more than five years, or both, in the discretion of the court, and shall be disqualified from holding any office under the Constitution and laws of the United States.

LORIMER CASE IN THE SENATE.

Weak Defense by Mr Burrows and Strong Attack by Mr Borah—Mr Lodge Smiles.

From Our Special Correspondent.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Wednesday, Jan. 18.

The advance guard of those democratic representatives in the next House who are not members of the present Congress has now reached Washington in anticipation of the party caucus to be held to-morrow night. In a few isolated instances there have been indications of a more or less refractory spirit. But the feeling seems warranted that the new members will in general give their harmonious support to the program already arranged. That program calls for the selection in advance of a ways and means committee composed of re-elected members of the present Congress, so that it may consider the tariff question between now and next December, when the new Congress will first meet, unless earlier called with special session. The program also provides that this ways and means committee shall perform a dual role and act as a committee on committees when the time comes to complete the organization of the new House. It now appears that Congressman Peters of Boston will be supported by all the other New England democrats for a place on this committee as its New England member. His selection thus seems assured.

The Lorimer case reached the stage of actual debate in the Senate to-day and was the subject of intense interest. But it must be said that the exchange of arguments was such as to bode ill for the Illinois senator who is charged with owing his seat to the bribery of members of the state Legislature. Senator Burrows of Michigan, chairman of the committee which has apparently only got itself into trouble by its report that Lorimer's election was valid, read a very long and very weak speech in Lorimer's behalf. An unusually large number of senators were in their seats and gave the closest attention. But it was impossible to restrain an outburst of derisive mirth at one point. After quoting the remark made to the self-confessed bribe-taker, White, that if he could vote for a republican there would "not be any chicken feed," Burrows declared, with the famous assurance of an old gentleman in his dotage, that there had been no mention of money, or suggestion of bribery. It was significant, moreover, that Burrows radically changed his line of argument from that followed in the committee's much-derided report.

But the attack made upon Lorimer by Senator Borah of Idaho was as strong as the defense by Burrows was weak. The contrast between the effectiveness of the two was almost cruel. Without undue attempt at oratory, yet with emphasis sufficient to drive his points home, Borah displayed the power of analysis and incisive presentation which brought him fame as a prosecutor in the notorious trials in Idaho growing out of the labor war and the outrages which shocked the country.

As a result partly of Borah's powerful presentation of the case against Lorimer, the feeling is growing that the Senate will not be able to postpone definite action beyond the present session, although a number of senators would undoubtedly like to do so. On such a matter as this, in which senators are called upon to occupy a judicial position, it is manifestly difficult to obtain an accurate line on the manner in which they are individually likely to vote. But the opinion of one of the best informed senators is that a majority is adverse to Lorimer.

Senator Lodge was the smiling recipient of congratulations from all sides as soon as the news of his re-election came from Boston. Hundreds of telegrams began to pour in on him and there also came a note from President Taft. Only those who have observed the senator as the campaign has drawn to its climax can appreciate the strain that it has been to

Twin Falls Times

The man with convictions and the courage to declare them is the man of power in this day. Senator Borah since his election to the United States senate has forged to the front faster probably than any other western man, and today stands as one of the strong men in the national congress. It is not only because of his ability as an orator, but because of a fearlessness in stating his convictions without regard for consequence. The combination is a happy one and Idaho has reason to be proud of its junior senator. His determination to contest the seat of senator Lorimer of Illinois on account

of illegally securing votes, in the face of a judicial whitewash of the Illinois man, is the highest type of courage. The act will not in the least increase his popularity with the senate ring, but on the other hand will gain him friends all over the west where bribery is considered a crime instead of merely an incident in the political game.

CAUSTIC AND CONVINCING.

It is almost worth the scandal which was the occasion for it, to have had so clear, convincing, and, without so cutting a discussion of the majority report of the Lorimer committee as was made yesterday by Senator William E. Borah of Idaho. Senator Julius C. Burrows of Michigan, chairman of the committee, had made a speech in defense of the report. He is a trained lawyer of no mean ability, and the weakness of his cause was manifest in the sophistries, the evasions, and the subterfuges to which he was compelled to resort. In contrast to Senator Borah's stinging reply, the Michigan senator's speech seems weak and puerile.

Senator Borah, on the other hand, proved master of his subject. He analyzed the evidence on which the report was based, and with keen dialectic tore its sophistries into shreds and laid bare its evident purpose to gloss over the corruption which had been exposed.

Senator Borah is evidently a convincing man in the national councils. His hatred of corruption in every form is intense and uncompromising, and his keenness of intellect guarantees that he can not be imposed upon by any of the artifices of the designing. His ability to reach the heart of things and to state his views forcefully and lucidly will make him one of the most useful champions of the rights of the people.

*Times - took Best
Lorimer*

"Record"

Philadelphia, Jan. 21 - 1911

In the great argument of Senator Borah against William Lorimer, his conclusion is that in the utter want of honorable consideration for violating their pledges and betraying their party the Democratic members who voted for Lorimer were bought. This is as true of the members upon whom the goods have not been found as of those who have confessed their crime. Such, too, is the inevitable conclusion of common sense. The election of Lorimer was a buzzards' feast, in which the unclean birds of both parties shared in about equal degree.

Chicago Tribune
Saturday, Jan. 21, 1911

EXAMPLES.

[From the Chicago Evening Post.]
We have tried to impress upon Senator Lorimer that the state of Illinois is paying heavily for his continuance in office. The scathing arraignment of the public morals of this state by Senator Borah on the floor of the senate and the public shaming of our general assembly by Gov. Eberhart of Minnesota, show the price that we are paying and the way it is being paid.

Kaukaee Ill Gazette
Thursday, Jan. 19, 1911.

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ASHVILLE, TENN.
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LORIMER.

It seems to be well assured that the committee whitewashing Senator Lorimer will be vigorously attacked in the Senate, with the prospect of action by that body adverse to the committee's finding. Senator Borah of Idaho, it is stated, will challenge Mr. Lorimer's title to his seat by offering a resolution declaring that Lorimer was not legally elected. This will bring up the whole matter of the investigating committee's report for critical consideration. It is believed that when the evidence adduced in the investigation is properly considered and discussed the Senate cannot afford to place itself on record sustaining the report. The Washington Star says: "The alignment that is being developed for the fight on the floor of the Senate obliterates the old stand-pat and insurgent mark of cleavage, and it is understood that along with Senators Borah, Cummins, LaFollette and Beveridge—assuming that the latter will oppose the majority report—are likely to be found Burton of Ohio and Warner of Missouri."

In the event that the effort to deprive Lorimer of his seat has strong support, a question to be decided is whether he can be unseated by a majority vote. It requires a two-thirds vote to expel a member, but only a majority vote to prevent one from taking his seat on the ground of illegality of election. As Lorimer has been sworn in as a member without contest by another claimant, it would be straining a point to insist that he could be deprived of his membership without expelling him. Be this as it may, it is evident that there is trouble ahead for the Senator with a questionable title.

THE NATIONAL SCANDAL.

Senator Borah made a masterly speech in the senate showing the iniquity of the election of Lorimer and flaying the defence of the sub-committee's report which Senator Burrows sustained by a speech in favor of Lorimer. Borah's conclusion was as follows:

"So I say, in concluding my remarks, that when they made their

deal with Mr. Browne through Mr. Shurtleff, who was a roommate and friend of the sitting member from Illinois, they then and there initiated the corrupt means by which the election was brought about.

"Mr. President this much must be admitted: That from the hour that Mr. Lorimer declared he was a candidate upon the morning of the 26th of May until this present hour a stream of corruption began to flow which has never ceased.

"It has not only entered into the legislature, it has gone into the courts. It has affected juries, it has broken down lawyers, it has broken reputations upon its way, and its whole entire course gives evidence of the combination of well planned and well digested and well prepared schemes, showing that it was not the result of accident, not the result of parties coming together through inadvertence or incident, but a drawing together by reason of some powerful or organizing mind, concealing every step where it is possible to conceal and cover it most successfully, until one unmitigated scoundrel, following the same impulses that moved him when he voted for money, undertook again to sell himself and reveal the fact, which brought out Holstlaw, Beckemeyer, Link, Luke and Wilson, and thereby revealed the entire scheme."



Idaho's junior senator, who stood in the United States senate chamber Wednesday and denounced the findings of the Lorimer investigating committee, contending against Senator Burrows, of Michigan, who made the first speech in Lorimer's behalf. Senator Borah declared at least four of the Lorimer votes had been procured by bribery.

"Dispatch"
Pittsburg, Pa. Jan. 17-1911.

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A Clarifying Speech.

While the speech of Senator Burrows as chairman of the investigating committee which exonerated Lorimer cannot be considered a success as a defense either of the action of the committee or of the accused Senator, it certainly does clarify the situation by showing in the simplest terms just how the committee reached that remarkable conclusion. It had, of course, been figured out before, but Mr. Burrows makes it so clear that there cannot be any question about it.

Briefly, in his own words, the committee refused to believe the confession of the bribe-taking legislators because "if White told the truth the conviction was irrealistible that he was devoid of any sense of honor or shame." Applied to every-day court practice this reasoning would come perilously near to making a plea of guilty sufficient cause for the discharge of the accused. That is its most absurd aspect. But another is hardly less ridiculous as pointed out by Senator Borah. Given the fact that the confessed bribe takers did vote for Lorimer contrary to their political allegiance, what is the natural conclusion? If they were men of the shameless character Mr. Burrows assumes, does not that strengthen the supposition that their perverted votes were delivered for their own profit? Or, to reverse the committee's method of reasoning, was it not necessary to believe that they did sell their votes in order to arrive at the conviction that they were without sense of honor or shame?

But this sort of circular argument is not half so impressive as the common-sense view that the votes of these men were sufficient corroboration of their confessions, and that the conditions at Springfield furnished ample foundation for believing and not rejecting those confessions. Why should the majority of the committee have assumed the most improbable, wholly unsupported, when the most probable was so strongly corroborated and substantiated by all the facts and conditions in the case? Mr. Burrows' speech, however, serves a useful purpose in exposing just how illogical and unwarrantable were the theories upon which that astounding report was founded.

Lisbon (N. D.) Free Press
THURSDAY, JANUARY 12, 1911

SENATOR LORIMER

A large number of United States senators do not accept the report of the Burrows committee on the Lorimer case as the law and gospel. Senators Beveridge, Borah, Root and many others are registering their protests against the flagrant use of money to secure the election of Lorimer as senator from the legislature of Illinois.

The testimony will not down and no reasonable man will believe Senator Lorimer could possibly associate with Browne and his co-conspirators from day to day and not know that money was being used in his behalf and for what purpose.

Illinois must as a result of improper methods, suffer the just criticisms of the press and the people of the country, for permitting such a miscarriage of justice. It used to be that Montana was pointed to with scorn, because Senator Clark or his henchmen, bought up that high prize, when the American conscience was not so aroused as it is now. Woe to the man or set of men hereafter, who will set deliberately to work to buy a senatorship. "It were better that a millstone be hanged around their necks and they be drowned in the bottom of the sea."

"Record-Herald"
Chicago, Ill. Jan. 21-1911

The Shame and the Pride of Illinois.

Illinois is one of the great commonwealths of the Union. She is rich, marvelously rich, in natural wealth, and strong in the splendid strain of citizenship which makes up her population.

Within her territory is one of the most marvelous cities in the world, and on her bosom sleep the ashes of the truest child of clean and wholesome democracy ever born upon the earth.

No commonwealth is better fitted in tradition, in pride of history, in the intelligence and manhood of her people to meet and discharge the duties which properly pertain to the state. Yet her prominence now and during the last year is not due to her great wealth, her industrial prowess, but to that scandal and shame which has been fastened upon her by reason of a senatorial election.—Senator WILLIAM E. BORAH of Idaho.

It requires no expert skilled in logical subtleties and legal technicalities to understand that. For it came straight from the heart and was an eloquent statement of facts.

Every citizen of Illinois must feel the appeal that it makes to his pride, must feel the shock of the quick transition from pride to shame. The state that gave LINCOLN to the nation is now on trial before the nation. Within its own borders it has done something to recover its fame: It has shattered if it has not wholly destroyed the alliance that made WILLIAM LORIMER senator. But WILLIAM LORIMER remains in the Senate. He remains also the outward and visible sign of the inward and spiritual grace of bribe givers and bribe takers.

And unless the Senate decides to reject him he will keep publishing the state's shame at the capitol in Washington until 1915. He may speak or be silent, may affect an interest in public business or neglect it; whatever the pose, whatever the pretense, he will stand for nothing but the tainted election. The visitor in the gallery will see in him only the representative of the jack-potters, the bribe givers and bribe takers, the perfect flower of legislative corruption. His very presence will proclaim to them and to his associates on the floor the continued degradation of Illinois.

Have the people of the state deserved this because they have been betrayed? Are their protests to be ignored? Are they to be excluded from a full and fitting representation in the Senate because of an interpretation of evidence that is an affront to the intelligence and that they repudiate?

The Senate must not put a miserable pettifogging above their honor and its own. It must let their just pride reassert itself as they condemn the corrupt legislature's shameful acts; must help them remove the stain that has come upon them; must give them the opportunity to prove that the state is still loyal to its best traditions, still worthy to hold "the ashes of the truest child of clean and wholesome democracy ever born upon the earth."

"Journal"
Columbus, O. Jan. 19-1911.
Postponing Action.

When Senator Borah wanted to fix Jan. 21 as the day to vote on the Lorimer resolution, his colleague, Senator Hayburn, objected, saying he desired ample discussion of the matter. That is the tactics that Lorimer and his friends are practicing, putting the decision off, so as to finally hide it in the dust of debate.

The usual congressional debate determines nothing. It only increases the obscurity. If some axiom was trusted to a debate, it would come out very much weakened, if not destroyed. If the proposition that white is white were submitted to a controversy of partisans, it would come out of the confusion somewhat disfigured, and though almost white, it would reveal streaks of yellow, green, red and black.

Now here are four men, who swear to having received money for voting for Lorimer, and all the surrounding circumstances fortify that testimony, but in a controversy which involves sticking together, and the experiences of other senators in getting elected, the truth may be suppressed and kicked aside. The senator who wants delay belongs to the Lorimer crowd, the Lumber Trust, and every law-supporting interest that comes to his rescue.

Senator Borah's Scathing Arraignment of Election and Senator Burrows' Gallant Defence Alike Fail to Arouse Illinois Man.

DEBATERS CLASH, TO GALLERY'S AMUSEMENT

HERALD BUREAU,
No. 1322 H STREET, N. W.,
WASHINGTON, D. C., Wednesday.

This was William Lorimer's day in the United States Senate. Two speeches, one a strong one defending Senator Lorimer



JULIUS C. BURROWS,
CONGRESSMAN FROM
MICHIGAN

and the other a scathing arraignment of the methods employed to bring about his election, used up the hours devoted to consideration of the case after almost a week's cessation. During both Senator Lorimer sat almost without moving at his desk. He did not smile over the oratory of Senator Burrows, of Michigan, which sought to hold its seat in the Senate for him, or scowl over the bitter attacks of Senator Borah, of Idaho.

Beckie Senator Lorimer for much of the time during the attack by Senator Borah sat Representative William J. Moxley, Senator Lorimer's close political ally, who succeeded him in the House. Now and then a Senator stopped at Mr. Lorimer's desk, which is on the extreme end of the arc which forms the last row of that corner of the democratic side which is occupied by republicans. Senator Gamble, of South Dakota, held a whispered conference. During the attack upon him Senator Lorimer held a pad in one hand and a pencil in the other and made notes from which to form his reply to the charges, as he promised.

Senator Burrows, chairman of the Committee on Privileges and Elections, is the first man to defend Senator Lorimer. He did it in a convincing speech of twenty-three pages, in which he put much that was not written. Senator Burrows said that he understood that he was addressing ninety-one judges and shaped his remarks with dignity and conviction.

"Crime does not seek exposure and publicity," he said. "Criminals do not invite judgment and disgrace."

He complimented the Chicago Senator for asking an investigation. His conclusion was in these words:—

"There is absolutely no proof in the case,

direct or indirect, from which legitimate inference could be drawn that a single member of the General Assembly was corruptly influenced to vote for Mr. Lorimer."

Senator Borah took up the case from just the opposite point of view and flayed the men connected with the obtaining of the last few votes which made Mr. Lorimer's election possible with that convincing and rugged oratory which makes him one of the most effective speakers of the Senate. He asserted the bribery as a fact and lashed Senator Lorimer and his election managers in a way which would have aroused to immediate answer a man less contained than Senator Lorimer.

Frequently Mr. Borah quoted the same witnesses in the Illinois hearing of the case as did Mr. Burrows, but their deductions were widely at variance. The speeches resembled each other in the fact that both denounced the conduct of Representative Charles A. White, whose statement in a Chicago newspaper led to the investigation. But while Senator Borah contended for the probable truthfulness of his revelations as indicated by supporting circumstances, the Michigan Senator found nothing to sustain him or give credence to his exposition.

Senator Borah argued that the circumstances in the White case afforded ample substantiation of his testimony in impeachment of the election of the Illinois Senator. He declared that the famous "jackpot" had been distributed by the same man who circulated the Lorimer fund.

"Support of Lorimer supplied the means of admission to that fund," he said.

Continuing to discuss Mr. White's operations, Mr. Borah asked:—"What was it that prompted him to vote for Lorimer? Was it friendship? Was it honor? Or was it corruption? Ask yourself the question and see what the answer will be."

"I suggest," said Mr. Heyburn, "that it is possible that Mr. White voted for Mr. Lorimer with a view of holding up Mr. Lorimer."

"It is possible," responded the other Idaho Senator, "but it is so improbable that I had not thought of it."

This colloquy aroused a burst of laughter in the galleries which was displeasing to Mr. Heyburn, and he protested.

"I do not intend," he said, "that the galleries shall determine the merits of this debate by their snickers and giggles."

"I cannot control the snickers and giggles," responded Mr. Borah.

"We can—the Senate can," retorted Mr. Heyburn, "and I give notice that these signs of approval or disapproval will not be tolerated."

Discussing the part played by Lee O'Neill Browne, the minority leader in the Illinois House, Senator Borah declared that with his thirty democratic cohorts Mr. Lorimer's election would have been impossible.

"The election could not have been pulled off without fixing Mr. Browne," he said in homely phrase.



WILLIAM B.
BORAH.

BORAH DENOUNCES LORIMER ELECTION

Senator from Idaho Charges
Corrupt Dealing.

ANSWERS BURROWS' DEFENSE

Said to Be Strongest Presentation
of Case Against Illinois Senate
Has Yet Heard—Severely Arraigns
Investigating Committee and Pays
His Respects to Democratic Leader.

Senator Borah, of Idaho, yesterday made what is conceded to be the strongest presentation of the case against Senator Lorimer, of Illinois, that the Senate has heard as yet. At the conclusion of the speech of Senator Burrows, of Michigan, defending the majority report of the Committee on Privileges and Elections, which exonerated Senator Lorimer, the Idaho Senator took the floor and replied extemporaneously to the carefully prepared address of the committee chairman.

Senator Burrows had declared that there was not a shred of credible evidence in all that had been presented to the investigating committee that tended to show that Senator Lorimer owed his election to corruption and fraud.

Senator Borah challenged this statement, and proceeded with a careful analysis of the testimony taken by the committee and presented a vigorous argument in support of his contention that the burden of the evidence, centering around the confessions of four members of the legislature who admitted taking bribes, all showed that there had been a corrupt deal behind the Lorimer election. In his conclusion, delivered with intense dramatic effect, Senator Borah declared:

"So I say that when they made their deal with Mr. Browne, through Mr. Shurtleff, who was a roommate and friend of the sitting member from Illinois, they then and there initiated the corrupt means by which the election was brought about. Mr. President, this much must be admitted: that from the hour that Mr. Lorimer declared he was a candidate upon the morning of the 25th of May a stream of corruption began to flow which has never ceased.

Has Left Broken Reputations.

It has not only entered into the legislature, it has gone into the courts; it has affected juries; it has broken down lawyers; it has left in its way broken reputations, and its entire course gives evidence of combination, of well-planned

and well-digested and well-prepared schemes, showing that it was not the result of accident, not the result of parties coming together through inadvertence or incident, but the drawing together by reason of some powerful organizing mind—concealing every step where it was possible to conceal and cover it successfully, until one unmitigated scoundrel, following the same impulse that moved him when he voted for money, undertook again to sell himself and reveal the fact which drew in Holtzlaw, Beckmeyer, Link, Lake, and Wilson, and the entire scheme.

Senator Borah answered Senator Burrows' argument that the confessed bribe-takers were unworthy of belief with the retort that the Senate could not hope for proof by men of unimpeachable character of corruption such as was charged in the Lorimer case. He then took up the testimony of White, Holtzlaw, Link, and Beckmeyer. White, he said, had testified to receiving money to vote for Lorimer, and there was the corroborative testimony that he had money, and that he was with Leo O'Neil Browne at the time he said the money had been paid to him. Holtzlaw had testified to receiving money, and his testimony was supported by a certificate of deposit for \$2,500, dated at the time he said he received the money. Beckmeyer's testimony was similarly substantiated, as was that of Link. The evidence showed that the bribe-givers and the bribe-takers met at the times and places named in the confessions.

Criticizes Investigating Committee.

The investigating committee came in for criticism from the Idaho Senator for failing to force the witness Groderick to testify in detail to matters concerning which he had entered general denials. The witness, he said, should have been brought to Washington and placed in the District jail until he would testify. Senator Borah also scored the committee for reporting that the witness Link had been forced to confess by third-degree methods, and said that the evidence in fact was directly to the contrary. "What in the name of justice is the power of the State for if it is not to reveal the truth where wrong has been done?" he demanded.

Senator Borah also argued that when the deal was made with the minority leader in the Illinois legislature to deliver thirty Democratic votes to Lorimer, the election of Lorimer was tainted.

"I don't care if seven or ten or fifteen votes were purchased," he said. "If Browne himself was corrupted, then under the law and any reasonable interpretation of the situation the entire thirty votes were corrupted. It is just as clear as the noonday sun that without the influence and control of Mr. Browne, Mr. Lorimer could not have been elected."

"If Mr. Browne was corrupted, as the testimony of White, Link, Beckmeyer, and Holtzlaw, and the letters, telegrams, etc., all tend to show, he was delivering not only his vote, but the votes of all thirty members in the combination. The election could not have been pulled off without first fixing Mr. Browne."

Early in his speech Senator Borah had a lively tilt with his colleague, Senator Heyburn, of Idaho.

Senator Burrows occupied the attention of the Senate with an extended argument in defense of the report of the majority of the committee. Senator Burrows is the first Senator to come to the defense of Senator Lorimer, but he stated at the outset that the persistent criticism of the majority report impelled him to speak in its defense.

In conclusion, Senator Burrows said:

"I am not ungrateful of the disfavor to be gained by seeming to stand between transgression and retribution. Neither am I ignorant of the applause to be won now in the role of avenger and austere reformer. But we are only the

sworn ministers of the law, and in our oaths is the alpha and omega of our duty.

Burrows Defends Lorimer.

"Senates, let us, the elect of States, sitting as judges and jurors, see to it that here no sail is trimmed to catch a passing breeze of applause and acclamation. When the din and sensation of this hour are forgotten, when the volume of our lives shall be closed, when the relics of these times shall be gathered into history's golden urn, let there be found in this case a record showing that the American Senate was calm enough, firm enough, trustful enough to maintain the genius, the spirit, the methods, and the safeguards of the Constitution as our fathers gave to us."

Senator Burrows spoke without interruption, as he requested that he be permitted to conclude his address without being called on to answer questions.

Own Argument Conclusive.

Senator Borah, of Idaho, followed Senator Burrows, speaking against Lorimer. He declared that Senator Burrows' own logic and argument was conclusive of the proposition that if bribery was being employed White would be one of the first to be purchased.

"A man," said Senator Borah, "who would not vote for a bill without being bribed would not permit the opportunity to pass to sell his vote when it was needed. 'What explanation,' asked Senator Borah, turning toward Senator Burrows, 'can you give for White, a Democrat, voting for Lorimer?'"

Senator Heyburn declared it was entirely unnecessary to discredit a dishonest man if he happens to act honestly once in his life.

"It is not necessary to grope about and be entirely impossible not to see," retorted Senator Borah. "It is entirely impossible to place the only act of honesty in the man's career at an important junctural place in this case."

Senator Heyburn replied that it was possible White had in mind his plan to attempt blackmail on Lorimer when he voted for him.

"That is very possible," retorted Senator Borah again, "but so improbable I had never thought of it."

The galleries tittered at this, and Senator Heyburn grew wrathful.

"I will not tolerate a judgment passed by means of a giggle or snicker," he said.

"Of course," said Senator Borah, "I have no control over the giggle."

Philadelphia Pa Record
Saturday, Jan. 21, 1911.

In the great argument of Senator Borah against William Lorimer, the conclusion is that in the utter want of honorable consideration for violating their pledges and betraying their party the Democratic members who voted for Lorimer were bought. This is as true of the members upon whom the goods have not been found as of those who have confessed their crime. Such, too, is the inevitable conclusion of common sense. The election of Lorimer was a buzzards' feast, in which the unclean birds of both parties shared in about equal degree.

Borah Turns Guns on Election of Illinois Senator.

"From the hour that the senator from Illinois decided to become a candidate a stream of corruption began to flow and it never ceased. It has gone into the courts; it has effected juries; it has broken down lawyers; it has left broken reputations in its wake. From the beginning there has been evidence of combination and a well prepared scheme. This was not the result of accident, but evidence of the organizing ability of a powerful mind."

In these stinging phrases Senator Borah of Idaho concluded a speech in the Senate yesterday afternoon, in which he logically presented the facts of the election of Senator Lorimer to show it was accomplished by bribery and corruption. It was a terrific attack on the legality of Mr. Lorimer's election, and it held a big majority of the Senate at close attention from beginning to end.

Milwaukee Wis Journal
Monday, Jan. 23, 1911.

Senator Borah thinks that those Illinois legislators who confessed that they were bribed did not disgrace themselves and destroy their reputations merely for the sake of swearing falsely. We have a suspicion that if there had been a chance to lie and get away with it they still would be insisting upon their innocence.

Generals, Generals Everywhere.

The movement of reactionary Republican congressmen to fight Lorimer takes on the character of a stampede. So many are ready to assume the leadership in the fight against the Illinoisian that the contest bids fair to resemble a Central American "war"—where the fighters are all generals.

First Senator Burton—who is not usually a reactionary except when questions of tariff arise—declared himself anxious to lead the hosts of righteousness opposed to permitting Lorimer longer to remain a senator. Then the eloquent Beveridge decided he would present a minority report from the committee on privileges and elections, which would give him the rank at least of a major general. Then there were such commanding personalities as Borah and Carter in the background credited with a willingness to lead the people's cause against the interests' representative from Illinois. Generals, generals everywhere, with not a private near!

And now, look. Here is the greatest concession yet; Elihu Root announces himself a candidate for a brigadier generalship in the anti-Lorimer ranks. Here is a real conversion. There was no sham about Root's stand-pattism. Nor has one reason to suspect the sincerity of his espousal of the new cause.

With such men as Burton, Beveridge, Borah and Root ready to lead the cause for honesty in politics against Lorimer and the things for which he stands, the people's victory would seem to be assured. The Burrows effort to whitewash Lorimer is doomed to defeat; the public demands a hearing and has made the demand so clear and insistent that even the reactionaries, once proud and haughty in their power, can not ignore it.

And with the shelving of Lorimer, may crumble reactionary domination in the senate. Lorimer is a fitting representative of the stand-pat group which would save him his seat if it could and his downfall may well mark the passing of power for those who so long controlled the destinies of congress.

SENATOR BORAH'S PROPOSITION.

In his speech attacking the majority report in the Lorimer case, Senator Borah of Oregon advanced this proposition:

"I don't care whether seven or ten or fifteen out of thirty votes which were cast for Mr. Lorimer as the result of the activity of Mr. Browne were corrupted. If Mr. Browne, in control of that faction and of that faction himself, became corrupted and by reason of his influence and leadership delivered upon that occasion those thirty votes, under the law and under any reasonable interpretation of the constitution, the entire combination of votes was corrupt. If, by reason of my influence and my control over followers of mine, I can control their votes and deliver them upon a certain occasion, and some one comes and purchases me and I go and exert my influence to get those votes which would not have been gotten, except I were corrupted, is not, as said by Senators Hoar and Payne, every vote cast under such conditions to be counted as a corrupt vote?"

This is an original and somewhat novel view for a politician to take of this subject and it is not likely to be greeted with enthusiasm in certain political circles. Indeed, we can already hear the vigorous protest of men who are in the business of organizing and delivering political cliques. Of what good, they will ask, is a block of legislative votes if the corruption of the leader vitiates the whole lot? And why, they also will ask, should a man go to the trouble of organizing a faction if, on occasion, he cannot realize something from the delivery of that faction?

Despite the fact that Mr. Borah's proposition looks good and whole some to most men, we fear it will not increase his popularity with the gentlemen referred to. As a politician, they are likely to regard the senator from Oregon as an extremely dangerous man.—State Journal.

Cleveland (Ohio) Plaindealer
Monday, Jan. 23, 1911.

A Contrast in Senators.

The two Idaho senators, Borah and Heyburn, offer a rather striking contrast in their attitudes in respect to the Lorimer case. Borah, who is establishing somewhat of a reputation for independence, sought to have the senate fix Jan. 31 as the day for voting. His colleague, who is classed as a statesman of the Julius Caesar Burrows type, offered objection, and declared his desire for time for the fullest consideration and discussion of everything pertaining to the case. Heyburn merely voiced the wishes of the Lorimer crowd, who feel that delay will be beneficial to their cause.

Of course, the pretense of a desire for more debate is very thin. Each senator who does his duty and reads for himself the evidence in the case will not be influenced by senatorial oratory. Just why the Lorimer senators desire to postpone "the evil day" is not clear, but such evidently is the plan of campaign. If there is any hope of a congressional adjournment without a vote there is likely to be severe disappointment in store for them. The possibility of a special session, too, should loom darkly in the Lorimerite horizon. The next senate would be even more unfriendly to the Illinois boss than the present.

It will be interesting to note what the people of Idaho think of their two senators. Borah's term, unfortunately, expires before that of Heyburn.

Springfield (Ill.) News
Thursday, Feb. 2, 1911.

THE END NOT YET.

It is surprising how many different ways there are for removing the outsole of a senator, now that the traditional courtesy which was supposed to obtain among members of that body, has been ignored. Senator Borah performed the first operation on Lorimer with considerable skill. He was followed by Cummins of Iowa. A few years ago Senator Dolliver of the Hawk Eye state in his public speeches, used to relate with considerable glee, how he had taken the peft of his antagonist and "nailed it to the barn door." Cummins was therefore in a position to go after Lorimer with knowledge acquired through experience. Yesterday, it was Senator Brown's turn and he introduced an entirely new process in the performance of the operation.

Meantime, Senator Lorimer moves about quietly and complacently, and to any one not knowing of the scandal in which he is involved, he would be the last one to be selected as the probable object of all this sensational oratory.

And the end is not yet.

In fact, the whole disgraceful mess may be put in cold storage and warmed over at the next session of congress.

Not a very attractive possibility to anticipate.

AFFRONTERY OF BURROWS.

The speech made yesterday by Senator Burrows, of Michigan, in defending Lorimer, was an insult to the intelligence of the American people. He did not admit a faculty of judgment on the part of the American people equivalent to that of children just beginning to read. The American people would be glad, indeed, if some one were able to so explain what occurred in connection with the Lorimer affair as to change their view of the matter, but to date nothing of the kind has been done. Senator Burrows yesterday put on a 'hold front and clung to the same old bluff, but not a word of reasoning was offered. He told the senate it must stand steadfast against the popular clamor; he did not show wherein the people were wrong in their clamor. Of course, he couldn't. But we are thankful to record that Senator Borah was ready with an answer. It was just such an answer as would come from the great public were it possible to put the country-wide feeling into words. Senator Borah simply crushed Burrows in argument.

NO LORIMERIZING

THE other day Senator Borah of Idaho took the floor to ask that William E. Lorimer be denied a seat in the United States senate. The speech of Senator Borah was one of the most terrific indictments of the boss system of politics that was ever uttered. He reviewed the testimony of the men who admitted, under oath, that they had been paid to vote for Lorimer. He described the part played by the "Democratic" bell wether of the Illinois legislature in this election of a Republican boss. He tore to shreds the flimsy, labored defense which Burrows had made of Lorimerism; and proved beyond the possibility of a doubt that Lorimer was swept into office on a stream of corruption which no civilized nation could tolerate.

And whatever may be the action of the senate, the country at large knows that Borah spoke the truth. Whatever shame the honest citizen of Illinois may feel is due to the truth of Borah's words, not to the publicity of them. The highest honor in the gift of the state of Illinois has been bought and sold; and no possible denunciation can add to that disgrace.

Does Colorado want a similar indictment brought against our representative in the senate?

Does Colorado want to be known as the adopted home of Lorimerism?

Does Colorado want to send a city hall boss to sit with and perhaps be expelled with the blond boss of Chicago?

To ask these questions is to answer them. Colorado wants none of these things. Colorado has already assigned one of her senatorships to the smelter trust. She can hardly afford to make the public utilities trust of Denver a present of the other senatorship. And especially can she not afford it when every watcher of public affairs in the state knows that the election of Robert W. Speer can be brought about only by the same wholesale corruption that resulted in the "elevation" of Lorimer. Colorado, outside of Denver, does not want Speer. Colorado, if given a chance to pass on the subject, would not have Speer. And Colorado is not yet ready to be Lorimerized.

And the way to escape this disgrace is so easy and so plain. The legislature is pledged to enact into law a series of reforms demanded by practically the entire state. The legislature is not pledged to gratify any man's ambition to be a senator. Then let the legislature keep its word. Let it pass the platform pledges. And let the senatorship wait. Mayor Speer's candidacy is an accident, a thing of evil fortune, an ambition born in a grave. It cannot endure the light of an extended examination. If the legislature will first keep its pledges to the people there is no danger that it will afterwards turn to Lorimerize the state.

And then no citizen of Colorado will need to blush when a man like Borah rises to demand the cleansing of the United States senate.

With great delicacy and parliamentary skill, Senator Borah spoke in his masterly review of the Lorimer case of the base and corrupt influences that have prevailed in the election of more than one member of the august body he was addressing. But while he was speaking doubtless other notorious examples besides that of Lorimer arose in the minds of his hearers. In his book entitled "The Beast," Judge Lindsey has discussed the methods of the election of Senator Simon Guggenheim, the Copper Captain of Colorado. Judge Lindsey says: "It was no news to me that Guggenheim was to have the Senatorship." He had bought and paid for the members of Legislature and he said he intended to get it "even if it cost him a million." In an interview published after the elections and not denied Guggenheim "admitted that he had bought his place." There are others who could be named whose presence in the United States Senate can be explained only by purchase. While there is no answer to the invincible arguments of Senator Borah and while there is a majority in the Senate in favor of the amendment for a direct vote, there is amendment and the Lorimer case so as to prevent decisive action upon both in this session of Congress.

"Star" Feb. 16-1911,
Wash. D.C.

Senator Bailey's View of Bank Slip in Lorimer Case.

ADDRESS STIRS SENATE

Says Explanation May Be Found In Gov. Deneen's Connection With Institution.

Senator Bailey was prompt today in resuming his argument in the Senate in support of the report of the committee on privileges and elections exonerating Senator Lorimer of Illinois from the charge of bribery in connection with his election to the Senate. The galleries were not so crowded as yesterday, but there was a fair attendance, and again most of the senators were in their seats. He soon entered upon sensational grounds by practically charging forgery against the Illinois State Bank of Chicago, in which he said Gov. Deneen is interested.

The Texas senator returned to the consideration of his charge that the bank deposit slip evidencing State Senator Hollaw's deposit in the State Bank of Chicago had been a forgery. He referred to the fact that yesterday Senator Cummins had sought to introduce the original slip, which, it was claimed, had been made out by Chief Clerk Newton of the bank.

Mr. Cummins, Mr. Bailey said, had permitted him to take the paper and he added that his examination of it had only had the effect of confirming his theory that the slip had been a forgery. He was sure that the handwriting shown in Newton's signature was not the same as that on the slip.

Why Books Were Not Offered.

What he admitted was a delicate branch of his investigation was then entered upon by Mr. Bailey.

Expressing surprise that the slip only and not the books of the bank had been introduced in the testimony, the senator said that the slip was the only paper on the bank's file that could have been forged. He appreciated, he said, the seriousness of such a charge as this, but he seemed to find a possible explanation in Gov. Deneen's connection with the bank. "His friends control the institution, or at least he is a stockholder in it," he said.

When Senator Cummins made inquiry as to why, if there had been suspicion of forgery, the investigating committee had not investigated the matter, Mr. Bailey explained that at the time of the inquiry the suspicion had not existed. There had been no ground for such a theory until the briefs of the prosecution had made their appearance.

Takes Up Legal Phases.

Taking up the legal phases of the case, Mr. Bailey proceeded to reply to the speeches of Senators Root of New York, Cummins of Iowa and Borah of Idaho.

"I wish," said Senator Heyburn, interrupting the speaker, "that when the senator from Texas speaks of 'the senator from Idaho' he would be more specific. I agree with the senator from Texas."

Mr. Bailey apologized, saying that "it would not do to mix those twins." Everybody laughed and the chair administered no rebuke. Thereafter Mr. Borah was spoken of by name.

Mr. Bailey declared that it was not friendship for Senator Lorimer that was actuating him and added that if it were he would want to see him unseated, for he was sure that in that event he would be immediately returned to the Senate if the Illinois legislature were not as corrupt as it had been charged with being.

Mr. Bailey would not concede Mr. Root's point that there is no law governing this case. There was law and it, and not a fine sense of ethics, must govern the Senate's discussion of the case.

"If we do not observe the law we invite the anarchist and the communist to justify their bloody deeds by our example," said the senator.

"If we know a law here, we have no right to expect our constituents if they know no law in the states from which we come, to suspend the law and what becomes of the republic? I believe that every creature in the universe is bound to obey the law or to pay the penalty. The Senate, being the highest legislative body in the world, is all the more under obligation to obey the law.

"There is no place in a free government for any tribunal to try a case without law, and I deny that the Senate has the right to try William Lorimer or any one else without a resort to the law."

PEND D'OREILLE ^{June 29 - 1911} REVIEW

GEORGE R. BARKER, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR

BORAH TAKES RIGHT STAND IN LORIMER CASE.

Senator Borah interprets aright the public feeling of his state when he takes an opposite course to that of Senator Heyburn in his size-up of the Lorimer investigation case which is now before the senate on report of the investigating committee of which committee Senator Heyburn was a member. The Lorimer case, simplified in its details, amounted to this: On August 8, 1908, a direct primary was held in Illinois for the purpose of ascertaining the sentiment of its voters with regard to the election by the legislature of a United States senator. Senator A. J. Hopkins was a candidate for re-election and his chief opponents were George E. Foss and ex-Senator William E. Mason. Hopkins led Foss by 50,000 votes. William Lorimer was then a member of the lower house. He was not a candidate in the primaries. Voting in the legislature started January 19, 1909, and there was no choice for ninety-five ballots. On May 13 Lorimer received one vote. On May 15 he was declared elected, receiving 108 votes, 53 being those of democrats and 55 being republican.

One of the legislators who was bribed to vote for Lorimer, after he had spent the ill gotten money he had received for participating in the crookedness, sold information of the bribe taking to the Chicago Tribune and that organ gave out the facts of the session, a tale of shameless political debauchery which showed that not only Lorimer's election but nearly every act of the session had been tainted. A sub-committee of the United States senate went to Chicago last summer and heard all the details of Lorimer's dishonest election. But a majority of the sub-committee maintained that it had not been shown that Lorimer had participated in any of the acts of bribery. In other words the money which was spent to buy votes for Lorimer was not actually traced to Lorimer's inside pocket.

The report of the sub-committee is not receiving a warm and enthusiastic welcome by the senate. Senators like Borah, Beveridge and McCumber of North Dakota are proceeding to step all over the sub-committee report and raise their voices in protest. McCumber the other day riddled the case as made out by the sub-committee and Borah and Beveridge have stated that they intend to express themselves in opposition to the sub-committee's report.

If Lorimer is sustained the republican party will have another load to carry in the campaign of 1912 and the elephant is now staggering. If Lorimer is cleaned out the republican party will have a white spot which it can point to with pride. Senator Borah evidently is going to help make a white spot and in so doing he has the respect of his admirers in Idaho.

*Chieftain - Pueblo Colo.
March 5 - 1911*

A DISCREDITED VOTE BY DIS- CREDITED SENATORS

AS USUAL, when a speech against Lorimer was in progress, the reactionary senators deserted the chamber when Senator Owen of Oklahoma began his closing speech against the Illinois senator. Noticing the empty benches, Senator Owen turned dramatically to the galleries:

"I appeal against the senate to the people," he declared. "I am not speaking now to the senate; I am speaking to the masters of the senate. A masterful hand will place itself on the senate and punish its members who do not respect the will of the people."

Secure behind their bulwarks of legislative elections and corporation support, a majority of the members of the senate have felt safe in defying the will of the people. They showed it in their vote for the ship subsidy; they showed it in their vote against direct election of senators; they showed it most flagrantly of all in their vote in favor of Lorimer.

But the masterful hand of the people has already made itself felt, even on the senate. The present series of defiances of the people's will is in the nature of a last desperate stand by an army that knows itself beaten.

* * *

In the approaching extra session a vote upon either the question of direct election of senators or the retention of Lorimer in the senate would have an entirely different result. Only four votes prevented the adoption of the direct election amendment; only six votes stood between Lorimer and expulsion.

The votes of the new senators, who since noon yesterday occupy the places of those upon whom the heavy hand of the people has been laid, cannot in all cases be predicted with certainty. But here are the names of a few of the reactionaries who on Wednesday voted for Lorimer, and who yesterday retired from the senate forever:

Brandegge of Connecticut, who is to be succeeded by ex-Governor McLean, who made his campaign on a progressive platform. Brandegge voted against direct election of senators.

Burrows of Michigan, whose successor is former Congressman Townsend, a progressive. Burrows voted against direct election of senators.

Carter of Montana, who is to be succeeded by a Democrat, Henry L. Myers, said to be a progressive. Carter, unlike most of the reactionaries, voted in favor of direct election.

Depew of New York, whose Democratic successor has not yet been chosen, but who, even if he is a Tammany man, will not dare vote against direct election. Depew voted against it.

Dick of Ohio, whose successor, Pomerene, a Democrat, is rated as a radical Tom Johnson progressive, and one of whose platform planks was direct election of senators. Dick voted against direct election.

Flint of California, whose successor, Works, is one of the most rampant of insurgents. One of Flint's final services to the corporations was a vote against direct election of senators. Works was himself elected by direct vote.

Hale of Maine, who will be succeeded by Senator Johnson, a Democrat, and a direct election man. Hale, of course, was opposed to direct election.

Kean of New Jersey will be followed by Martine, for whose election Governor Wilson made such a fight. Martine is a radical of radicals, and will exactly reverse Kean who, naturally, voted against direct election of senators.

Piles of Washington, whose seat will be taken by Congressman Poindexter, a leader of the house insurgents. Piles was another of the standpatters who did not vote against direct election.

Scott of West Virginia, whose Democratic successor, in all probability, will be but little improvement over him. Scott voted against direct election.

Here, then, are ten supporters of Senator Lorimer who have already retired from public life. In almost every instance the senator who succeeded each of these retiring gentlemen would have voted against Lorimer. In the new senate, therefore, Lorimer, though "vindicated," will serve with men a majority of whom believe him not entitled to his seat.

Eight of the ten who voted for Lorimer, and who have, to the great gain of that body, and of the country, finally left the senate, voted also against direct election. And enough of the successors of these repudiated senators are known to favor direct election to reverse the vote of last week, and to pass by the necessary two-thirds vote the resolution for direct election which Senator Borah has so ably championed.

It is an anomaly of American politics, and one which should be corrected by a constitutional amendment, that of the three distinctive votes taken in the present session of the senate, every one has been decided by men who had already been repudiated by the people.

The ship subsidy was carried by the votes of senators who are now out of office, and who had been repudiated before they cast their vote.

Direct election of senators was killed by senators casting their last votes, and who cast those votes directly contrary to the explicit instructions of a great majority of their constituents, as expressed in the election of last November.

Lorimer owes his seat to the votes of senators

who were retiring from office, and who no longer cared for the force of public opinion.

The vote on Lorimer was final. He will retain his seat. Fortunately, however, the ship subsidy vote and the direct election vote can be reversed and undoubtedly will be reversed as soon as the new senate is organized.

THE FINAL LINEUP.

Two or three days ago we remarked that a contemplation of the vote on the Beveridge resolution would prove both interesting and instructive, and this prediction is verified. The supporters of Lorimer include about all the senators who represent special interests, except Aldrich, who was not present. Our own beloved Guggenheim, inspired, no doubt, by a fellow feeling for a man who gets his seat by purchase, voted to sustain Lorimer, and so, too, did the rest of the corporation crowd. But among those voting to expel the Illinois fraud were Beveridge, Borah, Bourne, Bristow, Clapp, Cummins, La Follette, Nelson, Chamberlain and Gore—all of them senators of the progressive type.

This lineup is significant. It is almost an exact division of the reactionary representatives of the special interests on the one hand supporting Lorimer, with the progressive, insurgent senators on the other, voting to expel him. It shows about as well as anything that has happened the supreme importance of electing United States Senators who are first of all representatives of the people, for men of this type can generally be depended on to get on the right side of a moral question as well as of one which is purely political.

*From "Log" of
Colombo & Henge Co. March 8-1111*

Louisville, Ky., Herald.
Thursday, March 2, 1911.

DISGRACED.

By the act of the Senate of the United States yesterday afternoon the Nation has been disgraced.

The seating of William Lorimer by a majority of six votes constitutes a scandal that is a stench in the nostrils of every decent citizen, every man who loves honor, every patriot to whom the flag stands for more than gain and graft.

Those who consummated this shameless climax to a fight involving all that is most worthy of high esteem in the eyes of the people may hope that the incident is closed. But it is not. We have only turned the last page on the first chapter of a story in the life of the country which promises to be fraught with great interest before it has run its course. In its end the men who stood by the Illinois Boss will be less satisfied with their temporary victory than they are today.

The people of the United States are not going to tolerate the condition disclosed by yesterday's vote. It is only necessary to read the list of forty-six Senators who voted "No" on the Beveridge resolution unseating Lorimer to discover the men who are dominated by the interests or who are themselves indebted to influences such as elected the man they befriend.

These Senators from henceforth are marked men. The people will deal with them at the first opportunity, and a certain sequence of this deplorable betrayal of honor will be the taking over by the people of the right to choose the men who will occupy seats in the Senate.

Consider some of the Lorimer supporters, culled from this roll of shame:

Burrows, the reactionary time-server; Clarke, of Wyoming, the dollar delegate; Crane, the gun-shoe statesman; Depew, the garrulous railroad representative; du Pont, of the powder trust; Flint, of the Southern Pacific; Gallinger, big business factotum; Guggenheim, the Alaskan exploiter; Lamo-Duck Hale; Heyburn, Idaho's mountebank; Penrose, the Pennsylvania boss; Smoot, the Aldrich ally from Utah; Stephenson, of Wisconsin, himself the subject of investigation on charges of corruption; Bailey, the Standard Oil Senator from Texas, and Tillman, the maudlin boob who wept over Lorimer's story of his childhood.

These are samples, and others, with few exceptions, are like unto them.

Opposed to these men is a notable array of the brain and character of the Senate. Such names as Beveridge, Borah, Bourne, Bristow, Burton, Clapp, Cummins, La Follette, Lodge, Nelson, Root, Bacon, Chamberlain, Culberson, Gore, Money and Owen.

Never was there a more typical vote in the Senate—never one that drew a cleaner line between fearless devotion to high ideals and cowardly subserviency to self-interest and big business.

The Senate has refused to wipe from its own record a blot that the country has looked upon with indignant humiliation. What the Senate will not do, the Nation must. Its self-respect demands that it resent this indifference to its reputation before the world.

The first thing to do is to take from the legislatures the power to elect Senators, and the second to see that men capable of such moral obliquity of vision as failed to find cause for the unseating of Lorimer gain no entrance to Congress by consent of the people.

March 2 - 1911

"Old Guard" Beats Direct Vote and Saves Lorimer

TWICE in the short space of two days has the "Old Guard" of the United States Senate succeeded in defeating the will of the people. Election of Senators by direct vote has been deferred once more, and William Lorimer of Illinois has been voted worthy of a seat in the nation's highest legislative body. Yet both victories will but hasten the downfall of the system for which the "Old Guard" is making its last stand.

The defeat of the Borah resolution, which would have cleared the way for a constitutional amendment providing for the direct election of Senators by popular vote, was accomplished by a trick. At the moment when the triumph of the people seemed certain, Senator Sutherland of Utah, acting for the "Old Guard," submitted an amendment to the Borah resolution. This amendment, giving the Federal Government the power to control the elections held under the direct vote plan, was attached to the Borah resolution and brought about its undoing. Southern Senators, favorable to the proposed change, immediately began to see visions of Federal troops at the polls, Federal returning boards canvassing the vote and Federal judges upsetting the popular verdict. This is what the "Old Guard" counted on, and, sure enough, when the resolution was put to the test eight Southern Senators opposed it and it fell seven votes short of the necessary two-thirds, the rollcall showing 54 ayes to 33 noes. Among the noes were Lorimer of Illinois, Burrows of Michigan, Dunkley of Connecticut, Lodge of Massachusetts, Hale of Maine, Penrose of Pennsylvania, Smoot of Utah, Depew of New York, Dick of Ohio, Kean of New Jersey, Scott of West Virginia and our own Frank P. Flint.

The trick succeeded, but only for the moment. Soon there will be another Congress in session, and it will not be burdened with Dick, Kean, Scott, Bulkeley, Burrows, Hale, Depew or Flint. In the new Congress another resolution similar to the one offered by Senator Borah will be presented, no Sutherland amendment will be added, and the election of Senators by direct popular vote will not only receive the necessary two-thirds, but will have several votes to spare.

No trick was necessary to save Lorimer. The "Old Guard" used all the resources at its command, called all the veterans to the colors, drummed up a few recruits, and fought it out in the open. Never was there a clearer division between progressive and reactionary. The vote stood 40 for the resolution declaring that Lorimer was not legally elected and 46 against. Among those who condoned the bribery that gave Lorimer his seat were Carter of

Montana, Piles of Washington, Bulkeley, Burrows, Depew, Dick, Hale, Kean, Scott and Flint, all of whom either failed of re-election or were afraid to risk a vote of the people. In the same list were Crane of Massachusetts, Dupont of Delaware, Frye of Maine, Guggenheim of Colorado, Oliver and Penrose of Pennsylvania, Smoot of Utah, Fletcher of Florida, Joe Bailey of Texas and our own George C. Perkins.

Yes, the "Old Guard" won two victories in two days in the United States Senate, but for at least two years it will not win any more, for next Saturday, March 4, is the day when this choice collection of soldiers of the special interests will lose a dozen of its most intrepid warriors, among them that "grand old patriot," Nelson B. Aldrich of Rhode Island.

"Press" *March 2/11*
New York Times

The System's Costly Victory.

The verdict of the United States Senate is against the evidence in the Lorimer case. We would say it is against the law as well as the evidence, but there is no law. The Senate is a law unto itself when it comes to judging the qualifications of its membership. If it followed the rule of the British Parliament, which is based on law, Mr. Lorimer's seat would have been vacated upon the proof that several members of the Illinois Legislature were bribed to vote for him.

Some Senators who helped to keep Lorimer in his seat demanded proof that enough legislators were bribed to have left him short of the vote necessary to his choice. In the belief of some other Senators, lawyers like Root among them, this proof was produced. But if there had been evidence to show the bribery of a score of legislators at Springfield, we doubt very much that the forty-six men who stood up for Lorimer on the roll call would have been convinced that he was not entitled to his seat. Their defense of him is really based on their belief, or on their profession of belief, that Lorimer had no knowledge of

the confessed corruption. Because none of the boodle was traced directly to him the Senate, by a vote of 46 to 40, absolves him from blame for the bribery in his behalf, and decides that he is fitted to legislate for the people of the United States as the peer of La Follette of Wisconsin, of Borah of Idaho, of Bourne and Chamberlain of Oregon and Bristow of Kansas.

One has only to run his eye casually over the list of those who voted "Nay" on the resolution expelling Mr. Lorimer to feel the strong conviction that considerations other than the facts in the case determined the course of nearly every one of the inglorious forty-six. Special interests in general, or corporate affairs in particular, all having something at stake in the controversy, stood back of practically every vote cast to keep Lorimer in his seat.

It was a line-up for Reaction and Corruption, more than for Lorimer. It was not personal friendship for him that led the Old Guard to make its stand against the Progressives of both parties. It was the System withstanding a violent shock to its corrupt machine.

Just pick out a few names of Lorimer's defenders at random: Carter of Montana, who sneezes every time any one takes snuff at No. 26 Broadway,

Briggs of New Jersey, who represents the old bi-partisan machine that Woodrow Wilson has smashed. Murray Crane of Massachusetts, who dares to do what even the complaisant Lodge fears to risk. Depew of New York, who needs no description. Dick of Ohio, who belongs to the breed of Mark Hanna. Flint of the Pacific railroad system and all its political banditry implies. Kean of New Jersey, another of the System's lame ducks. Du Pont of the Powder Trust. Penrose of Pennsylvania, and that's enough about him. Stephenson of Wisconsin, himself facing charges affecting his right to a seat. Scott of West Virginia, another of the condemned taking a last vicious fling at the Progressive sentiment. Hale of Maine, who stood from under before the crash came. Smoot, the representative of Mormonism, and Guggenheim and Gallinger and Warren and their kind. And Bailey, not the least of the enemies of the people.

A sweet-smelling crew! Half of them politically dead or moribund, the rest with one leg in the grave. Scarcely half a dozen of them with commissions obtained from the people. None who can safely count on returning to the United States Senate in the face of his record as a sharer in a deed which humiliates his country in the eyes of the world.

The day before yesterday the Senate denied the demand of the people for a change in the system under which the seat of William Lorimer was purchased. The act of yesterday was an additional defiance to public sentiment. It was such a blow in the face of Progress as will not check its advance, but will inflame the public's anger afresh at such betrayals of its trust. The System in the Senate maintained by the special interests could not have weakened itself more than it has done by preserving Lorimerism as a live and burning issue. Even without another such victory the System is undone.

Springfield, Ohio, Sun.
Friday, March 3, 1911.

BRIBERY IS SANCTIONED.

Bribery in senatorial elections, however base and corrupt the people may consider it, has received the sanction of the United States senate. By a vote of 46 to 40 the senate expressed its confidence in Senator Lorimer and that product of the political hotbeds of Chicago will retain the seat he now holds in the senate and for the next six years represent—or misrepresent—the sovereign people of the great state of Illinois.

The interests were at work when the vote was taken on the Beveridge resolution. This is the only explanation that may be offered. In the face of evidence that showed the corruption of seven men and gave good reason to believe thirty others had been tampered with, only the pressure brought to bear by "the interests" could keep a majority of the senators from casting a vote for the resolution of the Indiana senator and unseating Lorimer.

The filibuster that preceded the action fixing a time for the vote threw much light on the situation. Even though Lorimer won and the people lost, something was gained by the recording of the facts brought out in this debate. The whole shameful story was told again and it may be found on the printed page of the Congressional Record for the warning of future generations.

The filibuster served another purpose. It gave the people another opportunity to see where the various senators stand, when it comes to choosing between the special interest and the people. The people saw Barrows spending his last hours in the senate in an attempt to foist on the people of another state a senator repugnant to its sense of decency. The people saw Bailey hurdling party lines

to prove that the certain corruption of seven men and moral evidence that thirty more had been tampered with does not vitiate a close senatorial election. The people saw Crane, in the seat of Webster and Sumner, doing all in his power to aid the knight of the legislative jackpot. They saw other senators who have allied themselves to the cause of standpattism on the side of Lorimer. On the other hand, the people saw the progressives, the Beveridges, the Borahs, the Bristows, the LaFollettes and all the rest who have gained the name of giving battle to special interests on any and all occasions, arrayed on the side of right and decency, doing what they might to uphold the traditions of the senate.

Nor will the efforts of these stalwarts be in vain. The work they have done, are doing, is bound to tell. Today a Lorimer may buy his way into the United States senate—or have it bought for him—but the time is coming, it is believed, when this will not be possible. It is doubtful if the advocates of the popular election of senators could find a better argument in favor of their plan than the Lorimer episode. It is believed, too, that the people will learn by just such cases that the present system must be improved if their interests are to be safeguarded. Certainly the people have no reason to believe that a legislator who buys his seat is actuated by a desire to work for the betterment of the poor and the downtrodden, that he will consider the interests of the plodding majority before those of the wealthy minority.

LORIMER.

The Chicago Tribune, which has waged relentless warfare on Senator Lorimer ever since his election printed a remarkable editorial commenting on the "blonde boss" of Illinois in his seat. In part the editorial follows:

If Mr. Lorimer is proud of the event he is welcome to his pride. As he and his supporters are practical men who take to mathematics in matters of honor, they may now congratulate themselves upon the fact that his vote may continue to be cast in their interest.

But though Mr. Lorimer remains in the senate, the issue he represents is not adjudicated.

On the contrary, the refusal of a majority of the United States senate to vote the election of William Lorimer void presents to the people of this nation one of the gravest issues which have arisen in their political history. One of the greatest lawyers of the country, one who has established an international reputation for statesmanship, a conservative of the conservatives solemnly warned the senators that if they "would preserve the government of our fathers," if they would preserve the honor and integrity of the senate, if they would do their full duty to their country under their oaths, they were "not at liberty to reject the testimony in this case which shows this seat to be filled here as the result of corruption."

Yet forty-six senators have rejected it, and this decision of the highest deliberative body in the land strikes straight at the heart of our republican government.

Without the purity of the ballot and the honesty of elections this republic cannot live.

That has been the issue from the beginning of the Lorimer case, and in the shadow of such an issue the personality of Lorimer and the question whether such a man sits in the senate as an accredited representative of the great commonwealth of Illinois, or whether he does not is

of little importance. One more predatory politician rewarded with high office, one more vote, which is cast as Senator Aldrich casts his, regardless of any other consideration, one more "stalwart" henchman of great powers that rule us—this matters infinitely less than that the people should understand.

In the light of the Lorimer case what the citizens of the United States must ask themselves in this:

What are the forces which have decreed that the sale of the highest legislative office in the gift of the people shall go unrebuked and triumphant at the bar of the United States senate?

What are the considerations which have moved a majority of this august and supposedly all powerful body to defy the evidence of fact, and the common dictates of reason, and the rudimentary principles of political morality for the sake of the service of one man?

How is it that in the chamber which has echoed the voices of our greatest statesmen the brazen sophistry and conscienceless buncombe of a Bailey outweigh the luminous arguments and the solemn warnings of one of the greatest lawyers and ablest statesman of his generation. Elihu Root?

How is it that the pitiful evasions and self-contradictions, the self-stultifying and open partialities of a Burrows, a Paynter, a Gamble can defeat the searching logic and eloquent public spirit of senators like Beveridge, Burton, LaFollette, Cummins, Borah, Frazier and Crawford?

These are the questions which the American people must ask themselves as William Lorimer settles down in his unclean seat by the will of a majority of the United States senate. These are the questions that must be answered and the fact which is their answer must be met and destroyed if government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth.

The answer is clear. The people will know how to translate it from

the names of these forty-six senators who have turned their backs upon the proofs of corruption and complacently welcomed its beneficiary to the counsels of the nation.

And the people will no longer doubt that the capital charge made by patriotic public men against the senate is unexaggerated truth. They will now understand that in the highest deliberative body of the nation a majority are subject not merely to the influence but to the absolute control of the concentrated power of the great "interests." They will understand that in the highest legislative body in the nation plutocracy rules, rules without conscience, rules without remorse in defiance of the senate's honor, in defiance of the honor of a great state, in defiance of the safety of a government whose very existence depends upon the purity of elections.

The air has been filled of late with protests against the "persecution" of capital. The regulation in the public interest of the huge corporations built up in the last quarter century has been challenged as usurpation of government over private right. Threats of the ruin of business and financial disaster, cries of "let us alone," have made the welkin ring. Patriotic men who have pointed out the dangers that have grown up through unscrupulous financial power have been held up as demagogues. The press has been exercised for treason to prosperity for irresponsible sensationalism, for rousing class prejudice and tempting mob radicalism.

The senate verdict on Lorimer's election is an answer to all that. By order of the powers that rule. Aldrich, Bailey, Penrose, Bulkley, Hale, Gallinger, Dillingham, Depew, Flint, Carter, Burrows, and the obscure representatives of organized money have challenged the honor, and intelligence and self-interest of the people of the United States, challenged it with an insolence which they have never so plainly shown before.

Let them go on, now that they have begun. Let them fill up the cup. Let them make use of their

votes against reciprocity as they have against the recapture of the senate by the people through the direct election of senators. Let them fight tariff reform and every measure devised for the pruning of their tentacles, for the protection of representative government of law abiding business and the general welfare.

They have won a glorious victory. It will be the costliest in the history of government by big business in this country.

"Next, whom thrash?

Only the coarse fool and the clownish knave?

No! Strike malpractice that affects the state."

Chicago Record-Herald
**Bailey Is Forced to Beat a
 Hasty Retreat by Cum-
 mins and Borah.**

Jan. 28
 11
TEXAN'S ARGUMENT UPSET

**Subtracting of Corrupt Votes
 From Total in Legislature
 Held to Be Wrong.**

[SPECIAL TO THE RECORD-HERALD.]
 WASHINGTON, Jan. 27.—A colloquy,
 which rapidly filled the Senate chamber this
 afternoon and resulted in a severe blow
 being given the defense in the Lorimer case,

marked the close of an address started yester-
 day by Senator Cummins of Iowa.

It caused senators to enter upon mathe-
 matical calculations and Senator Bailey of
 Texas, who has been the master mind in
 directing the defense, to beat a hasty re-
 treat, after he had attempted to withstand
 the combined attack of Mr. Cummins and
 Senator Borah of Idaho.

Proceeding on the assumption that out-
 side of the members of the committee on
 privileges and elections who submitted the
 majority report, senators would regard the
 evidence as proving that at least seven
 members of the Illinois legislature who
 voted for Mr. Lorimer had been bribed, Mr.
 Cummins insisted that the most important
 question was how these corrupt votes
 should be disposed of.

IMPORTANCE OF CASE.

He declared that the question whether
 Mr. Lorimer should retain his seat or not
 shrinks into insignificance compared with
 the rule which Mr. Bailey and those who
 had spoken in favor of Mr. Lorimer would
 have the Senate adopt. This rule, robbed
 of its technicalities, is that corrupt votes
 should be deducted from the total vote cast,
 as well as from the votes cast for the can-
 didate who received them.

Applied to the Lorimer case, the conten-
 tion of Mr. Bailey and his three associates
 would be that the seven bribed votes de-
 ducted from the 198 votes cast for Mr.
 Lorimer would leave him a total of 191,
 that deducting the seven votes from the

full membership of the legislature, which
 was 202 on that day, would leave 193, and
 that as 191 is a majority of 103, Mr. Lorimer
 was duly elected.

CUMMINS SEES DANGER.

Characterizing it as the most alarming
 and dangerous proposition ever made in the
 Senate, Mr. Cummins said such a rule would
 be a cordial invitation extended to dishon-
 esty, crime and corruption.

"If adopted it would be the most effective
 weapon ever forged for perpetrating
 wrong," he declared. "Any rule which ac-
 complishes so monstrous, so wicked a re-
 sult must be unsound. The consequences
 which would follow such a rule are so grave
 and so serious that no matter what the
 precedents are, no matter what the rulings
 have been, it would have been impossible
 for us to declare that this rule shall in fu-
 ture govern the Senate. If it is adopted it
 means that if bribery is skillfully done, if
 committed by those who have the rule in
 view, it can always accomplish its purpose
 if there be anything like an even division
 in the general assembly.

"It means that you can bribe members

sufficient in number, without consequences
 so far as the validity of the title is con-
 cerned, provided you bribe just enough to
 reduce the total number to that point that
 the untainted support of the candidate will
 be a majority. It is unthinkable, prepos-
 terous. No man should be permitted to re-
 tain a seat in this body that he could not
 have obtained had it not been for bribery."

Taking a hypothetical case of a legislature
 of 202 where one candidate had 191 votes,
 Mr. Cummins asked Senator Bailey whether
 that man could be declared elected if
 through corruption one vote was purchased
 to raise his total to 192, the tainted vote
 being discovered and thrown out, deducted
 under Mr. Bailey's rule from the 202 total
 membership, giving the candidate 191 un-
 tainted votes out of the legislature as it
 then remained of 201 members.

BAILEY STARTLES SENATE.

Mr. Bailey startled the Senate by re-
 versing his position and declaring that the
 election having been obtained obviously by
 corruption the senator could not retain his
 seat.

Mr. Cummins welcomed the statement,
 but Mr. Bailey attempted to wiggle out of
 the position by explaining that on the for-
 mer occasion he understood the hypothetical
 question to propose that one of the mem-
 bers of the legislature had been bribed to
 absent himself, whereas in the question to-
 day he had been supposed to have voted.

To fasten him tighter, Mr. Cummins then
 asked with a legislature of 202 votes, of
 which Mr. Lorimer received 106, if it were
 assumed that seven of these votes were
 bribed, whether Mr. Lorimer's title would
 be good.

Mr. Bailey replied that it would be, be-
 cause the seven tainted votes must be sub-
 tracted from the 108 and also from the 202,
 leaving Mr. Lorimer 101 out of 195.

BAILEY IS EMBARRASSED.

"Then the senator makes a difference be-
 tween one corrupt vote and seven corrupt
 votes, although in each case a corrupt vote

was decisive," responded Mr. Cummins, greatly to Mr. Bailey's embarrassment.

Mr. Bailey argued that the question should be considered from the standpoint of positive and negative wrong, a principle well understood by lawyers.

"What puzzles me is to discover why it is a positive wrong to buy one vote, when that vote is decisive, and not a positive wrong to buy seven votes, when at least one of them was decisive in Mr. Lorimer's election," pressed Mr. Cummins.

CUMMINS PRESSES POINT.

"Mr. Lorimer never could have been elected with the 101 votes he had," continued Mr. Cummins, "and it is conclusive presumption of the law that when one is bribed to vote for a candidate, if the bribery had not taken place he would have voted another way. These seven votes gave Mr. Lorimer his election."

Mr. Bailey interjected to declare that when a vote is shown to be corrupt it must be rejected for all purposes as no vote at all, whereas he said Mr. Cummins contended that it must be rejected from the count of the man receiving it and still remain to be counted in the total vote cast.

Senator Borah of Idaho, who had closely been following the colloquy, made the pertinent inquiry of Mr. Bailey whether, under the rule he would lay down, a candidate who corruptly purchased votes did not get the benefits of half a legal vote every time he purchased a corrupt one.

HOW ADVANTAGE CAME.

Mr. Borah insisted that no one should be permitted by any rule to profit by corruption. To subtract the seven corrupt votes from the 108 cast for Lorimer and from the 202 in the legislature gave Mr. Lorimer an advantage, he asserted, every time a vote was bought for him. His election under such a rule would be reduced to a mere mathematical calculation of the number of votes he would need to purchase—that by gaining half a legal vote for each corrupt vote purchased for him he would have a majority.

Senator Owen of Oklahoma solved the problem by informing the Senate that he had made a calculation which showed that under the rule which Mr. Bailey would have the Senate adopt it would have required the discovery of sixteen corrupt votes for Lorimer to have invalidated his election, whereas under the rule of Senator Cummins only seven were required.

That a seat in the United States Senate could be purchased should not be made the law, insisted Mr. Cummins; the title to a seat must not be the result of bribery or corruption, and to that rule he could make no exception.

BAILEY RAPS SENATORS.

With some innocence, Mr. Bailey passed a severe castigation upon his colleagues by verbosely declaring that there was not another senator who could say with him that in his election not a dollar had been expended. This he subsequently corrected by saying that very few senators could make the statement.

Referring to the Payne and William A. Clark cases, Mr. Cummins showed that while the question has not been voted upon by the Senate it has been the precedent in such matters to exclude corrupted votes, as he proposed should be done in the Lorimer case. He asked the Senate to stand firmly by what had been decided should be the precedent. He characterized the rule proposed by Mr. Bailey as a figment of fancy, that "has been created for the purpose of

this particular case and has never before been entertained." He reviewed the precedents cited in support of the Bailey rule to show that they did not apply.

CALLS SEVEN VOTES CORRUPT.

"I believe that this testimony shows that seven or more of the members of the Illinois legislature were corrupt," said Mr. Cummins in conclusion, "and through corruption were induced to vote for Mr. Lorimer. I believe that the law of the land as declared by the Senate and as taught by all the principles of jurisprudence holds that these seven corrupt votes invalidated the title of Mr. Lorimer to the seat he now occupies. This case stands alone. If you invite the bribery and corruption involved, maintained and sustained by the rule which has been invoked in the case as applicable, then in the future bribe-givers and bribe-takers can accomplish their sinister purposes if they are guided by an intelligent mind."

In his discussion of the main features of the evidence Mr. Cummins took issue with the majority of the committee upon all the principal points. He analyzed the testimony with great pains, censured the committee for failing to bring out all the facts, especially with regard to the third degree work; insisted that the committee should have called Assistant Attorney Arnold, and that it could not excuse itself in shirking any of its duties. While seven corrupt votes invalidated the election, Mr. Cummins said he could point out four more and that if it were necessary under the precedent in the Caldwell case, the thirty men who followed Brown could be excluded from the Lorimer vote.

Chicago (Ill.) Post
Monday, Feb. 20, 1911.

"A SENATE ON TRIAL."

In his speech on the Lorimer case Senator Bailey of Texas said that the Senate of the United States has been given to understand that as a lawmaking body it is on trial for its official life. There is no sign that the people have any thought of a constitutional change which would do away with the Upper House of Congress, but today nevertheless it is on trial.

The country resents the Senate's obstructive tactics in the cases of half a dozen legislative measures of importance, and there is a feeling which the senators will find it hard to overcome, that there is a deliberate intention to use every possible means to block the path of progressive legislative endeavor.

All that the President has asked on the question of reciprocity with Canada is that the Senate shall cast its vote for or against it. It is the business of the United States Senate to vote on legislation, but at this writing it appears to be

its intention, if it can find the excuse, to refuse to pass judgment on a matter concerning which every senator has made up his mind. The country is apt to be tolerant of the plea that it is necessary for the Senate to give careful consideration to legislation which may have passed the House of Representatives without due

thought of the consequences, but it is not tolerant of deliberate intention to prevent voting on measures which have the sanction of a majority of the senators. Everywhere except in the Senate of the United States a majority rules.

It is possible that at the last moment a vote will be taken on reciprocity. The President seems to be convinced that this will be the outcome, but reciprocity is not the only legislation of vital importance to the country which now ought to be engaging the attention of an indifferent Senate.

Senators Crane and Carter and one or two others who, while not sympathetic with the cause of reciprocity, nevertheless are trying to induce their colleagues to grant it the right to a decision, have counted the affirmatives and negatives, and have told Mr. Taft that a majority of the Senate will vote in favor of the trade agreement providing the obstructionists will cease from troubling. The whole matter has resolved itself into a plain case of an attempt to thwart the will of the President and the apparent will of the country. With the situation as it is can any senator doubt that the body of which he is a member is on trial?

If reciprocity is killed the verdict of the American people probably will read "scalded to death." "Senatorial courtesy" to a member with a burnt back has been responsible for a part of the delay in giving consideration to a trade agreement which if entered into would be of immense economic service to two great countries.

Senator Hale of Maine is a member of the Finance Committee into whose Keeping reciprocity has been given. The Maine man had an attack of lumbago or something else, and went to bed with a hot-water bottle. The bottle was smashed with disastrous consequences to the senator's back. Of course it was utterly impossible for the Finance Committee under the rules of senatorial courtesy to do anything with reciprocity while a sore back was incapacitating Mr. Hale.

The three days' delay may be responsible for the death of reciprocity, with the only hope of its resurrection from the dead committed to the chance that the next Congress sitting in extra session beside the corpse may apply the quickening touch.

It would be a work of useless repetition to name all the legislative measures which today are being held up in the Senate with little chance that they will move a peg in advance of their stopping places. The tariff board bill has a frailer hope for its life than has reciprocity, and several other measures have death staring at them. On all of these measures every member of the Senate has made up his mind, and yet senatorial courtesy to the half dozen or dozen who do not want to vote prevents the passage or rejection of bills on which the country wants action of one kind or another taken, and taken quickly.

The Senate has no rule by which a vote can be forced. One objector can prevent the expression of the will of his ninety-one colleagues. It is this sort of thing which puts the people into a mental condition of contempt of court and gives a man like Bailey proper reason for his reference to a Senate on trial.

Senators Beveridge, Borah, Cummins, Root and Burton tried for weeks to get a day set for a vote on the case of William Lorimer. Mr. Burrows, chairman of the committee which gave the Illinois man a clear lease to his Senate seat, objected on every occasion, and, of course, the one objection was sufficient. If the Lorimer matter had been disposed of two weeks ago, as it might have been, one excuse for the delay in the consideration of tariff board and reciprocity legislation would have been shelved. Every senator had made up his mind on the Lorimer question. There was no reason for delay except that it would help to prevent a vote on tariff board legislation, on the resolution for the direct election of senators and on reciprocity. Obstruction and delay, delay and obstruction.

The tactics of the obstructionists in the United States Senate are hard to understand. They know that if reciprocity does not come to a vote at the present session the President in the near future will call Congress together and that reciprocity in the form in which the ad-

Milwaukee Wis Journal
Tuesday, Feb. 21, 1911

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administration has presented it will become the law. The obstructionists know also that an extra session means an enormous expense to the American people; they know that as far as the legislation to which they object is concerned they have nothing to gain by postponement, but they still are willing to postpone. It may be that the obstructionists will allow reciprocity to come to a decision, but what of the other legislation for which a majority of the senators would vote if a vote were to be permitted? A minority in the Senate is preventing the expression of the will of the majority, and it may be that the majority is glad of it.

If the Senate of the United States were to be put on trial for obstruction offenses during the present session it would need the services of a better lawyer than is to be found in its membership to insure a verdict of acquittal.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 13.—Dear Dad: Things are different these days in the senate. The old hard-and-fast program is gone. The committee on rules, alias Mr. Aldrich, no longer says: "There will be no business today." Next week we will vote on such and such. This session will not act on various and sundry." The grip of the old masters is off. There is no program and the new element with Follette, Borah, Bristow and other people's men are on the firing line all the time. That is what it means when you read in your paper that Mr. Borah has forced a vote on the resolution for election of senators by the people. The senate is worth watching these days.

"News" Feb. 13-1911
Dallas, Texas.

Old Knute Nelson of Minnesota is opposed to the election of senators by the people. When Borah asked for a vote on this resolution it was Nelson who led the opposition, taking as his pretext the bill for leasing lands in Alaska. Nelson is a member of the committee on territories and he has had a bill of this character in his hands for at least four years. He was not so eager to present it until the Borah resolution threatened a roll call on the question of electing senators by the people.

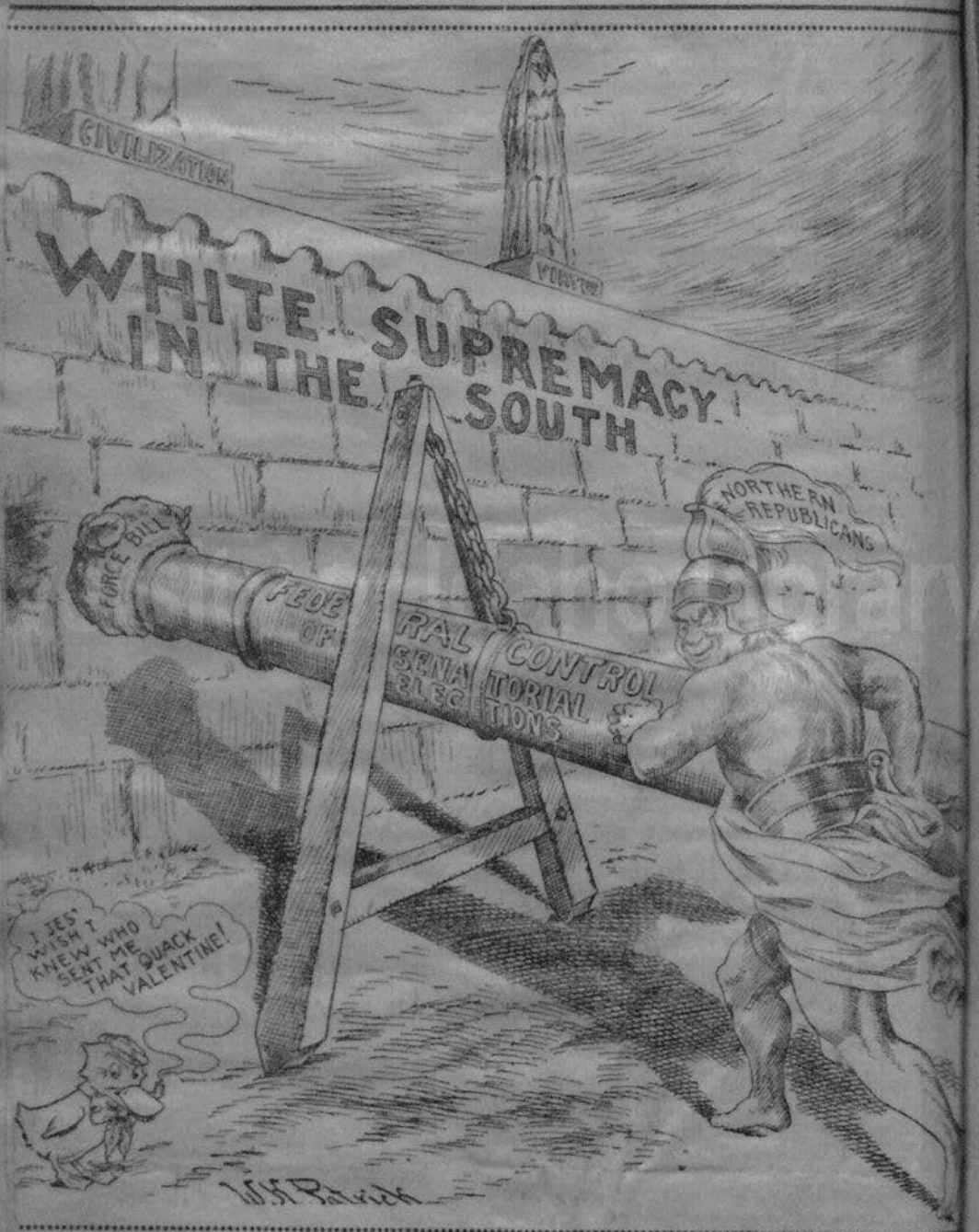
Like Senator Bacon, we are unable to see that the question of peonage and the question of lynchings are "cognate" to the question of electing United States Senators by direct vote of the people, and like Senator Borah, we are unable to see why Senator Root should have lugged in those irrelevant questions, unless it was to bring confusion into the ranks of those who are advocating the popular election of Senators. Peonage and lynchings are very ugly and very menacing phenomena, but lynching at least is not a phenomenon quite peculiar to the South. Neither is it a method of vengeance visited exclusively on negro fiends. There have been some white criminals lynched, and in the North as well as in the South, and thus not only is the injection of this question irrelevant, to use no grosser word, but it is incapable of the application that Senator Root sought to give it. The prospect for the proposed amendment is not altogether roseate, but if it fails it will not be because it lacks the requisite number of votes, but because the minority has outmaneuvered the majority.

Then Uncle Knute rushed to the front, shouting as he did so that he was of course in favor of electing senators by the people, but that he was so eager and anxious to relieve Alaska from her various difficulties that he must ask for consideration of his bill. Of course, the intelligent Scandinavians and Swedish population in Minnesota are not to be fooled by a cheap trick like this. Uncle Knute has played a very foxy game for a long time, but events are forcing him into the open. Uncle Knute is a part of the old Aldrich Special Privilege machine, and Uncle Knute will have to go.

Senator Nelson's bill for leasing Alaska coal lands is all right—EXCEPT. The bill provides for a 5-cent royalty on coal which the Morgauheims had contracted to pay 50 cents royalty on, so there is just about 45 cents a ton wrongness in Uncle Knute's bill. This is the bill with which Uncle Knute tried to head off a vote on the popular election of senators. If the good old uncle had not stopped to take a new chew of tobacco when he ought to have been making a motion to lay aside the unfinished order of business, he might have defeated a vote on the Borah resolution. That chew of tobacco did the business.

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AS WE SEE IT!



NEW ORLEANS, FEBRUARY 17, 1911.

KEEPING THE RECORD STRAIGHT.

Speaking to his resolution with respect to the election of United States Senators, Senator Borah of Idaho yesterday wrought into the records of the debate a recital of very plain truths regarding the attitude upon the race question assumed by some of the senatorial opponents of his resolution. There was no particular reason why a discussion of the race problem should have entered the consideration of the Borah measure. But the opposing Senators lugged it in with the hope of clouding the issue and securing the resolution's defeat by indirection. Veiled references to it had been virtually ignored by the advocates of the reform. Senator Root, however, passed the irrelevant issue squarely and bluntly, and it is just as well that Mr. Borah, representing another Northern State, should meet him on his own ground.

The Idaho Senator's declaration that "race prejudice" exists in the North is based, of course, on irrefutable evidence. His suggestion that the Northern politicians leave off "using the negro as a political football," dispense with the "perennial distribution of soothing syrup" and give the members of the race "solid food in the way of facts," may shock the sentimentalists of his own section and will doubtless anger the political gentlemen who have been playing the sentimental appeal for political advantage, but we believe that it will be cordially received by the great majority of Northern people, especially by those who have tested the old theories and found them faulty.

Since the airing of the subject in the course of this notable debate was not to be prevented, Senator Borah's manly exposition, his pointed references to conditions in the North which political leaders of the type opposing the Borah resolution do not like to be reminded of, is both timely and pertinent. It is hardly to be doubted that the race question was dragged into the discussion, as Mr. Borah charges, "to do service in defeating the resolution as a whole." The Idaho statesman has shown—and certain of his antagonists have virtually admitted—that adoption of the resolution intact will deprive the Federal government of none of the powers which it now exercises or retains with respect to the election of Senators. The provision to which objection is made has been pictured as the asylum of dangers that exist only in the imaginings of the hostile Senators—if they really have existence anywhere. The thorough ventilation of this particular phase of opposition will serve, we think, to correct any false impressions that may have been planted in the popular mind by the ingenious pleas of the opposed Senators. The Idaho Senator's plain speaking and frank statement of fact may offend certain of his political brethren, but his fellow-citizens of the white North will realize, we think, that he has dealt with conditions where his antagonists took shelter behind mere theories, and will refuse to be displeased by his refreshingly candid recital of truths that must in the end be admitted and reckoned with.

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Feb 18-1910

New York City.

Capitalizing Race Prejudices.

Senator BORAH's accusation that Republicans in the Senate Chamber are "playing the hypocrite" toward the negro question, declaring that negroes in the North encounter race prejudice as in the South, is illustrated by a phase of the real estate business in this city. Smart negro speculators in private properties will take advantage of a quarrel between white landlords, persuading one of them, as a "spite" measure, to hand over his house to negro management. The negro agents fill it with tenants of their race. That house at once assumes a permanent nuisance value. After the white tenants of the adjacent house move elsewhere the negro dealers will never give it up, no matter what price the opposing landlord is willing to pay for it. Instead they offer to buy his house at one-half to two-thirds the appraised valuation. The other white landlords in that block will thenceforward rent to negro tenants or to none at all.

So the enterprising negro invades neighboring properties of white owners, forcing down their valuations, compelling their sales, and, incidentally, depriving the white owners of considerable percentages of their investments. The negroes defend this method of warfare by the argument that industrious and respectable negroes must have a decent neighborhood to live in. Only in this way can they gain entrance to places removed from the lazy, shiftless, diseased, and criminal elements of their race.

Race prejudice in the North is very real. The negroes have found out how to capitalize it. Complaints are already heard that the newly acquired negro neighborhoods in this city are not fulfilling the ideal standards which their advertisers set up. Unfortunately, they are still an unstable race, often justifying by their own acts the prejudice against them. Northerners should not clamor too loudly for the franchise rights of negroes in the South, for thus they stir up animosities and hamper the efforts of such men as BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, who are training the race to set a higher valuation upon their industrial opportunities than upon their privileges from membership in a political machine.

"WHO KILLED COCK ROBIN?"

The senators who voted for and secured the adoption of the Sutherland amendment to the Borah resolution relating to direct election of senators, were not interested, really and primarily, in interfering with political conditions in the south as between the races, but they wanted to kill the Borah resolution without being held directly responsible for their action, and they knew that by tacking the Sutherland amendment onto it would be the surest way of doing the resolution to death.

The Sutherland amendment provides that the election of senators shall be under the control of the federal authorities instead of the state authorities, bringing up visions of force bills and such like for the south.

As a matter of fact, even if the Borah resolution with the Sutherland amendment was adopted, we do not believe there would ever again be any danger or disposition among the northern people to interfere with the domestic politics of the southern states. They were thoroughly cared of this disposition to meddle by the lessons of the reconstruction period and by the more intimate knowledge they have acquired by experience with the race problem themselves.

But, of course, the spectre of federal troops at the polls will be enough for southern senators, no matter how fantastic and improbable the bugaboo may really be. The announcement made by Senator Bacon, that while he was in favor of the Borah resolution as originally reported to the senate, he would not vote for it, but vigorously oppose it, as amended by the Sutherland rider, will no doubt be endorsed and followed by enough southern senators to ensure the defeat of the entire measure.

The republican standpat senators will no doubt laugh in their sleeves at having put one over on the democrats and progressive republicans so neatly, but the people are not fools and they will know who to hold responsible as the real assassins of the measure intended to secure to them the direct election of their senators.

THE ELECTION OF SENATORS.

Senator Root's calm, clear and cogent discussion of the proposed change in the method of electing Senators, while it will strengthen the conviction of those who are opposed to any such radical alteration of our constitutional system, will probably not greatly influence the advocates of this popular fallacy. They look upon Root as a reactionary, a "friend of the interests," and will consider his defense of the Constitution as merely evidence of his want of sympathy with "progress." And yet his speech may prove to have a determining effect.

The cold logic of the proposition that people who acknowledge themselves unable to elect trustworthy Legislatures are not more likely to succeed in electing Senators does not chill an enthusiasm in which logic is not an element, and the appeal to the splendid history of the Senate has little weight with those for whom tradition has no authority. But even progressives must find it difficult to disregard the practical consideration that, while the Senate can secure itself against the unlawful or fraudulent election of a Senator by a Legislature, it would have no means of controlling the conduct of the whole people of a State.

It is in the emphasis which he adroitly laid upon this point that Senator Root's speech is likely to prove most effective. Advocates of the popular election of Senators have not commonly considered to what an extent the proposed amendment annuls the power of Congress over the election and qualification of its own members. Mr. Root succeeded in drawing out from some of the Southern Senators the avowal that this was their chief interest in the measure, which they would not accept with the modification proposed. At the same time he gave to Republicans who lacked courage to resist what is represented as a popular movement a ground on which they can consistently rally against the pending amendment without appearing to oppose the main proposition.

The more radical "nationalists" also will pause over the return to the loose conditions existing before the Constitution was adopted. It is not likely that Senator Borah's resolution can command a two-thirds vote of the Senate unaltered, and even less likely that it could do so if the Sutherland amendment were first adopted. It would be best if it were honestly voted down, for even Senators ought to be able to rise above party in defense of the Constitution.

Lewiston Evening Teller.

Borah's Strong Stand

Every Idahoan who is following the progress of the bill bearing upon the election of senators by direct vote of the people, must have read with deep satisfaction and pride and an added sense of state dignity and importance, the speech made by Senator Borah in the discussion of the proposed amendment to the direct election bill, as introduced by Senator Sutherland of Utah, with the purpose of defeating the bill by the alienation of the support of the vote of the representation from the south through race prejudice.

This is the speech in which Mr. Borah addressed himself with such directness and truthfulness to the hypocritical attitude assumed in the matter of protecting the negro and his rights, not only as a voter, but in industrial pursuits, and which was quoted and commented upon the country over. But above and beyond the able remarks upon "man's inhumanity to man," was the attack which Mr. Borah made upon the treacherous amendment with which the opponents set out to slaughter the bill in the interest of the people which he had been working so arduously for many weeks to have passed. He sustained his position in the discussion of the constitutional points against the combined legal ability of the opposition, including Senators Sutherland, Curtis, Root, Young, Nelson, of Minn.; Carter, Clark, and his colleague, Mr. Hayburn; and others, ranging from Maine to the extreme Northwest, and did it in such a pleasant dignified though effective manner, as to win general sympathy and applause.

In addition to his thorough equipment legally for such discussion, Idaho's junior senator has a keen sense of humor, a ready wit and a tongue as sharp and stinging in repartee as it is eloquent and persuasive in oratory, and in the sustained dialogue of question and rejoinder there were many sharp passages at arms, in which some of the opposition, Messrs. Nelson and Carter, among others, had their tempers somewhat ruffled, but out from which Mr. Borah came smiling and unperturbed. While the two-thirds vote necessary to amend the constitution as asked by Mr. Borah fell short four votes, being 54 to 23 in favor Mr. Borah in one sense achieved a great victory. There is probably not

a man in the senate today who attracts more attention and favorable comment, or who stands higher in the esteem of his fellow law makers or whose counsel is more sought than Idaho's junior senator.

Still, Mr. Borah is human, and his home people know it, and that, with his other commendable qualities, is why they like him and stand back of him, and are ready to overlook and condone such mistakes as he, like any other real human man, is liable to make. Perfection is not expected or exacted, but reasonable ability with honest and diligent application of the same for the best interests of the people of his state and nation, and that something after the manner of the people's own ideas of their needs, is expected of a representative, and in Mr. Borah the people are realizing those expectations, and are consequently satisfied with him.—Globe, Grangeville.

N. Y. American.

Feb 20-1911

Borah Kills the Race Question.

SENATOR BORAH has taken Senator Root's race question and tessed it out of the arena.

The question of the direct election of United States Senators has nothing to do with the right of colored men to cast their vote—North or South.

The resolution proposing the constitutional amendment came from the Senate Committee with a provision that not Congress but the State Legislatures should supervise Senatorial elections. But whether this provision stands or falls, the rights of suffrage guaranteed by the Constitution are not touched.

In either case Congress would, of course, have power to safeguard all constitutional rights of franchise. And the United States courts would have power to protect any such right from local interference.

Mr. Root has done his best to roll the waters of race and sectional prejudice—but to no purpose.

His glittering show of legal learning and his pose of prophetic fear have failed to impress the country.

Mr. Borah's tranquillizing exposition of the law and the facts should quite even Mr. Root's overwrought nerves.

Harper's Weekly, New York City
 By Edward G. Lowry *Feb. 18/11.*

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I is now fairly assured that the day is not remote when United States Senators will be elected by direct vote of the people. By the time this paper is printed it is entirely possible that the Senate will have given its approval to the principle. At the time of writing the proposal to amend the present constitutional provision for the election of Senators is the unfinished business in the Senate with more than fair prospects of favorable action. The House of Representatives on four different occasions has passed a bill providing for this reform—July 21, 1894; May 11, 1898; April 13, 1900; and February 13, 1902, the last vote unanimously, or no one opposing. Hitherto the Senate has always proved the stumbling-block.

WEEKLY

As Senator Borah has pointed out, certainly no complaint can be made at this time as to haste or lack of consideration. In the Constitutional Convention of 1787 Mr. Wilson of Pennsylvania was the strongest advocate, and practically the sole advocate in the convention, of the election of Senators by popular vote. As early as 1826 a resolution was introduced in Congress looking to a change in the method of electing Senators. The subject has been discussed in Congress session after session. It has received serious consideration upon different occasions by some of the ablest men who have served in the Senate. It has been the subject of popular discussion in books and magazines and newspapers for many years.

Many things have combined to make the public mind ripe and ready for the change at this particular juncture. Woodrow Wilson's contest in New Jersey to sustain the verdict of a Senatorial primary engaged to an unusual degree the attention and interest of public men in every State in the Union. The election of Senators in New York, Maine, Ohio, and West Virginia following the recent election, was recognized as transcending in importance and concern almost any other problem the Democrats had to solve. The malodorous Lorimer case in the Senate, as Senator Root pointed out, has served to focus popular attention upon the methods by which Senators are selected.

Seven main reasons are set forth why the Constitution should be amended and the Senators chosen by direct vote of the people instead of by the Legislatures of the respective States. These reasons are:

It will make the Senate of the United States more responsive to the wishes of the people of the United States.

It will prevent the corruption of Legislatures.

It will prevent the improper use of money in the campaigns before the electorate by men ambitious to obtain a seat in the Senate of the United States.

It will prevent the disturbance and turmoil of State Legislatures and the interference with State legislation by the violent contests of candidates for a position in the United States Senate.

It will compel candidates for the United States Senate to be subjected to the severe scrutiny of a campaign before the people and compel the selection of the best-fitted men.

It will prevent deadlocks, due to political contests in which various States from time to time have been thus left unrepresented.

It will popularize government and tend to increase the confidence of the people of the United States in the Senate of the United States, which has been to some extent impaired in recent years.

In one form or another the thirty-six States here

named have expressed themselves favorably to election of United States Senators by a direct vote: Alabama, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Jersey, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Virginia, Washington, Wisconsin, Wyoming.

In some of these States the Senatorial primary laws are strongly framed and so admirably supported by public sentiment that the State Legislatures do not dare go contrary to the popular mandate. In others of these States the primary law is weak and is not fully supported by the electorate. Illinois is a case in point. Albert J. Hopkins was the choice of the primary for re-election to the Senate, but the Legislature ventured to override that verdict and by a combination of Republican and Democratic votes elected Lorimer and brought about the present scandal. James Smith, Jr., in New Jersey, endeavored in the same way to override the choice of the primary which named Martine as the Democratic candidate to go before the Legislature.

The Northeastern States have not shown themselves in sympathy with this movement which has crystallized into action into three-fourths of the States of the Union. Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, Delaware, Maryland, and West Virginia, are not in the list of States which have declared for the election of United States Senators by direct vote. Senator Owen has pointed out "that Democratic States and Republican States alike, west of the Hudson River, have acted favorably in this matter almost without exception. Only eight or nine States have failed to act, and I do not doubt that if the voice of the people of these States of New England, of New York, Maryland, and Delaware could find convenient expression, free from machine politics, every one of them would favor the election of Senators by direct vote, and would favor the right of the people to instruct their representatives in Congress and in the Senate, a right which they enjoyed from the beginning of the American Republic down to the days when this right was smothered and destroyed by the convention system of party management.

"Not only the States have acted almost unanimously in favor of this right of the people, but all the great parties of the country have declared in favor of it, except the Republican party, and this party would have declared for it, except for the overwhelming influence and domination of machine politics in the management of that party and the prevalence of so-called boss influence. And this is demonstrated by the fact that the large majority of the Republican States, by the resolutions or acts of their Legislatures, have declared in favor of it."

Here are the party declarations to which Mr. Owen refers: The Democratic party in its national platform adopted at Denver, Colorado, July 10, 1908, said: "We favor the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people, and regard this reform as the gateway to other national reforms."

The platform of the Independence party, adopted at Chicago, Illinois, July 28, 1908, declared for direct nominations generally, and further made the following declaration: "We advocate the popular election of United States Senators and of judges, both State and Federal . . . and any constitutional amendment necessary to these ends."

The platform of the Prohibition party, adopted at Columbus, Ohio, July 16, 1908, made the following its chief plank after the prohibition question, "The election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people."

The platform of the New York Democratic League, adopted at Saratoga, New York, September 10, 1909,

declared for the "Election of United States Senators by the direct vote of the people."

The American Federation of Labor has declared repeatedly in favor of the election of Senators by direct vote of the people. The National Grange, comprising the Association of Farmers in the Northeast and in Central States, including nearly every farmer in Maine and in the New England States, and in Pennsylvania and Ohio and Michigan, the Society of Equity, and the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of the West and South, and altogether representing the organized farmers of the entire United States, have declared in favor of the election of Senators by direct vote of the people.

"What has come to be known as the "Oregon system" has produced Jonathan Bourne, Republican, and George E. Chamberlain, Democrat. Mr. Chamberlain was elected by a Republican Legislature in obedience to the verdict of the Senatorial primary. The candidates who come before the primary in Oregon enunciate their individual platform and the voters choose between them. This is the only kind of party platform provided for in the Oregon direct-primary law. The Secretary of State of the State mails to each voter a pamphlet containing the platforms of the several candidates within each party. That results under this system can be uneven is shown by the presence in the Senate of such dissimilar men as Mr. Bourne and Mr. Chamberlain.

I have no purpose to argue in the contracted space of this page or thresh out the merits and demerits of this question. The present aim is to outline as concisely and clearly as may be the spread of the movement in the United States and the form the agitation has taken in some of the several States. In many of the States, despairing of Congressional action, the people have taken methods to evade the constitutional provision, and have taken out of the hands of the Legislature altogether the election of Senators. This was sharply and, in a way of speaking, amusingly disclosed in Alabama when the two present Senators from that State, Messrs. Bankhead and Johnston, were chosen.

Shortly before the terms of that venerable pair, Senators Morgan and Pettus, expired a primary was held. Both of the aged Senators were candidates for re-election. The people of the State had no wish to deprive themselves of the services of these two greatly respected statesmen, and yet it was morally certain that neither of them would live to fill out another term. They received the approval of the primary for re-election, but to prevent the Governor or the Legislature from appointing or electing their successors without the advice of a primary vote an ingenious device was made use of. Mr. Bankhead, then serving in the House, and Mr. Johnston an ex-Governor, were named at the primary as "alternates" or second choices to Mr. Morgan and Mr. Pettus. The apprehensions about the health of the two old men were realized. Both of them died, and Mr. Bankhead and Mr. Johnston came to the Senate as had been previously arranged.

The Senate itself has always put what obstacles it could in the way of any plan to make direct election of Senators possible. Senator Owen recounted not long ago to the Senate some of the steps that had been taken to prevent consideration of a joint resolution which he introduced providing for the submission of a constitutional amendment for the direct election of Senators. Over his protest thirty Republicans and three Democrats voted to refer the resolution to Senator Burrows's Committee on Privileges and Elections.

This, of course, meant its burial. Eight Democrats and eleven Western Republicans voted with Mr. Owen, and thirty-nine Senators did not vote.

The debate in the Senate on the pending proposal has centred primarily about the qualifications of electors in Senatorial elections, and the time and place

and supervision under which the election shall be held. The resolution, as reported by the Judiciary Committee, provides:

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislatures.

Senator Sutherland of Utah proposed to add the following words:

But Congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

Senator Depew of New York also proposed an amendment on the same point in these terms:

The qualifications of citizens entitled to vote for United States Senators and Representatives in Congress shall be uniform in all the States, and Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation, and to provide for the registration of citizens entitled to vote, the conduct of such elections, and the certification of the result.

Upon these three propositions all of the discussions in the Senate have hanged. Mr. Rayner of Maryland and some of the other Senators from Southern States have declared that they would never give their support to any plan which would give the Congress control of the manner of conducting elections and the right to control the election machinery of the States. Of Mr. Depew's proposed amendment, for example, Mr. Rayner says that "it goes much farther than the force bill attempted to go, because the force bill attempted to draw its body from the Constitution. This draws the power away from the Constitution and takes away the right of suffrage that is resident in the States and transfers it to the Federal Congress, gives Congress the right to control not only the machinery of elections, but to control the right of suffrage in every State of the Union. It would deprive a State of the right to pass an educational qualification. It would deprive a State of the right to pass a property qualification. It would take away the entire power of the State and transfer it to the Federal Government, so far as the suffrage and qualifications of its citizens are concerned."

One of the points made by Senator Borah when his resolution was reported from the Senate Committee on Judiciary which has the present pertinent appeal, was this: "The popular election of Senators would secure regular and equal representation in the Senate. During the last twenty years some fifteen or sixteen contests in different States have been carried on with such bitterness that the body charged with the duty of electing Senators proves powerless to perform its office. In several instances special sessions of the Legislature for the sole purpose of filling vacancies have occurred. A number of States have acceded to vacancies, and thus have been deprived of their equal suffrage in the Senate. There would seem to be no reason why such a system should still be maintained in the face of the fact that long years of experience have shown that judgment and wisdom and cleanliness prevail on the part of the people in selecting, by popular election, their Governors and other important officials.

"It seems wholly unnecessary, in view of the enormous powers reserved to the United States, and of the enormous amount of work which they ought to do and which they must do in order to preserve the integrity of our institutions in the development of our industrial life, to burden the State with a method of election which poisons oftentimes the source of the State's legislative power, demoralizes it, and involves and embarrasses and humiliates the whole commonwealth, when as a matter of fact all might be done without any practical possibility of corruption, delay, embarrassment, or demoralization. Have we not ad-

vanced far enough in democratic government to rest securely upon the judgment and wisdom of the individual voter in the selection of those who are to represent the interests of the State in the national Senate?

"We do not care to enter upon a discussion of the instances of bribery and corruption which have taken place in the Legislatures of the different States in the last twenty-five years, and which could not have occurred had popular elections prevailed. In this respect we may profitably place alongside the election of the Governors of the different States that of the election of the Senators, and in this way test the cleanliness of the one system and the corruption at times of the other. No one contends for a moment that it is the universal practice or the general rule that Legislatures are thus corrupted, but it must be admitted by all that if those who desire to corrupt enter the field at all it is after the Legislature has convened. How often is it true that no taint of wrongdoing or corruption attaches to the election until the Legislature has convened? The small number of parties to be controlled, the possibility of log-rolling with different local interests, of trading this or that against votes, is tempting indeed to those who seek a Senatorship, not upon merit, but through sinister means."

*"Chieftain" Pueblo, Col.
Feb. 12 - 1911.*

MUST GO ON RECORD

THANKS TO SENATOR BORAH of Idaho, the United States senate will be put on record at this session as to how it stands on the question of direct election of senators. And, judging by the way the senators have lined up in test votes, there is reason for hoping an amendment to the constitution will be submitted for the approval of the states, providing for direct election. As the resolution must secure a two-thirds vote in the senate, however, this hope is none too roseate.

Every possible effort must be made to persuade senators to vote for this amendment. There is no possible excuse for not submitting the matter to the people for adoption or rejection through their state legislatures. Nine-tenths of the people of the country, if they could vote on the matter directly, would favor it. It is a reform that is urgently demanded. Witness the Lorimer case; witness the deadlocks in Colorado, Montana, Iowa and New York today.

On the test votes in the senate last week Senator Guggenheim did not vote with Borah and those who favor the amendment. Every friend of direct election of senators in Colorado should wire or write the senator at once, urging him to support the amendment when it comes to a vote.

*Enquirer, Oakland, Cal.
Feb. 8-1911.*

SENATOR BORAH'S progressive resolution for the direct election of United States Senators is meeting with many rebuffs in the upper house—the millionaires' club.

**Sen-tors
Fear for
Their
Positions**

No progressive expected for a moment that the Senate would welcome a move that would send a large number of the exclusives home, never to return.

Senator Bailey of Texas let the cat out of the bag when he said, in reply to Senator Root's attack

upon "Billy" Lorimer:

"If we are to try Senators on the general misconduct of legislators, then the Senator whose right is challenged now is not the only one who must yield his seat."

Under the existing system of electing United States Senators will Senator Bailey kindly point out on what grounds a United States Senator can be attacked or impeached if not upon the ground that the legislators were guilty of misconduct?

Does Mr. Bailey contend that the bribery of a legislature does not affect the position of the Senator elected by purchased votes?

If he does, the earlier the people of the United States compel the election of their Senators by direct vote the better it will be for public morality and common justice to the common people.

If he does not, his admission that other Senators are tarred with the brush that besmirched the reputation of Senator Lorimer proves conclusively that direct election of United States Senators is a timely reform that must be fought for until opposition is killed to the end that no Senator elected by a corrupt legislature can be seated with honest men, to make laws for the nation, not for the special interests.

**Senator Borah Enthuses
Southerners By Negro
Question Talk.**

James, Feb. 17-1911 Hack, Ed.

After morning business in the Senate today, the consideration of the resolution proposing a constitutional amendment for direct election of Senators was resumed.

Senator Borah of Idaho made a powerful appeal to the Senate yesterday afternoon for the passage of the resolution. His argument was one of the ablest utterances on the law and the Constitution that has been heard about the Senate this session.

Southern Members Moved.

It took strong hold on the Southern Democratic Senators and some of them afterward declared they were prepared to vote for the resolution, even

if the Sutherland amendment were adopted.

Senator Borah dealt frankly with the negro question and declared the North was playing the hypocrite and that prejudice against the negro was as great in the North as in the South.

Senator Borah declared the Sutherland amendment, for Federal control of Senatorial elections, was "a bulwark behind which it was proposed to shoot the resolution to death."

Race Prejudice in North.

The Idaho Senator asserted the race question had been brought into the situation in the fond hope it would serve to beat the resolution.

"The Northern States have exhibited the same race prejudice that has been shown elsewhere," said Senator Borah. "In the North we burn the negro at the stake, and there, as in other sections, we have our race wars. We push our negroes to the outer edge of the industrial world. We exhibit the same prejudices, the same weaknesses, the same intolerance that is apparent in the Southland."

Feb. 15 - 1911

Washington, D. C.

Sutherland Amendment to Bill Will Kill Measure.

It is expected that the Senate will this week put a quietus on the plan to submit to the people a constitutional amendment whereby United States Senators shall be elected by popular vote.

Although the legislatures of thirty-seven States have passed resolutions favoring the abolition of the present practice of electing Senators by the votes of those bodies, the seventy-four Senators from those States are not all inclined to accept the same view. If they did, there would be on hand the necessary two-thirds majority in favor of submitting the amendment, and legislatures of the same States could put their views into practice by furnishing the necessary three-fourths vote to amend the Constitution.

Not over fifty-eight of the necessary sixty-one votes required to pass the resolution submitting the amendment can be mustered, and these only on a straight proposition to turn the election of Senators over to the States. Should the Sutherland amendment, which holds in the control of Congress the manner of holding popular elections of Senators be adopted, there will be a still smaller number in favor of submitting the amendment. It is admitted by those who are pushing the resolution and who have succeeded in having it made the unfinished business of the Senate, that the Sutherland amendment will carry and the resolution be thus loaded down in a manner which will prevent its adoption.

However, there will be a vote, and for the first time in history the Senate itself will register its own will on the proposal which has four times passed the House and received broad discussion throughout the land for many years.

Senator Borah, of Idaho, who is conducting the campaign in the Senate for the passage of the popular vote resolution, will to-day ask that a time be fixed for voting on the project. His request in all likelihood will be refused. The Idaho Senator will then announce his policy of keeping the Senate face to face with the unfinished business until it is disposed of. This will mean that when speeches on the subject are exhausted the vote on the resolution will be had.

There appears to be no intention on the part of any Senator to filibuster against the resolution. Senator Brown and one or two others intend to deliver speeches upon it to-day or to-morrow. The resolution may be disposed of as early as Wednesday, and the decks cleared for the Canadian reciprocity bill, if it can be brought into the Senate that soon.

The Democrats and progressive members of the Senate are counted as favoring the passage of the Senatorial vote resolution. The imposition of the Sutherland amendment, if it carries, however, will alienate many Southern Democrats who look with suspicion, bordering on

fear, upon any proposal to place control of Southern elections in Congress. Suffrage supervision in the communities heavily populated by blacks, it is argued, is an exceedingly delicate affair, and it is not proposed that such supervision shall be taken away.

The Senators from States where elaborate primary election ideas have been put in force also resent any interference by Congress with those elections, even as they might affect United States Senators, and, accordingly, are prepared to abandon the resolution if the Sutherland amendment is carried.

Washington, Feb. 11 - 1911
By Charles C. Hart

The absence of Senator Samuel H. Piles of Washington from the senate the other evening prevented Senator Borah from winning his fight to get his resolution for direct election of United States senators on the calendar a day earlier than he did. Senator Piles had been present only 10 minutes previously to vote for the ship subsidy grab. When the Borah motion came up the senate stood a tie and the chair, of course, decided for the old guard which, on this measure, is led by Senator Heyburn. The following day when Senator Borah again with the usual perseverance was pressing his resolution, Senator Piles did not answer, but Senator Jones arose to say that Senator Piles was unavoidably absent, but were he present he would vote for direct election of senators. However, Piles was not paired and the progressives are anxious to have him present some time when the matter comes up and see how he performs.

Senator Borah's fight for popular election of senators has been the most dramatic feature, day in and day out, of the whole senate proceedings recently. At every opportunity the Idaho senator has been on his feet to propose his resolution. Each time Senator Knute Nelson, doubtless in accordance with a frameup of the old guard, would jump to his feet to get in ahead with his Alaska coal bill and try to head off the Idaho senator's attack on the fundamental law. Senator Borah was by far the quicker of the two and would get his motion in first, but Jim Sherman, president of the senate, would promptly give his recognition to the Minnesota man. But Borah never quit, and he kept the senate putting itself on record every day until he finally won by four votes. Incidentally when Vice President Sherman tried to squelch him the other day Borah refused to take his seat until he had expressed his opinion of the chair in a few sharp words. Beveridge, Bristow and LaFollette always get around Borah when he starts this fight, and the quartet shows the senate some fine preliminary sparring.

"Free Press" Feb. 13/11
Milwaukee, Wis.

PEOPLE VS. LEGISLATURE.

Speeches like those of Senators Lodge and Root on the popular election of United States senators may not strike the popular chord; in the minds of the radically and prejudicially thinking, they will condemn their makers as "reactionaries."

In truth, such speeches from such men should be greatly welcome; a contribution to the subject under discussion highly valuable in the formation of correct public judgment.

The mental ability, the special knowledge of these men entitle them to a hearing irrespective of political or popular consideration of any sort. Since Senator Lodge conducted his arguments mainly from the constitutional standpoint and Senator Root mainly from that of Democratic principle, the two speeches cover the ground exceptionally well as far as opposition to the popular election of senators is concerned.

The New York senator's position is naturally the more vital and challenging.

He held that the effort to change the method of electing senators was essentially an effort on the part of the people to evade responsibility in the matter of government. That is, if the people would look properly to the selection of legislative candidates, there would be little cause for complaint concerning the election of senators by legislative action.

The point of Senator Root's argument cannot be evaded. There is something peculiar in the proposition of investing the electorate with the power of directly electing United States senators when this same electorate, in that very proposition, admits its inability to elect a representative legislature.

The entire popular movement of the day, whether it relates to the election of senators or to direct legislative instruments, is the result of lack of confidence in the character of the state legislative bodies. That want of faith, unfortunately, has excellent reason for being. The surprising thing is that the people, instead of crying "mea culpa," and going to the root of the evil, which lies in themselves, with reformatory effort, prefer to heap all the blame on their representatives and to shear them increasingly of their delegated powers.

Now, in spite of initiative and referendum, in spite of the direct election of senators, we must have a legislative body, and all of these invasions of its functions instead of strengthening it and making it appeal more largely to men of character and ability, will in reality tend to its increasing inefficiency and mediocrity.

The World of New York thus trenchantly puts the case:

No real political progress will be made in this country by stripping state legislatures of their powers. Legislatures must be made more responsible, not less so. That is one of the reasons why the World doubts the wisdom of popular election of United States senators. Every time a legislature loses one of its functions it loses in dignity and in its capacity for public service.

This likewise is the attitude of Herbert Croly in his "Promise of American Life," which Mr. Roosevelt called, "the most profound and illuminating study of national conditions which has appeared in years."

We believe that a restricted use of the initiative and the referendum is salutary, we believe in the direct nomination of the United States senators, but we do not believe that a sweeping invasion of our present legislative system can be accomplished without great harm, unless an entire and consistent change of governmental form is contemplated.

But the main thing is not what we think, what Mr. Croly thinks, what Senator Root, Senator Borah or anybody else thinks but that the average citizen should approach all of these questions with his mind, open, non-partisan and thoughtful, and not with his impulses, vague, prejudicial and unreasoning.

*Times Democrat Feb. 17-1911
New Orleans, La.*

KEEPING THE RECORD STRAIGHT.

Speaking to his resolution with respect to the election of United States Senators, Senator Borah of Idaho yesterday wrought into the records of the debate a recital of very plain truths regarding the attitude upon the race question assumed by some of the senatorial opponents of his resolution. There was no particular reason why a discussion of the race problem should have entered the consideration of the Borah measure. But the opposing Senators lugged it in with the hope of clouding the issue and securing the resolution's defeat by indirection. Veiled references to it had been virtually ignored by the advocates of the reform. Senator Root, however, passed the irrelevant issue squarely and bluntly, and it is just as well that Mr. Borah, representing another Northern State, should meet him on his own ground.

The Idaho Senator's declaration that "race prejudice" exists in the North is based, of course, on irrefutable evidence. His suggestion that the Northern politicians leave off "using the negro as a political football," dispense with the "perennial distribution of soothing syrup" and give the members of the race "solid food in the way of facts," may shock the sentimentalists of his own section and will doubtless anger the political gentlemen who have been playing the sentimental appeal for political advantage, but we believe that it will be cordially received by the great majority of Northern people, especially by those who have tested the old theories and found them faulty.

Since the airing of the subject in the course of this notable debate was not to be prevented, Senator Borah's manly exposition, his pointed references to conditions in the North which political leaders of the type opposing the Borah resolution do not like to be reminded of, is both timely and pertinent. It is hardly to be doubted that the race question was dragged into the discussion, as Mr. Borah charges, "to do service in defeating the resolution as a whole." The Idaho statesman has shown—and certain of his antagonists have virtually admitted—that adoption of the resolution intact will deprive the Federal government of none of the powers which it now exercises or retains with respect to the election of Senators. The provision to which objection is made has been pictured as the asylum of dangers that exist only in the imaginings of the hostile Senators—if they really have existence anywhere. The thorough ventilation of this particular phase of opposition will serve, we think, to correct any false impressions that may have been planted in the popular mind by the ingenious pleas of the opposed Senators. The Idaho Senator's plain speaking and frank statement of fact may offend certain of his political brethren, but his fellow-citizens of the white North will realize, we think, that he has dealt with conditions where his antagonists took shelter behind mere theories, and will refuse to be displeased by his refreshingly candid recital of truths that must in the end be admitted and reckoned with.

Vicksburg (Miss.) Post
Monday, Feb. 13, 1911.

Direct Election of U. S. Senators

The following editorial from the Times-Democrat of this morning, will be read with interest in Mississippi.

By making the Borah resolution relative to the election of United States Senators by direct vote the "order of business," senatorial friends of that reform are hopeful that they have scored a distinct advantage in the fight for its adoption. They have felt that the attempt thus to give the resolution parliamentary right of way would serve as a fairly reliable test of the strength of their support, and of the opposition. The vantage was won yesterday only by a hard fight, members of the "Old Guard" seeking to have the Alaskan coal land bill given the place as "unfinished business" just vacated by the ocean mail bill of Mr. Gaillinger. * * *

In spite of the efforts of the covert opponents of the Borah resolution to fog the issue, it is pretty clearly understood, in and out of the Senate, that the proposed amendment is designed only to compass the defeat of the movement for direct election of Senators. It is as mischievous and as meritless as was the notorious force bill, and is injected for no other purpose than to stave off a reform which is now supported by a large majority of the voters. If a vote on the Borah resolution can be forced at this session, the Senators who support the obnoxious amendment may be set down as enemies of the plan to elect United States Senators by direct vote quite as surely as though they had registered their votes in direct opposition—an alternative which most of them are desperately striving to avoid.

Feb. 17
11

New York City.

Senator Borah's taunt as to the non-enforcement of the negro's political rights under the Fifteenth Amendment may be very pointed, but it does not answer the purpose for which he used it. When a proposition to alter the Constitution of the United States is being dealt with, it will not do to point to this or that fact of contemporary politics as settling the question. What exigency may arise in the future which will bring into activity the powers now latent under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments no man can foretell. The subject was not being agitated by either of the great national parties when the amendment providing for the direct election of Senators by the people was introduced, and those responsible for the form of that amendment should have left the *status quo* unaltered. There is no reason why the powers of the Federal Government in relation to the election of members of either house of Congress, whatever they may now be under the Constitution, should be in any way altered by an amendment whose purpose is simply to change the mechanism of the election of Senators from that of indirect to that of direct choice by the people of each State. Had that issue not been injected into the situation, the adoption of the amendment by a two-thirds vote of the Senate would have been probable; as it is, with the objectionable attachment of a surrender of power by the Federal Government in no way called for by the avowed purpose of the proposal, there is not, and ought not to be, any chance of such a vote being had in its favor. But this will not mean a rejection of the direct-election principle, and there is little doubt that a properly-framed amendment will command the necessary majority in both houses of the Sixty-second Congress.

Metropolis, Feb. 17-1911
Jacksonville, Fla.

Senator Borah, of Idaho, yesterday told the Senate a truth which should go ringing throughout the country and civilized world. He declared there was just as much prejudice against the negro in the North as in the South, but that the North played the hypocrite on the subject. An honest confession would help Senator Root and other capitalists.

HERALD

Feb. 17-1911

Washington, D. C.

Makes Final Appeal and Wins Southern Sympathy.

In making his final appeal to the Senate to pass the resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution providing for popular election of Senators Senator William E. Borah, of Idaho, made a remarkable speech, in which he dwelt not only with the constitutional phases of the question, but discussed the negro problem in a way that pleased Southern Democratic Senators.

So attractive was the statement of the race problem as it was set forth by the Senator from Idaho that Southern Senators, who have been disturbed over the proposed Sutherland and Dewey amendments, which would retain Federal control over popular elections of Senators, that they laid aside their notes and collections of law books and announced to their colleagues that Senator Borah had left nothing desirable to be said, and that they were ready for a vote.

The opponents of the resolution were not in such a state of preparedness to take the sense of the Senate on the resolution. Senators Carter, of Montana; Nelson, of Minnesota, and Sutherland, of Utah, let it be known that they desired to make speeches, and it was finally agreed that the consideration of the resolution should be suspended and resumed to-day, immediately after the routine morning business.

Some of the Southern Senators admitted after the Senate adjourned that if the vote had been taken before adjournment yesterday, the chances of passing the resolution—even with the Sutherland amendment added—would have been about even. Senators who are opposed to the resolution explained that they had asked that the matter go over because several of their number were missing, and they feared that it might not be possible to arrange pairs for them.

Vicksburg (Miss.) Post
Saturday, Feb. 18, 1911.

The Times Democrat Favors Election of Senators by People

The Times-Democrat of today has a strong article in regard to the discussion now going on in the U. S. Senate on the proposition to have the people elect Senators by direct vote. The Times-Democrat is opposed to debauchery of Legislators and to the securing of Senatorial seats by bribery and purchase of votes. It ought to advocate the election of Vardaman in Mississippi, by the people. The following from its editorial published today will be read with interest:

Senator Borah has been too mild in dealing with Senator Root and with the men of his type, of undoubted ability but who prostitute their talents to call up the old bitterness, laid at rest in the best interests of the negroes, as well as the country at large, in order to prevent the election of Senators by the voters, and continue a system which enables millionaires to buy seats in the Senate as though it was a millionaire's club, or the trusts to put their tools in the upper house of Congress.

What Senator Borah says about the hypocrisy of the North in the treatment of the negro is known to all, and is not even denied by them; but to use that hypocritical plea against the voters in the interests of the trusts, and for the perpetuation of Senatorial debauchery, is more than the American people ought to stand. Mr. Root and his backers have shown little interest in the negro until they thought they could use him to stir up old prejudices and to defeat true democratic principles.

It is wholly unnecessary to show how utterly illogical is the plea of Federal interference in the popular election of Senators. The Constitution makes the Senators the representatives of the States, to be chosen by the Legislatures; it is proposed only to let the people elect directly instead of through the intermediary

of a General Assembly. The same men will vote for Senator as now elect those officers by choosing the legislators; and the Senators, representing as they do the States in Congress, the latter should and must control their election. The idea of Federal interference with the State's choice would rouse "the fathers of the Constitution" from their graves.

He is an enemy of the peace and prosperity of the country who tries to stir up race and sectional prejudice and bitterness today; and he is doubly an enemy who uses this base means to defeat the will of the people, and to fill the Senate with Depews, Lorimers et al., with men placed in office by the big corporations, or who buy their way into that body.

"Times" Feb. 17/11
Roanoke, Va.

BLUNTNESS OF BORAH.

Senator Borah gave some plain, strong, true talk in the senate yesterday regarding the attitude of the Northern white people toward the negro. Like most of those who discuss this question he faltered and fell short of the logical conclusion from his own assertions. This is that sooner or later the negro must quit this country and go to some country of his own to be provided and set apart for him. Senator Borah, talking of the negro's final fate, wandered off into the usual vague, indefinite generalities without even the suggestion of a practical idea.

The race prejudice, the white man's instinctive pride of caste and seclusion, exists and should exist. We believe they were established by the Almighty for the protection of both races to save both from the fate of degenerating into a mass of indiscriminate mongrels with the vices of both races and the strength of neither. We white people, South and North, ought to have sense enough to know that we can not go on indefinitely holding a race of ten million people in subjection, making them feel every hour of every day that we regard them as inferiors, denying them at every turn privileges

and rights we demand for ourselves.

The more we educate the negro and improve him the more we teach him to resent and the stronger we make him to resist this assertion of our superiority. Here in the South we spend millions to send men and women of the negro race through high schools and colleges and to develop their ambitions and enable them to be money makers and independent. Then we complain bitterly because they do not want to be our house servants and farm hands—the very positions we have educated them away from. When they cease to be our servants and laborers they become our rivals and competitors in every line of business; and at any moment some rashness or fury may call them back into politics and make them our potential rivals also. In fact, this very election of senators by the people over which some of us are foaming at the mouth, would bring the negro into sharp, if indirect, new rivalry with us. He holds the balance of power in five Northern States at least. Election of senators by direct vote might mean easily that the men who in those States catered most abjectly to the negro vote would go to the United States Senate.

It is our duty and we are in honor bound to take care of the negro and provide for him. Our ancestors brought him here by force from his own land. We held him in slavery two hundred years and as Senator Borah says, have made him a fool half fifty years. Through no fault of his own, because we think he has done wonderfully well and deserves vast praise—he is made a perpetual nuisance and menace. Every way we turn, everything we try to do, South or North, we run against the negro question; and those of us who are most anxious to avoid hurting the negro's feelings and to be absolutely generous and fair in our treatment of him are most cruelly embarrassed.

We have got to come to it some time or another. The sooner we face it and get at it the better for ourselves and our children. The one thing to do is to buy land enough in some tropical or semi tropical country—we can buy plenty of it—and settle the negroes there, giving them a government and place of their own disconnected from us, providing them with every chance, guarding them against outside interference and leaving them to work out their own fate for themselves with no white man

to meddle. When men like Senator Borah talk as that senator talked yesterday people will be forced to think along these lines. The more they think the faster they will get to the one and inevitable conclusion. This question of the removal of the negro will go before the country some time from some man with the nerve to present it and the position to give it dignity. When it is so presented the people of all colors will accept it because not only is it sound sense but there is no escape from it.

EVE. BULLETIN

Feb 18-1914

Philadelphia, Pa.

RACE PREJUDICE IN THE NORTH

Unfortunately Senator Borah is quite correct in saying that there is as much race prejudice in the North as in the South. It is inherent in Caucasian blood and seems especially so in the Anglo-Saxon branch thereof. Latin races can live more on terms of amity with any other race and some physiologists think that they are weakened by the result. But in this country race prejudice, whether against the negro, the Indian or the Asiatic, is so pronounced as to display itself at all times.

Usually, however, we profess to be horrified at the way the colored people are treated in the South. We read the haughty Southerners some highly moral lectures. And what are we doing? Are the white people of this city, for example, expending much of their money, of their energies and especially of their intelligent sympathies to help the members of the race who have drifted hither? Unfortunately not. Probably one hundred times as much money is sent from this city by white people every year to the heathen in foreign lands as is bestowed upon the negroes in this city who are struggling against many odds, some of which they do not meet at all in the South.

The negro problem is with us, and it will take a long time to settle it, if it ever is settled. But it is certain that we are in no position to throw bricks at the South so long as we fail to help the race here in many directions. Numerous avenues of work are closed to the negro here, which are open to him in the South. Personal service, aside from the most menial pursuits, is almost the only avenue open, and yet we profess to believe—and our laws are based on the assumption—that the color of a man's skin has nothing to do with his rights or his opportunities. We may ponder Senator Borah's words to great advantage.

Feb 18/11

New York City.

CONFESSING DEFEAT.

Mr. Borah's speech in the Senate on Thursday was an admission that his amendment to the Constitution, purporting to change that instrument at one point, but really changing it at two points, has been undermined by its disingenuousness. It was generally assumed that Mr. Borah and his sympathizers had started out to do a single thing—to transfer the right to choose United States Senators from the legislatures of the various states to the electors in those states entitled to vote for members "of the most numerous branch of the state Legislature." A resolution submitting such a proposition might have commanded the necessary two-thirds vote in the Senate. But after the amendment had been drafted and reported it was discovered that in addition to making elections of Senators direct it handed over to the states the unconditional control of Senate elections, thus stripping the federal government of a power which the framers of the Constitution thought essential to the maintenance of a just balance between state sovereignty and national sovereignty.

As has been pointed out by Senators Sutherland, Lodge and Root, the first change intended concerns only an alteration in the machinery of election, but the second strikes down one of the federal government's most cherished and valued prerogatives—that of passing final judgment on the provisions made by the states for supplying their representation in the federal Legislature. The second effect is of vastly more consequence than the first, and the defenders of the amendment have now been forced to try to justify their attempt to cripple federal sovereignty under the guise of merely substituting one state agency for another in the naming of United States Senators. It is an uphill task, for though the experiment of direct choice is favored in a good many states there has been no popular demand whatsoever for a return to the demoralizing conditions of state control which prevailed under the Articles of Confederation.

Mr. Borah was driven to make the unsound argument that because the federal power to regulate elections of Senators and Representatives is not used as freely as it might be used, Congress ought to surrender it altogether. The Idaho Senator is on record as wishing to restore to the states absolute control

of the elections of Representatives as well as of Senators. He should not forget that federal laws regulating the choice of Representatives are now in force in all the states, and that under one of those laws a federal grand jury in Maryland has just indicted state officials for foisting trick ballots on the voters at the election of 1910. It rests with Congress how far the power of supervision shall be exercised, and it is mere sophistry to argue that because Congress has not employed a federal power to the largest possible extent that power should be surrendered. Its very existence keeps the states in check, for they know that the federal authority can call them to account, if it wishes to do so, for unconstitutional discriminations or partisan trickery. Mr. Borah's taunt that Congress is slow in exercising its sovereignty cannot help his case. It will only put the opponents of his amendment more on their guard against letting a power lapse for which there will always be need, both as a corrective and a deterrent.

"News" Feb. 18-1911.
Savannah, Ga.

THE RACE QUESTION IN THE SENATE.

Fearing that the race issue that has been introduced into the Senate will defeat the joint resolution providing for the election of senators by direct vote of the people, Senator Borah of Idaho took occasion on Thursday to speak his mind freely in respect to the attitude of the North on it. Being a senator of that section what he had to say was more effective than if said by a Southern senator. It is his opinion that the prejudice against the negro is just as intense in the North as in the South, and that the North plays the part of a hypocrite in its contentions to the contrary. He could have gone further and said that the feeling in the North against the negro is even stronger than in the South. That this is so is evident from the fact that the negroes are not emigrating to the North in any considerable numbers, and many of those who go there are glad to return.

As pointed out by Senator Borah, negroes are lynched in the North as well as in the South, and, as pointed out by Booker Washington, when a heinous offense is committed in the North by a negro there is an outcrop-

ping of feeling against the negro race, while in the South vengeance is directed only against the criminal. And there is another thing to which Senator Borah called attention. It is that most of the avenues for earning a living in the North are closed to the negro, while practically all of them are open to him in the South.

There is no doubt of the correctness of the position of Senator Borah that the North isn't sincere in its attitude in respect to the negro. It pretends one thing and does another. It is certainly true that, so far as the negro is concerned, it got upon a basis of truth and fact, so that the negro would know just where he stood and what to expect.

The race question was brought into the Senate in connection with the resolution providing for the election of senators by direct vote of the people for the purpose, as many believe, of defeating that resolution. The question is raised by the two amendments to the resolution offered by Senators Sutherland and Depew. Those back of these amendments must have known that they wouldn't be acceptable to the Southern senators because they give Congress the power to supervise the election of senators. They would open the way for questioning the legality of the suffrage laws of the Southern states, the laws that are intended to eliminate the illiterate negro vote.

Without the support of Southern senators the direct vote resolution has no chance of being passed. Hence Senator Borah pointed out that the North was at heart no more friendly to the negro than is the South. Whether his courageous attitude in this matter will have the effect of causing the amendments to be withdrawn or voted down is problematical, but it is a safe statement that if they are made a part of the resolution the resolution will be defeated. In that event the responsibility for its defeat will rest on the Northern senators.

*Age Herald Feb 1911
Birmingham, Ala.*

Senator Borah on the Race Issue

The utter insincerity of the Sutherland and Depew amendments of the proposition for the direct election of United States senators was made plain by Senator Borah of Idaho. He also exposed, being a republican, the hypocrisy of northern sentiment concerning the negro race. Color prejudice is just as intense, said Senator Borah, in the north as it is in the south. In this respect Senator Borah understated the situation, for color prejudice is much more intense in the north than it is in the south, and wherever negroes are numerous in the north manifestations of this prejudice become quickly apparent. "The northern states," said Senator Borah, "have exhibited the same race prejudice that has been shown elsewhere. In the north we burn the negro at the stake and there, as in other sections, we have our race riots. We push our negroes to the outer edge of the industrial world. We exhibit the same prejudices, the same weakness and the same intolerance that is apparent in the southland."

Coming from a republican senator of distant Idaho this is a frank confession of northern hypocrisy on the race question. Senator Borah was induced to make this confession because the standpatters are endeavoring to defeat the direct elections proposition by injecting into it the race issue. The Depew amendment does this in a barefaced manner, while the Sutherland amendment is as objectionable but a trifle more insidious. The fallacy and hypocrisy of both, and especially of the Sutherland amendment were mercilessly exposed by Senator Borah, whose speech was one of the most emphatic and courageous of the present debate over the direct election of United States senators.

"World" Feb. 18/11.
Aberdeen, Wash.

NEGRO NOT INVOLVED

The South, of course, has no monopoly of race prejudice, and Senator Borah told a plain fact when he declared that the dislike of the negro is as great in the North as in the South. So it is. The North does not have as many difficulties with the negro as the South merely, simply and solely because the negro is not as numerous in the North. If he were, there is nothing, certainly, in the record to show but that the same sort of treatment for the same sort of offenses would be meted out to the negro in the North as in the South, and with as revolting details and incidents.

But, after all, this race question has no especial place in the debate in the United States senate over the question of the election of senators by direct vote. That question involves the one point as to whether or not the people shall name their representatives in the higher branch of congress directly or through delegated authority. The problem is merely one of method, though it goes back to the deeper question of the underlying principle of the senate. The senate at the outset represented the landed proprietors of the states. Today it has come to represent a certain class which has taken a larger interest in and a larger control of the affairs of this government than can be deemed desirable. Hence the demand for a change.

Borah is making a valiant and able fight for direct senatorial elections. He may not win; very likely he will not; but he will probably succeed in compelling a vote on the question itself and not on any subterfuge. The people at all events will not be deceived, no matter how much self-deception the senate may practice.

"Journal" Feb. 19/11
Providence, R. I.

More Than a Race Question.

Mr. Borah of Idaho, whose speech of Thursday on the proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution for the election of Senators by direct popular vote is extravagantly characterized as "the bravest made since the Civil War," puts on racial grounds his objection to the Sutherland proposal for the continued right of Congress to supervise senatorial elections, whereas the question involves far wider considerations. It may be useful to recall the present parliamentary situation as respects this amendment. The House some time ago passed a resolution submitting the amendment to the States, but in the Senate the committee to which the resolution was referred so altered it as to inject the perennial State rights issue into the discussion. The House draft retained to Congress the privilege it has always enjoyed of regulating the times, places and manner of holding elections for Representatives, and the times and manner of holding elections for Senators; but the Senate committee proposed that Congress should be deprived of the right of regulating the election of members of the upper chamber. Mr. Sutherland of Utah thereupon offered an amendment to the committee's draft, providing for the continuance of the existing congressional control. Against this reasonable proposal Mr. Borah has been struggling with all his oratorical might.

The reason for his opposition is clear: a two-thirds majority is requisite to pass any direct elections resolution, and he has believed it necessary to throw a sop to the Democratic minority in order to secure this majority. The South wishes to be let alone to conduct its elections as it sees fit, and the Idaho Senator, being taunted with the charge that his proposal looks to the elimination of the negro vote in that part of the country, has been led into vehement denunciation of the North for its hypocrisy toward the black. He says—and there is truth in the observation—that the same race prejudice exists in all parts of the United States. In the North, as well as in the South, the negro is "pushed to the outer edge of the industrial world," maltreated, burned at the stake. Yet, Mr. Borah points out, we object to permitting the Southern States to put such racial restrictions

around the suffrage privilege as experience has dictated to them. But this, he ought to realize, is only one phase of the matter.

The chief objection to his scheme for the withdrawal of congressional control over senatorial elections is much broader than any question of negro rights or wrongs. The principal trouble with the plan is that it deprives Congress of the supervision of the choice of its own members and substitutes a local control that might in an emergency—either at the North or at the South—be a source of serious embarrassment, even of real danger, to the Federal Government. Suppose, to take an analogous case, the State of Rhode Island should give each city and town within its jurisdiction the right to say when and under what conditions State Senators might be chosen, and suppose a considerable group of these communities should decline to elect any Senators, or should choose them when and how they pleased—at varying times, and under conditions repugnant to the general sense of propriety. Confusion would of course be invited; and much the same may be said of the Borah amendment with regard to the election of Federal Senators.

It has been suggested that if the Borah plan were adopted, a party temporarily in power in a State might elect a Senator not for a six-year term merely, but for half a dozen such terms, or practically for life, thus forestalling the return of the opposition party to power. Possibly this could be done, though it seems fantastic; but it is only one of a variety of untoward possibilities to which the door would immediately be opened if the plan of the Idaho Senator were to become part of the Federal Constitution. If the country can obtain direct senatorial elections only at the price he proposes, it might better do without them. *U. A.*

"Press" Feb. 21/1911
New York City.

The Progressive Aim.

The agitation for election of Senators by direct vote, for State-wide primaries, for the choice of Presidential Convention delegates at primaries instead of by conventions, for the initiative and the referendum is an agitation for "a larger popular participation in government," for steps toward a "reversion to purely democratic methods of government." These descriptive phrases were made the

other day by Attorney General Wickersham, who said in the same speech: "There is much current advocacy of change in our institutions among those who find it easier to suggest changes in the structure of government than to grapple directly with the evils that arise under all forms of government."

Mr. Wickersham will fail if he expects by such sentences as this to persuade the American public that the Progressive movement is led or supported by men who believe all our political problems will solve themselves as soon as we have "a larger popular participation in government." How can he hope any hard-headed citizen to see, in his phrase about men who shrink from grappling with existing evils, a likeness of Wilson or La Follette or Borah? Has any of these men ever said we could bring on the millennium by reverting to purely democratic methods? Has his interest in Direct Primaries or the referendum led one of them into indifference toward other political questions, or made one of them shirk his part of current political work? Surely everybody who keeps half an eye on politics knows that as "direct grapplers" with existing evils all these men rank high.

No sensible Progressive believes that as soon as we have plenty of primaries and few enough conventions, and an opportunity for direct voting upon important changes in our laws, we shall have no further political duties except to fold our hands in admiration of the best of all worlds. No sensible Progressive imputes infallible wisdom to the majority, or denies that the majority will often nominate men as inefficient as those it has often elected. No one pretends the results of the referendum will always be unfavorable to bad laws or always favorable to good ones. The Progressive contention is that in a democracy the will of the majority ought to prevail, and that under existing conditions, when bosses so frequently manipulate conventions and Legislatures, this will is often defeated. The Progressive aim is to give the majority in fact the power it now has in theory. The problem of persuading the majority to make a wise use of its power will exist until the end of time.

"Journal" Feb 20/11
 Jersey City, N. J.

POPULAR ELECTION OF U. S. SENATORS

If the United States Senate votes to reform itself by standing by the proposed Constitutional amendment providing for the election of Senators by direct vote of the people, much of the credit for the recognition of the popular will will be due to Senator Borah, of Idaho, who is giving the opponents of the plan a very uncomfortable time of it these days. His recent speech in favor of the proposed amendment won over some Senators who had been looked upon as uncompromising foes of the change.

Senator Borah pointed out that the plan of electing Senators by the direct vote of the people is not new. "It has been before Congress session after session for 85 years," he declared. "At least 32 States have spoken in favor of the amendment or the principle. And now, after nearly a century of discussion and consideration, the sober second thought of the people, upon which the fathers so implicitly relied, is greatly in its favor."

Upon Senator Lodge, who is uncompromising in his opposition to the proposed change, seems to have fallen the task of leading the fight for the Old Guard, but he is being worsted in the debate. As an iron-clad, copper riveted optimist, however, he is clearly entitled to place, for he argues that the "Government has proved abundantly able to check the influence of money," and that "any danger of the moneyed interests getting even partial control of the Government or acquiring undue political influence has been brought to an end in the last ten years."

It is an epoch making fight, and so far the advocates of the amendment have by far the better of the argument. Whether they have the votes or not remains to be seen.

Minneapolis, Minn. Journal.
 WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1911

A Double-Barreled Resolution.

Senator Borah's resolution to submit to the States an amendment to the Constitution providing for the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people, appears to have struck a snag. That snag is the Federal control of elections.

It seemed simple to refer the election of Senators to the electors competent to vote for the most numerous branch of the Legislature in each State, and this the resolution does. But it appears also that this would wipe out all Federal control of the elections of Senators. The power to supervise elections is members of the

House is reserved to the Federal Government, and though seldom used it is there. But if the Borah resolution were passed as it stands and the Constitution thus amended, there would be no such power as far as Senators are concerned.

This is what Senator Root alluded to when he said in debate that he would point out that the resolution promising to do one thing really does two. He added that, if the people wanted an election of Senators under the Constitution, the first part of the Borah resolution would do, but that, if they did not want an election of Senators outside of the Constitution, they would do well to look to the second part of the resolution. This statement from Senator Root has had the effect of hanging up the resolution in the Senate.

Milwaukee (Wis.) Free Press.
Thursday, Feb. 23, 1911.

SENATOR BORAH'S MISTAKE.

If Senator Borah's proposed amendment to the constitution concerned itself solely with the transferral of the right to elect United States senators from the legislatures to the people, it might have commanded the two-thirds vote in the senate necessary to submit this question to the states.

But the Idaho senator's proposition is not limited to this point. It proposes, in addition, to hand over to the states the unconditional control of senatorial elections, which is a constitutional horse of a decidedly different color.

The first change intended concerns only an alteration in the machinery of election, the second aims at one of the federal government's most important prerogatives—that of passing final judgment on the provisions made by the states for supplying their representation in the federal legislature.

While there undoubtedly is a large popular demand for the election of United States senators by direct vote of the people, there is no demand whatsoever for the abrogation of a federal power which the framers of the constitution thought necessary to the maintenance of a just balance between state sovereignty and national sovereignty.

Every believer in the desirability of transferring the election of senators from the legislatures to the people must therefore consider it highly regrettable that Senator Borah should have complicated this issue by another wholly irrelevant. For if the senate refuses to submit the Borah amendment, as it undoubtedly will, it will be because of the latter.

The constitutional provision for the federal regulation of the elections of senators and representatives was the direct result of the demoralizing conditions of state control which prevailed under the articles of confederation, and there is no positive or legitimate reason why this federal power should now be abrogated.

Theodore Roosevelt, who favors the popular election of senators, spoke thus on this point in his Lincoln day address:

But the United States should under no circumstances surrender one particle of the control it now has as regards the election of senators. To do so would be a mistake which might have grave and far-reaching conse-

quences and absolutely no argument worth hearing can be advanced in favor of such a change.

The Free Press has never favored an encroachment of the rights and functions of the states by the federal government; by the same token it does not approve any weakening of federal power in the interests of the states.

Senator Borah's argument that the federal government does not freely use its power to regulate congressional elections begs the question. The mere fact that it has the power holds the states in check. There would be a great deal more of partisan trickery in congressional elections if politicians did not stand in fear of the federal law. Only the other day a federal grand jury in Maryland indicted state officials for misuse of the ballot at the last election.

But it is time wasted to argue on this point. We only refer to the matter now that our readers may be clear in their minds as to the effect upon senatorial action of this complicating feature in the Borah amendment.

If the senate refuses to submit the amendment, it will be in the very first place because of this and not, as will be maintained by the Borah following, because of objection to the direct election of senators.

Senator Borah has defeated his main end by his disingenuous attempt to identify with it a personal croch.

*Weekly Globe Feb. 23
Atkinson, Kansas.*

That prejudice against the negro is just as intense in the North as in the South, and that the North plays the hypocrite in its contentions to the contrary was boldly and bluntly asserted in the senate yesterday by Senator Borah, of Idaho. Mr. Borah's declarations regarding the negro were made at the close of a prolonged speech in opposition to the Sutherland amendment to the senate resolution, providing for the election of senators by popular vote. That amendment would have the effect of giving congress control of senatorial elections. The Idaho senator's pronouncement on the race question was made in response to the recent assertion of Senator Root that, without the Sutherland provisions, the resolution would deprive the southern negroes of federal protection in the exercise of the franchise. Mr. Borah dissented from the New York senator's view, and, in doing so, used language which elicited congratulations from many senators.

BORAH ON THE NEGRO.

OUT of the west has come a frank statement relative to the status of the American negro that should not go unheeded. It was elicited from Senator William Edgar Borah, of Oregon, a republican, at the close of a long speech in opposition to the Sutherland amendment to the senate resolution for the election of senators by popular vote, an amendment that would have the effect of giving congress control of senatorial elections.

Senator Root of New York had asserted that without the Sutherland provision the resolution would deprive the southern negroes of federal protection in the exercise of the franchise.

Expressing regret that the race question had been brought into the controversy, Senator Borah wondered "how long the north is going to play the hypocrite and moral coward on this question." The north had always assumed more wisdom and more tolerance in dealing with this problem, he said, yet a call of the roll of the northern states in which there is any appreciable number of negroes would demonstrate that the north had not dealt more leniently with the negro than had other sections. In the north the negro had been burned at the stake and had been pushed to the edge of the industrial world. The north manifested the same prejudices, the same weaknesses and the same intolerance that have been manifested in the southland. Sententiously Senator Borah then declared:

THE NEGRO HAS BEEN USED AS A POLITICAL FOOTBALL ABOUT AS LONG AS OUR OWN SENSE OF DECENCY AND HIS DEVELOPING INTELLIGENCE WILL PERMIT. WE SHOULD NO LONGER MISTREAT HIM, BUT WE SHOULD HAVE THE COURAGE TO INFORM HIM AS TO THE REAL SITUATION. IT DOES NOT BENEFIT HIM TO MAKE HIM THE SUBJECT OF OUR SOPHOMORIC RHETORIC. THE COLORED RACE HAS ADVANCED TO THE POINT WHERE WE WELL DISPENSE WITH THE PERENNIAL DISTRIBUTION OF SOOTHING SYRUP AND GIVE THEM SOLID FOOD IN THE WAY OF FACTS. WE SHOULD TELL THEM THE TRUTH AND CONCEAL NOTHING.

The utterance can not be regarded as the vapors of a political ranter, for the senator from Oregon is not to be so classified. He has not that kind of record, and his intellectual countenance and earnest manner do not comport with such an estimate of the man. They present the same frankness and honesty that is represented in the expression under consideration.

It is to be hoped that more of our public men will speak with sincerity and equal frankness on this question. It will quicker effect the elimination of the negro as a political asset and cause him to assume his true relationship to society. The sooner this is accomplished the better it will be for the black man, and it should compel the subsidence of the demagogues and charlatans who make political capital of him, who have used him in promoting their own political welfare for the past forty five years.

The American negro has attained that degree of in-

telligence that he is prepared for enlightenment relative to his own unpleasant relation to the existing order. Many of the educated negroes have already realized that their race has been used in the past; that their solidarity has been employed to further the encroachments of special privilege and retard the progress of true democracy.

That negro who exactly appreciates the fundamental fact that the discoloration of his skin constitutes a natural race distinction which he may never expect to obviate is most progressive. He accepts the condition of natural segregation and makes the best of it, casting aside the ignorant vanity that cherishes the hope of equality and that causes him to become the prey of demagogues who would employ him as a stepping stone to political advancement. It is the sane negro who avoids these pitfalls for his race who commands the respect of the white man, maintains his proper place and receives the best treatment.

Frank discussion of the race question, as excellently exemplified by the brilliant Idaho senator, and honest dealing with the negro in adjusting his relationship to society may be expected to effect a more or less amicable solution of a problem that has become exceedingly grave and portentous.

A proper adjustment of this social-economic question may be expected, furthermore, to result in political realignments that should enable the American people to determine other politico-economical questions that are pressing for solution and the proper disposition of which will make for national advancement.

EVENING POST, Feb 25-1911

New York City.

The defeat of the resolution for a Constitutional amendment authorizing the popular election of Senators seems assured this morning by the adoption of the Sutherland amendment to the resolution. Yet this is the very action which ought to insure its adoption. Why the question of the Federal control of elections should have been brought up at all is inexplicable. Had no mention of it been made in the Borah resolution, the existing satisfactory conditions would have prevailed, under which the Federal Government has control over the election of Senators and can prescribe the qualifications of voters, and the resolution would have been carried triumphantly. Northern Senators like Root and Depew challenged the Borah resolution on the correct ground that it deprived the Federal Government of a control it ought not to relinquish. Being opposed to it any-

way, they were glad of the additional argument. Now that the Sutherland amendment, which properly corrects the Borah resolution and meets this argument of its critics, has been adopted, the Southern Senators are bound to kill the bill lest it give the Federal Government greater powers than it now has and lead it to interfere in the disfranchisement of the negroes. Thus do we have another clear illustration of the way a gross injustice to a certain portion of our citizenship works injury to the whole body politic. The direct election of Senators is gravely needed to help on the political sanitation of the nation, but the nation must do without it in order that millions of black men may still be robbed of the rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution of the United States.

Vicksburg Miss Herald
Saturday, Feb. 25, 1911.

SENATOR BORAH'S SIN.

The New York Tribune thus strains the facts to make out a case against Senator Borah, in his opposition to the Sutherland "force bill" amendment to his committee resolution for electing United States senators:

Mr. Borah was driven to make the unsound argument that because the Federal power to regulate elections of senators and representatives is not used as freely as it might be used, congress ought to surrender it altogether. The Idaho senator is on record as wishing to restore to the states absolute control of the elec-

tions of representatives as well as of senators. He should not forget that Federal laws regulating the choice of representatives are now in force in all the states, and that under one of those laws a Federal grand jury in Maryland has just indicted state officials for foisting trick ballots on the voters at the election of 1910. It rests with congress how far the power of supervision shall be exercised, and it is mere sophistry to argue that because congress has not employed a Federal power to the largest possible extent that power should be surrendered.

There has been no denial, we believe, of the claim that the power of passing laws for supervision of elections of congressmen "rests with congress." The question raised by the Sutherland amendment is as to a specific affirmance of the power. The assertion that "Federal laws regulating the choice of representatives are now in force" is not so in any true sense or degree. The citation of the Maryland indictments to prove the fact of Federal supervision, or regulation, is preposterous. The power of the grand juries to indict and the courts to punish crime is not disputed nor disfavored. But this has no real relation whatever with laws that provide for the presence at the polls of Federal supervisors to supervise, and of United States marshals to enforce supervision, of the holding of elections for representatives. True "it rests with congress how far the power of supervision shall be extended," and under the burning lessons of experience congress in 1894 registered the conviction

that the exercise of that power was unwise, unpatriotic and mischievous; by sweeping the last vestige of laws providing for it from the statutes. Nor has any subsequent congress undertaken to resuscitate the policy on which they rested, until the Sutherland amendment came. It, as Senator Root and others have declared, would be a backward swing of the pendulum, an entering force bill wedge, that, as stated by Senator Percy, the South can not and should not, for the end proposed, consent to. And every Southern senator, save one, in the poll taken yesterday so agreed by voting against it.

SENATOR BORAH'S SPEECH

There is more truth than poetry in the utterances of Senator Borah in his recent speech before the United States senate on the question of direct vote for United States senators.

That we have been getting altogether too much salve from the white man of the north, and not enough of the real truth and fair play, is a conviction of long standing. Only God is responsible for the speech of Senator Borah, who stood before the highest law making body in the United States and dared to tell the white man of his deceit, false interest, and hypocrisy, so long practiced upon the Negro under the colors of the Republican party.

We should like to tell the senator that we have been awake to the situation for some time, but our sad lack of a representative with nerve and manliness enough to present the case has held us silent and helpless. We have very few Sumners or Garrisons these days to take up the cause of the black man and present it squarely before the world, and his recent attitude towards the Negro finds absolute approval in the breasts of 18,000,000 Negroes, at least—and there are a few whites who have a similar conviction. We pray for another Borah, and that right early.

From Pittsburgh Courier

"Courier" Feb 28/11.
Evansville, Ind.

Election by People Postponed

By adding to the resolution providing for the election of United States senators by direct vote of the people, the Sutherland, or "force bill," amendment as it is called, the standpat republicans in the senate have accomplished the defeat of the Borah resolution. The Sutherland amendment provides that the election of senators shall be under the control of the federal authorities and not, as now, under the direction of state authorities, and should it be incorporated into the constitution the southern senators fear that its meaning would be so construed as to authorize the presence of federal troops at the polls.

Senator Sutherland prepared his amendment for the purpose of defeating the Borah resolution by alienating the democratic senators who are in favor of the popular election of senators but who will not stand for "force bill" measures, however artfully disguised, which might place the election in the south under control of unfriendly federal authorities. This fact was made quite clear by the announcement of Senator Bacon of Georgia, that while he was in favor of the Borah resolution as originally reported to the senate, he would not vote for it in its amended form.

It is evident that a sufficient number of southern senators will now vote against the resolution to prevent its adoption by the necessary two-thirds of the votes in the senate. The standpat senators of privileges have succeeded in thwarting the will of the people, but their victory will be short-lived. The movement for the direct election of senators will go on with greater energy and aggressiveness. It will triumph in the end and the standpaters in the senate who have opposed it will be swept out of their seats.

"Press" Feb 28/11
New York City.

A Political Impossibility.

The New York Advocate invites us to say "whether or not the Federal Government should enforce the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments against the Constitution of many of our Southern States." We are glad to answer this question. We do not think it would be wise for the Federal Government to enforce these amendments at the present time. We believe the forcible intervention of the Federal Government, with this end in view, would do the colored race more harm than good. These opinions are held by a great many persons. We guess, though we do not absolutely know, that they or something very like them are held by such leaders of the colored race as Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois.

It was the Sutherland amendment to the Borah resolution for direct

election of Senators that brought on this discussion. That amendment, which was intended to defeat the reform which Senator Borah's resolution would have set in motion, will do more than accomplish this purpose. It will have an undesirable by-product. The amendment itself, and some of the speeches delivered by Senators in its support, will cause unrest and encourage false hopes among Southern negroes. Many of them now believe—what they did not believe a few weeks ago—that there is a chance of Federal intervention to give effect to political rights which they now have in law and have not in fact. To delude them in this way was cruel. It was done deliberately, we are afraid, by some Senators, who did not and do not yet think this cruelty too high a price to pay for the postponement of popular elections to the Senate. Their conduct has imposed upon true friends of the negro the duty of saying frankly that there is now no prospect whatever of his getting his legal rights by Federal intervention.

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*Register Leader Feb.
San Morino, Iowa 23/11*

THE SUTHERLAND AMENDMENT

It will always remain an open question whether federal control of senatorial elections was injected into the debate over the proposed constitutional amendment for the purpose of prejudicing the south and so working its defeat. If that was the purpose it was shrewdly designed, for it now appears that the south may not indorse the amendment.

Senator Borah, leader of the fight for the amendment, bitterly opposed the Sutherland addition. He was joined by other insurgent leaders. The New York Times in its Washington report says:

Knowing the southern opposition to the amendment on account of the fear of interference in the suppression of the negro vote, and fearing that this opposition would have the effect of defeating the whole resolution after it was amended, seven insurgents who eagerly support popular elections voted with the democrats. These were Senators Borah of Idaho, Bourne of Washington, Brewster of Kansas, Brown of Nebraska, Clapp of Minnesota, Cummins of Iowa, and La Follette of Wisconsin. The regulars are counting on the democratic opposition that the Sutherland amendment will stir up, and it is felt tonight that when a vote is taken it will show far less than the needed two-thirds in favor of direct elections.

It is easy to understand the attitude of these men. But on the other hand it is not pleasant to contemplate the situation the country would be in if, the question having been raised and the negro's rights under the way amendments having been referred to, the senate had deliberated and voted against federal supervision.

The question once raised, no matter what the controlling motive there was but one way of disposing of it, and that by asserting again, as we always have asserted, that the general government must protect the integrity of all national elections. The mere fact that the general government does not interfere to right every grievance does not go to the merit of a flat declaration on the part of congress that it will not interfere.

It would have been just as well, no doubt, if nothing had been said about the matter. The country does not at this time contemplate any change in existing conditions. But something was said, the question was raised, some action had to be taken. Under

such circumstances there was only one thing to do and that was to sustain the national authority.

However unfortunate it may be that the choice had to be made, it is much better that the constitutional amendment should go over than that it should be submitted with an implied agreement that the southern states will never be interfered with in their proscription of the colored people.

*"Journal" Feb. 23/11
Portland, Oregon.*

THEY ARE ALL ALIKE

THE VETO BY the governor of Iowa of a bill putting the Oregon direct primary in effect in that state is a sign of existing conditions. He is a reactionary. He is of that wing of the Republican party that fights the insurgent Republicans. He is of the Cannon school of political thought.

All men of his type are against direct primaries. They are against any effort or means by the people of making their own laws through the initiative or vetoing bills by the referendum. They oppose direct election of senator, whether by the Oregon method, or by constitutional amendment. Witness the fight of Lodge against the Borah direct election measure in the United States senate. Every reactionary member of that body is shoulder to shoulder with Lodge, postponing, delaying and obstructing Borah's efforts.

The whole scheme is to withhold power from the people. The interests look upon power in the hands of the great unwashed as dangerous. They prefer city councils, legislatures and congresses. They want legislation done by the proxy instead of by the principal. Jackpot law making and United States senators by purchase are impossible when the

decision is by the whole citizen body.

That is the inner secret of why the reactionary governor of Iowa vetoed the new direct primary. Reactionaries are all alike, whether in Iowa, Wall street or Portland.

New York City.

KILLED BY HIS FRIENDS

Washington dispatches say that the action of the Senate in modifying the Borah amendment has greatly discouraged the leaders in the movement to bring about the popular election of United States Senators. It seems rather paradoxical to admit that the forces behind the demand for direct election have been weakened because the issue which they have raised is to be presented to the senate squarely and on its own merits. The supporters of the Borah amendment have argued that a change is desired in the method of choosing Senators and have given the country the impression that they were trying to amend the Constitution so as to substitute a choice by the voters for a choice by the legislatures. As a matter of fact, they have been trying to amend the Constitution at two points, and while taking the power to elect away from the legislatures have also attempted to take from the federal government the essential reserved right of regulating the processes by which members of the national Legislature are to be chosen.

Debate on the amendment exposed the joker concealed in it, and the Senate has stricken out the joker by a vote of 36 to 37. Now many of Mr. Borah's followers have turned against him, showing that they were more concerned about annulling federal control of Senate elections than about making such elections popular. The whole case has been mishandled by the advocates of direct elections. They could have brought in an amendment confined in its effect to transferring the right of choice from the legislatures to the voters, but they preferred to accomplish a different and unrelated result by drawing an amendment which aimed incidentally at crippling one of the essential powers of the federal government for the benefit of states which are anxious to escape any federal supervision whatsoever of their elections.

It will be the Idaho Senator's own fault if his amendment fails to receive a two-thirds majority next Tuesday. By holding out false hopes to certain Southern Senators he has alienated their support. Had the amendment been offered in the form in which it has been offered several times in the House of Representatives it might have secured the necessary majority in the Senate, since most of the Southern states are on record as favoring the change from the indirect to the direct process, and their representatives in the Senate could hardly have excused themselves for not

approving for general use a method which they have almost universally applied at home. But by permitting them to claim that the Sutherland amendment violates the true principle of direct choice and accomplishes something which they consider against the South's interests Mr. Borah converted them from supporters into opponents. The indications are that the amendment will fail when it comes to a vote. The country will be indifferent to its fate, for in the last ten years conditions have so changed that any state can use the direct system of election if it sees fit to do so, and there is obviously no need for general legislation compelling states to do what they already have the power to do of their own choice.

"Examiner" Feb. 25/11.
San Francisco, Cal.

**Borah Kills
the Race
Question.**

SENATOR BORAH has taken Senator Root's race question and tossed it out of the arena.

The question of the direct election of United States Senators has nothing to do with the right of colored men to cast their vote—North or South.

The resolution proposing the constitutional amendment came from the Senate committee with a provision that not Congress but the State Legislatures should supervise Senatorial elections. But whether this provision stands or falls, the rights of suffrage guaranteed by the Constitution are not touched.

In either case Congress would, of course, have power to safeguard all constitutional rights of franchise. And the United States courts would have power to protect any such right from local interference.

Mr. Root has done his best to roll the waters of race and sectional prejudice—but to no purpose.

His glittering show of legal learning and his pose of prophetic fear have failed to impress the country.

Mr. Borah's tranquilizing exposition of the law and the facts should quiet even Mr. Root's overwrought nerves.

"News" Mar. 1/11
Savannah, Ga.

DEFEAT OF THE DIRECT VOTE RESOLUTION.

The defeat of the resolution providing for the election of senators by the direct vote of the people wasn't a surprise. When the Sutherland amendment was made a part of it predictions were freely made that it would be defeated. A number of Southern senators who favored the resolution felt compelled to vote against it on account of that amendment. In their opinion it would have put it in the power of Congress to supervise the elections—to fix the qualifications of voters. That would have opened the way for assaults on the suffrage laws of those states which have disqualified illiterate negroes.

The statement has been made, and with much reason, that the Sutherland amendment was made a part of the resolution for the purpose of defeating it. It was well understood that a number of Southern senators who favored the resolution wouldn't vote for it if it were so amended as to give Congress authority to fix the qualification of voters.

The election of senators by direct vote of the people is popular in the South. In fact, it has received its strongest support in the South. Many of the Southern states now practically elect their senators by direct vote. The choice of their people is made in that way and it is respected by their legislatures.

The Southern people therefore will not hold their senators responsible for the defeat of the resolution. They understand why it was defeated and will be satisfied to wait until it is presented to the Senate again without the Sutherland amendment. That it will be so presented in the next Congress there isn't much doubt.

Senator Borah, who was in charge of the resolution, expressed satisfaction at the outcome. He said that he was satisfied that it would be passed by the next Congress. In his opinion it was a great victory for the direct elections proposition that the resolution received much more than a majority of a full Senate. To pass the resolution required a two-thirds vote, and with 87 present out of the 98 senators that compose a full Senate it received within 4 votes of the required two-thirds majority.

The responsibility for the defeat of the resolution rests upon those who insisted on the Sutherland amendment. Without that amendment it would have received many more votes than the requisite two-thirds majority. It is pretty safe to predict, therefore, that the amendment will be abandoned in the next Congress, that then the resolution will be passed and the long fight for the election of senators by the direct vote of the people will be won.

"Tribune" Mar. 1/11
Salt Lake City, Utah

THE AMENDMENT FAILS.

It was a foregone conclusion that the proposed constitutional amendment allowing Senators to be elected by popular vote would be beaten, after the Sutherland attachment was tacked on to it. This amendment distinctly put in the hands of Congress power to pass a force bill, allowing the interference of the Federal authority within the State in the popular elections at which the Senator would be chosen. Whether that right of interference exists now or not, it has all along been certain that the Southern States would not agree to formally recognize it by voting for such power to interfere with the States, and so the Southern Senators voted against it. The vote was fifty-four in favor and thirty-three against it. But, since the measure, in order to pass, must have a two-thirds vote, it was defeated.

The Senators from Utah divided on this vote, Sutherland voting for the proposition for the sake of his obnoxious amendment, and Smoot voting against it on the general principle that he is satisfied with things as they are. The Idaho Senators also divided, Borah voting for the amendment and Heyburn against it.

And so, all the time that has been devoted by the Senate to this proposition has been time wasted, and the worst of it is that everybody knew it would be waste of time from the moment that the Sutherland attachment was fixed upon the proposition.

as Washington, D. C.

Popular Election of Senators.

The Senate, by defeating the Borah resolution, throws the question of the election of senators by popular vote into the future. The margin was so slight, however, that the advocates of the proposed change in the Constitution are likely to bring the matter forward again at the first opportunity. The defection of a few Southern senators primarily favorable to the resolution compassed its defeat, and incidentally afforded opportunity for a more thorough thrashing out than it has received.

This is perhaps the best disposition that could have been made of the question, as the Senate debate disclosed the fact that it had not been digested in all its details. More time is needed to clarify important points, while at the same time the people at large may further ponder the wisdom of making a revolutionary change in the fundamental law which for more than a century has given the nation the greatest parliamentary body in the world. The question has been up for many years; but, as the late Senator Hoar declared in an argument that carried conviction, changing the Constitution is not a matter of years, but of a century; and in that view of the case there is no need to make haste. Moreover, the people are prone to change their minds or grow indifferent, as has happened with the income tax amendment. The demand for its adoption was more insistent than for the Borah resolution; but who hears of the income tax amendment nowadays? It is pigeonholed by nearly 30 legislatures. Besides, several States which were loudly in line a few years ago have since declared against it.

The Republican senators who voted in the negative on the Borah resolution based their opposition on constitutional grounds, while the Democrats were governed by a fear that the Sutherland amendment might work mischief with the "grandfather" device and other franchise laws in the South restrictive of the negro vote. This appears to be a rather strained interpretation of the amendment, which simply leaves the Constitution as it stands with respect to Federal control of elections for members of Congress. Still, the injection of the race issue into the debate was of itself a deterrent factor and roused apprehensions which could not be allayed.

"Daily Eagle" Mar. 1/11
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Test Vote in the Senate.

The Borah resolution recommending an amendment to the Federal Constitution providing for the election of Senators by popular vote, as altered by the Sutherland pro-negro amendment, came to a vote in the Senate yesterday, and failed of passage by four votes. Without the Sutherland amendment it would probably have prevailed. Article V of the Constitution makes it possible for two-thirds of each house of the National Legislature to recommend an amendment, which shall become effective when by action of legislatures, or by state conventions three-fourths of the states have ratified it. This is the simplest form of amendment. For many years it has been assumed by most students that the Senate would never consent to the radical change involved in popular election of senators, and that the only way of accomplishing such a change would be to have two-thirds of the states demand a constitutional convention to propose the amendment. The test vote, 54 ayes to 33 nays, indicates that the students were wrong. After March 4 the Senate will be more friendly to innovation than it is now. It is not unreasonable to believe that the change is coming, whether it be wise or unwise.

The general situation in the Senate gives very little hope that an extra session can be averted. It is not to be expected that President Taft will yield on the reciprocity issue. He ought not to yield. He cannot yield without exciting the bitterest feeling among those who are paying high prices for food products and have hoped for relief. And this class is in a vast majority in every state in the Union.

New York, N. Y., Tribune.
Wednesday, March 1, 1911.

MR. BORAH'S DEFEAT.

The Borah resolution submitting to the state legislatures an amendment to the federal Constitution intended to bring about the direct election of United States Senators was defeated in the Senate yesterday by a vote of 54 ayes to 33 noes. Fifty-eight ayes to 29 noes would have passed it. The failure of the resolution was due chiefly to Mr. Borah's bad generalship. Instead of raising the simple issue of transferring the power to elect from the Legislature to the voters he inserted a "joker" in his amendment, surrendering to the states entire control of the choice of Senators, thus stripping the federal government of one of its most valued and necessary prerogatives. He excited false hopes in the breasts of those who want to see state sovereignty exalted at the expense of national sovereignty, and when those hopes were dashed by the exclusion of the "joker" enough of his chagrined state rights supporters deserted him to cause the rejection of his amendment.

Of the thirty-three votes in opposition nine were cast by Southern Senators who owe their election to direct nominations in party primaries. They are committed to the principle of taking the right of choice out of the hands of the legislatures, but they want to exact for their support of an amendment to the Constitution applying that principle uniformly throughout the Union a renunciation on the part of the government of its present power to regulate state methods of choosing Senators. The Southerners nominated by popular action who declined to support the Borah resolution were Bankhead and Johnston, of Alabama; Fletcher and Tallafarro, of Florida; Money and Percy, of Mississippi; Tillman, of South Carolina; Bacon, of Georgia, and Foster, of Louisiana. Mr. Bacon's colleague, Mr. Terrell, would have voted against the resolution if he had been present.

The opposition to the amendment, on its intrinsic merits came chiefly from the New England and Middle states. Only one of the twelve New England Senators—Mr. Frye, of Maine—voted in the affirmative, although Mr. Aldrich was absent and no announcement was made as to how he would have voted. From the Middle States six of the eight Senators were against the amendment—Mr. Briggs, of New Jersey, and Mr. du Pont, of Delaware, being in favor of it. The other eight votes in opposition came from West Virginia, Ohio, Illinois, Mich-

igan, California, Idaho, Utah and Wyoming.

The New England and Middle states are satisfied to retain the old method and are fully justified in protesting against being forced to adopt the new one before the advantages claimed for it have been demonstrated. It cannot be truly said that the standard of senatorial qualifications has been raised by the experiment of direct elections in so far as it has already been made; so that in practical results the new method is far from having proved its case. Besides, there is no need of compelling the states as a whole to do what any one of them can do of its own choice and what about half of them now do without let or hindrance.

THE VOTE ON THE AMENDMENT

The vote in the Senate yesterday upon the direct-elections resolution showed once more how ruthlessly party fences are knocked over in these days of insurgency. There was a time, and not so long ago, when the greater questions of state were commonly decided by strict party votes. But no more. In the Senate, as in the House, the spirit of independence is abroad, and it is utterly impossible for the party whips and bosses to reckon votes in advance. When the roll was called in the Senate yesterday the division was not between Republicans and Democrats, but between Liberals and Conservatives. Upon these lines, perhaps, two new parties will ultimately take shape, but meanwhile every third man is a free lance.

Mr. Borah, Mr. Rayner and the other Senators who have fought so valiantly for direct elections are to be congratulated upon their success in bringing the issue to a vote. That vote was close enough to prove that their long campaign had borne fruit, for five more ayes would have given the resolution the constitutional two-thirds majority. The difficulty in the past had been that the Senate refused to vote upon the resolution at all. It came up in 1893, 1894, 1898, 1900 and 1902, with a two-thirds majority in the House behind it, but

each time the Senate pigeonholed it. There will be no more pigeonholing. As soon as the next Congress assembles, which may be on March 4, the resolution will be brought up again, and with the aid of the progressives who will take the seats of certain of the lame ducks now on the roll it will be passed.

Mar. 1-1911
 Baltimore, Md.
 Evening Sun

Register Leader
Des Moines, Iowa. Mar. 11/11.

DEFEAT OF THE AMENDMENT.

Whether Senator Borah's proposed amendment to the constitution was open to the criticism Senator Root offered or not, Senator Borah put himself in a wrong position when he urged that the negro is down and out and that the north is merely exhibiting its hypocrisy when it asserts that he is not.

Senator Root insisted that Senator Borah's amendment would deprive the national government of some of the supervision it now has the right to exercise. What is known as the Sutherland amendment was offered to remedy this defect. Whether the Sutherland amendment was offered in good faith or was adopted merely to anger the southern supporters of Senator Borah, Senator Borah should have met the issue on grounds northern senators could consistently occupy.

It would have been tremendously important if the senate following Senator Borah's speech had deliberately voted to defeat the proposal to retain what power the national government now has to protect citizens in their right to vote. It is tremendously important that, following Senator Root's declaration that some day the national government will see to it that grandfather clauses and all other evasions of the constitution will be smashed, the senate should have stood by him in adopting the Sutherland amendment.

The defeat of the popular election of United States senators is to be regretted. But it is not nearly so serious as it will be made to appear. The states already have it in their power through the Oregon plan to secure all that a constitutional amendment would give them, and if the states will not voluntarily go to popular election of senators they might not vote to ratify a constitutional amendment, and so nothing would come of it after all.

In any event the senate has set the seal of its disapproval on the suggestion that it is unimportant

whether an honest ballot is guaranteed to the southern states, and has given due notice that at some time the southern states will be brought to an accounting. In the long run that is much more important than the other. It is much more important that we have an honest ballot and a square deal for the humblest citizen than that we have this or that method of electing United States senators.

From New York Mail
Address 1517
Date _____

THE ELECTION OF SENATORS.

It has been the fate of the movement for electing senators direct to become involved with two other propositions of more immediate moment.

The Senate has rejected the plan to amend the constitution so as to elect senators direct because the amendment, as drafted by Mr. Borah, sought to do more than this. It tried to take from the federal government and give to the states sole power over the laws governing Senate elections—a power guaranteed to the central government in the constitution, salutary in its exercise, necessary to the federal scheme. The terms of the original amendment suggest a covert purpose and a discreditable bargain to win southern support. The project failed, as it deserved, and in the way it deserved—by the secession of ten southern senators when the plot was detected, and cured by the Sutherland amendment.

The other proposition associated with the movement is the bill introduced by Mr. Root and designed to prevent the scandal and disadvantage of protracted deadlocks in electing senators by legislatures. His scheme provides that after March 1 of any year when the legislature is to elect a senator, a plurality, rather than a majority, shall elect. As he suggestively remarks, direct election of senators usually means a plurality, rather than a majority, choice, and the very fact that after a certain day a plurality of legislators may elect a senator will usually insure a majority choice.

'Oregonian' Mar 1/11.
Portland, Oregon.

IS POPULAR ELECTION KILLED?

Although the resolution to submit a constitutional amendment for the popular election of Senators has been defeated, still we may console ourselves with the reflection that it has made substantial progress. Never before has it been possible to bring the subject to a vote in the Senate. Resolutions have been introduced many times and usually they have passed the lower house without difficulty, but when they came to the Senate a tragic fate awaited them. The one which was introduced in 1902 was typical of all the rest. As it entered the Senate it contained nothing but a plain and simple plan for the popular election of Senators, and in that shape it went to the committee on elections, of which Mr. Depew was a member. That distinguished statesman applied to the resolution the same process which has killed the present one. He attached an amendment which brought in the everlasting negro question by giving Congress control over elections for Senators in the states. The resolution of 1902 perished just as Mr. Borah's has perished, except that the former met its fate in the committee on elections under Mr. Depew's suave manipulation, while this one actually came to a vote.

The adverse vote in the Senate will not stop the movement. It will gain in force with every year that passes. At the next session of Congress it will come up again, and again at the next one if it should fall of adoption, and so on until it is finally submitted to the people. Senator Heyburn, of Idaho, is entirely wrong in his opinion that the substantial citizens of the United States are not in favor of the direct election of Senators. There are few questions upon which they are so nearly unanimous. The dissent to the proposal comes from a very small class of men who had their advantage in the delays, corruption and anarchy which surround the present method. Mr. Heyburn, with incredible fatuity, asked his colleagues, "What is the matter with the present method of selecting Senators? Upon what does this imaginary cry of the people rest? Have the legislatures proven themselves incompetent to elect? Is the standard of the Senate lower than it should be? Would direct election purify this body of any evil?" This was a deeper gulf of idocy than most of the opponents of the resolution slipped into, but none of them had anything very sensible to say. Even Senator Root talked nonsense and nonsense.

Mr. Heyburn's question, "What is the matter with the present method of choosing Senators?" was terribly indiscreet. Some of his colleagues must have been tempted to reply that one of the most serious objections was Mr. Heyburn himself and the other men of his stamp who parade their ignorance and fanatical standpoint in the Senate. Regarding his other inquiries, it is a fact which everybody admits that the state legislatures have proved themselves incompetent to perform this duty properly. Not only do they sometimes send men like Heyburn, Lorimer and Depew to the Senate, but now and then they fail to send anybody. An empty-pated simulacrum would be better than no Senator, perhaps, but it happens too often that not even a bad choice can be made. Mr. Heyburn need only have looked as far as New York to find out what is the matter with the present method. There he would have seen a Legislature so clearly incompetent to choose a Senator that it has to go to the boss of Tammany Hall for orders upon the subject, and having received orders, it has not the capacity to obey them. Or Mr. Heyburn might have cast a glance at the last Illinois Legislature or at the present Colorado Legislature or at any one of half a dozen which are trying their best to send feeble-minded rascals to Washington and failing to do even that.

Perhaps it was disgust over the mess in Colorado which persuaded Senator Guggenheim to vote for popular elections. If it was, we commend his taste and good sense. Some men, like Mr. Heyburn, cannot smell carrion no matter how near them it lies. Others find the odor so offensive that they wish to clear it away. Mr. Guggenheim seems to belong to the latter class. He was almost the only one of the standpattees to vote for the resolution, but not quite. Mr. Perkins was with him on the side of the sheep, and so was Stephenson, but almost all the rest of the old guard Senators herded with the goats and in the same band were a goodly number of the Southern Democrats. They opposed the resolution ostensibly because of the Sutherland amendment, which brought in the negro question. The purpose of the amendment was to make these Democrats do exactly what they did. As Mr. Borah neatly put it in his speech, the amendment was introduced "to kill the resolution," and it succeeded perfectly. To some who really favored direct election it appeared so offensive that they voted against their convictions in order to down it. To others the Sutherland amendment afforded a plausible excuse for voting against a measure which they knew their constituents desired.

WASHINGTON,

WEDNESDAY.....March 1, 1911

Had the resolution come before the Senate on its merits it would have passed. It was defeated by a piece of strategy which has been used before, but which will not serve forever. Either the resolution will ultimately be adopted in the Senate or it will be adopted in a constitutional convention and that before many years. Already some 27 states have demanded a convention. Should four more concur, Congress would be obliged to call one, and then not only would the popular election of Senators be secured, but also a number of other innovations for which there is much less reason. The standpaters and negro-haters who have killed the Borah resolution may have the satisfaction of reflecting that they have helped to die their own death.

New Orleans La States
Tuesday, March 2, 1911.

THE DEFEAT OF THE BORAH RESOLUTION.

The failure of the proposed amendment providing for the popular election of United States Senators to receive a two-thirds vote in the Senate necessary for its adoption was anticipated by the events of last week. As a matter of fact the resolution was defeated when the Sutherland amendment placing the elections under control of the Federal authorities was adopted, because the Southern Senators had good reason to fear that if authority to control elections in the States were given Federal officials the South would be placed back where it was twenty-five years ago when Force bills were the order of the day.

The action of the Senate on Tuesday, however, does not mean the final defeat of the movement for the election of senators by direct vote of the people. On the contrary Senator Borah, who is a leader of the advocates of popular elections, announced after the vote had been taken that the resolution will be again introduced at the first session of the new Congress, "regular or extraordinary," and he expressed the opinion that the Senate would pass favorably upon it.

But it cannot be passed with the Sutherland amendment tacked to it, and when it is introduced in the next Congress this obnoxious feature will be eliminated, because there will be at least ten more Democrats in the Senate than at present and with the insurgent Republicans who have also gained a number of seats, they will constitute a majority. In the meantime a dozen or more States are preparing to adopt the primary method of choosing Senators, so that in a few years the control of the Senate will have passed out of the hands of the standpaters.

Senatorial and Other Elections.

Mr. Borah regards as practically a victory the Senate's vote on the proposition for the direct election of senators. And he is right. So near did it come to the two-thirds mark necessary, its friends may rest assured that at the next trial they will win. And the next trial will come when the new Congress sits.

The race issue caused the defeat just recorded. A few of the southern senators feared the effect of the Sutherland amendment on the southern election laws, and, when that was adopted, they turned from the proposition, which in its original form they favored. Strong advocates as they were of popular election of senators, they would not take what they considered the risk of losing the advantages their states have derived, and now enjoy, from the disfranchisement of the negroes.

And yet was there any risk? Mr. Borah made a frank confession about the republican record as respects that matter. For years the republicans have been pronouncing action enforcing the Constitution on the subject of congressional representation. They have thundered in their national platforms, for effect on the colored vote in states where it is not challenged, only to "target it" after election day. They seem entirely harmless so far as the remedy provided by the Constitution is concerned.

The question, in its proper analysis, is neither complex nor dangerous. It is a race question only in so far as the treatment of the negro has provoked it. It is a sectional question only in so far as it has appeared in the south. But, as a matter of fact, both races and all sections would benefit by such a readjustment of congressional power as would conform strictly to the Constitution and do full justice to intelligence and worth in the approaches to the ballot box.

In this country intelligence must rule, and will rule. Men without a stake in the game, and who show no desire to qualify for participating in affairs, have no claims upon consideration as to the suffrage. White and black alike of that class should stand aside. On the other hand, men who have a stake in the game, have qualified for prosperous and law-abiding citizenship, and are prosperous and law-abiding, should, both white and black, enjoy, untrammelled, the right to express themselves at the polls as to the choosing of public servants and the adoption of public policies.

In time, and in a way, let us all hope, to do justice to all, this matter will be considered on its merits by the country and by Congress. Tariff duties and railroad rates and other questions relating to the dollar at present have the call, but the suffrage, which is more important, and cannot always be jugged with, will yet have its innings.

"Chieftain," Pueblo, Col. March 1-1911.

PEOPLE'S WILL IS DENIED

THE FRIENDS of the interests have for the time being succeeded in defeating the proposed amendment for the election of United States senators by direct vote of the people. To Senator Sutherland of Utah goes a large part of the credit, if such it may be called, for thus denying the will of the people. It was the adoption of the Sutherland amendment by the opponents of the direct election measure that alienated the support of the southern senators, and so resulted in the defeat of the bill.

Knowing that they could not defeat the original bill in an open vote, the enemies of popular government injected the race question by means of the Sutherland amendment. This proved efficacious in driving away from the support of the bill a large number of the southern senators, and permitted the reactionaries, who oppose direct election, to "save their faces" with their constituents by voting for the amended bill, knowing it would not pass.

But, at this, a great gain has been made. This is the first time the bill has ever been pushed to a vote in the senate. And a large number of those who, either openly or secretly, voted against the bill in the expiring congress, will be lacking when the roll is called in the new congress. And, in most cases, their places will be taken by senators who are champions of the new system of direct election.

Though Senator Borah failed in carrying his bill, thanks to the cunning scheme of the reactionaries, he has yet accomplished something never before accomplished in pushing the bill to a vote. The young man from Idaho is by no means a quitter. He will be in the next congress. He can be confidently expected once more to introduce his resolution. The people are practically a unit in demanding direct election of senators, and even the United States senate will not be able much longer to withstand this increasing demand of the people.

"Evening Star" Newark, N.J. March 2-1911.

PLAYING THE NEGRO IN CONGRESS.

SENATOR BORAH, of Idaho, justly reproaches his party for playing the hypocrite on the negro question. The Sutherland amendment to the resolution submitting to the States the constitutional amendment regarding the election of United States senators was a device by Republican opponents of the resolution for using the negro as a club with which to kill the resolution. The Sutherland amendment was introduced with a knowledge that if it was adopted it would alienate the votes of Southern senators from the resolution. It had that effect. Senator Borah truly said that there is the same race prejudice in all parts of the country. It is really stronger in the North, for here the negro is denied opportunities of employment that are open to him everywhere in the South, and yet in the North the percentage of blacks in the population compared with the South is small.

The amendment to the Federal Constitution providing for the election of United States Senators by popular vote, without their choice by the Legislature, has failed of success in the Senate—a result not altogether unexpected. It received a handsome majority of 21, the vote standing 54 for the amendment and 33 against it. As constitutional amendments require a two-thirds majority, it failed for the time being, and will go over to next session.

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Senator Borah of Idaho, who introduced the measure and who has been one of its most ardent and persistent advocates, announces that he is in no way daunted by this failure, but will bring up the resolution again at the next session of Congress, and keep on bringing it up until it is passed. In the present status of public opinion he will not have long to wait. The democratic doctrine of election by the people, as against selection by the Legislature, sometimes purchased by the trusts, has gained steadily in strength, and is certain of early accomplishment. When the proposition first came before Congress it carried in the House, but with a large opposition vote. At each session the majority for the popular election of Senators has grown larger, until at the present session the House voted unanimously for the amendment.

In the Senate the pressure from the people and the States has steadily reduced the majority against the amendment, until, as we now see, there is a very handsome majority in its favor, with only four votes needed to make the requisite two-thirds. No difficulty would have been encountered in getting the needed two-thirds and over but for the amendment added to the resolution by those who opposed it, giving the Federal government a control over the popular election of Senators, which many of the Southern members, remembering the evil influences of "the force bill," would not accept. While overwhelmingly in favor of the popular election of members of the upper house, they were not willing to run the risk of Federal interference.

Both the Senators from Georgia, Florida, Alabama and Mississippi voted against the resolution for this reason, although they favor the popular election of Senators, and were themselves so chosen. Foster of Louisiana and Tillman of South Carolina did the same. Thus, ten of the votes against the resolution came from the South, from men who are strongly in favor of the resolution, but who, remembering the days of reconstruction, were not willing to pay so high a price for it, a more or less Federal control of State elections.

These Senators may be counted on to vote for the resolution when properly prepared. The opposition is confined to the East, to New England and the so-called Middle States, only five votes outside of the Southern Senators being cast against it from the rest of the country—and these include Lorimer of Illinois, who naturally could not vote otherwise. The majority for popular election stood 33 Republicans, 21 Democrats, so that it will be seen that the measure is not a partisan one, but rather the South and West against the conservative and centralized East.

The Oregonian

PORTLAND, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 1, 1911

IS POPULAR ELECTION KILLED?

Although the resolution to submit a constitutional amendment for the popular election of Senators has been defeated, still we may console ourselves with the reflection that it has made substantial progress. Never before has it been possible to bring the subject to a vote in the Senate. Resolutions have been introduced many times and usually they have passed the lower house without difficulty, but when they came to the Senate a tragic fate awaited them. The one which was introduced in 1901 was typical of all the rest. As it entered the Senate it contained nothing but a plain and simple plan for the popular election of Senators, and in that shape it went to the committee on elections, of which Mr. Depew was a member. That distinguished statesman applied to the resolution the same process which has killed the present one. He attached an amendment which brought in the everlasting negro question by giving Congress control over elections for Senators in the states. The resolution of 1901 perished just as Mr. Borah's has perished, except that the former met its fate in the committee on elections under Mr. Depew's suave manipulation, while this one actually came to a vote.

The adverse vote in the Senate will not stop the movement. It will gain in force with every year that passes. At the next session of Congress it will come up again, and again at the next one if it should fail of adoption, and so on until it is finally submitted to the people. Senator Heyburn, of Idaho, is entirely wrong in his opinion that the substantial citizens of the United States are not in favor of the direct election of Senators. There are few questions upon which they are so nearly unanimous. The dissent to the proposal comes from a very small class of men who find their advantage in the delays, corruption and anarchy which surround the present method. Mr. Heyburn, with incredible fatuity, asked his colleagues, "What is the matter with the present method of selecting Senators? Upon what does this imaginary cry of the people rest? Have the legislatures proven themselves incompetent to elect? Is the standard of the Senate lower than it should be? Would direct election purify this body of any evil?" This was a deeper gulf of idiocy than most of the opponents of the resolution slipped into, but none of them had anything very sen-

sible to say. Even Senator Root talked bathos and nonsense.

Mr. Heyburn's question, "What is the matter with the present method of choosing Senators?" was terribly indiscreet. Some of his colleagues must have been tempted to reply that one of the most serious objections was Mr. Heyburn himself and the other men of his stamp who parade their ignorance and fanatical standpoint in the Senate. Regarding his other inquiries, it is a fact which everybody admits that the state legislatures have proved themselves incompetent to perform this duty properly. Not only do they sometimes send men like Heyburn, Lorimer and Depew to the Senate, but now and then they fail to send anybody. An empty-pated singulacrum would be better than no Senator, perhaps, but it happens too often that not even a bad choice can be made. Mr. Heyburn need only have looked as far as New York to find out what is the matter with the present method. There he would have seen a Legislature so clearly incompetent to choose a Senator that it has to go to the boss of Tammany Hall for orders upon the subject, and having received orders, it has not the capacity to obey them. Or Mr. Heyburn might have cast a glance at the last Illinois Legislature, or at the present Colorado Legislature or at any one of half a dozen which are trying their best to send feeble-minded rascals to Washington and failing to do even that.

Perhaps it was disgust over the mess in Colorado which persuaded Senator Guggenheim to vote for popular elections. If it was, we commend his taste and good sense. Some men, like Mr. Heyburn, cannot smell carrion no matter how near them it lies. Others find the odor so offensive that they wish to clear it away. Mr. Guggenheim seems to belong to the latter class. He was almost the only one of the standpatners to vote for the resolution, but not quite. Mr. Perkins was with him on the side of the sheep, and so was Stephenson, but almost all the rest of the old guard Senators herded with the goats and in the same band were a goodly number of the Southern Democrats. They opposed the resolution ostensibly because of the Sutherland amendment, which brought in the negro question. The purpose of the amendment was to make these Democrats do exactly what they did. As Mr. Borah neatly put it in his speech, the amendment was introduced "to kill the resolution," and it succeeded perfectly. To some who really favored direct election it appeared so offensive that they voted against their convictions in order to down it. To others the Sutherland amendment afforded a plausible excuse for voting against a measure which they knew

their constituents desired.

Had the resolution come before the Senate on its merits it would have passed. It was defeated by a piece of strategy which has been used before, but which will not serve forever. Either the resolution will ultimately be adopted in the Senate or it will be adopted in a constitutional convention and that before many years. Already some 27 states have

demand a convention. Should four more concur, Congress would be obliged to call one, and then not only would the popular election of Senators be secured, but also a number of other innovations for which there is much less reason. The standpatters and negro-haters who have killed the Borah resolution may have the satisfaction of reflecting that they have helped to dig their own graves.

IDAHO STATESMAN.

DIRECT ELECTION OF SENATORS IS A NATIONAL ISSUE.

The defeat of the resolution providing for the election of United States senators by direct vote of the people by four votes bears its own prophecy of final success of the campaign. For a number of years legislatures of various states, and party conventions, have gone on record in favor of that plan; but the senate had not regarded these declarations as having been made sincerely until the session now drawing to a close. The efforts put forth by Senator Borah and other members brought the question up on its merits and senators were compelled to record themselves. The time for treatment of the subject as a bit of idle politics had passed. Action was demanded. Much to the surprise of the people some senators from states that had long asked for this innovation arrayed themselves against it. Senator Heyburn of Idaho was in this list. An effort was made to prevent a vote; but the pressure was too strong. A vote was taken and the resolution went down to defeat by four votes.

There is no doubt that this agitation of the subject will make it a national issue. It should be. The action of the senate should send the question to the people to be acted upon in a plebiscite manner in the

election of United States senators. That seems to be the only means to attain the desired end; for surely the evidence is ample that platform declarations and legislative demands do not carry sufficient weight.

The practical course, then, seems to lie in the direction of coupling the direct election of United States senators with their selection under the prevailing system. Every state that has gone on record in favor of the proposal should see to it that no man is sent to the United States senate who will not publicly pledge himself to honest support of this measure. There should be no acceptance of a vacillating attitude. The candidate should be compelled to make his position known so emphatically that even lukewarm consideration of the subject on his part after election would suffice to brand him with treachery.

The United States senate is not and has not been for many years a representative body. Although now Republican and then Democratic the body has been controlled by elements that have contributed to the success of individual campaigns—elements that are notoriously antagonistic to the public good. The control that has been exercised has been recognized and condemned by more than one chief executive who has found himself powerless in the institution of needed reforms because of official opposition fomented by powerful interests that had filed their claim to dictation through legislative manipulation during senatorial elections if not subsequently.

Possibly these hateful influences may never be wholly removed, but election of senators by direct vote will certainly go a long way in the direction of furnishing relief.

Asheville N C Citizen
Wednesday, March 1, 1911.

Direct Election Postponed

While the measure looking to the election of United States senators by the direct vote of the people was defeated in the senate yesterday, its advocates should not be discouraged for they won a virtual victory. When a constitutional change of such moment can come within four votes of the necessary two-thirds majority on the first trial of strength, it indicates rather clearly that final victory is at hand and that the people of this country, and not the privileged interests, are soon to be represented in the higher legislative chamber. The people of North Carolina should be especially proud of the fact that their two senators, Messrs. Overman and Simmons, were found voting among the "ayes," going on record as espousing a fair and intelligent method of choosing national senators.

It requires no great amount of insight to see just how and where popular election of senators was clubbed to death. The Sutherland amendment, which would place the control of elections in the hands of congress was conceived for no other purpose than to defeat the bill so ably championed by Senator Borah. It was not expected that the South would vociferously espouse an amended measure which would give the federal government the right to supervise the various state elections. In its original form the bill was acceptable to all Southerners, yet some of our senators, in their desire to bring the popular election of senators nearer to accomplishment, were willing to swallow the Sutherland amendment, relying on the hope that its "teeth" could be extracted by subsequent action.

As Senator Borah stated in his speech, the direct vote for U. S. senators has merely been postponed. The senators who voice the sentiments of the interests cannot long thwart the will of the people. The sentiment in favor of popular ex-

pression in this country has kept pace with the March of a similar sentiment in England. As the lords in that country are about to be shorn of much of their power, so will U. S. senators of the Depew and Penrose type find that they cannot forever muzzle the voice of the people.

*Press, Mar. 4/11.
New York City.*

NEGRO DISFRANCHISEMENT.

A Colored Clergyman Appreciates
Senator Borah's Frankness.

To the Editor of The Press:

Sir—Your editorial "A Political Impossibility" is timely and honest. I wish to say that the negroes are not discouraged when they hear the truth from their friends of the North, that they need not hope for forcible intervention of the Federal Government in their political rights, guaranteed to them by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments of the National Constitution.

As one black man I wish it to be distinctly understood that the God-fearing men and women of my race are encouraged rather than discouraged by such frank statements. We don't want to build our houses on a sandy foundation, and we cannot help what others may think about us, but we must appreciate the Republicanism of yourself and Senator Borah.

May I remind some of our good friends of one great fact, that though Joseph's brothers deprived him of the pleasure of his father's house, they did not rob him of the truth of his dream? The negroes are American citizens. We are here to stay. Our God-given rights are with us to remain to the end of our American pilgrimage.

Some people think that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Federal Constitution were placed there as mere jokes, but those who placed those amendments to the Constitution were like Isaiah and Ezekiel. They had in mind the future greatness of this country. They had visions for the born and the unborn generations. They were like the early fathers of this country, who wrote the Declaration of Independence once for all. They did not write with the spirit of white men, but with and by the spirit of just men!

The negro's hope is in God and not man. God has given us friends among the white people of this country—North and South, East and West—and they are not so high up that we need telescopes to see them, neither are they so small on earth that we need microscopes to find them. Rev. EDWARD N. McDANIELS,
Summit, N. J.

ONLY POSTPONED.

BORAH'S DIRECT election resolution was beaten in the senate yesterday. It lacked but four votes of the two-thirds necessary for passage. The cause is not overthrown, but only postponed.

Borah says the defeat was the result of adoption of the Sutherland amendment giving congress control of the manner of election. It was the amendment that the Abraham resolution in the late Oregon legislature attempted to direct Bourne and Chamberlain to support. Its adoption drove eight southern Democrats on account of state rights, to oppose the amended resolution and accounts for yesterday's defeat.

There is but little if any doubt that the next senate will adopt the resolution. A vote of the states will follow in which three-fourths of the legislatures will have to act favorably in order to make the amendment effective. Final success will hinge upon the action of the legislatures and how they may act is necessarily conjectural.

But, it is reasonably certain that we are swiftly approaching the desired reform. Yesterday is the first time a vote on such a resolution has been reached in the senate. The rapid spread of sentiment for the Oregon plan, and the realization of the people that through it direct election is attainable has exerted a tremendous influence.

The Oregon plan was recommended for adoption in a number of governors' messages, was passed by the Republican legislature in Iowa, is under consideration in the Republican legislature of Illinois, and will probably be adopted in other legislative assemblies. It has been adopted in Nebraska and in Arizona, and in another form is in use in Oklahoma.

Its spread and the certainty that it will continue to spread is a message to the senate itself. It is notice that if there is not direct election by constitutional amendment it will appear in the form of the Oregon method. It is a message thundering at the doors of the senate, and it will continue to thunder there until the unwilling bourbons in the body surrender or are driven from their seats.

How fortunate that we did not permit assemblyism and assemblyites to "put the knife and the knife to the hilt" to Statement One last year!

Washington D. C. Post.
Wednesday, March 1, 1911.

Popular Election of Senators.

The Senate, by defeating the Borah resolution, throws the question of the election of senators by popular vote into the future. The margin was so slight, however, that the advocates of the proposed change in the Constitution are likely to bring the matter forward again at the first opportunity. The defection of a few Southern senators primarily favorable to the resolution compassed its defeat, and incidentally afforded opportunity for a more thorough thrashing out than it has received.

This is perhaps the best disposition that could have been made of the question, as the Senate debate disclosed the fact that it had not been digested in all its details. More time is needed to clarify important points, while at the same time the people at large may further ponder the wisdom of making a revolutionary change in the fundamental law which for more than a century has given the nation the greatest parliamentary body in the world. The question has been up for many years; but, as the late Senator Hear declared in an argument that carried conviction, changing the Constitution is not a matter of years, but of a century; and in that view of the case there is no need to make haste. Moreover, the people are prone to change their minds or grow indifferent, as has happened with the income tax amendment. The demand for its adoption was more insistent than for the Borah resolution; but who hears of the income tax amendment nowadays? It is pigeonholed by nearly 20 legislatures. Besides, several States which were loudly in line a few years ago have since declared against it.

The Republican senators who voted in the negative on the Borah resolution based their opposition on constitutional grounds, while the Democrats were governed by a fear that the Sutherland amendment might work mischief with the "grandfather" device and other franchise laws in the South restrictive of the negro vote. This appears to be a rather strained interpretation of the amendment, which simply leaves the Constitution as it stands with respect to Federal control of elections for members of Congress. Still, the injection of the race issue into the debate was of itself a deterrent factor and roused apprehensions which could not be allayed.

St. Louis Va Dispatch
Wednesday, March 1, 1911.

THE ELECTION OF SENATORS.

Yesterday the proposed constitutional amendment providing for the election of United States Senators by direct popular vote failed to obtain the necessary two-thirds vote in the Senate. The vote in favor of the measure was 54, and the vote against it 73. Bacon, of Georgia; Johnston and Bankhead, of Alabama; Fletcher and Tallaferrro, of Florida; Money and Percy, of Mississippi, and Tillman, of South Carolina, voted against the proposition. Both Senators from Virginia voted for it, as did also both of the Senators from North Carolina. Foster, of Louisiana, voted against the resolution, and Thornton, of the same State, for it. The vote was not divided on political or sectional lines; 54 Republicans and 9 Democrats voting against the resolution, and 33 Republicans and 20 Democrats voting for it. Senator Borah, who managed the fight for the resolution, was much encouraged that he only fell four short of the requisite two-thirds vote, and will pick his flint and try it again at the next session of the Senate, whether it shall be the regular or a special session.

We do not believe that the people would ask for a change in the present method of selecting Senators if they would only think for a moment about the principle upon which the Senate was established. If the Senate is to be "popularized," population should be made the basis of representation in the Senate as it is in the House, and no State which does not have sufficient population to entitle it to representation in the House, should have representation in the Senate. The State being destroyed as the political entity, entitling it as such to two Senators at Washington, should not be permitted to have representation when population is fixed as the basis of representation. If Senators are to be elected by popular vote it would seem that there must be population before Senators can be elected.

Nevada, with a population of 11,574, is now entitled to as many United States Senators as Virginia, with a population of 2,951,512. South Dakota, with a population of 583,985, has as many Senators as Texas, with a popu-

lation of 3,355,617. Montana, with a population of 276,652, has as many Senators as New York, with a population of 9,113,219. Direct election of Senators by the people would seem to imply people.

The objection to the proposed change in the Constitution is fundamental, and upon that objection the amendment should fail. We have not been greatly disturbed by the threat that the passage of the resolution would imperil the political conditions in the South. It seems to have served a very good purpose, however, as the votes of a number of Southern Senators were unquestionably influenced by it to vote against the amendment, but the substantial and all-sufficient objection to the amendment is that it would change the entire fabric of the Government and defeat the purposes of the Founders who designed that the Senate should be forever a check and balance upon the administration of the country, so that the Government would be safe from the perils of spasmodic issues in times when men lose their reason. The objection to the change in the method of electing Senators, we repeat, is not sectional or partisan or political, but fundamental, and we shall continue to hope that the people will think about it in this way when they think about it at all.

IDAHO STATESMAN.

FIVE POINTS INVOLVED IN THE DIRECT ELECTION RESOLUTION.

The more or less fragmentary reports that have reached the general public with respect to the great debate in the senate over the proposed constitutional amendment providing for direct election of senators by the people have conveyed a most inadequate idea of the fine points involved, while the force of the arguments has been dissipated by the limitations placed upon newspapers in the matter of space.

It has been over what is called the Sutherland amendment that the contest has waged most furiously. That amendment has been adopted, and it is interesting now to look over the field and see what the gist of the controversy was.

Special interest is given the subject because of the part taken in the famous battle by Senator Borah. The Congressional Record is just at hand that gives his final extended argument in full. In that effort the entire controversy was reviewed. His bold attack upon the insincerity of the north on what is called the "negro question" overshadowed all other features of his speech in the published reports, and western readers have had little opportunity to know just how he acquitted himself.

It has been asked very often, after some of the great speeches in opposition had been made, what the effect of the proposed amendment would be. Some senators, especially Depew, made a distinct impression and some people have been ready to wonder whether something was not threatened with sacrifice if the original amendment as it came from the committee should go through.

Senator Borah's speech makes the situation perfectly clear, and a brief statement of the matter will prove of interest.

Section 4 of article 1 of the constitution provides that:

The times, places and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof; but the congress may at any time make or alter such regulations, except as to places of choosing senators.

The committee amendment provided:

The senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each state elected by the people thereof for six years; and each senator shall have one vote. The electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislatures.

The Sutherland amendment added the provision now found in section 4:

But congress may at any time make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

It has been charged that the purpose of the committee in leaving that last clause off was to take away from congress all power to protect the right of franchise, this being done to secure southern votes.

On the other side it has been charged that the amendment by Suth-

erland was introduced for the purpose of killing the resolution, driving away southern votes and the votes of those northern men who were not personally in favor of the principle of direct election but had been pledged by their legislatures to vote for the committee amendment.

The point of the great debates over Sutherland amendment was whether or not the committee amendment would deprive the national government of any right it now enjoys. On that point the Idaho senator made an unanswerable argument, showing that no such effect could follow.

He pointed out that, in section 2 of article 1 of the constitution it is provided the qualifications of electors for representatives in congress shall be the same as those for electors of the most numerous branch of the legislature. That established a right, and, under the general powers conferred by the constitution, as construed by the supreme court, the national government could protect that right in the matter of voting for member of congress. The state could fix all the qualifications, but a voter so qualified at once became qualified to vote for member of congress and the national government was empowered to protect him in that right in every necessary manner. It is in no sense an exaggeration to say that Senator Borah drove his opponents to the wall on that point, the crux of the debate.

It was further pointed out by the Idaho senator that certain rights claimed under that portion of section 4 left out by the committee had never been asserted, these being such as elimination from state constitutions of "grand-father" clauses and such like provisions; they had never been nor never would be exerted. The rights of the states were fixed, and there was no further power conferred upon the national government by section 4, the senator urged, than such as has always been recognized.

In all matters pertaining to the manner of conducting elections the state was supreme, but every one qualified as a voter under state laws had a right, under the federal constitution, in connection with national elections which the federal government could enforce.

Beneath it all was the race question. The idea had been held out that the remaining clause of section 4 gave the government some special power for protection of the negro. It was in this connection and a further discussion of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments that the Idaho senator gave utterance to the scornful comment upon the attitude of those who, for political reasons, would make it appear that some right would be taken from the negro, some practical protection withdrawn, should that provision be dropped. And right there he charged that the old race question had been dragged into the senate, not with the intent of securing anything for the negro, but for the purpose of killing the proposal to elect senators by direct vote and again stirring that old pond of bitter memories and animosities over which the lily pads of peace and concord have been spreading themselves so rapidly.

Chicago Tribune Herald
Wednesday, March 1, 1911.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT FOR ELECTION OF U. S. SEN- ATORS BY POPULAR VOTE BEATEN.

As anticipated the annexation of the Sutherland amendment to the Borah resolution providing for the election of United States senators by popular vote, has had the effect of killing it. As a rule those Southern senators who voted for the resolution despite the odious amendment, simply waived the responsibility of killing it—passed the issue up to the legislatures of their respective states. Another motive in thus transgressing against their race creed is suggested by the Times-Democrat in the following; which also correctly states the prevailing Southern view of the Sutherland amendment:

There is a bare possibility that Southern senators may accept the risks involved and expose the insincerity of their opponents by recording their votes in favor of the resolution as it stands. We are inclined to the belief, however, that they will wisely refuse to surrender that control of senatorial elections now ex-

ercised by the states. Defeat of the Borah-Sutherland resolution in its present shape will merely postpone the reform which the majority North and South demands. The reactionary senators, one by one, are passing senatorial deadlocks and scandals are everywhere strengthening the sentiment for direct elections. The number of states which choose their senators in primary elections is growing steadily. It is a fact, we believe, that most, if not all, of the Republican senators who opposed the vicious Sutherland amendment at yesterday's roll call were chosen by the voters of their states and parties direct. As statesmen of this new type steadily supplant the reactionaries in the upper house, the time draws rapidly nearer when the desired amendment may be submitted in proper, safe and acceptable form.

The opposite point of view of the Sutherland amendment is thus voiced by the New York Post:

Northern senators like Root and Depew challenged the Borah resolution on the correct ground that it deprived the Federal government of a central it ought not to relinquish. Being opposed to it anyway, they were glad of the additional argument. Now that the Sutherland amendment, which properly corrects the Borah resolution and meets this argument of its critics, has been adopted, the Southern senators are bound to kill the bill lest it give the Federal government greater powers than it now has and lead it to interfere in the disfranchisement of the negroes. Thus do we have another clear illustration of the way a gross injustice to a certain portion of our citizenship works injury to the whole body politic. The direct election of senators is gravely needed to help on the political sanitation of the nation, but the nation must do without it in order that millions of black men may still be robbed of the rights guaranteed to them by the constitution of the United States.

Another clear illustration of this incident is the abiding potency of the negro question for evil. It has never yet been injected into the confines of national legislation that it has not "worked injury to the whole body politic." It is a sleeping dog that no Southern congressman who is not a fool or a firebrand will disturb. While Southern genius through laws which safely restricted the "constitutional rights guaranteed millions of black men," banked the smouldering fire, it was not, and could not be extinguished.

Elsewhere a better report of the remarks of Senator Percy, who led off in declaring war on the Sutherland amendment, than The Herald of yesterday contained, is published.

MARK TWAIN'S

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