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*Hayden*

# OUR BILL AND THE LITTLE BILLS

*Puzzled: Friend Hayden*



*Pres. Taft + Sen. Borah at Caldwell 2d4*



140 1000-100

Compliments of  
J. P. Neely for New Year

# SPOKESMAN-RE

MONDAY MORNING.

JANUARY 29, 1912.

WILL THE DOOR OPEN TO THEM?



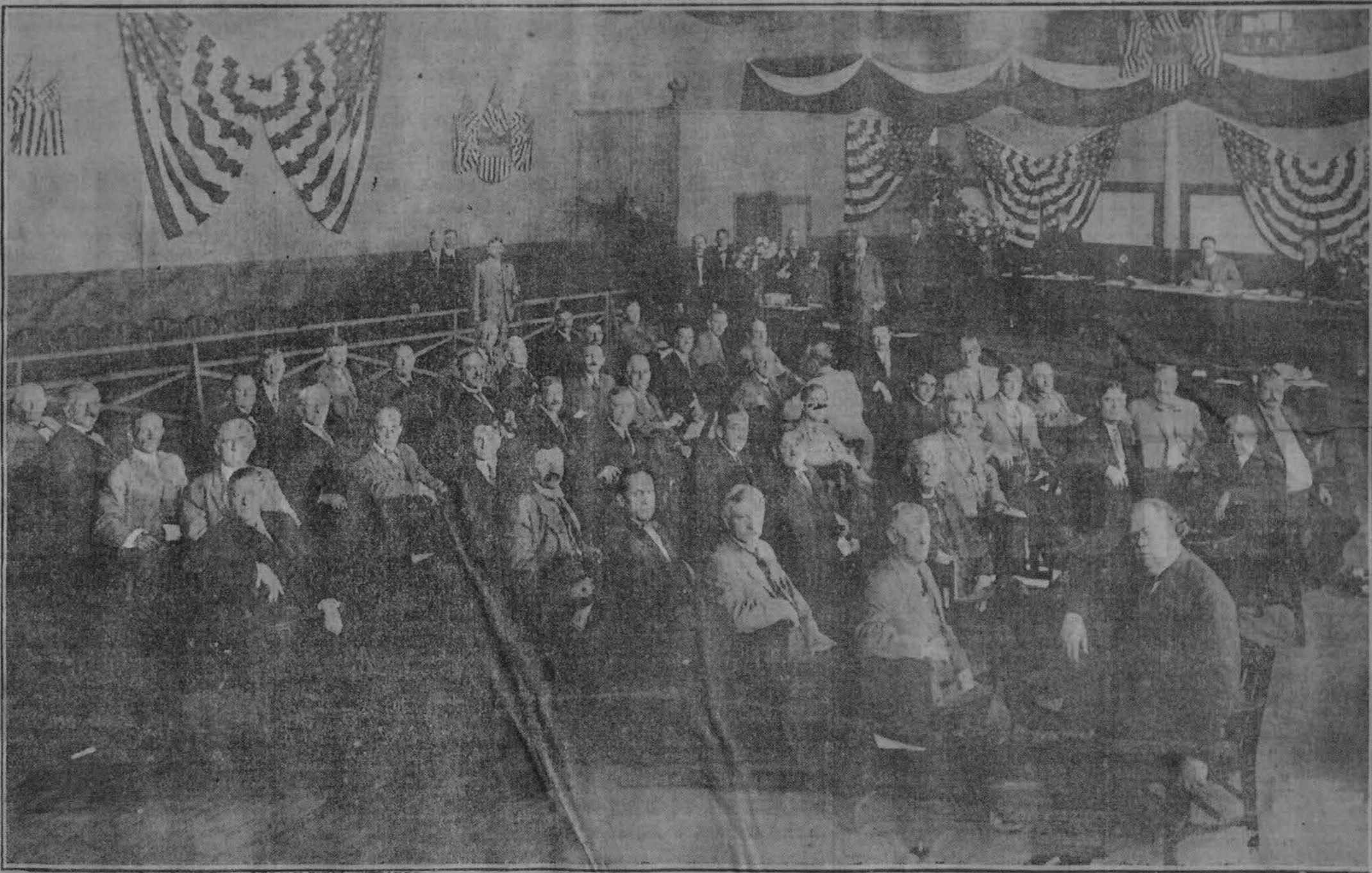
Tomorrow the United States senate will vote on Senator Borah's bill for the creation of a children's bureau in the department of commerce and labor.

## EVENTS OF



Senator Borah is detained in Washington, D.C.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE GATHERED FOR FIRST SESSION IN COLISEUM ANNEX



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**BORAH FOR LEADER.**  
(Special Dispatch)  
CHICAGO, June 15.—On his arrival Colonel Roosevelt said for Senator Borah and decided some means must be found to give the senator a seat on the floor of the convention. Colonel Roosevelt said he wanted Borah for one of his floor leaders and this can only be possible if he has a seat. No arrangement has yet been made to get Senator Borah on the floor, but Colonel Roosevelt says it can be done.

**BORAH ADDRESSES SUPPORTERS OF ROOSEVELT**

CHICAGO, June 15.—The primary demonstrations for Roosevelt began early in the afternoon. The first speech was delivered by Senator Borah of Idaho, who addressed a multitude of Roosevelt delegates in the opening room of the Congress hotel, and in an eloquent speech fully declared that the only salvation of the Republican party was Theodore Roosevelt.  
Senator Borah, introduced to the delegates by William F. Ryan of Chicago, was physically captured by the cheering enthusiasts and lifted to the

chairman's table. Standing there, the senator, who had been chosen as the candidate of the Roosevelt forces for temporary chairman, made his position in this contest clear.  
"No matter what this national committee does," the senator declared, "the Republican party is going to be saved."  
"This is not going to be another



The Republican National Committee in Session

Victor Roosevelt of Nebraska, Chairman of the Committee, is standing behind the table. Senator W. E. Borah of Idaho and Frank B. Kellogg of Minnesota, leaders of the Progressive minority against which the "steam roller" was directed, are sitting at the extreme right of the second row. Senator Borah is round-faced and rugged, Mr. Kellogg is gray of hair but young of face. Senator W. Murray Crane of Massachusetts, the soft-spoken Taft leader, is the second person from the left in the first row of seated persons.

## BORAH TO MAKE FIGHT AGAINST



Idaho Senator Colonel Roosevelt's Choice for Temporary Chairman of Convention.

### HAS ALTERNATIVE PLANS

Should First Fall Program Is to Have Borah Present Minority Report on Contests.

HARRY J. BROWN.

CHICAGO, Ill., June 19.—Senator Borah is Colonel Roosevelt's first choice for temporary chairman of the Republican convention and the colonel so stated in conference with his leaders this afternoon. Senator Borah is neither a delegate nor an alternate and on that account is barred. It is claimed, only those entitled to sit in the convention being eligible to this office.

Colonel Roosevelt combats this view and contends the temporary chairman need not be a delegate and will make his fight for Senator Borah against Senator Root.

#### Has Other Plans.

However, should the colonel fail in his effort to make Borah his candidate to oppose Root, it is understood, the colonel will have Borah present a minority report from the national committee on the contests decided last week, this report to urge the seating of Roosevelt delegates from Washington, Texas and scattering delegates from other states where it is contended the contestants have real merit in their claims. By presenting this report Borah will have an opportunity to address the convention soon after it assembles and before even the temporary roll is made up.

Colonel Roosevelt expects to make his first fight in the convention on a minority report of the national committee and the result of that fight it is likely will determine the outcome

of the convention. Senator Borah, therefore, is slated to play a very important part in the convention after all, provided Roosevelt does not change his plans.

#### Conservation Plank in Platform.

Colonel Roosevelt in the platform which he brought with him to Chicago has incorporated a conservation plank which he assures Senator Borah will meet his views and be acceptable to the west. Roosevelt told Senator Borah he stands for a conservation which will facilitate legitimate development and against tying up natural resources so they cannot be used. His only interest, he says, is to prevent the resources going to those who will monopolize or make improper use of them.

### BORAH NIPS BOOM IN BUD

Idaho Senator Calls in "Borah for President" Tags of Friends.

CHICAGO, June 20.—(Special)—The Borah Presidential boom was nipped in the bud this morning by the Senator himself. When he came downstairs this morning Senator Borah found his Idaho friends distributing badges, streamers and hat bands bearing the legend, "Borah for President."

Instantly he appealed to his admirers to recall their campaign material, for he refused to take their ebullition as more than a compliment and did not want to be the laughing stock of the convention. Tonight no Borah badges are in evidence.



SENATOR BORAH

Who led the Roosevelt forces on the floor at the contest hearings.

SNAPSHOTS TAKEN AT CHICAGO OF REPUBLICAN CONVENTION NOTABLES.



Photos © American Press Ass'n.

Upper Row (Left), Bruce Dennis, State Chairman for Oregon; Henry Waldo Coe, Ormsby McHarg; (Right), James Watson, of Indiana—Middle Row (Left), H. L. Anderson, of Florida, and Charles A. Scott, of Alabama; (Left Center), Senator Borah; (Right Center), A. M. Stevenson, of Colorado; (Right), Lyle Gleason, of New York—Below (Left), William D. Hayward, Secretary National Committee, and Charles D. Hilles, Secretary to the President; (Center), W. B. Austin, President of Hamilton Club, New York; (Right), Ex-Senator Lyle Young, of Iowa.

and then began a secret caucus of the Roosevelt delegates and alternates. Colonel Roosevelt fought his way through the struggling, cheering throng as though he enjoyed the tussle and finally escaped through a doorway into the council chamber, in which Senator Dixon, Governor Hadley, Governor Stubbs, Senator Borah and others of his leaders were awaiting him.

FY. 1912



Senator William E. Borah of Idaho. Governor Hiram W. Johnson of California.

From Snapshot by Chicago Evening American Staff Photographer.

Borah, "the man who put the I in Idaho," as Ted calls him, is a conservative politician. Governor Johnson of California is an out

# BRYAN LAUDS T. R. ATTACK ON PRIVILEGE

By WILLIAM J. BRYAN

(Copyright, 1912, by Virgil V. McNut.)

As this must necessarily be written before the convention convenes at noon, I shall devote it to the most interesting and significant event of yesterday, the Roosevelt mass meeting at the Auditorium in the evening.

The hall was filled with ricket-holders, and a large crowd outside mourned their lack of influence with those who were distributing the passports to the meeting.

It was a boomers' meeting, and none of the accessories usual on such occasions was omitted. Flags were distributed to the members of the audience, patriotic hymns were sung, and a glee club assured the audience that they wanted Teddy.

Senator Borah presided, and opened the meeting with a well-delivered arraignment of the national committee, and of standpat republicanism in general. His splendid voice rang out through the large hall, and what he said pleased the audience.

He is another representative of the younger generation and has fairly won the distinction that has been accorded him of representing the progressives in the fight over the temporary chairmanship.

He will be remembered as the chairman of the committee which succeeded in forcing through the senate the amendment providing for the popular election of senators—an amendment which the senate had six times refused to consider during the last twenty years.

Senator Borah is a conspicuous member of the group of young men referred to yesterday, a group which included hostile those heretofore mentioned, Gov. Bass of New Hampshire, Senator Dixon, ex-secretary Garfield, Gifford Pinchot, Judge Lindsey, ex-Senator Beveridge, the Junior Washburn of Minnesota, and young men like Hale and Hill of Massachusetts.

## Sketch Artists Find Statesmen Either Shy or Exceedingly Amiable.



SENATOR-ELECT SAUNDERS OF TENNESSEE PREFERRED TO WATCH SOMEBODY ELSE BEING SKETCHED



AHEM! FRANK B. KELLOGG, WHO HAILS FROM MINNESOTA, NEARLY BLURRED HIS PICTURE.



HUBBARD, OF ALASKA WAS NOT DRESSED LIKE THIS



JIM WATSON, FROM INDIANA IMPERSONATING AN AEROPLANE, HE CAN LOOK BOTH FIERCE AND GOOD NATURED



WILLIAM HAYWARD, SECRETARY OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE, CONCEALED BEHIND THE STRINGS TO HIS GLASSES



SENATOR BORAH OF IDAHO BOBBED IN AND OUT



### PINCHOT ATTACKS BOSS RULE

Says Theft of Presidential Nomination Not Possible in 1912.

PEOPLE ARE WATCHING.

Says Roosevelt Will Win Nomination

### COMBINE AGAINST ROY O. WEST

Dewey and Smith Said to Be in Deal on Committeeman.

### HINGES ON NOMINATIONS.

Secret Ballot of Illinois Delegation Declared Chief Factor.

It looks as though a secret ballot in the Illinois delegation will determine who is to be the next Republican national committee for the state. The word went around yesterday that a

# BORAH INSISTS T. R. WILL WIN

## Senator Declares Ex-President Has Strength Enough to Control Convention

Senator William E. Borah of Idaho, steadiest and coolest of the Roosevelt members of the national committee, and mentioned, at least, as the Roosevelt candidate for temporary chairman, gave today the following interview to The Journal:

"The drift of the last forty-eight hours has been distinctly toward the nomination of Col. Roosevelt.

"This is indicated by the expressions of opinion from different members of the convention, who have been classed and listed as supporters of President Taft, but who are coming out for Col. Roosevelt.

"In my opinion, Col. Roosevelt is thirty votes stronger than he was forty-eight hours ago.

### Believes T. R. Will Win

"I believe also that Col. Roosevelt will organize the convention. Who will be his candidate for temporary and permanent chairman, I am not yet authorized to say. But I believe the Roosevelt forces will elect their candidate and control the organization of the convention.

"There has been considerable talk about a bolt, but I have not been able to locate the source of authority for these suggestions.

"So far as I am individually concerned, I have not at any time contemplated any such action for a moment.

"I could not contemplate a bolt, for this reason if for no other: I am not able to foresee any necessity for a bolt.

"In other words, I believe Col. Roosevelt has the votes to organize the convention and to insure his nomination. So long as I believe that I can not think of any possible reason that a Roosevelt supporter, such as myself, could have for thinking of any resistance to the decree of the convention.

"Mind, I do not say that circumstances might not conceivably arise in which I would contemplate a bolt.

"I do not say that the bolt question can not properly arise as long as we believe that we have the votes to control the convention.

### Wants Roll Call Sifted

"The convention ought to sift very carefully the temporary roll call prepared by the national committee, and make sure that no man sits in this convention unless he was legally and fairly elected as a delegate. I have no reason to doubt that the convention will perform its duty in this regard.

"I haven't a doubt that the Roosevelt delegates from the Ninth district of Alabama, from the Fifth district of Arkansas, from the Thirteenth district of Indiana and from the Seventh, Eighth and Eleventh districts of Kentucky should be seated in the convention.

"So should two delegates from California and fourteen from Washington, and eighteen from Texas.

# LACK OF BATHS AND CLOTHING DRIVES COUNTRY DELEGATES TO THREATS OF DEPARTING



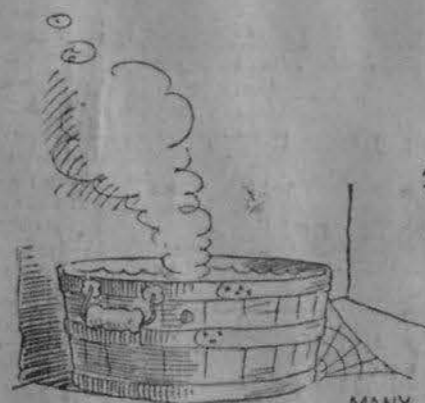
THIS IS WATSON OF INDIANA - HE'S AGAINST EVERYTHING HADLEY IS FOR.

OLD BOB PERKINS OF EUREKA SPRINGS, ARK.

WE WANT TO GO HOME TO-DAY SO WE CAN TAKE OUR BATH

BOLTING DELEGATES

SENATOR BORAH OF IDAHO WHO SAYS HE WON'T TRIM HIS HAIR UNTIL TEDDY IS ASSASSINATED



THE BATH TUB BACK HOME THAT WILL BE IDLE TO-DAY

MANY DELEGATES BROUGHT ONLY ONE PAIR OF

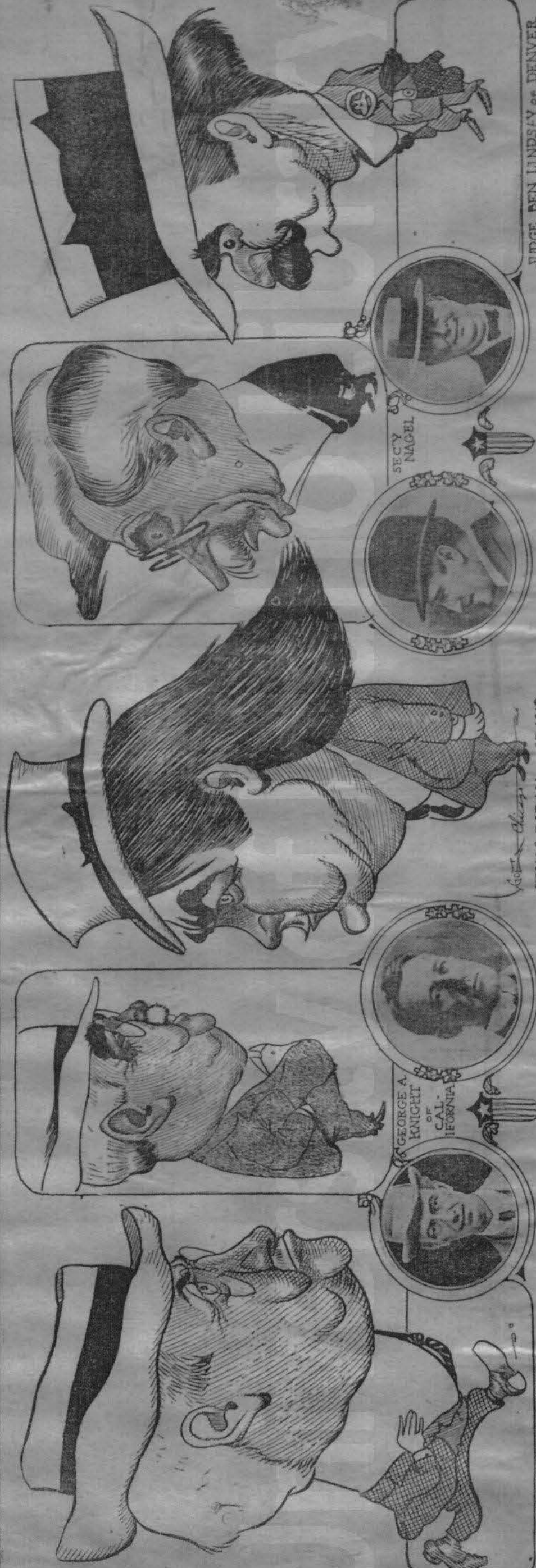


-ED MACK-



# NOTABLES FROM ALL OVER THE LAND HERE FOR THE CONVENTION

The sketches by Igoe speak for themselves; the photographs, reading from left to right, are: Congressman Kent of California, Governor Hadley of Missouri, Alexander H. Revell of our own dear Chicago, and Thomas Niedringhaus of Missouri. By Saturday all the important men of the Republican party will be here to help nominate a candidate.



JUDGE BEN LINDSAY OF DENVER

"BILL" BORAH OF IDAHO

BOSS BILL FLINN OF PENN.

SECY NAGEL

GEORGE A. KNIGHT OF CALIFORNIA

## COMMITTEE MEMBERS WARY

### Borah Perhaps Swayed by Abstract Justice in Supporting Taft Delegates, but Action of Others a Surprise.

*Special to The New York Times.*

WASHINGTON, June 11.—The architect of Col. Roosevelt's downfall before the Republican National Committee is Ormsby McHarg. Up to the time of the meeting of the committee the Colonel seemed to be having it all his own way. The steady tables given out by Director McKinley showing a majority for the President were always met with the triumphant answer, "Ah, but you are not allowing for the contests; when they are decided you will laugh on the other side of your mouth." The man who led the Roosevelt men to talk this way was Ormsby McHarg.

The tragic thing about the changed situation is that the Colonel himself believed in McHarg's charges, and his fulminations about "theft" and "burglary" were based on a conviction that when the committee met he would be able to make such a showing as would convince the voters of his irrefragable claims to votes that were being against him. The man who made the Colonel believe this and led him into the ditch was Ormsby McHarg.

State after State has appeared before the committee and has had its destiny decided in favor of Mr. Taft. The bewildering element about the change has been the apparent discord between the Roosevelt men on the committee and the Roosevelt men off it. While Senator Borah, Cecil Lyon, Pearl Wight, and other Roosevelt men were voting stolidly to sustain the Taft claims and throw out the contests of Ormsby McHarg, the Colonel and Senator Dixon were emitting shrieks about the steam roller. The reason was that Roosevelt and Dixon really believed in the flimsy out-put from the South and could not understand the action of their own friends on the committee.

The action of the Roosevelt committee-men has been accounted for on the theory that they were guided simply by a spirit of abstract justice. That might be true in the case of Senator Borah, but would not be true in the case of politicians who play the game with their hands against their chests. If such rock-bound warriors vote for the Taft forces, it is because the Roosevelt claims are too preposterous for consideration by anybody outside an insane asylum.

The Roosevelt men on the committee voted against the Roosevelt contestants because there was not a shred of justification for the contests. Whoever believed that they had more than a shred? Roosevelt and Dixon, and they were led into that belief by Ormsby McHarg.

It was Ormsby McHarg who went down into the South, either personally or by agents—of whom Bieber was one—and trumped up the fictitious contests upon which Bieber himself, with the other Roosevelt committeemen, was obliged to vote adversely. It was Ormsby McHarg who organized and built up the whole campaign of pretense, the whole hoax of cards, which has now fallen in Chicago.

The stump of the Roosevelt boom would not have been so sudden or so disastrous had it not been for the high hopes, exaggerated claims, and furious charges that were born of the misinformation the Colonel and the Senator received. The man who thus misled them was Ormsby McHarg. Therefore the man responsible for the disastrous moral effect of the Chicago decisions was Ormsby McHarg, soldier of fortune, who four years ago was in the employ of Taft and Roosevelt, who two years ago turned against Roosevelt and refused to support Stimson for Governor of New York be-

## Senator Borah Selected for Chairman by Roosevelt

The Roosevelt leaders have decided upon Senator William E. Borah of Idaho for chairman of the convention. In addition to a large shock of long hair Borah has a honeyed voice, but when aroused he can be heard from the Coliseum to the lake front. He is an expert parliamentarian and in a pinch can talk 250 words a minute. His face is always wreathed in smiles. But he loves trouble and if a fight is started he is in the thick of it. He is classed as anti-Taft, with no particular love for T. R.



### HUGHES-BORAH TALK ENDS

Senator From Idaho Will Not Consider Vice-Presidency Hopes.

CHICAGO, June 20.—(Special.)—William Barnes, of New York, has been very anxious to put the Hughes-Borah ticket before this convention, but has concluded he must look for another running mate than Senator Borah if he succeeds in getting Hughes at the head of a ticket.

Three times Barnes has sought interviews with Borah to urge him to allow the use of his name, coupled with that of Hughes, and three times Borah has refused to see him or talk with him on this matter.

Borah says he is not a candidate for Vice-President and don't propose to be considered for the nomination.

Hadley appears to be second choice as a possible running mate for Hughes.

## SENATOR BORAH MAY BE "DARK HORSE" NOMINEE

### Taft and Roosevelt Men Consider Him Strongest Man for Third Candidate

The name of United States Senator William E. Borah of Idaho, who has been fighting Roosevelt's battle in the national committee, is being discussed as a harmony candidate for president.

At a series of informal conferences at which both Taft and Roosevelt men were present, Borah was regarded as the one factor of the convention equation who, under certain circumstances, could command the support of a larger number of Roosevelt and Taft delegates than any other republican.

Former Senator Scott of West Virginia, former Gov. Franklin Murphy of New Jersey, and influential delegates from Ohio, Indiana and New York began a careful canvass of the situation today.

They agree that the first step to bring order out of chaos is to put forward for temporary chairman of the convention somebody who will be mutually satisfactory to the warring candidates.

#### McGovern Fails of Favor

Some of the Roosevelt men suggested Gov. McGovern of Wisconsin, a Lieutenant of La Follette, but his name did not bring a hearty response from the Taft men.

One Taft leader suggested that Senator Borah would be acceptable to many of the president's friends, and the Roosevelt conferees agreed he would be satisfactory.

From this beginning came a movement to make Borah a candidate for president.

Senator Scott said a great many influential delegates favored Borah and would support him if a harmony candidate were considered.

"The situation," said Senator Scott, "is so acute that nobody can forecast results. We will have to wait until more delegates arrive. You will find it a fact, however, that those who are arriving daily have that very thing in mind."

"They like Borah, and if he came from a larger state than Idaho, he would be a very formidable factor."

#### Senator Is Surprised

Senator Borah was informed of the movement in his behalf at the Congress and appeared to be surprised.

"I was informed last night that a movement was on foot to make me temporary chairman," said he, "but it was undertaken without my knowledge."

If Senator Borah is chosen for temporary chairman, with the consent of the Taft managers, it would mean the elimination of Senator Elihu Root of New York, who is due to arrive in Chicago today.

Senator Root was President Taft's first choice, and the president's decision was strengthened when Roosevelt said that Root would not do.

If Borah is agreed upon as a compromise candidate a show of hands can be deferred until the first roll call upon nominations for president, or, possibly, upon the report of the committee on credentials.

## TAFT MUSTERS 39 VOTES TO 13 IN FIRST TEST

Strength of His Foes on National Committee Is Placed at Fourteen.

### CONTESTS ARE UP TODAY

Ex-President's Forces, Led by Borah, Encouraged by Colonel's Letter.

#### ANTI-TAFT COMMITTEEMEN SHOWN BY TEST VOTE.

\*GEORGE A. KNIGHT, California.  
T. COLEMAN DU PONT, Delaware.  
WILLIAM E. BORAH, Idaho.  
A. R. BURNHAM, Kentucky.  
PEARL WIGHT, Louisiana.  
FRANK B. KELLOGG, Minnesota.  
WILLIAM L. WARD, New York.  
JOHN G. CAPERS, South Carolina.  
THOMAS THORSON, South Dakota.  
CECIL A. LYON, Texas.  
C. E. LOOSE, Utah.  
ALFRED T. ROGERS, Wisconsin.  
SIDNEY BIEBER, Dist. of Columbia.  
\*Vote cast by Senator Borah of Idaho. †Proxy held by John Callan O'Loughlin.

#### BY SUMNER CURTIS.

The Republican national committee, on a partisan line-up, stands thirty-nine for Taft and fourteen for the combined opposition to the President. A showdown was had on the very first roll call injected into the session of the committee held yesterday afternoon, preliminary to the hearing of contested delegate cases.

Two of the members whose names appear in the above list—those from South Dakota and Wisconsin—are La Follette men. The rest are Roosevelt supporters. National Committeeman Patrick L. Flanigan of Nevada is a Roosevelt man, but he was absent from the meeting yesterday and unrepresented by a proxy.

An issue entirely irrelevant to any of the main issues at stake before the national convention precipitated the test vote. Acting Chairman Victor Rosewater of Nebraska was elected chairman of the committee without opposition. By a viva voce vote a proposition from the Roosevelt side that eight instead of twenty members may demand a roll call on any contest was defeated. Then the clash came over the question of press representation at the contest hearings. The majority of the committee held that the space was so restricted that only a limited number of newspaper reporters—those representing associations that serve all the papers—could be admitted. The opposition forces decided to let the complexion of the committee stand forth at the outset by massing their strength in support of an amendment making the rule of admission as broad as that governing the press galleries of Congress.

Afterward the Roosevelt managers issued a statement claiming credit for partial victory in their demands for full publicity.

With the preliminaries settled as indicated, and the contest hearings set to begin at 10 o'clock this morning, the lines of the bitter Taft-Roosevelt struggle that is approaching its final stage were tightened another notch. The pro-Taft feeling of day before yesterday, developed by the knowledge that the President's friends would be in undisputed control of the national committee, was strengthened by the actual showing of hands. The question that immediately arose was: Will the controlling faction bring the steam roller into play?

While buckling on plate to protect themselves against the threatened starting of the roller, however, the Roosevelt leaders burst forth with fresh declaration of confidence in the colonel's nomination on the first ballot. They sprang no sensation—no coup was attempted—but with the putting together of heads last night and long conferences behind guarded doors with injunctions on the guards to permit no interruption on any account, the likelihood of something in that line before matters have progressed much farther was suggested.

The Roosevelt managerial strength was augmented by the arrival of Senator Borah of Idaho, the brainiest of the anti-Taft leaders west, north or south of Oyster Bay. Impressed, from a cursory survey of the field, with the belief that the Taft forces must use the steam roller to the limit to insure the President's renomination, and apparently convinced that it was designed to utilize the machine according to the unrestricted rules of war, Senator Borah was in full fighting trim before the close of the day. In the language of the street it will be well to "watch his smoke."

JUDGE C.F. MEAD. OF KANSAS CITY  
DIDN'T LET ANYTHING GET BY

DISAPPOINTED  
TAFT  
DELEGATE  
FIFTH  
DISTRICT



SENATOR  
SAUNDERS  
OF  
TENNESSEE  
HAS A GLAD  
SMILE FOR  
EVERYBODY



MURRAY  
CRANE,  
COMBED HIS  
HAIR,  
DONNED  
HIS LITTLE  
STETSON,  
STEPPED  
BRISKLY  
INTO THE  
ADJOINING  
ROOM AND  
POSED FOR  
HIS PICTURE



A.M.  
STEVENSON  
OF  
COLORADO  
THEY CALL HIM  
"ANGEL ARCHIE"  
IN HIS  
OWN STATE

SIDNEY SMITH

I'M  
SURPRISED

JOE BLACK  
OF  
MISSOURI  
ONE OF THE  
HOUN' DOGS  
THE STEAM ROLLER  
DIDNOT BACK UP  
YESTERDAY



WM. E BORAH  
LEADS HIS GOGGLES  
AROUND WITH A  
CLOTHES LINE



INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICE  
Devoted followers of Colonel Roosevelt. James R. Garfield, former Secretary of Commerce and Labor at Washington, and Gifford Pinchot, former Chief Forester of the United States. They were both much in evidence at Chicago.



INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICE  
One of Roosevelt's most enthusiastic supporters. George W. Perkins, the well-known capitalist and publicist, who is a personal friend of the Colonel's.



COPYRIGHT INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICE  
A fighter for Roosevelt. Senator Borah of Idaho, who represented the Colonel in the struggle over contested delegations.



INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICE  
Governors who championed Roosevelt's cause. Governor Hiram M. Johnson of California (at right) and Governor Herbert S. Hadley of Missouri. Hadley won the favor of the convention. Johnson "bolted," but Hadley refused to do so.

# BORAH NOW ROOSEVELT'S CHOICE TO WIELD THE CONVENTION GAVEL

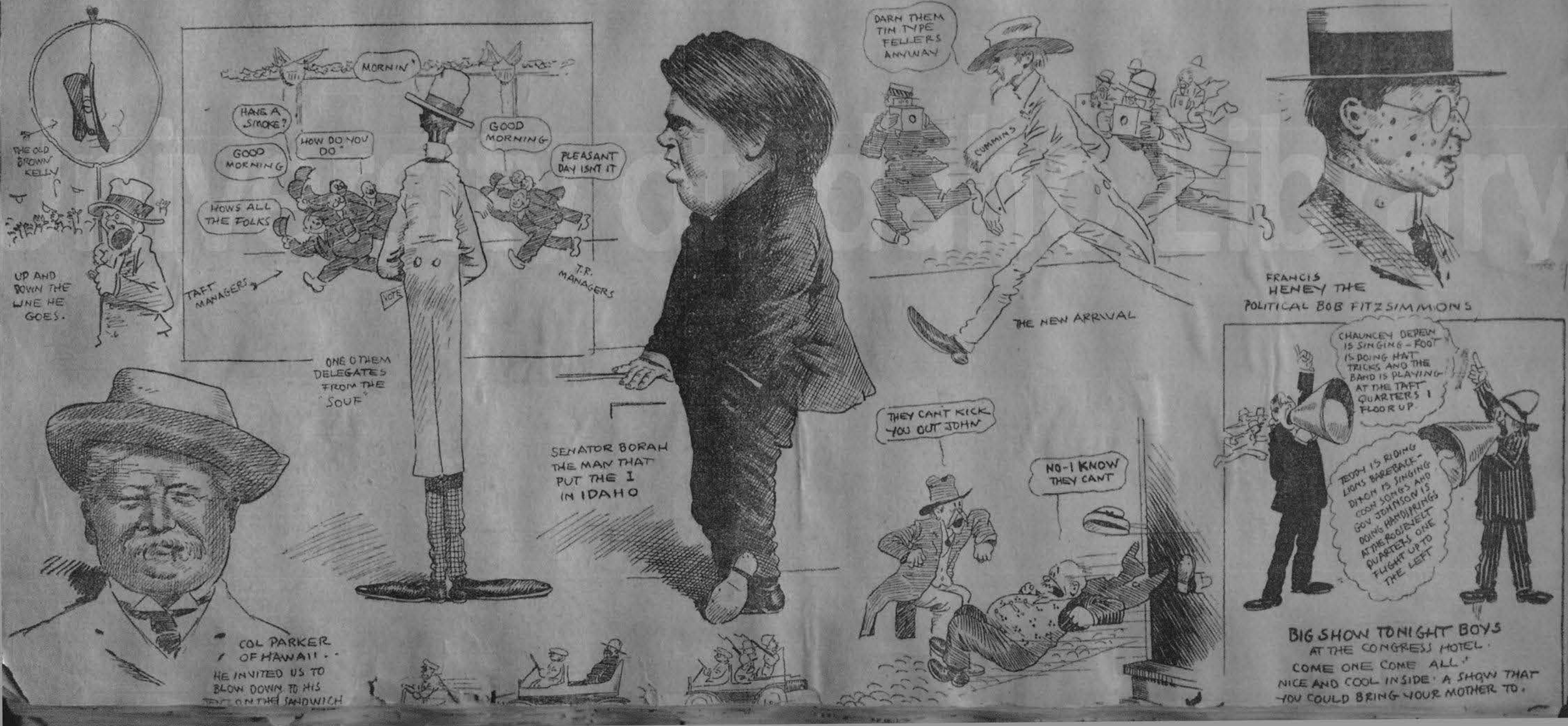
BY way of putting a quietus on "dark horse" talk, the Roosevelt leaders have dropped all pretense and gone after the La Follette and Cummins delegates. They decided to put up Senator William E. Borah of Idaho as their candidate for chairman of the convention. Roosevelt, it is said, favors Borah for chairman of the convention on two propositions. One is that he is a hard fighter, and the harder he fights the more he smiles. Said smile is disconcerting to such serious-minded regulars as Elihu Root, Murray Crane and Boies Penrose. They have seen it before in the Senate and seldom try any flashes of wit with him.



There were early indications that the selection of Borah was a happy one. No sooner had it become breezed about that he would be put up for the office than Senator Kenyon of Iowa, close friend of Borah and field manager for Senator Cummins' boom, hurried to the Roosevelt headquarters and went into conference with Senator Dixon, who has charge of the colonel's fight. The purpose of the conference was kept a close secret.

Governor Herbert S. Hadley of Missouri was the first man named, but he didn't last long. The principal thing against him was that he would not appeal to the La Follette and Cummins people and was no bait for their delegates.

## THE BIG G. O. P. SHOW HERE AS IT IS SEEN— : : : : : By TAD



REPUBLICAN NOTABLES IN THE CITY FOR CONVENTION IN ACTION AS SEEN BY ARTIST



SEN. NEWELL SANDERS OF TENN. —



SKETCH OF GOV. HADLEY OF MISSOURI GOING INTO TH' SECRET CHAMBER AT TH' COLISEUM —



GEE, HE'S A BIG PELLER



GOV. W.E. GLASSCOCK OF WEST VIRGINIA IS ALSO IN OUR MIDST —

WHY DOESN'T HE VISIT A BARBER ?

MAYBE HE'S SAVIN' IT FOR A MATTRESS



YES-SIR. CHICAGO IS TH' GREATEST CITY IN TH' UNITED STATES



ARMAND ROMAIN, DELEGATE FROM LOUISIANA, HOLDING PLEASANT CHAT WITH POOR REPORTER



— ED MACK COLISEUM



SEN. W.E. BORAH FROM IDAHO —

JAS. E. WATSON OF INDIANA POSING FOR A POOR STRUGGLING CARTOONIST —



WM. HAYWARD - SECY NAT'L COMMISSION - HE HAS 17 YARDS OF RIBBON ON HIS GLASSES -

SILK TOO

PRINCIPALS IN THE OPENING ROUND TODAY.



**BORAH AND DIXON  
HAVE BROUGHT  
WEST TO ITS OWN**

The Idaho and Montana Senators Are Among Most Conspicuous Figures at Chicago.

"The Man of the Hour," who is looked upon as the leading national figure of the west, is the distinction given Senator William Edgar Borah of Idaho at the Republican national convention at Chicago. Idahoans at the convention who are given an opportunity to rub shoulders with national leaders in the Republican party, are beginning to appreciate the standing Senator Borah has away from his own state. Senator Borah has grown big away from home.

Charles W. Dempster of Bannock county, now in Chicago as an alternate delegate to the national convention, writing of Senator Borah, gives an idea of the standing Idaho's junior senator has among party leaders and as a national character. In a letter to a friend here Mr. Dempster declares that western men are the biggest men at the Chicago convention.

"No Idahoan can help swelling up a little with pride when he sees 'our Borah' booming so large among the nation's biggest men gathered here in Chicago," writes Mr. Dempster from the portals of the convention hall, the Congress hotel.

"Unquestionably two of the biggest men in this great battle between the people and the bosses are Senators Borah and Dixon, one our own senator and the other our next door neighbor from Montana, living as he does, within a few miles of our state line.

"I do not think it possible for anyone who has not mingled in the crowd of these people from other states to realize how big Senator Borah has grown, or how the people from other states than Idaho look upon him.

**Choice for President.**

"I have heard dozens of men from the east say that their choice for president of the United States would be W. E. Borah, and that he would reunite the party as could no other man. When one man was speaking of Borah he referred to him as being from Idaho, and another quickly spoke up, saying, 'We don't look upon him as belonging to Idaho, nor to the west. He represents the people—all of them.'

"And this expresses the sentiments one hears everywhere about the lobbyist, on the streets, in business houses, wherever people are gathered. Be it of the strong character, brilliant wit and manly courage of this or Idaho's citizens, our state has



Photos © by Harris & Ewing

Left, Senator William E. Borah, of Idaho, Roosevelt candidate for temporary chairman of the convention, who will oppose Senator Elihu Root, of New York, the Taft candidate. Below, Gov. Herbert S. Hadley of Missouri, Roosevelt's floor manager. Received more favorable mention and more valuable advertising than the expenditure of millions of dollars of money could have given us.

**Absolutely Impartial.**

"Though a supporter of Roosevelt he has weighed the evidence presented to the national committee in the contests as fairly and as impartially as any judge could have done, and wherever there has been the shadow of a doubt as to the justice of any cause, he has given the benefit of the doubt to Taft. This is admitted by all, regardless of their views.

"When he enters the lobby of the hotel he is greeted as though he were a king. No man who sees the way in which Borah of Idaho and Dixon of Montana stand out among the nation's mighty men can help feeling in his heart that at last the great west has come into its own."

**Senator Borah Is Definitely  
Selected as the Choice of the  
Roosevelt Forces for Chairman**

**ALSO SE  
TO PRESIDE AT  
MASS MEETING**

Asked to Be Excused in Order to Prepare Keynote Speech but Leaders Insist That He Appear.

Chicago, June 17.—Ea today Senator Borah of Idaho was definitely selected as the choice of the Roosevelt forces for temporary chairman in place of Governor Hadley. Hadley, because of his successful and clever fight in the Missouri state convention and before the national committee, has been chosen floor leader for the Roosevelt organization.

It was said that Senator Borah was not consulted in regard to making the race against Root for the temporary chairmanship and that the Idaho man was unprepared with a speech. For this reason he asked to be excused from officiating at tonight's mass meeting, but the Roosevelt leaders insisted that he appear at the theater.

Third candidate talk continued today. The name of Justice Hughes was prominent in this discussion. The champions of La Follette and Cummins said they saw much to favor their candidates in the tense Taft-Roosevelt fight.

**COMPROMISE CANDIDATE  
IMPERATIVE FOR VICTORY.**

"The Republican party can only win at the presidential election through a compromise candidate. The breach between the Taft and Roosevelt forces is too wide to be quickly healed. It seems to me that Senator Borah could unite the opposing factions. He appears to have the confidence of the progressives and his conservatism on the leading issues ought to satisfy the Taft men. He is thoroughly opposed to the recall."—Lewis H. Bartlett, treasurer Lynn Republican Club.

**Rival Candidates for  
Temporary Chairman**



At top, Senator Elihu Root; at bottom, Senator W. E. Borah.



AROUND THE G. O. P. HEADQUARTERS.

DELEGATES AND OTHERS CAUGHT BY THE CAMERA AND THE SKETCH ARTIST AT TO-DAY'S SESSION OF THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE AT THE COLISEUM ANNEX.

[Photographs by a staff photographer and sketches by a staff artist of The Daily News.]

## Big Men of the Grand Old Party Now Chicago's Guests.



SENATOR BORAH OF IDAHO

ED BARKER AND POPE M. LONG, OF ALABAMA, WALK AND TALK

LUCIUS FITZGERALD OF NEW YORK

EX-GOV. FRANKLIN MURPHY OF NEW JERSEY AND SEN. MURRAY CRANE OF MASSACHUSETTS TAKE A RIDE

JUDSON W. LYONS OF GEORGIA, MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE TREASURY

SECRETARY WILLIAM HAYWARD OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE

JONAH H. KALANIANAKOPE, REBE FRINGS, CUPID OF HAWAII

### ONE EFFECT OF IT.

(Pocatello Tribune.)

It would, of course, have been much pleasanter for all members of the dominant party in Idaho, which, we believe, is for Taft, had Senator Borah kept with the majority. His influence, which is very powerful, if directed vigorously against the president, may prevent an instructed delegation from this state, but it will not in the estimation of his paper, have much of an effect on the outcome. It would merely place Senator Borah out of harmony with the national organization, but will not hurt him in any state influence in any particular of his protection.

PROMINENT FACTORS IN REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION WORK



### Borah Puts an End to Talk of Naming Him for Vice President

Chicago, June 11.—In hotel lobbies and rival headquarters there was discussion today of possible candidates for vice president and Senator Borah of Idaho was mentioned. He said: "Under no conceivable circumstances or conditions would I accept the nomination for vice president. In view of the matter I want to put an end to it once and for all. And this ends it, for under no circumstances would I accept the nomination if it were tendered me."

SENATOR BORAH will not desert the republican party to follow a leader to whom he gave the truest allegiance prior to the Chicago convention. Oh, no, Senator Borah is too good a politician to do such a crazy thing. Senator LaFollette will not bolt his party to follow Theodore Roosevelt or anyone else out into the tangled wilderness of unorganized uncertainty. Senator LaFollette is a republican and he fights his battles WITHIN the republican party. Governor Hadley will not desert the republican ship which has brought him all the political cargo he has ever enjoyed. He could not do so and maintain his reputation for sanity. The Post editor remembers distinctly that when he was in school with Hadley thirty years ago Bert always had an eye to the main chance and there is no reason to suppose he has changed his early plans. And then there is Deneen and Cummins and—but why prolong the list? It might prove embarrassing to some.

PROMINENTLY MENTIONED FOR THE VICE PRESIDENCY.





Photos © by American Press Assn

**Idaho's Lost Opportunity.**

The Republicans of Idaho made a bigger error than they realized when they failed to make Senator Borah one of their delegates to the Republican national convention. Had they had the good sense to place the senator on their delegation, Idaho would have played a big part at Chicago. For Borah was Colonel Roosevelt's personal preference for floor leader, and had he been a delegate, would have taken the part that actually was played by Governor Hadley of Missouri. Not being a delegate, Senator Borah could not go upon the convention floor, nor could he address the convention. The best he could do was sit with the other members of the national committee, immediately back of Chairman Root, and watch the proceedings without participating. Senator Borah had many advantages over Governor Hadley. He had a wider reputation, he could make a more forcible argument, and he had a voice that would have carried to the far corners of the convention hall. But not being a delegate, his work had to be done on the outside, where much of it did not show. True, Borah could not have been elected temporary chairman any more than McGovern of Wisconsin, for the majority favored Root, and Senator Borah himself thought that the temporary chairman regularly selected by the national committee should be accepted by the convention, according to precedent. But Borah could have been floor leader, and had he been given this position of honor, it is quite probable his advice to Colonel Roosevelt might have counted for more than it did. Idaho was distinctively the loser through the failure to make Senator Borah a delegate.

Top—Warmoth, of Kentucky, and Secretary Nagel. At Right—Frank Lowden and Senator Borah. Middle Row—Senator Sanders (Taft) and G. J. Dickman (Roosevelt); at Right, General Powell Clayton. Below—Ormsby McHarg, of New York, and Judge Dandley, of Alabama. Center—Ceell Lyon, of Texas, and D. W. Mulvane, of Kansas. Right—Ex-Senator Dick, of Ohio.

**BORAH IN THE LEAD AS DARK HORSE CANDIDATE**

HARRY J. BROWN.  
 CHICAGO, Ill., June 17.—  
 The Chicago News tonight prints the following:  
 "Senator Borah of Idaho for president," was the principal "dark horse" gossip started in earnest during the afternoon by several western delegations, and was received with some consideration by eastern states, according to gossip.  
 "Borah is best bet for a dark horse," said an Idaho delegate, "and if you will put your ear to the ground it will be Borah if a break comes. I have it from good authority that Barnes of New York stands ready to swing to Borah if chance demands and we of the west believe that will happen."

**PRESS COMMENT.**

**Borah and Roosevelt.**  
 (Tribune, Rathdrum)  
 Some of the friends of President Taft profess not to understand why Senator Borah should have declared for Roosevelt; because, says these friends of the president, Roosevelt is an "enemy of Idaho." All this on account of the national forest policy of Roosevelt and Pinchot. But there can be no doubt the senator knows why he, a friend of the people, who trusts the people, and wants no office unless he can get it directly from the people, should support Roosevelt. Senator Borah is, and always has been, intensely loyal to Idaho and has always done his best to advance the interests and promote the welfare of the state. It is not likely that he would support Roosevelt if he thought Roosevelt an "enemy of Idaho." But he does not consider Roosevelt an enemy of Idaho just because Roosevelt, while president, set aside areas of the public domain for national forests, and some of those forests happen to be in Idaho. Senator Borah is a deep student of national affairs. He knows that corporate wealth has acquired too much power in this country and he knew that if something had not been done the few remaining forests would inevitably have passed forever into the possession of private corporations. No true friend of the people, understanding the situation, could oppose the national conservation policy, but Senator Borah has been indefatigable in his efforts to remove every restriction about the national forests that is detrimental to the people, without destroying the benefits to the people that this policy is intended to conserve. In these efforts he has still further proven his loyalty to Idaho. But there is no reason to believe that Roosevelt, himself, had he remained president, would not have done the same, and there can be no reason now why Roosevelt should be considered an enemy of Idaho; there is no reason, so far as national conservation is concerned, why Senator Borah should not support Roosevelt now and still be an absolutely loyal and consistent friend of Idaho.

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**Getting Aboard.**

Senator La Follette, who started the Progressive movement moving, not only rejects the proposition of a third party organized for the exclusive advantage of one man, but he audaciously declares that publicity of campaign contributions is a fundamental principle of Progressivism. Senator Cummins, discoverer and patentee of the Iowa Idea, will remain in the Republican party, and so will Senator Kenyon and the Progressives of Iowa. Senator Borah, abinet of all Roosevelt's leaders at Chicago, not only refused to bolt the convention but he disregarded The Colonel's order to vote for him or to keep mum when the roll was called, by giving Idaho's vote to Senator Cummins. Governor Hadley, the Roosevelt floor leader at Chicago, has announced that the Republican party in Missouri will be united for the re-election of President Taft.



—(Photos Copyright by American Press Association.)

Above, Senator Borah, of Idaho; J. H. Hawley, of Texas; Harry S. New, of Indiana. Below, Left—Edwin M. Lee, Chairman of Maryland Roosevelt Committee, and Judge Phil C. Gould, of Maryland. Center—Percy Stoddard and United States Attorney P. Haswell, Both of Kentucky. Next in Line—Senator Scott, of Virginia. Right—Pat Gore, Who Knocked Down Several Men in Fight in Coliseum a Few Days Ago.

# SENATOR BORAH DECLARES HE HAS NO THOUGHT OF BOLTING

## Has Not Considered the Matter at Any Time—Colonel Roosevelt Choose the Senator to Be Co-Speaker at Monster Rally to Be Held Monday Night.

HARRY J. BROWN.

CHICAGO, Ill., June 15. —“So far as the question of bolting is concerned,” said Senator Borah today, “it has never entered my mind.” This was his only comment that he would bolt should Taft be nominated next week.

Until all the Idaho delegates to the convention arrive, no steps will be taken toward the selection of the members of the committee on credentials, platform, etc. Former Governor Brady is expected late tonight. Frank Hagenbarth, A. R. Cruzen and M. D. Davis, with C. C. Cavanah, already being on hand.

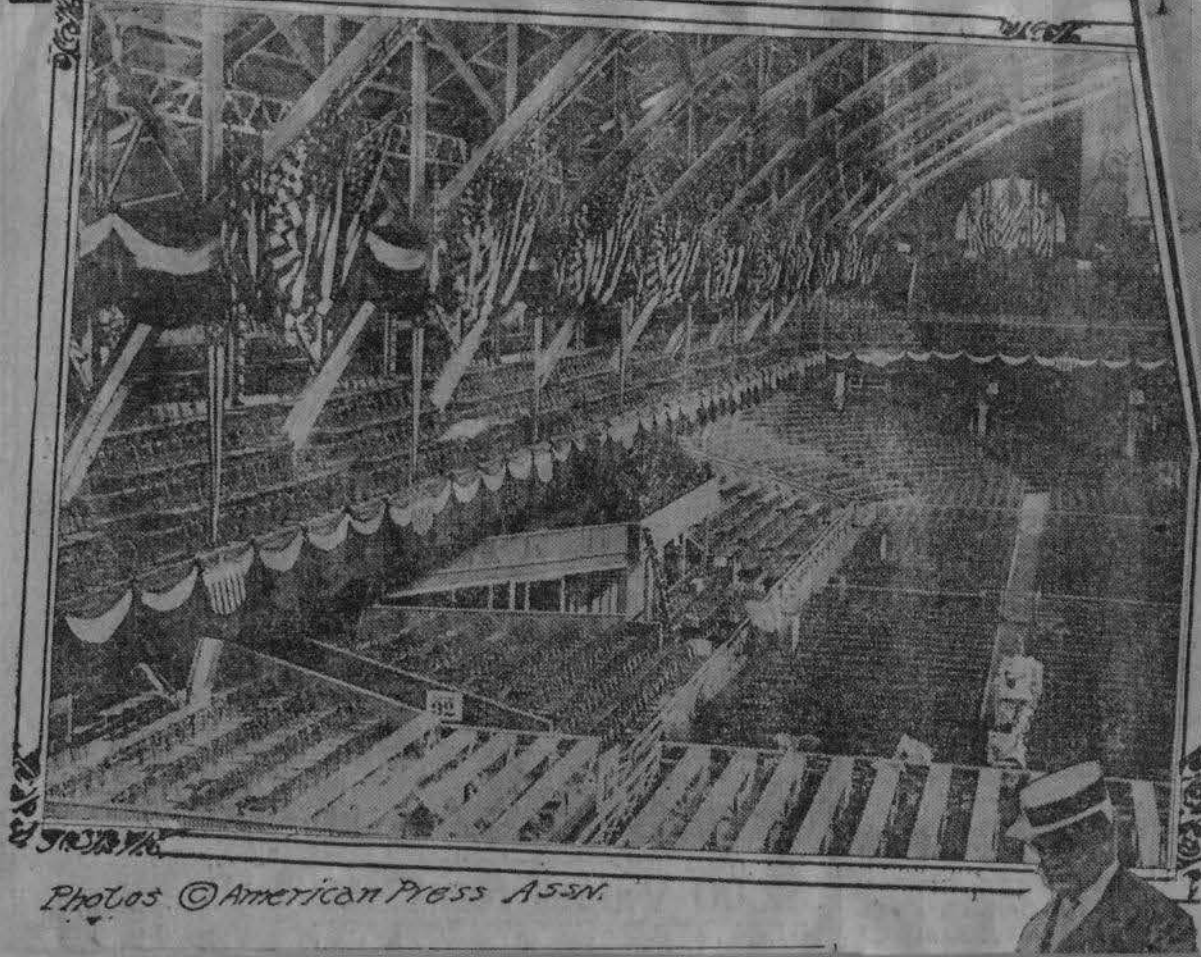
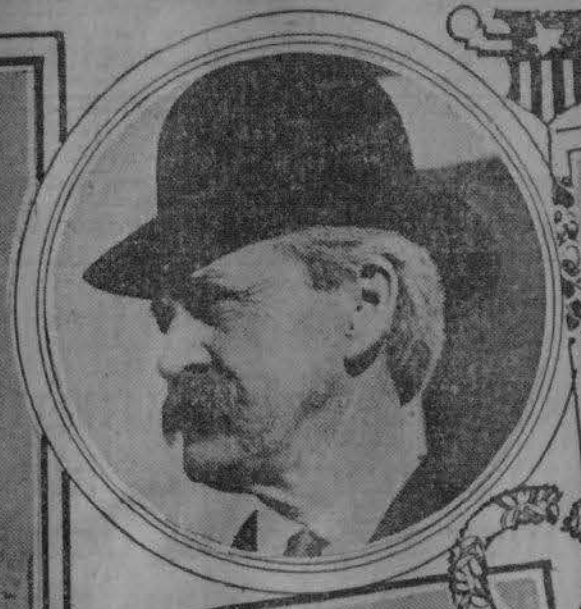
Roosevelt's great admiration for Senator Borah was shown tonight when the colonel selected the Idaho senator to be his co-speaker at the big Roosevelt rally Monday night. In order to make way for Senator Borah, Colonel Roosevelt sidetracked Governor Johnson and Francis J. Heney of California, previously slated to address this gathering.

### SHOULD BE SENATOR ANYWAY.

*Caldwell News.*

Senator Wm. E. Borah is in an awkward position politically. He is a progressive of the first rank and such a progressive as the people need for he goes after things and gets them. He is the most effective worker for progressive measures in the national congress today. He has succeeded in accomplishing greater things for the west than any man Idaho or the west has ever had. He has been forced into his political dilemma by the course of events in the republican party, but notwithstanding the position he occupies as a partisan he is the best man Idaho could have in the United States senate. If Canyon county could express a choice directly for U. S. senator, Borah would get at least 75 per cent of the votes. No use for any one else to figure in the senatorial race in this county and we are persuaded that Idaho is pretty much the same as Canyon county on that matter. The editor of this paper is a democrat and a candidate on the democratic ticket, but we pretend to know something of the facts regarding the standing of Senator Borah and are willing to tell the truth about it. The difficulty with too many papers is that they will dodge the facts and will dissent against any candidate that happens to be on the opposite party ticket regardless of his merits. The News wants to be honest in these matters and its news columns or its editorial columns will not be colored to cover up the facts as we understand them. When Senator Heyburn's term expires there will be an opening for some capable, progressive man and at that time we would like to see a man of the capability of Senator Borah get the position—one whose qualities as a democrat, a progressive, and a statesman measure up to the standard of Senator Borah.

PROMINENT FIGURES AT CHICAGO CONVENTION CAUGHT BY CAMERA.



Top Row (Left), J. W. Hudson, Lew F. Payne, L. B. Gleason, General E. O. Merritt and M. J. Daly; (Center), Senator Cummins, Whose Name Was Not Placed Before Convention; (Right), Senator Borah — Middle Row (Left), Interior of Coliseum; (Center), William Hayward and Harry S. New; (Right), Senator Gronna, of South Dakota — Lower Row, Timothy L. Woodruff, Prominent New York Republican Who Deserts Organization, and James A. Garfield.

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IDAHO AT THE CONVENTION.

The Idaho delegation to the national Republican convention was uninstructed, although it was the understanding at the Lewiston convention that six of the delegates would vote for him as against Taft or any other candidate for the nomination, while later on it was known the entire eight would vote that way. There was no binding reason why all of them should have voted against Senator Root, one of the biggest and brainiest and one of the most loyal Republicans of the nation, for temporary chairman.

The candidate opposed to Senator Root was presented by the LaFollette delegation. There might have been some justification for Idaho delegates who are Roosevelt men at heart voting for the LaFollette candidate because of the Roosevelt line-up behind him, but there was no obligation imposed upon those of the Idaho delegates who are Taft men at heart to vote for the LaFollette men. Yet all eight of the Idaho delegates voted for Governor McGovern of Wisconsin for temporary chairman. Even State Chairman Heltman voted for him, although he had stated before he left for Chicago, what was well known, that he was a Taft supporter and, furthermore, that he was not bound by any pledge or promise to support Roosevelt. There seems to be little doubt that he was pledged to vote for Roosevelt but as a Taft man and as head of the Republican organization in Idaho it seems that he might have avoided giving noticeable affront to the president's side.

Mr. Heltman may have some difficulty explaining his attitude if he shall continue to be chairman of the Republican party in Idaho and if President Taft shall be renominated.

Senator Borah has been more than an Idahoan in this convention. He has been a national figure and has been placed in several trying positions. Borah has consistently supported Colonel Roosevelt but he early announced that he would not bolt the convention if Roosevelt were defeated. This announcement was not made, however, until after the Roosevelt side had given him a prominent place in their plans. It will be recalled that the colonel announced he had even sidetracked Heney for Senator Borah as his companion-speaker at the Roosevelt mass meeting, and it was further announced that Senator Borah was the choice of Roosevelt for temporary chairman.

But when Senator Borah announced that he would not follow Colonel Roosevelt out of the Republican party a change occurred that all readers of the convention dispatches must have observed.

Senator Borah had only gotten started on his speech at the mass meeting when Roosevelt appeared and the senator was forced to retire. The Idaho salon probably felt the humiliation of it but restrained any feeling to express his resentment. He had not cared to make the speech, anyway, his time being taken up in preparation of his keynote speech as temporary chairman.

It seemed, though, that it involved a distinct lack of courtesy for Colonel Roosevelt, who was only across the street, to come tearing into the hall during the senator's speech. It would have shown proper consideration for the senator and would have reflected credit upon the colonel if the latter had remained away until the speaker had concluded.

The colonel evidently could not withstand the magnetic attraction of the cheers that greeted Senator Borah.

Perhaps there was no connection between this incident and the declaration of Senator Borah that he would not bolt, but it seems to bear some significance in view of subsequent developments.

It will be remembered that the senator was unceremoniously sidetracked in the matter of the chairmanship. Senator Borah was kind enough to say that he indorsed the change to McGovern but undoubtedly he had also detected the feeling of antagonism to him in the Roosevelt camp because of his refusal to sub-

mit to the dictation of the club-wielder.

It is noticeable, too, that all of Senator Borah's wise suggestions as to procedure in the convention were summarily rejected. Perhaps their adoption would not have changed the result, but certainly the senator's program was far better than that attempted to be put through by the Roosevelt side.

Possibly Senator Borah will seal his lips as against revelation of the inside history of these developments, but the deductions here presented seem to be thoroughly justified by the undisputed facts that have been given to the public.

T. R. STILL SEEKS PLACE FOR BORAH

OBSTACLES TO CHAIRMANSHIP NOT TOTAL BAR.

Roosevelt Has Plan for Senator to Address Convention First, Even if Not Chairman.

CHICAGO, June 18.—(Special.)—Senator Borah is still Roosevelt's first choice for temporary chairman of the Republican convention, and the colonel so said in conference with his leaders this afternoon. Borah is neither a delegate nor an alternate, and on that account it has been held, he is barred, as only those entitled to sit in the convention are eligible to this office, but Roosevelt announced today that he has decided to run Borah in opposition to Root for temporary chairman, regardless of the fact that he is not a delegate. Roosevelt contends that the temporary chairman need not be a delegate.

Falling in his effort to make Borah his candidate to oppose Root, it is understood the colonel will have Borah present a minority report from the National committee on the contests decided last week, this report to urge the seating of the Roosevelt delegates from Washington, Texas and scattering delegates from other states where, it is contended, contestees have real merit in their claims. By presenting this report Borah will have an opportunity to address the convention soon after it assembles, and before even the temporary roll is made up.

Colonel Roosevelt expects to make his first fight in the convention on the minority report of the National committee, and the result of that fight likely will determine the outcome of the convention.

Borah, therefore, is slated to play an important part in the convention after all, provided Roosevelt's

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GEORGE N. DEFT.....President  
WILLIAM WALLIN.....Secretary

DO YOU APPRECIATE BORAH?

Possibly it is unfair for a newspaper man to ask such a question, as the knowledge of affairs, gained from daily touch of the pulse of the people, teaches him that you do, and this is true of Democrats and Republicans alike, and we venture the broad assertion that no man in public life, since the days of Lincoln, has enjoyed a larger place in the affections of the citizens of his state.

But appreciation is a flower whose fragrance should be permitted to waft freely from the soul of man, that its perfume may gladden the heart of its object. Therefore, aside from the duty we owe ourselves as American citizens, in the exercise of our franchise, we consider it a labor of love that we do not neglect to register and vote at the coming primary election, if for no other reason than the giving to this prominent citizen of the Gem State our public expression of love and appreciation of the service he has performed for us.

And such a mark of esteem will be the more striking and valued from the fact that our senator is detained in Washington during the campaign in looking after the interests of our great commonwealth.

While it is true that Senator Borah has no opposition on the ticket in the primary election, the fact should the more strongly appeal to our love of the man and appreciation of his work in the giving of what may be truly termed our vote of confidence in his stewardship of affairs.

Senator Borah is not alone the Big Man of Idaho. He is heralded as the brightest political star of the New West and ranks the country-wide as the equal of her great men, past and present.

Idaho is proud of him. Individually we are all proud of him and the history he has made in the public life of the nation and it resolves itself into a duty that we neglect not to register and vote at the primaries that we may publicly pronounce the appreciation which we so surely feel.

And now, to take it by and wide: in these days of political and social unrest, while reforms are demanded; "war" being waged for their attainment, and advanced thinkers and politicians promising results, the people of Idaho should not forget that the primary election is the great factor in the reform movement. That it is a measure calculated to place the burden of official action in the hands of the people, where it justly belongs, and that, for this very reason, it is more essential that we, as citizens, register and vote at the primary election, thereby assisting in the selection of good men and true as our public representatives, than that we reserve our energies for the general election.

You must register during the next few days. In fact, your name must be on the rolls Saturday the 27th. It is one of those duties of citizenship that is worth doing well and the time is Now, that you may forstall the faulty memory.

Do it today.

# The Oregonian

PORTLAND, OREGON.

PORTLAND, SUNDAY, JULY 14, 1912.

## BORAH AND A THIRD PARTY.

Senator Borah, of Idaho, has again made it clear that he will not join the third-party-third-term movement. Mr. Borah is a progressive Senator with an unblemished record of fidelity to the people and of intelligent and effective service to his state. He joined the Roosevelt campaign for re-nomination with apparent reluctance, for his personal relations with President Taft had been pleasant and he was not prepared to subscribe to the terrific indictment of inefficiency and reactionism against him promulgated by Colonel Roosevelt. But the Senator thought that on the whole it would be better for the party and the country to nominate Mr. Roosevelt, and he lent himself with his well-known energy and splendid abilities to the Colonel's cause.

Undoubtedly the stand of Senator Borah turned Idaho from a Taft state to a Roosevelt state; and undoubtedly, too, the accession of Borah was the most valuable individual asset the Colonel had among his following. Mr. Borah was not a self-seeker nor a bargainer for political or personal favors, like some other conspicuous members of the Colonel's bodyguard. He had nothing to ask for himself; he gave all the service his conscience permitted him to give. It was Borah who represented Idaho on the National committee; and it was Borah who refused to join with Heney and the others in their mad enterprise of seating wholesale a miscellaneous assortment of hand-picked Roosevelt Southern delegates.

By his consistent, courageous and independent action Mr. Borah made it obvious that he had not sold himself to Roosevelt, or to anybody, and that he was there to serve the cause of truth and justice, and to promote, if he could, party harmony. So we find Borah, Kellogg (of Minnesota) and others who are deeply solicitous for Colonel Roosevelt's true interest joining with the majority of the National committee in exposing the futility and dishonesty of many Southern contests, but dividing with the majority over positions upon which there was a fair opportunity for difference of opinion. Mr. Borah insisted strenuously that the Roosevelt delegates from Washington and Texas should be seated; and it is significant that upon these contests only for which the Idaho Senator made a determined stand does Colonel Roosevelt now rest his case against the National committee and the National convention. In other words, there were originally about 240 contests, but the number is now reduced to 75, so that Colonel Roosevelt is by inference admitting that 164 of the Roosevelt contests were "confessedly indefensible"—to adopt his own phrase as to the Taft contention. It is worthy of notice that neither Mr. Borah nor Mr. Kellogg has joined with Colonel Roosevelt and with Heney and Bill Flinn and the other ultra-honest men of the Roosevelt camp, in denouncing the National committee as thieves nor the convention as its accomplices in a perfidious transaction; nor has Governor Hadley, of Missouri, who represented Mr. Roosevelt on the floor of the Chicago convention. The militant Governor Stubbs, of Kansas, was highly incensed at the action of the convention, but he finds therein no adequate reason for deserting to the third party. Probably a majority of the Roosevelt delegates at Chicago deplore the third party plan and will stay with the regular organization.

The Oregonian cites the case of Borah to illustrate the type of progressive who thinks the place to correct the evils of Republican party practices is within the party, and who thinks all is not lost to the progressives because one man has not been nominated for President and another has been. The inexplicable feature of the Roosevelt revolt is that it should occur at a time when the progressive element is in control of the party organization in a majority of the Republican states. It is not so inexplicable, however, when the course of the National convention is reviewed and the curtain is drawn from the motives and schemings of some persons most active in its proceedings. It is believed generally that Colonel Roosevelt might have been nominated if he had followed the cool counsel of Borah and Hadley, but he took the rash advice of headstrong men like Johnson, Flinn and Heney to adopt a course that deeply offended the majority of the delegates, including some men holding the

balance of power, who might easily have been made receptive and friendly. But the Colonel preferred to denounce the Taft delegates and their allies as criminals and to insist that they acknowledge it by following blindly and without question the path outlined by him. They would not, for they felt that they could not. Yet they hoped that out of an irritated and perplexed situation a possibility of compromise might arise and a third candidate might be named. It was a baseless aspiration, for Colonel Roosevelt pointedly rejected all overtures at any other solution of the convention's difficulties except his own nomination. "You'll take me or you'll take Taft," he said in effect, just as four years ago he declared that "you'll take Taft or you'll take me."

Colonel Roosevelt therefore has a direct accountability for the nomination of Mr. Taft. It might have been Cummins, or Hughes, or Hadley, but Mr. Roosevelt flatly vetoed any suggestion of the kind. He believed in the acceptability of no candidate but himself; he thought that the logical thing for the convention to do, if it would not nominate him, was to name Taft. Undoubtedly, he planned a

situation that would make feasible his new party, for a Republican party headed by any recognized progressive would make impotent and absurd any third party movement.

If we are to have a third party, it will be a Roosevelt party. If it shall not be a Roosevelt party there will be no third party.

## The Evening Post

NEW YORK

from the issue of

June 22/11

### WILLIAM EDGAR BORAH.

#### Turbulent Political Career of Champion of Primary Law.

William Edgar Borah, United States Senator from Idaho, out-and-out Progressive, fought his way to the Senate through a deal of opposition in his own State. Once defeated by a narrow margin of four votes, he was undaunted and tried again with better fortune. He advocated the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people. That being constitutionally impossible, he announced that he would go before the people and ask to be named at the State Convention as the choice of the Republican party for United States Senator.

This early declaration made him the target of practically every leader in the party, for each one was either a candidate or committed to the support of some other. He was further opposed by the friends of Senator Dubois, Democrat, who realized that the nomination of Borah would place Dubois on the shelf, whereas with a general Senatorial fight among the Republican leaders the Democratic candidates had a chance to carry the Legislature.

Assailed on all sides, both in and out of his party, Borah proceeded quietly to practice law. He scarcely left his office. He had no show against his enemies in an ordinary political contest. They had the party organization. So he passed it up to the people.

When the State Convention met popular sentiment was so strong in his favor that he was nominated for the Senate. His opponents in the party lined up for him during the campaign. The people ratified the nomination by electing fifty-four Republicans to the Legislature out of a total membership of seventy-two, and Mr. Borah received every Republican vote.

That incident was typical of Borah's way, "Bill" Borah as his friends call him. This man of ideas was born on a farm at Fairfield, Wayne County, Illinois, June 29, 1855. His father was a native of Kentucky, and his mother was born in Indiana. The Senator's early training was received in the public schools of Fairfield and the Southern Illinois Academy at Enfield, Illinois. He later entered the Kansas State University at Lawrence, Kan., from which institution he was graduated with the degree of M.A. The foundation of the career of the present junior Senator from Idaho was laid in the law office of A. M. Lasley at Lyons, Kan., where he remained a year and one-half and was admitted to the bar in 1885. Convinced, however, that there was a broader field of action further West, he moved to Boise, Idaho, where in 1891 he opened a law office, and has been in active practice there ever since.

The Senator's one particular case that gave him a national reputation and endeared him to all law-abiding citizens of the State was his handling of the prosecution of the dynamiters, Heywood, Moyer et al., who, during the labor troubles at Cour-d'Alene, dynamited the Bunker Hill Sullivan mine. In that plot the strikers killed several non-union miners. Gov. Steunenberg declared martial law, and placed the Senator in charge of the prosecution of the offenders. Though embarrassed at many turns in the case, he succeeded in convicting one of the dynamiters of the murder of the Governor, and twelve others of felony. Eight others whom he had indicted escaped the law by bribing the soldier guard and breaking jail, and were never retaken. His fearless conduct in the management of this case, together with his ability as a lawyer, gave him much popularity when the Senatorship came up.

Theodore Roosevelt, when President, was placed in an embarrassing position by the fact that Borah, retained as special attorney to prosecute these cases, was himself indicted for participation in lumber frauds, a charge believed to have been trumped up by the miners.

The same Roosevelt, however, found strong support of his Administration at the hands of the Idaho Senator when the Brownville incident stirred the country. Borah denounced the negro troops in no uncertain terms.

"To my mind it was treason," he said; "if not technically so, yet morally treason in its most aggravated form. To find this spirit of lawlessness, this appetite for crime, in our army, the body which is to maintain the flag wherever it floats, is startling beyond all words to express."

Although a real progressive, the Senator would not join in the cry for the recall of judges. He delivered on one occasion a notable address against the recall and in support of the Supreme Court.

Borah holds that regulation, and not dissolution, is the proper treatment for the Trusts. He is a strong supporter of the income tax, and during the argument in the Senate over the proposed amendment to the Constitution on the subject, he predicted an uprising if it were not passed.

"You can defeat this amendment," he declared. "In view of the class of men who are joining the crusade against it, I think you will defeat it. The forces which propose to encompass its defeat will not stop on the hither side of the most disreputable methods to accomplish their purpose."

"But when the people learn what you have really done, the manner in which this has been manipulated, it will go far toward exciting to renewed force that feeling of wrath, of class hatred, already too strong among us. When those who are ill-

able to meet the burdens of government see its enormous expenditures continue to increase—larger armies and larger navies, increased burdens everywhere—and learn, furthermore, that all this must be met by a tax on consumption, while incomes which sustain luxury and breed idleness and idiosyncrasy go untaxed, they will have little mercy with you in the hour in which you must plead with them against radical changes in the Government. I do not know how long we can deal with a patient people in this way, but I venture to prophesy, not much longer."

On conservation, the Idaho Senator holds the view that natural resources should be used and developed, not merely restricted.

"Western people are just as thoroughly devoted to the principle of conservation as are the people in the East," said Borah on one occasion. "But as we understand it, conservation means the use and development of our natural resources. Conservation that has for its basis the tying up of these resources for an indefinite time is waste."

NEWSPAPER TRANSCRIPT, old

from Boston, Mass.

Address

Date

1912

Senator Borah, who won his fight in the primaries for reelection, files his bill of expenses as \$200,000. This is a fabulous way of doing it, but it should not obscure to any observer the big fact, namely, that Borah's campaign was won by honest means and without a contest. It should furthermore serve to call attention to the fact that Borah is a really big man. He is a progressive and radical in many ways, but he is opposed to the recall of judges and refused to follow Mr. Roosevelt into the third party. Such a serene and strong champion of moderation in politics ought to have a splendid future.

A DEBT OF GRATITUDE

One of the most important acts of legislation that has come from our legislative body in years is the Borah three-year homestead law, the full text of which appears in the Democrat this week. Senator Borah of Idaho has devoted his entire time to forcing this law through, and has met with the most strenuous opposition all along the line, but Idaho's "little giant" knew that he had the vast majority of the common people behind him in his efforts to modernize and liberalize the homestead laws, and he stuck tenaciously to the work till he succeeded in securing the enactment of a law that will permit a poor man to take up and obtain patent to a homestead. Every homesteader and intending homesteader in the country owes a debt of gratitude to Idaho's senator. — Ontario Democrat.

A CONFLICT OF INTERESTS.

The local interests of Republican statesmen, candidates, bosses, and organizations in their respective States are at war with the interests of Col. ROOSEVELT in putting his third party in the field. With them the matter of paramount interest is to save their States from falling into the hands of Democrats, that is, to save themselves. In Idaho the Republican State Committee, at its meeting on July 10, unanimously approved the Chicago platform of the party and pledged loyal support to Mr. TAFT. Three Taft men were named as Electors. Even the Roosevelt men of the committee, men who had made a hard fight to secure a Roosevelt delegation at Chicago, supported the pledge of loyalty to Mr. TAFT, which was unanimously adopted. Then the committee gave its hearty endorsement to Senator BORAH, pledged its untiring efforts to secure his reelection, and commended him to the confidence of the voters. Some of the Idaho Republicans long for ROOSEVELT. But they simply can't get along without BORAH, and the local interest triumphs. No Republican of that State, says The Idaho Statesman, "would do anything to jeopardize the reelection of Senator BORAH."

THE BOISE COUNTY SENTINEL

Walter H. Day, Editor and Manager.

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LEGAL NOTICES.

Table with 2 columns: Description and Price. Includes Final Proof (\$7.50), Notice of Completion of Water Right (\$6.00), Contest Notice (\$2.50), Notice of Forfeiture (\$5.00), and a note about other notices requiring Publisher's Affidavit.

WE are glad to note that valuations are to be considerably increased in Canyon county this year.

The fact that they are to be increased this year is an admission that they were too low last year.

Apparently they did not have the nerve to continue a scheme of valuations so ridiculously out of proportion to that of neighboring counties.

WHEN the full and complete proceedings of the Chicago Convention is viewed, we find that Senator Wm. E. Borah stands out prominently as one of the half dozen conspicuous figures of the assemblage.

His fame is no longer confined to Idaho and the west; he is recognized throughout the country as one of the ablest men of the nation.

COEUR D'ALENE, IDAHO

PRESS

JUL 13 1912

WILL RETURN BORAH.

In an effort to disorganize the republican party in this state interested parties are attempting to create the impression that the timber interests are plotting to defeat Senator Borah for reelection by naming weak republican legislative tickets and strong democratic tickets which will result in the election of a democratic legislature. The absurdity of such a claim is apparent from the fact that the legislative tickets will be named at a direct primary to be held this month. If such a thing can be accomplished of what benefit is the direct primary? That Senators Stephens and Lorimer would be opposed to Borah as charged, no one who has followed his fight in the senate against these two men would doubt, but that they can have any influence in Idaho politics no one believes.

Senator Borah is a republican first and believes in fighting out his differences with others within party lines. He enjoys the confidence of the people of this state and will have no serious opposition to his reelection if the republicans control the legislature, and his candidacy will prove to be a leading factor in securing the nomination of republican legislative candidates who are strong men at the primaries, men who will make a winning race at the general election. The republican voters should not overlook the fact that Borah's election depends on the election of a republican legislature and that this may best be secured by the nomination of men of ability who are well enough known to make a winning race at the polls in November. The conservative republicans, as well as the progressives, are united for Borah and we do not believe that there will be any fight against him on account of his action at the national convention. He simply exercised the right of an American citizen in an effort to put into force his honest convictions and when he failed bowed to the will of the majority, declaring that he would not bolt or follow Roosevelt in an effort to disrupt the republican party. His loyalty to party principles has eliminated any feeling that may have existed against him on the part of the Taft supporters and the people of this state generally recognize his great ability and the commanding position he occupies in the United States senate. They know that he gives the state standing and prominence which comes only by the presence of such men in the greatest lawmaking body of men in the world. They are for Borah because he is able to command national attention as a leader in the senate.

Roosevelt announces that he has the platform written for his third party convention which meets at Chicago in August to nominate him for president. That will save the platform committee much labor and there will be no danger of the colonel not having a platform that meets his ideas of one man rule. He might go a step further, however, and save the expense of a convention by merely declaring that he is the candidate of his party running on his own platform and making his own campaign on the money furnished by the trusts. That would simplify matters.

ASKS A QUESTION.

(Nampa Leader-Herald.)

If the admittedly great influence of Senator Borah in his home city and county could only gain for Roosevelt a bare majority, what can the same influence do for him in the state?

WOULD CHEAT IDAHO.

(Herburn Review.)

No man can tell what a day may bring forth, and it may be a fact that some amicable arrangement may be made between Taft and Roosevelt, though it seems impossible that any could be made other than that one should gracefully give way to the other, which would carry weight at the polls, in which case it would seem that our senators' duty to his party would demand that he eliminate himself from the race, but barring such arrangement Idaho has been grossly cheated unless W. E. Borah receive the nomination at the Republican national convention at Chicago, and is elected as the next president of the United States.

NEZ PERCE SITUATION.

(Lewiston Dispatch.)

Regarding the situation in the state convention, Storey Buck, chairman of the Republican central committee of this (Nez Perce) county, said:

"I believe that since Mr. Borah's announcement for Roosevelt has been made the convention will be more bitter and likely better attended than if Mr. Borah had not taken this stand. I believe that Taft will overwhelmingly carry Idaho and send an instructed delegation to the national convention."

TAFT AND BORAH.

Borah is one of the leading senators of the Union, and Idaho has been proud of her representation in the capital and it is hoped that a condition will be worked out whereby his friends who have given him in the past will not be compelled to throw one or the other down, but that they can sustain Taft as well as Borah if they choose and feel that there is harmony between our representatives in congress and the president, a thing very essential to Idaho's growth.

BORAH AND THE PRESIDENCY.

(Burley Bulletin.)

Practically every citizen in Idaho is in sympathy with Senator W. E. Borah in the great work he is attempting to do and is doing for this state, and is proud of the record he is making in the senate, and still prouder to have his name favorably mentioned by leading eastern newspapers as a possible compromise candidate for the presidency on the Republican ticket. However, all recognize the fact that it is extremely improbable that Senator Borah will become a presidential candidate, while it is generally understood that his present ambition is to succeed himself as senator from Idaho.

TAFT ON FIRST BALLOT.

(Pocatello Tribune.)

The suggestion has been made by a prominent eastern newspaper that

Senator Borah of Idaho is a proper man to be brought forward as a compromise nomination in the event a deadlock develops. There is a possibility the Chicago convention may for a time be deadlocked—but this is not likely to happen. In the event of a deadlock, Senator Borah, who is eminently fitted for the position, would be the kind of man the convention could agree upon, but there is no great likelihood that they will select him, because he comes from a state having only eight delegates in the convention and only four votes in the electoral college. Presidents are always nominated from states which have a large vote. It has always been deemed good politics to nominate presidents from big states, and the fact that Senator Borah comes from a new state in the west, with only a handful of delegates will preclude his nomination, unless the next convention throws precedent to the winds and looks for the best available man in the highly improbable event the Taft and Roosevelt forces become everlastingly clinched in a deadlock. It is only fair to Senator Borah to say that he is not a candidate for the presidential nomination—is not giving the suggestion serious consideration. The likelihood increases daily that Taft will be nominated overwhelmingly on the first ballot.

Long Beach, Cal.

(Republican National Ticket)

For President  
**WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT**  
of Ohio

For Vice-President  
**JAMES S. SHERMAN**  
of New York.

#### ROOSEVELT LOSING GROUND

One of the humors of the campaign is the frantic attempt of the "progressives" to prevent their third party from perishing through lack of sustenance. The Los Angeles Tribune is especially zealous in efforts in behalf of the new-born weakling. "People Rallying to Roosevelt" is the label placed on one of the paper's editorials yesterday. The Tribune declares that "the whole nation is fervid with responsive zeal that but awaits the call to action," and adds, "Everywhere progressives who have been republicans and progressives who have been democrats are resolving to give their support to the new party." This sort of anonymous boosting is easy but ineffective. Why not give the names? Who are the people who are "resolving, etc.?" It is not necessary to mention all of them, although the entire list would not eat up newspaper space. But why not give the names of a few of the more prominent accessories to the third-termer and his new party? says the San Diego Union.

The answer is obvious. There are no names to give. So far as now appears, there is not a single prominent man among those not in the Roosevelt movement at the time of the Chicago convention, who has come forward with pledges of fealty to the new party. Of those who were Roosevelt supporters when the convention met, some have given adherence to the new party—these are mostly the convention bolters—others are on the fence, and others still, men who were the colonel's most enthusiastic partisans, have flatly declined to join him in seceding from the republican party. The list of latter is not published in the Roosevelt organs. But it is growing daily, and it is of decided interest in view of the wild attempts to create the impression that Roosevelt is receiving accessions. Here is the list in part:

...the crossing  
...the Salt Lake  
...and did his best to win in spite of  
overwhelming odds. But he flatly refused to  
leave the republican party to aid the colonel's  
third-term scheme.

Governor C. A. Aldrich of Nebraska—He, too, was one of the seven state executives who made the famous Chicago appeal to Roosevelt. He was named by Governor Hiram Johnson as a member of the committee of eighteen to organize the third-term party. Governor Aldrich has been as strong a Roosevelt man as any of those who are supporting the colonel. He flatly refuses to serve on the Johnson committee, and declares that he will take no part in bolting.

Governor Charles S. Deneen of Illinois—He was not one of the seven governors who besought Roosevelt to come to the rescue of the country. But he supported the colonel with all his power. He firmly declines to have anything to do with the new party.

Senator William E. Borah of Idaho—He is perhaps the ablest of all the men who ranged themselves with Roosevelt in the latter's attempt to obtain the republican nomination. He was a conspicuous figure in the convention fight. He has announced his intention to remain with the republican party.

These are only a few of the men who found themselves unable to follow Roosevelt in his career as a party wrecker. It will not be surprising should the list lengthen rapidly. The simple truth is this: Roosevelt is not gaining strength. He is losing it, and indications are that he will be further weakened.

## The Oregonian

PORTLAND, OREGON.

### BORAH'S PROGRESSIVE POLICY.

The men who have been led astray by the denunciations of the belligerent Roosevelt men into the belief that no hope of securing progressive legislation exists except through the organization of a third party should take to heart the words of Senator Borah in refusing his aid to that movement. His right to be counted a progressive is beyond question; for he has proved his faith by his works. To him is chiefly due the submission to the states of the amendment for direct election of Senators; he voted to purge the Senate of Lorimer; he has procured the passage of the three-year homestead law, which every Western man regards as a step in progress; he has stood shoulder to shoulder with the progressives in Congress in their fight for downward revision of the tariff; he supported Roosevelt to the last in the effort to capture the Republican nomination at Chicago.

This man, whose earnestness and sincerity have stood the test of the manifold temptations of a term in the Senate, decides that better and quicker results can be obtained by himself and the other Progressive Republicans by remaining in the republican party than by going out of it and organizing a third party. He says:

I do not believe that it is possible to build up a third party in this country which can get hold of the legislation within the next six years. If I thought that by joining a third party I could more effectively do what ought to be done, that by it we could more effectively legislate for what the people ought to have, I would not hesitate to join it. But I do not believe that it is the best way to accomplish it.

In so saying Borah is in harmony with the action of Senators La Follette and Cummins, who bear the scars of battle for progress extending through many years, and of many other leaders of the progressive movement. His judgment is worthy of the respect due to a veteran in the Senate.

We have just had a practical demonstration of the soundness of Borah's judgment in the passage by the Senate of a bill reducing the tariff on sugar—one of the first necessities of life. By a compromise with the regulars the progressives obtained a substantial reduction in duties and the abolition of the Dutch standard, which now shuts out a great volume of cheap foreign sugar. It is extremely doubtful whether the standpat element would have agreed to such a reduction had the Progressives been a separate party, and the latter alone would have been powerless to pass it. The Progressives therefore obtained quicker results in lifting the toll from the consumer by following the course favored by Borah.

From \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
Date \_\_\_\_\_

Another circumstance which exposes the revengeful and destructive spirit of the third-party movement is the "policy" adopted by the bull moose in the State of Idaho. Senator Borah comes up this year for reelection under conditions of some difficulty. The state is broken into factions, geographical, personal, political, and religious. In spite of high abilities and achieved prestige, Mr. Borah has before him what in the language of politics is called a hard fight. Now upon this situation Manager Dixon, under instruction

from Mr. Roosevelt, is about to intrude a bull moose candidate, not in the hope of success, but just to make trouble for Borah. It appears to be forgotten that Mr. Borah is a staunch supporter of the progressive cause, that through his energies a progressive delegation was sent to Chicago, that under his leadership a consistent and persistent fight was made in the convention in behalf of Mr. Roosevelt. It is forgotten that Mr. Borah gave to the Roosevelt candidacy before the convention a large measure of its force and pretty much all of its dignity. It seems only to be remembered that when it came to a choice between working through the Republican party and organizing an independent movement, Mr. Borah chose to take the former course. There is no glory, there is no gratitude. Whoever is not for me, says the bull moose, is anathema. To decline affiliation with the new movement is to wipe out everything due to past friendship and favor, to be made the victim of a special malevolence, to be embarrassed and thwarted wherever possible.

# SPLENDID POPULAR VOTE CAST FOR W. E. BORAH

Republicans of Idaho Honor the  
Senator By Voting For  
Him Unanimously.

Senator Borah enjoys the unique honor of being the unanimous choice of his party for re-election to an office that he has filled with marked distinction for the past six years. The honor accorded the senator is all the more remarkable in view of the split in the Republican party and the turmoil that prevails everywhere in political circles.

It seems fitting and proper, too, that Senator Borah should be one of the first to be chosen in a popular primary because of the valiant fight he has made for the popular election of United States senators. No nomination was made against him by his party, and it is doubtful if a vote has been cast against him anywhere in the state in a Republican primary.

On the other hand the official vote found elsewhere in this issue of The Statesman will show that in spite of the fact that there was no contest a large number of Republicans availed themselves of the pleasure of voting for Senator Borah. He has been in the senate now almost six years, and during that time has taken high rank among the best lawyers, most unflinching workers and ablest statesmen in either house of congress.

It is the general impression everywhere that Idaho this year will honor herself by sending William E. Borah back to Washington for another six years, and it is generally known that many Democrats will take great pleasure in aiding in this public duty.

Information comes from Senator Borah to the effect that he will remain in Washington until congress adjourns as he has many important matters to look after, and that just as soon as he can get away he will come home to take an active part in the campaign.

## NATATORIUM WILL BE IMPROVED BY NEW OWNERS

# SENATOR WILLIAM E. BORAH



THAT DARK HORSE SEEMS TO BE OVER-BURDENED. *Aug. 21, 1912*

CUMMINS LAFOLLETTE LODGE GOV. JOHNSON LINDSAY STUBBS BORAH



N. H. JONES  
CHICAGO



# BORAH DECLINES TO COMMIT HIMSELF TO TAFT OR ROOSEVELT

NOT A BULL MOOSER



HON. W. E. BORAH.

## HARLAN SCORES AT POCATELLO MEETING

Taft Speakers Address Large Gathering in Reply to Roosevelt's Speech.

(Special Dispatch.)

POCATELLO, Sept. 14. — John M. Harlan and ex-Congressman Bode arrived here in a special car attached to No. 18 at 11:40 a. m., and were met by members of the Republican county central committee and escorted to the corner of Main and Center streets, where these two Taft followers delivered short addresses in rebuttal of the claims set forth by Roosevelt in his speech here yesterday. Mr. Harlan said:

Defeat for Colonel.

"Colonel Roosevelt says the bosses are going to be defeated this year, and he is right, for Colonel Roosevelt, the greatest political boss America has ever known, is going to be defeated."

He replied with spirit to Roosevelt's charge of stolen delegates at Chicago, and gave an account of the sham contests filed by the Roosevelt forces in their effort to prevent the president's nomination.

He whipped the colonel's trust utterances unmercifully, and asked the colonel to state his attitude toward the harvester trust, and whether, if elected, he would not dismiss the suit brought by the Taft administration against that trust.

Mr. Bode attacked the sincerity of Roosevelt and pointed out that the third party had no other excuse for

swer either one of these letters, but I answer them now openly and publicly.

**Questions and Answers.**

"These men seem to be hunting for an intellectual slave. They seem anxious to bestow their favors and their votes upon some personal mental of some particular individual. They do not ask me whether I am a Republican or a third party man. They do not ask me whether I believe in this policy or that. They do not say, 'Your record as a senator has not been to the credit of your state and, therefore, I must oppose you.' They do not say, 'You are unfit to be a senator, therefore, I shall campaign against you.' One of them, in fact, was very complimentary about my work in the senate. But they do say, 'Unless you declare your allegiance to one or the other of these men you must go down to defeat.'

"I reject their standards, I reject their rules, I repudiate their test before the people of this state openly

and publicly. If you ask me if I am a Republican I answer, 'yes,' as I understand Republican doctrines I am. If you ask me if I am a third party man I answer, 'No, I have not joined the third party.' I am a progressive, but I want to fight inside the old party. But inside or outside I propose to urge the progressive measures for which I, with others, have stood.

**Position Respecting Taft.**

"When you ask me if I am a Taft man you compel me to take Mr. Taft's view of what constitutes Republicanism. Every man who asks that question knows that if I should answer it in the affirmative I would be a liar, that I would be lying for the purpose of getting votes, that I would be repudiating my record of six years in the senate and miserably stultifying myself before the people of the state. I opposed Mr. Taft's policy of reciprocity and I oppose it now. I think it was un-Republican, unjust and unfair and iniquitously discriminatory to put the farmer of this country upon a free trade basis for sale and a protected basis for purchase. And in view of the fact that Mr. Laurier is preparing to resubmit that question to Canada I consider it a live and important question to every farmer in this state.

"I was opposed to the commerce court and I am opposed to it now. In my opinion, special courts located in Washington far from the people dealing with special and powerful interests will in the end become a scandal—it has already become a scandal.

"I was opposed to the civil government bill for Alaska—I think it was a scheme whether intended so or not which would have enabled certain interests to exploit that country and to control the territorial government.

"I was opposed to the Honduras and Nicaraguan treaties which, in my judgment, would have given two great banking firms in New York city a chance to gather up the debts of those bankrupt countries for a song and sell them at a high margin, while behind it all stood the guarantee of the United States. I was in favor of the election of senators by popular vote, the president was not.

**Thinks It Good Republicanism.**

"I might go on. This is enough to show where I stand. This is the record. I will neither apologize for it nor lie about it. I believe it is good Republicanism, I believe it is in accordance with the best interests of the people of this state. So believing I will not make any statement nor permit any inference to be drawn which would lead to the conclusion that by endorsing some particular individual rather than my party I would accept his personal views as to what constitutes Republicanism.

"If these are not Republican doctrines, let's know it now and here and we will simplify this campaign in one respect very much. If they are not Republican doctrines I am not a Republican and I am willing to step out and decline further to be a candidate upon that ticket.

"I ask those who say I am not a Republican to meet me upon the record. Where is the Republican who will defend upon the rostrum free trade for the farmer and protection for the manufacturer, free trade for all your grain and farm products and protection for the blanket which you buy to protect you from the winter's cold? Where is the Republican who will oppose in the open the election of senators by popular vote? Where is the Republican who will meet me in debate in defense of the commerce court? Is the three year homestead bill, which gives to the settler a chance to overcome adversity and win a home, un-Republican—the first homestead law was signed by Abraham Lincoln. Is the dry homestead bill, which enables man to reclaim these vast areas of desert and make them habitable and fruitful, un-Republican? Is the Children's Bureau bill, which uncovers the fiendish greed of Eastern manufacturers and rescues from industrial slavery the girls and boys coming to the responsibilities of citizenship, un-Republican? Is the bill that I now have pending to create a department of labor and make the secretary thereof a member of the cabinet un-Republican? Is the title bill which gives the settlers on reclamation projects a chance before they are driven off in adversity and despair un-Republican? Is the eight-hour law I urged through congress un-Republican? What bill have I advocated that they will condemn? Who are these self constituted guardians of the Republican party, these pious faced political Pharisees who stand on the street corners and denounce all creeds except their own?

**Issues a Sweeping Defl.**

"Who constituted them the censors of Republican principles. I defy them one and all. I ask them to come into the open, declare themselves before the people of this state. I appeal from them to the great body of the people of this state. Gather in the homesteaders who are building up the state of Idaho. Gather in the men who work through the long seasons for their crops against drought or rain. Gather in those who believe in bring-

ing this government back to the control of the people and taking it out of the power of corrupt interests to control the election of United States senators. Gather in the men who are willing to test the question of whether or not a man's measures and policies are in behalf of a state which he represents rather than in accord with some individual's views, and let their views be taken as to what constitutes Republicanism.

"Now, we have a Republican organization in this state. It is composed of elected members from every county in the state. I assume they represent the views and know the wishes of their constituents. I put it up to them. We will settle it once and for all. If they think I am not a Republican and this organization will meet and so declare I will decline my candidacy as I am now nominated and submit the question in another way. I will get off their ticket and test it in another way. I do not want to embarrass

either the ticket or its candidates. If my views and my theory of what constitutes Republicanism in this campaign are not satisfactory to this organization I will unhesitatingly accept their verdict and thereafter choose my course as to how I shall reach the people and we will find out who constitutes the Republican party in this state. But I say to them now that these are my views. I shall not change them or cease to advocate them. I will tell the facts in this campaign. I will not be deterred from doing so by the loss of a vote or votes in the legislature.

**How Candidates May Be Released.**

"As to the candidates for the legislature, if there are any of them who feel that they cannot conscientiously vote for me as senator, there is a manly and honorable way to be released from their obligation to do so. I have been nominated at the primary on the Republican ticket. It does not legally bind the members of the legislature, but unless repudiated before the election it becomes a most solemn moral obligation. But I think that the candidate for the legislature who would openly and clearly state to his people before the election that he did not intend to vote for me would in all fairness be released from doing so. I think he has that right. Let him settle it with the voters. If he states to them he will not be bound by the primary and they nevertheless elect him it would constitute a clear exception from the obligation in the present state of our primary law as to United States senator. If he does not so state it would be dishonorable and cowardly not to stand by the obligation expressed by the primary vote. I know practically all the candidates for the legislature. I haven't a particle of doubt but they will speak plainly on this subject before the election and be bound by whatever statement they make to the voters.

"Now, I have tried to give everybody the freedom of action, the unrestraint which I claim and shall claim for myself. Let us now go to the people and settle it. They are the court of last resort. Republicanism is what the countless thousands who constitute the rank and file declare it to be. The senatorship of this state belongs to the people of this state and they can bestow it upon whom they would. My convictions and views belong to me. Let's make an open, candid issue and submit it to the decision of that tribunal from which there is no appeal—the voters of the state of Idaho.

**Denies That He's a Trimmer.**

"If they say to you that Borah is trimming, that he does not take a stand, ask them upon what question, upon what issue, upon what measure in congress or this campaign he has failed to take an open and decided and positive stand. Ask them if they have any doubt as to what his position will be on all these questions in the coming congress. What policy which touches the interest of the people of this state have I not met openly and candidly? If so state them. What question is there tonight that touches your interest or your welfare or the welfare of the people of this state about which you entertain any possible doubt as to my position? It is because I am positive upon all these questions that the opposition is coming from certain sources to my election. It is because I refuse to yield my views or modify my position on certain public questions that they are dissatisfied with me. If I were more uncertain they would be far more certain as to their support of me. If I were a little more unsteady they would be more steadfast. Do you people want a representative in the senate who is uncertain as to policies and well hitched up to individuals—who would yield his views and modify his opinions to harmonize with the views of those whom you do not elect to represent you? A man who will not stand for what he thinks is right at home regardless of individuals or candidates at the head or the tail of the ticket will not stand up for them at Washington, and God pity the miserable creature sailing upon that turbulent political sea at Washington without convictions for a compass. I have seen them and there is nothing more despicable in all the world besides. Men without poise and purpose, without convictions and determination, who do not stand ready to fight for their views regard-

sign. There is not a public question, not a public issue that I am not ready to discuss with men or before the people in this campaign. I am for measures, not men, and I will make my campaign on that line regardless of political consequences."

At one point early in his speech Senator Borah gave his audience an opportunity to question him on any subject or issue. One man in the crowd rose to his feet and asked the senator if he thought President Taft was honestly or honorably nominated for president at the Chicago convention.

The senator replied that he would answer the question later on in his speech, and he did, to the expressed satisfaction of the man who asked it. His answer was:

"I think 78 delegates were seated for Taft that any fair tribunal would have given to Roosevelt, and 5 delegates were seated for Taft that no honest tribunal could have denied Roosevelt."

The original arrangements were that the senator should speak in a lodge hall, but the crowd was such that the use of the Methodist church was secured. It was filled to its capacity, and about 800 people heard the address. It was an enthusiastic crowd, and the speaker was frequently interrupted by storms of applause and cheers.

# SENATOR'S GREAT RECORD IN SENATE

More Successful Than Any Other Member in Securing Legislation.

## COMMENT OF COLLEAGUES

Has Accomplished More Than Any Individual of Three Times Length of Service.

(Statesman Bureau.)

WASHINGTON, Aug. 31.—A review of the Congressional Record for the past few years shows that no member of either branch of congress has been more successful than Senator Borah of Idaho in securing the enactment of legislation, and important legislation at that. Indeed, a careful study of the record fails to show that any senator or representative has passed as many important bills and resolutions in late years as has Senator Borah of Idaho. His record is one of repeated victories, many of them hard-fought and achieved only with the greatest difficulty.

### Comment of Senators.

So successful has Senator Borah been with his bills of late that it is a matter of comment among senators. Not long before adjournment, one of the senate leaders, who has been in public life for nearly 30 years, remarked to some of his colleagues that "Senator Borah is the most successful man in charge of a bill that has been in the senate since I have been a member of that body." And this was praise, indeed, for that senator had served with many of the biggest and most influential men of the past generation.

Senator Borah's success has been due to several causes. To begin with he has always advocated legislation that is just and needed. Working in a good and proper cause, he has been untiring in his efforts, and has concentrated his efforts on one measure after another, never pressing two big bills at the same time. When he has worked his bills through the senate, he has personally pursued them in the house whenever they met with objection, and he has succeeded not only in overcoming the opposition of house members, but frequently has overcome opposition from the government bureaus and departments which repeatedly have sought to defeat some of his most important measures.

### Labor for Country.

Senator Borah is one senator who has not confined himself to legislation affecting his own state. He has labored in behalf of the entire west, and in behalf of the entire country, and his success is echoed in President Taft's speech of acceptance, in which he cites four of the Borah bills as distinct and notable achievements. The president mentioned the three-year homestead law, the children's bureau law, the eight-hour law and the law giving early patent to homesteaders on government reclamation projects. Moreover, the progressive platform adopted at Chicago, committed the new party to three Borah measures, two on the statute books, and one, the popular election of senators amendment which is now before the states awaiting ratification. The progressives specifically endorsed the Borah children's bureau law and his eight-hour law.

### Three-Year Homestead Bill.

From the western viewpoint, Senator Borah's greatest achievement was the passage this past session of the three-year homestead law, which not only met opposition in the house, but from the interior department. The companion law, granting title to homesteaders on government projects, also passed this session over departmental objection.

From a national standpoint Senator Borah's greatest achievement was the forcing through congress for the first time of a resolution submitting to the states for ratification an amendment to the federal constitution providing for popular election of senators. For years and years efforts have been made, and by great men, to get such a resolution through congress, but it remained for Senator Borah to compel a reluctant senate to sub-

## His Achievements for His State, the West and the Nation Are Unparalleled in Congress.



mit this amendment, and the credit for that victory belongs to the junior senator from Idaho.

### Helped Important Measures.

Among the senator's other achievements was the defeat last session of an Alaska government bill which would have denied the people of Alaska any voice in their government. The defeat of that bill was followed by the passage of another bill giving them local self-government to a large degree. Senator Borah played an important part in the Lorimer and Stevenson cases and made arguments among the strongest presented against those two senators. In the fight in the last congress over the interstate commerce law he was largely instrumental in getting that bill into acceptable shape, and including the long and short haul clause that is now operating to the benefit of the entire intermountain country.

At the recent session, Senator Borah secured the passage of the new industrial commission bill through the senate in eight minutes, and thereby established a legislative record that may never be equaled. This achievement brought the senator much notoriety, for the senate is usually prone to discuss such matters for weeks. The house later passed this bill and it became a law.

### Working for the West.

But the senator's pride is his three-year homestead law, which he believes is destined to do much to aid the homesteaders throughout the west, and do much to encourage settlement on the remaining public lands that are susceptible of cultivation. Since the bill became a law, Senator Borah has received probably

a thousand letters from homesteaders in all parts of the west thanking him for that legislation, and telling him how it is working to their great benefit and relief.

Senator Borah's legislative record is a long one, but the more important of his bills which have become laws in the past two or three years are given on the following list:

### Land Legislation.

An act providing for twenty million dollars to complete the reclamation projects of the west.

An act bringing the state of Idaho under the enlarged homestead law from which it had been excluded.

An act shortening the homestead period from five to three years.

An act providing for the issuance of patent to homesteaders and desert land entrymen on reclamation projects at the end of the homestead residence period.

An amendment leaving it to the homesteader to determine for himself whether he will prove up under the old or new law regardless of notice and election.

### Labor Legislation.

An act extending the eight-hour law to all government contracts.

An act creating an industrial commission to report on legislation with reference to the adjustment of the difference between labor and capital.

An act to establish in the department of commerce a bureau to be known as the children's bureau.

A resolution providing for the investigation of labor in the steel industry, the most important ports which

has ever been made to congress on this subject.

### Amendment to the Constitution.

A joint resolution proposing an amendment to the constitution providing that senators shall be elected by the people of the several states.

In conjunction with Senators Cummins and Bailey, a joint resolution providing for an amendment to the constitution, giving congress power to levy an income tax.

### Appropriations.

Appropriations aggregating several hundred thousand dollars for public buildings and grounds in cities of the state and for surveys of public lands, and one of ten thousand dollars for the establishment of an agricultural experiment station in southern Idaho, which it is intended shall make an especial study of the culture of potatoes grown upon arid lands under irrigation and the best methods of combating their diseases.

### Relief of Old Soldiers.

Over one hundred special pension bills for the relief of old soldiers whose cases were not adequately covered by existing general pension laws.

### Pending Legislation.

An act to permit agricultural entry of phosphate lands, reserving the mineral to the government. The bill has passed the senate and is now in the house.

An act creating a department of labor and making the secretary thereof a member of the cabinet.

An act prohibiting the stop watch system in government works.

An act permitting an additional homestead entry without additional residence.

24  
At Salt Lake City

Senator Borah's declaration against the Progressive ticket in Idaho, and for the regular Republican ticket from top to bottom, clears up the situation in that State in good degree. It is another and very significant sign of the waning of Rooseveltism and the return of the sense of real Republicans.

Newspaper Cutting Bureau in the

ST. JOSEPH, MO.  
OCT 15 1912

### DENEEN OUGHT TO WIN

For some time there has been a doubt among Illinois Republicans as to whether Governor Deneen could be reelected, but that doubt ought now to disappear. His recent experiences have placed him before the Republicans of the state in a much stronger light than hitherto and this ought to attract to his support thousands of undecided and lukewarm voters. In other words it is to the advantage of the Illinois executive that he has gained the displeasure of the chief Bull Moose, who has consigned him to membership in the Ananias club.

It does not matter that Governor Deneen has given ample proof of all his statements relative to the Chicago convention. It does not matter that what he says is true is known to be true by many who attended and participated in that convention. It does not matter that he was one of the strongest and most influential supporters of the third-term candidate in that convention, up until the time the Big I Am bolted the Republican party. All these things are forgotten now simply because Governor Deneen is supporting the regular nominee of the convention, and doing what he honorably can for the success of the ticket upon which he is candidate for governor.

Governor Deneen's statements regarding the convention place the Big Bull Moose in a rather unfavorable light. They were not made for that purpose but the plain truth quite frequently hurts and the statements of Governor Deneen seem to have hit the colonel in a tender spot. At any rate he went off in a rage, when he read them, and forthwith began calling the governor all sorts of vile names—names that no other candidate for president in the history of this country ever used against one who opposed his election. And this ought to make Governor Deneen's election sure. Every citizen of Illinois, who loves fair play, ought now to walk up to the polls and vote for Deneen and we have no doubt that thousands of them will do so who would otherwise have voted against him.

That it is Col. Roosevelt's intention to openly attack every prominent man who will not follow him out of the Republican party seems now assured. More than likely Governor Hadley, who is supporting Taft, will soon be elected to membership in the colonel's exclusive club. And then will follow Senator Borah and hundreds of others who are still loyal to the party that has honored them in the past. These men, however, need not worry. They ought rather to consider such castigation as has been given Governor Deneen as a mark of distinction and honor that comes only to those who do their

paper Cutting Bureau in the  
GISTEN LEADER  
DES MOINES, IOWA  
SEP 9 1912

### NO TIME TO QUIBELE.

We publish this morning an exceedingly strong and convincing statement of the Iowa situation from the pen of W. R. Orchard, editor of the Council Bluffs Nonpareil.

If anything were to be added by way of emphasis it would be a specific reference to the situation that promises in congress after the November election, no matter how the presidency may be disposed of.

The democratic majority in the present house of representatives has been about sixty. This will inevitably

be greatly increased. In the senate the nominal republican majority is now exactly four, and it is easy to name the states that are relied upon to reverse the figures. In fact the democratic claim for the next senate is not less than ten majority.

The one and only chance to block an overwhelming one-sided control of national affairs during the coming four and perhaps eight years is to maintain intact the little group of insurgent senators which has been acting as a third party for the past two years. Unfortunately many of the members of this group are the ones who are up for reelection at this time.

If Borah of Idaho, Norris of Nebraska, Kenyon of Iowa, Dixon of Montana, Bourne of Oregon could be insured seats in the next senate, and Hadley of Missouri could be added to their number, not to mention others, there would be retained intact a little group of independent men, led by Cummins and La Follette, who without giving special allegiance to any party programme would be in position to enforce upon any administration a safe, wise, and progressive policy.

The only possible effect of a flight on any member of this group this year will be to send a democrat in his place, and that will mean merely to add to an already topheavy control of all departments of the government, something that has never been wise even in the hands of the republican party, whose long training in administration has made it reasonably conservative, and certainly will not be wise in the hands of an untried new democracy, which without the restraints of long service will be moved by the very impetus of its victory to spread all sails to the wind.

The threat at Senator Kenyon comes in Iowa from the very men, who as Mr. Orchard points out, are most interested in maintaining the integrity of the insurgent group. Will it not be very greatly overmagnifying the importance of Senator Kenyon's support of the national republican ticket, to make that an excuse for knocking an important prop out from under the stronghold of the progressive movement?

### William L. Ward No Bull Mooser.

In essence the position taken by William L. Ward, Republican leader of Westchester County, and for eight years National Committeeman from this State, does not differ from that of Governor Hadley of Missouri. Senator Borah of Idaho and many other men who were as energetic as Mr. Ward in seeking to nominate Theodore Roosevelt at the regular convention of the party in Chicago. He cannot follow Roosevelt out of the organization. He believes in progress within the party. He says:

It takes a much braver man to stand by and help clean the rooms that have been deserted, than it does to run away from the house and crawl under a new cover. \* \* \* I want to know whether anybody really believes that you can gather a body of men together in a new party, with as little a foundation as this new party has, and expect to get a greater proportion of earnest, honest men than exists in the Republican party today. That is absolutely impossible.

Ward and Woodruff were the two Old Guard members who stood at swords' points when Ward was talking Roosevelt, and Woodruff was still professing loyalty to Taft. Their positions are now almost reversed. The Brooklynite is outside the breastworks with the Bull Moosers. The Westchester man is inside the breastworks and supporting Taft, not with enthusiasm, perhaps, but with what he regards as the highest consistency.

Who would be better qualified than Woodruff to answer that question of Ward's about the relative honesty and earnestness of a new party? It is a hard question, but Woodruff is not easily stumped.

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T. J. MURPHY

MRS. L. MURPHY, ASSOCIATE EDITOR

### A Coming Man.

The Borah-Jones three-year homestead bill will undoubtedly soon become a law, and just as undoubtedly its adoption will mean a complete revivification of methods and manner of progress in every irrigation project in the west.

Too much credit cannot be given Senator Borah for his unremitting labor in this matter. He has had tremendous odds to contend against to pave the way for the passage of this bill, not the least of which has been official antagonism and utter congressional ignorance of underlying conditions. That he has scored a victory is very much to his credit, and not liable to be soon forgotten by the settlers of the irrigation projects in the west, whose well being it most vitally affects. That the eastern people and senators have but recently been enlightened as to the condition of affairs on the various reclamation projects we in the west can readily believe, knowing as we do that only through ignorance of those in command of the situation could such a condition of affairs obtain, and it was no part of the policy of the army of high-salaried reclamation officials to advise the east as to the reclamation settler's hardships.

Heyburn, in common with the entire Minidoka project, may reasonably look for a very bright result from the passage of this bill, and the Review confidently expects to see our business and population double in the next two years. And that we owe this to Senator Borah no one will deny, and if the compromise candidacy for the highest office in the gift of the American people be denied him at this time, be sure that ultimately proper appreciation of his service and character will bring that position as his just due.

The Borah-Jones bill, when it becomes a law, will enable settlers to get ready money to improve their land, and the more money in circulation on the project the greater prosperity and the easier it will be for future comers.

# DEFEAT OF BORAH SHAME TO STATE, LOSS TO NATION

San Francisco Publication  
Comments on the Political  
Situation in Idaho—Whole  
Country Interested.

The nation awaits the verdict of the electors of Idaho Nov. 5 with regard to Senator William E. Borah, candidate to succeed himself in the United States senate, and this is proven through Max Mayfield of this city, an ardent supporter of Senator Borah, who received a copy of the Argonaut, San Francisco, containing an article respecting Idaho's senator.

The Argonaut declares that failure on the part of Idaho to re-elect Senator Borah, and that means the election of the candidates for the legislature pledged to vote for him, "will be a shame to the state and a loss to the country." The article appearing in the last issue of that publication under date of Oct. 19, pays the following tribute to the junior senator:

Republicans throughout the country will, we suspect, observe the political fortunes of Senator Borah of Idaho with even more solicitude than his late associates in the Progressive movement. The reason is that Senator Borah's qualities are of the sort which appeal to the robust, healthy political mind, which we suspect is more commonly found in regular than in freak political organizations. Senator Borah is definitely a Progressive in political sentiment, although he refuses to follow the "movement" in its demands for the judicial recall and some other Yagarious extremes. He was for Roosevelt before the national convention, at the time when Roosevelt posed as a Republican and asked for support as such. He was opposed to Taft's nomination upon the theory that it was forced and improper. He is opposed to the form which the Roosevelt movement took after the convention, regarding it as revolutionary and destructive. The senator refuses to give his approval to either faction, and he has the manly courage to set forth in plain terms precisely where he stands. He says:

"I think I am violating no confidence when I say that Colonel Roosevelt personally requested me to join him in the third party. I said that I would not join him in the third party movement. That was right. I did not propose to leave the Republican party. I made up my mind in good faith. I have not changed my mind and I will not change it in this campaign. Regardless of what happens, I propose to advocate those principles within and not outside of the Republican party."

This is straightforward and manly, even though it gives little satisfaction to the ardent Taft men or the ardent Roosevelt men. It is comprehensible, dignified, above-board and honest. The man who is strong enough to take this course and to hold to it in spite of pleadings and sneers is a man who can fill be spared from the councils of the nation. He ought to be re-elected. And if the people of Idaho don't re-elect him, it will be a shame to the state and a loss to the country.

Senator Borah, in his management of the homestead amendment bill, has again demonstrated his ability to accomplish things. Few party men have the courage to go to leaders of the opposite party and seek help—but Mr. Borah took the bull squarely by the horns and convinced Speaker Champ Clark that the measure was a just and urgent one and the latter has pledged himself to do all in his power to pass the bill in the house, in spite of Secretary Fisher's opposition, and the bill seems likely to win. Mr. Borah has more than once demonstrated that he is bigger than a mere party man, and the pity is there are not more Borahs in Congress. Every homesteader in the northwest should write his member of Congress and urge the passage of the law.

# PLEA FOR SENATOR BORAH

Warm Commendation of Him From Widely Known Divine.

Max Mayfield has received the following from Rabbi Wise, the well known divine, formerly of Portland.

NEW YORK, Sept. 4.—Colonel Max Mayfield, Boise, Idaho—My Dear Colonel Mayfield: It was a great pleasure to have your letter, with its word respecting the successful outcome of the industrial relations commission bill which, you may not know, was enacted largely through the co-operation of Senator Borah. As a one-time westerner, I rejoice to think that this measure of constructive legislation bears Senator Borah's name. It is another in a series of distinguished achievements which are to his credit.

I hear that Senator Borah's term will soon expire and that the question of his re-election is before the people of your state. Can there be any doubt as to the outcome? With all due respect to the great commonwealth of Idaho, I wonder whether its citizenship quite realizes that the service of Senator Borah in the United States senate is one of its most noteworthy achievements. Senator Borah has won a great and honorable place in the nation. He is, in the words of Theodore Parker respecting Charles Sumner, not only a senator with a conscience, but a senator with a will, with highest intelligence, with finest purpose and with noblest courage. I know not what your local political conditions may be, nor whether there is any real opposition to Senator Borah, but I do know that the failure to return Senator Borah to the United States senate would be far from honoring to Idaho and would, moreover, deprive the senate and the nation of the service of one of its most gifted and powerful leaders. Surely this cannot be. When a man has attained, and rightly so, to the distinction which is Senator Borah's, a state such as Idaho ought to honor itself by re-electing him with virtual unanimity.

If it were needed, as I take it for granted, it is not, and I could give a month to the journey out of a rather busy life. I should want to go to Idaho and talk to its citizenship and urge them to honor themselves and continue to serve the nation by sending back to the senate William Edgar Borah. Sincerely yours,

STEPHEN S. WISE.

cross JUN 27 1912

## Platforms and Men.

The platform adopted by the republican national convention is highly commended by men who have given it careful thought. Such enunciations of political parties are of value as the most authoritative statement obtainable of the ends towards which the parties will strive, and while specific acts and policies advocated are not always immediately attained, it still remains that most of the important legislation of the last half century was foreshadowed in republican platforms which declared for its enactment. Now and then the parties have modified their views to meet changed conditions or retreated from untenable positions. A case in point was the democratic platform plank which urged the silver heresy of 1896. The fallacy on which it was founded was refuted in the campaign that followed and the proposition, repudiated at the polls, disappeared from subsequent platforms.

In no republican platform that comes to mind was the principal issue plank so quickly and utterly discredited and abandoned. The republican policies recommended have usually passed from the party platforms only as they became incorporated in the laws. Republican platforms are thus, to an extent, a history of legislative achievement, and comparison of them shows not only the ever-progressing attitude of the party but its notable record in constructive legislation.

The platform of the Chicago convention is concededly the broadest, most liberal and progressive which the party has yet put forth. As such it is satisfactory to many of the more intelligent Roosevelt supporters—men like Governor Hadley, who were convinced that the party must take an advanced position on important questions or go down in defeat. A struggle within a party for a policy wisely progressive to keep pace with events

is always desirable. Parties, like individuals whose opinions are fixed beyond change, have ceased to grow, become incapable of growth; and an organization political or religious may come to be ossified and practically dead beneath its semblance of life.

The belief that Roosevelt was seeking, as he claimed to be, the betterment of conditions by committing the party to a wiser policy, fairer to the people as a whole, attracted to his candidacy a large measure of its popular support. The rest of his following was made up for the most part of men who thought that he could win, men with a grievance against their party, national or local, men who welcomed anything which might disturb existing conditions and men with a lively expectation of personal advantage to ensue on his election.

Little by little as the earnest and educational pre-convention discussion of issues went on, Roosevelt supporters for whom the general welfare was the paramount concern, perceived that the third-term candidate had really nothing new to offer except his fantastic proposition that our constitutional system should be composed of two equal, co-ordinate branches instead of three—legislative, executive and judicial, as originally established. This proposal was utterly indefensible, and so manifestly endangering individual rights that thinking men in great numbers forsook the Roosevelt standard. Later, when it appeared conclusively at the national convention that the third term candidate was bent solely on self-advancement and indifferent to the triumph of progressive policies, his ablest leaders—Hadley, Borah, Deneen and others—deserted, and refused to follow him out of the party.

Probably no one still believes that Roosevelt can win election to the presidency, now or ever. When events in their march leave a leader behind he can never catch up again. His only chance of success is not to lose an inch of ground, but hold his place near the front until he can forge ahead. Roosevelt has failed to do this, has fallen far and suddenly to the rear, and entirely out of the presidential possibility class. The question is no longer can he win, but can he destroy the republican party? As this campaign progresses it will become evident that he cannot. He can disturb, but he cannot destroy. He was the most serious, because the most insidious, menace our institutions have known, not even excepting the Civil war. For the stars in their courses fought against slavery, and the event of that conflict was never uncertain though it sometimes seemed so. New struggles, new troubles, new perils must await us. There is nothing but contest in sight, ceaseless, eternal; and only thus is evolutionary gain achieved. New giants will grapple, new issues arise, but the time has passed when Roosevelt can play a leading part on the stage of the world.

## GAZETTE

PITTSBURGH, PA

SEP 21 1912

## TO THE WAGE-EARNING WOMAN.

The real question for the wage-earning woman and the wage-earning man is, Shall we have an opportunity to work? We want particularly to call the attention of the woman who works for wages to the fact that under Republican administration the woman wage-earner has been given an opportunity and fair wages. It is always the tactics of the Democratic party to try to lead the working people astray and to confuse the mind and to get away from the real issue.

The one thing vital to the men and the women who have to labor for the maintenance of themselves and of their families is, will there be work for us to do? We will not reiterate the disasters that came to the working women under Democratic administration in the brief time that the citizens of this country allowed the Democratic party to rule, as we feel that women remember when the factories and workshops were deserted and when starvation and privation of every kind were the rule and not the exception in the home of the wage-earner.

In the States where women vote let the woman who toils cast her vote for the party principles and for the candidate who embodies them which will insure a living wage and

first shall an opportunity to earn it. To the women in the States where there is not a franchise for women, we say to you who labor, use every particle of influence you may possess on the men of your homes, on the men of your shops, to get them to vote for an opportunity to work.

According to the census of 1910, nearly 8,000,000 women were in gainful occupations. These women and girls have become wage-earners through necessity to support themselves and others dependent upon them. We may assume that these women workers are paid at least \$3,000,000,000 annually, and we may also assume that substantially every dollar of this wage fund goes almost immediately into circulation, increasing the purchasing power and swelling our home market to that extent.

The first to suffer when the factories and mills are closed will be the women wage-earners. They are the first displaced in all lines of work—in factories, in mercantile establishments, in offices, and they must realize that the Bryan policy of free trade can result only in privation, in bitterest distress, in fireless, foodless, cheerless homes.

The record of the States where Republicans are in power stands the closest investigation in their attitude toward the protection of women and children. Ever since the introduction of the factory system the greatest sufferers have been children. It is a principle recognized in most civilized countries that children under fourteen years of age should not be employed in factories and nearly all civilized countries have laws, placing a minimum age limit.

Ever since the introduction of the factory system the greatest sufferers from the greed of inconsiderate and cruel employers have been the children who even at a tender age are placed in factories. A principle recognized in all civilized countries is that children under fourteen years of age should not be employed in factories, and many have fixed a minimum age limit of fourteen years upon child labor. In our country four years ago as many as twenty-seven States prohibited the employment of children under fourteen years of age in factories. Of those twenty-three were Republican and four were Democratic States. Since then an additional number of States have fixed the fourteen-year limit. Some more Democratic States have followed our good example, but the large majority of those passing such laws are still Republican States.

Many States have enacted laws placing certain restrictions upon the employment of children usually sixteen years of age, and in some cases even upon the employment of minors. Of these States which have enacted laws limiting the hours of children in stores and factories the large majority are Republican States.

In the States which prohibit the employment of children in operating dangerous machinery or cleaning machinery in motion two-thirds of the number are Republican States.

The Children's Bureau bill, which has had the backing of the club women of the country, had as its introducers and greatest advocates in the Senate Senator Borah and the late Senator Dooliver, and it equally had leading Republican men in the House as its advocates.

Next to children the greatest victims of abuse by inconsiderate employers when unrestrained by law are women. Their protection in the interests of humanity and morals has also been the subject of legislation in all countries. In the United States the Republican States have led by large majority in securing proper protection for women in their employment in the way of factory inspection, of seats in shops, in the abolishment of sweatshops, in legislation to insure the prompt payment of working people's wages, in protecting members of labor organizations and in passing employers' liability acts.

The Federal eight-hour law, the laws for safety appliances on railroads, the meat inspection law, the pure food law (whereby the label must tell the truth, especially on popular remedies), the model child labor law for the District of Columbia, all of these appeal to women generally, but particularly to the wage-earning woman.

Nothing has appealed more to all classes of women than the passage of the Esch bill, the enforcement of which prevents the use of poisonous phosphorus matches and relieves a large class of workers from a most dread and terrible disease.

## "TAKE A LITTLE TIP FROM FATHER"



**A DEBT OF GRATITUDE**

One of the most important acts of legislation that has come from our legislative body in years is the Borah three-year homestead law, the full text of which appears in the Democrat this week. Senator Borah of Idaho has devoted his entire time to forcing this law through, and has met with the most strenuous opposition all along the line, but Idaho's "little giant" knew that he had the vast majority of the common people behind him in his efforts to modernize and liberalize the homestead laws, and he stuck tenaciously to the work till he succeeded in securing the enactment of a law that will permit a poor man to take up and obtain patent to a homestead. Every homesteader and intending homesteader in the country owes a debt of gratitude to Idaho's senator. —Ontario Democrat.

### KEEP ON "THE STREET CALLED STRAIGHT"

STATESMAN  
PAPER  
BOISE, IDA.  
PUBLISHED  
DATE NOV 14 1912

**VOX POPULI**

Senator Borah will be elected on the first ballot if the expressed will of the people is carried out. Any suggestions of combinations at variance with the popular verdict in his case, in association with the election of a successor to the late Senator Heyburn, may only be crystallized through political turpitude. It is of no moment how any may regard the outcome or any feature of the contest. Any analysis of the returns shows that the people of Idaho want Borah returned to the senate.

NEWS  
PUBLISHED Sandpoint, Ida  
OCT 1 1912

**ARE THEY GETTING SCARED?**

The republican legislative nominees are, apparently, feeling uneasy over the outlook? They have all "signed up" for Borah. Lacking confidence in their own qualifications and in the principles which the party is presumed to have, they hope to ride into office on the prestige of Borah's name. Borah is the only point upon which they have the courage to commit themselves. "Borah" is to be their stock in trade; Borah's reputation is to be the umbrella that shall shelter them from the elements in the form of popular criticism. Borah's name is to cover multitudinous sins. Their entire duty to the people presumably will be discharged in the mechanical fraction of voting for Borah.

**REORGANIZE THE REPUBLICAN PARTY**

The confident assertions of Roosevelt and Flinn that the Progressive party has killed the Republican party are already being refuted by movements to reorganize and rehabilitate the supposed corpse over which they are holding the death dance. The most significant fact about these movements is that they have been initiated by those Progressives who refused to follow Roosevelt out of the party, but whose progressiveness has been proved by years of fighting.

The confidence of Roosevelt and his followers that they have founded a new, permanent party which is to supplant the Republican party is matched by the confidence of those Progressive Republicans that they can reorganize their own party on Progressive lines, and thereby win back a large proportion of the Republicans who voted for Roosevelt. Their confidence is justified by an analysis of election results. This shows that the strength of the Progressive party is largely fictitious. From one-half to three-fourths of the Roosevelt vote was due to Roosevelt's personal popularity, else why were the Progressive candidates for other offices so uniformly weak? Not over 15 Progressive Representatives and only one Progressive Senator were elected, though, had the party been as strong as its leader, more Progressives than Republicans should have been elected. Unless Roosevelt in another campaign could gain enough strength to elect not only himself but a majority of both houses, his victory would be barren, for he could not carry through Congress any part of his programme without sharing the credit with one or both the other parties. He would thereby discredit his frequent assertion that only through his new party can social and industrial justice be obtained. All except the most blindly infatuated Rooseveltians must recognize this fact. Those who followed him through desire to procure certain reforms and not through hero-worship or antagonism to Taft will look about them during the next four years for the best means of gaining their end. The majority of such men are doubtless former Republicans, and if the Republican party should definitely commit itself to a progressive programme, they would be more disposed to return to their former political home than to adhere to a new party which had no prospect of accomplishing anything, or to join the Democrats, against whom they would have a natural hostility.

In the recent election the Republican party was at its weakest, weaker than in any election since the Civil War. More than 3,000,000 of its normal votes were cast for Roosevelt and probably another million for Wilson. There was dissension among those who remained, for La Follette, Hadley, Borah and their like remained Republicans only formally. Yet under these most adverse circumstances it polled between 2,000,000 and 4,000,000 votes. This is the size of the party when stripped to the bone, when reduced only to those men who had no hope of victory, no magnetic leader, no motive for voting as they did except fidelity to Republican principles. That these principles are consistent with progress is proved by the fact that all progressive legislation of the last fifty years was passed by the Republican party. A party which retains such strength under such adverse circumstances is not dead or even moribund. It has been punished for its sins, but is not forever excluded from popular favor.

What is needed to rehabilitate the party, then, is a frank acceptance of defeat by the Republican reactionaries. No other course is open to this element. They must yield to the progressive element of the party, lest a worse thing befall them. If they do not yield, they will drive Progressive Republicans into the arms of Roosevelt or the Democracy. Roosevelt's success would mean the reign of radicalism with all the uncertainty which grows out of the ever-changing character of the Roosevelt policies. Democratic success means destruction of the protective tariff, which the reactionaries most desire to preserve. The Democrats promise to compete with the other parties in progressive measures. If the reactionaries were to go over bodily to the Democrats, they would have to make the same kind of a compromise with the progressive Democrats as would be necessary with

the progressive Republicans and they would also have to sacrifice protection. By accepting gracefully the popular verdict and conceding once for all that special privilege must end, they can insure progress on sane lines conforming with Republican principles.

That progressive leaders within the Republican party believe the party can be reorganized on such lines as to accomplish the reforms for which they have consistently fought in their respective states and in Congress is proved by the overtures made to that end by Borah, Cummins, La Follette, Kenyon and Hadley to the regular Republican leaders. The regular leaders now realize that they erred in ignoring the progressives and are ready to compromise on measures and leadership. The standpat leaders are gone, with the exception of Penrose in the Senate and Payne in the House. They have given place to men who have learned their lesson and who are conservative without being reactionary. The time is ripe for the leaders of both elements of the party to come together and build anew.

The progressive Republicans have every motive of personal ambition as well as party loyalty and loyalty to their principles for desiring such a

compromise. It would lift them from the position of leaders in a faction to that of leaders of the whole party. It would open the way for higher honors to them. If they had joined the Progressive party, they would not only have been required to affiliate with such trust magnates as Perkins and such bosses as Elihu, with whom they have nothing in common, but to subordinate their ambition to that of Roosevelt, who threatens to become the perpetual candidate and dictator.

The two wings of the Republican party can reunite on such a programme and under such leaders as to establish popular confidence in their progressive purposes. By so doing they can make the defeat of 1912 the prelude to a succession of victories.

4 RECORD

PERISHED *Robert M. ...*  
NOV 14 1912

**SENATOR**

**W. E. BORAH**

If there is any one man in Idaho who has ample cause to feel proud of the result of the election that man is certainly Hon. W. E. Borah. And if there is any one man Idaho should be proud of that man is also Borah; and the vote given to legislative candidates favorable to Borah would indicate that he is the most popular man before the people today.

Hon. W. E. Borah is entitled to all the credit that can come his way. He has made a record during his first term in the United States Senate that has never been equalled, especially for a western man. Any man going to the U. S. Senate from a western state has numerous odds to work against; an unwarranted prejudice to over come and he must watch his ps and qs at every turn. He is put to the most severe test and if a weak spot can be found, he is at once down and out. Borah has made good on all their tests and come through his first term with clean skirts and will do so again. He has worked for the advancement of the west and Idaho in particular, as he saw its needs. No man, no matter how poor, no matter what his station in life has yet appealed to Borah and failed to receive an answer to his letter; and if the request was within Borah's power to grant it has been forthcoming. He has worked hard for the Reclamation projects and this one remembered him by giving the republican legislative ticket a fine majority.

It will be remembered that at the primary election on July 30, something over 700 democrats in the state expressed their desire of seeing Senator Borah returned to the United States senate by writing his name under the proper heading on their ballots. Now of those democrats were sincere in that expression, the only way they can assist in Mr. Borah's re-election will be to vote for the republican legislative candidates on Nov. 5th, for the latter are pledged by the state platform "to support that candidate for United States senator who is nominated on the republican ticket at the primary election," which means that they are pledged to vote for Wm. E. Borah.

But who are the democratic legislative candidates going to support for U. S. senator, in the event of their election? They don't know, or if they do know, they won't tell. But there is one thing dead sure, not one of them in the next legislature will be found voting for Borah.

The democrats of Idaho went on record in their state platform as favoring an amendment to "the election laws of the state providing for the nomination of United States senators by the people," yet thru the influence of the stand pat element in the party, which is headed by Governor Hawley, no candidate for United States senator was voted for at the primary election. Here then we find the democrats of Idaho declaring for a certain principle and then turning right around and kicking that particular plank out of their platform.

Will the democratic legislative candidates in this county, if elected, vote for Hawley, Nugent or Tannahill? That depends altogether whether they are standpat-ters or progressives. If they are the former they'll vote for Hawley, who was opposed to the democrats endorsing any one for U. S. Senator at the primary election. If they are progressives they will vote for either Nugent or Tannahill, who were in favor of nominating a senator but were defeated in their plans by the Hawley element.

# WHO'S WHO-AND WHY

Serious and Frivolous Facts About the Great and the Near Great

## The Fashion Big Bill Set

THE words would freeze in your face if you attempted to call Henry Cabot Lodge "Hank" or "Heinie"; and if they didn't Henry Cabot would freeze you after you had spoken thus. And suppose you eloped Elihu Root on the back and shouted: "Howdy, Ellie, old top!" Suppose you did! There would be no further need for refrigeration on your part for years to come.

When you come to think of Borah, however, you stutter and stammer over the William Edgar part of it and refer to him as Bill—Bill Borah—not disrespectfully or lightly, but because he is Bill Borah; albeit he is also one of the most able senators of these United States and one of the most useful. You can't get away from Bill, and you do not want to. Neither does Borah want you to. Thus the ayes have it, and he is Bill Borah for the purposes of this story.

Now it would never be suspected of Bill that he would set a fashion in anything unless in illumination of some of the dark corners of the Senate—but he did. He established one mode. To be sure, not many have followed it yet; but that does not detract from its great value. This was it: He proved it is far better for a man to be tried on criminal charges at the beginning of his senatorial term than at the end or in the middle. If you will think that over you will see the great advantages of the procedure.

To explain: Bill Borah was a lawyer in Idaho—and a good one. He had large retainers and he was an able counselor, learned in the law and experienced in its practice. Naturally some of his retainers were from corporations, including lumber corporations that operate extensively in his state and in adjoining states. He was practicing law when he became a candidate for the Senate.

Politics in Idaho is as various as elsewhere—also, as precarious. In Idaho politics is involuted, convoluted, anfractuous and imperscrutable—also, elsewhere. Bill Borah found this out. He was a candidate for the Senate. It seemed to him and to his friends, on a certain afternoon at two of the clock, that he had the votes in the legislature to elect him. It seemed so! In reality it was not so; for, at eight of the clock on that same day, some six hours after all had seemed seemly to Bill and his friends, the legislature elected another to the place Bill had deemed his.

They called in the other, he being Senator Heyburn, and the Senator made the legislature an orotund speech of thanks for the great honor conferred on him. Then, as all was merry and each man was each other man's brother, they sent for Bill Borah and told him to pipe a few merry harmony lays. Bill came. He addressed the legislature, but never a merry lay piped he. Instead, he told the legislature that at two of the clock that afternoon the job, so neatly conferred on another, had been his; but he had been separated therefrom in the interim—the interim of the Idaho statehouse being commodious and sufficient for separating purposes. Further, he told the legislature he didn't intend to quit being a candidate for senator—and next time he came before that body said body would not sit on him, for he would see to it that the people had placed instructions concerning Bill Borah on it they would not dare to ignore.

In other words, Bill Borah tore into the legislature and told it its real name. Then he went out into Idaho and worked and traveled; and next time he came before the legislature he had proved himself a pretty fair predictor. The legislature had heard from the people and it didn't dare refuse him an election—nor did it. Bill had attended to the people's end of it and had compelled the legislature to do the hurried rest.

## How He Put a Flea in Bailey's Ear

HE SENT back retainer checks that had been sent to him from various corporations for which he had done legal work and prepared to come to Washington. And right there is where he set the fashion. Various criminal charges, pertaining in some regard to lumber and other corporation illegalities for which he was said to be responsible, were laid at his door. Bill picked them up and set his teeth. His attorneys wanted to delay.

"Not on your life!" said Borah. "We'll clean this up right here and now!"

So they went to trial and Borah was cleared of every charge and sent to Washington with an absolutely stainless record—thus, as I have remarked, setting a fine new fashion of being tried on charges at the beginning of a senatorial term instead of in the middle or at the close of one.

It may be gathered from all this that Bill Borah has some fighting blood in him. That is the fact. He has a lot of courage and that courage is backed by a lot of ability. He went out to Idaho as counsel for the prosecution in the



PHOTO BY HARRIS & EVING, WASHINGTON, D. C.  
Good-Natured, But Aggressive When Necessary

Haywood trials, when there was much sentiment against him, and fought those notable cases to the finish. As a politician he didn't have to do this and might have sidestepped—but he didn't.

Borah is one of the sanest of the Republican Progressives in the Senate. He is a man of great legal ability and loves a legal argument. Also, he is one of the great debaters in the Senate and one of the few members of that body who have not been bluffed out by the brawny Bailey. He takes particular delight in clambering aboard that Constitutional expert, heedless of his patronizing, his bullying or his sneers.

One of Borah's measures is a law providing for a Bureau for Children.

"I assume," said the supercilious Bailey, "that this bill of the Senator from Idaho is somewhat similar to that provision in the agricultural appropriation bill which makes some sort of a similar arrangement for calves and pigs."

"Exactly," smiled Borah at the Texan. "My bill seeks to have the Government do for the children what it has already done for the calves and pigs!"

Whereupon Mr. Bailey sat down heavily and became lost in Jeffersonian thought.

Borah is one of the big orators of the Senate. He has made some notable addresses—one on the Lorimer case and another on his measure for the direct election of senators by the people. He has been in charge of this measure and has steadily fought it past many obstructions. He has a legal mind and delights in analyzing evidence and stating his conclusions thereon. He is a graceful speaker and magnetic. A big man, with a round, boyish face, a musical voice and an intense earnestness, he is always heard by a full Senate and usually by crowded galleries.

He has done a great deal of work that has not shown on the surface, mainly in connection with the Committee on Judiciary and along the line of investigation of the fitness of judicial nominations. From a Progressive viewpoint his chief weakness has been the tariff. The tariff has embarrassed Borah. There are several highly protected industries in his state and he is not without a natural ambition to hold his seat in the Senate. Some of his votes are criticised as votes with the reactionaries; but Borah's friends contend he voted in each instance with the interests of his state in view—coincidentally, of course, with the more or less personal interest he has in his own future.

Borah is a Westerner. That is why Bill fits him so well. He is vital and vigorous. He is good-natured, but

aggressive when necessary. He has admirable control of his temper and retains his equanimity in debate. He was born in Wayne County, Illinois, in 1865, and was educated in the Wayne County schools and in the Kansas State University at Lawrence. He began to practice in 1890, in Lyons, Kansas; moved to Boise, Idaho, a year later, and was not a candidate for office until he first ran for the Senate at the time when those votes slipped away from him between two o'clock in the afternoon and eight o'clock at night. He was elected to the Senate in 1907 and comes up again next year.

Borah and his colleague, Heyburn, are extremes. Heyburn is one of the most conservative of the conservative Republican senators, and Borah is identified with the Progressive wing of the party. I violate no confidence when I say these two statesmen have arrived at a point where they are at unanimous disagreement on all subjects before the Senate, that ever have been before the Senate or ever will come before the Senate. Thus they dwell together in sweet and serene hatred.

AGENTS NEW YORK

The First Established and Most Complete  
Newspaper Cutting Bureau in the World

From

Address

Date

Senator  
Borah Will  
Remain On  
the Fence

JUDGMENT and courage may not be twin essentials of the equipment of an United States senator, but the occupant of a seat in the greatest law-making body in the world should be endowed with one or the other. The attitude of Senator Borah of Idaho, who

announces that he will support neither Mr. Taft nor the third party, warrants the suspicion that neither qualification named above may be found in his mental composition. The single redeeming feature of his statement is his announced willingness to step aside for some other senatorial candidate in Idaho, if his attitude is not satisfactory to the party which has honored him in the past.

Senator Borah should be taken at his word. The Republican party in Idaho should select as its candidate some individual with the judgment to choose a definite position and the courage to maintain it in the face of opposition. Being neither one nor the other, Borah can scarcely be politically satisfactory to the party of which he is nominally a member and his usefulness to his state will seriously deteriorate by his anomalous position. In these days of strenuous politics, men who feel statesmanship as an avocation should be forced to the open. The timorous official who tries to please all factions and beliefs lacks force of character sufficient to equip him for efficient public service. Borah and those who imitate him should be retired.

From  
Address

ENTERPRISE  
Nov 14 1912

### WHAT RIGHT HAVE THEY TO COMMAND?

What right has F. F. Johnson to demand to know from Senator Borah what the senator proposes to do about the reorganization and rehabilitation of the defunct Republican party? Who gave Johnson the right to speak? Does he represent himself alone? Then let it be known that he is the same Johnson who contributed of his means and of his personal labors two years ago to defeat James H. Brady, the regular Republican nominee for governor, and to elect James H. Hawley, the regular Democratic nominee for the same position. Be it also known that he is the same Johnson who labored night and day and contributed of his means and of his labor to accomplish the defeat of the legislative ticket in Ada county and indirectly in every other county in the state, which was nominated by the Republican party. He opposed Brady because he was too progressive and had begun to fight in behalf of the people against one of the great corporate interests of the state, and he opposed the Republican legislative ticket because it stood for Borah who is also moving rapidly along progressive lines.

If F. F. Johnson does represent himself in his demand to know what Senator Borah now proposes to do along the line of reorganizing the Republican party he is estopped from demanding any voice beyond that of any other individual and Senator Borah and his progressive supporters have far more reason to demand to know what Mr. Johnson proposes to do than has Mr. Johnson to demand anything of Senator Borah.

If Mr. Johnson does not represent himself, but speaks for the Guggenheims, the Weyerhausers, the Oregon Short Line, the beet sugar trust and other special interests in the state, then his only right to pretend interest in the Republican organization is the fact that all these interests supported Taft. But they likewise, along with Mr. Johnson and the others who stood with him, fought Mr. Brady two years ago and they fought the legislative ticket everywhere and Senator Borah this year until they found they were licked to a frazzle and then some of them did better than Mr. Johnson did personally, and got in and supported the legislative tickets in some of the counties, but they did that only because they could make no progress toward accomplishing greater desires in any other way.

So even if Mr. Johnson pretends to base his demand upon this ground, he is still estopped on the ground of irregularity in his support of the party's candidates. And he is all the more estopped because it was the mismanagement of the Republican party in the nation on the part of these interests and others like them, that has made it necessary to attempt to reorganize that party.

Moreover, is it not most presumptuous that he should assume the right to demand from Senator Borah to know what the senator proposes to do about anything? As an humble citizen of the state he has the right to petition the senator and doubtless the senator will listen to him just the same as he would to any other humble citizen, but when he assumes to demand, as he did the other night in the trumped-up gathering gotten together for the purpose of embarrassing Senator Borah, to make demands upon the senator, it appears to us that his presumption would strike even him as entirely out of place, to say the least of it.

Senator Borah did not win his marvelous victory in this campaign because of the grace of the special interest crowd but rather in spite of it. It was a victory of the people and we have no doubt Senator Borah will see to it that it was a victory for the people as well, and not one to be compromised by the Johnson crowd of representatives of the special interests.

### Political Readjustment

IN the readjustment that is coming about since the overwhelming democratic victory in the country, some of the leading ultra-progressive papers are attempting to get up steam again by attempting to discredit president-elect Wilson. This will hurt the cause of the new party as much as anything its members could do. The very people who are responsible for it, were, at the time of his nomination, loud in their praises of the supposedly progressive candidate who had won out against the combined efforts of the bosses. Their sincerity in beginning an abusive campaign as they have, even before Wilson's first message is delivered to congress, reeks with hypocrisy. It is the same old stuff that the old parties tried for many years and is the very kind of thing that sickened the common people with the whole political game as practiced by machine ruled parties.

It is absolutely impossible to tell at this time what the parties will be for another national campaign. It is certain, however, that the party that will win out eventually will not be the one that has to resort to the scurvy old game of beginning to lie about and slander a victorious candidate before his official duties even begin.

The republican party should be the main controlling force in minority politics during the coming four years, if its leaders can realize the blunders that were made at the first Chicago convention and correct them by placing such men as Hadley, Borah and Cummins high in the party councils. If it will recognize that the Barnes' methods are not the methods needed in the republican party and that there is still ample presidential timber in those who have been named or in such a man as Justice Hughes. By granting the leadership to the great liberal men, who though in sympathy with the most progressive ideas of the old party, they will win back much of the strength that went pell mell off chasing rainbows.

### AN INVITATION TO TREACHERY.

Senator Borah of Idaho seems to be reaping a just harvest from the seed sown by himself at the outset of the national campaign. When he assumed his strictly impartial attitude of supporting neither Mr. Roosevelt nor Mr. Taft, one could but guess at his motives, but the inevitable results forecasted themselves with ease. He was warned that neither Bull Moose nor Republicans would be pleased at his position and that he who endeavors to ride two horses risks falling between them and spraining his political ankle. And the news from Idaho indicates that both the Taft and Roosevelt men in the legislature will require powerful arguments before they will consent to join issues and support Mr. Borah for re-election.

The above from the Salt Lake Herald-Republican standpat organ of Senator Smoot and the Utah reactionaries, published under the head, "Mr. Borah Is Reaping Just That He Sowed," seems rather to be a suggestion of the hopes of that organ than the publication of any fact and comment thereon.

Just how the Salt Lake paper should get "news in Idaho" indicating that "both the Taft and Roosevelt men in the legislature will require" any kind of argument before keeping their pledges to the people to support Borah for re-election, is very strange in view of the fact that there is no such news in Idaho, at least none that any of Senator Borah's friends have heard of. Moreover, we do not believe that any single member-elect of the legislature, Taft man or Roosevelt man, has dared to intimate at any time that any circumstances could arise whereby he would not vote for Senator Borah's re-election.

It is true that there is some rambling talk of the kind among the irresponsible clique of obstructionists in Boise that sulk and growl every time the people gain a step in advance, but the Salt Lake paper understands the situation well enough to know that this talk does not come from any member of the legislature. There is no such talk and both the Boise contingent and the Salt Lake organ of the reactionaries know it. They are simply hoping to create such talk, that is all.

We wouldn't give five cents apiece for the hides of any member-elect of the Idaho legislature who, under the present condition of the public mind of this state, should come down to Boise and announce his intention to violate the pledge he gave the people to vote for Senator Borah. The people can, therefore, laugh at the efforts of the spokesman of Senator Smoot of Utah to invite treachery in Idaho.

The First Established and Most Complete  
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AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

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PROVIDENCE, R. I.  
MAR 27 1912

**A Compromise Candidate.**

"There is increasing talk of a compromise Republican candidate as the Taft-Roosevelt warfare grows in bitterness," says the Springfield Republican. But the ex-President has said that he will remain in a receptive condition "until the convention has expressed its preference," which suggests to the Springfield paper his possible unwillingness to withdraw in favor of a new man. The convention might nevertheless accept a compromise candidate, as happened in 1880, between which year and the present a highly interesting analogy may be drawn. It is not altogether a question whether Mr. Roosevelt would or would not consent to withdraw in favor of Senator Cummins, Senator La Follette, Mr. Justice Hughes, Senator Borah or Governor Johnson, all of whom have been mentioned in connection with the nomination. General Grant remained "in a receptive condition" until Garfield was nominated, thirty-two years ago.

The chances continue to favor the nomination of Mr. Taft; but if between now and the eighteenth of June the prospects of his chief rival should unexpectedly improve as to precipitate a prolonged struggle at Chicago, it would make comparatively little difference whether or not Mr. Roosevelt consented to withdraw. Grant's balance stood firm for him through thirty-six ballots in 1880; he polled 304 votes on the first trial of strength and 306 on the last. Yet Garfield won by a combination of the anti-Grant elements. On the first ballot the Blaine vote was 284—only twenty less than Grant's—so that when the break to Garfield occurred there was plenty of force at hand to give it prompt momentum. On the final ballot Blaine's strength was reduced to forty-two, which shows where most of Garfield's 339 votes came from.

The Republican National Convention next June will refuse to deadlock itself indefinitely. It is inconceivable that Mr. Taft and Mr. Roosevelt could

so tie up their respective followings as to make a compromise upon a new candidate impossible. At Chicago in 1880, to cite another historic instance, the Democrats were seriously divided at the outset, but Mr. Bryan's nomination was agreed upon no later than the fifth ballot. On the first ballot there were fourteen candidates, with Mr. Bland far in the lead and Mr. Bryan 426 votes short of a two-thirds majority of the convention; yet it did not take long to concentrate the required majority on the latter. It would be suicidal for a party to remain unconscionably deadlocked; and whatever the personal preference of either the President or the ex-President may be next June, the convention at Chicago will be subject to party pressure enough to compel it to find a candidate, if a dangerous struggle impends. But it does not look twelve weeks in advance of the convention, as if Mr. Roosevelt could muster the support requisite for a deadlock.

TRIBUNE

New York

**PURELY PERSONAL.**

Mr. Roosevelt's statement published yesterday morning, "It is anything to beat me, and I am going to fight it out to the end," frankly puts his candidacy on the purely personal basis where it has all the time belonged. Mr. Roosevelt in effect declares that he himself is the issue, that of the whole American people all who do not favor him are in an "anything-to-beat-me" conspiracy and that it is his duty to defeat them by securing an election for a third term regardless of any other candidate who might have been or may now be put forward.

It was not a question of defeating the so-called reactionaries in the Republican party or of furthering progressive principles, should they be typified by some other candidate, either Democrat or Republican. Before the Chicago convention

Mr. Roosevelt made war on Mr. Cummins and Mr. La Follette and announced that he was the sole hope of all the Progressives. His own recent statement about offers of compromise confirms this view that his fight was for himself and himself alone. It is denied that anybody having authority to speak for the Taft forces made any such offer as that which Mr. Roosevelt says came to him. Doubtless, however, there was much talk of compromise about the lobbies, and apparently Mr. Roosevelt fully believed that a split in the Republican party could be prevented and a candidate in sympathy with him—Governor Hadley, Senator Borah or some other—could be agreed upon if he would give his consent. But he refused. The cause of the people was personified in him; their enemies wanted to beat him. Therefore he and he alone would do. No matter how far the roll of the convention might be "purged" to suit him, no matter how

progressive a candidate it might be willing to choose, no matter what advanced principles it might agree to advocate, it could not be binding, unless it ratified the people's wish, of which he was convinced, that he should be President for a third term.

So now the suggestion of some of his supporters that perhaps the good they seek may be accomplished in some other way is vigorously repulsed. The Democrats might nominate a good Progressive. By nominating a reactionary they might open the way for a radical concentration on some other candidate. There might be four candidates and a chance for him by withdrawing to secure a Progressive success. It is all of no account. He says: "It is anything to beat me." Seeing himself as the paramount issue, he of course must feel that it is anything not to be beaten. He is for his success alone, whatever the cost. Personal politics can go no further and never before in this country went so far.

Newspaper Cutting Bureau in the U.S.A.

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OREGONIAN  
PORTLAND, OREGON  
SEP 17 1912

**SLIPPING ONE OVER FOR ROOSEVELT.**

The office of Presidential elector in Oregon went begging at the April primary. For the Republican ticket there was only one avowed candidate and for the Democrats the situation was not greatly different. The Republican managers advised electors to write in names of well-known citizens, and the Democratic nominations were procured after the same fashion.

In this way Mr. Dan Kellaher appears among a group of five citizens as a Republican candidate for Presidential elector. But now he repudiates any obligation to vote in the electoral college for Mr. Taft and requests the Secretary of State to print on the official ballot these words: "Progressive, for Roosevelt."

Mr. Kellaher has not thought it worth while to give to the public a statement of his reasons. If he has any, for this unprecedented action, but it is understood that he puts forth in private the whining plea that the nomination was not sought by him and there is no provision of law by which he can withdraw, and therefore he feels justified in taking advantage of the situation to convert one Taft vote into a Roosevelt vote.

That is the Kellaher attitude in its best light. But is Kellaher entitled to have his impudent and contemptible conduct interpreted in its most favorable guise? He has offered no explanation whatever. He has formally taken a nomination tendered him by the Republican electorate of the state and thereby accepted all the obligations, express and implied, coupled therewith. Yet he has undertaken to discharge a trust for the Republican voters by boldly declaring his purpose to deliver it into the hands of the common enemy. His name will appear on the ballot with four other candidates under the common caption, "For William H. Taft for President," yet he will not be for Taft, and says he will not be. He does not even fall back on the favorite resource of the Bull Moose, by declaring that he will abide by the people's will, so that if the state shall declare for Taft he will vote for Taft, and if for Roosevelt he will be for Roosevelt. Any man in Kellaher's predicament, intending to deal honestly and candidly with the people, could not do less.

Let us suppose that Mr. Kellaher had been nominated by the Democrats of the State of Oregon, and let us

suppose that he had protested that he was not a candidate. But, having been nominated, let us suppose that he had filed his acceptance of the nomination and had coolly instructed the Secretary of State to write after his name, "Progressive, for Roosevelt." It would have been a violation of good faith and fair play, comparable only to the action Kellaher now proposes for himself as the Republican nominee.

Mr. Borah is the Republican candidate for Senator in the State of Idaho. Mr. Borah has not declared for Taft, but he has indicated that he would not support Roosevelt. His attitude is not satisfactory to the Republican state central committee and it has demanded from Mr. Borah a more specific definition of his position. The Senator responds in this fashion:

"If they think I am not a Republican and this organization will meet and so declare, I will decline my candidacy, as I am now nominated, and submit the question in another way. I will get off their ticket and cast it in another way. I do not want to embarrass the ticket. If my views of what constitutes Republicanism in this campaign are not satisfactory to this organization, I will unhesitatingly accept their verdict and thereafter choose my course as to how I shall reach the people and we will find out who constitutes the Republican party in this state."

Senator Borah will have no misunderstandings with the men who have a right to speak for the Republican party. But we have a different brand of the Bull Moose in Oregon.

**BORAH MAY CHECK THE RETREAT**

WASHINGTON, Dec. 12—Already recognized as one of the most far-seeing progressive leaders of the country, Senator Borah's attitude in the recent campaign and the remarkable success which attended his candidacy for re-election, has given him a position before the country and in the party which by many of the shrewdest politicians, is said to be the most enviable occupied by any Republican in the nation today. The big eastern newspapers are having considerable to say of his chances for leadership and all dwell upon his independent position and the remarkable endorsement given him by his home people when he went before them on his own record as his platform, leaving it for them to decide whether or not it was good Republicanism. The Washington Star, a few days ago, in a first page article discussing the chances for leadership among Republicans of the two factions of the party, had this to say of Senator Borah: "Who is going to pluck the standard from the dust, check the retreat and reform the line of battle for another stand? That is the question the politicians on Capitol Hill are asking of each other. Senator Borah, of Idaho, young, resourceful, competent, already has advanced some suggestions. He, it is said, will be among those considered for leadership. He was early in the field with a statement pointing out the mistakes of the party and recommending policies. While he supported Roosevelt at Chicago as against Taft, he refused to follow Roosevelt in his bolt from the party." Then followed a discussion of the chances of Senator LaFollette, Governor Hadley of Missouri and others, but in the case of each, some probable or possible objection was raised which does not seem to obtain in the case of Senator Borah. He has said in one of his interviews that a great party must rest upon a great principle and a great cause. He has some well defined ideas as to the needs of the people and will be undoubtedly in the front rank in the work of reconstruction, if he is not in fact the leader.



DISAPPOINTMENT OF A LONE EXPLORER

## REBUILD G. O. P. ON TRUST ISSUE, IS BORAH'S PLEA

Suggests Amending Sherman Law So as to Make It Crush Monopoly.

WOULD ENTHRONE NO MAN

People Will Give Republicans Power, He Says, if Sure of Competition.

BY SUMNER CURTIS.

THE CHICAGO RECORD-HERALD BUREAU,  
723 FIFTEENTH STREET, N. W.,  
WASHINGTON, NOV. 28.

I am able to present to RECORD-HERALD readers in this dispatch a most interesting and timely contribution to the Republican reorganization symposium. It is an interview with Senator William E. Borah of Idaho, whose position in the recent national campaign, in connection with which he won re-election, makes him more than ever an interesting figure in public life.

Senator Borah supported the candidacy of Theodore Roosevelt for the presidential elec-

tion early this year, was one of the anti-Taft generals at the Chicago convention, refused to ally himself with the third party movement after the split came, vigorously resisted efforts and threats to force him to support Roosevelt in the campaign for election, as vigorously refused to give personal indorsement to President Taft, and on a declaration of principles as a progressive Republican, and pointing to his congressional record as such, won an overwhelming victory in the contest for control of the legislature of his state. He has been looked to as one who would fill a commanding position among the Republican progressives in planning for the political future.

Not much stock is taken by Senator Borah in the get-together talk that has been indulged in with considerable liberality on all sides of the Republican force since the catastrophe of Nov. 5. He does not believe reorganization can be accomplished by throwing out one boss and enthroning another. If the Republican party is to rise again it must, in his opinion, go to the people on some great issue—not through personalities and the thrill of past deeds, and "basic principles." He sees the issue of today in the trust problem.

In New York and other eastern cities, and in Chicago and elsewhere in the interior of the country, more or less elaborate plans are being made for "reorganization." The plans vary. One element is ready to co-operate with President Taft as the leader in the rehabilitation movement. There is the plan of the Hamilton Club of Chicago, reported in the day's dispatches in eastern newspapers, which suggests the elimination of the disturbing reactionaries as well as some of the other extremes in rebuilding the party. The views of President Taft in the matter are now generally known. Also the country has been informed of the ideas of some of the aforesaid insurgent Republicans.

The views of Senator Borah, who occupies a unique position as an independent Republican, are presented merely as his own, for the reader's information, the same

as those of the President and others have been from time to time. They are additionally valuable for public pondering because, different from others, they are given at some length in the first person.

"I do not see much in the way of encouragement," said Senator Borah today, "in the plans about reorganization. They do not reach the difficulty. I do not believe we can expect a great deal in the way of a revival of power until we submit to the people a definite and comprehensive policy in regard to the great problems of today.

"The people are in advance of their leaders; the generals are bringing up the rear. Political machines may thrive for a time and to a remarkable degree through the power of organization and the influence of patronage. But a great party must be built up on a great principle and in a great cause—a cause which unites and welds the thousands whose unselfish purpose in it is to achieve something for the general good.

"A political party is never formidable and dominant until its rank and file are aroused through the influence of some theme which is worthy of their time and worthy of sacrifice.

"Suppose we put aside many of the ques-

tions which the more progressive members of the party advocate and take alone, for the sake of argument, those questions which no conservative and no progressive can refuse to consider as imminent for solution. Take three—a proper system of national taxation; the rehabilitation of our financial system; a proper and effective treatment of the subject of the trusts. The political party which offers the country a comprehensive and effective plan by which to deal with these matters in the light of present conditions will have no trouble in commanding the support of a vast majority of the people for the next quarter of a century. Without this we will all be in the quagmire and broken into factions—and this condition will prevail in all parties.

"Perhaps it is too soon to expect it, but we must witness the chaotic condition of politics until it happens. No reorganization which is not built on such a foundation will amount to a great deal.

"What we want is an issue, and we want that issue to be policies and not persons.

"About twenty years ago Congress placed upon the statute books a law which had for its aim and purpose the destruction of combinations, popularly called trusts. It was confidently believed that this law would preserve in our economic and industrial life the principle of competition. After the enactment of this law, following closely the scriptural precedent and no doubt with some of the same supreme calm and satisfaction, Congress said 'behold it was very good' and thereupon 'it rested from all its work.' So far as the regulation or control of trusts is concerned, the end and consummation of human wisdom had been reached upon that subject and Congress turned its attention to minor matters. It has never since overcome either its weariness or its original satisfaction to such an extent as to make any improvement or change in the law. There have been signs and threats of action, but as a matter of fact it still cries 'behold it was very good' and it 'still rests.'

"Nothing in my judgment except either a sense of constant oppressive weariness or a most inordinate intellectual pride in past achievements could persist in pronouncing the Sherman law as it stands and as it now operates a success. It has been wholly inefficient and its enforcement a lamentable failure.

"It has not preserved competition. It has not destroyed or even curbed monopoly. It has not kept open and free the channels of interstate trade.

"Above all, it has not and does not now promise to give any relief to the people at large.

"It has not protected the people from extortion. It has not given them relief as against the destructive and annihilating forces or combinations which are fast sweeping the field of independent producers or manufacturers.

"Everybody seems to see this except Congress.

"The period during which this statute has been upon the books is marked, distinguished and individualized as the period of greatest growth of trusts and most pronounced decadence of competition. Never has there been a law so much talked of and utterly disregarded or ignored by a people.

"Congress has year by year looked upon it apparently satisfied with it, while the industrial world has moved in disregard of every phase of this profound piece of legislation. At the time of its enactment a few isolated combinations were discernible on the wide field of industry, a few important articles had come under the control of the trusts. Now, at the end of twenty odd years, the whole industrial field is occupied by these powerful combinations and competition lurks here and there as a reminder of an industrial civilization as ancient as the civilization of Tyre and Babylon.

"Almost everything we eat and almost everything we wear, that which warms from without and that which sustains from within; all we have and all that we want are controlled by combinations built up in defiance of this great and drastic statute. We are now living under a regime of artificial values. Competition in the true sense

of the term—that is, a rivalry between equals—is as inefficient and powerless in fixing prices as Congress and the courts have been in fighting the trusts.

"Instead of competition, instead of the battle of the giants which was promised, we have the whole industrial field occupied by giants, but resting in armed neutrality. They found it would not pay to fight one another, that they could better afford to get all the traffic would bear and divide it equitably among themselves.

"Those who talk to you in these days about competition must be looking for the resurrection day.

"Whether competition is a good thing to preserve or not I am not now going to discuss. I am stating the fact that so far as the man in the street is concerned it is dead. The effect and benefits of competition never reach him, and if all this effort to regulate and control or destroy trusts or combinations is not to serve him, if our efforts and our legislation are not to reach in actual effect the man on the street—the masses of the people—then all is utterly vain. If our work is to continue to be simply a scholastic entertainment, a great intellectual feat or display of logic between lawyers with no actual result to the people, certainly we have something to do in finding some other plan and purpose with which to deal with this profound and far-reaching subject.

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"Now what are we going to do about this situation? Are we going to bug the decision or practice the deception of the last twenty years? Under what theory of statesmanship or morals do we permit a corporation to continue to enjoy a part of sovereign power of the state after it has become a violator of the law?

"Under what theory do we permit a corporation to occupy the channels of interstate trade which has been convicted of crime?

"Why do we permit one corporation engaged in interstate trade to buy up and hold the stock of another corporation?

"Why do we permit corporations organized with as high as \$700,000,000 of watered stock to put it out to the public?

"Why, in short, do we permit these creatures which we have created and marvelously endowed to dictate and direct the policy of their creator?

"Two-thirds of the trust question is wrapped up in a proper consideration, supervision and limitation of the charter powers of the corporation. And in dealing with this feature of it no legitimate business need suffer one particle. Why should a corporation engaged in interstate commerce be permitted to enter the channels of interstate trade until it has come under the supervision of such a commission as will determine the regularity and honesty of its stock issue?

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"There has been so much side-stepping and ducking of this question that the people are doubtful of every one and all parties. An analysis of the popular vote shows that the party now coming into power by no means holds the confidence of a majority of the voters of the country.

"My desire to see these questions settled leads me to hope, however, that through a proper dealing with these questions it will ultimately possess that confidence. But if it does not then the party which does will secure and hold that confidence.

"If some man comes forward as Lincoln did in his Bloomington speech with a simple but comprehensive, fearless, fair and statesman-like plan to deal with these problems as our new industrial life demands, he will not need to worry about organization. He will not need to sit up nights worrying about the bosses. The American people will take care of both propositions. This is my idea of reorganization."

New York

JUL 16 1912

**A CONFLICT OF INTERESTS.**

The local interests of Republican statesmen, candidates, bosses, and organizations in their respective States are at war with the interests of Col. Roosevelt in putting his third party in the field. With them the matter of paramount interest is to save their States from falling into the hands of Democrats, that is, to save themselves.

In Idaho the Republican State Committee, at its meeting on July 10, unanimously approved the Chicago platform of the party and pledged loyal support to Mr. TART. Three Taft men were named as Electors. Even the Roosevelt men of the committee, men who had made a hard fight to secure a Roosevelt delegation at Chicago, supported the pledge of loyalty to Mr. TART, which was unanimously adopted. Then the committee gave its hearty indorsement to Senator BORAH, pledged its untiring efforts to secure his reelection, and commended him to the confidence of the voters. Some of the Idaho Republicans long for Roosevelt. But they simply can't get along without BORAH, and the local interest triumphs. No Republican of that State, says The Idaho Statesman, "would do anything to jeopardize the reelection of Senator BORAH."

**APPROVING SENATOR BORAH.**

We are glad to print the following indorsement of our position respecting Senator Borah:

Salt Lake City, Sept. 17.  
Editor Tribune.—With deep interest and pleasure I read your editorial this morning commenting on the position and declaration of Senator Borah in his Meridian speech last week. Borah is a man of every word of it. If the country had a few more men of the independent thought and speech of Senator Borah there would not today be the atrocious disturbed feeling there is in the affairs of this Nation. As a representative of the people in the most important legislative branch of the country he stands out in great contrast when compared to our Senators from Utah, the apparent servile tools of the powers that be either in politics or commerce.

As a Nation we need men who have the fear of God in their souls and who regard a political crime just as much a crime as when committed in the business world; men who have the independence of thought and sterling manhood to declare their principles and their position on the important issues of the day without first consulting the powers that be, or without waiting to see how these issues are accepted by the people—whether they are popular or otherwise. The people need men who think and who are not afraid to speak their thoughts.

I regard Senator Borah as one of the very few strong men before the people today, and believe his strength lies in his honesty, his fairness and his frankness.

But now, Mr. Editor, why could not the Tribune have commended Senator Borah's frankness, and also commended one other statement he made in his speech at Meridian, when he said he could not support Mr. Taft because his nomination was made by counting for him 52 votes that honestly belonged to Theodore Roosevelt? I am sure the whole truth and nothing but the truth in this campaign will make better Americans of us all, and I would like to see The Tribune consistent and honest editorially as well as in its news columns. The writer never voted for any but a Republican for President, but he never will vote for a Republican candidate for President whose nomination was stolen, and I believe I speak the sentiments of the great mass of voters.  
ED. S. BROOKIE,  
1221 South Ninth East.

Replying to the question, we consider the discussion of the "fraud" in the nomination of President Taft, to be entirely closed. There was no fraud. Even Senator Borah does not claim that the 52 votes he objects to would have nominated Roosevelt. But the whole matter has been gone over repeatedly, and no useful purpose could be served by reopening the question, since it would not be possible to arrive at any other result than has already been reached. Besides, it is useless to dispute with a man who claims that the only honest result is his result, as Roosevelt men are apt to do, forgetting that the great attempted fraud in Chicago was in Roosevelt's interest, in presenting 150 delegates from the South who had no possible claim to seats and whom Senator Borah and other Roosevelt members of the committee voted against, saying their claims had no merit.

PORTLAND, THURSDAY, DEC. 13, 1912.

**AN ISSUE TO UNITE REPUBLICANS.**

Any contribution which Senator Borah makes to the discussion of reorganization of the Republican party must be of value. He has worked in and out of Congress to prove his party's devotion to the interests of all the people, not of any special interest. He has demonstrated his own devotion to the people and by his refusal to join in the Roosevelt bolt he has shown his confidence that the Republican party has been and will continue to be a vallant contender for the interests of all and is not wholly given over to the service of special privilege, as its critics and traducers contend.

Senator Borah says, in an interview published in the Chicago Record-Herald, that we cannot expect "a great deal in the way of a revival of power until we submit to the people a definite and comprehensive policy in regard to the great problems of today"; that the people are in advance of their leaders; that "a great party must be built up on a great principle and in a great cause"; and that "a political party is never formidable and dominant until its rank and file are aroused."

He then puts aside the questions which the more progressive members of the party advocate and takes up those "which no conservative and no progressive can refuse to consider as imminent for solution." He then continues:

Take three—a proper system of National taxation; the rehabilitation of our financial system; a proper and effective treatment of the subject of the trusts. The political party which offers the country a comprehensive and effective plan by which to deal with these matters in the light of

present conditions will have no trouble in commanding the support of a vast majority of the people for the next quarter of a century. Without this we will all be in the quagmire and broken into factions—and this condition will prevail in all parties.

What we want is an issue, and we want that issue to be politics and not persons. The Senator then cites the supposed failure of the Sherman law to do any of the things expected of it. He tells how, in spite of that law, combinations have grown until they occupy the whole industrial field, "competition turks here and there as a reminder" and we live in a day of artificial values. He asks what we are going to do about this situation and then offers these pertinent questions:

Under what theory of statesmanship or morals do we permit a corporation to continue to enjoy a part of sovereign power of the state after it has become a violator of the law?

Under what theory do we permit a corporation to occupy the channels of interstate trade which has been convicted of crime?

Why do we permit one corporation engaged in interstate trade to buy up and hold the stock of another corporation?

Why do we permit corporations organized with as high as \$700,000,000 of watered stock to put it out to the public?

Why, in short, do we permit these creatures which we have created and marvelously endowed to dictate and direct the policy of their creator?

Senator Borah declares two-thirds of the trust question to be "wrapped up in a proper consideration, supervision and limitation of the charter powers of the corporations," but says there has been so much side-stepping and ducking of this question that the people are doubtful of all parties. He says in conclusion:

If some man comes forward as Lincoln did in his Bloomington speech with a simple but comprehensive, fearless, fair and statesmanlike plan to deal with these problems as our new industrial life demands, he will not need to worry about organization. He will not need to sit up nights worrying about the bosses. The American people will take care of both propositions. This is my idea of reorganization.

In pointing to abuse of corporate power as the root of the trust evil and to extirpation of that abuse as the remedy, Borah is in substantial agreement with Taft. The Democrats are not likely to tackle the trusts until the first regular session of the new Congress. Their love for state rights will almost surely prompt them to oppose any Federal incorporation measure. Their platform suggests this purpose by asserting that Federal law should be merely supplementary to state law on this subject. The Democrats are likely to furnish the Republicans with the issue Borah seeks. If the two wings of the Republican party can get together on an affirmative policy for effective dealing with the trusts and can prove its superiority to that offered by the Democrats, they will have no difficulty in finding an issue on which they can unitedly go before the people.

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SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH  
SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH

**SENATOR BORAH IS MANLY.**

Those persons and papers that charge Senator Borah of Idaho with being "on the fence," or "trimming," have no the slightest justification for the charge. Those who make it are either guilty of misrepresenting the Senator and so of bearing false witness against their neighbor, or they are ignorant of the facts.

Senator Borah is not a man to trim to hedge, or to straddle the fence on any political question. In his speech at Meridian, Idaho, on last Saturday evening, Senator Borah declared his position so openly, so manfully, and with such complete candor, that those who would like to charge him with evasion or trimming are utterly put to shame. It is well known that Senator Borah has been outspoken on all public questions, and in the speech referred to he met squarely the insinuation of his enemies that he is a trimmer. After reciting the differences between his views and those of President Taft, he stated:

If they say to you that Borah is trimming, that he does not take a stand, ask them upon what question, upon what issue, upon what measure in Congress or this campaign he has failed to take an open and decided and positive stand. Ask them if they have any doubt as to what his position will be on all these questions in the coming Congress. What policy which touches the interests of the people of the State have I not met openly and candidly? Are you yourselves in any doubt as to my position on any of these questions? If so, state them. What question is there tonight that touches your interest or your welfare or the welfare of the people of this State about which you entertain any possible doubt as to my position?

So far from it being the fact that he has in any way slurred or obscured

MONTPELIER, IDA.  
NOV - 8 1912

his position or failed to come out decidedly on every question before the people, the truth is that it is his independence that galls. As he says, "It is because I refuse to yield my views or modify my position on certain public questions that they [meaning his critics] are dissatisfied with me. If I were more uncertain they would be far more certain as to their support of me. If I were a little more unsteady, they would be more steadfast. Do you people want a representative in the Senate who is uncertain as to policies and will hitch up to individuals—who would yield his views and modify his opinions to harmonize with the views of those whom you do not elect to represent you?"

In the course of his speech, Senator Borah directly and manfully challenged the Republican State Committee of Idaho, a body composed of elected members from every county in the State. He, assuming that they represent the views and the wishes of their constituents, put the question squarely up to them in this form: "If they think I am not a Republican and this organization will meet and so declare, I will decline my candidacy as I am now nominated, and submit the question in another way. I will get off their ticket and test it in another way." He stated that he did not wish to embarrass either the ticket or its candidates; that if his views and his ideas of what constitutes Republicanism in this campaign are not satisfactory to the organization, he will unhesitatingly accept their verdict and thereafter will choose his own course as to how he will reach the people, "and we will find out who constitutes the Republican party in this State." And his final trumpet blast on this question was in these words: "But I say to them now that these are my views. I shall not change them or cease to advocate them. I will tell the facts in this campaign. I will not be deterred from doing so by the loss of a vote or votes in the legislature."

All this is the straightest kind of talk. It is open, candid, admirable. It leaves no possible chance for anybody to say that Borah is a trimmer or "on the fence." Those who make that charge will do so hereafter at the peril of their own standing as truthful men. We consider Senator Borah's position in this to be beyond the shadow of question, and to be altogether such as an honest, candid, courageous man would take.

THE REAL PROGRESSIVES.

In an editorial headed "Who's Who Among Progressives," the Richmond Virginian of a recent date printed the following:

- "La Follette is one of the real Progressives of today.
- "La Follette is against Roosevelt.
- "Louis Brandeis is one of the real Progressives of today.
- "Louis Brandeis is against Roosevelt.
- "Gov. Hadley of Missouri is one of the real Progressives of today.
- "Gov. Hadley refused to follow Roosevelt into the third party.
- "Senator Borah is one of the real Progressives of today.
- "Senator Borah refused to follow Roosevelt into the third party.
- "So on down the line. How about the other side?"
- "George W. Perkins followed Roosevelt into the third party. So did Bill Flinn, Dan Hanna, Heney, Beveridge, Ward, Woodruff, Munsey, McCormick, and others of the same ilk.
- "La Follette against Heney; Brandeis against Flinn; Borah against Beveridge; Hadley against Hanna.
- "Are the real Progressives found in the Bull Moose party or against it?"
- To which comparison New Hampshire can add William E. Chandler, William J. Tucker, James F. Colby, John M. Gile, Sherman E. Burroughs, William B. Retch, R. W. Pillsbury, Franklin Worcester, Willis McDuffee, A. Crosby Kennett, Roland Spaulding, Jeremiah W. Sanborn, and scores of others, on the one side. Plenty of names to be coupled with them occur to us and will at once to our readers but we forbear to cite them.

The Examiner believes that the sweeping republican majority in this state on the legislative tickets was due in a very large measure to the fact that Senator Borah is a candidate for re-election. While republicans were divided on the presidential question, with few exceptions they were united in their desire to see Mr. Borah returned to the senate. The Borah influence even extended to democrats for the republican legislative tickets have been elected in counties which have not sent republicans to the legislature for many years. The fact that a

successor to the late Senator Heyburn is also to be elected, had a great deal to do with uniting the republican factions on the legislative tickets. The radical anti-Borah republicans felt that they could not afford to desert the ranks and by so doing give the democrats a chance of electing two United States senators. And the radical Borah men felt perfectly willing to leave the selection of the other senator to the legislature. Thus the two forces united during the closing days of the campaign, and with the aid of the Borah democrats, made almost a clean sweep in the

state. It was a glorious victory for Borah, and the Examiner is most sincere in its belief that the people of Idaho will never have reason to regret that they returned him to the senate.

An Analysis of Borah.

Despite the fact that political interest the past few days has been largely concentrated in the work of the democratic national convention, Idaho republicans have continued to speculate on "What Will Borah Do?" and the movements of the Idaho statesman during the next few days will naturally be watched with much concern not only by his friends but by the republican party as a whole, for the best political judgment appears to be that the fate of the party in the state campaign rests largely in his hands. If a man was to guess as to the probable attitude of a mule with whom he was not acquainted—whether such mule would pull true in the collar, balk or kick over the traces—he likely would seek information as to the early history of that animal, that pertinent traits might be analyzed. Borah has not been so inconspicuous in the public life of Idaho for a number of years that the man is not pretty well known. He was born in Illinois; he graduated from the Kansas university, and he came to Idaho as a young lawyer. His first case found him employed to defend a man charged with killing a Chinaman. Borah was brought into the case after preliminary examination. He read the evidence of the examination. It was a brutal murder. The murderer was out on bond. "I hope I will never see that murderer's face again," said Borah to the murderer's friends. He didn't. Borah quickly gained reputation as a sound

legal advisor. Within a year, he was battling in the courts with Jim Hawley and Judge Richards—the giants of the Idaho bar. He was a republican, but when the Silver Republican walk-out occurred, he went with Idaho and silver. He ran for congress on that ticket to defeat Steunenberg, democrat, was elected governor. Borah, brimful of the cheerfulness of robust health, ambitious and confident of the future, never limited his friends to party men. He was Steunenberg's friend. Midnight assassination occurred in the Coeur d'Alenes, and Idaho's great governor was called there to fight anarchy, even though it was perpetrated in the name of labor unionism. Borah followed him, while politicians of all parties—some of them still prominent and some still seeking prominence in state affairs—flocked away from him. "I have been urged by letter and by telegram not to go into the Coeur d'Alenes—that they will murder me," said Steunenberg to Borah, "but I am going. Surely Idaho's governor is not denied the privilege of the highway in any part of the state. I walk unattended down the streets of Wallace. My duty is there." "I would not advise any man to shirk his duty," said Borah. He followed Steunenberg to Wallace and in the distressful times remained in the fight to install the state supreme over disorder. He sent Paul Corcoran to the penitentiary. His gifts overmatched the skilled lawyers of the other side. Borah was now a conspicuous member of the regular republican party—this party had returned from the chaos of free silver to the sanity of the gold standard, but the party managers were still catering to the vicious element of the labor vote and allowed Steunenberg to die without one expression of approval of his fight for his state until he

was gone. Borah remained with him, and when in the night they slaughtered Steunenberg, Borah was one of the first to hurry to the side of the mangled remains; he later spoke at his grave and then cried there—for Borah is that human that success nor misfortune has hardened him against the impulses of a normal man. With Steunenberg in the grave, Borah fought in the courts those charged with his murder. There was an acquittal that all Idaho seeks to forget. In the course of the period reviewed above, Borah had not lost by his friendship for Steunenberg—it was only the view of small politicians seeking position beyond them that felt so. Borah grew; the others drifted gradually back into obscurity in both parties. Borah was now big enough to make the race for the United States senate. His opponent was Heyburn. The latter won by a close vote. When the decisive ballot had been taken, Borah's friends rushed him from his law office to the state house. He in defeat addressed the assembly that had chosen Heyburn. "I stand at the open grave of my ambition," he began. But this was the intensely human side of Borah. His ambition was not being lowered into the grave—he had just begun to fight." Borah analyzed that legislature as being an argument for the direct election of senators. Two years later he carried that fight into the state campaign, demanding that the republican state convention nominate a senator and the legislature be bound by that choice. Every republican office holder in the state fought him—state administration, congressional delegation, every federal officeholder and every member of the state machine. Nearly all the party newspapers opposed him. In a clean-cut battle he whipped them all. He went to the senate of the United States. Little men were still on his trail. Ruick was United States attorney, associated with an aggregation of special attorneys sent out from Washington. Ruick indicted Borah and his dead friend—Steunenberg—for timber frauds. Borah demanded immediate trial. The government introduced its evidence. It was a farce. Borah's attorneys even waived address to the jury. In two minutes there was acquittal and vindication. Steunenberg needed no acquittal. A higher court had put its arms about him and taken him home. Borah kicked Ruick out of office. Ruick is now a name unspoken in Idaho. Idaho now watched Borah in the theatre of national affairs. In the campaign of 1908, he delivered an address at Boston, for Taft. It was accepted as the keynote address of the republican campaign—this Idahoan had made the best analysis of republican principles and republican purposes. His ability had crowded him up to the position of an influential

national figure—while his old enemies in Idaho were still drifting back further into obscurity. Time brought to him the distinction of the most apt defender of republican measures in the senate especially if those measures were of progressive leaning. He was accepted there by his party as the greatest authority on the constitution the United States now a member of the senate, and he was pitted against Bailey, of Texas, the most colossal mind west of the Mississippi. Sometimes Bailey won, sometimes Borah, but more frequently it was a dog-fall. Borah became the father of what is classed by many as the most progressive type of legislation now considered by the American people—the direct election of senators. He has forced it up to a point where it is now generally believed the senate will adopt it. He has secured the passage of the child labor bill and his latest achievement is the three-year homestead bill in which he had to rout the bureaucrats who have been oppressing the settler of the west. All Borah's career has been a battle. It was logical that he should be in the Taft-Roosevelt fight. He went with Roosevelt to Chicago. He has never explained why he declined to support Taft, and he did not, like Hieney, refer to Taft republicans as coyotes. He was never a progressive like Bourne—the lawn tennis type. He is not shoddy. He with Hadley, represented the conservative element of the Roosevelt wing, and delegates drifting back from the convention state, had it been possible to adjust the republican quarrel at Chicago, with a progressive candidate for president, Hadley or Borah would have been that man. Thus has Borah grown up to the magnitude of presidential timber. But "What Will Borah do in Idaho?" Will he remain with the regulars, or will he go with Roosevelt? This matter is probably right now a less matter of worry to Borah than it is to those who ask the question. But if the analysis of Borah is correct as made above, he will go straight and he will follow his ideal to the grave—not ashamed even to see the last clod is placed there.

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## An Opinion of BORAH

The following editorial appeared in the last issue of the Montpelier Examiner, edited by one of the squarest men in Idaho, Chas. E. Wright, and who was a successful candidate for the legislature:

"The Examiner believes that the sweeping republican majority in this state on the legislative tickets was due in a very large measure to the fact that Senator Borah is a candidate for re-election. While republicans were divided on the presidential question, with few exceptions they were united in their desire to see Mr. Borah returned to the senate. The Borah influence even extended to democrats for the republican legislative tickets have been elected in counties which have not sent republicans to the legislature for many years. The fact that a successor to the late Senator Heyburn is also to be elected, had a great deal to do with uniting the republican factions on the legislative tickets. The radical anti-Borah republicans felt that they could not afford to desert the ranks and by so doing give the democrats a chance of electing two United States senators. And the radical Borah men felt perfectly willing to leave the selection of the other senator to the legislature. Thus the two forces united during the closing days of the campaign, and with the aid of the Borah democrats, made almost a clean sweep in the state. It was a glorious victory for Borah, and the Examiner is most sincere in its belief that the people of Idaho will never have reason to regret that they returned him to the senate."

## Senator Borah on "Reorganization."

Premature efforts to "reorganize" or reunite the Republican and Progressive parties are certain to end in smoke. The part of wisdom is to leave the general question largely to the influences of time and tide, to the logic of facts, and to meet particular questions—such as fusion in New York for the purpose of defeating Tammany—as they arise, in a spirit of fairness and common sense.

A sound, statesmanlike view of the matter is taken by Senator BORAH in the illuminating interview published in THE INDEPENDENT-HERALD of yesterday. The Idaho senator is a true progressive who does his own thinking, and his opinions are not formed as he runs. What he says about "reorganization" is, in a nutshell, virtually this: Ignore all selfish and minor considerations; trouble yourselves not at all about this boss or that, this faction or that; but get hold of a constructive and comprehensive policy and offer the people, the restive, dissatisfied, insurgent masses, a definite and honest platform dealing with the vital issues of the day.

Trusts, taxation and finance are rightly named by Senator BORAH as the dominating issues. Everybody wants social and industrial justice, but what is justice as applied to the tariff, to finance, to industrial organization? Mr. BORAH outlines the trust problem in a masterly way, and then invites the would-be reorganizers to think out and propose a solution of it. A wise, statesmanlike bit of advice, we repeat.

The senator has his own idea of the needed measures, but he is just and broad enough to express the hope that the WILSON administration may gain and hold the confidence of the people by its plan of action. Mr. WILSON does not believe in federal trust commissions or federal incorporation; he believes, however, that the SHERMAN act is inadequate in certain respects and that further legislation is necessary if "unfair methods of business" are to be prevented in the future and equal opportunity restored. He also recognizes the necessity of overhauling the incorporation laws of states that create irresponsible, inflated corporations to prey upon the nation. He believes, finally, in some indirect form of federal action under the interstate commerce clause that would not violate state rights. All of this must be elaborated, illustrated, made definite and concrete.

The Republican and the Progressive parties should present their respective alternative plans, without further "ducking and side-stepping," in Senator BORAH's words. The party that shall present the most practical, honest, effective plan will find itself magically "reorganized" and energized by the people. Stratagems and

deals, artificial attempts to create unity where there is nothing solid to stand on, will fail. How many of those who glibly talk about a "new era" are prepared to earn success by service, upright dealing, courage and consistency?

## THE ROOSEVELT RESPONSIBILITY.

If the Republican National Committee had nominated Governor Hadley, or Senator Borah, or Senator Cummins, or Senator La Follette, or any other progressive (except Roosevelt), there would be today a united and aggressive party contesting on even terms with the Democratic party for the Presidency and Congress. The convention nominated Taft and Roosevelt bolted. If Roosevelt had been nominated, Taft would have bolted.

When Taft charges that Roosevelt sought to hold up the Republican party by the throat and bludgeon a nomination out of it, the accusation is true. But when Roosevelt charges that Taft—or rather the Taft majority—was willing to wreck the party rather than give Roosevelt a nomination he thought he had won, the charge is also true.

Over and above all accusations and counter accusations, criminations and recriminations rises the indisputable fact that the Taft forces would have accepted a compromise, but Colonel Roosevelt would not consider any other but himself. It was Roosevelt or nobody, Roosevelt or ruin, Roosevelt or a new party. He would take neither Hadley, nor Borah, nor Cummins, nor La Follette. He cared nothing for any of them, or the progressive cause, or the Republican party—unless he got the Republican nomination.

It can thus be clearly understood why no progressive of National repute followed Roosevelt out of the Republican party into his personally conducted party—except Governor Johnson.

PAPER

STATE

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BOISE, IDA

DATE

SEP 21 1912

## FOR BORAH AND BOISE.

The attempt of the evening paper to make it appear that the effort to secure amendments to the Black law constitutes an attack upon Senator Borah is characteristically idiotic.

The desire for changes in the Black law, so as to make it applicable to the crying needs of Boise, came from the city council, which has authorized the employment of attorneys to reshape the law. Undoubtedly that body had no thoughts of Senator Borah's campaign.

That legislative candidates in this county pledged themselves to oppose changes in the Black law is simply a fact—that's all—with which every voter who has read the papers during the primary campaign is familiar. Their pledges as made leave them in position to oppose the changes that the majority of the people of Boise want, and unauthorized construction by a mischiefmaking political mongrel will not satisfy the public nor aid the candidates.

Of course, the Republican legislative candidates, by making those absurd pledges affecting the Black law, in their zeal for nomination, have placed themselves in an awkward position.

They have invited the opposition of those who know the law should be changed for the benefit of Boise, and Boise is as close to their hearts as any other consideration. Therefore, they are hurting Senator Borah rather than helping him by having raised an important local issue that, by their own actions as candidates pledged to vote for him, affects his candidacy.

Having placed themselves in a position of opposition to the enactment of legislation absolutely necessary for the proper government of the city, and having obviously embarrassed Senator Borah's campaign in the county, if they are true friends of Boise and of the senator they will resign and allow the Republican county committee to name men who will vote for Senator Borah and also for practical laws to govern cities of the first class—men, too, who are willing to call themselves Republicans and to be Republicans.

THE WOMEN SHOULD

PAPER

RECORD

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The sentiment in favor of Senator Borah is overwhelming. It must be a mighty disheartening to the Boise bunch who desire his defeat, to read the reports from every section of the state teeming with news of his popularity. Many democrats, appreciating Senator Borah's faithful services rendered the people of Idaho, will vote the Republican legislative ticket to assure his return to the senate.

# MR. BORAH ON PARTY REORGANIZATION

Senator William E. Borah of Idaho has his own views of the future of the Republican party, and they do not coincide with those of other well-meaning political leaders who favor issuing addresses and calling conferences looking to a formal reuniting of the Standpat and Progressive factions into which the G. O. P. has been split. He thinks the reunion will come through the promulgation of issues that will bring the people together and not through the concerted action of party or faction managers.

Senator Borah's position in the recent national campaign, in connection with which he won re-election, makes him more than ever an interesting figure in public life. He supported the candidacy of Colonel Roosevelt for the Presidential nomination early in the year, and was one of the anti-Taft generals at the Chicago convention; but he refused to ally himself with the third party movement after the split came, vigorously resisted efforts and threats to force him to support Roosevelt in the campaign for election, as vigorously refused to give personal indorsement to President Taft, and on a declaration of principles as a progressive Republican, and pointing to his Congressional record as such, won an overwhelming victory in the contest for control of the Legislature of his State. He has been looked to as one who would fill a commanding position among the Republican progressives in planning for the political future.

\* \* \* \*

In Senator Borah's campaign for re-election he had no enthusiastic support from the regular Republicans of his State, and as he declined to follow Roosevelt out of the party the Progressives did not warm up to him. So he took the bull by the horns and went through Idaho declaring to the voters that upon his return to Washington he would accept dictation from neither Taft nor Roosevelt; that he would stand for such progressive legislation as he thought to be wise and for no other kind, and that if the voters of his State did not like that kind of a man they had better send someone else.

Borah went further. He challenged the Republican State Committee to hold a meeting at which he would present his resignation as a United States Senator. He would then, he said, go before the people of Idaho without the restraint of any faction upon him and would abide by the result. The State committee did not hold the meeting. Borah did not resign, and the next Idaho Legislature will be so strongly Republican and so safely pro-Borah that the brilliant young Senator will go back to Washington for another six years without even a contest.

\* \* \* \*

He is no small man who can put through such a daring program, and Senator Borah will occupy a unique and strategic position upon the political stage for the next four years, and his utterances on questions of party policy are entitled to respectful consideration, to say the least.

In an authorized interview with Mr. Curtis, the Washington correspondent of the Chicago Record-Herald, on his return to the Capital for the short session of Congress, he outlined his views upon the political situation generally. Following are striking extracts from his formal statement:

\* \* \* \*

"I do not see much in the way of encouragement in the proposed plans for Republican reorganization. They do not reach the difficulty. I do not believe we can expect a great deal in the way of a revival of power until we submit to the people a definite

and comprehensive policy in regard to the great problems of today. The people are in advance of their leaders; the generals are bringing up the rear.

"Political machines may thrive for a time and to a remarkable degree through the power of organization and the influence of patronage. But a great party must be built up on a great principle and in a great cause—a cause which unites and welds the thousands whose unselfish purpose is it to achieve something for the general good.

"A political party is never formidable and dominant until its rank and file are aroused through the influence of some theme which is worthy of their time and worthy of sacrifice.

"Suppose we put aside many of the questions which the more progressive members of the party advocate and take alone, for the sake of argument, those questions which no conservative and no progressive can refuse to consider as imminent for solution. Take three—a proper system of national taxation; the rehabilitation of our financial system; a proper and effective treatment of the trusts.

"The political party which offers the country a comprehensive and effective plan by which to deal with these matters in the light of present conditions will have no trouble in commanding the support of a vast majority of the people for the next quarter of a century. Without this we will all be in the quagmire and broken into factions—and this condition will prevail in all parties.

"Perhaps it is too soon to expect it, but we must witness the present chaotic condition of politics to continue until it happens. No reorganization which is not built on such a foundation will amount to a great deal.

"What we want is an issue, and we want that issue to be policies and not persons.

\* \* \* \*

Taking up specifically the question of the regulation or prevention of trusts and monopolies, Senator Borah said:

"About twenty years ago Congress placed upon the statute books a law which had for its aim and purpose the destruction of combinations, popularly called trusts. It was confidently believed that this law would preserve in our economic and industrial life the principle of competition. After the enactment of this law, following closely the scriptural precedent and no doubt with some of the same supreme calm and satisfaction, Congress said 'behold it was very good' and thereupon 'it rested from all its work.'

"So far as the regulation and control of trusts is concerned, the end and consummation of human wisdom had been reached upon that subject and Congress turned its attention to minor matters. It has never since overcome either its weariness or its original satisfaction to such an extent as to make any improvement or change in the law. There have been signs and threats of action, but as a matter of fact it still cries 'behold it was very good' and it 'still rests.'

"Nothing in my judgment except either a sense of constant oppressive weariness or a most inordinate intellectual pride in past achievements could persist in pronouncing the Sherman law as it stands and as it now operates a success. It has been wholly inefficient and its enforcement a lamentable failure.

"It has not preserved competition. It has not destroyed or even curbed monopoly. It has not kept open and free the channels of interstate trade.

"Above all, it has not and does not now promise to give any relief to the people at large.

"It has not protected the people from extortion. It has not given them relief as against the destructive and annihilating forces or combinations which are fast sweeping the field of independent producers or manufacturers.

"Everybody seems to see this except Congress.

"The period during which this statute has been upon the books is marked, distinguished and individualized as the period of greatest growth of trusts and most pronounced decadence of competition. Never has there been a law so much talked of and utterly disregarded or ignored by a people.

"Congress has year by year looked

upon it apparently satisfied with it, while the industrial world has moved in disregard of every phase of this profound piece of legislation. At the time of its enactment a few isolated combinations were discernible on the wide field of industry, a few important articles had come under the control of the trusts. Now, at the end of twenty odd years, the whole industrial field is occupied by these powerful combinations and competition lurks here and there as a reminder of an industrial civilization as ancient as the civilization of Tyre and Babylon.

"Almost everything we eat and almost everything we wear, that which warms from without and that which sustains from within; all we have and all that we want are controlled by combinations built up in defiance of this great and drastic statute. We are now living under a regime of artificial values. Competition in the true sense of the term—that is, a rivalry between equals—is as inefficient and powerless in fixing prices as Congress and the courts have been in fighting the trusts.

"Instead of competition, instead of the battle of the giants which was promised, we have the whole industrial field occupied by giants, but resting in armed neutrality. They found it would not pay to fight one another, that they could better afford to get all the traffic would bear and divide it equitably among themselves.

"Those who talk to you in these days about competition must be looking for the resurrection day.

"Whether competition is a good thing to preserve or not I am not now going to discuss. I am stating the fact that so far as the man in the street is concerned it is dead. The effect and benefits of competition never reach him, and if all this effort to regulate and control or destroy trusts or combinations is not to serve him, if our efforts and our legislation are not to reach in actual effect the man on the street—the masses of the people—then all is utterly vain.

\* \* \* \*

After thus paying his respects to the Sherman law and its failure to preserve even a semblance of competition, Senator Borah asks a few pointed questions that statesmen may well ponder upon, as follows:

"If our work is to continue to be simply a scholastic entertainment, a great intellectual fete or display of logic between lawyers with no actual result to the people, certainly we have something to do in finding some other plan and purpose with which to deal with this profound and far-reaching subject.

"Now what are we going to do about this situation? Are we going to hug the delusion or practice the deception of the last twenty years? Under what theory of statesmanship or morals do we permit a corporation to continue to enjoy a part of sovereign power of the State after it has become a violator of the law?

"Under what theory do we permit a corporation to occupy the channels of interstate trade which has been convicted of crime?

"Why do we permit one corporation engaged in interstate trade to

buy up and hold the stock of another corporation?

"Why do we permit corporations organized with as high as \$700,000,000 of watered stock to put it out to the public?

"Why, in short, do we permit these creatures which we have created and marvelously endowed to dictate and direct the policy of their creator?

"Two-thirds of the trust question is wrapped up in a proper consideration, supervision and limitation of the charter powers of the corporation. And in dealing with this feature of it no legitimate business need suffer one particle. Why should a corporation engaged in interstate commerce be permitted to enter the channels of interstate trade until it has come under the supervision of such a commission as will determine the regularity and honesty of its stock issue?

"There has been so much side-stepping and ducking of this question that the people are doubtful of every one and all parties. An analysis of the popular vote shows that the party now coming into power by no means holds the confidence of a majority of the votes of the country.

"My desire to see these questions settled leads me to hope, however, that through a proper dealing with these questions it will ultimately possess that confidence. But if it does

not even the party which does will secure and hold that confidence.

"If some man comes forward as Lincoln did in his Bloomington speech with a simple but comprehensive, fearless, fair and statesman-like plan to deal with these problems as our new industrial life demands he will not need to worry about organization. He will not need to sit up nights worrying about the bosses. The American people will take care of both propositions. This is my idea of reorganization.

\* \* \* \*

Senator Borah has certainly given the leaders of all political parties something to think about in this bold and refreshing utterance. Hundreds of thousands of Republicans who remained loyal to President Taft and the Republican party this year from sentiment and association were not enthusiastic in their allegiance, among which even such a stalwart as the LEADER may be counted, and they are longing for more progressive platform declarations and more sympathetic leadership in the organization.

Idaho is one of the lesser States of a section that is regarded as entirely outside of the Presidential belt, but its Progressive Republican Senator has given his party and the country something to think and talk about, and it may be worth while to keep an eye upon him during the next four years.

By the way, why should not Mr. Borah try his hand on such a plan for dealing with our industrial life as he so eloquently declares the times demand?

be either directly pledged and instructed for him or altogether disposed to vote for his nomination. It would be absurd for the Roosevelt men to protest that the committee proceeded by "steam roller" methods in the Alabama cases. Taft delegates were seated, save those from the Ninth District, by the vote of the whole committee, including the Progressives.

When the contests have all been decided and the certainty of Mr. TAFT'S nomination becomes assured, the usual avenues open to a beaten faction will be in plain view of Mr. Roosevelt's delegates. They can join in the vote to make the nomination unanimous, or they can bolt and nominate their favorite. For him and for most of them the question that will present itself is grave and serious. The light-headed and unsteady followers of the Colonel, men having no responsibilities in politics, no principles to defend and no causes to gain, would with the utmost glee follow him to another hall and put him in the field as a candidate. If Mr. Roosevelt is clear sighted enough really to see and understand what this would mean for him, though many doubt whether he now has that clearness of vision, he will not go that way to destruction. Among his delegates a very large number, we imagine, would hesitate to take such a step. They would take it only if they believed that the Republican Party is really breaking up, that its end has come, and upon that point they might well distrust their own judgment and take advice.

As between Taft and Roosevelt, as is for Taft, for, as the Colonel himself has said, "we should observe the essence" as to a third term to the presidency. This statement is made to disabuse the mind of any one who would construe this editorial as a plea for Colonel Roosevelt. We yield to no man in admiration of the Colonel and appreciation of his services to the country. We have no words of censure for his entrance into the race believing he has been misled by those whose friendship has run away with their judgment, but he has been honored as few men have been honored and the party has other men worthy to wear a badge of distinction. Nature has an overabundance of raw material from which to make good and capable men. The age and time has always produced the man to handle the job. Hero worship should have no place in a Republic.

The uprising within the party which it would be foolish to ignore indicates that, if we are to win, we must have more unanimity of sentiment and purpose. There is no faction or division in the party that could not support Senator Borah.

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THE FIRST BATTLE.

Senator BORAH warned the National Committee yesterday that ninety millions of people were watching its sessions. Having, we suppose, a due sense of the prudence and honorable conduct which such a scrutiny imposes, the committee proceeded to decide all the Alabama contests in favor of the Taft delegates. It was the first engagement in the great Chicago campaign, and for a battle it was singularly peaceful, since there were few casualties, and in most of the votes taken the action was unanimous.

The six Taft delegates at large were seated by unanimous vote, 53 to 0. The contesting Roosevelt delegates had no shadow of right or reason for demanding seats in the convention, yet this trumped-up contest was typical. They were all trumped up. The vote to seat the Taft delegates in the First and Second Districts was unanimous; in the Fifth District contest there was no division, and the Taft delegates were seated without a roll call; in the Sixth District the contest against the Taft delegates was abandoned. For the sake of a record, we suppose, the Roosevelt forces pressed the Ninth District contest to a vote, and the Taft delegates were seated, 38 to 15. So the Roosevelt men got their record. This was substantially the measure of the Roosevelt and Taft preferences in the National Committee that had been expected and foretold. The result of the day's voting, too, is probably a fairly correct measure of the merits of the whole of the Roosevelt contests. There were recorded with the committee 232 such contests. The Alabama cases were a fair sample of the whole list.

What the decision in the Alabama contest portends is plain. Even upon the extreme assumption that as many as 175 of these contests must be decided in favor of Taft delegates in order to give a majority of the convention to Mr. Taft, it is evident that when the committee has finished its work, the nomination of Mr. Taft will be assured. More than a majority of the entire convention, duly accredited, will

The local press of the state of Idaho indicates that there is a strong sentiment in favor of Idaho presenting the name of Senator Borah as its candidate for the nomination at the Chicago convention. In fact so strong is the sentiment that it lacks only leadership to bring about an instructed delegation at the Lewiston convention to work for the nomination of Wm. E. Borah as the Republican candidate for the presidency.

People who live in the past and cannot keep up with the pace of advancement in this country will say that geography is against Idaho's favorite son. Geography defines only the boundaries of countries, principalities and states. Brains and ability are not hedged about with the imaginary lines of territorial division.

Senator Borah is big enough, broad enough, liberal enough and conservative enough to fill with perfect poise and mental balance the office of president of this country. He is progressive and apace with the advancement and development of the country; with its opinions of the function of government and the relations its officers should sustain to the people. He is conservative to the point of resisting caprice and ill considered changes in our fundamental law and he is of the highest type of citizenship of the country.

There is not a Republican in Idaho but that should be proud to work for his nomination, and even though we should fail, the fact that Idaho has a man of presidential size to present to the people will call forth a respect and consideration for the state that it could attain in no other way.

An instructed delegation for Borah also means that Republicans can work together in harmony for the election of the state ticket—whatever the result at Chicago. If we are to win our state officers we must not split into factions. We can all unite on Borah and organize for a state campaign free from any embarrassments.

The writer of this will support the nominee of the Chicago convention.

STARTING THE BOLT.

It remains to be seen what the practical size and effect will be of the bolt which has absurdly attempted to ape the position and authority of the Republican National convention. It is not only undeniable defiance of all precedent in Republican convention procedure, but it is utterly unwarranted by the authority of the electorate appointing and instructing the delegates. If the determination of the controlling majority in the Republican National committee on credentials and in the convention itself is to be spit upon and defied, this privilege is not one of the functions of a representative delegate. There was no pretence or possibility of a reference to their electors for disrupting instructions. Colonel Roosevelt's entry on his own hook into the campaign for the Presidency has only the backing so far of a mass meeting of men acting on their own hook in Orchestra Hall.

This legal status of the revolvers was frankly recognized by the large body of the supporters of the regular nomination of Colonel Roosevelt who refused to sustain the pretence of the rump convention and take part as representative delegates in its proceedings. These included the ablest men among his counsellors and the directors of his contest in the convention like Governor Hadley of Missouri and Senator Borah. The "progressive" representation of most of the leading states in the convention was distinctly antagonistic or divided on this bolting issue. The actual demonstration of strength by the call of states in Orchestra hall was craftily avoided and Colonel Roosevelt followed his familiar resort of declaring himself nominated by a majority whoop without counting credentials.

This cold fact is practically conceded and certified in the teeth of the colonel's vociferation by the admitted inception of a movement for the organization of a new party appealing to Democrats and Socialists no less directly than to former Republicans which is to institute another National convention in August as at present proposed. What the new party will be called is not yet decided. The ingenious Medill McCormick of Chicago suggests that its name may be varied, at the start, at least in different states to suit local

preferences, prejudices or conditions. Colonel Roosevelt advertizes his willingness to lie on the altar if only one state demands this sacrifice, but will not insist on the trumpeted validity of his nomination in Orchestra hall. He promises to step aside humbly if the delegates of the new composite party prefer another standard bearer, but he is reckoning with natural confidence that nobody will dispute his leadership of the revolt which he has so vehemently fomented. No positively defined steps will be taken before the outcome of the Baltimore convention and the sounding of the extent of financing which can be pulled upon from the heads of the Steel and Harvester Trusts and others of the liberal contributors to campaign for the annihilation of bossism and the rebuke of impartial judgments under the Sherman law. If Senator La Follette keeps up his impertinent insistence on the revelation of the financing of this holy war, he will suffer the reproach of the reactionary stamp, and a movement is already under way to bow him over in Wisconsin.

**PROCEEDINGS OF BONNER COUNTY.**

), FRIDAY, MARCH 29, 1912.

**REAL FIGHT ON BORAH**

**CLAIMED "LITTLE GIANT" IS TO BE PUNISHED FOR SUPPORTING ROOSEVELT.**

**BOISE IS BUZZING WITH PLOT**

**Senatorial Situation is Overshadowing Gubernatorial Race Thus Early in Game.**

Boise, March 27.—(Special.)—The gubernatorial kaleidoscope has taken another change with the announcement from ex-Governor Morrison of Boise that he will be a candidate in the primaries. Governor Morrison addressed a letter last Saturday to State Chairman Heitman to that effect. Morrison and Haines will now fight it out in Ada county. Morrison will have the bitter opposition of the Boise Statesman for his connection with the western federation cases, but the opposition of the Statesman is sometimes an asset rather than a liability. Morrison's candidacy will also revive the old Gooding opposition nor will it be particularly strong with Borah's friends. Haines has an active bunch in Boise but he is little known outside of Ada county. He and Morrison will, it is predicted, about make it a stand-off in Ada, but that the fight they will wage will be a bitter factional one is expected.

**S. D. Taylor "Tagged" Early.**

S. D. Taylor has been "tagged" so early in the game as a tool of the Weyerhausers that his candidacy may have said to be hung up alongside the proverbial fiddle and the bow. Taylor's failure to make a showing in his home county of Bonner is also taken in the south as assisting in putting the quietus on his aspiration.

Taylor has been busying himself telling his friends "how it happened" and that he was the victim of a "little gang of politicians" who do not like him. Inasmuch as the "little gang" comprised the names of most of the republicans in Bonner at all familiar here it is looked upon in the state capital that Taylor has lost out in the fight in his own county and that the claims of Defenbach and his friends have been substantiated.

When Paul Clagstone comes to town he does not see many people, but delights in going over in the corner of the hotel lobby with some one man and putting in his time telling what he "stands for" and the "planks" in his "platform." Clagstone on his recent trip did not make any great hi-

even with those ultra "dry" people who are supposed to look upon Paul as a real, Simon pure prohibitionist. Clagstone "straddled" the temperance issue so thoroughly that it could not be told from his interviews here whether he was going or coming.

**National Issues Overshadowed.**

The overshadowing thing in Boise at present, however, is not the gubernatorial situation. Even former Governor Brady's announcement that he would not be a candidate for congress did not cause much of a ripple in view of the greater political pot that is boiling. It is conceded now that Senator Borah is not only going to have opposition but that he is going to have the fight of his life to keep his party in line for his re-election. The Taft sympathizers are out, for the most part, with clubs a mile long for Borah. They did not even wait to find whether Borah had "backed up" on Roosevelt, in view of the Colonel's Columbus speech, but started in sharpening their knives some weeks ago. Now that Borah has bearded the Hon in its den and told the republicans of the state he wants Roosevelt nominated for president, the warfare is on. Borah still believes that the "rank and file" of the republicans of Idaho want Roosevelt and that the "leaders" are for Taft. It is evident the "Taft bunch" are not going to be content with the effort to capture the Lewiston convention for the president but are also going to attempt to secure Borah's scalp for "daring" to be with Roosevelt.

Borah is also going to find that his opposition will be well financed and that "special privilege" is ready to join the Taftites in their efforts to down the "little giant." From up a pine tree it begins to look as if the "dope" from the north early in the campaign that this was to be a campaign in which Edward Hines of Chicago would attempt Senator Borah's humiliation for Borah's refusal to vote for Lorimer is to be the real issue and that the line-up on the governorship and the state ticket will finally resolve itself to an issue between the "interests" on the one side and the "people" on the other. It is a cinch where Senator Borah will stand in a case like that, both because he will want to and because he will have to.

GEORGE, IDA.

LEADER

MAY 17 1912

**IT IS NOW UP TO THE STATES.**

The Borah bill for the direct election of United States Senators has passed both Houses of Congress. It will undoubtedly receive the signature of the President and then it will be up to the various States to adopt or reject it as an amendment to the United States Constitution.

At the time the Constitution was adopted and the republic organized there were thirteen independent States, each jealous of its individual rights and powers as independent States. Necessity indicated the wisdom of these States forming a permanent union for self protection and self preservation, not only from foreign States but from each other. After a long period of discussion the plan finally devised and adopted was that as independent citizens each individual, regardless of size, wealth, education or personal qualification otherwise, should be represented in the new Government equally, through the House of Representatives. That each State as an individual Government should regardless of its size or importance in the Union, have equal representation through the Senate. These are the original reasons for the creation of each of the two Houses of Congress. The House to represent the individual citizens of the several States and the Senate to represent the independent States as States, in the same manner as a minister of a foreign State represents his government. It was from this idea that the election

of Senators was delegated to the State Legislatures as the Legislature is the only authorized legal authority for the State as a civic body.

From the beginning of the present form of government the jealousy and fears of the various States of losing their individuality as independent governments developed the great question of States rights. As time has passed and the various questions of public interest have been solved the general government has been given or has assumed greater and greater powers and the States have lost more and more of their individual identity as governmental factors. This fact is the basis of the present agitation for direct election of United States Senators. The adoption of this proposed amendment will mean that the people of the several States have so far developed confidence in each other as to forget the old jealousies and fears which necessitated the origin of the senate at it now stands. It will be an experiment of doubtful value. It is simply equivalent to taking the election of a general manager of a great corporation out of the hands of the board of directors and placing it in the hands of the stockholders. No special harm is likely to result but it places a handicap on the management by the sheer mass of stockholders. In a smaller way it is illustrated by public business being trans-

**THE IDAHO LEADER.**

acted by a committee. It is well known that the smaller the committee the better the work because of the unweildiness of a larger committee and the workings of the general law of humanity when applied to intellectual activity "Every man is just as lazy as he dare be, and no man dare be as lazy as he would like to be."

Spirit State Press.

**Borah Should Be Re-elected.**  
(Grangeville Globe.)

Outside of partisan bias, there is probably not a democrat in the state who would not rather see Senator Borah re-elected to the United States senate than have the best representative in his party succeed him to that important office, and the reason is known of all men—he is the biggest man in the state of Idaho today, and one of the very biggest in the nation. There is no man in the state, democrat or republican, who could fill Mr. Borah's place in the national congress at this time, for he has made a place for himself and for his state, peculiarly his own and its own, and of which we are all proud. Mr. Borah's ability as a constitutional lawyer, a constructive legislator, a lucid reasoner, an eloquent and forceful speaker, a vigorous but fair debater, and an affable and courteous western gentleman, is not only recognized in the senate, but throughout the entire east, as evidenced by the heavy tax upon his leisure time as a speaker on state occasions as well as from the flattering newspaper comments which appear in the leading eastern journals. If Mr. Borah did nothing but pose, he would do more for Idaho than many senators are doing for their constituents, but he is an effective and an untiring worker, and his state is reaping the benefit of the same, and those benefits are distributed alike to democrat and republican. Then why should not democrats and republicans in turn forget the political brand and remember only the man and what he has accomplished for them and their state and that there are many things yet to be accomplished which will require the

best efforts of our very best men to secure, and has ever shown his willingness and ability to do things for his state and people?

TIM WOOD ROUGH CHANGING HIS VEST



THE LOSER'S LAMENT



T. R.—“THEY’VE GOT TO STOP KICKING MY MOOSE AROUND.”

credit for any disconnection with the allies they found so useful as "hole diggers" in the recent attempts at tariff revision.

And, make no mistake, the Democratic leaders, who were gleeful enough about accepting insurgent assistance when it meant breaking the front of their old-time regular enemy, will show no consideration to their former friends on account of past favors.

It readily will be observed that this situation gives the standpat Republicans a decided tactical advantage in the high places for some time to come. Such prestige as can be commanded by reason of this advantage will be made the most of. But reorganization is not merely a matter of control of the machinery in Congress in the immediate future. It must reach down to the roots; it must take in the rank and file in the states, the counties and the precincts. There the insurgent progressives expect to get in their work. Those who retained a hold on the party flag, even while refusing to support President Taft, will proceed with the intention of "working out salvation within the party."

Easy, indeed, would be the effort of the Progressives to seize the old organization at the outset as things now look were it not for Roosevelt. It doesn't seem that it would be very difficult to bring the Progressive organization under the old banner if the Republican progressives, as distinguished from the bull moose progressives, were willing to compromise. But it is understood well enough that the "compromise" would be the acceptance of Roosevelt as leader and his nomination for the presidency in 1916.

The insurgent progressives who now occupy the center of the stage—for a time at least—have no more use for Roosevelt than has President Taft or even the most pronounced reactionary. Even some of the insurgent leaders who gave support to Roosevelt in the recent campaign—all except a very few of the Senator Dixon type—did so as a matter of expediency only. Some of them, as in the case of La Follette and Borah, practically repudiated both the Taft and Roosevelt candidates. A few—and Borah was one of these—would have favored Roosevelt as the Republican nominee. And a few sided with Roosevelt on account of home conditions, being afraid to take an independent stand.

Both the Republican regulars and the Republican insurgents therefore will work to reorganize, each side desirous of winning the ultimate control and both harmonious only as to keeping Roosevelt out of it. It will be a beautiful struggle to watch.

La Follette and Borah, by reason of the position they took in the late campaign, will be in the position of leaders within the group of insurgent leaders in Congress. Everybody knows the general character of the fight La Follette will seek to direct, and only his details of operation will remain hidden until he is ready to reveal them.

The case of Senator Borah is most interesting. He won a notable victory in the far-away state of Idaho, the details and the meaning of which have not yet been heralded extensively east of the Rocky Mountains. The victory he won, after the kind of fight he made, will entitle him to a heavy voice in the settlement of Progressive plans for the reorganization of the Republican party "from within."

In the very first speech of his campaign for re-election to the Senate on Sept. 14, Mr. Borah stated his position unequivocally. He refused to recognize the nomination of Taft as valid and he declared he would not follow Roosevelt to a third party. He recited his record of five years and more in the Senate, and demanded that Republican voters say whether it was not a good progressive record. He told the Idaho Republican state central committee that if they would say he was not a Republican he would get off the ticket and appeal directly to the members of the party in another way. He demanded that any Republican candidate for the legislature who did not intend to support him as the primary nominee for another term in the Senate, say so, in order that the voters might know his position when they cast their votes.

When Senator Borah received communications from two candidates for the legislature, both on the Republican ticket, one informing him that if he was not a Taft man he would not vote for him, the other declaring he would not support him if he was not for Roosevelt, the senator refused to answer them. In relating the incident in his speech he said: "These men seem to be hunting for an intellectual slave. They seem anxious to bestow their favors and their votes upon some personal mental of some particular individual. They do not ask me whether I am a Republican or a third party man. They do not ask me whether I believe in this policy or that. But they do say, 'Unless you declare your allegiance to one or the other of these men you must go down to defeat.'"

"I reject their standards, I reject their rules, I repudiate their test before the people of this state openly and publicly. If you ask me if I am a Republican I answer, Yes, as I understand Republican doctrines, I am. If you ask me if I am a third party man, I answer, No, I have not joined the third party. I am a progressive, but I want to fight inside the old party. But inside or outside I propose to urge the progressive measures for which I with others have stood."

Now, as to the result, according to the reports received here, the legislature that will re-elect Senator Borah will be more strongly Republican than any legislature in Idaho has been since territorial days. There will be only three Democrats in the

FINEST STRATEGY NEEDED TO TAKE REPUBLICAN SHIP

Conference of Cummins, Hadley, Kenyon Starts Fight to Control.

GULF BROAD AS EVER

Insurgents Decline to Fall In Behind Administration Leaders.

BY SUMNER CURTIS.

THE CHICAGO RECORD-HERALD BUREAU, 723 FIFTEENTH STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON, NOV. 11:

Of more than passing interest in connection with the reorganization plans that have occupied the attention of Republicans since they recovered from the earthquake shock last Tuesday is the news of the conference held yesterday at Des Moines by Governor Hadley of Missouri and Senators Cummins and Kenyon.

There is in prospect some of the finest strategy ever seen in American politics over

the struggle to capture command of the crippled Republican ship. Regardless of the get-together calls that were sounded before the dust of the last battle had settled and the prospective spirit of harmony that was to mark the plans for reorganization, it now appears that the gulf between standpatters and aforetime insurgents will be as broad in the cold, lean winter of minority representation as it was in the warm summertime of party control.

The insurgents are not going to fall in behind the administration leaders who succeeded in retaining control of such pieces of the machinery as escaped complete smash in the recent cataclysm. And the standpatters, or those who call themselves conservative, or Taft, progressives, are showing a disposition to rebuild, if they can, without the aid of those who inaugurated the split that began nearly four years ago.

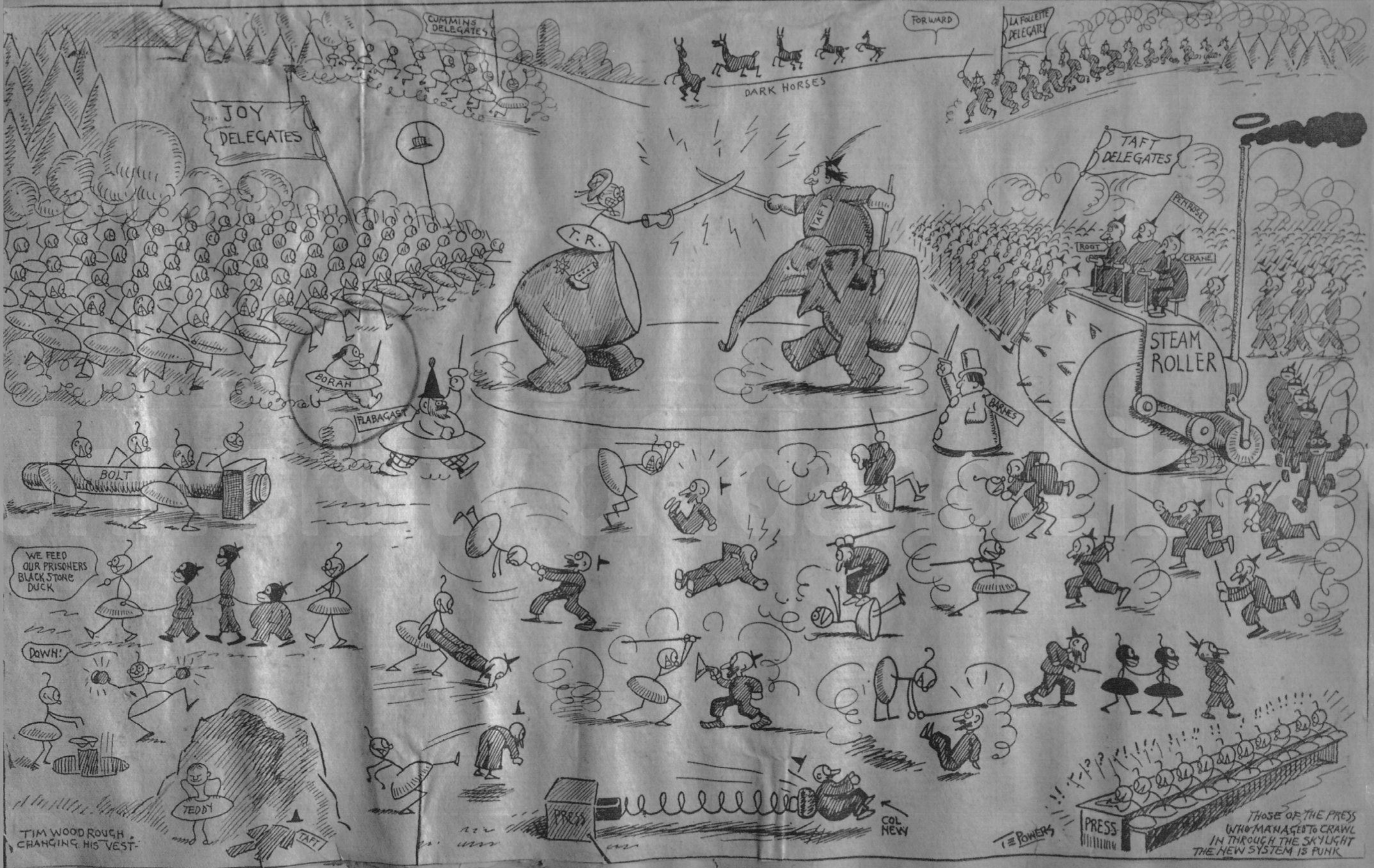
Boiled down, the question is whether the work of reorganizing the Republican party is to be on conservative lines, as indicated by President Taft, Senators Root and Lodge and others of that type, or on progressive lines, as suggested by such leaders as Borah, La Follette and, in short, all the insurgents who maintained a certain sort of regularity by avoiding affiliation with the bull moose party.

From one standpoint the standpatters, or the conservatives, have the better of the situation. Even with the Republicans in the minority in the Senate, the "regulars" will occupy a better position so far as party organization is concerned than they did when there was a nominal Republican majority. By gaining enough seats to give them a majority in the Senate, the Democrats—narrow though the margin be—have destroyed the balance of power formerly held by the insurgents. Eight or nine senators on the Republican side no longer will be able to decide issues in legislation where partisan lines ordinarily are drawn. The Democrats, provided they can keep their own ranks solid, will not have to share

...the substance of ...

# THE CHICAGO CONVENTION, AS SEEN BY ARTIST T. E. POWERS

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THOSE OF THE PRESS WHO MANAGED TO CRAWL IN THROUGH THE SKYLIGHT THE NEW SYSTEM IS PUNK

# BORAH NOW ROOSEVELT'S CHOICE TO

## WIELD THE CONVENTION GAVEL



**B**y way of putting a quietus on "dark horse" talk, the Roosevelt leaders have dropped all pretense and gone after the La Follette and Cummins delegates. They decided to put up Senator William E. Borah of Idaho as their candidate for chairman of the convention. Roosevelt, it is said, favors Borah for chairman of the convention on two propositions. One is that he is a hard fighter, and the harder he fights the more he smiles. Said smile is disconcerting to such serious-minded regulars as Elihu Root, Murray Crane and Boies Penrose. They have seen it before in the Senate and seldom try any flashes of wit with him.

There were early indications that the selection of Borah was a happy one. No sooner had it become breezed about that he would be put up for the office than Senator Kenyon of Iowa, close friend of Borah and field manager for Senator Cummins' boom, hurried to the Roosevelt headquarters and went into conference with Senator Dixon, who has charge of the colonel's fight. The purpose of the conference was kept a close secret.

Governor Herbert S. Hadley of Missouri was the first man named, but he didn't last long. The principal thing against him was that he would not appeal to the La Follette and Cummins people and was no bait for their delegates.

### TAFT AND THE PROGRESSIVES.

The following letter so well typifies the attitude of many critics of President Taft that it calls for comment:

ADIRONDACK, Wash., July 28.—(To the Editor)—Did President Taft ever call on the House of Representatives or in any way recommend an investigation of the steel trust? You had quite a lengthy article in The Oregonian, July 23, on "The Steel Trust in the Campaign." Taft stated publicly, four years ago, that he would carry out the Roosevelt policies and every Republican paper said amen. Why this change of front now?

In the same issue you had an editorial on "Senator Borah's Progressive Policy." Has he had the support of the Taft Senators in this progressive legislation that you speak of and commend? You would not have had an opportunity to write an editorial on Senator Borah's progressive legislation had not the Democrats in the Senate joined hands with the progressives and passed meritorious measures over the opposition of the Taft Senators.

Why not be consistent as well as give credit where it is due?

W. M. HAZLETT.

President Taft did not ask the House to investigate the steel trust, but caused an investigation to be made by the Bureau of Corporations, the result of which was published more than a year ago. The findings of fact were practically the same as those of the House committee, as regards the watering of the trust's stock, the percentage of its profits and the degree to which it controls the steel industry. This report was followed a few months later by the suit to dissolve the trust, in which it was alleged that Gary and Frick deceived Roosevelt into acquiescence in the absorption of the Tennessee company. This allegation is supported by the report of the House committee. Taft has carried out the Roosevelt policies as to the trusts, he is still carrying them out and there has been no change of front on his part. Roosevelt diverged from his general policy in his treatment of the steel and harvester trusts, but Taft has adhered rigidly to the original policy.

As to whether those whom Mr. Hazlett calls the Taft Senators voted with Senator Borah on the measures mentioned as evidence of Borah's progressiveness, the Senators who have usually supported Taft have either divided or voted in favor of those measures. Taft endorsed direct election of Senators in his speech of acceptance in 1908; he has never done anything against it, and, when the amendment had passed Congress, he signed it. His habitual supporters in the Senate divided on it, only sixteen of them voting against it. Those who thus joined the progressives, as well as the progressives themselves, were the Taft Senators on this occasion; those who voted against the amendment were the anti-Taft Senators.

Taft's letter to Roosevelt, which was written long ago and was published in the primary campaign, declared his opposition to Lorimer and stated that his only reason for not actively using his influence to promote that Senator's expulsion was that the Senate's jealousy of executive interference might prompt it to take the course opposite that he recommended. On this oc-

casional the regular Republicans again divided, and, as Taft was in sympathy with the progressives and those regulars who voted with them, the latter were on this occasion the Taft Senators.

As to the three-year homestead bill, it was not a party, or even a factional measure. It was endorsed by Taft before its passage, was approved by him when passed and was generally supported by the progressive Republicans. Once again, therefore, the progressives equally with the regulars can justly be called Taft Senators.

On these three subjects Taft has been in harmony with the progressives. On the tariff Taft's policy is distinctly progressive, for its two distinctive features—the Tariff Board and revision by schedule—were strongly favored by the progressives until the

Democrats obtained control of the House. Then the progressives changed front. The policy of revision by schedule, which is the only practicable means of securing genuine revision downward, originated with Taft and has been taken up by both factions of Republicans and by Democrats, yet they deny Taft all credit for it.

It would be more nearly correct to say that Borah has had the support of some Democrats, not "the Democrats," in securing progressive legislation. The Democratic Senators were divided on direct election of Senators, eight of them voting against the measure on the crucial ballot. They were also divided on the expulsion of Lorimer, some of whose most ardent defenders were Democrats. As to the tariff bills which the Democrats passed in 1911 and in the present session with the aid of the progressives, we deny that they are progressive and maintain that that adjective properly applies to the Taft policy, against which Taft's present opponents in his own party turned after having endorsed it in the campaign of 1910.

We may fairly ask Mr. Hazlett the question he asks us: "Why not be consistent and give credit where it is due?" His letter is typical of the general attitude of too many men who style themselves progressives. They close their eyes to the fact that on many occasions Taft has been in harmony with the progressives, and they assume that every measure proposed by that faction is necessarily progressive.

### UNION

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

AUG 24 1912

### WITHIN THE PARTY.

The warning sent out by the Progressive Republicans of Massachusetts to Republicans of progressive tendencies in this state not to sign any nomination papers for state or county offices except within the party is timely and should be heeded by all who all themselves Republicans and desire to continue as members of that

party. The Progressive Republican organization, which includes such men as Col. Baxter, who led the Roosevelt delegates-at-large list in the state primary, believes with Gov. Hadley of Missouri, Senator Borah, Senator La Follette, Senator Works and other leading progressives that more can be accomplished for the progressive cause within the Republican party than by following Col. Roosevelt into the Bull Moose organization.

They have decided to support the Republican ticket and work for reforms within the party, and to this end they are urging all Republicans who believe in real progressivism to keep aloof from the Bull Moose crowd and maintain their regular party standing. They realize that the third party movement has no chance of success, but that its effect is likely to be a weakening of the Republican party that may result in a sweeping Democratic victory, which would be the worst possible blow to the progressive cause. Therefore they urge Republican progressives to stick to their party, where they can accomplish far more good than by allying themselves with a movement that is foredoomed to failure. It is sound advice. The Bull Moose movement in any circumstances cannot win. The most it can do is to enable the Democratic party to win. Every Republican, therefore, who deserts his own party and casts his vote with the third-term party will be contributing to a Democratic victory.

PAPER ENTERPRISE

PUBLISHED PAYETTE, IDA.

DATE OCT 3 1912

Remembering what Senator W. E. Borah has done for Idaho and the West, the people of this state will be slow about taking the advice of Gurnee Bill of Missouri regarding his return to the United States Senate and in the place of sending another man they will see that he returns by the election in this state of a republican senate which in almost every county in this state will be pledged to his support. In those counties where the legislative candidates are as yet unpledged the people should see to it that they go on record before election.

# PEND D'OREILLE REVIEW

GEORGE R. BARKER, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR

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## SENATOR BORAH NOT A THIRD PARTY MAN AND THE IDAHO DELEGATION IN ACCORD WITH HIM.

Those ultra progressives who seek the destruction of the republican party through the organization of a third party will receive no support from Senator Borah to whose contails they seek to cling and in whose welfare they affect great concern. Senator Borah went with Colonel Roosevelt at Chicago until the colonel insisted on going out of the republican party and then served notice on him that in his opinion the colonel was making a mistake. While Senator Borah at no time sought to influence the actions of the Idaho delegation at Chicago what they did do had his absolute sanction and after the convention was over Senator Borah congratulated the members of the delegation upon the stand they took and their correct estimate of the events as they transpired and their votes in relation thereto. Senator Borah never for a moment hesitated in his allegiance to the republican party. Nor was he so blinded in his devotion to the colonel's cause that he did not place the proper estimate upon the things that were done for him. As a member of the national committee he knew that a great majority of the contests made by Senator Dixon were straw contests and made for the purpose of influencing public sentiment in the list of delegates claimed contested by Roosevelt. These contests he quickly and unreservedly dismissed as having no substance. In the cases of Texas and Washington he stood out for what he believed was right, the seating of the Roosevelt delegates, while at the same time he felt that the many contests made by Roosevelt without cause had greatly prejudiced his case. With every feeling of loyalty to Colonel Roosevelt he stood upon his own ground at Chicago, arrived at his own conclusions and fought for what he thought was right and no more and no less. He was in no measure responsible for the mistakes and blunders made by Roosevelt at Chicago nor did he believe in the methods of Heney, Johnson and Allen, the firebrands of the convention who antagonized not only the opposition to their cause but raised prejudices in the minds of those who went to Chicago in the interests of Roosevelt. Had Colonel Roosevelt followed the more pacific courses suggested by Senator Borah and Governor Hadley the cause he represented would not have been crushed and milled to death in the manner it was, and had Roosevelt been big enough to represent a cause rather than to selfishly represent himself a progressive would have been nominated and today the republican party would be meeting the enemy with closed ranks and a united front, with the progressive cause won within the party.

Among the delegates to Chicago from this state was Evan Evans of Grangeville, a man who has lived in the Grangeville country for many years. He has the united respect of his neighbors and is considered one of the most upright citizens in the state of Idaho. Over in his country some gentleman who is seeking to ride into office as a "progressive" has been circulating the story that the Idaho delegation was not loyal to Senator Borah and bases it upon the silly plea that the delegation did not vote for Senator Borah for vice-president. Senator Borah made it known to the Idaho delegation that he did not desire the delegation to vote for him for either president or vice-president and the delegates held that so long as Roosevelt had called upon his delegates to take no part in the vote and intended to "bolt," he was no longer a republican and could not be considered as such in a republican convention. While the delegation was sent to Chicago as a Roosevelt delegation they were also sent as republicans and could not take part in a republican convention by voting for a candidate who had served notice of his intention to "bolt" the party nominee whoever that nominee might be. He was no longer participating in a republican convention and, no matter what the cause of his divorcement, he was not then a republican. To vote for Roosevelt or to sit silent when the roll was called at his order would have necessitated, the delegation considered, a participation in a third party movement within the convention to which they were sent as republican delegates. This phase of the situation was one which appealed to other delegations present, notably Missouri and districts in Illinois. This view of the situation had no opposition from Senator Borah and after the convention was over he stated that the delegation's actions throughout the convention had his approval.

The matter of voting for Senator Borah both for president and vice-president was considered by the Idaho delegation and at Senator Borah's direct request he was not voted for for president nor for vice-president. Senator Cummins was a progressive candidate before the convention with half of the Iowa delegation pledged to his support and while his name was not presented to the convention he had votes therein which were instructed for him. When it came to the vice-presidency Senator Borah had been waited upon by those who wanted to nominate either him or Hadley for the vice-presidency and he refused to sanction his name before the convention. The Idaho delegation voted as a compliment to Governor Hadley and Iowa, which had received Idaho's vote for president, voted for Borah for vice-president. It was all a little matter of courtesy and had no significance further than that.

The correspondence between Evan Evans of Grangeville and Senator Borah upon this score should remove any pretended claims of the so-called "progressive" that the Idaho delegation "refused to vote" for Senator Borah:

Washington, D. C.

A political speaker has asserted from platform in this county that Borah was a second choice candidate for vice-president and received several complimentary votes from delegates outside of his own state, but the delegates from his own state turned him down. I insist that the Idaho delegation was with you and that you declined to have your name used. I want the reply from you as to whether the delegation was friendly and worked in harmony with you throughout the convention.

EVAN EVANS.

Washington, D. C., 22nd July, 1912.

Evans Evans,  
Grangeville, Idaho.

I was not a candidate for vice-president and would not have accepted had it been tendered. The Idaho delegation was anxious at all times to serve my interest, but I was not a candidate.

WM. E. BORAH.

## NEWS

Paper

Published BOISE, IDA.

Date NOV 1 1912

## THE DUTY OF SENATOR BORAH'S FRIENDS.

Senator Borah should be returned to the United States senate where he has made a record of which he may be proud personally and for which the state of Idaho is proud. Mere political differences upon matters of minor importance, should not be taken into consideration. All progressive Democrats know that Borah is more progressive than any Democrat that the special interests now in control of the Democratic party in Idaho will let the Democrats elect even should the legislature be Democratic.

The Days, one of them the state senator who made such a record in the state legislature of opposition to progressive and reform measures though representing the most progressive county in the state, and the other the special and authorized representative of the mining interests of the state, the richest and most active special interest in the past except the Oregon Short Line, absolutely controlled the Democratic platform convention of this year and again absolutely controlled the organization of that party.

One of them is reported to have offered to contribute \$15,000 to the state campaign fund if the reactionaries should be given control of the organization. They were given such control so it is probable the contribution was made good. The other Day is said to have thrown \$25,000 into the campaign in Latah county to keep that county away from Borah.

The only purpose of all this activity and all this expenditure of money, is to secure the election of a reactionary Democrat to the United States senate to succeed Borah, if the Democrats control the legislature, and if the Democrats should control the legislature they will either send a reactionary to the senate or they will send no one. The chances are that with the aid of reactionary Republican votes they would succeed in defeating the progressive element of the party. There is not a progressive Democrat in Idaho but would rather have Borah represent the state than a reactionary Democrat, and many of them would really prefer him to almost any other man of any political faith.

Why, then, should these Democrats run the risk of his defeat by voting for a legislative ticket which would be considered to be under obligation to vote with their party associates even though the reactionary element among them should determine to combine with reactionary Republican members to elect a reactionary of one or the other of these parties?

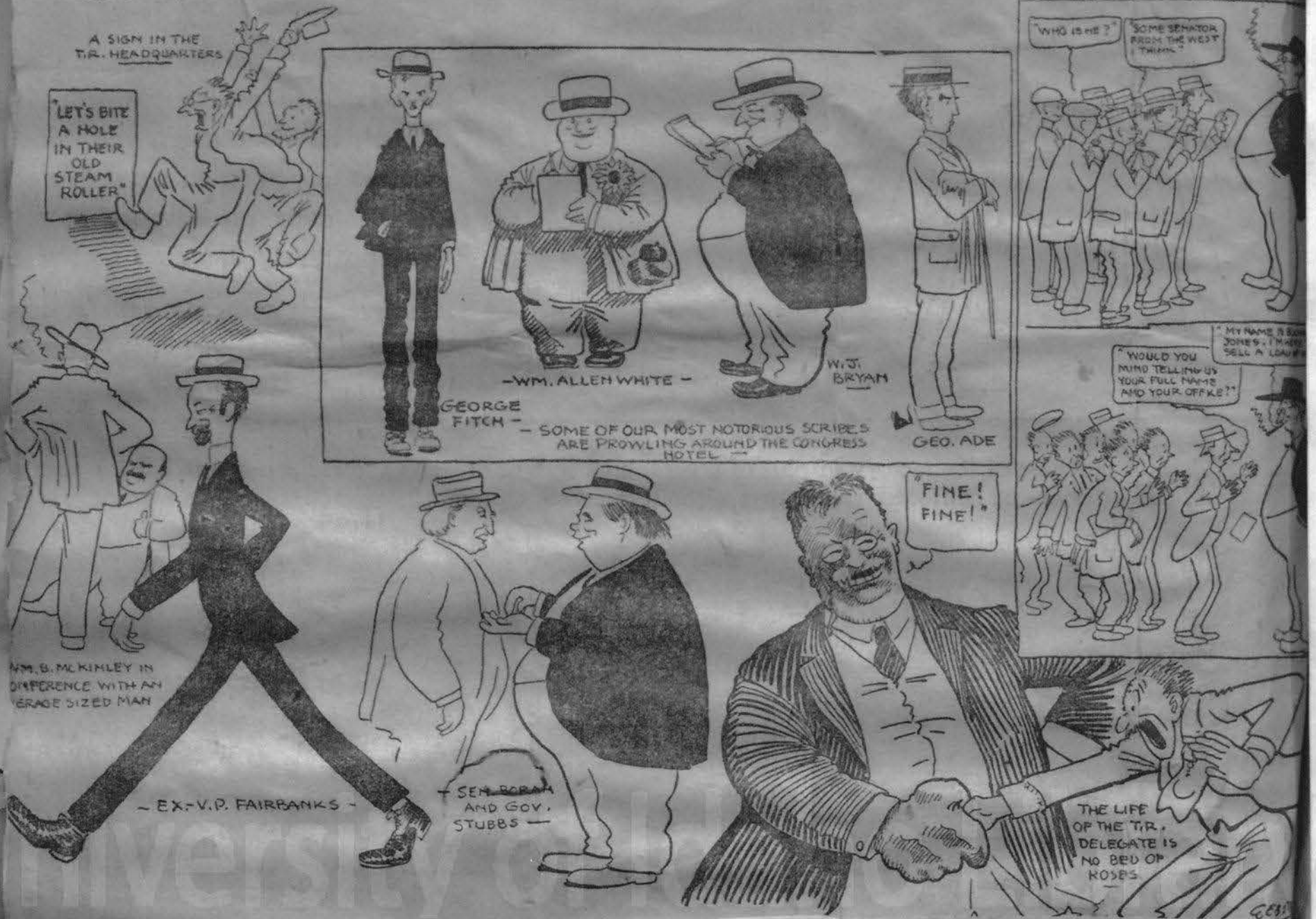
It is unfortunate that the constitution requires such a sacrifice to be made in order to elect the choice of the people, but it does require it and we may as well face the predicament and make the sacrifice.

Let every progressive vote in Idaho be cast for the Republican legislative ticket for in that way only can the return of Borah to the United States senate be accomplished. Whatever else any may think, or whatever else they may wish, or whatever else they may be told, the only way to vote for Borah is to vote for the Republican candidates for state senator and the Republican candidates for representative.

n. W. E. Borah,  
S. Senate,

Grangeville, Idaho, July 21, 1912.

# Cartoonist Webster's Convention Impressions



## REPUBLICAN MAN OF THE HOUR.

It is announced that President Taft, when he retires from office will devote all his spare time to the building up of the Republican party. To that end he has already had several consultations with party leaders. It is admitted, however, that one of the first steps must be to clean house and get new blood in the national committee. Such men as Governor Hadley, of Missouri; Senator Borah, of Idaho; Congressman Norris, of Nebraska, and Murdock, of Kansas, are mentioned as the calibre of men desired to take the party leadership. It will be noticed that these men are progressives. Had the present leaders shown a willingness to follow public opinion in this manner last spring, the party would not find itself in such a condition as it is today.

There is no doubt that the Republican party must have new men in the national committee if it is to regain the confidence of the people. Take, for instance, New Jersey. Its representative today is Franklin Murphy, a man who was discredited by the party last spring at the primary. He is entirely out of harmony with the great mass of people and as long as he poses as the national representative of any political party, that party cannot expect to gain much of a following.

If the Republicans of New Jersey are looking for a man who would come the nearest to harmonizing the factions of their party today and who is looked upon as a true progressive within the party ranks, we would recommend former Governor Edward C. Stokes. Had the advice of Mr. Stokes been followed early in the year the Republicans might have been able to save themselves. At least they would have an organization worthy of the name now.

While the former Governor remained loyal to the Republican party all during the recent campaign it is well known that he favored Theodore Roosevelt and believed that the Republican party should adopt the progressive cause as its own. Looking at the wreck of the once glorious "Grand Old Party" from an absolutely disinterested standpoint, we know of no one who can accomplish more than Mr. Stokes. He is without a doubt the man of the hour for the Republican party in New Jersey.—Perth Amboy Evening News.

## Prominent Idaho Leaders Among Those Who Are Returning to Sanity at Last

SENATOR BORAH of Idaho has vacated the political fence upon which he has perched since the Republican national convention. He is now within the Republican party enclosure, supporting the ticket from President of the United States down to the candidate for justice of the peace in the particular bailiwick which is honored by his residence. His previous announcement that he would support "principles and not men," and that he was for "neither Taft nor Roosevelt," may be considered as cancelled, withdrawn, abrogated, and otherwise rendered of no account. The Idaho statesman has concluded that the party which has exalted him in the past is good enough for the present and the future; also, we have no doubt his practical mind has satisfied itself that this same party is marching to victory as usual.

The Idaho senator would have enjoyed more distinction if he had climbed into the party bandwagon some months ago. Republicans who were stampeded by Roosevelt buncombe earlier in the season are returning in such numbers that it is difficult to secure any personal advantage from it. Of those who marched to "Armageddon to battle for the Lord" many have murmured uncertainly, after viewing the assembled legions, "guess we got off at the wrong place." Not a few applied for furloughs long enough to deposit their valuables in a Bullion-proof vault, while many others renewed their allegiance to the grand old party with an almost unprecedented precipitancy. The party, after hearing the returning prodigals express their pleasure at being among the old folks once again, in some instances has shooed the fatted calf off the front steps, yawned slightly and remarked "didn't know you had been away." Nothing is so disconcerting as to discover, upon one's return from a long trip, that one had not been missed.

However, loyal members of the party will rejoice at Senator Borah's recovery from his temporary attack of dementia. He will be able to contribute much towards the success of the ticket in the Gem state as will former Governor Gooding who has announced his adherence to the real party of progress. Both these well-known men have seen, without doubt, that a vote for Mr. Roosevelt and his party of revenge, is merely a vote for the professor and his party of negation and futility. A survey of the situation has impressed upon them that paralysis to business would follow the success of Doctor Wilson, and that every ballot cast in support of Colonel Roosevelt might as well be cast for the professor since that is the effect of it.

Messrs. Borah and Gooding are but two of the many that are returning. The ties of party are strong; its principles have stood the tests of half a century; grasping at the shadow and losing the substance does not appeal to men of intelligence for any long period.

STATESMAN

NEWS

BOISE, IDA.

NOV 4 1912

THE LAUREL FOR THE SMILE

Senator Borah in his speech at Twin Falls closed by stating his attitude and adding:

"Is that plain to you? Is it plain? If it is, will someone make a chart of it and send it to the Boise Statesman?"

It may have been plain, but The Statesman has not received the chart!

Since Senator Borah has seen fit to open up the subject so plainly, it will not be inappropriate for us to comment upon it with equal plainness.

The Statesman has supported all the Republican candidates for president, beginning with Abraham Lincoln—covering a period of about 50 years, the age of the paper. It does not require any chart to show that it is a Republican paper. A good wine needs no bush; a good Republican needs no chart.

But since Senator Borah thinks this paper is in doubt as to his position, it is apparently up to us to furnish our views of the situation—in chart form.

Senator Borah is making this campaign on his record. He states that he is a Republican, but makes no effort to support the party, its platform or its candidates.

The position he takes is unique in politics. The senator thinks he is strong enough to go it alone, and in this we agree with him. We believe the senator will be re-elected, and by a Republican legislature, unless great numbers of the party stay away from the polls.

This, as we understand it, is the situation in regard to Senator Borah in the closing hours of the campaign; and it is, indeed, a strange one.

The men and the papers that made the fight for the senator when he needed friends and help are not making any special effort for him now. They take with him much the same position he takes with the party. They are not against him, but are not working for his election, and the reason is that the Republican party needs the help of its leaders this year, and Senator Borah is not helping.

The party has honored Senator Borah and has asked his aid. It has not been given.

Simply for the purpose of securing his election, his course doubtless will prove to be the wise one; and at another time, with the party in its full strength, his course would not mean to the party all that it does now—when it is struggling for its very existence, the time of all times when the leaders should direct the willing ranks.

Has the senator sacrificed the laurel for the present smile?

Paper **TIMES**  
HAILEY, IDA.  
Published  
Date **OCT 30 1912**

William E. Borah, the greatest statesman the West has yet produced, is a candidate for re-election. The only way you can vote for him is to vote the Republican legislative ticket.

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NOV 1 1917

ate

OUR CANDIDATES.

The News has said very little about the county candidates as yet, because we did not wish to keep continually harping about the virtues of the different men until the people were tired of it. However, the News is a republican paper and unless there is a very good reason for not doing so, will always support every man on the ticket.

BARTON AND RYAN.

The legislative ticket is composed of E. M. Barton for senator and Frank D. Ryan for the legislature. They are circulating a card which reads as follows:

Senator Borah's name will not appear on the ballot November 5th; to vote for him you must vote for E. M. Barton for Senator, Frank Ryan for representative.

Everybody knows Ed. Barton, the man who has had more to do with the growth of Washington county than any one man in the county. Ask any man who has ever been in need and gone to Ed. Barton for assistance if he knows him. Mr. Barton has helped more worthy men to get a start in life than perhaps anyone ever imagined. He has always been a friend to the people and close to the people. Anyone who has been in public life as long as he has would naturally have some enemies, but if there is a man in the county whom Mr. Barton has ever wronged we have failed to find him. When Mr. Barton tells you he stands squarely on the platform of the republican party and will not give his consent to breaking a single plank in it, you may depend upon it that he will do it. The word of Ed. Barton is as good as an iron-clad note.

While Mr. Ryan is not so well

known as Mr. Barton, he is sound in every particular and deserves your vote. He was at one time in partnership with L. L. Feltham in the law business. He is a good lawyer and a man of broad ideas.

Paper **CHIEFTAIN.**  
Published **OCT 31 1912**  
Date

Important to Voters.

Remember that if you want to return Senator William E. Borah to the United States Senate it will be necessary to vote for J. Frank Hunt for State senator, Colonel H. V. A. Ferguson, D. J. Lau and W. H. Mendenhall for state representatives. These gentlemen are pledged to support Senator Borah.

REPUBLICAN

aper

ublished

BLACKFOOT, IDA.

ate

NOV 1 1912

SENATOR BORAH SPOKE

Senator W. E. Borah spoke Saturday evening to a large audience at Progress Hall. He is every inch a statesman and of the type that works for legislation that better the conditions of the people who are not doing well and who need only a chance, in order to better their conditions.

He is the author of the Three Year Homestead bill, the Enlarged Homestead Act, the Child Labor Bureau, has helped to get some of the notable investigations made by the U. S. senate for bettering the conditions of laboring people and for exposing corruptions. His sympathies are always with the under dog in the struggle, and he frames legislation accordingly.

He made a happy hit near the close of his speech when he referred to his own candidacy for the U. S. Senate, and said, "By the way, do you know who my opponent is? I can't find out, and the whole Democratic party is unable to tell me. There's Hawley and Nugent and Perky and Tannahill and Moore and Clark, and well the brush is full of men who might be the one but nobody knows—they are firing at me from the bushes but I don't know who to reply to. You don't know what kind of men they would elect if successful nor what are his views and his principles."

The audience was delighted with Mr. Borah and his speech, and the convictions seem general that he should be returned to the senate, and that it would be a very serious loss to Idaho to fail to return him.

The way to give him our support is to vote for the Republican legislative candidates, and they will vote for Borah's election in the legislature. P. G. Johnston and A. S. Dickinson are pledged to support him if elected and you can help to return him to the senate by placing an X opposite the names on the ballot.

Hailey, Idaho, Times  
Monday, November 4, 1912.

In State affairs a Republican legislature is expected that will return Borah to the Senate with a colleague. The latter will be from the North if that section returns Republican legislators. Otherwise he will come from the South.

The election of the Republican State ticket is generally conceded; but three parties claim the governor.

The Democrats are making great claims for Schad. Hailey is his strong precinct. Some 40 or 50 of his relatives or near relatives live here, the saloon element is for him, so is the sporting fraternity, likewise the miners, and Hailey is Democratic anyway. But unless he can get at least 150 majority in Hailey he will not be elected because the farmers are not favorable to his candidacy.

Indications are that the Republican county ticket will be elected from top to bottom by an average plurality of 150.

# BORAH DELIVERS STRONG ADDRESS

Reviews Record in Senate and Defends Vote Upon Various Measures

Senator W. E. Borah delivered a strong address here last Saturday evening, before the largest and most enthusiastic audience gathered in Burley during the campaign. Men and women of all political faiths showed by their repeated applause that they had laid aside their politics and come to hear Borah irrespective of party. And they were not disappointed. The Senator met them on the common ground. There was not an utterance in his entire speech which would have enabled one to brand him as a partisan.

The Senator reviewed his past record in the senate, naming the measures which he had supported, and the outbursts of enthusiasm indicated in every instance that the audience was with him. He touched upon the tariff in only one instance when he explained that he voted in favor of a tariff upon oil because the Standard Oil Company owns the oil wells of the foreign countries and was working for free oil in order to get their product into the United States free of duty, which would enable them to close down their wells here which are operated on higher wages than those in the foreign lands. Senator Borah declared that he was interested in measures, not men, and his whole speech indicated an independence of thought and action seldom seen in public life these days.

Newspaper Calling Borah King of the World

*Pucattello*  
OCT 1 1912

## WILL THE STATE OF IDAHO DO IT?

Roosevelt locked up the resources of Idaho through his absurd policy of conservation, says the Nampa Leader-Herald. Two thirds of all the timber, besides large areas of agricultural lands and all power sites were withdrawn from entry or acquisition by the people on any basis. When Taft came in he discharged Pinchot and Garfield, who had been so inimical to the interests of the west and set about opening lands to entry so fast as they could be carefully examined, and it was determined that they were the lands which should be released. Hundreds of thousands of acres in this state alone have been restored to the use of the people.

When the proposition was before congress to authorize the issuance of \$20,000 in government bonds to hasten the work of government irrigation projects, President Taft took a personal interest in the matter. It is well known that but for his friendly offices the bill would not have become a law.

When Senator Borah's three-year homestead bill was up there was powerful opposition and it took able work to get it through at all. In spite of the opposition of eastern politicians the president recognized the merit of the bill and gave it his cordial support. In short, the president has shown his friendship for Idaho at every opportunity and in return for this friendship it is proposed to stick a knife into his back. Will Idaho be guilty of such ingratitude?

# BORAH'S VICTORY

BORAH'S MAGNIFICENT RECORD AND SPLENDID ACHIEVEMENTS WINS LEGISLATURE

The re-election of Senator William Edgar Borah, Idaho's brilliant senator, made the paramount issue in the state of Idaho during the campaign that closed with yesterday's election, swept north and south, east and west across the state and carried with it practically a solid Borah legislature, assuring the Twelfth session solid Borah-Republican representation from all but three counties in the state, and his own re-election by almost unanimous vote. The Democrats, who for the past several sessions have made a strong showing in both branches of the legislature are cut down to but a total combined strength of six members and six votes, three in the senate and three in the house, while several of the Democratic strongholds considered entrenched in their counties beyond possible removal, having been defeated by overwhelming majorities.

Senator Borah went before his constituents for re-election upon his first term record alone, a record that has not been duplicated by any member of the United States senate in the same length of time, but did so in face of a cowardly warfare carried on by bitter partisan enemies within his own party, vividly in evidence in Ada, the senator's home county. But the legislative ticket in Ada County, pledged unqualifiedly in support of Senator Borah, making its fight against the attacks of these enemies in its own party who attempted to defeat them, swept practically every precinct and are given the largest majorities ever given a legislative ticket in the history of the county—a remarkable tribute to Senator Borah in his home county.

It looks to-day, from the newspaper reports as if Senator Borah of Idaho, would be the choice of the majority of the delegates at the national republican convention for temporary chairman, and it is not improbable that he may be the nominee for president. W. H. Fraser, who is a personal friend of Senator Borah, says that Mr. Borah is among the very ablest men of our country; a conservative progressive statesman who is at the very head of the list of the big men of the nation and one whom the republican party, if it is wise, can unite on at the coming general election. He is fair, able, and clean in all his public and private life—a man of great and clear intellect, a brilliant orator and unsurpassed as a statesman for his clear insight into all public questions. Senator Borah was born, educated and grew to manhood in Illinois. He is 47 years of age, and a genial friend, whom to know is a pleasure. Mr. Fraser is the original Borah man, having suggested him for President in the Peoria Herald-Transcript two years ago.

EXAMINER

Paper

Published MONTPELIER, I

Date NOV 1 1912

While Wm. E. Borah was indorsed by the republicans of Idaho at the primary election for United States Senator that does not mean that he has been re-elected. It remains for the legislature, which convenes in January, to ratify the indorsement. It is very essential, therefore, that republicans should stand by their legislative tickets, for Mr. Borah's election depends upon whether or not the republicans have a majority on joint ballot in the legislature. Republicans of Bear Lake, if you want to see Borah returned to the United States senate, there is just one thing for you to do and that is to vote for J. R. Shepherd, Fred C. Evans and C. E. Wright, the republican legislative candidates.

NEWS

PAPER

PUBLISHED *W. E. Borah*  
NOV 2 1912

For some time the people have been at a loss to gauge the candidates on the democratic legislative ticket in connection with the return of the

Hon. W. E. Borah to the United States senate. In his speech at Pynian hall Mr. Martin first put these candidates square against the proposition when he pledged the democratic nominees to select just as brilliant a man as Mr. Borah in case of their election, but he failed to name the gifted gentleman. The communication over the signature of the democratic county central committee in another column completely smokes these candidates out of the hole in which they have been hiding up until the present time. The voters of the county are familiar with the almost herculean efforts of Mr. Borah in the United States senate. They are aware that he has succeeded, in connection with the recently deceased Senator W. B. Heyburn, in attracting attention to the state of Idaho in a manner possible only by the rarest ability. They realize that the work already accomplished by Mr. Borah will stand as a monument to him and act as a bulwark to the common people in time yet to come and they will elect candidates only on the 5th of next month who will see that Mr. Borah is returned and along with him a man who will act in unison with him in the great work he is doing for his state and country.

per *M. S. Sanger*  
ublished *Challis, Ida*  
ate **OCT 29 1912**

Senator Borah.

Some of the newspapers in the State have been worrying themselves into an early grave as to just where Senator W. E. Borah stands. In his speech in Challis last Thursday night, to an immense audience, he left no doubt in the minds of his large audience, in regard to that question. He stands for the masses of the common people; he stands for the thousands of innocent children whose very heart's blood is being coined into dollars in our large mills and factories; he stands for the toiling masses whose lives and limbs are a secondary consideration to dollars; he stands for the thousands of poor farmers who are undergoing all kinds of hardships to reclaim a piece of desert land in order to make a home for themselves and their families. His every heart-beat is for the great cause of humanity, and no political party is large enough to own him that does not have for its ONE object, the betterment of suffering humanity; and, as he said in his speech, whether he is elected again or not, he will still continue to use the talents God has seen fit to give him, in the Great

ADVERTISER

ublished *Idaho, Idaho*  
ate **NOV 1 1912**

Senator Borah

Saturday afternoon an unusually large day-time crowd assembled to greet United States Senator Borah who was billed for an address. The Senator was somewhat jaded by five weeks of continuous travel and speech making, but showed no diminution of his customary good nature and interest in the cause he represents. His talk was a plain account of his stewardship while in the national senate, the recital of which brought forth generous applause from the audience. The meeting had few characteristics of a political gathering, and at its close the citizens, without regard to partisan preference, came forward to meet the Senator personally, give him individual encouragement, and feel the pleasure of close contact with the noted man's personality. All regretted the shortness of his stay, he being compelled to go to Blackfoot that afternoon.

EVENING POST

Chicago, Ill.

**SEP 20 1912**

BORAH ON THE NOMINATION.

Senator Borah's position on the nomination of Mr. Taft at the Coliseum has been stated in so many different ways that it may be well to take his own words on it. In his speech at Meridian, Idaho, on Sept. 11 Borah said: "I think seventy-eight delegates were seated for Taft that any fair tribunal would have given to Roosevelt, and fifty-two delegates were seated for Taft that no honest tribunal could have denied to Roosevelt."

Paper **TRIBUNE**  
Published **POCATELLO, IDA**  
Date **NOV 2 1912**

Judge Budge Home.—District Judge Alfred Budge is home from Paris where during the week he held a regular term of court in Bear Lake county. In the case of Thomas E. Taylor against the Short Line, a jury returned a verdict of \$350 in favor of the plaintiff. A \$352 verdict was returned in the case of Largilliere & Co. of Soda Springs against Joseph T. Simmons. A jury found for the plaintiff in the case of North, Robinson, Dean Co. against E. Strong and others in the sum of \$2300. Judge Budge will remain at home until after the election next Tuesday and then return to Paris to complete the term there. The judge is confident that Idaho will give a majority for Taft and the entire state tieke. He believes the next legislature will be safely Republican, the people of the state realizing, he says, the necessity of returning Senator Borah and electing a good Republican to succeed the late Senator Heyburn.

Oregonian  
Portland, Oregon  
OCT 4 1912

**BORAH'S FIGHT IN IDAHO.**  
Senator Borah is in Idaho, in his campaign for re-election, a situation of difficulty and perplexity, with a rare degree of candor and courage. Because he was for Roosevelt before the National convention, the uncompromising Roosevelt followers insist that he must declare for Roosevelt now; because Taft was nominated at Chicago, the regular Republicans declare that he must now be for Taft. The Senator refuses to ride with either faction; but he states exactly where he stands—in the middle of the road—and he tells the Republicans of Idaho to defeat him if they prefer some other at Washington. But he says also:  
I think I am violating no confidence when I say that Colonel Roosevelt personally requested me to join him in the third party. I said that I would not join him in the third party movement. That was right. I did not propose to leave the Republican party. I made up my mind in good faith. I have not changed my mind and I will not change it in this campaign. Regardless of what happens I propose to advocate those principles within and not outside of the Republican party.  
A smaller man than Borah would have great trouble in maintaining himself between the contentions of factions and the disputes of partisans. Yet Idaho needs Borah at Washington. The Republican party needs him, and the Nation needs him. Idaho will hardly make the mistake of defeating him.

PAPER *Pacific Outlook*  
PUBLISHED *Grants Pass Ore*  
DATE **OCT 3 1912**

**Selling's Position Similar to Borah's**  
In refusing to leave the Republican party, Ben Selling, progressive Republican nominee for United States Senator, has taken the same position as Senator Borah, Governor Deneen, Governor Hadley and other leading progressives of the country. With them he believes that the reforms demanded by the people can best be accomplished within the Republican party—the party of performance. And in taking this stand he has not compromised his progressiveness one whit. Does any one, even the most rabid so-called progressive, question the progressiveness of Senator Borah?

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From **TIMES**  
Los Angeles, Cal.  
Address **OCT 13 1912**

**NO ROOSEVELT TICKET IN IDAHO.**  
All is not beer and skittles for the Bull Moosers in Idaho. Senator Borah, who was Col. Roosevelt's principal supporter in the National Republican Convention, promptly and peremptorily declined to follow him in his formation of and bolt into the Progressive party. The Senator is a candidate for re-election. He is an adroit and far-seeing politician. He knows his Idaho and he knows on which side of the broad the burter is located. He returned to his State and began his campaign for Borah and Taft. His fine Italian hand is visible in the decision of the Supreme Court of Idaho in which that tribunal ruled that the Presidential electors on the Progressive ticket were not nominated in conformity with the State law and cannot be printed on the official ballot.

From **REPUBLICAN**  
Address **Springfield, Mass.**  
Date **MAR 3 1912**

A statement from Senator Borah of Idaho as to his attitude in the fight for the republican nomination has been awaited with special interest, for the reason that Senator Borah has been recognized as perhaps the ablest of the insurgent senators and as a man of force and an orator of great eloquence. Previous to the Columbus speech it was known that Senator Borah, who has not been able to co-operate harmoniously with the Taft administration, was preparing to come out for the colonel. But it is now reported from Washington that the Idaho senator has announced that, in view of the Columbus speech, he cannot take part in the Roosevelt campaign.

Paper **EXAMINER**  
Published **MONTPELIER, IDA.**  
Date **NOV 1 1912**

Republicans, if you want to see Wm. E. Borah returned to the United States senate, don't be fooled into voting for any one of the democratic legislative candidates, as all three of them, if elected, would vote against Borah first, last and all the time.



From CLEVELAND, OHIO  
Address  
Date AUG 28 1912

No Democratic Boom "Out West."

TWO western states have held their popular vote primaries within a fortnight for the nomination of state candidates. The primaries were under general laws and all parties took part in them. In both states the result was a revelation of one fact which is interesting and important. That is, the relative weakness of the party which assumes that the whole country is turning to its ticket this year.

In Kansas the Republican vote was more than double the Democratic vote, and there was no dearth of candidates on the Democratic side to draw Democrats to the polls. For example, the total for the two Republican candidates for United States Senator was nearly 116,000, a standpatter leading by 1,200, whereas the total for the four Democrats seeking the same office was only 54,000.

The vote cast for the electors on the Republican ticket who had definitely pledged themselves to vote for Roosevelt if elected and had challenged the Republicans who stand by the regular—and fraudulent—nominee of their party to defeat them on that ground if they could, was about 76,000, on the average. The vote for Democratic electors was only about 53,000. The Taft men received about 41,000 votes apiece.

Here is very definite evidence that Roosevelt can carry Kansas over Wilson, notwithstanding the drawing off of a little over one-third of the Republican vote by the Taft ticket. It is clear that the majority in Kansas against the Democratic party, its ticket and its platform, is still overwhelming.

In Idaho the result was more favorable to the regular Republican organization. A standpat candidate for Governor won by the narrow margin of fifteen votes and Senator Borah, who is now for Taft, received the undivided support of his party. But in Idaho, as in Kansas, the showing made by the Democrats was not impressive. The Republican vote was about 38,000, whereas the Democratic vote was less than 12,000. It appears that in Idaho the Republican vote might be split squarely in the middle and each faction could beat the Democrats.

Plainly Senator O'Gorman, of New York, will not spend much time patting himself on the back when the returns come in and he recalls his prediction that Governor Wilson will carry every state and get every electoral vote.

From SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH  
Address  
Date SEP 19 1912

Let Borah Return to His Party Or Quit

ANY Republican who is unable to accept as final the judgment of his party, as expressed at Chicago by its authorized representatives from all sections of the country, should get out of it. That is the opinion of the national chairman, the manager of the party's campaign, and it is our opinion.

In demanding that the national committee dismise those members who are not supporting the party's candidate, Chairman Hilles has established a principle which Senator Borah may consider to his profit. The Idaho statesman, in the absence of knowledge as to the particular direction in which the political cat means to jump in that state this fall, announces that he will support neither Mr. Taft nor Mr. Roosevelt, but that he will work for "measures rather than men."

Senator Borah's attitude is interesting and worthy of comment because he is a bit more frank than the other members of the trimming fraternity. Having participated in the Republican national convention, and having refused to leave the party when Mr. Roosevelt asked him to do so, Borah apparently was only playing for time until the situation resolved itself into definiteness. But evidence accumulates that he is as badly befogged as he was in June; his hope that he could withhold his announcement of party affiliations until certain who would be the winners, seems to have been badly conceived. Political conditions are not so clear as Borah could hope and he therefore decides that he will remain on the fence upon which he perched himself at Chicago; to climb down looks dangerous and he will wait until the battle is over.

The Idaho senator was chosen to that office by the Republican party. If he lacks the courage to oppose it and the honesty to declare openly his affiliation with that of which he would like to be a member, the Republican organization in the Gem state should see to it that he is replaced by some one less timid. Politically, he is useless, and his influence with his fellow-senators certainly cannot be retained in view of the lack of moral courage which he exhibits.

From DINEPATON  
Address  
Date JUN 25 1912

HARD TO CLASSIFY

Men like Deneen, Borah and Hadley and the rest who supported Roosevelt in the convention, but who have refused to join any third party are a little difficult to classify. The Colonel will no doubt help us out before long. Unless reports are unfounded it is believed that he will at once start in with his new classification by trotting out an independent candidate for governor of Illinois against Deneen. We cannot sympathize with Deneen if this is to be verified by events. For what right has he to refuse to follow the Colonel anywhere the latter may choose to lead? How can any honest man find peace and righteousness anywhere except behind the red bandanna of the Colonel? And the sudden change in the estimate of Deneen from an honest patriotic man, truly representative of the wishes of the people to that which is apparently now the authoritative characterization is perfectly justifiable. For it is well-known to students of psychology that character instead of being the slow development of years upon a foundation of centuries of heredity is made by sudden radical upheavals that change its entire nature? (Yes, leave that question mark). So Deneen, after having been correctly admitted and acclaimed in the company of the righteous and the patriotic, may now in the twinkling of an eye be turned out among the ungodly, the corrupt, crooked and despicable. But yesterday no man so able and eminently fit to be governor of Illinois; today so poor as to deserve no reverence from the stern judge of politicians. It is indeed a sad and sudden degeneration. The people of Illinois must vote the Colonel a resolution of thanks and a tin medal for saving them from the misfortune of having to cast their ballots for Deneen. By all means an independent candidate to center the sentiment for whatever the Colonel thinks it should be centered in Illinois.

How Hadley, Borah and the rest will be classified remains to be seen. But unless they also follow the new party into the political wilderness be sure their names will also be anathema and they will be cast out from the congregation. The saintly company of Johnson, Heney, Fliinn and the Colonel ought not to be dismayed by the jeers of the scornful; let them say that it is all insatiable ambition and a passion to destroy where rule cannot be obtained. But let the purveyors of the only political salvation of the nation persist in their inspired work. The best way to begin is to classify those men, who last week were in the seats of the just but who, because they desire to maintain their affiliation with the Republican party, have so quickly and completely fallen from grace.

NAKED AND UNASHAMED.

It was by unanimous vote that the Republican National Committee yesterday seated the four Taft delegates-at-large from Indiana, Senator Borah and all the other Roosevelt members of the committee voting with the majority. It was by a practically unanimous vote that six of the eight contested district delegates were given to Taft.

Yet Indiana is one of the two States mentioned by Mr. Roosevelt in an Outlook editorial this week in which Republican voters "were deliberately cheated by the Taft supporters out of their right to vote." Mr. Roosevelt quotes an Indianapolis newspaper as his authority for the assertion that "the convention was fraudulent, that the Roosevelt delegates were cheated out of their seats and that the Taft delegates were unfairly elected."

"In many of these cases," continues Mr. Roosevelt, on his own authority, "the Taft delegates represent nothing but fraud as vulgar, as brazen, and as cynically open as any ever committed by the Tweed régime in New York forty-odd years ago."

Yet when the formal testimony is taken before the committee, these vulgar, brazen, cynical Tweed-esque frauds suddenly vanish and Mr. Roosevelt's own supporters sustain the claims of the Taft delegates.

Did any country at any period of the world's history ever know such a campaign of mendacious demagoguery and false pretenses as Mr. Roosevelt now making?

Take the case of the Ninth Alabama District, which Mr. Roosevelt said of the action of the committee in seating the Taft delegates:

Again and again we have sent to the penitentiary election officials for deeds morally not one whit worse than what was done by the members of the National Committee who unseated the two properly elected delegates in this Ninth District of Alabama and substituted for them men who have no more right to vote in the National Convention than a repeater has to vote in elections.

Yet the facts which we have taken from Tribune's report of the testimony before the committee are as follows:

The committee met on Feb. 15. The Chairman was absent and the Secretary called the meeting to order. Authority had been given to the Chairman to add five members to the committee, and this authority the Secretary attempted to exercise, but, according to fifteen members of the existing committee, exceeded his prerogative in so doing.

A quarrel ensued, but Alexander C. F. was elected Chairman, fifteen members voted for him. A call was issued for a convention on March 15, and that convention elected Taft delegates, who have been seated. Secretary, however, proceeded subsequently to name the five additional members of the committee and to fill the two vacancies with and the other Roosevelt members, who were in a minority, called a convention May 11, at which the contesting delegates were chosen.

The fact that there were only twenty-seven actual members of the committee when the meeting took place; that of these twenty-seven, fifteen, a clear majority, took control of the meeting, elected a Chairman and issued a call, and that the facts here stated are not questioned by the contestants, led the National Committee to seat the Taft delegates by a vote of 38 to 15.

The contention of the Hundley faction was that the Secretary enjoyed the authority vested in the Chairman to add five members to the committee, and that when he had done so and had filled the two vacancies the Roosevelt faction numbered nineteen, as against the Taft faction of fifteen.

The "plain theft" and the obvious criminality of the Alabama contest is like the vulgar, brazen frauds in the Indiana case, where there is theft again, but where the thieves will not be allowed "to get away with the swag." Neither ever existed outside of a third-term candidate's irresponsible vocabulary.

"The contest for the Republican nomination has now narrowed down to a naked issue of right and wrong!" screams Mr. Roosevelt. So far as he is concerned, the issue is worse than naked. It is naked and unashamed.

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BOISE, IDA.

STATESMAN

FEB - 7 1912

**BORAH AND FISHER.**

Senator Borah and Secretary of the Interior Fisher have clashed over means to aid the homesteaders. Each recognizes the necessity for relief and each is bent upon furnishing it; but they are pulling apart on methods. Senator Borah favors the bill bearing his name, hyphenated with Jones, providing only three years' residence. Secretary Fisher favors three years actual residence, but wants the five-year improvement requirement to stand, with a modification giving the homesteader the privilege of absencing himself the first two years from his claim.

The homesteader stands between these two fires so far as immediate legislation is concerned. Either plan would furnish him relief; but neither plan would leave him worse off than he is now because failure at this time would put the subject off indefinitely.

That is a point the warriors down in Washington should not lose sight of. The homesteader, after all, is the real consideration, not anyone's particular theories.

The Statesman favors the fullest possible measure of relief for the homesteader. It understands the difficulties that confront him, the hardships he endures, the benefits he confers upon the state and upon the nation. But it most emphatically protests against the possibility of this giant factor on development being further ground between two friendly millstones.

**Borah of Idaho Ought to Be Retired**

**S**ENATOR BORAH'S defenders do not make a good case for him. The senator's statement that he will support neither Mr. Taft nor Mr. Roosevelt but will work for measures rather than men, cannot be construed as other than a straddle. The Idaho senator is not supporting Mr. Taft because the chief Borah adherents are admirers of Mr. Roosevelt; he is not in the open for the colonel because the result of the primary election in the Gem state indicates that Bull Con sentiment there is an indefinite and elusive quantity. Being a candidate for reelection to the Senate, Borah feels much as did Mark Twain when discussing heaven and its alternative, the humorist remarking that he had "friends on both places." The senator's ambition bids him sit on the fence until the battle is over, whereupon he may easily join the victors.

Idaho's histrionic statesman talks mere twaddle when he speaks of pinning his faith "to measures rather than men." The lines of demarcation between the Republican and Bull Con parties are clear and distinct; he who runs may read and a wayfaring man though a fool may not err therein. A believer in Colonel Roosevelt's theories, as Borah is known to be, is pitifully weak if he fails to join the Bull Con forces and help what he believes to be right; the admirer of the principles of the Republican party who prattles of "measures not men" and withholds his support from that party's candidate is politically dishonest and is trying to deceive even himself.

The simple truth as to Borah is that he wishes to be re-elected, cannot satisfy himself as to which party is more likely to win, and has cynically determined to join neither. His moral cowardice is about equal to the illogical acrophany of those who defend him. He should be retired to private life.

**MAY SUPPORT BORAH.**

The Recorder is authorized to announce that, under certain conditions, the democratic nominees for the legislature will vote for the re-election of Senator Borah. It is a generally accepted fact that there is a strong movement among the standard republicans to defeat Senator Borah in case the next legislature should be republican.

It is already quietly announced that Haines, a republican nominee for governor, will be a candidate of the Taft republicans. It is also said that Addison Smith and French, both of the republican candidates for congress, as well as Ex-Governors Brady and Gooding will be candidates for the senate at the next session of the legislature.

Roy B. Herndon and Don G. Reed, candidates for the house and senate, respectively, on the democratic ticket, pledge themselves that in case the republicans gain the legislature in the coming election, and there is a fight to defeat Borah in that they will use their influence and cast their

votes for Borah. They feel that, as between republican and some other republican who stood for the same things.

In the other hand if the legislature is democratic they naturally stand by the nominees of the democratic caucus of the house and senate for State senator. Democrats in general feel that Borah is a pretty good democrat with the exception of his high protection ideas.

**CHRONICLE**

Paper

Published **ST. ANTHONY, ID.**

Date **OCT 31 1912**

**WHAT THEY STAND FOR IN THIS CAMPAIGN**

1. The return of W. E. Borah to the United States Senate.
2. Abolition of useless and expensive state commissions.
3. Equal and just taxation of all property in this state without favoritism.
4. Against the political influences of corporations in State and County affairs.
5. Return by sale and lease of the agricultural lands of this state to the actual and bona fide settlers as fast as expedient.
6. The election of United States Senators by a direct vote of the people.
7. A Presidential Preference Primary law, and as soon as possible the election of President of the United States by a direct vote of the people.
8. Against county division until the people can have a say.
9. The reduction of taxation and the enactment of a revenue law that will make all people pay their just proportion of the taxes.
10. The reduction of the contract rate of interest from twelve per cent to ten per cent per annum.
11. Encouragement of building comfortable homes and the cultivation of trees and shrubbery.
12. The building of good roads.
13. The advancement of our school system and the Rural High School and more state aid for our county schools.
14. The solicitation of both state and national aid for the control of the South Fork of Snake River in Fremont county.
15. A public service commission.
16. The amendment of the Primary Election Law.
17. The enforcement of the Local Option Law.
18. A state highway through Bingham, Bonneville and Fremont Counties to the National Park.

Compare now these declarations with the platforms of the two old parties. What do they offer, and say, but what we have declared before them. Their platforms are an attempt to abridge what the Progressives first announced, and are following where the Taxpayers' Progressive Party leads.

**Why did they not declare for them before? They only declare for such reforms now because we have forced them, and they do not go all the way by any means.**

If you value your own sacred political rights, as guaranteed by the laws of your country, you must exercise your best sense and judgment or those fundamental bulwarks will not avail to save your life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Vote now for your native land. Retire the plutocrats and grafters in county, state and nation.

THE EVIDENCE THAT IS CONVINCING.

Senator Borah furnishes all the answer that is required to the questions and suggestions made by Secretary Davis of the Republican state central committee relative to reading the evidence of the theft of Taft's nomination. Senator Borah gave the answer in his first speech at Meridian, and challenged and goaded by the standpat and reactionary Coeur d'Alene Press, he gave it again in the city last Saturday night.

Now, the so-called and alleged "evidence" that Mr. Davis asks the people to read, is no more nor less than a synopsis of one side of the real evidence, a synopsis made by an attorney, just as he would do in an effort to present the very best side of his case to a jury, regardless of the real and actual evidence which the jury must consider in reaching a verdict. As every citizen knows, it would have to be a mighty poor lawyer, representing a mighty poor case, if he could not take the most favorable view possible of the evidence as presented by his side, and make a very fair and plausible argument out of it. It is such "evidence" that Captain Davis asks the people of Idaho to consider as against the deliberate judgment of Senator Borah who sat and heard all the evidence as a judge and juror and not as paid attorney for either side. Senator Borah sat there in judgment for and on behalf of the people of Idaho and of the people of the nation. He heard it all on both sides and he heard the arguments of the paid and volunteer attorneys for both sides. When he returns to the state a candidate for re-election knowing that upon the justice of his findings of fact and conclusions as so reported depends his success or defeat at the polls—when he does that, the people of Idaho are going to be satisfied, and no amount of pettyfogging on the part of Secretary Davis and no quantity of printed matter containing the pleadings of co-conspirators in the theft, is going to outweigh his deliberate judgment.

Fortunately, however, the people of Idaho do not need to depend upon the correctness of the conclusions, or the infallibility of the judgment of Senator Borah alone. Senator Clency St. Clair, himself a lawyer of great ability, also sat as a judge and juror in this case. He also heard all the evidence and he heard the arguments of the counsel. Senator St. Clair has stated not only that the nomination was stolen, but that a conspiracy was entered into by representatives of the privileged wealth of the nation, deliberately to perpetrate the theft. This is so well known and was so evident in and about Taft headquarters at the Chicago convention that members of the conspiracy freely admitted that they proposed to steal all the votes necessary—the only occasion they had for worry was to know just how many to steal so that they would neither steal too many, nor too few.

At one time it was believed that the theft of the entire California delegation, instead of the two actually stolen, would be necessary, and arrangements were made to put the case of California at the foot of the list so as to be certain when it was reached whether the entire delegation needed to be stolen or just the two which were taken. National Committeeman Knight of that state was a part of the conspiracy to steal the convention, but he did not dare to participate in the theft of his own state as a whole, and it was because of shrewd manipulation on his part that the scheme was defeated.

So we have the deliberate judgment of Senator Borah and Senator St. Clair, both of whom heard all the evidence, and both of whom are Republicans still clinging to the forlorn hope that the party may be reformed from within. Certainly their reports brought home and delivered to their people are more worthy of credence than the carefully prepared and biased presentation by those themselves engaged in the perpetration of such a theft. Would one guilty of an attempted theft of a presidency of the United States be above lying or falsification of the record? We can hardly believe that even Captain Davis can expect the members of his party to be so simple, yet it is exactly what he asks them to believe.

In the minds of all honest Republicans—and most of them are honest—the question is settled beyond dispute, and it is settled in accordance with the known facts which are as stated by every Idaho resident who attended the Chicago convention.

THE "BUTTING IN" OF MR. HAINES.

The linking of Mr. Haines with Senator Borah by the Republican state central committee has been done for the purpose of losing support for the senator. It was done without his consent and without his knowledge and was continued after both the committee and Mr. Haines, himself, knew that it was not the desire of Senator Borah, whose wish was that he be allowed to conduct his own campaign, just as senatorial candidates have been permitted to do by the Republicans ever since statchood.

In no other campaign can an instance be pointed out where the nominee of the party for governor and a candidate for United States senator have been sent to campaign together by the state committee. In this instance it has been done because both the committee and Mr. Haines realize the weakness of the gubernatorial candidate. While it is a tribute to the strength of the senatorial candidate, still the friends of that candidate are justified in resenting the unnecessary and unjust burden imposed upon him by the committee.

The manner in which the trick was turned makes the act all the more worthy of condemnation and arouses all the more the resentment of the friends of the senator. The meetings advertised, were advertised as Borah meetings and the senator was given not the slightest hint, as we are given to understand, that any one else was expected to appear with him and to share the time allotted to him.

The purpose of the trick is made evident when it is understood that even before Senator Borah himself knew that Haines had been sent off trailing along trying to get a little standing for himself and his own candidate through reflected greatness of the man whom he was thrusting himself upon, reports had been sent out and been published in the Taft press of the state that they were campaigning together.

As matter of fact, they are not campaigning together. Mr. Borah is campaigning and Mr. Haines is trying to make up a few of his own many evident and admitted deficiencies, by crowding and forcing himself into company where he has never been extended invitation.

Borah can stand the imposition, but how about Haines? How can he square his conduct in this matter with the dignity of the position he seeks? How can he expect such conduct will appeal to the people of the state and cause them to believe he is capable to fill the position of governor of the state?

It is impossible. No man with so little pride, so little self-respect, to say nothing of a man who admits he possesses so little ability that he cannot make his campaign of the state, should be elected governor. He may be fitted to be a bookkeeper for a real estate firm, he may be qualified to fill out insurance policy blanks, but he is not of gubernatorial material.

William E. Borah, the republican candidate for United States senator, is a man of both state and national importance, and a commanding figure at the nations capital. He has been a hard worker for the interests of Idaho and the great west, and his list of accomplishments is long. His record is one of repeated victories, many of them hard fought and achieved only with the greatest difficulty. His labors have been in behalf of the entire west. He introduced legislation providing for \$20,000,000 to complete the reclamation projects of the west; brought Idaho under the enlarged homestead law; shortened the homestead period from five to three years; established children's bureau; created an industrial commission, and introduced and secured the passage of much beneficial legislation of great importance to the nation as a whole. Senator Borah has been a valuable man for Idaho.

# TAFT AND BORAH

## Some of the More Important Things They Have Done for Idaho

### We Need Them Again and Can Depend Upon Them Again

Deputy Attorney General... a full-sized audience composed of women and children... the Valley Opera House last evening... to listen to the... [McDougal]

S. D. Fairchild, secretary of the Republican County Central Committee, A. C. Elm, H. D. Curtis, E. Wersholmer occupying the chairs...

At the outset the speaker... any intention of criticizing other political parties... a full account of his record during the past four years... attorney general, and to tell the voters... Taft and Senator Borah have done for Idaho...

Governor H. Eberhart... credit for about everything that was done during his term... he is entitled to Governor H. Eberhart... General McDougal on 12. These points are... Republican legislatures and are composed of... Democratic member. A very liberal allowance... credit to Governor H. Eberhart...

The speaker... Governor's unfortunate and impracticable... absolute revenue laws, as others have done...

Idaho is more highly indebted to President Taft than any other State in the Union... immediate benefit and improvement will be greater with each succeeding year.

It was President Taft... application to him by Attorney General McDougal... the law and the facts in the case... the State of Idaho... the best land to the State in exchange for... the forest policy of Theodore Roosevelt... the lands—and it had to be... by special executive order... thus giving to the State of Idaho...

Through... policy all the public lands between the Tulelake, Clear, American Falls, and the Oregon line... withdrawn from settlement... the minerals or metals... sink shafts, gas drills or otherwise... the Snake river valley.

President Taft... Idaho and General McDougal went with... Boise, pointing out to him as they traveled that... agricultural land but no coal or other... Nampa President Taft said... restoration to unrestricted entry of... later this was done.

When Senator Borah... his three-year... appropriation bills President Taft... all the... influence to secure the passage of the bills.

These are some of the reasons, the General said, why Idaho should support Taft and Borah. Idaho has found these men to be staunch and... need them again and need them badly.

### THE STATE AND COUNTY TICKETS.

General McDougal said only a few words about the State and county tickets. Mr. Helms, he said, is acknowledged to be a business man whose... He can therefore be depended upon to give an efficient, economical business administration.

The Republican State Land Boards have sold some school land... for less than \$10 the minimum fixed by law, and some for as... There is over \$5,000,000 on-hand from this source, ... school bonds, farm mortgages and other A-1 securities... It will not only never be less, but the additions... relieve the taxpayers from the payment of all... [The Republican State platform proposes to do this in three...]

### JOSEPH H. PETERSON.

... has been the deputy of that office two... A native of Idaho he worked his way through college and until... the bar. He knows what poverty is. Once, after acting as... he wanted to come home. Mr. French... before there were anti-pass laws. When he... had only 25 cents and his pass in his pocket... he had to be... Such a man can be depended upon.

The speaker was repeatedly applauded, and especially when he referred to Taft and Borah.

## MOVE TO PLACE ONE TERM LIMIT ON PRESIDENCY CREATES WIDE INTEREST



At the top, W. E. Borah and A. O. Eberhart; at bottom, Lee Cruce.

There is a very strong movement on foot at Washington, led by Senator Works, of California, to submit a constitutional amendment extending the president's term from four to six years and prohibiting re-election. Senator W. E. Borah, of Idaho is leading the opposition to the proposed change. Many public men outside of congress have expressed opinion as to the advisability of a change. Governors Eberhart, of Minnesota, and Cruce, of Oklahoma, have declared unequivocally in favor of the proposed amendment.



### COUNTY CANDIDATES TO SUPPORT.

The Capital News earnestly recommends the following county candidates:

State Senator—S. D. Fairchild, Republican.

Representatives—

Frank M. Gardner, Republican.

Charles F. Koelsch, Republican.

H. A. Lawson, Republican.

T. H. McDermott, Republican.

Charles D. Storey, Republican.

Sheriff—James M. Roberts, Republican.

For School Superintendent—Anna Keogh, Democrat.

Assessor—William Kincaid, Republican.

Commissioners—

First District—William Howell, Republican.

Second District—George T. Kinzer, Democrat.

Third District—William M. Briggs, Republican.

The above ticket, with the exception of the candidate for sheriff, has the indorsement also of the Taxpayers' league. That league has not indorsed any candidate for sheriff. Mr. Roberts has made a good record and we believe in the merit system to the extent that we believe Mr. Roberts should be returned to the office.

It is necessary to vote for the Republican legislative ticket in order to secure the election of Senator Borah. It is a bad constitutional provision that makes it necessary to vote that way but these men are pledged to support the change proposed in that constitution, so that it is the very best that can be done, and we hope no friend of Borah will let this unjust constitutional provision stand in the way of their voting for Borah which can only be done by voting for these candidates.

The people of the country precincts where all the duties of county superintendent of school must be performed beg that the city voters permit them to have Miss Keogh for school superintendent. Miss Keogh is abundantly qualified for the position and that being true, we believe in granting the request of the people most interested and therefore urge all readers of the Capital News to support Miss Keogh.

George T. Kinzer is one of the best men in Ada county. He also is the choice of the country voters and will make an excellent county commissioner who will force a reduction in the tremendous tax burden now afflicting the state and threatening its prosperity. He should be elected.

Paper NEWS  
BOISE, IDA.  
Published  
Date OCT 30 1912

### HOW MR. DAY REPLIES.

When State Land Commissioner Day is called upon to make accounting of \$500 of state funds that he received from the state treasury, State Chairman Day replies for him.

And what is his reply?

It is an attack upon the Capital News because it sells its advertising space to a political organization which the state chairman does not dare attack because of the very sum of money that the state land commissioner has drawn and has failed to account for.

That is one way of fooling some people. But even at that, it is a very poor way. The only sane and sensible thing we have known the Democrats to do in this campaign is to recognize that the columns of the capital News are the best advertising medium in the state and to hasten to make a contract at a big price for the use of some of it.

That it has done so wrongs no one and it misleads no one, because all the matter appearing in those columns is marked "advertising" and every one who reads it knows that it is the matter of the advertised and not the matter of the Capital News. If the Democrats want to pay good cash for the publication of such poor trash as they have been putting in those columns we can't see that anybody is harmed except the Democratic candidates and that is their lookout and not ours—or maybe it is the lookout of Republican Chairman Day, for aught we know.

It seems never to have entered the head of Mr. Day, who since being Republican state chairman, has doubtless had some contrary experiences with certain newspapers, that there could be a newspaper, such as the Capital News, whose advertising columns and business office are entirely and wholly separated from its editorial columns and editorial office.

Mr. Day was yesterday merely trying to deliver himself of a little cheap rot when he assumed to question the fidelity of the Capital News to Senator Borah because the Democrats in the same columns they had rented from the business office were dishing out some rot against Borah almost as silly as that of Day's.

We shall not give the reasons why it is proper to rent

to an opposing political organ space in a newspaper, but we shall simply state that it is customary to do so, even by papers claiming to be the organs of some political party, which the Capital News does not claim to be, and Mr. Day knows that this is the custom.

The First Established and Most Complete  
Newspaper Cutting Bureau in the World

New York

SEP - - 1912

### THE "IMPOSSIBLE EXPENSE" OF THE PRIMARY

THEY had a popular primary in Idaho recently, in which William E. Borah was nominated as the Republican candidate to succeed himself in the United States Senate.

Soon afterward, Mr. Borah filed with the secretary of the Senate an itemized statement of his expenses in connection with the primary. Only there were no items. He certified that he had not spent a cent—not one. He swore to that statement.

From the political bosses and gangsters—men of the Lorimer and Penrose type—we hear constantly that the popular primary is impossible, because it costs too much. The poor man, they say, can't afford to enter it.

It is true that the popular primary is expensive—for men of the Lorimer-Penrose-Stephenson sort. Stephenson swore that he spent considerably more than one hundred thousand dollars to nominate himself for Senator from Wisconsin. It comes high for public servants of that sort to get nominations; and even when nominated they are mighty apt to be defeated at the election.

But the Borahs don't worry about the cost of the primary. They know that, having served the people, the people will stand by them. They are safe with the people because the people have been safe with them.

The real objection to the primary is that it makes it frightfully expensive for men of the wrong kind to get nominations. It isn't an objection that will weigh heavily with the people.

HON. W. E. BORAH



### To Insure His Election You Must Vote the Republican Ticket

The return of Senator Wm. E. Borah to the U. S. Senate is of the utmost importance to Idaho and her people.

Senator Borah's great achievements have placed Idaho in the public eye to a greater extent, brought her more distinction than any other agency in the history of the state.

For our young commonwealth

to refuse to return him would be a public calamity. Elmore county will certainly do her duty on November 5th, and elect to the legislature Senator Lee and Mr. Rosevear as in no other way can she support Senator Borah. Idaho's industry, prestige and good name are at stake.

VOTE WITHOUT FAIL FOR  
SENATOR BORAH



"Friends, I tell you I am not thinking of my own success; I am not thinking of my life. I believe in the Progressive movement. I am absorbed in the success of the movement."

**THEODORE ROOSEVELT.**

(In his speech at Milwaukee after he was shot.)

To vote the ROOSEVELT---BORAH Ticket write the names of H. HARLAND, E. M. HARRIS, L. M. EARL, H. C. OLNEY at the head of the "Electors Progressive Party Ticket," and place a cross in the circle after each. Write in the name of P. M. Smock for Congress and place a cross after his name. Place a cross after each name on the state ticket down to the legislative ticket and then swing over to Republican Ticket and place a cross after the names of P. W. Johnson, Roger G. Wearne, William Edelblute, Charles A. Norton and William F. Sargent.

Don't forget to place a (X) in the circle after the name Arthur M. Bowen for Justice of the Supreme Court on the Democratic Ticket and for Mrs. Constance Cassidy on Progressive Ticket. You will thus register the true progressive sentiment in Kootenai County.

**HUBERT H. BARTON,**

County Chairman Progressive Party

# Vote for Worth S. Lee for State Senator and Joseph Rosevear for Representative and you will be giving your support to Senator BORAH.

## SENATOR W. E. BORAH



## SENATOR BORAH RECOGNIZED AS ONE OF ABLEST MEN

The following letter was recently received by J. W. Briggs, chairman of the Republican County Central Committee, and should be of much interest to our readers:

LAKOTA, N. DAK., Oct. 9, 1912.

Mr. Jas. W. Briggs,  
Mountain Home, Idaho.

My dear Mr. Briggs:

Your letter of the 5th instant has been received. Senator Borah is recognized as one of the ablest men in the Senate, and is a consistent and aggressive champion of progressive legislation. Because of his service he has attained a position in the Senate where he can give effective support to the measures that he champions, and he has the courage and the determination to push such measures as he considers beneficial to the public, regardless of what forces may oppose them. His absence from the Senate would be felt as a serious loss by the Progressives of that body.

Senator Borah has proved his worth by his service, and I hope that he will be returned by a decisive majority,

Sincerely yours,  
A. J. GRONNA.

Paper  
Published ST. ANTHONY, IDA.  
Date OCT 31 1912

### BORAH AT FLAMM'S HALL.

Senator Borah addressed a crowded house at Rexburg Wednesday evening. After the preliminaries were over, both Bowerman and Hart preceded the senator with short speeches telling how faithful they would be if elected, to Senator Borah and themselves.

Borah's speech dealt with his actions in the U. S. Senate, upon public questions, to wit: The Homestead law, the Tariff question and the trial of Senator Lorimer, whom the Senate excluded for corruptly buying his seat in the U. S. Senate. In talking upon the question of bodies of our country and the individual legislator, he told the audience of some pathetic incidents that came before the senate, where aged and hoary headed men who had lived for 60 years lives of honor and rectitude, and young men of promise, making their debut in public life being corrupted by the corporate interests of Chicago and these men old and young, one looking back to a life of honor, and the other looking forward with high hope, both smitten down, disgraced, unhonored and unsung, by the unseen hand of the Lorimer agents who bought these men body and soul for a price.

He then said with all the power he could use, that between the men that used their wealth and position to influence and corrupt the lawmaking bodies of the government and a murderer that if they both were on trial, he would convict the venal vote buyer, the man who would stab another by buying his influence against the rights of the people, and let the murderer go.

And so say we.

Then at the conclusion of his speech he asked the people to vote for John Hart.

This the Progressives will not do; they endorsed Borah before it was known where John Hart stood. But if that was all on account of their love for Borah they would vote the Republican ticket to insure his election. But there are many interests in Fremont county that are just as vital and of equal importance to the people as the election of Senator Borah.

That brings us to the strong comparison he made between the murderer and the man that uses money and power to corrupt law-makers. Sitting by the side of Borah were the combined forces of grab and greed of Fremont county. True Soule was not there, nor Jim Webster, but on the stand were John Hart of the Woods Live Stock Co., who has been to the legislature to represent, while he misrepresented the people. Mark Austin, Sugar Magante, head of the big land lease for sheep, made soon after he came to Idaho. Nathan Ricks of Rexburg bench land lease, Bowerman the banker, who is afraid the interest rates will be lowered by the Progressives and said he had a personal reason that he wanted to go to the legislature.

per CHRONICLE  
blished ST. ANTHONY, IDA.  
te OCT 31 1912

### LOOK AT THIS.

Amuel Gompert, president of the American Federation of Labor nineteen reasons why the workingmen should vote for Senator Borah. These nineteen reasons are nineteen things that Borah did for the workingman.

In Fremont county vote for the Progressive legislative ticket, if you want to vote for Borah. They are pledged first, last and all the time for Senator Borah.

The leading Republicans of Idaho have tried to double cross Senator Borah all through this campaign. They are simply working for votes for the Republican ticket and do not care what becomes of Mr. Borah when the next state legislature meets.

The Lynn, Mass., News in a story run under a large headline, states that Lewis H. Bartlett, one of the most prominent Republicans of that state, announces that Senator William E. Borah of Idaho is the logical candidate for the Republican party to nominate under the conditions existing at the present time, declaring that the fight in the party has reached such a state that neither Roosevelt nor Taft can be successful at the polls if nominated and that preservation of the party demands the nomination of Borah who, he says, can unite all elements of the party and lead it to success.

The article, which is printed on the front page of the Massachusetts paper, is as follows:

Lewis H. Bartlett, one of the most prominent Republican leaders in this city, today declared that neither President Taft nor Theodore Roosevelt can be elected president.

He declared that a compromise candidate must be nominated if victory is to come to the Republican party at the

great political battle to be waged at the polls next fall.

Senator Borah, in Mr. Bartlett's opinion, would be the best compromise candidate. The western senator, Mr. Bartlett said, could unite both factions in the Republican party and win the election.

Mr. Bartlett's choice as the Republican standard bearer in the presidential fight is one of the most powerful men in the Republican party. He is one of the most prominent men in the United States senate, stands strong with the party leaders, and is an astute statesman and politician.

Senator Borah will be remembered as the principal speaker at the Lincoln day banquet at Casino hall in 1909. He impressed the Republicans who heard him then as being a very able man, well fitted to hold any office within the gift of the nation.

Although many of the Republican leaders were of the opinion that a compromise candidate would have to be named yet none came out strongly for any third candidate with the exception of Mr. Bartlett.

## BORAH PUTS IT WELL.

Senator Borah in discussing the proposition to amend the constitution so that the presidential term shall be six years, with the president ineligible to re-election, makes a point which will be accepted by many as sound. It is this: "Under this resolution if a president is giving a detrimental administration we have more of him than we have now; if he is giving a good and beneficial administration we have less of him than we have now."

No one can deny the truth of this. It cannot be denied that four years is long enough for an unsatisfactory administration, or that eight years is none too long a term of service for a president who handles the affairs of the country to the liking of the people. The substance of what Senator Borah says is that a six years' term, with ineligibility to re-election, insures to the country too much or not enough of any administration.

This is a thought which may well be borne in mind while the question of changing the constitution is being agitated. In four years any president has a chance to show the stuff that is in him. If it is of the right sort the people should not be denied the privilege of enlisting his services for four years more, and if his work is not satisfactory there is no good reason why he should be fastened upon the country for two years more.

A change of this character has been advocated by some for a long time, on the ground that a president is apt to govern his action during his first term in a way which he thinks will be most apt to insure a second term. But is this a dangerous proceeding, if the people keep their eyes open and attend to their duties as they should? The surest foundation for a second term should be the right sort of work in the first.

This year the question assumes unusual prominence because one of the presidential candidates is seeking a third term. There is a strong prejudice against a third term for any man in this exalted office, and if this feeling is not strong enough to insure against it, why should the people tie their hands by constitutional amendment, so that in the future they will be liable to have two years too much or two years too little of any administration?

If the people do not believe in a third term it is their privilege to say so at the polls this year. The question is one which they can settle without change of the constitution. If they do want a third term administration, why should they not have it?

It seems unnecessary that the people should tie their hands in this matter. They have the whole say under present conditions, and at a time when there is so much clamor for direct rule of the people it seems strange that so many should be in favor of placing the time of a president's service beyond the people's control.

Chicago, Ill., Post.  
Friday, September 20, 1912.

## BORAH ON THE NOMINATION.

Senator Borah's position on the nomination of Mr. Taft at the Coliseum has been stated in so many different ways that it may be well to take his own words on it. In his speech at Meridian, Idaho, on Sept. 14 Borah said: "I think seventy-eight delegates were seated for Taft that any fair tribunal would have given to Roosevelt, and fifty-two delegates were seated for Taft that no honest tribunal could have denied to Roosevelt."

TRIBUNE  
SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH  
AUG 25 1912

## CONTUMACIOUS OFFICIALDOM.

It certainly must be extremely exasperating to Senator Borah to find that after he makes such a fight as he has made to get an amended homestead bill enacted into law for the benefit of homesteaders in this Western country, that the General Land Office construes the rights of the homesteader in the harshest possible manner. One would suppose as to the passage of this amended homestead law that the department would give the homesteaders the benefit of it in any filings made prior to its passage. But not! The construction of the General Land Office is that homesteaders who made their filings before the passage of this law are in a class by themselves, still held under the old statute, and that only those who file since the passage of the Borah law are to get its benefits. All this is in strict line with the restrictive and paralyzing constructions that we are getting so many of from the General Land Office, in recent years. Everything that will retard the settlement and development of this Western country, everything that will tend to the discomfort, inconvenience, and restriction of the homesteader as to his rights under the law is put into effect.

The very purpose of Senator Borah's proposition was to give relief to the homesteaders—all of them. There was

no idea in Senator Borah's mind that any such division as is now made in the General Land Office as between former filings and filings to be made was to be put into operation; and to see such a ruling made must be exasperating to him in the highest degree. Accordingly, he has taken the necessary step to have that ruling overturned by law. He introduces a bill which will put the old homestead filings in the same class as the new, with the new law operating for their benefit, as clearly it was intended to do. The Senate has passed his bill, and we trust that the senator may be able to get this explanatory bill of his passed at the earliest possible day, because he will be able to show to all concerned that the ruling of the General Land Office in this matter is oppressive and that it approaches very near the borders of bad faith.

Reviewers, Ill. Star-Courier, Chicago  
Wednesday, September 11, 1912.

## SENATOR BORAH.

Senator Borah of Idaho will not be opposed for re-election by the third party of his state, according to an announcement today from Boise, where a convention was held yesterday. Senator Borah did not get endorsement through resolutions carried on with the third party for he has frankly announced he is a straight-out Republican and if he had to sacrifice his office because of it, it would have to be. It was so generally recognized, however, that Senator Borah stands for sound, honest politics, that it was deemed the part of folly to oppose him and by so doing defeat him.

Senator Borah is a man of the right type in our present day political life. Real progress can expect more from men of his character and ability than from any other source.

PAPER PRESS

PUBLISHED DORR D'ALENE, IDAHO

DATE SEP 21 1912

## WHERE BORAH STANDS.

If any doubt existed in the minds of the people regarding the position of Senator Borah, politically he made himself understood in a speech delivered at Meridian, Idaho, Saturday evening. He announced that he is a progressive republican and intends to make his fight for what he calls progressive principles within the ranks of the republican party. He announced that he does not intend to support President Taft, and may therefore be classed as a republican bolting the national ticket. What he will do with regard to the state ticket he does not make clear; but that is not so important as his fight against the reelection of President Taft, because this will unquestionably affect the whole republican ticket from top to bottom and possibly accomplish the election of the democratic state ticket without in any way aiding the progressive cause. Under the circumstance it is evident that Senator Borah intends to conduct his campaign according to his personal ideas regardless of party. He refuses to be bound by party rules or principles. His position is peculiar, as well as untenable, from the fact that party platforms represent the principles of the party and he refuses to indorse them by proclaiming that his own opinions are superior. That his fight against President Taft is largely personal is shown by the fact that he assails Taft's republicanism by asserting that the president is not a republican and does not support republican principles—yet Taft is the republican nominee and stands on the party platform. If his contention were true party platforms would be worthless, and if the senator cannot consistently support the republican platform and ticket of the national republican convention he should not use the organization to further his own reelection to the senate. He says that the people nominated him as a republican candidate at the primary election. This is true and when they nominated him as the republican candidate they expected him to support the republican ticket. He had no opposition in the primary, because the republicans of the state considered him loyal to the party, while he is now proclaiming himself a supporter of Roosevelt and asking to be reelected to office by the republicans. His position is inconsistent and will result in injury to the republican state and county tickets, including nominees for the legislature.

Senator Borah is recognized as one of the able men of the United States senate, has accomplished much good legislation, and the people of the state would be pleased to see him returned, but if he expects the full support of the republicans of the state he should come out squarely and honestly in support of the ticket on which he is a candidate. To do otherwise is treating his political associates on the ticket unfairly.



PAPER

PUBLISHED

DATE

## BORAH, A REAL PROGRESSIVE.

The real republicans in the state of Idaho (the Star-Miner does not presume to speak for the bull moose masqueraders) rejoice in seeing Senator Borah return to his home state to take his rightful place with the real leaders of the progressive movement in the campaign of President Taft. It was no doubt Senator Borah's influence which sent a state delegation, by a narrow margin instructed for the Colonel to the Chicago convention, and he will be a source of strength to President Taft.

Senator Borah stands where he ought to stand, shoulder to shoulder with Senators La Follette, Cummins and Bristow, the real leaders of the progressive movement. The men who have accomplished the real progressive legislation—such things as the eight-hour law, the direct election of United States senators, the children's bureau, which are now laws, thanks to Mr. Borah's fighting, while Colonel Roosevelt, to make the people believe they are not, has included them in his platform—are not supporting the Colonel.

When a Washington correspondent asked one of the progressive republicans why they were not, he got this pithy answer:

"We know him."

Know him? They certainly do!

When La Follette, as governor of Wisconsin, in 1901 demanded a direct primary law and an equal-taxation-for-railroads-law he had a big fight on his hands with the old Wisconsin machine which opposed him. The Roosevelt federal office holders lobbied against the bills. They spoke against the bills. William Devoe, elected on a pledge to support them, went back on his word. Roosevelt made him collector of customs at Milwaukee. William Neil, who was counted on to support them, did not. He got a sinecure as scaler of logs on an Indian reservation. Francis Keene opposed them. He was appointed to the consular service.

In the legislative sessions of 1901-3-5 A. L. Sanborn of Madison was La Follette's most aggressive, most bitter opponent. He was made federal district judge. J. V. Quarles, another anti-La Follette politician, won the same reward. La Follette had just been elected to the senate. Roosevelt did not confer with him over these appointments. The then president did not even have the courtesy to notify the first progressive.

Congressman Babcock of Wisconsin lobbied against this progressive legislation—the direct primary; equal taxation. La Follette went into Babcock's district to fight him. Babcock was armed with a letter of indorsement from Colonel Roosevelt. Samuel Barney fought La Follette; Roosevelt placed him on the court of claims at Washington. Joseph G. Farr, Babcock's lieutenant, was made superintendent of logging on the Indian reservations in Wisconsin; Graham L. Rice, who fought "Fighting Bob," was placed in the immigration service in Porto Rico.

Newspaper men who fought La Follette, were rewarded by Roosevelt.

Henry C. Payne, one of La Follette's bitterest enemies, was made Roosevelt's postmaster general.

Roosevelt threw the Wisconsin delegation of 1904, of which La Follette was a member, out of the convention, the personnel of which he (the Colonel) personally dictated.

During Roosevelt's entire term, while La Follette was fighting for progressive republican legislation in the senate, Roosevelt bestowed all the federal patronage on La Follette's enemies.

When La Follette, as a progressive candidate for the presidency, seemed to have a fighting chance for the republican nomination—after Roosevelt had pledged La Follette his support, he withdrew that support, became himself a candidate, and bribed Governor Johnson to withdraw his support from La Follette with the promise of a vice presidential nomination.

When Senator Cummins, as governor of Iowa, was making a progressive fight to release that state from railroad domination Roosevelt had Shaw and Wilson, avowed political enemies of Governor Cummins, in his cabinet and all his patronage was distributed to Allison, Hull, Hepburn and Lacey, the standpat rulers. The Colonel permitted Shaw on every possible occasion to embarrass the progressive Iowa governor. Roosevelt also, at a later date, pledged Cummins to recommend tariff revision in a message to congress, but the pledge was never kept.

Bristow of Kansas was fourth assistant postmaster general. He uncovered postal frauds during Mr. Roosevelt's administration, sent some officials to the penitentiary, was removed from his position and was banished as "special commissioner" of the Panama railroad; but Bristow wouldn't be banished. Instead, he returned to his Kansas newspaper and started a progressive fight.

In short, to quote from the Congressional Record, where the above facts are set forth: "If Theodore Roosevelt had his way Robert M. La Follette, Albert B. Cummins and Joseph L. Bristow would never have come to the United States senate. He certainly did everything within his power to keep these three pioneers in the progressive republican movement out of the senate."

These are the men who led the movement which resulted in: The overthrow of Cannon and Cannonism; which gave the progressives the balance of power in congress prior to Roosevelt's return from Africa; which had broken up the Aldrich-Hale-Burrows "inner circle"; which passed all the progressive republican legislation and had, until the bull moose was born, won the control of the party machinery in many states.

They are the men who assisted Borah in his fight for the eight-hour bill, direct election of senators and a child labor bureau; all of which Colonel Roosevelt ignores as accomplishments, for no better reason than that he had no hand in their accomplishment, and don't want the public to know that anything good or righteous could have been done without T. R. and the big stick.

No wonder Senator Borah is supporting President Taft. No wonder La Follette, Cummins and Bristow support him. They know Roosevelt!

Recordampa Ida  
DATE SEP 13 1912

Senator Borah is a bigger man than Taft is. Let the Republican legislative candidates who refuse to support Borah, because he is not for Taft, come out in the open so the voters may know who they are. They would be left at home by a decisive majority if they showed the slightest intention to misrepresent the people, for Senator Borah is the people's candidate.

PAPER PRESS TIME  
WALLACE IDAHO.  
PUBLISHED

DATE SEP 20 1912

## BORAH'S OPPOSITION TO TAFT.

The reasons given by Senator Borah in justification of his opposition to the election of President Taft are not sufficient. President Taft is the regular nominee of the republican party, and as such he is entitled to the support of all men calling themselves republicans. This does not mean that they must accept the president's views on all public questions, nor that they are denied the right to oppose his views when presented to congress in the shape of proposed laws. It simply means that as members of the organization they should submit to the will of the majority in the selection of candidates, reserving the right to act upon their individual judgment on public questions outside the tenets of the party and upon which there may be a wide range of opinion.

Because he opposed administration measures and strongly advocated others in which the president was not in sympathy, Senator Borah asserts that he cannot in good conscience support President Taft for reelection. There is hardly a republican senator or congressman whose attitude toward the president on matters of legislation is not identically the same as that of Senator Borah, yet they are now actively and earnestly working for the reelection of President Taft. Will any one say that they are less conscientious, less high-minded and honorable in their political views than the Idaho senator.

Since Senator Borah says he cannot support Taft, the conclusion naturally follows that he will support Roosevelt, although he does not say so. Unless he has recently changed his opinion, the senator's over-sensitive conscience will trouble him there also. The most important declaration in Colonel Roosevelt's confession of faith is that in favor of the recall of judges and judicial decisions, and Senator Borah has declared himself to be un-

alterably opposed to both these propositions. Upon the same line of reasoning he adopted to justify his opposition to Taft, how can the senator in good conscience support Roosevelt?

Weiser Signal Ida  
SEP 19 1912

Whatever may be the opinion of his constituents as to the wisdom of his utterances in his keynote speech there can be no doubt as to Senator Borah's consistency in standing by the policies he has advocated in the senate. He is right in refusing to abandon the principles for which he has stood even to be considered "treason" and hold the support of those who are demanding that he become a prisoner in order to get their support. His record and his service for the state of Idaho should and will bring to his support all men who are anxious to see the state ably represented at Washington.

# LEGISLATURE RECONSIDERS

Boise, Idaho, Feb. 19. — The bond issue for the Pacific Northwest Livestock show, with headquarters at Lewiston, has another chance for life. The bill that provided an issue of \$25,000 for the aid of the show was killed on Tuesday, but it refused to stay dead. Conner's motion today to reconsider prevailed and unanimous consent was given to allow the record to show that on reconsideration the vote to indefinitely postpone was lost. The bill was then placed on the general calendar.

Conner and Elliott spoke strongly in favor of granting aid to the livestock show. They declared it was not purely a local proposition but one that interested the entire northwest and had done more to advertise the state than all the work of the immigration department.

In the course of the debate, Ferguson raised a constitutional objection to the bill. He pointed out a section of the constitution that prohibits the state from being interested in the property or stock of any corporation.

### Tenth Judicial District.

The house bill by Oversmith to create the tenth judicial district of Nez Perce, Lewis and Idaho counties passed both houses and goes to the governor, who is given 20 days in which to make the appointment.

*Review Heyburn Sta.*  
DATE SEP 19 1917

### Senator Borah.

Senator Borah, in his opening speech of the campaign, at Meridian Saturday, demonstrated the fact that he is the one official, probably in the whole country, who is stronger than his party. No more manly exposition of individual opinion and perception of the right was ever uttered than in the outlining of his platform by the Senator Saturday. The republican managers were cordially invited to read him out of that party if they considered his acts and utterances unrepresentative. But they have not done so, and will not do so, for they fully appreciate that such action would be the reading of the award of the republican party in Idaho.

Not every generation furnishes a champion of the people of the high character and steadfast principle of our Idaho junior senator, and that any party or body of men could oust him from office or from the hearts of his people by criticism of his own well considered action is altogether inconceivable.

The republican party in Idaho and the county at large will have trouble aplenty this fall without seeking further disaster by antagonizing the west's most popular citizen.

prosperous commonwealths to-day find a barrier to their further progress erected in their pathway by these advance agents of theoretical conservation.

The fight that Senator Borah is making for all the West, by pressing forward his Three Year Homestead Bill should win for him the approbation of every intelligent citizen who understands the real need of the Western country and who wants to see progress and development in that great territory lying west of the Missouri River. So far as the interests of the West are concerned, no legislation of equal importance to the Borah Bill has been before Congress since the National Reclamation Act was passed, and if Senator Borah wins his fight for decent, honest public land laws, he will have rendered this Nation a mighty service.

PAPER EAGLE  
PUBLISHED Meadow, Idaho  
DATE SEP 20 1917

### A DISAPPOINTMENT

There was general rejoicing last week when the announcement went forth that Senator W. E. Borah would spend three days of the week, speaking at Italian Valley, Council and New Meadows. There was even greater indignation when it was learned that his appointments here had been cancelled by order of the chairman of the Republican County central Committee. Senator Borah is easily the most popular man in Idaho public life. He is sound to the core on every public question and is devoted to the principals of true Republicanism as any man that ever lived. He regards measures as greater than mere principle of more importance than political policy and truth as the cardinal virtue that must finally triumph. He is a republican who does not dieily President Taft nor worship Jim Sherman and Penrose and Lorimer. He has no idea that these men and their associates in machine politics, created the Republican party nor declared the fundamental principals on which it is founded. Nor does he think Republicanism will die when they are eliminated from public office. Yet because Senator Borah in his Meridian speech, declared for the right of every man to think for himself and for the republican doctrine of "free speech", the Republican organization in Adams county, at the instigation of Heigho, Roberts and Smith, lobbied the State Committee to send Borah into this county to speak under the auspices of party management.

The people, however, want to hear Borah. They want to hear the truth. They want a political speaker to tell them the facts and to define his position on public questions. They would prefer to stay at home and listen to an eulogy of standpattism on a phonograph than attend a political meeting and hear a declamation that has been censored and scissored to please the ear of some political boss or corporation creek. Senator Borah assures the Eagle that he will come to Adams County and speak. Preferable as the nominee of the Republican party and in co-operation with the Republican committee. But in case he is barred out by the committee, then he will come as the choice of the people for United States senator and as a citizen of the State desiring to meet and see and talk with his friends.

### THREE YEAR HOMESTEADS.

Every citizen of the West has understood for many years that our homestead law was antiquated, injurious, and when rigidly enforced, positively prohibitive of settlement. It has been common knowledge that the homestead law as now enforced was responsible for the failure to develop much of the public lands in all the Western country and everyone understands that this law has been the immediate cause of driving fully a half million American farmers out of our country to the Canadian northwest to search for homes in a country where reasonable common sense laws were in force.

In order to correct the evils of our homestead law and make the law so that the honest settler and the man of limited means could take up a home in our western country, Senator Borah of Idaho early in the present session of Congress, introduced a bill known as the Three Year Homestead Bill.

This bill of Senator Borah's reduces the time of residence required upon the land from five to three years, and in every particular, it is a fair, conservative measure drawn so as to protect at every point the interests of the Government in its lands, and at the same time, make it possible for the honest settler and the man of limited means to secure a home upon the public domain by compliance with reasonable regulations. The Borah bill has the endorsement of practically every progressive citizen who is interested in the development of our Western resources and the growth and settlement of our Western States. The men who recognize that the great need of the West today is more people and a wider and broader develop-

ment of all our resources, are urging the enactment of Senator Borah's Homestead Bill.

There stands arrayed in opposition to this measure the same forces that have been responsible for the locking up of our Western resources, the forces that through selfish, unwise, radical conservation have throttled the progress of the entire West for the past six years, and who now threaten, through the consummation of their visionary schemes to prevent any further development in any of the public land States within the lifetime of the present generation.

The West is to-day bound hand and foot, not only by law, but more particularly through the enforcement of radical regulations which are surrounded by a maze of departmental red tape so intricate and unfathomable that honest developers of our natural resources are discouraged in their efforts and driven from the country. Our land laws are surrounded by a veil of mystery, and the radical conservation has created such a fear in the minds of public officials that even the officers of the Department of the Interior are to-day unable to extricate themselves from the web into which they have plunged.

Every resource of the West, its lands, timber, mineral and water powers have been withdrawn from development and States that a few years ago seemed to have a bright prospect of growing into mighty and

*National Wool Growers  
Salt Lake Utah*

PAPER TIMES  
PUBLISHED  
DATE SEP 11 1912

### WHY BORAH QUIT ROOSEVELT. Reason Given By a Man Who Knows.

This one from the *Quaker*, Kansas Mirror, is the latest we have seen, and as it has every indication of being true, we reproduce it:  
"When it became evident that Roosevelt could not be nominated, Senator Borah of Idaho made the Colonel the following proposition as coming from Taft leaders, whom, he stated, were able to deliver the goods. 'The roll will be purged of the 78 delegates we claim are tainted, a progressive platform acceptable to us will be adopted, Taft and Roosevelt both to withdraw and we will name Hadley by acclamation.' Colonel Roosevelt was seated at a table under a glass chandelier when he received the proposal from Borah. He sprang to his feet and raised his fist, smashing the chandelier, then bringing his fist down on the table with a whack, he said: 'By God, I will never do it! Let them purge the roll and then come to me and I'll tell them what I will do.' There was a silence and a drawing away for a few seconds and then Borah, white faced, said: 'Well, Colonel, in the future you and your friends can do as you please, but you can't make a jack ass out of me any longer.' Borah immediately left the room and never returned.  
"Shortly afterward Roosevelt issued his famous statement, 'I can only serve the progressive cause by bearing the brunt of the fight myself.'  
The above statement was personally given to the editor of this paper by one of the Roosevelt delegates from Kansas City, who was high enough in the councils to be made chairman of the caucus of all the Roosevelt delegates of the United States. His name is Homer B. Mann, the original Roosevelt man of Kansas City. His office is in the Dwight building, Tenth and Baltimore, if you care to verify this statement."

If true as stated as to the facts of the occurrence, there is, to say the least, nothing to Borah's discredit. But does reflect somewhat upon the Colonel's pety and overbearing bossism and egotism. *Hagerman Sun*

OMEIKE" NEW YORK  
The First Established and Most Complete Newspaper Cutting Bureau in the World  
om OREGONIAN  
PORTLAND, OREG  
dress SEP 11 1912

THREE PROGRESSIVES.  
The Oregonian is not disposed to deny that the Progressive (Roosevelt) party has within its ranks many earnest men genuinely anxious for better social and industrial conditions or that it is inspired, on the part of its rank and file, by a moral impulse that makes it formidable and entitles it to respectful consideration. But neither the need of a new party, nor the justification for destruction of one of the old parties, is apparent to The Oregonian, and it finds itself utterly unable to support Colonel Roosevelt in his ambitious political project. All the progressiveness of the country is not in the so-called progressive party; all the great work for "social and industrial justice" has not been done by the leaders of the new movement; nor even the greater part of it. Most of the men who have borne the heat and burden of the tremendous struggle against the reactionary forces within the Republican party remain with the party and deplore the mistake of wrecking and abandoning the old organization when victory is well in sight.

Senator La Follette is a progressive whose record is familiar to the whole public. He has fought for years against the bosses and the railroads and all the forces of privilege and plunder that long had their hold on the government of Wisconsin and the Nation. He was repeatedly repulsed, but he battled on. He even refused to acknowledge that the party had a

right to disown him and his principles, when the Republican National Convention of 1904, at which Mr. Roosevelt was nominated for President, unseated his delegation, and sent him back home with the brand of irregularity and repudiation upon his brow. He supported the Republican nominee, and Wisconsin gave a large majority for Colonel Roosevelt.

In 1908 Senator La Follette was a candidate for President, but his aspirations did not seriously impress the Republican party and the National convention gave him very few votes. He accepted defeat with a grim determination to try again, and threw his great influence to Taft, who carried Wisconsin. In 1912 he again submitted his candidacy to the people as a progressive Republican, but was superseded by Colonel Roosevelt, who secured for himself many votes Mr. La Follette might have had, or at least firmly believes he might have had. Mr. Taft was again nominated by the National convention. Colonel Roosevelt refused to abide by the result, but left the Republican party and formed a new party. Mr. La Follette declined once more to bolt. On July 27 he printed over his signature on the front page of La Follette's Magazine:

In no partisan spirit I repeat that the progressive movement began with the Republican party. It rapidly advanced its control, shaping the policies of state administrations and influencing the impression upon National legislation as a distinctly progressive Republican movement, and upon this fact in recent political history I appeal to progressive Republicans everywhere to maintain their organization within the Republican party. To maintain such an organization, pledging allegiance to every party nomination and to every party declaration is not essential.

Mr. La Follette does not say explicitly that he will support Mr. Taft; but he refuses to go with Colonel Roosevelt.

Two great figures at the June contest in Chicago, leading the forces in behalf of Colonel Roosevelt, and demanding his nomination from the Republican convention, were Senator Borah, of Idaho, and Governor Hadley, of Missouri. Senator Borah was the leader of the Roosevelt minority in the contest before the National Republican committee, and knows as well as any other person the merits of the cases of the disputed delegates. Yet he thinks the so-called frauds, resulting in the defeat of Colonel Roosevelt, do not justify a new party. He has said in an interview:

I do not think it necessary to leave the Republican party to fight for these reforms. Changes may differ from me. But I will say this, to talk of leaving the Republican party because of its losses is insane. There are losses in the new party and there will be in every party.

"Leaders" is a gentler term. But whether leaders or bosses, we have them always with us. What would any party be without aggressive and skillful leadership?

Governor Hadley was the floor leader of the progressives in the Republican convention, and made a brilliant fight for his candidate. His dignity, calmness, force and eloquence made such an impression on the convention that he was more seriously considered than any other as a compromise candidate. Now Governor Hadley, who saw everything at Chicago, remains with the Republican party. In a recent statement he said in part:

While I was an active supporter of Colonel Roosevelt in the Chicago convention, I have not deemed it advisable to join with him in his effort to form a third party. . . . I have been unwilling to concede that the Republican party has ceased to be a useful agency of good government. I believe a large majority of the Republican voters believe in progressive policies and principles of government, and that those voters can make their opinions effective through the existing party machinery. And I believe that the success of progressive principles can be more promptly and effectively accomplished through the Republican party than by the organization of a third party.

Assuming the truth of all that has been charged against the National committee, such an abuse of authority has not occurred before, and the fact that it occurred this year does not mean that it will occur again. At all events, the acts of a few men in unbecomingly using party authority for the accomplishment of political results can hardly be said to be a just basis for the destruction of a party organization. Similar acts of unfairness have occurred before in county, Congressional and state conventions, and yet the cause and effectiveness of the party, as a whole, have continued to grow from year to year. Those who are thus justifying their action in leaving the Republican party and joining in the formation of a new party must, of necessity, realize that the same conditions of which they complain

in the Republican party may arise in any party that is organized. I readily concede that if it should become any party an accustomed experience for men in positions of authority to abuse that authority either to perpetuate themselves in power or to defeat candidates representing certain principles or policies, there would then exist full justification for a party bolt. But I believe that in four years from now primary-election laws in the various states will prevent the recurrence of conditions such as existed in the Chicago convention. And I cannot but believe that it is no more difficult to drive men who would resort to unfair methods out of the positions of authority in the Republican

party than to keep them out of a new party. At all events, I prefer to make the effort before abandoning a party which has such a splendid record of public service to its credit.  
Why are not these three men, who were heretofore good enough progressives for the Republican party and all the people, good enough progressives now?

Records Report Idaho

### THE MAN; NOT THE PARTY.

Evidently, from his address at Meridian last Saturday evening, the Republican State Central Committee has been indulging in a few steam roller tactics with Senator Borah, and that gentleman does not propose to have his manhood trampled in the dust or to give up his principles for some individual. Senator Borah is right in his stand and if the issue is forced by the Republican managers of this state, he will find that he has a majority of the people behind him. Such a move to throw Senator Borah out of the Republican party would mean the death of Republicanism in Idaho, and if it is to be forced along the lines proposed the sooner it is buried the better for all concerned.

When it is necessary for a party organization to trample the will of the people under foot and to force any candidate to support principles or candidates who are clearly opposed to the desires of the people, it is high time such an organization died a quick and peaceful death. No man in the U. S. Senate has accomplished more for Idaho or for the people at large than Hon. William Edgar Borah, and the people of this state cannot let

him be sacrificed upon the altar of partyism without cutting their own throats. It is not necessary for him to say he is for Taft or for Roosevelt or any other candidate to be a Republican. It is only necessary to know that he is working for the interests of the People of Idaho, and if the Republican party in this state is not broad enough; not progressive enough to recognize principles in the interests of the state, it has no further right to call itself "Republican," and should get out of the way of the wheels of progress.

As a matter of fact, the people have been following the dictation of party leaders too long for their own good and it is time party was thrown to the winds and the MAN considered regardless of party.

Sequel Weiser Idaho

Senator Borah has again risen to the occasion and demonstrated that he possesses the courage of his convictions. The giving out by Dave Mulvane of the statement that the senator was to take the stump for Taft looks very much like an effort to injure him. Idaho is progressive, and while most of the progressive Republicans will remain within the party there is no denying that some of them will not vote for Mr. Taft, and Senator Borah would undoubtedly injure his chances of success by attacking them and the "Bull Moozers," most of whom are going to support him. While it is regrettable that he cannot make a fight for the head of the ticket, every person who has his future at heart will endorse the course he is taking. He has his own interests to look after and it is not the part of wisdom to mix in the political tangle we are in nationally.

# PERKY'S EYES OPEN

Short-Time Senator Notes Scarcity of Millionaires.

## FRIENDSHIP COUNTS MOST

Idahoan Says Senate Is Unjustly Called Rich Man's Club—Borah Regarded as One of Five Leaders of Body.

OREGONIAN NEWS BUREAU, Washington, Feb. 13.—"The United States Senate has been unfairly and unjustly styled the 'Millionaires' Club,' said Kirtland L. Perky, for a brief time Senator from Idaho by appointment of Governor Hawley, as he was packing his belongings and preparing to leave for Boise. "The Senate is not made up of millionaires. It is not dominated by millionaires, nor does it deport itself as might a club of millionaires. True, there are a few men of great wealth in the Senate; there are other men of moderate means, but I have found during my stay in Washington that there are more poor men than rich in the Senate, and not a few whose sole income is the salary they receive from the Government."

Like others who knew the Senate only by reputation, Senator Perky had his eyes opened when he came to Washington in his official capacity, for he had full opportunity to see the Senate in action and to learn its methods.

### Personal Friendships Count Most.

"Personal friendships do more to foster legislation in the Senate than any other influence," said Senator Perky, "and the man with the most friends gets the biggest appropriations. Oratory is all right in its way, but oratory does not make void. I have been here long enough to discover that. Another thing that impressed me was the fact that the party division in the Senate seldom counts for anything. Of

course, there are times when partisan measures are under consideration, and then the line is drawn, but partisan measures are comparatively few, and when they are laid aside the Senate, in legislating, ignores party.

"Some of the strongest friendships in the Senate are those between Republicans and Democrats, and when it comes to local legislation, in which Western Senators are mostly interested, party cuts no figure.

### Democrats Esteem Borah.

"I want to say, right here, that Senator Borah today is as influential among the Democrats of the Senate as any member of that body, where no partisan question is at issue, and his influence is as great on the other side of the party aisle. I was impressed when I came here with the high regard in which Senators of both parties hold Senator Borah, and was particularly astonished to find him so highly lauded by Senators of my party. Today Senator Borah is a mighty influence in the Senate. He is destined to become still more powerful, and I do not hesitate to say that at the present moment he ranks among the first five members of the entire Senate. He is strong, both because of his ability and because of his personal popularity, and the fearlessness with which he engages the big men of the Senate in debate has won him support.

"I recognize now what a factor Senator Borah has become in Congress, and he has earned his position, for he is a profound student of public questions, a diligent and tireless worker, and a man whose words command respectful hearing and consideration."

### CITIZENS

from

Brooklyn, N. Y.

address

SEP 13 1912

date

### MORE "BOLTS" TO ROOSEVELT.

A poll of the Wiley brothers shows a loss of 100 per cent. to the Republican party, compared with the last Presidential campaign. In 1908 the brothers, Dr. Harvey Wiley, the "Pure Food" expert, and Ulric Wiley, former Judge of the Appellate Court of Indiana, voted for Taft. In fact, the two brothers have voted the Republican ticket ever since they had the right

to vote. A month ago the elder of the brothers, the celebrated "Pure Food" expert, announced that he is going to vote for Wilson. Yesterday the other brother also "bolted," announcing that he cannot support Taft because of the fraudulent manner of his nomination, and declaring his intention to support Col. Roosevelt. In the Wiley family the Republican party has ceased for the time being to exist.

This blow to Taft's chances of election, severe as it is, compared to the rumored defection of Senator Borah, of Idaho, is only as a dent in a pound of butter to a blow from the mighty fist of Jack Johnson. Senator Borah is the most distinguished Republican in the State of Idaho and one of the ablest Republicans in the United States Senate. Although he advocated Roosevelt's nomination in the Republican National convention, he refused to follow him when he founded the "Bull Moose" party, and great was the rejoicing in the Taft camp. Yesterday the Colonel reached Idaho in the course of his campaign trip, and Senator Borah is reported to have succumbed to his fascinating personality. Anyway, the story was telegraphed East last night that the Senator will soon declare for the Colonel. Only Governor Hadley, of Missouri, remains to give in his adhesion, to make the muster roll of the "original Roosevelt nominators" complete.

## TIMES

PAPER

HAILEY, IDA.

PUBLISHED

SEP 20 1912

DATE

### BORAH THE VERY FIRST PROGRESSIVE

And now the Roosevelt managers in Idaho are trying to make trouble between Borah and the Republicans. It is evident that the aim of some pretended Progressives is to assist the Democrats into power, regardless of consequences.

Borah was the first, the original Progressive. He declared that the country was ready for a reduction in tariff dues months before the opinion was echoed east of the Mississippi as "the Iowa idea." Since taking his seat in the Senate he has consistently advocated lower customs dues besides securing the passage of the proposed amendment for the popular election of United States Senators, of the \$20,000,000 of public money for new irrigation works, of the three-year homestead law, of the law inhibiting the appearance before the departments or courts of a member of Congress for hire, and of much other legislation any item of which stamps its author as a man of transcendental ability.

He has therefore done what he was elected to do, and we have no grounds for fault-finding since he has taken the very stand that we desired him to take. If at this time he refuses to unreservedly uphold Taft or Roosevelt he is simply doing what many other good Republicans are doing and what they will do anyhow, regardless of the politicians.

PAPER

PUBLISHED

DATE

### IDAHO'S BIG BILLS.

Idaho has several big bills to her credit at Washington as the result of the past six years work. The biggest one is Bill Borah, and the others are bills for which he is largely responsible. The Three Year Homestead Bill, the Direct Election of Senators Bill, the Childrens Bureau Bill are but a few of the most important. These bills of Bill Borah have all been along the right lines. They have placed him in the front rank of progressive Statesmen in the United States. Bill Borah's record, in fact, makes a mighty good Republican platform and for that reason he proposes to stand on it and does so because he believes the Republican party or other third party twenty years to accomplish the results desired. Bill Borah realizes that a very large percentage of both the Republican and the Democratic parties are in hearty accord with his line of thought and action. He also realizes that in each of those parties there will always be a re-actionary element that will be easier kept under control through the regular party organizations than through any third party that can be organized. Bill Borah is the most valuable political asset of the State of Idaho today and yet the Bull Moose has given out the edict "SCALP HIM." If Bill Borah is re-elected this winter it must be done by the Republicans. A Republican vote helps to re-elect him. Any other vote helps to carry out the edict of the Bull Moose to "SCALP HIM."

LAKE AUG 23 1912

### BORAH-ROOSEVELT RUPTURE.

Ever since the Republican National Convention of June in Chicago, there have been intimations that a direct personal rupture occurred between Senator Borah of Idaho and Col. Roosevelt during that convention. Senator Borah was a stalwart Roosevelt man, and as a member of the National Republican Committee, was one of the one-third minority who stood wherever it was reasonably possible, for Col. Roosevelt's interests. But Senator Borah, in common with others of the Roosevelt members of that committee, refused to stand for the flimsy and baseless contests in Roosevelt's interest brought from the Southern States. The committee unanimously rejected the principal part of the Roosevelt contests. This appears to have given Roosevelt offense; especially does it appear that the action of Senator Borah in the Indiana cases angered Roosevelt, for even after all of Roosevelt's friends on the National Committee voted against the seating of the Roosevelt delegates from Indiana, Roosevelt continued to denounce the act of the committee in that case as political brigandage, absolutely indefensible in law or morals. This naturally would nettles a man of independence and good judgment like Senator Borah, and others also of the Roosevelt men on that committee. But no open rupture occurred on that account. It was on the matter of a compromise candidate that the rupture between these two distinguished friends is alleged to have come. The story has not been told generally, but we find in the Boise Statesman a clipping from the Olathe (Kansas) Mirror giving the narrative in detail as follows:

OREGONIAN

PORTLAND, OREGON. FEB 19 1913

HOW TO PLAN FOR WAR ON TRUSTS.

In his Lincoln day speech at Baltimore Senator Borah summoned the Republican party to return to the ideals with which it entered upon its splendid career. He called upon it to do this by wrestling with monopoly until it is extinguished, saying:

Monopoly is at war with democratic institutions and the conflict is as irrepressible as was the conflict between freedom and slavery.

Admitting that only those who have built up monopoly seem to have a complete and efficient remedy, Borah is prone, like most of us, "to distrust those whose virtues are satiated with vice." He went on to offer some suggestions, which, if carried into practice, would strike at the root of the evil and he predicted that, were this done, monopoly would be dead within a decade. He praised the Sherman law as "the republic's open declaration of war with monopoly," but said that that law "cannot accomplish what its authors hoped it would accomplish," for "it has not destroyed nor even curbed monopoly." He pronounced competition dead and sketched in strong outline the absolute control monopoly has secured.

The anti-trust law is condemned by Borah as having shifted "to the courts the work which the courts are unfitted and never designed to do and which in the end will break down our whole judicial system." He accuses the legislative and administrative sides of the Government of shirking their duty in imposing this burden on the judiciary by calling upon the courts "to determine who shall sit upon this board of directors and upon that, what our corporation laws shall be outside of legislative guidance, who shall vote and who shall not vote stock, what the limitations of business in size and capacity are to be." He denes that the courts are to blame for the failure of the Sherman law.

He pointed to the source of the trust evil when he said:

The first anti-trust decision was made many years before, when Chief Justice Taney said that corporations are limited strictly to those powers given them by the Legislature, and that all doubts as to power were to be resolved against the corporations. This put the whole matter up to the Legislature, the immediate representatives of the people. There is not a monopoly in existence today that is not in existence by express authority of some state of this Union.

Later the courts declared that without express authority from the Legislature any corporation could not hold or vote stock of another corporation. And as the Legislature began to grant this extraordinary authority—the parent authority of our present monopolies.

The Senator thus "puts it up to the states" to provide the fundamental remedy for monopoly. He quotes the Supreme Court as holding that the state "has a right to forfeit every corporate charter for misuse or abuse of power," but he says that "with full power to forfeit every charter which is being used to the detriment of the people, we continue to permit them to exercise these sovereign powers." He would not wait for the states to exercise this power, for he says:

If Congress itself should declare that no corporation should engage in interstate trade so long as it had or sought to vote the stock of another, the trust question would be near the beginning of the end.

He would not repeal the Sherman law, but "would reduce it from a generalization to a specific, enforceable statute" in this manner:

If a corporation lowers the price of a product in a certain territory in order to injure a competitor, make that specific act a violation of the law and a basis for action, civil and criminal. If an agreement be made limiting the output of an article, if there is a division of territory, if one company forecloses strikes in another, make these and similar acts specific offenses.

When we have done this we should amplify the law for the benefit of private litigants who have causes of action by reason of such specific acts. There is nowhere to be found so steady, so persistent and so effectual an enforcer of the law as the private litigant who has suffered by reason of wrong-doing. We have in such instances a million guardians interested and vigilant instead of one officer, never acting until the evil becomes all but unbearable, make it possible, both in the way of simplicity and expense, for the individual competitor to recover for his injuries, and you will have a more uniform and a more effective enforcement of the law.

Borah says that monopolies "are here largely by the fault of the whole people," and that not until "we as a people understand that this is not a question of economics alone, but that institutions and citizenship are in-

olved, will we deal with the matter successfully." He concedes that regulation and control will and must have their place in the settlement, but opposes letting "these special advantages and privileges sliced from the people stand and then seeking to mollify the effect through a commission or bureau at Washington," though those "who have gathered these vast fortunes through extortion and fraud are anxious—deliriously anxious—to be managed." Instead he would do this:

I would make every corporation convicted of wrong-doing, or subject to the control of an interlocking directorate, every corporation vying the stock of another corporation or guilty of monopolistic practices, after a certain day to be fixed in advance, an outlaw to the channels of interstate trade until it should purge itself of all these powers and practices.

As to a corporation which, though condemned by the Supreme Court, he goes "still openly, brazenly, defiantly, brutally putting aside all principles of justice and ignoring every provision of law," he says:

There is nothing I would not do, in a legal and orderly way, to destroy it. Much better such an example of lawlessness and anarchy in a government of law ought to end their days in a prison cell and go broken and bankrupt to a pauper's grave.

The Idaho Senator expressed abiding faith in the ability of the Republican party, which "has been a party of action, of constructive power, a party of progress, a pioneer in the political field for the last half century," to go back to the ideals of its found-

ers and of its great leader, Lincoln, and pleaded with it not to give up an honored name.

Borah thus would crush monopoly by joint action of state and Nation. He would have the states forfeit charters of corporations which exceed or abuse their powers. He would have the Nation exclude from interstate commerce those corporations which the states neglect to discipline in this manner. He would make definite the acts which are held to be in violation of the Sherman law. He would make guilt personal as well as corporate and would invite the host of sufferers by monopoly to seek redress in the courts. There is good ground to believe that such concerted action of Nation, state and individual would ere long crush monopoly and that the Republican party is best able to set these forces in motion.

Pocatello Tribune  
NOV 19 1912

THE SENATORIAL SITUATION.

This is the open season for senatorial candidates. Idaho newspapers are being helped wonderfully in bringing out new candidates by the Spokane Spokesman-Review, self-appointed guardian of the welfare of north Idaho, and by the Salt Lake Tribune, self-constituted dictator to the people of the southeast. Although actually Democratic and professedly Bull Moose, the Boise Capital News puts in its oar every day, so that the ball may be kept rolling. As a result, count that day dull indeed, which does not bring forth from some source an announcement of a senatorial candidacy.

The latest comes from Spokane, the Review coming across with the name of Judge James M. Stevens of Blackfoot, of the Sixth judicial district. On top of that announcement comes Paul Clagstone's "hat in the ring" letter to legislators-elect, published in the Boise News.

This makes six candidates in the field for the short senatorial term—former Governor James H. Brady, former Governor Frank R. Gooding, Supreme Judge James F. Adams, Attorney Charles W. Beale, Paul Clagstone and Judge Stevens. The legislature will not meet until January, so that at the present rate the entry list will, when the session convenes, consist of about nine hundred thousand names, or thereabouts.

Next to being elected United States senator, the greatest honor is to be appointed to that position. Next to being appointed senator, is to be a candidate for senator. A dozen years from now John Jones digs up a scrap book, and reads of that time back in 1912 when he was "prominently mentioned" as a candidate for United States senator. Thereupon he throws out his chest. It hurts no

one and does him a great deal of good.

The senatorial situation at present, while considerably cluttered up with superfluous and quite hopeless candidates, is not serious. As a matter of fact there are only two real candidates—Borah for the long term and Brady for the short term. Viewed in the light of reason, Borah will have no opposition for the long term and Brady will have only perfunctory opposition for the short term. True, Gooding may cut some figure in the voting, and a few scattering complimentary votes may be thrown to Allshie, Beale, Clagstone and Stevens. But when the shouting dies it will very probably be found that William E. Borah of Boise and James H. Brady of Pocatello have landed their togas.

That is a consummation devoutly to be wished, anyway. It would be impossible to find two better men than Borah and Brady, or to find two men who will work together better and more effectively for the good of the state.

In the meantime there is no serious objection to as many men entering the race as pleased. It adds to the spicy variety of the occasion and, as aforementioned, it hurts no one.

ADVOCATE  
NEWARK, N. J.

OCT 1 - 1912

Senator William E. Borah of Idaho, one of the genuine progressives of the Republican party, who led the fight against President Taft in the Chicago convention, paid a high compliment to Congressman Cox of Dayton, when in an interview recently he declared there is no truer progressive in congress than the Democratic gubernatorial candidate.

United States Senator La Follette, the oldest and most ardent progressive in the Republican party, while in Ohio last spring, designated Mr. Cox's work while in congress as truly progressive. To measure the Democratic gubernatorial candidate, the people can use the crucible of actual performance. In congress he has done big things and he has been on the people's side. If he had not been, Senator La Follette's and Senator Borah's unsolicited commendations would not have been given.

A special to the Cincinnati Enquirer from Boise City, Idaho, regarding the interview with Senator Borah says:

"Senator William E. Borah, leader of the Republican Progressives in the mountain states, has submitted to an interview in which he reviews the work attained in Congress as the result of legislation along progressive lines.

"In enumerating the men in Congress who are entitled to credit for what has been brought about he pays this compliment to Congressman Cox, Democratic candidate for Governor in the Buckeye State:

"It is but fair to say that the progressive movement is not confined to either party. Some of the most loyal supporters of these principles are found in the Democratic party.

"Congressman James M. Cox, of Dayton, Ohio, was one of the most effective and tireless friends of the election of Senators by popular vote and the Children's Bureau bill. He gave his untiring efforts to both, and was especially helpful in the passage of the latter. There is no truer progressive in Congress, in my judgment."

Boise News  
SEP 18 1912

Setting at rest all speculation as to their attitude individually and collectively with regard to the re-election of Senator William E. Borah. Ada county's six Republican nominees to the legislature adopted the above resolutions yesterday afternoon pledging not only their votes in the legislature to him, should they be elected Nov. 5, but their untiring efforts to Senator Borah in behalf of his re-election. Having been released by Senator Borah in his Meridian speech, the Republican legislative candidates lost no time in renewing their pledge to the re-election of Idaho's brilliant senator and on the first opportunity they had of meeting together they passed the strongest kind of resolutions in his support.

**First to Take Action.**

The Ada county Republican legislative nominees are the first to take this decisive action. It was voluntary on their part and will unquestionably be followed by Republican candidates to the legislature in every one of the 27 counties in the state. Not only did the Ada county candidates express themselves as strongly advocating Senator Borah but they went further in their expressions and declared that in their opinion the defeat of Idaho's junior senator would be a blow to the state and do the greatest possible harm. In the event of their election as members of the Twelfth legislature Senator Borah will be assured of the six votes of his own county and the backing of six men who will put forth every effort in his behalf. There was not the slightest hesitancy with respect to taking this action. The Republican legislative candidates have been anxious to remove all question of doubt that might possibly exist, should there be any, as to how they stood with respect to this important issue, which they believe is the paramount one in the present campaign.

**Were For Senator Borah.**

Every member of the Ada county Republican legislative ticket pledged himself publicly and through the press prior to the primaries for the re-election of Senator Borah. Several of them made the optional affidavit under the primary law placing the designation of their intention under their names on the primary ballot. They were all ardent Borah men then and are ardent Borah men now.

In his Meridian address Saturday night Senator Borah said:

"As to the candidates for the legislature, if there are any of them who feel that they cannot conscientiously vote for me as senator there is a manly and honorable way to be released from their obligation to do so. I have been nominated at the primary on the Republican ticket. It does not legally bind the members of the legislature, but unless repudiated before the election it becomes a most solemn moral obligation. But I think that the candidate for the legislature who would openly and clearly state to his people before the election that he did not intend to vote for me would in all fairness be released from doing so. I think he has that right. Let him settle it with the voters. If he states to them he will not be bound by the primary and they nevertheless elect him it would constitute a clear exemption from the obligation in the present state of our primary law as to United States senator. If he does not so state it would be dishonorable and cowardly not to stand by the obligation expressed by the primary vote. I know practically all the candidates for the legislature. I haven't a particle of doubt but they will speak plainly on this subject before the election and be bound by whatever statement they make to the voters."

**Candidates Act Unanimously.**

The Republican legislative candidates decided to take action on Senator Borah's declaration without delay and they met in Boise yesterday afternoon for the purpose. The situation was carefully gone over as well as the statement made by Senator Borah in his address. It was unanimously agreed to draft the above resolutions, pledging every one of the legislative candidates to the re-election of Senator Borah and this action was forthwith taken, after which the signatures of the candidates were attached. The resolutions make the attitude of the Ada county candidates perfectly clear and can leave no room

for possible doubt as to where they stand. However, there never was room for doubt in this respect, due to the pledges made by these candidates prior to their nomination and during the primary campaign.

It is believed here that in face of the action taken by the Ada county candidates, the legislative candidates in all other counties of the state will take similar steps in entering into their respective campaigns for election.

HERALD

PAPER

PUBLISHED

SEP 27 1912

DATE

**THE CASE OF SENATOR HAIGHT**

In the Evening Capital News of Boise of the 23rd inst. the editor of that paper comes out with the following editorial:

"The Capitol News as a friend of Senator Borah and as an advocate of his re-election, is not satisfied with the pledge that comes from the Republican candidates for the legislature in Cassia County. The pledge made is merely a resolution adopted by the county central committee, as we understand it, and not by the legislative candidates themselves. We have no means of knowing whether these candidates feel bound by this resolution or not; they may feel so bound, and gain, they may not.

The candidate for state senator from that county is senator Haight. The record of the senator in the legislature of the state is no guaranty that he is a friend of the common people and it is only from friends of the common people that Senator Borah can feel any assurance of re-election. Moreover, Senator Haight is quoted by men in high position of authority in the Republican organization as saying that if elected he would not vote for Senator Borah unless the senator should come out in support of Taft for president. Now, Borah has proof that convinces him absolutely that Taft stole his nomination—that he secured it dishonestly and through fraud. As an honest man himself, and as a patriot loving his country even more than he loves the machinery that constitutes his party especially when such machinery is in such corrupt hands as it is now

Senator Borah cannot and will not come out for Taft, hence cannot and will not fulfill the conditions said to have been laid down by Senator Haight.

Now, as a friend of Senator Borah we demand to know from Senator Haight personally—not satisfied by having it said by some one not known to have authority to bind him—whether or not, he will vote for the re-election of Senator Borah. We want to know this unconditionally except the condition of the death or declination of candidacy by Senator Borah, and we feel that we have a right to know; that the people of the state have a right to know and that the people of Cassia county have a right to know.

We believe that if Senator Haight gives his personal pledge to support Borah, he will keep that pledge. We also believe that unless he does give such a pledge he will not vote for Borah when the real test comes."

In the first place the pledge was made by the candidates and not by the county central committee as the editor supposes. Furthermore the candidates endorsed the election of Senator Borah as strongly as it seems possible for them to do as seen elsewhere in this issue. As a matter of fact the people of this county voted for the the return of Senator Borah to the senate another term and Senator Haight expressed himself to a representative of this paper that he intended to vote for Borah's return because he believed him to be the peoples choice, but on what grounds the editor of the Capital News demands this statement from Cassia County's Senator we do not understand. If we mistake not the Capital News is posing as a model representative of the common people and condemning machine politics but in what way it can ward off the machine stigma in this instance we fail to see.

Just why a senator from Cassia County should be pledged to some individual at the request of some paper several hundred miles away when the people have not publicly demanded any such

pledge we can see nothing but the strongest taint of machine manipulation.

Now confess, Mr. Broxon, dont you think so too? And so far as the people of Cassia County are concerned we believe they are the pr per ones to demand a pledge of their representatives in the legislature without intervention from the outside. We advise that the editor of the Capital News "let the people rule," a slogan he so much cherishes then his position as an advocate of this liberty loving rule will distill upon the hearts of his readers with more force than his editorial in behalf of Cassia County's citizens would naturally imply.

The First Established and Most Complete Newspaper Cutting Bureau in the World

From SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH  
Address  
Date NOV 17 1912

TIME FOR CONCILIATION.

In the upheavals of politics the present year, the Republican party suffered a tremendous defeat by reason of the extremes to which partisanship and personal ambition were pushed. What has been done cannot be undone, but it is certainly the part of wisdom and constructive politics for the party leaders to take such steps as will bring together the two factions, eliminating the personal animosities and ambitions that led to the split. Indeed, a beginning in this good work has been reported. Colonel Roosevelt cannot possibly expect to figure any more in Republican politics; and without him, there is nothing left of the Progressive party that cannot easily be adjusted to Republican politics, Republican traditions, and Republican advancement. We have condemned the act of the Progressive committee in New York which contemptuously rejected overtures from the Republican committee of that State for a reunion of the two factions of the Republican party. For, eliminating Roosevelt and setting aside some of his vagaries as having nothing to do with real politics or practical government, there are no differences between the two wings of the party that cannot easily and fairly be adjusted. We consider that any factions outery or recrimination on the part of either wing of the party with respect to the other is not only exceedingly bad taste, but exceedingly bad policy, and detestable politics. Antagonisms of that kind simply tend to make reunion more difficult, and perhaps to postpone it indefinitely. As we have said heretofore, we consider that the Progressives (aside from Roosevelt) deserve well of the Republican party, as striving to lead it forward, as against the standpatters, who were determined either to stand still or go backward. The two elements of the party can easily fuse, and ought to fuse; but they cannot fuse if there is a constant irritation kept up and continued attacks on party leaders. These can serve no possible purpose except to keep alive acrimony, that ought to be allayed.

Accordingly, we do not find any words too severe to condemn the editorial in the Smoot organ of this city yesterday against Senator Borah of Idaho, claiming that he "is reaping just as he sowed." That editorial is as follows:

Senator Borah of Idaho seems to be reaping a just harvest from the seed sown by himself at the outset of the National campaign. When he assumed his strictly impartial attitude of supporting neither Mr. Roosevelt nor Mr. Taft, one could but guess at his motives, but the inevitable results have proved him right. He has warned that neither he nor Roosevelt would be pleased at his position, and that he would endeavor to stop two names risks falling between them and springing his political ankle. And the

news from Idaho indicates that both the Taft and Roosevelt men in the legislature will require powerful arguments before they will consent to join issues and support Mr. Borah for re-election.

That editorial loses sight altogether of the Republican party, and of the principles upon which it was founded. Every Republican will agree in a general way, and ought to agree, that the party is greater than any man in it or than any combination within itself. It is altogether unreasonable, therefore, to stake the fortunes of the Republican party upon President Taft, although he is a grand Republican. On the other hand, it is an impossible proposition to place the permanent fortunes of either faction of the party upon Colonel Roosevelt. That sort of thing is personal politics, and not politics of principle.

But what is wanted just now is a return to principle, leaving aside the personal equation as much as possible, and especially to leave aside irritations founded upon personal animosities and personal vindictiveness. There is no reason why any Republican should resent the course of Senator Borah. As we understand his position, he planted himself squarely upon Republican party principles, declining to bind himself to any individual, no matter how high or how vehemently the cause of that person was advocated. Senator Borah's allegiance to Republicanism has never been seriously questioned, and cannot honestly be questioned. But he declined to commit himself to the fortunes of any individual, which is merely to say that he considered Republicanism and Republican party principles as having greater demand upon his allegiance than the personal cause of any man, even though he was the nominee of the party. We consider that it was Senator Borah's duty as a Republican to support Pres-

ident Taft; but he did not so look upon his duty; and now that issue has entirely gone by. There is nothing now to be gained by assailing any one for not supporting President Taft, or for supporting Colonel Roosevelt. Republicanism is greater than either, greater than both. Upon Republicanism Senator Borah took his stand. There is no reason, therefore, why any Republican, regular or Progressive should refuse to vote to return Senator Borah to the U. S. Senate from

SPokane, WASH  
RECEIVED  
Review  
JAN 23 1913

Idaho Faces Crisis in Fight Over Senatorship.

Idaho faces a crisis in its choice of a successor to the late Senator Heyburn in the United States senate.

This crisis is the meeting place of opportunity and responsibility.

Idaho's opportunity is to send such another man as Senator Borah to the upper house of the national legislature; not such a man as Mr. Borah has grown to be, but a man of the caliber and capacities for growth that he had when he entered the senate, and with the same standards for service to the state and usefulness to the nation.

Its responsibility is to end the deadlock in the legislature and to bring about the withdrawal of every nominee for the national senatorship who is now receiving votes.

There is danger in the present deadlock; danger of a discreditable outcome through deals; danger of dishonor to the good name of the state; danger of choosing a man in the end who will represent himself and his interested supporters rather than all the citizens and interests of a progressive commonwealth.

Idaho wants no such blot on its legislative record as the deadlocks over senatorial elections that have shamed Colorado, Illinois, New York and the whole nation. But Idaho has altogether too good a chance of incurring such discredit through prolongation of the present balloting for Senator Heyburn's successor.

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LAKE CITY, UTAH  
FESS  
THE COLONEL IS 'IT'

The Progressive political conference in Chicago has turned out precisely as was generally expected. Colonel Roosevelt was not only the main figure of the conference, but was in fact the "whole show." He did not formally accept the unofficial nomination for the Presidency in 1912 which was tendered him, but he warned all others "to keep off the grass." He wants to keep the control of the Progressive party absolutely in his own hands, and yet he wants to have the nomination "forced" upon him, as he claimed it was at the Progressive convention last August. Yet then as now, he breathes threatening and slaughter against any one who might have the audacity even to think of opposing him for the nomination.

The plan of reorganizing and strengthening the Progressive party takes practically the same form as that of the Socialist organization, where every one is expected to pool in with his money and to be an active propagandist so far as his time will allow. This may indicate a future coalescence with the Socialist party, where Roosevelt seems to be fast drifting.

The unmeasured animosity which the Colonel shows against the Republican party is hard to understand. That is the party which gave him his official positions and his prominence before the American people, and yet nothing seems to suit him quite so well as to rail at and denounce the Republican party, and no one stands so high in his estimation as the one who is most vehement in denouncing that party and its leaders.

We see in this conference of the Progressives in Chicago the waning of that party. This conference put it fairly on the toboggan slide, showing clearly that Roosevelt is all there is to it; and we do not believe that the Republican party need have very much anxiety for the future with respect to the Progressives, if it will be wise and honest in its reorganization. Roosevelt's announced purpose to utterly break that party and to compel Republicans who are willing to mend their party ways, drop the standpatters, and get into the light of progression, to come to the Progressives, will necessarily be a failure. For, there is no vital issue presented by Colonel Roosevelt. As Senator Borah of Idaho says, the Progressive idea presents no issue, and he declares that any party which offers the country a comprehensive and effective programme on the subjects of national taxation, reform of our banking and currency legislation, and adequate dealing with monopolistic combinations, will have "no trouble in commanding the support of a vast majority of the people for the next quarter of a century." And he declares that when this issue is formed "we want that issue to be policies, and not persons." But that is precisely what Colonel Roosevelt does not want. Any policy which leaves out his personality is obnoxious, absurd, ridiculous, and not to be considered.

But Senator Borah is certainly right. A clear issue must be presented to the American people; and the sentiment antagonistic to the Democratic ideas must be crystallized into an issue which will be supported by all those of Republican tendencies and Republican faith; and that will be quite a different proposition from the one idea, one personality notion of the Progressive party, which has not yet progressed far enough to present an issue or to ignore the one personality. If we may judge from the Progressive conference in Chicago, there is no indication that the Progressives are yet ready to proceed any further than the pledge of absolute devotion to one person. But as Senator Borah clearly points out, that sort of thing does not form an issue before the American people, and will not serve as a basis for the formation of a new party or the regeneration of the Republican party. "Measures, not men," must be the rule, and those measures must be vital, clear-cut and such as will receive the support of the thinking portion of the American public.

BOSTON, MASS.  
DEC 2 1912

"GET-TOGETHER" TALK.

An ambitious club in Chicago is aspiring to formulate the basis upon which the republican party is to be reorganized. This inspires some remembrance of the three tailors of Leetown street who adopted the resolution, beginning:—"We, the people of England,"—

Of course all loyal republicans want to see the party reunited, and if some sort of reorganization is necessary—reorganization of a kind which both factions may accept with no sacrifice of honor or principle—they will welcome all reasonable and sensible attempts to find that basis of reorganization, too. But it does not rest with any small group of men, in any one city of the country, either to reorganize or to reunite the party.

Political parties are the results of conditions. They are the outgrowth of two great forces of nature, the centripetal and the centrifugal; the spirit of radicalism and the spirit of conservatism. Sometimes the people feel more radical than the conservatives can approve or endorse. Then the radicals carry the country. When the radicals go too far, the centripetal force sweeps the conservative party back into power again.

The reunion of the two factions of the republican party, whenever that reunion shall be brought about, will be due primarily to mistakes by the democratic leaders at Washington, who have just been entrusted with the control of the national government. The men who consider themselves radicals rather than republicans—the members of the progressive party—but who do not approve of the blunders of the democratic leaders, on the tariff, or the currency, or whatever it may be, will go back to the republican party. Some millions who voted for Mr. Wilson, but who do not thereby consider themselves bound to support any mistakes of the democratic party, will also support the republican ticket.

When that reversal of popular support will come, no man can now say. It is still months away to the time when important democratic legislation is to be anticipated. The policies of the democratic leaders have not yet been formulated. The party platform adopted at Baltimore probably affords little guidance to the party platform which will be made up by the record of the democratic house and the democratic senate, and the democratic president, at Washington. By the time the next national election comes around, the general public will have forgotten the Baltimore platform, unless some special plank is recalled for the purpose of emphasizing some partisan point against the democratic party.

In other words, the reunion of the republican party will come about, not merely through the efforts of the republican leaders; not merely through the policy adopted by the progressive leaders; but by the general history of this nation during the period between this date and the next important election.

Did LaFollette, Cummins, Dolliver, Borah, Hadley and the other progressive leaders create the progressive party? Assuredly they did not. They found certain widespread signs of public resentment against certain policies within the republican leadership. They voiced the demands of the public for reforms. They led the progressive movement, it is true, but they would have had no movement to lead, if there had not previously existed the republic-

can discontent. In turn they found their leadership wrested from them by ex-President Roosevelt, who during his career as President had not sympathized with them nor encouraged the progressive movement in any step outside of republican party lines. Mr. Roosevelt had no hand in the creation of the progressive movement, but he captured the leadership away from the men who had watched that movement grow from its small beginnings to a formidable political importance.

The very fact that Mr. Roosevelt was able to do this showed how weak the leadership was, of what is undoubtedly a strong, honest, sincere, enlightened public movement. And it is this plain lack of effective leadership that, in the long run, will mean the return of most

of the members of the progressive party to the republican party, the moment that they are convinced that the republican party has progressive aims, progressive policies, progressive leaders. The progressive party is essentially a movement of revolt, of protest, a sign of an expression of discontent. It stands for nothing particularly in national politics, while the democratic party has at least a comprehensive plan of national legislation. The one form of protest against democratic blunders, in the next two years, must necessarily be a return to the republican party.

It is noteworthy that the new congressional directory (in which the party affiliation of each congressman is reported by himself) shows no "progressives" in the senate. The "progressives" of a few months ago are already considering the advisability of uniting with the other republicans in their opposition to the democratic policies of the next congress. The decision is logical and wise.

**BORAH STANDS BY HIS PARTY**

Agency Through Which Wrongs May Be Righted.

**SENATOR HAS REMEDIES UP TO THE STATES TO REGULATE MONOPOLIES.**

Responsibility Should Not Be Saddled on the Courts—How to Make the Sherman Law an Enforceable Statute—Republicans Need Not Despair—Party Will Prove Equal to the Great Task Before It—Has Always Been Party of Progress—Proud of Its Great Record.

At the outset of his address Senator Borah, who spoke last at the Lincoln banquet last evening, dwelt with emphasis on the failure of the anti-trust law to accomplish its purpose. After developing in detail the proposition, the Idaho senator presented another indictment against it—the shifting to the courts the work which the courts are unable to do, and were never designed to do, and which in the end will break down the judicial system. The whole business world and the whole vast realm of economics are to be regulated, directed and controlled by judicial decree. It would be a farce, if it were not a tragedy. Next Mr. Borah showed that the state legislatures are responsible for the power of the trusts. The whole question of monopoly goes back to the charter powers of our corporations, he said, and the charter powers of our corporations come from the grant of the several state legislatures.

Mr. Borah next addressed himself to the remedy for the evils he had portrayed. He did not favor the repeal of the Sherman law, nor did he advocate a commission to regulate the corporation.

**THE REMEDY.**

"I would not repeal the Sherman law, but I would reduce it from a generalization to a specific, enforceable statute. To my way of thinking, it would be just about as practicable to try a man who takes the life of another for retarding the development of the human family, instead

of for the offense of homicide, as to let a corporation guilty of specific acts of fraud and extortion for restraining trade, if a corporation lowers the price of a product in a certain territory in order to injure a competitor, make that specific act a violation of the law and a basis for action, civil and criminal. If an agreement be made limiting the output of an article, if there is a division of territory, if one company foments strikes in another, make these and similar acts offenses. The justices will be able to get hold of the subject and honest business men will have a guide, while dishonest business men will not escape through the interminable labyrinth of scholastic discussion as to what constitutes a restraint of trade. We can at least put up in this wilderness of discussion and speculation a few signboards and a few notices of danger. When we have done this we should amplify the law for the benefit of private litigants who have causes of action by reason of such specific acts. No law which deals with the individual business affairs of men can ever be other than faulty and spasmodically enforced by the government. There is nowhere to be found so steady, so persistent and so effectual an enforcer of the law as the private litigant who has suffered by reason of wrongdoing. We have in such instances a million guardians interested and vigilant instead of one officer, never acting until the evil becomes all but unbearable. Make it possible, both in the way of simplicity and expense, for the individual competitor to recover for his injuries, and you will have a more uniform and a more effective enforcement of the law.

The state has no right to grant to individuals the powers of monopoly and then trifle with the people's hopes by promising safety in a commission. If I had my way I would make this a government of law in respect to these matters instead of departmental discretion—a spasmodic and individual government. I would make every corporation convicted of wrongdoing, or subject to the control of an interlocking directorate, every corporation voting the stock of another corporation or guilty of monopolistic practices, after a certain day to be fixed in advance, an outlaw to the channels of interstate trade until it should purge itself of all these powers and practices.

**DUTY OF REPUBLICANS.**

"But the Republican party need not despair at the task before it. The party which has written so many great laws upon our statute books will prove equal also to the great task," declared Mr. Borah, amid the cheers and shouts of applause that followed his declaration that he remained in the Republican ranks.

"I understand perfectly the discouraging circumstances under which we meet," continued Mr. Borah when silence was restored.

In a few days each of the departments of government will pass from Republican control and the party of almost unbroken authority for half a century retires. No party ever rose to a higher plane of service and power, and none ever descended over such precipitous paths in so short a time to the depths of humiliation and utter defeat. We find ourselves, therefore, at the shrine of our first great leader, humble and penitent, much in need of the courage and inspiration of other emergencies, hoping for the foresight and the wisdom, for the consecration and purpose of other days. Moved by the memories which invest the hour, braced by the traditions of an intrepid and militant era, we ought to lay hold again of the great and unchangeable principles of justice in which the party was conceived and born.

I understand also that we cannot live in the past alone—that our obligations are to the present. But there is a wealth of power and inspiration in the simplicity and strength, the singleness of purpose and compass of action of those old days. We see at a glance that ours has been a party of action, of constructive power. It has been a party of progress; it has pioneered the political field of the last half century. Its creeds have been crystallized into laws; its platforms of today have become accepted and cherished policies of the whole nation tomorrow. Its leaders, by the common consent of their countrymen, have taken their place in the Pantheon of the world's greatest philanthropists, soldiers and statesmen.

**PROUD OF RECORD.**

The party of the days of Lincoln may never again be equaled in moral grandeur. The achievements which are now expected and honored of all parties and by all men may not soon have their like

inside the efforts of any political party. Nevertheless, those brave old days make Republicanism a badge of honor; and why reject it? Why should not the continuance of the story be in harmony with the principles and policies of the beginning and by the worthy sons of the noble sires who started this national epic of humanity and progress? As we go forward to meet our own responsibilities and confront our own problems, why not take with us and keep with us this record, the prestige of these traditions, the irrefutable influence of these past party triumphs? It is certainly not so easy to win without them as to win with them, and the fee is just the same wherever we go. Why give up an honored name, why abandon our household gods? There has never been a time, and there will never be a time, so long as men are capable of high purposes, when the example of unselfishness and devoted men, the suffering, sacrifices and martyrdom of great and noble souls, has not counted, and will not count, in the great renewed moral battles of men. All these things, therefore, we will neither sacrifice nor abandon; nor will we compromise with wrong or wrongdoing in order to keep them.



SEP 17 1917  
SENATOR BORAH IS MANLY

These persons and papers that charge Senator Borah of Idaho with being "on the fence," or "trimming," have not the slightest justification for the charge. Those who make it are either guilty of misrepresenting the Senator and so of hearing false witness against their neighbor, or they are ignorant of the facts.

Senator Borah is not a man to trim, to hedge, or to straddle the fence on any political question. In his speech at Meridian, Idaho, on last Saturday evening, Senator Borah declared his position so openly, so manfully, and with such complete candor, that those who would like to charge him with evasion or trimming are utterly put to shame. It is well known that Senator Borah has been outspoken on all public questions, and in the speech referred to he met squarely the insinuation of his enemies that he is a trimmer. After reciting the differences between his views and those of President Taft, he stated:

If they say to you that Borah is trimming, that he does not take a stand, ask them upon what question, upon what issue, upon what measure in Congress or this campaign he has failed to take an open and decided and positive stand. Ask them if they have any doubt as to what his position will be on all these questions in the coming Congress. What policy which touches the interests of the people of the State have I not met openly and candidly? Are you yourselves in any doubt as to my position on any of these questions? If so, state them. What question is there tonight that touches your interest or your welfare or the welfare of the people of this State about which you entertain any possible doubt as to my position?

So far from it being the fact that he has in any way turned or obscured his position or failed to come out decidedly on every question before the people, the truth is that it is his independence that galls. As he says, "It is because I refuse to yield my views or modify my position on certain public questions that they [meaning his critics] are dissatisfied with me. If I were more uncertain they would be far more certain as to their support of me. If I were a little more unsteady, they would be more steadfast. Do you people want a representative in the Senate who is uncertain as to policies and will hitch up to individuals—who would yield his views and modify his opinions to harmonize with the views of those whom you do not elect to represent you?"

In the course of his speech, Senator Borah directly and manfully challenged the Republican State Committee of Idaho, a body composed of elected members from every county in the State. He, assuming that they represent the views and the wishes of their constituents, put the question squarely up to them in this form: "If they think I am not a Republican and this organization will meet and so declare, I will decline my candidacy as I am now nominated, and submit the question in another way. I will get off their ticket and test it in another way." He stated that he did not wish to embarrass either the ticket or its candidates; that if his views and his ideas of what constitutes Republicanism in this campaign are not satisfactory to the organization, he will unhesitatingly accept their verdict and thereafter will choose his own course as to how he will reach the people, "and we will find out who constitutes the Republican party in this State." And his final trumpet blast on this question was in these words: "But I say to them now that these are my views. I shall not change them or cease to advocate them. I will tell the facts in this campaign. I will not be deterred from doing so by the loss of a vote or votes in the legislature."

All this is the straightest kind of talk. It is open, candid, admirable. It

leaves no possible chance for anybody to say that Borah is a trimmer or "on the fence." Those who make that charge will do so hereafter at the peril of their own standing as truthful men. We consider Senator Borah's position in this to be beyond the shadow of question, and to be altogether such as an honest, candid, courageous man would take.

On another question also we are glad to see that Senator Borah has taken a decided position, with the prospect of weaning Roosevelt away from his infatuation for the bogus conservation of Pinchot. In the two hours' confidential talk between Senator Borah and Colonel Roosevelt on the trail from Oregon into Idaho, the Senator impressed strongly upon Roosevelt the damage that conservation is doing to actual settlers in all this mountain country, and the plain fact that it is supporting oppressive monopolies and making it impossible for the people to get away from their grasp. After this talk between the two, Roosevelt is quoted as saying that he will inquire further into the question, and if he finds the facts to be as Senator Borah represented, as he undoubtedly must, he will change his attitude in so far as the facts appeal to him and justify the change. Senator Borah's loyalty to Western interests cannot be questioned by any one, and the absolute certainty that the facts are as stated by him to Colonel Roosevelt does not admit of the least question. Senator Borah has done eminent service to the people of all this mountain country by his efforts to release the public land for settlement and homesteads in place of what is withdrawn, useless, inert, and impossible to reach by the assessor. In considering the attitude of Senator Borah, even those who might otherwise be prejudiced against him ought in all fairness to take into consideration the Senator's loyal service to the people of

this Western country in the matter of conservation, in the matter of making the acquisition of homesteads easier than it has been under the restrictive and destructive rulings of the Forestry Service, in endeavoring to lift the heavy yoke of unjust withdrawals of public land so that the development of all this region might fairly and honestly proceed as like development has proceeded hitherto in all parts of the United States under the liberal and encouraging land laws passed by Congress.

Senator Borah stands for liberty of individual judgment within the Republican party. But the Republican party has never hitherto undertaken to suppress independent judgment and the liberty of independent manhood, save only as the Federal bunch in Utah has undertaken that vicious and unworthy course, and we believe that the voters of Idaho will not only support Senator Borah in his candid independence as a Republican, but that they will return him to the Senate by such a vote as will cheer his heart and honor their selves.

#### FOR REPUBLICAN UNITY.

From end to end of the land the note of unity for the Republican party that was struck at the Union League Lincoln banquet has sounded and the sentiments expressed have made a profound impression upon the responsible leaders of both wings of the party of Lincoln. The occasion for such expressions as those of Senator Borah, Senator Jackson, Senator McCumber and others was one of sentiment, in which the hearts of all Republicans are bound up—the sentiment aroused by reminiscence over the past of a great party that has ever held to the standards of Abraham Lincoln. The fact that within a few weeks' time the Republicans will lay down the reins of government and yield to the Democrats the conduct of the nation's affairs gives particular significance to the call for unity at this time. Senator Jackson well reminded his hearers that this is a government that calls for a strong party of the opposition and that the two-party system is inherent in the spirit and genius of American government. Senator McCumber did well to center progressivism in the sentiments of Lincoln.

The great task of the Republican party is to adapt itself to the progressive needs of the nation, to take account of the failures of the Democrats when in power and to so build up the sentiment and the forces of republicanism as to make a re-

turn of the country to its standards necessary in order to insure the best good of all the people. Senator Borah struck the keynote for the Republican party of aggressive undertakings when he declared that Republicans cannot live in the past. They cannot live in confusion. They must gird themselves for the fray and they must look to the future with the confidence be gotten of the great heritage that has been theirs. Why then should the house be divided against itself? Why then should the warning of the great Republican to the nation against the dangers of the divided house need repetition in reference to the house of his political upbuilding, the house of the Republican party?

The fact that Senator Borah and other progressive Republicans, who did not go out from the tent of Lincoln and discard the high traditions of the party of which he is the noblest exemplar, are united in their desire to see the chasm bridged is the best evidence of the mellowing of the fiering resentments that led to the constitution of a woeful breach in its ranks and power. The party of action and construction is needed by the nation. The party of leaders and loyalty is demanded and the country looks to the Republicans to bring peace out of strife and healing out of schism. Why should the progressive element give up an honored name and abandon the triumphs, the sacrifices and sufferings of the party of Lincoln in order to bring about things which, insofar as they are vital, can best be promoted and solely be gained through a united Republican party. Here then is the note of harmony struck in its loftiest appeal and only by consideration of the broadest party and national service can the response be appropriate.

It may be predicted that the Republican party of the future will be progressive, not visionary, not rapid, not given to strange doctrines, but progressive in the interpretation of the best things of American life. The Republican progressive party was achieving much of the facts of progress when its work was interrupted by discord. It is ready again to take up the task it has not in fact laid down, and to prove that it is constructively progressive and surely interpretative of the truest things in the nation's life and aspirations. The field for union need not even be that of compromise, for the Republicans have never given sufficient ground for belief that their party was not broad and liberal enough to be hospitable to all forward moves. Senator Borah is Republican. He is a progressive and the party which he adorns is not narrowed, prejudiced or confined.

The times are social and industrial and questions of vast economic import are presented to the country and call for the expedients, the ideals and the resources of the Republican party. So that Senator Jackson, of Maryland, was well within the bounds when he laid emphasis upon the constructive nature of the present era. His plea for the union of the two wings of the Republican party was based upon the incontrovertible grounds of similarity of platform and principles, similarity of caliber and aims of men, similarity of viewpoint and endeavor. The things that divide are not essential, they are pressing and the life of the party is dependent upon the liberality of its leaders. Republican leaders have sounded the keynote for the exaltation of republican doctrine and unity in aims to the end of the common good. "Every dictate of party interest, of patriotism, of good government demands a reunion of the two wings of the Grand Old Party," says Senator Jackson.

The brethren now have the call to the common home extended to them and they will find that in reciprocating the sentiments expressed they will find the way of a common loyalty and a common service that will greatly advance every worthy ideal they represent as to the true function of a political party today. The speakers at the banquet have pointed the way for a fresh chapter in Republican history that may be made the more glorious because of the temporary division of Republican counsels. Shall the Republicans unite and live, shall they preserve the standards and endeavors of the party of faith and purpose? Here is the question presented at the Union League banquet that the seceding element of the party must answer in the light of a great responsibility. Maryland, the state of federal expedient and exponents, has led the way to the reconciliation of the factions of a party that, united, has been and will prove to be in the future the prophet of an ever-widening dispensation for the country.

PUBLIC LEDGER  
Philadelphia, Pa.

DEC 16 1917

THE PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY.

The annual meetings of the Pennsylvania Society of New York are always important occasions, and the dinner Saturday night was of especial value in that it disclosed the fact, about which there has of late been much doubt, that the Constitution of the United States still has some friends, that the form of government has many strong qualities and that the Republic is not wholly to be despaired of. A rare discretion was exhibited in the selection of the three chief speakers—James Bryce, the British Ambassador, whose great work on the American Commonwealth is a text book on our Constitution and our system of government; Attorney General Wickersham, whose record of trust prosecutions is, perhaps, the most notable incident of Mr. Taft's administration, and Senator Borah, of Idaho, the ablest of all the Progressive Republicans. Each of these men, representing legal and constitutional knowledge, experience in public life, acquaintance with the problems of government and with the lessons of history, declared that the Constitution of the United States and the form of government as it now exists were among the most admirable achievements of the human mind and of modern civilization. It is interesting and instructive to compare the deliberate and conscientious judgments of these men, all com-

petent to render judgment, with the wild rantings of hare-brained radicals of the present day who are trying to teach the people that change must mean reform and that the paramount duty of America in the quest of better conditions is to emasculate the instrument which has been our mainstay through good and evil times.

Mr. Bryce pointed out how the Constitution served the purpose of the nation during the terrible stress of the Civil War and remained without the change of a single word in the original document. The amendments were merely additions made necessary by the changed conditions after slavery. Mr. Wickersham derided the vicious notion now prevalent that it is necessary to tinker our fundamental law just because some enthusiasts wish to put in practice some of their fads like the initiative and referendum and recall. Let Oklahoma and Arizona experiment with their favorite devices of all sorts to their hearts' content until they are sick and tired of them, but because the restless minds of Kansas and Oregon wish to play with government that is no reason why the basic law of the nation should be torn asunder. Senator Borah, Progressive, condemned the idea that remedies for everything are to be looked for in incessant change of Constitution, but declared that if the people do their part intelligently and valiantly the Constitution will "prove equal to every emergency." All three speakers joined in expressing their solemn belief and conviction that the principles of which the Constitution is the most successful embodiment should be maintained at all hazards and at all times, the chief of these principles is, of course, that a written Constitution strictly limiting the powers of the Government should stand between the nation and the gusts of caprice and passion.

The Pennsylvania Society will render a service to its own State if it will place a printed copy of the proceedings, containing the three speeches, in the hands of members of the Pennsylvania Legislature for their guidance at the coming session. At one time when the hysteria reached its climacteric in the recent campaign it appeared likely that not much would be left of the old Constitution, but the reaction has at last set in and soon the reckless innovator will be on the defensive.

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ANTI RESERVATION MOVE.

It has justly been said that conservation of natural resources is one thing and that reservation, withdrawing these resources from use, is quite another thing. And so it is. The West is in favor of all practical, fair, and reasonable conservation. In fact, any one would be foolish to object to its because in proper conservation is the perpetuation of natural resources and the utmost utility with respect to them. But withdrawing the natural resources of the country from use is an oppression upon the settlers, a reversal of the policy of homesteading and settling the country which has been the distinguishing feature of the United States from the first. Reservation as applied has the effect of withdrawing from use the coal deposits of any given region, for example and confirming the monopoly in those who in former years obtained title to coal lands. So far, therefore, from being a popular or reasonable proposition, the withdrawal of coal lands, in confirming monopolies and allowing of their control of supply and prices, is directly opposed to the principle upon which the Sherman anti-trust law was framed. The Government's policy in thus withdrawing coal lands is, therefore, a mistaken one, and oppressive upon the country.

No less so is the policy of creating large forest reserves which, in fact, are not forest reserves at all, but merely grazing areas for the most part, having no relation to the conservation of water or the holding of the snows. There have been no surveys made which establish lines which would inclose proper forest reserves. The whole matter has been guess work, having little to do with the actual facts or with the contours or surface of the country. But upon these immense forest reserves every influence (short of actual resistance) of the forestry service is brought to bear to prevent the location of homesteads or the opening of mines. To be sure, the law expressly reserves the right of homesteading and of prospecting for mines, but it is hard for a homesteader or a lone prospector to fight the adverse influence of the bureaucrats.

Again, the withdrawal of these vast tracts of land, keeping them out of settlement, and depriving the State of the right to tax such lands, is a hardship upon these States. The State of Utah has a vast large proportion of its area withdrawn from use or possession by various sorts of reservations. The State of Oregon has more than half of its area thus withdrawn in the form of reservations or land grants. It is clearly unjust to the State to hold these lands away from settlement and to deny the settlers the right to avail themselves of the natural resources that surround them. It is, in fact, illegal also for the government of the United States to undertake to control water powers upon non-navigable streams; and yet, the law is disregarded in these activities of the bureaus and their officials, and we are getting to be about as bureau-ridden a people as are the Russians.

It is accordingly with a good deal of satisfaction that the people of the West will read the dispatch in yesterday's morning's Tribune which shows that Senator Borah of Idaho is active in trying to devise some means for release of the people of this Western country from the tyrannies of the bureaucratic service. He objected to the agreement to vote next Thursday on a so-called Connecticut river dam bill. The Connecticut river is for a portion of its length at least a navigable stream, and if the proposed dam is to be built upon the navigable part of that river, Congress would have jurisdiction, as it does not have jurisdiction of the streams all through this mountain region, there being non-navigable. Senator Borah, in making his objection, said he wanted time to perfect an amendment with a

view to "provide for the citizens of the West some relief from the conservation system;" and he continued, "I am told this bill adopts a policy as to conservation. The West does not object to the conservation which has preserved the resources, but it does want relief from the conservation that has tied up development of the West." That is precisely the point in controversy. Settlers on the Atlantic slope made themselves free with all of the natural resources of their surroundings, the timber, the water powers, the mines, everything that would help them in opening the country. The same was true of the settlers throughout the great Mississippi valley, and as to this latter the government's policy was enlarged so as to include free homesteads for hundreds of thousands of energetic pioneers and settlers. But all at once there is now a demand to have this policy reversed, and to have the development of the Western and mountain States held up for some indefinite time and for some indeterminate purpose. It is time that such folly received a check, and that the rights of the settlers under the general laws of the country should be not only protected but actively maintained. Senator Borah is doing excellent work every time that he objects to this conservation faddism which is doing so much injury to the people of the West and is retarding the development of many States. No one understands the question better than he, and no one is more competent or in a better position to make the needs and the rights of the West known, and bring to the attention of the country the evils of this new sort of conservation which is doing so much damage.

PER \_\_\_\_\_ TRIBUNE  
CALDWELL, IDA.  
PUBLISHED \_\_\_\_\_  
NOV 22 1917  
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Idaho's United States Senators.

Idaho will not lay down to any state in the Union when it comes to representatives in the senate of the United States. We claim that according to our years Idaho heads the list, both in quantity and quality. Idaho has been a state some 22 years and in that time we have had 7 different men represent us in the senate of the United States. Incidentally we also pulled off one unsuccessful contest. The first session of the legislature elected three United States senators, viz.: Shoup, Dubois and McConnell. The Populists, who were thriving in those days, were not satisfied with the senators, and after most of the members of the legislature had gone home, the 60 days of pay having run their course, proceeded to elect the fourth senator. The man elected was the late William H. Claggett. Mr. Claggett laid claim to a seat in the senate, but was not seated by that body. The three duly elected senators drew lots for the terms which they would serve. Former Governor McConnell drew a 90-day term and in that 90 days made a speech in the senate. That was the distinguishing feature of his term in the senate. Dubois drew a six year term and Shoup a two year term. During the 1895 session Shoup was re-elected for a full term. During the 1897 session Henry Helfelt was elected to the senate, and two years later Former Senator Dubois was elected to succeed Senator Shoup. Since the expiration of the terms of Senators Dubois and Helfelt we have had Senators Heyburn and Borah, and now in the 23rd year of statehood we have Senators Borah and Perky—making all told seven separate and distinct men who have represented the state of Idaho in the

senate of the United States. That is certainly going some for quantity. There has been no deterioration, and the next Republican legislature will permit none. Idaho has been well represented in the past and indications are that it will be well represented in the future.

APR 26 1912

## SENATOR BORAH.

The people of Idaho may congratulate themselves that they have a direct primary method for nomination of state officers instead of the old convention system.

Possibly nine-tenths of the people of the state desire Roosevelt, LaFollette, Borah or Cummins nominated for president. On presidential candidates, however, we have no primary law as yet and in county after county under the old convention system, Taft delegates are being elected to attend the state convention says the Ho Register.

The people with deep earnestness desire Senator Borah renominated for the senate, yet the machine is against him and if we did not have the primary methods of

nomination he would be face to face with the fight of his life.

The machine men of the state say that Borah needs watching on the tariff question. And why? Because he stands for tariff modification where tariff duties are unreasonable. He believes that schedule K is wrong, and last summer he with other progressive republican senators voted to instruct the finance committee of the senate to report out by a certain day, in some manner the Underwood bill which had to do with the woolen schedule.

Later he voted for the first LaFollette amendment. He refused to vote for the wool bill as finally agreed upon because he felt that it had gone too far. Representative French took same position on

the house side. Senator Borah's action, however, in desiring reasonable modification made him a "dangerous man" in the eyes of those who prefer that a senator should stand by schedule K without batting an eye, just as a position of Mr. French made him the object of criticism by woolen manufacturers and other big interests.

The interests and the machine politicians don't want any tariff modification. They don't like election of senators by direct vote. They don't like these new fangled agencies by which actual facts can be ascertained and the voice of the people find expression, and they don't like Senator Borah.

The place that Senator Borah has made for himself in the United State senate is an enviable one. Borah not only commands the attention of the senate and the country, but he is right, and he stands for what the people believe is right. He stands for what is best in government. He should be returned to the senate from Idaho without a doubt and we have full faith that he will receive such an expression of confidence in the vote that will be given him at the primaries as will insure his return. Yet in spite of this, if we had the old convention system, Borah would be in danger of defeat.

MAY 1-1912

## SPECIAL AGENTS TO BE MADE THE SUBJECT OF A SPEECH.

Senator Borah has introduced a resolution calling upon the secretary of the interior for a report on special agents. He wants to know the number employed, the cost of maintaining them on the pay rolls, the methods adopted by them in tying up homestead entries and the opportunity afforded entrymen to meet their complaints.

It is stated that the senator intends to use this information as a basis for a speech. Although belated, the speech will nevertheless be interesting to the whole country. It is always well to have official data, but undoubtedly the senator would have been justified in long ago rising in his place to condemn the outrageous system under which these special agents have operated in the past. Although unofficial exposures have resulted in a reform during the Taft administration, the system is still in existence and at any time may be made as inquisitorial a means for harassment of settlers as it has been in the years gone by.

When the senator speaks he might also take up the case of Hobnett, the protected favorite of Idaho's special agents and special prosecutors, whose previous noteworthy accomplishment consisted in robbing a bank and escaping punishment because he stood in with governmental hirelings who, it is believed, misrepresented the facts in Washington.

Even as a better-late-than-never effort, the forthcoming speech will attract widespread attention and should result in vigorous modification if not in displacement of a vicious system.

Salt Lake, Utah, Tribune,  
Monday, Feb. 3, 1913.

that we have seen.

## ANTI-RESERVATION MOVE.

It has lately been said that conservation of natural resources is one thing and that reservation, withdrawing those resources from use, is quite another thing. And so it is. The West is in favor of all practical, fair, and reasonable conservation. In fact, any one would be foolish to object to it, because in proper conservation is found the perpetuation of natural resources and the utmost utility with respect to them. But withdrawing the natural resources of the country from use is an oppression upon the settlers, a reversal of the policy of redeeming and settling the country which has been the distinguishing feature of the United States from the first. Reservation as applied has the effect of withdrawing from use the coal deposits of any given region, for example and confirming the monopoly in those who in former years obtained title to coal lands. So far, therefore, from being a popular or reasonable proposition, the withdrawal of coal lands, in confirming monopolies and allowing of their control of supply and prices, is directly opposed to the principle upon which the Sherman anti-trust law was framed. The Government's policy in thus withdrawing coal lands is, therefore, a mistaken one, and oppressive upon the country.

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Again, the withdrawal of these vast tracts of land, keeping them out of settlement, and depriving the State of the right to tax such lands, is a hardship upon those States. The State of Utah has a very large proportion of its area withdrawn from use or possession by various sorts of reservations. The State of Oregon has more than half of its area thus withdrawn in the form of reservations or land grants. It is clearly unjust to the State to hold these lands away from settlement and to deny the settlers the right to avail themselves of the natural resources that surround them. It is, in fact, illegal for the most part, and it is illegal also for the government of the United States to undertake to control water powers upon non-navigable streams; and yet, the law is disregarded in these activities of the bureau and their officials, and we are getting to be about as bureau-ridden a people as are the Russians.

It is accordingly with a good deal of satisfaction that the people of the West will read the dispatch in yesterday's morning's Tribune which shows that Senator Borah of Idaho is active in trying to devise some means for release of the people of this Western country from the tyrannies of the bureaucratic service. He objected to the agreement to vote next Thursday on a so-called Connecticut river dam bill. The Connecticut river is for a portion of its length at least, a navigable stream, and if the proposed dam is to be built upon the navigable part of that river, Congress would have jurisdiction, as it does not have jurisdiction of the streams all through this mountain region, these being non-navigable. Senator Borah, in making his objection, said he wanted time to perfect an amendment with a view to "procure for the citizens of the West some relief from the conservation system;" and he continued, "I am told this bill adopts a policy as to conservation. The West does not object to the conservation which has preserved the resources, but it does want relief from the conservation that has tied up development of the West." That is precisely the point in controversy. Settlers on

BOISE, IDAHO, MONDAY

the Atlantic slope made themselves free with all of the natural resources of their surroundings, the timber, the water powers, the mines, everything that could help them in opening the country. The same was true of the settlers throughout the great Mississippi valley, and as to this latter the government's policy was enlarged so as to include free homesteads for hundreds of thousands of energetic pioneers and settlers. But all at once there is now a demand to have this policy reversed, and to have the development of the Western and mountain States held up for some indefinite time and for some indeterminate purpose. It is time that such folly received a check, and that the rights of the settlers under the general laws of the country should be not only preserved but actively maintained. Senator Borah is doing excellent work every time that he objects to this conservation faddism which is doing so much injury to the people of the West and is retarding the development of many States. No one understands the question better than he, and no one is more competent or in a better position to make the needs and the rights of the West known, and bring to the attention of the country the evils of this new sort of conservation which is doing so much damage.

# Lewistown Daily News

FOR THE COLONEL

It is announced in the dispatches from Washington that Senator Borah, of Idaho, and Senator Dixon, of Montana, have announced that they will support Theodore Roosevelt as the Republican candidate for the presidential nomination this year. It is rather a striking fact that the leaders among the progressive Republicans who are associated most closely with Senator LaFollette fail to find in him those qualities of leadership that bind them to him. Cummins, Clapp, Borah and the others seem all to have had enough of the able but self seeking and wholly selfish senator from Wisconsin. Dixon's support of Roosevelt was to be looked for, and Borah is certainly one of the big men of the west.

Borah is being used by some as a suitable candidate for the vice-presidency; he has been suggested for appointment to the supreme bench to succeed the late Justice Harlan, and in the senate he is being discussed as a suitable man for president pro tem of that body, to succeed the late Senator Frye of Maine. It is notable that Senator Borah is not a candidate for any of the three offices named, but is perfectly content to discharge his duties as senator from Idaho. The fact that he is being mentioned for these three big places, however, is indication of his high standing in the senate and in the country at large. Being rated an insurgent, while, as a matter of fact, he is the most independent man in congress. Senator Borah is a strong figure in national politics, and it is figured out that as running mate for the next republican presidential nominee he would add great strength to the ticket. His well recognized legal ability has brought to his support more and stronger endorsements than have been given any other one man whose name has been considered for the supreme bench, and it is notable that

his backing comes from democrats as well as from republicans, both regulars and insurgents. In so far as the office of president pro tem of the senate is concerned, Senator Borah is regarded as a man upon whom all factions might agree, for being independent, he is not a dyed in the wool member of either republican faction, and has friends in both. Senator Gallinger has many times failed of election because he has enemies among the insurgents. Senator Borah probably could win out if his name should be presented later in the session.

The First Established and Most Complete Newspaper Cutting Bureau in the World

PORTLAND, OREGON  
MAY 9 - 1917

**BLUNDERING DUE TO IGNORANCE.**  
Amendments made in conference on the Borah-Jones homestead bill furnish cumulative proof that Congress, through ignorance, blunders in every law passed in relation to the public land. Its fundamental error is in making the same law apply to both timbered and non-timbered land. It requires the homesteader on land covered with great fir trees ranging from four to ten feet in diameter to bring as much land under cultivation on its second and third year after settlement as the man who has only to clear sagebrush and greasewood.

The absurdity of not distinguishing between timbered and non-timbered land is clearly shown in a letter from B. F. Jones published in The Oregonian.

nian. The land within ten miles of a railroad having usually been granted to the railroad company, a homesteader must go at least ten miles from a railroad to find land open to settlement. The railroad's policy not favoring the development of its grant roads into the back country are scarce and bad. Often the settler must cut a trail the full ten miles, even to get through with a packhorse. Did any of our esteemed Eastern Congressmen ever do a day's work at cutting a trail through such dense woods as we have in Oregon? If any of them had, he would admit that the mere cutting of a trail ten miles long is equal to fully a year's work in cultivating a dry farm. But the amendment to the Borah-Jones bill gives the settler no credit for this work, which is a necessary incident to the beginning of work on his claim.

His trail cut, the settler must next clear enough ground for a cabin and build the cabin. He would do well to

get this done the first year. His labor so far has been preliminary and totally unproductive. Not being a capitalist, he must go to the nearest town, logging camp, sawmill or developed farm to earn money on which to live. Having thus rided over winter and with good luck saved a little money to buy provisions and tools, he goes to his claim in the Spring prepared to clear some land and plant some potatoes and vegetables. He has no money with which to hire help and will do well to clear a couple of acres sufficiently to make a vegetable garden, leaving the big stumps to rot out. He may succeed in slashing enough additional land to start the grass growing for a cow. But the proposed law requires him to put ten of his 160 acres under cultivation that year, and another ten acres the third year. He cannot reasonably be expected to bring more than one-fifth of that area under the plow without grubbing up big stumps. A special agent would probably require him to remove every stump, which would be a physical impossibility.

Representatives of the timbered states should insist that the law take these conditions into account. They should insist that entirely different sets of provisions be made for timbered and non-timbered land. The requirements should be such as an honest, industrious man can reasonably fulfill. Unreasonable requirements lead only to evasion, with its result of perjury and fraud.

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PORTLAND, OREGON  
MAY 16 1917

**THE HOMESTEADER EARNS HIS LAND.**

Senator Borah's indignant protest against the obstacles opposed to the passage of the three-year homestead bill by Congress will find an echo in the heart of every true Western man. It should inspire the Western delegations in Congress to combine their forces and drive the bill through, in spite of the objections of Secretary Fisher. It has passed both houses and is hung up in conference by Wilson's opposition, which inspires fear of a Presidential veto.

Borah made a strong, new argument for the bill and against the Fisher amendments when he pointed out that the restrictions proposed by Fisher were in the interest of the man who money and of the speculator and against the interests of the man who goes out into the wilderness to earn a home with his hands. Fisher, who is deeply imbued with the Pinchet conservatism idea, regards as a gift the grant of a homestead to a man who lives on and cultivates it. It is not a gift; it is the wages of a man's labor. The homesteader takes worthless, unproductive land and makes it valuable. He increases the supply of food when we are all crying out about its high price due to a scant supply. He

takes land which contributes nothing to the food supply of the people or to the revenue of state and Nation, and makes it contribute to both.

When a measure of such obvious justice is obstructed, its advocates are justified in resorting to drastic measures in order to overcome the obstacles. The Rules of Congress allow of the resort to such means, and Borah and his associates are familiar with those rules.

Newspaper Cutting Bureau in the World  
EVENING UNION  
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C 30 1917

**TWO NOTABLE ADDRESSES.**

The speech which Senator Joseph W. Bailey is to make in the Senate Thursday will be the oratorical feature of the week in Washington, and probably the last elaborate effort of its author before his retirement from the Senate, March 4. This speech is to be a protest against the radical tendencies of the Democratic party, and more especially a plea for representative government as opposed to the initiative and referendum. It will command the attention of members of both parties.

Somewhat in contrast with Mr. Bailey's speech, it may be assumed, will be the address of Senator Borah in Baltimore, Lincoln's birthday. Mr. Borah will discuss the state of the Republican party, as Mr. Bailey gives his ideas of conditions in the opposite party. While Mr. Bailey is regarded as a distinct conservative, Mr. Borah is recognized as a progressive, desirous of rehabilitating the Republican party on lines acceptable to the school of legislators with which he has affiliated. But Mr. Borah, it seems, does not believe in Col. Roosevelt's doctrines relative to the Constitution and the courts, but agrees with the views of Mr. Taft, whom he supported as the regular nominee of his party, though supporting Col. Roosevelt on other grounds as long as there was hope of his landing the Republican nomination.

Senator Bailey speaks from the standpoint of a Democrat whose leadership has waned, and who is about to retire from a field in which he has been conspicuous for many years. Senator Borah speaks from the standpoint of a leader whose star still gleams brilliantly in the western sky, and who seeks new laurels through the reuniting of elements which events of the last year have divided. Both deliverances will be of interest, but of the two the speech of Senator Borah, though relating to a party that is now in the minority in our national government, promises to command the larger measure of attention.

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TERRE HAUTE, IND  
FEB 18 1917

**LOGIC (?)**

The senate was discussing a bill for the establishment of a children's bureau in the department of commerce and labor. Senator Borah, author of the bill, had explained how the huge corporations were exploiting little children, crushing them, with hard toil, while they were yet of tender years. He explained that the bill contemplated no interference with the proper relation of parents toward their own children, and that its purpose was merely to provide for the collection of statistics and information on which the separate state and municipalities could base a solution of the child welfare problem.

"In the great cities," concluded Senator Borah, "little children fester and swelter and starve and steal and die by the thousands. This bill is designed to aid them."

Then up rose Senator Heyburn, stand-patter, and for two hours the senate listened to his complaint about the "unconstitutionality" of the bill. His final argument was that Abraham Lincoln was a poor boy.

DEC 13 1912

Senator Borah is looking no larger every day in the minds of the people

all over the United States as one of the really big statesmen of the nation. The voters of Idaho for the most part probably fail to realize just how much prestige Senator Borah has in the East where his wonderful ability is viewed at close hand and where his fighting qualities for the legislation for the people is highly appreciated. Among the big men of the senate some eastern newspaper men rank Mr. Borah second, something of a compliment for a man who has just finished his first term in the senate. His ability to put things clearly and forcefully before the senate has made him a power in that body and whenever he speaks the closest attention is given him. Idaho has been put on the map in the East by the wonderful personality of both Mr. Borah and the late Senator Heyburn. While Senator Heyburn arrived at his influence after several terms, Senator Borah jumped into prominence almost at the beginning of his term. What he accomplished can be said to be directly due to his willingness to back any movement for general good, regardless of the cost to himself. During his campaign his enemies accused him of straddling the fence, but the real judges of the question, the voters, stated in no emphatic terms that they approved of his record and his stand. After all it is the voters to whom he must look for endorsement and not the smaller class of politicians.

Portland, Ore. Journal  
May 10, 1912

#### NEW HOMESTEAD LAW

THE conference committee between senate and house on the Borah-Jones homestead bill having reached an agreement the amended bill will be reported to senate and house at an early day.

The latest requirement as to the area to be cultivated before patent is granted is a compliance in principle with Clifford Pinchot's suggestion.

Shortly stated the main provisions of the new bill are—reduction to three years of the homesteading period—leave of absence not exceeding five months in each year when

establishing residence—the three years to run from the time of actual residence, and a settler to be allowed a delay not exceeding 12 months from date of filing if climatic conditions, sickness, or other unavoidable causes demand it—cultivation of one sixteenth of the area of entry is required during the second year, and one eighth of the area the third year.

The cultivation requirement is to apply to 160 acre homesteads, to enlarged homesteads, and to homesteads on reclamation projects.

The subject has been so thoroughly thrashed out in committee, both in senate and house, that a speedy passage of the bill may be expected. The views of Secretary Fisher have been laid by him before the committee and every effort made to meet them. There is no probability of a presidential veto of the bill in its amended form.

In many changes made the new bill is an adoption of western views of which Senator Borah has been a persistent advocate.

BOISE, IDA.

STATESMAN

JUN 22 1912

#### IDAHO AT THE CONVENTION.

The Idaho delegation to the national Republican convention was uninstructed, although it was the understanding at the Lewiston convention that six of the delegates would vote for him as against Taft or any other candidate for the nomination, while later on it was known the entire eight would vote that way. There was no binding reason why all of them should have voted against Senator Root, one of the biggest and brainiest and one of the most loyal Republicans of the nation, for temporary chairman.

The candidate opposed to Senator Root was presented by the LaFollette delegation. There might have been some justification for Idaho delegates who are Roosevelt men at heart voting for the LaFollette candidate because of the Roosevelt line-up behind him, but there was no obligation imposed upon those of the Idaho delegates who are Taft men at heart to vote for the LaFollette men. Yet all eight of the Idaho delegates voted for Governor McGovern of Wisconsin for temporary chairman. Even State Chairman Heitman voted for him, although he had stated before he left for Chicago, what was well known, that he was a Taft supporter and, furthermore, that he was not bound by any pledge or promise to support Roosevelt. There seems to be little doubt that he was pledged to vote for Roosevelt but as a Taft man and as head of the Republican organization in Idaho it seems that he might have avoided giving noticeable affront to the president's side.

Mr. Heitman may have some difficulty explaining his attitude if he shall continue to be chairman of the Republican party in Idaho and if President Taft shall be renominated.

Senator Borah has been more than an Idahoan in this convention. He has been a national figure and has been placed in several trying positions. Borah has consistently supported Colonel Roosevelt but he early announced that he would not bolt the convention if Roosevelt were defeated. This announcement was not made, however, until after the Roosevelt side had given him a prominent place in their plans. It will be recalled that the colonel announced he had even sidetracked Heney for Senator Borah as his companion-speaker at the Roosevelt mass meeting, and it was further announced that Senator Borah was the choice of Roosevelt for temporary chairman.

But when Senator Borah announced that he would not follow Colonel Roosevelt out of the Republican party a change occurred that all readers of the convention dispatches must have observed.

Senator Borah had only gotten started on his speech at the mass meeting when Roosevelt appeared and the senator was forced to retire. The Idaho solon probably felt the humiliation of it but restrained any feeling to express his resentment. He had not cared to make the speech, anyway, his time being taken up in preparation of his keynote speech as temporary chairman.

It seemed, though, that it involved a distinct lack of courtesy for Colonel Roosevelt, who was only across the street, to come tearing into the hall during the senator's speech. It would

have shown proper consideration for the senator and would have reflected credit upon the colonel if the latter had remained away until the speaker had concluded.

The colonel evidently could not withstand the magnetic attraction of the cheers that greeted Senator Borah.

Perhaps there was no connection between this incident and the declaration of Senator Borah that he would not bolt, but it seems to bear some significance in view of subsequent developments.

It will be remembered that the senator was unceremoniously sidetracked in the matter of the chairmanship. Senator Borah was kind enough to say that he endorsed the change to McGovern but undoubtedly he had also detected the feeling of antagonism to him in the Roosevelt camp because of his refusal to submit to the dictation of the club-wielder.

It is noticeable, too, that all of Senator Borah's wise suggestions as to procedure in the convention were summarily rejected. Perhaps their adoption would not have changed the result, but certainly the senator's program was far better than that attempted to be put through by the Roosevelt side.

Possibly Senator Borah will seal his lips as against revelation of the inside history of these developments, but the deductions here presented seem to be thoroughly justified by the undisputed facts that have been given to the public.

Cheyenne, Wyo.

Farmer & Rancher.

April.

#### HOMESTEAD LAWS.

With two bills introduced in Congress, it appears that something will be done in favor of the homesteader.

The bill by Senator Warren provides for homestead entries of six hundred and forty acres in certain of the western states, while the bill by Senator Borah is intended to make the life of the homesteader somewhat easier.

Senator Warren's bill provides for homestead entries of six hundred and forty acres upon land non-irrigable, non-mineral, and unreserved which do not contain merchantable timber in the states of Arizona, Colorado, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington and Wyoming. Any homestead entryman under the Mondell homestead

act who has not made final proof may enlarge contiguous to his former entry to make a total of six hundred and forty acres. Both entries are to be considered as one and will be completed as though all had been entered at the last date. At least twenty-five acres must be broken and placed under cultivation during the second, third, fourth and fifth years, and all lands so broken must be continuously cultivated to some agricultural crop other than native grasses up to date of proof.

For lands taken up under the Warren bill no patent is to be issued until after the expiration of twenty years from the date of entry. The title of the land, however, may be assigned to other parties and the assigner must reside upon the homestead and comply with the provisions of the act in regard to cultivation of the land, etc.

Senator Borah's bill amends the homestead laws, making it possible to obtain a deed for the land after a period of three years, and will allow an absence of an entryman not exceeding a period of six months in any one calendar year from his homestead. This bill, if it becomes a law, will make conditions more favorable for the homesteader, as it gives him an opportunity to earn support for himself and family while placing his homestead in condition to bring returns.

JOURNAL  
FEB 1 1912

### Another Dream of Reconciliation.

The number of old-fashioned republicans and Roosevelt progressives is so pitifully small in Florida, and for that matter, throughout the South, that the repeated and so far futile attempts of the standpat republicans to conciliate the Rooseveltians and reorganize their party on a basis of respectable dimensions, seem like a foreign imbroglio, carrying no more interest to our people than the Balkan war or the progress of the young Chinese republic. Yet, under the circumstances the Roosevelt vote was phenomenally large and in a number of states these efforts to unite two widely divergent political bodies is a subject of vital interest. But to Floridians and to southerners generally it is only amusing and they only play the role of innocent bystanders.

The first attempt was made only a month after the election at a widely advertised conference of governors. These dignitaries made a hurried announcement that no steps at union would be made for a year.

The next step was a great banquet in New York early in January. It was to be a great demonstration of progressivism that would bring all the deserters back to the grand old party. But the places of honor at the table were filled by such men as John D. Archbold, Ellihu Root, Crane, Guggenheim, Penrose, Barnes, Depew and J. P. Morgan and all the speakers lauded the first Chicago convention. Of course all this fell flat.

Then Mr. Munsey came forward with his plan for a holding company that would obliterate both parties. Neither the republicans nor the progressives had a word of endorsement.

The latest plan is to unite under the leadership of Senator Borah, of Idaho. Senator Borah is a strong man and although he did not sever his connection with the old republican organization, he has little in common with the principles of the party and has been steadfastly voting against the republicans in the senate on all large questions on which senators are divided on party lines.

Statesmen of the Borah type will never assimilate with the Cannons, the Smoots, the Penroses and the Guggenheims and this step will fail signally as have all the others.

It is probably true the same old republican party will have a ticket in the field four years from now and will show considerable strength, but the

hundreds of thousands of voters who deserted it because they want a better and freer government will never return. If the Wilson administration carries out the democratic principles as the indications at present show, these voters are much more likely to become real democrats.

This weather smacks of romance and violets.

GOODING, IDA.

LEADER

MAY 3 1912

### WHY THIS EXTRAVAGANCE?

The Borah-Jones homestead bill has passed the House and is now before the Senate Committee. Secretary Fisher has given it out that he will

use every means at his command to prevent the bill passing until it has been modified to meet his ideas. Mr. Pinchot has also decided that he don't want the bill in its present form and states just what HE will accept. Now Mr. Fisher is a citizen of the United States and at present fills the office of Secretary of the Interior, a purely executive office. It is his business to enforce what laws Congress shall pass and no more of his business as to what laws shall be passed than it is of any other citizen of the United States, unless he has some hidden interest to protect, which it seems he must have. As to Mr. Pinchot, if the newspaper reports are correct, he is not even a citizen of the United States, but is a British subject. Yet these two men assume to dictate what laws Congress shall or shall not pass. If the United States Congress permits these two meddling busybodies to bulldoze it into modifying laws to suit their individual opinions which have all the evidence of being purchased opinions and being the property of great interests, then Congress should adjourn and pass its authority over to Fisher and Pinchot. These two men could make such laws as they wish, and at much less expense to the taxpayers, than by doing it as the present conditions require. If Congress is forced to comply with the wishes of these two gentlemen why hamper the gentlemen with a Congress, just turn the law making power over to them and save money by doing so. Why the present extravagance? Why have a Congress and a Fisher and Pinchot at the same time. Let's dismiss Congress until Fisher and Pinchot pass from the stage of action.

Rigby, Ida.

Star.

MAY 2 1912

### Favorable to Borah.

A recent letter from Boise to The Star says:

"It was feared by some of the friends of Senator Borah that the Taft and Roosevelt contest here in Ada county would injure that gentleman in his fight for a return to the United States Senate, but such will not be the case. Hon. John M. Haines who is a candidate for the nomination for governor on the Republican ticket said to your correspondent that in his view, notwithstanding the Taft and Roosevelt tilt, all hands will unite in supporting Senator Borah. Mr. Haines said that he had talked with a number from different parts of the state and they are a unit in favoring Mr. Borah. In this connection it may be stated that Mr. Haines' candidacy is being favorably received all over the state. It is thought by the leading business men that he will give the state, if nominated and elected, a good business administration. It is not generally known that Mr. Haines in his pioneer days of Kansas was a farmer, but such is a fact. He and his wife settled on a tract of land near Richfield, Kansas, and devoted their energies to improving it. Mr. Haines knows the is in earnest sympathy with their struggles especially here in Idaho, and should he be elected governor the agricultural interests will find in him a strong and able friend."

SALT LAKE CITY

TRIBUNE  
MAY 4 1912

### IRRIGATED HOMESTEAD BILL.

It is a good thing to see that Congress in this session devoting its attention more than usual to the interest of the Western settler. The bills for the relief of homesteaders, for allowing the taking up of additional homestead sites, and for the relief of settlers under reclamation projects, are receiving their due care and attention, especially in the Senate; and it is reasonable to hope that important beneficial results will be reached.

Senator Borah of Idaho has made himself prominent in pushing the bill for the relief of homesteaders by reducing the residence requirement and allowing the homesteader, where it is impossible for him to make a living on his homestead at first, to absent himself a definite period every year in order to earn money enough to support himself and his family. The Senator has also introduced and is urging a bill for the relief of settlers on reclamation land projects. It releases the settler from the immediate and irksome requirements which the irrigation law as first passed required, and in lieu of that it places a Government lien upon the settler's land for the proportion of the cost of putting in the reclamation plant that the land bears to the whole land which is to be reclaimed. It provides that no patent shall be given to the settler until he has paid forty per cent of the charge for putting in the reclamation plant, nor until the settler has put half of his land under cultivation; and the lien referred to gives the Government ample security for the remaining sixty per cent; and this is also reinforced by the amount already paid by the settler and in the increased value of the land due to buildings and cultivation. At the same time, the settler is able to borrow money on mortgage subject to the Government's lien, with which to put in or add to his improvements. These in turn add further value to the farm and increase the Government's security, while at the same time they add to the settler's means of payment.

If the House will now agree to the passage of this bill together with that of the three-year homestead bill, (as we find detailed and urged in the Portland Oregonian.) it should do much to increase the number of settlers coming to the West and avert the flood of settlers which has been attracted to Canada by the liberal land laws of that country. "Promoting the full settlement of land irrigated by the Government will also increase the sum to repay annually to the reclamation fund, and will thus provide funds for further irrigation projects," as our Oregon contemporary points out. This will be furthered by the Borah law referred to, because that law will enable the farmers to get a good start, so that after they have paid forty per cent and got

their patent, subject to the Government lien, they will be in excellent condition not only to further develop their homesteads, but to refund to the reclamation service the amounts expended on the reclamation plan in which the homestead is embraced, and the whole procedure will be put on a more businesslike footing than at has been ever before.

This legislation is greatly needed in the West, and it is to be hoped that the House will meet the Senate's views, and concur in the passage of these measures.

TIMES  
MAY 10 1912

#### HOW BIG PAPERS REGARD SENATOR BORAH

The following editorial from the Chicago Tribune of recent date is reprinted herewith for a double reason. One is to show the high regard in which Senator Borah of this state is held and the favorable manner in which the great papers of the country comment upon his attitude upon public questions, and the other is because it deals in such a clear manner with a point which the Capital News has long tried to emphasize and that is that business itself is making a terrible mistake in taking the attitude that it has assumed that only irrational and radical men are back of the progressive movement and that the way to handle it is to cry it down. Progressivism is a living fact in the country and will prevail. The sooner vested interests and special interests realize this and attempt to assist in the settlement of the evils complained of, the better it will be with the country and the better it will be for those same interests. That is the point we have desired to emphasize and that is a point brought out in the Chicago paper's editorial which is as follows:

The American people will not ignore industrial conditions such as were described in the report by the labor committee of the United States senate on Friday. The chairman of this committee is Senator Borah, one of the strongest and ablest members of the senate, a man who, while progressive, never has laid himself open to criticism as an extremist.

The reports is based on facts collected by the committee in an investigation of actual conditions of labor in the steel mills, and its conclusions are drastic enough to command the attention of the nation.

Describing conditions as "a brutal system of industrial slavery" the report proceeds:

"This government is bound in its own defense, for its citizenship, its life, to interpose between the strong and the weak. No man can meet the obligations and discharge the duties of citizenship in a free government who is broken in spirit and racked in body through such industrial peonage.

"Before he has reached the prime of life under such conditions, sodden in mind and broken in health, he is cast off as a useless hulk—a burden and a curse in society and a menace to the government. It is just as much the government's duty to protect citizens from such outrageous treatment as from the burglar and highwayman."

On the other hand, a committee of the stockholders of the United States Steel corporation at the same time has reported, after going over the mills and mines, praising the management for its treatment of employees.

This is a flat contradiction of the senate charges. It comes, of course, from an interested source, yet is entitled, perhaps, to some consideration, though by no means to acceptance. If the stockholders' committee is right the senators have been misled.

If the senators are right the stockholders and the public are being deceived. This issue is important enough to be thrashed out to a conclusion. Evils such as are alleged by the senate committee are the soil of revolution, and the political intelligence as well as the moral sense of the American people are demanding more and more imperatively that they be wiped

TIMES  
PAPER  
HAILEY, IDA.  
PUBLISHED  
FEB 5 1913  
DATE

#### Borah a Big Man

Chairman Ben. W. Gray states that Senator Borah has been successful in impressing the Senate with his worth during the short time he has been in Washington, says the Capital News. "But I want to tell you," said Mr. Gray, "that William E. Borah is the big man in the United States Senate. Not only is he a big man in Idaho, but he is a big man in the nation and he is so recognized by all members of the United States Senate. Now that Bailey of Texas has retired, the honors lie between Borah of this State and Senator Reed of Missouri as to which is the greatest orator of the United States Senate; but aside from that Senator Borah is looked to and consulted as are few of the big men of the nation. Idaho may well be proud that it has such a man to represent it."

#### NATIONAL PARTY AND STATE LAWS.

"Can you give to a voluntary organization greater power than is invested in a sovereign state?" asked Senator Borah when the contest in the Fourth California district was before the republican national committee. It is a vital question, and it serves very well to call national attention to the confusion brought about by the enactment of presidential primary laws of many sorts in different states. As a matter of policy, it might have been better for the national committee to overlook its call, which provided that the unit for the election of delegates should be the congressional district. The California law made the state the unit. Taft carried one district and a contest was brought. In voting to seat the two Taft delegates the committee was only upholding the provisions of its call, and yet the seating of the two Taft delegates has been the occasion for criticism because Roosevelt carried California.

Fair-minded persons will readily see that neither side of the contention is without strong arguments.

But to return to Borah's question as to whether greater power can be given to a voluntary organization than to a sovereign state. The republican party is national. The convention in Chicago will be held only because the national committee called it. The California law does not and could not call a republican national convention. It recognizes the existence of the national committee, and by rights the law should have recognized the rules of the committee, which provide that the congressional district shall be the unit of representation. If every state in the Union should disregard the rules of the national committee and legislate to suit itself, it must be evident to reasonable persons that a national party organization could not long survive. It would be confronted with demands for innumerable exceptions to its rules, and to grant them would be to destroy the national organization.

At first thought, it may seem that a state law should be superior to the rules of a voluntary organization. Certainly that would be true if the voluntary organization were a state affair. But in the California case the state law conflicts with the rules of a national voluntary organization—an organization that has been in existence since the republican party was founded, an organization the jurisdiction of which extends over all the states in the Union.

There is no denying that at the present time a great many persons would welcome the destruction of party organizations, little realizing that there must be organization if anything worth while in a political way is to be accomplished. Such persons will be disposed to contend that a state law should be superior to the rules of a voluntary organization, though it is national in scope.

We may be in a transitional period during which old organizations will be broken up and new ones formed. There's no telling, and yet readers of political history and older citizens will recall conditions somewhat similar to those of the present time. The year 1896 brought a split in the democratic party, the gold standard wing leaving the main body. On the republican side there was also something of a split, the silver republicans leaving the party. But the

republican and democratic parties, national organizations, exist today.

Criticism of the republican national committee for seating two California delegates favorable to Taft will be most pronounced among persons who care little for party organization, anyhow.

The whole situation argues strongly for a federal law to govern presidential preference primaries, to take the place of sundry sorts of state laws. Whatever may be thought of the question of whether the rules of a voluntary national party organization should be superior to what Borah calls the law of a sovereign state, most persons will readily admit that a federal law governing presidential primaries would be superior to any and all state laws on that question.

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#### HE IS NOW IN CHICAGO.

With his grip packed, his new hat close at hand, his extra eye-glasses in his pocket, and the automobile at the door, Theodore Roosevelt sat waiting in his home on Friday for the psychological moment. He knew it was coming and was ready for it. When it arrived he hastened at once for the fast train to Chicago. He had given the impression that he had not decided what to do, but the chances are that he knew all the time what he would do. And he did it. He had made up his mind to play the game to the limit. He knew that he held some of the cards and felt that he must go to the convention city to see if he could draw some more cards. He is there now. He began his journey by the train on which he rode striking a rock; yet he went on his way.

When he reached Chicago he was greeted by a great throng of admirers and others, and at the station there was the semblance of a good-natured mob. It was a hurrah, and pushing and scrambling were the features. And the Colonel waved his new hat and shouted fraud and robbery and several other things, not forgetting to tell the "plain people" that he was there to save them from the scoundrels who had taken possession of the national committee and were planning to take possession of the convention. It was just the sort of a welcome he enjoys, and the general characteristics of the crowd indicated the sort of a convention he is no doubt seeking to bring about.

He has started in to bully and threaten, and he began by hurling epithets at the national committee, making no distinctions in favor of his own friends who made quite a number of the votes on delegates unanimous. He went to the extreme of referring to the President of the United States as "a receiver of stolen goods." Such a blatant outburst from a former President against the man he had helped make President may please the howlers and the shouters, but the thoughtful American citizens can have no sympathy with that sort of thing. The game to be played now is not so much to contest the seating of the delegates as it is to "ween away" some of the Taft delegates by persuading them that they are not bound to keep faith. His efforts, it is related by many of the correspondents, is to work upon the negro delegates from the South. And there the situation stands.

The Taft forces claim to have a safe margin of delegates, but the Roosevelt men insist that they can turn the

side now that the Colonel is on the spot to outline the strategy to be used. The spectacle presented by Roosevelt at this time—his former position and his former attitude toward the men he is now charging with being a receiver of stolen goods, being considered—is not one to be taken as adding dignity to the office of President. Starting out with the proposition that the "the people" had called him, he has put himself in the position of a schemer for votes. He may cook up "enthusiasm" in Chicago, but he is to find that the insulting reference to all the members of the national committee as "corrupt politicians" is not to be passed by lightly. He cannot mean that Senator Borah, for instance, who voted to seat a number of Taft delegates, is the sort of man pictured by the Colonel's reference to the committee. The situation is tense, it is true, but there is yet hope that the majority will do its part in the face of intimidation. This is to be a most interesting week in Chicago, and political history is to be made.

OLD HERALD  
 ON THE NEW  
 FEB 7 1912

**REPUBLICAN TROUBLE.**

It appears from the special Washington correspondence in the eastern papers that a movement, well financed, is on foot to reorganize the republican party and bring the two factions together so there will be only one ticket in the field against the democratic party the next time. It is said that the movement contemplates the retirement of the old leaders of both factions and to make the new organization somewhat progressive. It is said by these correspondents that among those who are interested in the plan and really directing it are Senators Borah of Idaho, La Follette of Wisconsin, Cummins and Kenyon of Iowa and Works of California, and that Senator Borah will deliver a series of speeches in quarters where it is thought they will do the most good and thus get the plan into working order.

The question has often been asked since the election: What will the republican party do? Will it die like the old whig party did? Will it consent to become a minority party with no hope of controlling the government? Will it attempt to gather all the factions together, rally them under the old name and make a real fight to get back into power? The latter plan is the one that seems to have been adopted, but while it eliminates both Taft and Roosevelt it is doubtful whether those who waged such bitter war against each other in the last campaign can ever be induced to work in harmony. Then it is exceedingly doubtful if Roosevelt can be "eliminated." That depends entirely upon himself and not what a coterie of senators in Washington may do.

It will be noted that the senators named as managing this affair are all of one faction, the progressives, and no mention is made of Lodge, Penrose, Smoot, Gallinger, Warren and others of the same sort. How can the factions come together unless they are included? To a man up a tree the prospect of success does not seem good.

**RECORD HERALD**

Chicago, Ill.

JUN 14 1912

**The California Contest.**

Having protested against wild, premature and unfair attacks on the Republican national committee, THE RECORD-HERALD is bound in candor to say that the decision in the California contest, involving two delegates from the fourth district, is distinctly open to

question. It is technical and narrow. It is not in harmony with the principle of the presidential preference primary. If many decisions had been made in the same spirit, talk about the steam roller and the "taking" of "needed" delegates regardless of merit in contests would have been amply warranted.

President TAFT is said to have carried the fourth district, but under the California law there were no district delegates. All the delegates were delegates at large. Colonel ROOSEVELT carried the state at the primary by a majority of 77,000, and was entitled to all the delegates. What he did in the case of Massachusetts, in renouncing the delegates at large because the President had the indorsement of the Republican electorate, should have been done by the national committee in the California case.

THE RECORD-HERALD agrees with Senator BORAH that "you can't give a voluntary organization like the national committee greater power than is vested in a sovereign state." Where a state statute and a rule or tradition of a purely voluntary organization clash, the state policy should prevail. The presidential primary is here "to stay," and party organizations should frankly recognize the spirit of the new order.

**Pendelton, Ore.**

GREGONIAN

JUN 25 1912

**CORRUPTING THE GENERALS.**

Daily it becomes more evident that the troubles in the Roosevelt army come from the personal ambitions of several big Roosevelt leaders. Among the colonel's generals are several very able young statesmen. They are progressive and popular and seemingly have bright futures before them. None of them, however, are of presidential calibre and they would not be considered for a moment in this connection were it not for the fact it is excellent politics for the reactionaries to "jolly them up" and by inflating them with their own importance bring on the disruption of the Roosevelt forces.

Most conspicuous among the Roosevelt leaders are Hadley and Borah. Borah was wanted for temporary chairman and throughout the early stages of the battle he was everywhere acclaimed as one of the great men of the party and a progressive leader. But Borah has never favored a bolt and so he could not be relied upon by the Rooseveltians as a thick and thin fighter.

Upon Governor Hadley greater hopes were placed. He was the floor leader of the Roosevelt forces and it seems plain he was counted upon to go the limit. But when the Taftites adroitly rang the bells for Hadley's own nomination for president, he listened to the music and his zeal for Roosevelt flagged. Yesterday he favored waiting for "further developments" and would not say that he would walk out of the convention in the event the machine stood solidly by the fraudulent convention roll.

What the final outcome will be is still in doubt of course. But at this time it looks like Waterloo for the colonel and if such it proves to be the defeat may be charged more than anything else to Marshal Ney.

Newspaper Clipping  
 THE NEW ORLEANS LAZARUS  
 New Orleans La.  
 MAY 25 1912

**SENATOR CRANE'S RETIREMENT.**

The announcement of Senator Crane of Massachusetts that he will retire from the Senate at the expiration of his present term in March next will be attributed by most observers, we dare say, to the marked changes in the spirit and methods of the upper chamber, and to the present political trend, rather than to the Senator's yearning for private life. He is not an old man, as age is reckoned among the elder statesmen, nor is he old in senatorial service, having taken his seat in 1904. But he has been, since the retirement of Senator Aldrich, perhaps the leading exemplar of the old order in the Senate—and he probably realizes, as the Rhode Island statesman did before him, that the old order is passing.

Senator Crane was one of that able group of Republicans which, under the lead of Senator Aldrich, obtained practically complete control of the Senate and held it until the insurrection of the progressives on their own side. When Mr. Aldrich quit, the leadership of the Old Guard was somewhat divided, but Mr. Crane secured recognition at once as one of the ablest of the leaders. He was a quiet worker, who moved his wonders to perform in committee and cloakrooms, seldom or never taking part in the debates upon the Senate floor. His ability was never questioned, however, and his influence was demonstrated by his selection as one of the President's principal advisers.

But the theory of senatorial control in which he had been instructed and which he practiced assiduously had begun to find opposition even in Senator Aldrich's day. Since Senator Crane's ascendancy the fight upon it has been fierce and measurably successful. The select circle of Republican elders found themselves unable to enforce discipline in their own ranks. Senators like La Follette, Cummins, Borah and Bristow flatly refused unquestioning obedience. Clash after clash resulted in a temporary coalition of the insurgents and the Democrats and the discomfiture of the Old Guard.

It has not been easy sailing for Senator Crane and his co-leaders, and as new men have come into the Senate the way has grown more and more difficult for these defenders of the old order. Not only so. The Massachusetts Senator has been active in support of President Taft's candidacy for renomination. He helped to fight the Taft battle in his own State, and shared in the President's discomfiture there. Subsequent developments in Maryland and Ohio may have increased his distrust of the future. Senator Crane is widely recognized as an exceptionally shrewd and far-seeing political leader. The announcement of his decision to retire, coming at this particular time, will very naturally be regarded, therefore, as peculiarly significant.

Friday, September 13, 1912

**WELL ILLUSTRATED.**

The Kewanee Star-Courier makes the following point with reference to Senator Borah:

Senator Borah of Idaho will not be opposed for re-election by the third party of his state, according to an announcement today from Boise, where a convention was held yesterday. Senator Borah did not get endorsement men through flirtations carried on with the third party for he has frankly announced he is a straight-out Republican and if he had to sacrifice his office because of it, it would have to be. It was so generally recognized, however, that Senator Borah stands for sound, honest politics, that it was deemed the part of folly to oppose him and by so doing defeat him.

Senator Borah is a man of the right type in our present day political life. Real progress can expect more from men of his character and ability than from any other source.



JUN 1 1912

NO BOLT.

Senator Borah of Idaho, who is doing the fighting for the Roosevelt forces in the national committee, says there will be no bolt of Roosevelt men in any event. If the rule of reason is to govern he is right.

People who take seriously the talk of bolting have little conception of the political value of the assets and good will of a going political party. True, party stock has gone down in recent years. Yet it is conservative to say that the party name in the case of either of the major parties is today worth four million votes. Men have been voting after the name democratic for eighty years, the name republican for nearly sixty. Each party has a normal strength of some eight million votes. It is no exaggeration to say that to half of these their party is a Naomi to be told: Wither-soever thou going, I will go.

For the Roosevelt men to bolt at Chicago, however unfairly treated, would be to file quit claim deeds to these four million votes. Without them a bolting party could not hope to win this year. Bolting would be justified, then, only on condition that a present failure to control the party is permanent.

As a matter of fact the Roosevelt wing of the party has already won control, whether it win or lose at this convention. The national committee now so potent in nominating a candidate is that anomaly of American politics—a body exercising authority after its personnel policies have been overruled in the election of successors. Hence the Roosevelt men have all to lose and nothing to gain by bolting. Bolting would defeat Taft, if nominated, but they can achieve that object if they wish without losing party caste, this by staying away from the November polls, and thereafter take possession of the party for themselves.

Mr. Roosevelt is too shrewd a politician not to see this. He saw it in 1884. He sees it now. The talk of bolting is all well enough. It may have the intended effect of encouraging courteous treatment by committee and convention. But as to actual bolting—neither Mr. Roosevelt nor his friends are the sort to cut off their nose to spite their face.

Fisher Raises Objections Threatens to Recommend Its Veto.

(STATESMAN BUREAU.)

WASHINGTON, May 4.—The conference committee on the Borah-Jones 3-year homestead bill today undid its effective work of yesterday and is again in disagreement because of objections raised by Secretary Fisher. The secretary objects to requiring the cultivation of only one-eighth of the entry at the time of making final proof and holds out for at least one-quarter.

Siding With Fisher.

Three members of the subcommittee are now siding with the secretary on this point. In addition to this Fisher is insisting upon the incorporation of various amendments regarding power sites, timber, coal and other materials, all of which were voted down in the house and are objected to by most of the western members.

Threatens Its Veto.

It is also reported that Fisher stands ready, as heretofore threatened, to recommend the veto of the bill unless it is amended to meet his views. Various western senators and members are in favor of letting the bill die rather than pass it with restrictions that will make it practically inoperative. The outlook for an agreement is not encouraging, as the conference committee appears to be evenly divided.

WORLD

POLITICIANS VS. PRINCIPLES.

Billy Sunday is quoted as having said in one of his sermons at Fargo last week that the people are and should be placing man above party. A short time ago in the Senate of the United States Senator Borah of Idaho, who measures up to the standard in statesmanship and who is affiliated with the Progressive element of the Republican party, protests vigorously and forgotten principles in the clamor for office of individuals and the party squabbles between men. Senator Borah points out the high plane of statesmanship taught and practiced by Lincoln as an example of the deterioration in political life that we have gone through. He illustrates by the debates between Lincoln and Douglas which were based solely upon the fundamental principles of government, and that during these debates where feeling ran high, Lincoln never forgot that the interests of the people were not concerned in the political advancement of any man but that it was a question of right and wrong; in other words a question of principle.

The World believes that Senator Borah is right and that Billy Sunday is wrong; that the difference between the two is the difference between the man who has the capacity of understanding fundamental principles and the man who appeals to superficial thought that is swayed by emotional statements. The establishment as an accepted fact in political life of correct principles has a beneficent influence on the whole people, and when the people are educated to a belief in those principles which are correct, and to the high standards of morality that go with them something permanent will have been established. The election to office of any man, no matter how good, regardless of political doctrines which he believes in does not establish any principle for the benefit of the people, and it is exceedingly dangerous when the people pin their faith to any one man or set of men. True principles are right and unchangeable, whereas men are human and no matter how honest are liable to err, and most honest men are liable to have their best judgment warped by the desire of personal aggrandizement and selfish ambitions. History has clearly demonstrated that of even our greatest men.

A government founded upon the personal fortunes of any man or any set of men is unstable and sooner or later will find itself drifting from its moorings and a chaotic condition must follow, as the people will be divided according to the factions and the followings of the leaders; but a government in which the people disregard the political welfare of a few men and seek to establish principles of economic truth and righteousness, and where officials are only incidents or instruments for these purposes, is one of permanence and endurance.

Partisanship is not a thing to be despised but a thing to be honored and respected and partisanship clearly understood is but the evidence of patriotism. A man who is patriotic and thinks must reach certain conclusions as to the right and wrong policies for the permanent good of the government and as those policies or principles are advocated by one party or another he becomes a partisan of that party because he believes that the establishment of those principles or policies are for the best interests of the people and the ultimate good of the whole people. Whereas when men cease to be partisans and cease to have political principles they become but tools and instruments of politicians and occupy much the same position as the hoard of courtiers

and cowards that followed in the trails of kings and princes of old. We are drifting away from our moorings. We should get back to the truth and relearn that principles are worth fighting for, but that the political fortunes of men concern us only as they are instruments in establishing the principles that we believe in.

ANDREEN WASH

HERALD APR 25 1912

Senator Borah of Idaho.

If the plans of the Idaho Progressive Republican league are carried out Senator William E. Borah will figure as a dark horse at the national Republican convention. The league proposes that a solid Borah delegation be sent to the convention from Idaho and if neither Taft nor Roosevelt is nominated on the first ballot to push the Idaho statesman. They believe he is the only progressive who would be satisfactory to the conservatives.

Senator Borah, politically and otherwise, is regarded as an able citizen.



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WILLIAM E. BORAH.

He is much liked in the senate for his profound knowledge and grasp of public questions. He believes in the election of senators by direct vote, but is opposed to the recall when applied to judges. As a debater he has few superiors in the senate. Senator Borah's hobby is books. He owns a large library, and even in the days when he was a struggling lawyer he put his spare money in books. He is a native of Illinois, forty-seven years old and got his education at the Southern Illinois academy at Effield. He studied law at the Kansas State university and was admitted to the bar in 1890. From Kansas he went to Idaho, where he is recognized as one of the strongest men ever sent by that state to congress.

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GAZEYR

DR. JOSEPH MO

JUN 14 1912

BORAH WON'T BE HITCHED.

Incidentally while Col. Roosevelt is calling attention to himself by his insistent cries of "fraud," "naked theft," "no better than horse stealing," and other ill-natured and frantic expressions of dissatisfaction with the work of the national committee, he is also calling attention to himself—his personal character and record—and the people are learning much that he did not originally intend they should. Among other things they are learning is that a large per cent of the original contests brought in his interest were pure and unadulterated bluff; such transparent bluff that some of his managers and sponsors

refuse to stand for them.

Tuesday Senator Borah of Idaho, one of the ablest and perhaps most conscientious of Roosevelt's supporters, arose and in open committee meeting declared as follows:

"There have been only two contests considered by the committee thus far which have had the slightest merit—the Ninth Alabama and the Fifth Arkansas districts.

"Those were the only two contests thus far considered for which there was any excuse whatever. The others should not have been brought."

Mr. Borah said this after listening to all the evidence to support nearly a hundred contests brought in Roosevelt's interest had been presented, and he said it disgustedly and with deliberation.

Now it is utterly impossible that Mr. Roosevelt did not himself know that these contests were unfounded presumptions pure and simple when they were brought; yet he is denouncing as thieves and tricksters the committeemen who render decisions fully approved of by his right hand man, Senator Borah. But note the conceit

of the man when he unblushingly affirms at the same point at which Borah expressed himself, "There was one district I thought was for me; you see I hadn't counted on anything but that one Alabama district." Nevertheless, he had attacked in advance all who might dare to assume that the earth and the fulness thereof did not of right belong to him, politically speaking.

An undercurrent of belief at Chicago that is certain to find public expression before many days is that there will be no Roosevelt bolt because there will be no one to bolt with him. When the times comes for the general abandonment of him he will cut just about as dignified and formidable a figure as an abandoned dog out on a sandbar with the water rising rapidly.

Southhold N  
Traveler  
10/4/12

Press 21

### Senator Borah on Bosses

"It may be," said Senator Borah recently, "perilous for some of us to stay in the Republican party, but that is the party in which I have fought so far, and I shall continue to fight there." That the Senator is a Progressive every one knows. He was one of Roosevelt's lieutenants at Chicago, doing what he could to bring about the third term's nomination by the Republicans, but urging him not to bolt. Nor does he himself propose to bolt. He says, and with entire truth, that he was in favor of many of the things in the Bull Moose platform long before there was a Bull Moose party. Senator Borah was a Progressive before Roosevelt was. Some of the reforms demanded by the Roosevelt party have already been written into law, thanks to the Republican Progressives in the Senate. The Progressive movement was going forward in most encouraging fashion until Roosevelt split it. Senator Borah said:

"I do not think it necessary to leave the Republican party to fight for these reforms. Others may differ from me. But I will say this, to talk of leaving the Republican party because of its bosses is asinine. There are bosses in the new party, and there will be in every party."

### THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY CONFERENCE.

The conference of progressive Republican Governors in Washington revealed quite plainly that the effort to rehabilitate the Republican party by the Hadley-Cummins-Borah wing of the party will not be successful. The chief reason for this is that the dominant Taft-Penrose-Barnes wing of the party will never willingly surrender party control to a minority.

The out and out progressives who left the party with Col. Roosevelt, have no intention of returning to the Republican party, convinced as they are that the future belongs to them and that the country has definitely repudiated the principles and leaders of the old Republican party. Whether or no they have correctly and accurately gauged popular opinion, certain it is that they are going forward towards their destiny with their bridges burned behind them, determined, come what will, to remain an independent party, opposed as much to the Republican as the Democratic party.

It is for this reason that the Progressive National conference which begins in Chicago to-morrow, is of national importance. It will be attended by delegates from all over the United States to the number of 1,000, no less than 100, including Col. Roosevelt, going from this State.

The conference will be called to order at 11 o'clock to-morrow by Senator Dixon, of Montana. In the forenoon there will be an address by Col. Roosevelt; in the afternoon Miss Jane Addams, perhaps next to Col. Roosevelt the greatest figure in the new party, will not only speak but preside over the conference. In the evening there will be a dinner in the Auditorium Hotel for which 1,000 tickets have been sold. The second and last day of the conference on Wednesday will be devoted to discussion and reports of the various committees, and a meeting of the National Committee to act on recommendations of the conference.

From the tone of the leaders of the party there is no possibility of fusion with the Republican party unless that party consents to incorporate in its party platform the Progressive programme root and branch. Conservative Republican leaders of the Taft-Root-Barnes stripe will never consent to surrender their convictions, and both parties instead of getting together will be found drifting farther apart as time goes on.

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THE HARRISBURG PA  
DEC 12 1911

### FINDING THE NEW LEVEL

THE conference of Progressives at Chicago, and the conferences elsewhere among progressives who prefer to be known as Republicans but who are none the less progressives for that, are good omens for the grand old party that embraces them all, whether they all acknowledge it or not.

The lessons of the last election—bitter lessons—have been learned. The "old guard" has been forced to admit a demand for reorganization and rejuvenation that is too strong to be denied, and the "new guard" has discovered that there are not enough of them to get anywhere or do anything without the co-operation of the others.

More significant yet, the two factions are finding out that they are at bottom as much in sympathy as they

were before they became factions. That which was most radical and offensive in the doctrines of the new-blown Progressives is now being minimized or forgotten and the "stand-patters," on the other hand, are taking a step or two in order that there may be a happy reunion on common ground.

When such men as Governor Hadley and Senators Borah, Kenyon and La Follette get together as Republicans to discuss plans for the future of the party it is evident that the popular sentiment which gave rise to the Progressive movement does not include a desire to blot out Republicanism.

It is merely a matter of finding the new level. The reorganization must be effected along lines which are not as radical as the most radical, or as conservative as the most conservative. A happy medium which will nullify both extremes and thoroughly satisfy the great body of voters in between will be the solution of the problem.

And who can doubt that it will come when its coming means certain return to power and its prevention equally certain futility?

A political party, like a bird, cannot fly with one wing. We must get both

wings to working together if we would rise from the depths of defeat to the pinnacle from which we fell.

MAKING GOOD USE OF

PORTLAND, ORE  
OREGONIAN

JUL 29 1912

the President of regulation and control other than of prohibition.

### BORAH'S PROGRESSIVE POLICY.

The men who have been led astray by the denunciations of the belligerent Roosevelt men into the belief that no hope of securing progressive legislation exists except through the organization of a third party should take to heart the words of Senator Borah in refusing his aid to that movement. His right to be counted a progressive is beyond question; for he has proved his faith by his works. To him is chiefly due the submission to the states of the amendment for direct election of Senators; he voted to purge the Senate of Lorimer; he has procured the passage of the three-year homestead law, which every Western man regards as a step in progress; he has stood shoulder to shoulder with the progressives in Congress in their fight for downward revision of the tariff; he supported Roosevelt to the last in the effort to capture the Republican nomination at Chicago.

This man, whose earnestness and sincerity have stood the test of the manifold temptations of a term in the Senate, decides that better and quicker results can be obtained by himself and the other Progressive Republicans by remaining in the Republican party than by going out of it and organizing a third party. He says:

I do not believe that it is possible to build up a third party in this country which can get hold of the legislation within the next 20 years. If I thought that by joining a third party I could more effectually do what ought to be done, that by it we could more effectively legislate for what the people ought to have, I would not hesitate to join it. But I do not believe that it is the best way to accomplish it.

In so saying Borah is in harmony with the action of Senators La Follette and Cummins, who bear the scars of battle for progress extending through many years, and of many other leaders of the progressive movement. His judgment is worthy of the respect due to a veteran in the Senate.

We have just had a practical demonstration of the soundness of Borah's judgment in the passage by the Senate of a bill reducing the tariff on sugar—one of the first necessities of life. By a compromise with the regulars the progressives obtained a substantial reduction in duties and the abolition of the Dutch standard, which now shuts out a great volume of cheap foreign sugar. It is extremely doubtful whether the standpat element would have agreed to such a reduction had the Progressives been a separate party, and the latter alone would have been powerless to pass it. The Progressives therefore obtained quicker results in lifting the toll from the consumer by following the course favored by Borah.

### A LOW-TONE DEBATE

The debate in the Senate on Thursday over the Constitutional amendment which proposes to forbid the re-election of a President, was on decidedly a low plane. The proposition to have the amendment so drawn as to efface certain persons was in itself a petty piece of business. The proposition to exclude Col. Roosevelt, Mr. Taft, or Mr. Wilson was evidently so malignant that there was small support for either branch of it. The absurd proposition of Bristow for the recall of the President had such small support that one would suppose he would be ashamed of offering such a miserable proposition.

A surprise of the day and one which tended to lift the debate above the pettiness, was when Senator Borah defended President Taft, and when he rebuked Senator Hitchcock for suggesting that the reason why Roosevelt favored Taft in 1908 was so that he himself might be a candidate in 1912. The statement of Senator Borah, I think the Senator himself does not entertain such a thought, so I feel free to say that such an idea is the product of a diseased mind, was a fit reply to that sort of mean insinuation.

The proposition that the American people ought to be free to choose their President and to re-elect a President when they saw fit to do so, has been an accepted principle in this country from the first, but this was accompanied by a well defined tradition and sentiment that no President should have more than two terms. There was injected into last year's Presidential campaign, however, not merely the theory that a man might not only be elected President three times, but be re-elected indefinitely to the Presidential office, and a candidate actually presented himself for re-election in defiance or contempt of that anti-third term tradition and in revolt against his own former declared support of that tradition.

And so, since the bars were being torn down, the Senators responded to an evident demand from the country at large that the bars should be put up, and the Presidential office more rigidly guarded than had been done heretofore. Tradition, sentiment and a well defined principle of senatorial which had served the country well from the first, was vigorously assailed and that result received vigorous support. But the teaching of history is uniform to the effect that the destruction of republics has begun just at the point where indefinite length of power has been grasped by some ambitious and unscrupulous politician or leader. The time has evidently come, therefore, when the tradition being found insufficient, positive law must intervene to check the ambition of aspiring men and prevent the indefinite prolongation of power in any one's hands. Therefore, the proposition to confine by amending the Constitution the occupancy of the Presidential office to but one term, and

to forbid the re-election of any one who had served as President, is fittingly proposed.

That was the occasion for the debate in the Senate. But it was unfortunate that the debate took on a mercenary and recriminating form. It is to be hoped that the proposed amendment will carry in the Senate, and the general proposition that the safety and perpetuation of the Republic may require that the restriction be embodied in the Constitution and enforced against the ambitions of any and all public men, is the large question that the proposed amendment brings up.

PORTLAND, MONDAY, JANUARY 20, 1913.

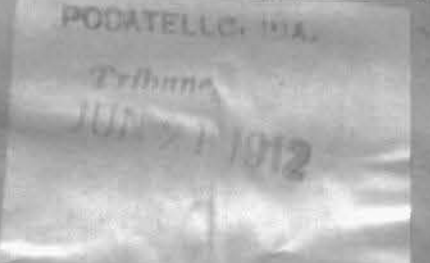
### WILSON'S CONSERVATION POLICY.

Senator Borah's commendation of President-elect Wilson's statement that a policy of reservation is not one of conservation and his definition of the Western conception of the true conservation will be endorsed by every man who really knows the West and who wishes to see its resources developed and conserved, but neither wasted, monopolized nor reserved. Wilson's speech encourages hope in the West that he will reject the guidance of Pinchot, who set his own theories above the law, and of Adams, who assumes the right to nullify an act of Congress which does not con-

form to his interests.

Let Wilson adopt Borah's suggestion by putting our natural resources in the hands of the people to use, not in the hands of the reservationists to lock up. Let him treat the settler at least as well as the man who is accused of crime, that is, presume him to be innocent until he is proved guilty. Let him instruct special agents that their duty is not to seek fraud where it is none, but to find facts whether they be favorable or unfavorable to the settler. Let him sell the timber in National forests on such terms that the people will get the benefit of its having been reserved. Let him take out of the National forests those great areas where trees never have grown and never can grow. Let him unlock the waterpowers, that the people of the West may have cheap light and power. Let him dig the canals Borah suggests, pour water on the desert and open the opportunity for many thousands to make homes. Let him do all these things and he will prove himself a statesman of the first rank—one who sees that the strength of the Nation rests in the multitude of its home-makers and home-owners, in the use of its resources, not in placing them in cold storage.

Conservation is not a party question and, if Wilson accepts Borah's definition of the policy he outlined at Chicago, he may expect opposition from men of his own party. But he will secure the support of men like Borah among his opponents. He will have a fight on his hands, but, if he makes it, he will earn the confidence and gratitude of the West, whether he



### A DESERVED TRIBUTE.

In these days of political hysteria the man who simply attends to his official duties instead of neglecting them to run around the country telling how he loves the dear people, is not accorded hardly decent treatment by those he has labored faithfully to serve says the Nampa Leader-Herald. To their everlasting shame there were delegates at the state Republican convention who wanted to withhold from the resolutions a word of praise for Senator Heyburn. Senator Heyburn is a man who never trims or plays to the galleries. He scorns the tricks and subterfuges of the demagogues. He speaks his mind fearlessly and honestly on all occasions. He would be more popular if he was less frank. But those who know what he has done for Idaho recognize that no man in the upper branch of congress has worked harder or more honestly for the people of his state than this grand old Roman. Some of our extreme progressives seem to think that they cannot give proper meed of praise to our brilliant and most deservedly popular Senator Borah without in the same connection taking a slap at Senator Heyburn. But there are those who appreciate his worth even in the Democratic ranks. The Parma Herald in its last issue has the following to say of our senior senator which is worthy of reproduction:

"We are a Democrat and Senator Heyburn is a Republican, but that fact doesn't cloud our judgment as to the good a man does, nor cause us to refuse to give credit where credit is due.

"Senator Heyburn is a great man—great in intellect, great in wisdom and great in achievement. It is true that some style him a 'reactionary' in policy, but in these days of Roosevelt flopdoodleism and Pinchot deviltry the country is fortunate to have a balance wheel like Heyburn in the senate. His work in placing the pure food law on the statute books entitles him to the gratitude of every man, woman and child in the United States, and had he done nothing else in his political career, Idaho would have cause to be proud of him.

"When the committee was appointed to revise and codify the laws of the United States, Senator Heyburn was placed in charge by his colleagues. It was a signal honor conferred for ability for remember this, Brother

men comprising the United States senate, both Democrats and Republicans, may job us on any other matter, there is no jobbery when it comes to selecting a man to do work like that. His work will endure for generations, and the people of the United States owe much to Idaho for sending a man of Heyburn's ability to the senate.

"It seems somewhat paradoxical to say that people sometimes don't know what they think, but that is true. In later years after this storm of 'reformitis' has passed, Senator Heyburn will be recognized as one of the really great men of this country."

PORTLAND, WEDNESDAY, FEB. 19, 1913.

### BORAH'S PLAN FOR WAR ON TRUSTS.

In his Lincoln day speech at Baltimore Senator Borah summoned the Republican party to return to the ideals with which it entered upon its splendid career. He called upon it to do this by wrestling with monopoly until it is extinguished, saying:

Monopoly is at war with democratic institutions, and the conflict is as irrepressible as was the conflict between freedom and slavery.

Admitting that only those who have built up monopoly seem to have a complete and efficient remedy, Borah is prone, like most of us, "to distrust those whose virtues are satiated with vices." He went on to offer some suggestions, which, if carried into practice, would strike at the root of the evil and he predicted that, were this done, monopoly would be dead within a decade. He praised the Sherman law as "the republic's open declaration of war with monopoly," but said that that law "cannot accomplish what its authors hoped it would accomplish," for "it has not destroyed nor even curbed monopoly." He pronounced competition dead and sketched in strong outline the absolute control monopoly has secured.

The anti-trust law is condemned by Borah as having shifted "to the courts the work which the courts are unfitted and never designed to do and which in the end will break down our whole judicial system." He accuses the legislative and administrative sides of the Government of shirking their duty in imposing this burden on the judiciary by calling upon the courts "to determine who shall sit upon this board of directors and upon that, what our corporation laws shall be outside of legislative guidance, who shall vote and who shall not vote stock, what the limitations of business in size and capacity are to be." He denies that the courts are to blame for the failure of the Sherman law.

He pointed to the source of the trust evil when he said:

The first anti-trust decision was made many years before, when Chief Justice Taney said that corporations are limited strictly to those powers given them by the Legislature, and that all doubts as to power were to be resolved against the corporations. This put the whole matter up to the Legislature, the immediate representatives of the people. There is not a monopoly in existence today that is not in existence by express authority of some state of this Union.

Later the courts declared that without express authority from the Legislature one corporation could not hold or vote stock of another corporation. And so the Legislature began to grant this extraordinary authority—the parent authority of our present monopolies.

The Senator thus "puts it up to the states" to provide the fundamental remedy for monopoly. He quotes the Supreme Court as holding that the state "has a right to forfeit every corporate charter for misuse or abuse of power," but he says that "with full power to forfeit every charter which is being used to the detriment of the people, we continue to permit them to exercise these sovereign powers." He would not wait for the states to exercise this power, for he says:

If Congress itself should declare that no corporation should engage in interstate trade so long as it held or sought to vote the stock of another, the trust question would be near the beginning of the end.

He would not repeal the Sherman law, but "would reduce it from a generalization to a specific, enforceable statute" in this manner:

If a corporation lowers the price of a product in a certain territory in order to injure a competitor, make that specific act a violation of the law and a basis for action, civil and criminal. If an agreement be made limiting the output of an article, if there is a division of territory, if one company sues another, make these and similar acts specific offenses.

When we have done this we should amplify the law for the benefit of private litigants who have causes of action by reason of such specific acts. There is nowhere to be found so steady, so persistent and so effectual an enforcer of the law as the private litigant who has suffered by reason of wrong-doing. We have in such instances a million guardians interested and vigilant instead of one officer, never acting until the evil becomes all but unbearable. Make it possible, both in the way of simplicity and expense, for the individual competitor to recover for his injuries, and you will have a more uniform and a more effective enforcement of the law.

Borah says that monopolies "are here largely by the fault of the whole people," and that not until "we as a people understand that this is not a question of economics alone, but that institutions and citizenship are involved, will we deal with the matter successfully." He concedes that regulation and control will and must have their place in the settlement, but opposes letting "these special advantages and privileges siphoned from the people and then seeking to mollify the effect through a commission or bureau at Washington," though those "who have gathered those vast fortunes through extortion and fraud are anxious—deliciously anxious—to be managed." Instead he would do this:

I would make every corporation convicted of wrong-doing, or subject to the control of an interlocking directorate, every corporation voting the stock of another corporation or guilty of monopolistic practices, after a certain day to be fixed in advance, an outlaw to the channels of interstate trade until it should purge itself of all these powers and practices.

As to a corporation which, though condemned by the Supreme Court, he sees "still openly, brazenly, defiantly, brutally putting aside all principles of justice and ignoring every provision of law," he says:

There is nothing I would not do, in a legal and orderly way, to destroy it. Men who set such an example of lawlessness and anarchy in a government of law ought to end their days in a prison cell and go broken and bankrupt to a pauper's grave.

The Idaho Senator expressed abiding faith in the ability of the Republican party, which "has been a party of action, of constructive power, a party of progress, a pioneer in the political field for the last half century," to go back to the ideals of its found-

ers and of its great leader, Lincoln and pleaded with it not to give up an honored name.

Borah thus would crush monopoly by joint action of state and Nation. He would have the states forfeit charters of corporations which exceed or abuse their powers. He would have the Nation exclude from interstate commerce those corporations which the states neglect to discipline in this manner. He would make definite the acts which are held to be in violation of the Sherman law. He would make guilt personal as well as corporate and would invite the host of sufferers by monopoly to seek redress in the courts. There is good ground to believe that such concerted action of Nation, state and individual would ere long crush monopoly and that the Republican party is best able to set these forces in motion.

**REORGANIZATION PLANS.**

A Washington dispatch says that in the discussion that has been going on quietly in regard to the reorganization of the Republican party, Senator William E. Borah, of Idaho, has been mentioned frequently as the man about whom the scattered Republican forces can be rallied. Many Republicans predict that Senator Borah will be one of the most prominent candidates for the Republican nomination in 1916. Senator Borah is soon to deliver a dozen speeches in the South of a political character. He will deliver a speech on Lincoln's birthday before the Union League Club, of Baltimore, and will express some views on "the reorganization of the Republican party" that undoubtedly will attract the attention of the entire country. Mr. Borah will follow up this address with his speaking tour in the South. He is a Republican of pronounced progressive tendencies, but refused to follow Roosevelt in the last campaign. Although little has been said recently of the movement to reform the Republican party along progressive lines, it has been making a rapid advance under the surface and in the opinion of party leaders soon will assume such proportions as to make it certain that the third party movement engineered by Col. Roosevelt is doomed to fail. The new movement contemplates the temporary elimination of the old regular leaders and the putting forward of men of well known progressive views. In the senate Borah, of Idaho, La Follette, of Wisconsin, Bristow, of Kansas, and Cummins, of Iowa, will

figure prominently in the next session in connection with the tariff and trust legislation Little will be heard from men who heretofore have been identified with the regular Republican organization in the senate. The information which the Republican leaders are receiving from the states indicates there is a disposition among prominent Republicans to get back into the party organization. The third party movement has made little progress since the election. Reports indicate that a large percentage of those who voted for Roosevelt did so as a matter of protest and in many cases the protest was against local conditions.

From **STANDARD UNION**

Address **Brooklyn, N. Y.**  
**JUN 19 1912**

Date

**It Was the Expected that Happened at Chicago Yesterday.**

While the Roosevelt forces finally decided to fight the nomination of Senator Root as temporary chairman of the convention, they were at no time confident of victory. There were divisions in the ranks of the third termers on this subject up to the last moment.

It will be remembered, when Senator Root's name was first suggested for the temporary chairmanship, the Colonel declared the Senator would be vigorously opposed. Then in a few days it was announced from Oyster Bay there was no principle at stake in the election of a temporary chairman and that it was not worth while fighting about.

Later still there was another change of front.

There were rumors of large defections from Taft to Roosevelt in the ranks of the Southern colored delegates, among whom the agents of the Colonel's millionaire backers were hard at work. Presently came the announcement a very important principle was at stake in the election of a temporary chairman and that Senator Borah, of Idaho, one of the Colonel's chief lieutenants, was to make the fight against Root.

Accordingly Senator Borah was on the platform yesterday waiting to be placed in nomination, when to his surprise, and possibly chagrin, Gov. McGovern, of Wisconsin, La Follette's State, was nominated by Gov. Hadley, of Missouri, as the Roosevelt candidate for temporary chairman.

The Colonel had decided to make the shift over night.

In such matters the third term candidate is a law unto himself. He does not think it necessary to consult any of his lieutenants. It was that way when he threatened Gov. Deneen he would run a Republican candidate against him in November if the Governor did not prevent certain Illinois delegates from voting for Root as temporary chairman. Gov. Deneen was one of the Colonel's strongest supporters and in the State primaries ran ahead of Roosevelt, but that fact mattered not at all if he ran counter to the Colonel's wishes. The way the threat was put, according to the Colonel's own organ in Manhattan, was that if there were two Republican candidates for President there would be two Republican candidates for Governor in Illinois in November. Of course, if he had been influenced by the more moderate of his counselors, he never would have made such a threat.

Nor would he have thrown Senator Borah overboard without ceremony had he accepted the advice,

at least so it is reported, of those who managed his campaign before he went to Chicago. These same managers of his, unless they are more than human, must have felt some satisfaction even though they are quarreling among themselves at the failure of the Colonel's over-right deal with a portion of the Wisconsin delegates. He only got thirteen of the thirty-six, and the fact that he attempted to take them away from La Follette without the latter's consent and to undermine the allegiance of the Governor of Wisconsin to his leader, has created the bitterest sort of feeling. Roosevelt was beaten four to one in the Wisconsin primaries and yet he had no hesitation in striving to take the delegates of that State away from the man who defeated him so overwhelmingly.

Nevertheless, although the Colonel's candidate for temporary chairman was defeated by a vote large enough to nominate President Taft on the first ballot, nothing definite was determined about the nomination. It is true, Senator Root's influence will be used on behalf of the renomination of the President, but a number of the votes in Illinois, in Maryland and in Oregon, as well as in some other States which went to the Senator because of the high esteem in which he is held by his fellow Senators from these States, cannot, as it looks now, be secured for the President.

Yet if the estimates of the Taft leaders hold good—and they were not far wrong on the temporary chairmanship vote—the President has a margin sufficient to nominate him on the first ballot.

Another gratifying feature in yesterday's proceedings in Chicago, marred though they were at times by the use of language which is heard only as a rule from the mouths of blackguards, was the decrease in the bolt talk. Both sides are still confident of winning and, if there is no bolt to-day over the acceptance of the temporary roll, the chances look good for a nomination on Thursday, with the President at the head of the ticket and a party united, on the surface at least, behind the nominee.

Dallas, Tex., News.  
Saturday, June 22, 1912.

**ABOUT THE BOLTERS AND THE ANTI-BOLTERS.**

From the welter of fancy, William Allen White picked out a fact when he remarked that those of his leaders who control their State organizations are disinclined to follow Mr. Roosevelt in a bolt, and that those of his leaders who are outside the breastworks, as to their home organizations, are ready to go with him to that or a greater length. There may be an exception here and there, but that Mr. White states what is the rule is indubitable. Than Gov. Hadley Mr. Roosevelt has no supporter more ardent, but Gov. Hadley has absolute control of the party machinery in Missouri, and he thinks that the loss of this control, which would be the consequence of irregularity, would be too great a sacrifice to make on the altar of Mr. Roosevelt and the cause for which he stands. This same argument appeals with irresistible force to Gov. Deneen of Illinois, to Gov. Stubbs of Kansas, to Senator Borah of Idaho. The notable exception seems to be Gov. Johnson, who controls the Republican organization of California, but who, nevertheless, is willing to stake that advantage on the consequences of a bolt. Those whom Mr. White names as being ready to take the perilous course are Mr. McCormick of Illinois, ex-Senator Beveridge of Indiana, Mr. Pinchot of New York and Mr. Garfield

of Ohio, all of whom, having neither control of the organizations in their respective States, nor even place in them, have nothing to lose. Thus one sees that considerations which are selfish almost to the degree of sordidness have the power to direct men who boast a supreme fidelity to principle alone.

Whether Mr. Roosevelt shall bolt, or pursue some other secessionary course, remains to be seen. But it is very clear that it is no reluctance on his part which has prevented that climax before now. It has been due to the unwillingness of most of his chief supporters to follow him along that perilous path. This much may be said as testimony to the fact that Mr. Roosevelt has given an earnest of good faith. He, in effect, has already bolted. He has declared that the course of the convention absolves all "honest Republicans" from allegiance to the party. That is a declaration of party rebellion, and it would add little or nothing to his assault on the party to have his name put at the head of an independent ticket. To hazard a guess within perhaps twenty-four hours of the event itself, Mr. Roosevelt and the few whose loyalty seems equal to any demand he may make on them, will wait a while before determining their course. The action of the Baltimore convention will doubtless have something to do with it. The attitude of the Republican masses will be even a more weighty factor. If there should be evidences of profound dissatisfaction among the masses of the Republican party with the outcome of the Chicago convention, and if then the Democrats should put out a highly "safe and sane" ticket on a hackneyed and evasive platform, Mr. Roosevelt will probably feel that the times present to him an inviting opportunity to organize a new party with himself as its leader.

PORTLAND, OREGON, JAN 22, 1913

SETTLEMENT MADE IMPOSSIBLE.

An amendment to the three-year homestead law introduced in the Senate by Senator Borah and in the House by Representative French, of Idaho, proposes a change that is of vast importance to the growth of Western Oregon and the timbered sections of other Western states. A timely article on the subject, written by B. F. Jones, Register at the United States Land Office at Roseburg, printed in The Oregonian today, discusses the subject in detail.

The present law requires the homesteader to have in cultivation at the end of the three-year period twenty acres of land. All who are familiar with the labor and cost attending the clearing and grubbing of brush and timber land in Western Oregon must realize the impossibility of the burden thus imposed. For the settler who has little or no money, subjugation of twenty acres of timber or brush land to the point of cultivation within a period of three years is a physical impossibility. The condition is made more onerous by the fact that the settler who took up a homestead under the five-year law must now prove up under the provisions of the three-year act.

Relinquishment of their claims by scores of homesteaders and their departure for Canada, where the land laws are more favorable to the settler, present a vital issue that must be remedied at once. Senator Borah and Representative French would put clearing, grubbing, fencing and planting of orchards on the same plane as cultivation, requiring the improvements to represent an average outlay of \$1.50 per acre a year.

This would require the improvements to be of an average value of \$720 in three years on a homestead of 160 acres. One hundred dollars an acre is a low estimate on the cost of preparing timber land for cultivation. Thus the homesteader is now supposed to go on timbered land, support himself and family and expend the equivalent of \$2000 in three years. This, too, must be in addition to the fencing, building and certain other improvements that are always essential to care of livestock and his own proper existence.

The three-year homestead law has doubtless been a boon to the settlers in the untimbered public land areas, but in its application to the timbered areas it is not encouragement to settlement or development, nor is it conservation. It is hardship, retrogression and reservation.

PLAN TO REORGANIZE.

The progressive republicans of the United States Senate are planning to reorganize for the future work in the senate, and among the leaders are named Senators Kenyon, Works, La Follette, Borah and Cummins, which forms a group of direct and courageous men. The plan is to place Senator Borah in the leadership of the progressive faction, because of his strong qualities as a leader, and which were demonstrated when he stood paramount in the Chicago convention last June. It is believed that with men like Borah, Kenyon, Cummins and Works at the head of the progressive leaders that thousands of the progressives who went over to the bull moose party last fall will again return to the republican fold.

The leadership as planned, it is believed, will have the effect of retiring the old republican leaders like Penrose, Crane, Barnes, and others, who will give the new leaders the chance to rehabilitate the republican party on the new lines and draw back the men who left it last summer. It is conceded by the progressive leaders that the party strength cannot be drawn together again under the leadership that has been in control for so many years. Realizing this the old leaders are said to be in a conciliatory frame of mind and are willing to permit the progressive leaders to step into the breach and effect the reconciliation which has estranged so many of the republicans of this country.

The keynote speech of this new movement is to be given at a Lincoln day dinner to be held in Baltimore, and the plan will there be unfolded by Senator Borah, who will tour the south to make a series of ten or twelve speeches.

THE CONTESTING DELEGATES.

Those who have read the testimony offered at the hearing before the republican national committee in the contesting cases must be impressed with the fairness of the judgments rendered. In most of the cases the committee has acted as a unit. United States Senator Borah, a conspicuous representative of Mr. Roosevelt, has indignantly refused upon more than one occasion to support the flimsy claims made by petitioning delegations. The time has come when this should be understood. At the same time the leaders of the republican party should realize that these southern delegations should never again be given the numerical dignity they now enjoy. They have always played a more or less scandalous part in the preliminary and final work of the conventions, but until now the exact part they play has never been thoroughly realized. Now it is seen that the representation of the solid south in the republican national conventions must be apportioned according to the republican vote cast there and not according to the entire population. The one hint upon the support which Mr. Taft will receive in the convention, possibly the vote that will make his nomination possible, is this southern vote obtained in a section of the country where there is not one electoral vote to be had. It is the part of wisdom to make this sort of thing impossible.

*Senator's New Party*

From SUN  
Address: New York

REPUBLICAN REORGANIZATION.

Independent Remarks on the Taft Administration and the Future of the Party.

To THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—Sir: Senator Borah, it is reported, doubts whether the Republican party will be reorganized soon, and says that a great party must have great principles and a great cause.

Had the Republican party stood firmly for the great principles and the great cause it already possessed it would have made a much better showing in the November elections. But those who are afraid to declare and maintain their principles need not expect that they will prevail. Had the Administration announced that it would uphold the rights and protect the interests of the many millions of stockholders, savings bank depositors, holders of insurance policies, wage earners and others whose investments, savings and wages depend directly or indirectly on the welfare of the great corporations it could have won. It should have championed modern business organization instead of attacking it, and could have made an unanswerable argument for doing so.

Since the great corporations were formed the wealth of the United States and the wages of labor have increased more rapidly than ever before. The net result of their activity, as stated by a financial writer, is that "for the first time in all history there was finally established one single creditor nation for all the world, and this one America." Nobody has ever had the temerity to deny that this country owes its favorable balance of trade to these corporations. And intelligent labor appreciates the opportunities illustrated by the fact that the president of the American Woolen Company, at least one president of the United States Steel Corporation and several of the principal railroad presidents in the United States started at or near the bottom.

Mr. W. J. Laithe, an editor from Cape Town, when interviewed in Washington on September 13 said: "I wish we could have a few 'trusts' in South Africa, if they would do for our people what they have done for the people of this country. They have by the combination of capital, brain and labor elevated the standard of living above that of any other nation."

Despite these considerations the forthcoming annual report of the Attorney General will emphasize the fact that the Taft Administration inaugurated seventy anti-trust suits, as against sixty-two for Harrison, Cleveland, McKinley and Roosevelt combined. It had the most trust prosecutions and the fewest electoral votes. Mr. Taft still clings to his declaration made at Boise, that the Sherman act must be enforced to the letter; while the Supreme Court says that it must not be enforced to the letter, but under the "rule of reason," moderately, practically, and in its intent. The trust busting was followed by Administration busting on a large scale.

It was by a singular miscalculation that Mr. Taft sacrificed and alienated his natural adherents in an effort which was certain to fail to obtain the support of the Progressives, who were sure to follow candidates they liked better under any circumstances. Thus the business vote was divided. It is said that even the progressive Secretary of the Interior refused to make speeches during the campaign unless they could be "progressive" ones, and that he made none.

The Administration continues to display the remarkable delusions which caused its downfall. The latest Presidential message says that the State Department, which under John Hay was the marvel and admiration of the world and of all the chancelleries in the world, was "an archaic and inadequate machine" at the beginning of this Administration. But all well informed persons know that it accomplished much more under Hay and Root than it has achieved since their time.

To be successful the Republicans must reorganize as a business party. That would assure their return to power unless the Wilson Administration should be entirely successful from a business standpoint. The Progressive programme can be summed up as a system of encouraging ignorant persons to meddle with matters they know nothing about, to everybody's detriment and especially their own. Without Roosevelt it would have made little impression outside of Wisconsin and a few neighboring States. People cannot long be misled by its cheap magazine organs, as they can easily ascertain that their statements are not true and their projects are impracticable.

For instance, Mr. Thorne, Iowa's progressive Railroad Commissioner, says in his latest report that the simple adoption of different methods actually in use by two equally honest experts could easily and naturally result in a valuation of railroad properties 50 per cent. greater by one than by the other.

James J. Hill said in effect that the ore valuations in the report on the United States Steel Corporation by the Bureau of Corporations were too ridiculous for serious consideration; and it is true that the business men of Duluth, and probably of other cities near ore fields owned or leased by the corporation, are practically agreed in assigning a value to such ores very much in excess of those named by the bureau.

The laudation of the Chinese anti-trust law by Representative Henry of Texas will be remembered. He was quoted as follows: "The Chinese anti-trust law provides: 'Those who interrupt commerce are to be beheaded.' To compromise, with a felon's stripes, is mild, and should be administered in the United States." Evidently China is Mr. Henry's ideal, but it is not that of the people of the United States. They will soon tire of using the public money to pay the expenses of investigators in Congress who are looking for what does not exist and are often finding it. In Mexico the bands of insurrectos, progressives, or more properly bandits, have now adopted the name of "patriots." Patriotism that consists in attacking prosperity will not prove popular in this country. E. P. W.

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 5.

ANACONDA MOUNTAIN STANDARD (SI)

Tuesday, July 23, 1912.

work by the state in the construction of highways.

#### UNCLE SAM'S MISTAKES.

Small settlers on government irrigation projects pay for the mistakes of the reclamation service, or shall that loss be saddled upon the government? That question was raised in the senate a few days ago, and will be more extensively presented on behalf of the settlers by Senator Borah of Idaho, who is now at work upon a speech on the subject.

Under the reclamation act, all moneys spent out of the reclamation fund have to be paid back by the settlers who acquire water rights. This means that the settlers not only are required to pay the actual cost of constructing the projects but have to make up any losses, the losses being added to the costs. This makes the burden heavy upon the settlers when any mistakes are made, for under the prevailing system of book-keeping the full expenditure is figured as cost.

This subject first arose in connection with a bill authorizing the sale of the government plant and project at Garden City, Kan., a project that proved to be an utter failure. This was a unique project, in that there was no flowing water to depend upon, and all the water for irrigation was to be pumped to the surface from an underground flow, some twenty feet below the surface. The government spent about \$200,000 on a big pumping plant,

built its distributing system, and then found the project was an utter failure, for it could not get the water to the land at a cost the farmers could pay. The land owners under the project, however, had obligated themselves to repay the cost of construction, and being without water, were unable to raise crops or meet their payments. So the project has been abandoned, and it is now proposed to sell the government plant, release the settlers, and recoup the loss as far as possible. But there will be a substantial loss on the project at best, and the problem has arisen, upon whom shall this loss fall? It cannot fall upon the settlers on the Garden City project, for they have lost everything and cannot pay; in fact, they never had water for irrigation, and the government did not keep its part of the contract. The fear has been expressed that this loss will be distributed upon other projects, and that settlers in other states will pay for the Garden City fiasco.

When this bill was before the senate, Senator Borah said it was not right that the expense attending such mistakes should be saddled upon the settlers, but should be paid for out of the treasury. He took the position that when a settler repays to the government his share of the actual cost of getting water onto his land, he has done all that reasonably can be asked of him; that the settler was a hard row at best and should not have his lot made any harder by reason of blunders by persons over whom he has no control and for whom he is not responsible. He announced that he would soon raise the square issue of relieving the settlers from the burden of any mistakes which have been made in any of the government projects, and will ask congress to pass an amendment to the reclamation act to this effect.

NEW-TIMES

PAPER

PUBLISHED

DATE JAN 10 1913

at least.

#### HEAR! HEAR!

In the midst of the scramble for advantage in the senatorial fight, after wading through columns of fulsome eulogy of various "favorite sons," the following sensible editorial in an exchange comes like a refreshing breeze on a sultry day:

"It is to be regretted that the people of Idaho could not have a direct say in the matter of who is to succeed the late Senator Heyburn. At the present time there are no less than a half dozen men actively contending for the place. Most of them are men who have done their state a great service in some official capacity, yet, not a single one of them has created any particular stir among the people by his candidacy.

The contest in the legislature promises to be a long and costly one for the state, interfering as it will with all other business to come before the legislators. Idaho has in Senator Borah one member of the upper house of congress upon whom the people not only of his own state but of the nation can rely. The present situation may result in the selection of a man who will not only be useless to the people, but will interfere with the work of Senator Borah. Idaho may as well be without a second Senator until the people make a selection at the polls, as to have some of the men now seeking the position."

Several aspirants have already established headquarters at the state capital, and it is expected that others will do likewise. This means that these men and their adherents will put in all their time working on the legislators, and will some one please tell us when the latter are going to get time or opportunity to do any earnest work for the state?

Indications are that there will be a dead lock, in which case, after everybody is exhausted by the prolonged struggle, a compromise candidate will probably have to be chosen, and these compromise candidates are seldom satisfactory to anybody, least of all to the legislators themselves. Furthermore, no man who has not thousands to spend can think of running for U. S. Senator under present conditions. The fellow who wins will have paid a pretty high price for a two-year job, and those who lose will go home sadder but wiser men.

First Established 1880  
Newspaper Cutting Bureau in the World

POST

WORCESTER, MASS.

JUN 15 1912

#### THE BEST GUESS NOW

The 35 senators hurrying yesterday from Washington for Chicago are loaded with "third man" or compromise projects. But Lodge couldn't be induced to join the party even for this benign purpose. He sits so sharply on the fence as to be in danger of splitting into two Lodges. The task of a new man for nominees enlarged so as to include not only Cummins, Root and Borah, the latter of whom emphatically says "No" but also the party house leader Mann of Illinois. The animosity of all sides toward La Follette seems to put him beyond the range of possibility. But with 35 votes, apparently solid at his back, he is likely to be in a position to dictate. A compromise nomination can hardly come except at the end of a prolonged deadlock. Neither the Taft nor the Roosevelt side—if the latter goes into the convention at all—can at any early point transfer support to a third man without danger of dropping enough votes to the other side to give it the victory.

As it looks now there are only about 500 of the necessary 540 votes in sight for Roosevelt. While the Taftites "talk" of all the way from 550 to 594 as secure, they really have little confidence of anything of the kind, even including all the national committee can grab. Their weakness is in the general and growing feeling that if renominated Taft can't possibly be re-elected.

This is the factor in the situation that Roosevelt calculates to utilize with his onrush to the scene at the "psychological moment." The best guess just now is that if he is satisfied that he has accomplished a "hurrah-boys" turn of the tide to himself he will go into the convention; if not will hold another one on the fraud issue.

Newspaper Cutting Bureau in the World

PATTERSON, N. J.

JUN 12 1912

More Taft delegates were seated yesterday by the Republican national committee. As in the previous instances, most decisions were unanimous, the Roosevelt members voting with the others in favor of the admission of the contested delegates. Even Senator Borah, one of the Roosevelt managers, said that he could not stomach the claims of some of the Colonel's delegates and voted with the Taft men. Senator Borah asserted that he would submit to having his right arm cut off rather than vote against the dictates of his conscience, or against a Taft delegation that appeared to have been regularly and legally elected. Some of the Roosevelt boomers are beginning to waver, for they see they have been made fools of by the Colonel and his rampant managers, and the false claims of Senator Dixon and others. There is no doubt that by the time the national committee finishes its investigations, there will be more than enough to renominate the president on the first ballot. So demoralized are the Rooseveltites that they are already talking about a compromise candidate. Overtures have been made to Senator La Follette, but he will have nothing to do with Roosevelt or his crowd, and now they are talking about Cummins, and the ten delegates he elected. The name of "Sunny Jim" Sherman is looming up big as the vice-presidential candidate on the Taft ticket.

WENWORTH, KAN.

DEC 18 1912

### A SENSIBLE PROGRESSIVE.

One of the best things we have seen upon the political situation in Kansas is a letter addressed to W. A. White and published in the Topeka Capital. The author is W. A. Broadie, of Kinsley, Kansas. The letter is so sensible that we reproduce it here in full. Mr. Broadie says:

"Dear Sir: I notice in press reports that you are taking an active part in attempting to organize the Bull Moose party in Kansas. I presume you are doing so from motives of patriotic public service rather than from those of ambition, revenge or to keep yourself in the lime-light of political dissipation. Therefore you should recognize the fact that there should be a thorough consideration of political conditions in Kansas and that the advisability and practicability of a third party movement in this state should be carefully thought out before the task of tearing down one party to build up another is undertaken. It may be difficult to tear down the one and still more difficult to build up the other. There must be a more substantial and stable foundation upon which to build a great national party than the disappointed ambition of any one man or set of men.

"Let me say at the outset that I am not a standpat Republican. I am a Republican. I am a Republican who believes in progressive principles. I favored the nomination of Robert M. LaFollette for president and did not desert him during the campaign in an attempt to get in the pie-wagon and be with the brass band as a number of prominent politicians in Kansas did.

"What is the reason for the formation of a third party? The Republican party in Kansas is overwhelmingly progressive. It is responsible for practically all of the numerous progressive measures which have been enacted into law during the last ten years. Is it for this that the Republican party in Kansas deserves execution and amputation?"

"Looking at the practical side of the matter it is evident that the conservative element will not desert the Republican party neither will the genuine progressives who with such eminent statesmen as LaFollette, Cummings, Borah, Hadley and Works, believe that more can be accomplished inside the Republican party than outside of it. A new party then will mean a house divided against itself; it will mean the delay of further real progressive achievement for many years. In my humble opinion the Republicans of Kansas, with the lesson of the recent election fresh in mind, should get together and let their differences be settled at the primaries as in former years."

The concluding paragraph of that letter contains food for reflection on the part of any man of common sense who really desires to promote progressive principles. Of course the notoriety seekers and the fellows who hope to ride into power upon the tidal wave of a new party will not approve of Mr. Broadie's doctrine but we believe that the great majority of those who voted for the Roosevelt electors in Kansas will give it their hearty approval.

REPUBLICAN,

Springfield, Mass.

DEC 28 1912

### Democratic Opportunity.

It was said almost a month ago but it may well be repeated: There are certain public questions, pointed out Senator Borah of Idaho, which "no conservative and no progressive can refuse to consider as imminent for solution":—

Take three—a proper system of national taxation; the rehabilitation of our financial system; a proper and effective treatment of the subject of trusts. The political party which offers the country a comprehensive and effective plan by which to deal with these matters in the light of present conditions will have no trouble in commanding the support of a vast majority of the people for the next quarter of a century.

Here are three extraordinary opportunities in statecraft and they have come to the democratic party. The tariff, banking and currency and the trusts—regarding each of these questions legislation is now required in order that the nation may have a fixed and settled policy. The party soon to come into power will be judged by its achievements in dealing with these large problems of statesmanship, and nothing is more certain than that any feeble, pattering or cowardly attempt to evade them would earn for the democratic party the contempt of the American people.

By having a positive, constructive program, however, the democratic party would earn the respect of the country even if that program should be open to theoretical criticism or should develop weak places in being put into execution. Definite action on all these questions would be the best political policy, whatever that action might be. A party that stood for something, that made an honest attempt to meet its responsibilities and fulfil its obligations as the party of government must always command a greater degree of public confidence and public favor by far than a party of negation, evasion and cowardice.

The opportunity to make a record in constructive statesmanship is so unusual that the democratic leaders of all factions and wings should have but one purpose—that of agreement upon a constructive program and of determination to put it through. Readiness to compromise concerning unessentials and to concentrate upon fundamentals should distinguish the conduct of all who may help to shape party policy. Personal animosities and jealousies, rivalries in leadership, pride of opinion should disappear.

If the democratic leaders are capable of that, they will surprise the country by the bulk of their achievement and the comparative wisdom of their course. A party able to concentrate its energies and subject its purposes to a central control not only does things, but usually does them well, because of its avoidance of the far-fetched views of its most extreme elements, whether conservative or radical.

The reward for success might be, as Senator Borah has said, 25 years of political supremacy. Questions of patronage during the next four years become repulsively mean compared with such a prize, and personal spite and grudges among leaders are to be regarded only with disgust and scorn. And political conditions are such that this may prove to be the democratic party's last opportunity to rehabilitate its prestige, in any permanent sense, among the majority of the people. If it is ever again to be accepted and trusted, as the party of Jefferson and Jackson was accepted and trusted in the old days, it must face the future with unflinching heart and resolute courage and concentrated will. It would seem that of the historic democratic party it could now be said, in the lines of Ingalls's sonnet on "Opportunity":—

It is the hour of fate,  
And those who follow me reach every state  
Mortals desire and conquer every foe  
Save death. But they who doubt or hesitate  
Condemned to failure, penury and woe—  
Seek me in vain and uselessly implore.  
I hear them not, and I return no more.

rom SUN

address: New York

ate

DEC 16 1912

### Senator Borah on the Supreme Test of the Constitution.

The Hon. WILLIAM E. BORAH, a Senator in Congress from Idaho, made this curious assertion in his speech to the Pennsylvania Society:

"With political power in the hands of the majority and wealth in the hands of the minority, the supreme test of the Constitution is yet to be made."

How is wealth in the hands of the minority? The millions of farms, with the crops the main source of prosperity, the millions of moderate sized and small businesses and houses, the money in the savings banks, building and loan associations, insurance companies, fraternal orders; the wealth of the United

States is of the majority in the hands of the majority.

There are a few great fortunes, but what do they amount to by the side of the accumulated and accumulating wealth of the majority? There are more great fortunes than in the days of GERARD, but think how incredibly the general wealth has grown!

Senator BORAH seems to be the victim of a phrase.

3. SUN

Baltimore, Md.

### PINCHOT'S WARNING AGAINST THE LAND-RAIDERS

The charge that Democratic and Republican "reactionaries" in House and Senate are hatching a plot to destroy the entire Roosevelt conservation policy may be unwarranted, but cannot be ignored when brought especially by the former Chief Forester. Gifford Pinchot reinforces his warning that a movement is on foot to transfer the national forests and public lands to the States by citing ten bills now before Congress, House bill 2980 providing specifically for transfer of the national forests to the States in trust and H. B. 777 giving authority to the Federal Government to cede free of cost all the unoccupied public domain to the State in which the lands lie. Senator Fall (Republican) is urging bills to transfer 5,000,000 acres to New Mexico, and there is another bill to transfer the same acreage to Arizona, to assist in setting up the New States in business. Colorado also calls for 1,000,000 acres, with authority to sell for the benefit of the State. There is a bill in the Senate to turn over a million acres of grazing lands to each Western State to lease upon payment of one cent an acre royalty to the Government, and a House bill granting to the States lands available for development of water power and irrigation.

As part of the alleged "plot" the Philadelphia North American asserts that Ferris, of Oklahoma, has been named by the Ways and Means Committee to succeed Robinson, of Arkansas, as chairman of the House Committee on Public Lands, the ranking member, Graham, of Illinois, being passed over because of his record as a conservationist and his activity against Ballinger and the land-grabbers.

In support of the warning that the Democrats, carrying out the States' rights theory, are preparing for a raid on the public lands, this alleged extract from a speech of Vice-President-elect Marshall in Spokane, Wash., during the last campaign is quoted:

"The State of Washington and the other States similarly situated are entitled to the possession and control of every foot of land within their borders. The prodigal sons in the West have no right to demand the control of the land and water powers in other States after having wasted their own resources in riotous living.

On the face of it this might seem to make out a strong case, but the fact is that such bills are introduced in almost every Congress, most of the present bills were framed by Republicans, and not one of them has been reported out of committee. The same showing might have been made during the Roosevelt administration or at almost any time in the last forty years. There is some justice in the complaint of the West that the withdrawal of huge bodies of lands from settlement or use retards the development of those States. As earnest an advocate of conservation as the Saturday Evening Post regrets that timber in the national forests is not being cut and marketed rapidly enough for the good of the forests themselves. There is reason to believe that in their great fight to prevent land-grabbers and power monopolies from robbing the public domain the conservationists have retarded its development and use. If they erred, they erred on the right side; and while the Democrats may, and should, provide for the development and use of forests and water powers under proper regulations, they will make an unpardonable mistake if they abandon or weaken the policy of conservation.

The real trouble seems to come not from the Democrats but from Western Congressmen, mainly Republicans and including some Progressives, who consider the interests of their own States, approaching the question from a local and not the broad national viewpoint. One of the strongest advocates of a more liberal use is Senator Borah, of Idaho, who is on most

points distinctly progressive and a supporter of the Roosevelt "policies." The substitution of an Oklahoman for chairman of the Public Lands Committee in place of Graham is the only evidence brought forward to support the charge that "the House is being organized against progressive policies."

Another phase is the contest over Federal control of water powers. Many Democrats are inclined to oppose Federal control on the ground that it is a distinct invasion of States' rights, and some Republicans opposed it for more selfish reasons. The direct issue will be brought up first in the Senate this week over the bill to tax the company developing water power at Windsor Mills, Conn. Western Senators are reported as combining to defeat this bill, which will establish the right of the Federal Government to license, control and tax water power in a State. Former President Roosevelt vetoed two water-power bills which did not contain this provision, upon which he insisted. This is regarded as a test bill, and the vote may indicate how the Senators will line up on Federal control. But it will not necessarily indicate the line-up of the new Senate, and cannot be accepted as in any way indicating the attitude of the Wilson Administration.

Mr. Wilson is, and always has been, the foe of special privilege and the defender of public as opposed to private interests. He is a conservationist in the true sense. There are "reactionaries" among the Democrats as there are among the Republicans and, on this question, among the pronounced Progressives. But the forces that control the party and will control the Administration are decidedly progressive, although they may not go to the extent of Roosevelt in his extreme advocacy of Federal control. The Democrats may not proceed in the Rooseveltian manner, but we do not believe for a moment they will abandon the policy of true conservation, no matter how strong the pressure from the West.

Meadows, Ida.

EAGLE

JUL 18 1912

**BORAH OF IDAHO**

Senator Borah's name is the only one appearing on the Republican ticket for nomination to the office of United States Senator, and as there is no contest, many people may think it not necessary to be active in his behalf at the primaries the 30th of this month.

Every man and woman in Idaho who appreciates the great service Senator Borah has rendered the state, should show their appreciation by voting for him at the primaries. Do not neglect this matter. Senator Borah is detained in Washington in the interests of Idaho and cannot give attention to his personal interests. Review the past five and a half years of Idaho's civic history and see what you owe to the good-will, brain-power and untiring energy of this lawyer-senator whom we elected to the highest official honor in our power to bestow and who is giving us value received for our trust in him. It's a long list of good legislated laws that check against his name. He has never been caught napping.

Have you forgotten the \$7,000,000 appropriation he secured for the state of Idaho two years ago? Some states complained that their senators were asleep while that money was being apportioned but our share proves that Borah was very much awake.

The child labor law is a humane and practical solution to one of the problems of present indus-

trial abuse and it owes its inception to Borah of Idaho.

The homestead bill is the biggest thing, not only to Idaho but to the whole northwest, that has been brought before Congress in years. It is the work of a man who knows the west thoroughly, its advantages and its needs; it is the work of a man who knows what hard work and hard luck both mean because he has experienced them both and overcome one with the other and, understanding, he has made the way easier for the settler who must fight against adverse circumstances in his efforts to reclaim the wilderness and build a home. For this one gigantic piece of work, alone, Borah deserves re-election. Were any possible phase of political chicanery to develop to lessen his chance to a return, the semi-arid states, as a unit, will endorse Borah's senatorial career and ask Idaho to reseat him, for the work he has done, in the National Upper House. Don't let these states show us how to appreciate our western statesman—let us show him ourselves by a well-deserved, state-wide endorsement at the primaries July 30th.

Washington, Pa. Senator  
Friday, June 14, 1912

Six months	1.00
Four months	.75
One month	.30
Per week, one or two wee.	.10

**CHANGING POLITICS.**

Senator Borah of Idaho, is a progressive Republican and one of the ablest members of the highest legislative body in the United States.

He is also a member of the Republican National Committee and is an ardent believer in the nomination of Colonel Roosevelt for president.

But in deciding the contests which come before that committee Senator Borah has said that he will vote according to the evidence and not as a partisan of Colonel Roosevelt.

In a forcible speech before the committee Senator Borah called attention to the changing conditions in our political life and said that the people would no longer tolerate actions which they have tolerated in the past.

We find many contemporaries expressing similar opinions and among them the Waynesburg Republican which says:

"The days of the pudgy-faced politician with a mouth set for covering a beer mug are numbered. Also the days of the 'throne-room', where a besotted individual surrounded by a little gang of vassals, of the 'fetch and carry' type, can control all the political movements of a state, district or county. Like the Pharisees of old not all who are crying out against political evil nowadays are true reformers. There will be hypocrites found raising their voices for civic righteousness just as certain hypocrites are always seen rushing into the shelter of some good cause. But all those who favor political reform are not hypocrites, not even a large percentage of them are spurious. We believe this is a year when the people are aroused to the interest of good government for their own welfare. Men selected for public offices should be men known for integrity, honesty and fitness, who will represent the people, not men who are seeking office merely to enrich their purses and hand out favors to their relatives or a

few gangsters. The days of this kind of politics, we believe, are numbered."

The campaign this year promises to be one of the most remarkable in American history and the preliminary movements of factions and candidates have been exceedingly interesting.

After the nominations are made thousands of independent voters will study the situation to ascertain what is their duty as between the candidates and platforms of the different parties.

It cannot be doubted that the number of independent voters at this time is far larger than it has ever been in the history of the country.

The independent voter will decide the election this year and he is going to demand more of the party and the candidate he supports than he has done before.

**News.**

PER \_\_\_\_\_  
Burns, Ore. 5  
PUBLISHED \_\_\_\_\_  
JAN 29 1913

**BORAH HITS FISHER.**

Senator Borah of Idaho placed a solar plexis blow right where it is needed the other day:

"We hear a great deal these days about the recall of the judiciary, the initiative and referendum, but if there is one place the recall is needed it is on the Secretary of the Interior of this country," declared Senator Borah. "The people should take from the hands of this man the usurping power he is exercising against the settlers of the west. I say this at this time, in this manner to serve notice of how I feel on this matter. It is a strange fact indeed, that any department of the government of this country can actually annul the laws the congress of this country passes, but nevertheless, this is just exactly what the Interior department is doing.

"To those who are familiar with the conditions and the needs of the settlers of our western lands, familiar with their hardships and their trials, I say it is high time that the people and the government insist on curbing the power of this department."

Correct you are, senator. There has never been an administration of the interior department with a more vicious determination to put stumbling blocks in the way of the western settler and developer than the Fisher regime and never was there a time when the friend of such settler was hounded with such persistency and revengeful vigor.

Newspaper Cutting Bureau, 117 the Wor  
From \_\_\_\_\_  
PORTLAND, OREGON.  
Date FEB 17 1913

The Connecticut River dam bill would compel power companies to pay the Government rent, which the companies would collect from the consumer in increased charges. The Borah amendment would exact no such rent from the companies and would prevent their collecting it from the consumer by empowering the Interstate Commission to fix rates. Borah recognizes the obvious truth that such a tax would only nominally be imposed on the power company, but would actually be paid by the consumer. He would prevent the companies from securing the unearned increment and would give it to the people.



# TRUST PROBLEM TOPIC OF TALK

## Senator Borah of Idaho Places Abuses at Doors of State Legislatures.

### TALKS BEFORE UNION LEAGUE

#### Makes Clear His Position Towards Fostered Combinations of Trade and Wealth.

(Special to The News.)

Baltimore, Md., Feb. 12.—Senator William E. Borah of Idaho, in a speech to-night before the Union League club, delivered one of the most notable addresses of recent times, dealing with the trust problem, a speech that was remarkable for the new treatment of a much-discussed problem, and one that admittedly is yet far from solution.

In brief, Senator Borah laid the responsibility for trust growth and trust abuses at the doors of the state legislatures, under whose authority the trusts have been fostered, and from whom they have gained their privileges, and he suggested that the only feasible method of curbing the trusts is through the state legislatures and the Congress. He stoutly condemned the present policy of shifting to the courts the duty of reorganizing these big combinations, contending the courts were not constituted to handle such affairs, and made a plea that Congress and the state legislative bodies take back the authority they possess and exercise it in a way to compel reasonable compliance with reasonable laws, in order that the people may derive some real benefit from the dissolution of the great combinations of capital which are now in such general disfavor.

In part, Senator Borah said: "Only those who have robbed and plundered the plain people of this country, piled up wealth through fraud and extortion, seem to have a complete and sufficient remedy for monopoly. But I am prone to distrust those whose virtues are satiated vices. I do not offer a program. I offer some suggestions. Before doing this, however, permit me to say we make a mistake in dealing with this question purely as an economic question or as a question of business. It is also a question of government; but it is more, it has at its base a question of morals. There is in it a supreme question of justice, of right and wrong, as searching and universal in its last analysis as the principle which sent those veterans to the battlefield 50 years ago.

"It must now be apparent to all that, standing alone and unaided, the Sherman law cannot accomplish what its authors hoped it would accomplish. It has not destroyed nor even curbed monopoly. The period during which this statute has been upon the statute books is marked, defined, and individualized as the period of the greatest growth of trusts and the most pronounced decadence of competition. It has not kept open and free the channels of interstate trade. It has not preserved competition. It has not and does not now promise to give relief to the people at large. Almost everything we have and all we want, are affected, enhanced, and controlled by combinations. Competition is dead. Powers have been reared here in the American marketplace in defiance of the American policy and of the law of the land.

"But the failure of the anti-trust law to accomplish its purpose is not the only indictment against it as it now stands. To my mind there is another equally serious. I venture to say that it is shifting to the courts the work which the courts are unfitted and never designed to do, and which in the end will break down our whole judicial system.

"It is often said that the Knight case was the first anti-trust decision. But, to my way of thinking, the first anti-trust decision was made many years before, when Chief Justice Taney, speaking for the court, said that corporations are limited strictly to those powers given them by the legislature, and that all doubts as to power were to be resolved against the corporations. This put the whole matter up to the legislatures, the immediate representatives of the people. There is not a monopoly in existence today that is not in existence by express authority of some state of this Union. There is not a corporation exercising unjust and unfair powers in the world of commerce that is not doing so through ex-

press authority and express approval of some state legislature. Later the courts declared that without express authority from the legislature one corporation could not hold or vote stock of another corporation. And so the legislature began to grant this extraordinary authority—the parent authority of our present monopolies. We complain because one corporation holds and votes the stock of many corporations. Well, they do so because we give them the express power to do so, over and in spite of the wise rule and principles announced by our courts.

"I do not hesitate to say that if Congress itself should declare that no corporation should engage in interstate trade so long as it held or sought to vote the stock of another, that the trust question would be near the beginning of the end. But the fact is that while reaching out for more power, while traversing the realm of governmental fancy, while talking about changes in government and the building of bureaus, we shamelessly refuse to exercise the power easily at our command or to discharge the simplest and most primary duties of citizenship.

"I would not repeal the Sherman law, but I would reduce it from a generalization to a specific, enforceable statute. To my way of thinking, it would be just about as practicable to try a man who takes the life of another for regarding the development of the human family, instead of for the offense of homicide, as to try a corporation guilty of specific acts of fraud and extortion for restraining trade. If a corporation lowers the price of a product in a certain territory in order to injure a competitor, make that specific act a violation of the law and a basis for action, civil and criminal. If an agreement be made limiting the output of an article, if there is a division of territory, if one company foments strikes in another, make these and similar acts specific offenses.

"Those who would disparage and denounce our form of government and the institutions under which we live are not safe leaders in a crisis like this. Those who doubt the capacity of the people to maintain, sustain, and run this government are equally unsafe. Let us get hold again of the faith of the truest child of democracy yet born under the flag, our first great leader, and hold fast to that faith as of old they would cling to the horns of the altar. There is strength and efficiency enough in this republic and wisdom and patriotism among the people to do justice as thoroughly as in former days."

Newspaper Cutting Bureau in the World

ADVERTISING

#### BORAH, MISSIONARY TO Dixie.

The Thad Stevenses, the Butlers and others of their type couldn't do it; Southern office-holders couldn't do it, Taft and Roosevelt couldn't do it, and they fought more nobly to that end than any others, and now an apostle from the West is coming among us to attempt to lead us into new pastures. The same is Senator William E. Borah, Republican Progressive from Idaho. He's coming South in a few weeks or months and discuss methods of rejuvenating the Republican party. He's going to show us that the true path to political salvation leads straight to allegiance with the Republican party. He's hunting fresh recruits for the torn and tattered ranks of the G. O. P.

Crane, of Massachusetts, has said that if Borah shows up to the expected advantage in his efforts to re-organize the Republican party, he will be in line for the Republican nomination in 1916. Gossip has it that when Borah comes among us he will come out squarely for a white man's party. That's as fine a program, as far as it goes, as any delegate to a State Democratic Convention in a Southern State could be expected to follow. But he is coming to a section which during all the lean and fat years of the past has affiliated exclusively with a political organization which was purely a "white man's party," and no such shibboleth will lead many of our people away, especially when our crowd is about to take charge of affairs at Washington.

Roosevelt tried hard to lead us away. He threw us slop by the gallon, but his record wouldn't do. Down here he was against the darkey; up North, in sicked places, he said the educated negro was as good as he was or any other white man. Also, he failed to convince us that it was necessary for

us to forsake the Democratic party and go with his party. There were other reasons against Roosevelt, President Taft, by his kindly attitude toward the Southern people, did much more to commend himself to us, than did the Colonel. If any man could have broken the solid South it was William Howard Taft, but when the

votes were counted last November, it was found that both Roosevelt and Taft combined did not poll as many votes as Taft polled in the South in 1908. This augurs allegiance to principle, more than to expediency, among Southerners. This shows that it was not the negro that keeps the South in the Democratic party. The dividing line is pitched upon much higher planes. Down in this country we believe in a just and equitable tariff system—the Progressives and Republicans do not believe in that principle. Down here we believe that the powers of the Federal government are limited. Progressives and Republicans do not believe any such "dogmatic doctrine."

Senator Borah is a great orator; is young and strong and has a good voice, and he is welcome to come down among us and preach himself hoarse. But we feel moved to tell him in advance that he is wasting railroad fare to come South and ask us to help build up his old party, which we took much delight in destroying.

dress  
FAROO, N  
te  
Cowan

#### IT SHOULD BE FOR ALL.

Senator Borah has temporarily blocked the plan to erect a monument in Washington to Archibald Butt, the president's aide, and Frank D. Millet, the artist, who so gallantly stood aside when the Titanic was sinking. In order that the woman might be saved. While not objecting to the public recognition of the heroes of that tragedy, Senator Borah very properly asks why two men should be singled out for this honor from the many who perished with them.

It is proper that a fitting memorial to the Titanic victims should be erected, but if the government is to furnish the site, as the promoters of the idea suggest, such memorial should be to all who perished and not to a selected few. Major Butt and Artist Millet would be the last to wish themselves preferred over Stead, Straus, Widener, Astor and those hundreds of others with whom they died on that fateful night.

The monument to the heroes of the Titanic cannot be too lofty, but upon it should be engraved the names of all whose exhibition of courage and unselfishness has given the world a revelation of the grandeur of human nature.

NEWS  
ELGIN, ILLS.  
SEP 24 1911

Many indorse most heartily the statements of Senator Borah of Idaho, who says: "It may be perilous for some of us to stay in the Republican party, but that is the party in which I have fought so far, and I shall continue to fight there. I do not think it necessary to leave the Republican party to fight for these reforms. Others may differ from me. But I will say this, to talk of leaving the Republican party because of its bosses is asinine. There are bosses in the new party, and there will be in every party." It is remembered that prior to and during the Chicago convention Senator Borah was a staunch supporter of Roosevelt. After the colonel's failure to get the nomination the senator thought the cry for a third party was ill advised and uncalled for. He thought that the desired reforms could be easier obtained by working in and through the old parties and time will show him to be right.

Future of the G. O. P.

Senator Borah says the Republican party will have to get a real issue before it can be "reorganized" with any hope of redeeming its lost prestige and popularity. He himself believes the trust issue furnishes the necessary rallying point, but he also suggests "a proper system of national taxation" and "rehabilitation of our financial system" as worthy of consideration. Says Senator Borah: "The political party which offers the country a comprehensive and effective plan by which to deal with these matters in the light of present conditions will have no trouble in commanding the support of a vast majority of the people for the next quarter of a century. Without this we will all be in the quagmire and broken into factions—and this condition will prevail in all parties. Perhaps it is too soon to expect it, but we must witness the chaotic condition of politics until it happens. No reorganization which is not built on such a foundation will amount to a great deal. What we want is an issue, and we want that issue to be policies and not persons."

The suggestion of Senator Borah evidently possesses real merit, but the trouble is that the Republican party has already been lost in the political "quagmire" through its own failure to keep up with the times and seize "issues" before they have been appropriated by more progressive party organizations. As a consequence it is so thoroughly discredited and broken up it is doubtful if it can ever be successfully reorganized and regain its lost prestige. Its new rival, the Progressive party, now has the inside track, both in the possession of live issues and in popular following, and has thereby become the "dog" instead of simply the "tail." And while many old-line Republicans cling to the hope that these relative positions may be reversed, or that the dog and the tail can again be combined in one party organization, there is little to encourage this hope. The Republican party may struggle along for a time as an independent organization, but its eventual destiny seems to lie in finding itself swallowed up by the new Progressive party, which already has the live issues and a following that is larger than that of even the Republican party.

CITIZENS

Brooklyn, N. Y.

JUN 21 1912

THE SITUATION IN CHICAGO.

Interest in the third day of the Republican National convention was transferred from the convention, which was in session less than five minutes, to the moves on the political chess-board made by the leaders on both sides. The Roosevelt enthusiasm in the convention expended itself in a forty minute demonstration for the Colonel after Senator Root had declared an adjournment for the day.

On the Roosevelt side two moves were made which practically conceded that the Colonel's nomination was out of the question from the convention as organized by the National Committee. At a Roosevelt caucus in which each Roosevelt State delegation was represented, a resolution was adopted pledging the delegates to attend the convention to the end, but in case the Credentials Committee brings in a report unfavorable to the Roosevelt delegates unseated by the National Committee, they would take no part in the business of what they declare to be an illegal body.

The caucus further declared that after the Taft delegates have adjourned sine die, the Roosevelt delegates will hold a convention of their own and nominate Theodore Roosevelt for President. This action followed upon conferences lasting hours between the Colonel and his lieutenants. A difference of opinion arose in the conferences as to the line of action to pursue. The more radical Roosevelt lead-

ers like Governor Johnson, William Flinn, of Pennsylvania; Governor Aldrich, of Nebraska, and Gifford Pinchot, are credited with having advised a "bolt." The more conservative leaders, including Senator Dixon, Senator Borah, and Governor Hadley, are credited with having advised the programme subsequently adopted by the caucus of two delegates from each Roosevelt delegation as outlined above.

In order to appreciate the full significance of the Colonel's own statement of his position, as given out later in the evening, it is well to permit the action of the caucus and the recorded division of sentiment in the conferences preceding the caucus, to sink well into the mind, otherwise there is danger of obtaining a misconception of the actual situation in the Roosevelt camp by the contradictory reports of the correspondents.

The pregnant fact in the Colonel's statement is contained in this passage:

"If the honestly elected majority of the convention choose to proceed with business and to nominate me as the candidate of the real Republican party, I shall accept. If some among them fear to take such a stand, and the remainder choose to inaugurate a movement to nominate me for the Presidency as a progressive on a progressive platform, and if in such event the general feeling among progressives favors my being nominated, I shall accept."

This declaration interpreted in the light of what has been stated above, means that if the action of the caucus as declared by resolution is carried out in the convention hall, the Colonel will accept the nomination of the Roosevelt delegates admitted to their seats plus the honestly elected Roosevelt delegates unseated by the National Committee, and will appeal to the country as the nominee of a majority of the honestly elected delegates of the whole convention, and therefore the real Republican party candidate. On the other hand, if some among the delegates fear to take the stand outlined by the caucus resolution, and the remainder choose to participate in a movement to create a new party, and nominate him for the Presidency, not as a Republican but as a Progressive on a Progressive platform, he will accept, provided the general feeling among Progressives favors his nomination.

In other words, the question of his determination to run as a Republican candidate rests with the delegates elected to the Republican convention with a mandate from the Republican voters to vote for the Colonel as the party candidate. Failing that he will run as the candidate of a new party if the rank and file of that new party make known their desire for him to run.

William Barnes, Jr., whom events have made the leader of the anti-Roosevelt forces in control of the convention, answers the Colonel's statement and the declaration of the Roosevelt caucus by asserting that the majority will proceed to renominate the President. Mr. Barnes is prepared to stand or fall on this proposition, but if the reports

from the convention city are correct, there is considerable difference of opinion in the anti-Roosevelt camp on the advisability of pushing their triumph over the Colonel too far. Those who are animated less by personal hatred of the Colonel than what they conceive to be the party welfare, favor the nomination of a candidate acceptable to the conservative progressives in the convention.

Meadows, Ida.

Eagle

JUN 20 1912

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION

The National Republican convention met in Chicago on the 18th instant, and organized by the election of Elihu Root as temporary chairman. The Taft and Roosevelt forces are engaged in a bitter and relentless fight for supremacy. The National committee absolutely controlled by the Taft men, decided all contest cases, except 13, in favor of Taft, thereby giving their faction votes enough on the preliminary roll to control. Col. Roosevelt is in Chicago giving personal direction to the fight and Governor Hadley, of Missouri, is in charge of the floor work. The progressive forces united on Gov. McGovern, of Wisconsin for temporary chairman and pitted him against Root. Root was elected by a vote 558 to 512, with 10 votes scattering.

The Roosevelt men "protested" against the seating of 92 Taft delegates and moved to substitute the names of 92 regularly elected Roosevelt delegates in their places. This motion was defeated—giving the second victory on a roll call test of strength to Taft—Chairman Root ruling that the 92 men whose seats were questioned had a right to vote for themselves.

Committees on Credentials, permanent organization, order of business, rules and platform were then appointed and the convention then adjourned. At the hour of going to press, the committees were not ready to report and it was proposed to adjourn the convention until Monday next.

It is impossible to foretell the result. If the Taft delegates seated by the National committee retain their seats, it is quite likely Taft will be nominated. If not some man selected by his friends. There is much talk of a dark horse and Borah, Cummins, LaFollette, Hadley and Johnson are mentioned.

The fact is that the enmities between the Taft men and Roosevelt supporters have multiplied until it really seems that only a lark horse candidate will be able to harmonize the party. The further fact appears—that Senator Borah is the best hope and strongest man suggested for the place. His candidacy has the true appeal—his record is the record which the popular vote demands. He has few enemies and no feudes. He stands heads and shoulders high among all the men suggested on his personal and political record. He is at the apex of his splendid power with the greatest possibilities of public service. He is judgmatical, sincere, strong and without the spirit of revengefulness which uses success as a weapon for reprisal. Nominate him and the party will win in November and thereafter will be written some of the brightest pages of Republican history.

Signal  
PAPER  
Weiser, Idaho.  
PUBLISHED  
SEP 26 1912

IF YOU ARE FOR BORAH.

Many voters have the idea that they can vote directly for the return of Hon. W. E. Borah to the United States senate, but this is a mistake. He will be elected by the legislature next winter, and the only way you can cast a vote for him is

to vote for E. M. Barton for senator and Frank L. Ryan for representative. They are pledged to the election of Borah and are both his warm supporters.

One, at least, of the Democratic legislative candidates has been hinting that he might vote for Borah if elected, but no one will be fooled by such a statement and one should give it the least credence unless it is made in a public declaration and not on the quiet for the purpose of catching the vote of some friends of the senator. The lines are clearly drawn and the voters who want Borah to continue to represent us in the national congress will get busy for Barton and Ryan. They are out in the open, and no real friend of progressive legislation will drag other issues into the campaign in order to injure their chances and thus deprive Senator Borah of their votes in the legislature.

Senator Borah is the ablest man in the upper house of congress, and Idaho has the distinction of claiming him as her own. No greater calamity could befall us than his defeat. Those who want to see Idaho's interests protected are for him, and will support the men who have promised to cast their votes for him next winter when the legislature

The Oregonian  
PORTLAND, OREGON

SENATOR KERN, ATTORNEY AT LAW.

The law prohibits any member of Congress from appearing as an attorney in a private employment before any of the departments of the Government; and sometimes it is enforced. The sound policy of the inhibitory statute is obvious. No man can serve two masters; a Senator or Representative may easily confuse the public interest with his personal or professional interest.

Senator Borah, of Idaho, has publicly announced that so long as he shall represent his state in Congress he will not appear anywhere for any private client. He has sought to procure the enactment of a law by Congress that will elevate the members of that body to the standard of conduct which he has marked out for himself, and has faithfully followed. But Congress neglects or ignores his proposal. The reasons are no doubt sufficient to the individual members.

A flagrant case of an outright violation of the proprieties and the decencies is the appearance of Senator Kern, of Indiana, at Indianapolis, as chief counsel, or one of them, for the guilty dynamiters. A conspicuous officer of the United States, he was paid to act as an attorney to defeat the effort of the Government to convict and punish a lawless group of men who had joined in a conspiracy to defy the laws, destroy property of great value, and take human life. He absented himself from his duties at Washington to conduct the defense of the conspirators, and he announces now that he will exhaust every resource of the law to procure their final acquittal and release. Yet Senator Kern—Private Counselor and Attorney Kern—knows these dynamiters are guilty, and he knew before the verdict that some of them are guilty.

The penalty for practices like Senator Kern's ought to be ineligibility to serve in the United States Senate.

Nebraska State Journal  
Wednesday, June 13, 1912.

Senator Borah of Idaho, who is doing the fighting for the Roosevelt forces in the national committee, says there will be no bolt of Roosevelt men in any event. If the rule of reason is to govern he is right.

People who take seriously the talk of bolting have little conception of the political value of the assets and good will of a going political party. True, party stock has gone down in recent years. Yet it is conservative to say that the party name in the case of either of the major parties is today worth four million votes. Men have been voting after the name democratic for eighty years, the name republican for nearly sixty. Each party has a normal strength of some eight million votes. It is no exaggeration to say that to half of these their party is a Naomi to be told: Wither-soever thou going, I will go.

For the Roosevelt men to bolt at Chicago, however unfairly treated, would be to file quit claim deeds to these four million votes. Without them a bolting party could not hope to win this year. Bolting would be justified, then, only on condition that a present failure to control the party is permanent.

As a matter of fact the Roosevelt wing of the party has already won control, whether it win or lose at this convention. The national committee now so potent in nominating a candidate is that anomaly of American politics—a body exercising authority after its personnel policies have been overruled in the election of successors. Hence the Roosevelt men have all to lose and nothing to gain by bolting. Bolting would defeat Taft, if nominated, but they can achieve that object if they wish without losing party caste, this by staying away from the November polls, and thereafter take possession of the party for themselves.

Mr. Roosevelt is too shrewd a politician not to see this. He saw it in 1884. He sees it now. The talk of bolting is all well enough. It may have the intended effect of encouraging courteous treatment by committee and convention. But as to actual bolting—neither Mr. Roosevelt nor his friends are the sort to cut off their nose to spite their face.

Baltimore, Md. American

SENATOR BORAH TO SPEAK

At Lincoln Day Dinner of the Union League Club.

United States Senator William E. Borah of Idaho, Theodore Roosevelt's floor leader in the Republican pre-convention fight last summer, will be the chief orator at the Lincoln Day dinner of the Union League of Maryland on February 12 next. Senator Borah was one of Roosevelt's earliest followers when T. R. entered the fight for the Republican presidential nomination last spring. Borah handled the Roosevelt contests and followed the chief Bull Moose until the latter bolted his party and set out to effect the defeat of the regular candidate of the Republican party.

Senator William P. Jackson yesterday notified the league's banquet committee that Senator Borah had consented to attend the dinner and speak. The committee will go to Washington in a few days to formally extend the invitation to the one-time Rooseveltite. Senator Borah's acceptance of the league's invitation is regarded as one of the first steps in the plan to revivify the Republican party throughout the country.

The rank and file of the Republican party will be overjoyed at Senator Borah's acceptance, while his step will be a bitter pill to the Progressives, who have predicted that the Republican party is dead beyond resurrection and that its one-time pillars of strength have all drifted away.

The refusal of Senator Borah to leave the Republican party was a hard body blow to Theodore Roosevelt and his followers, who deserted the G. O. P. ranks. From the first meeting of the Republican National Committee in Chicago last June until the party's national convention opened the Idaho man battled hard for Roosevelt. He handled the latter's contests against the Taft delegates and even his opponents admitted that he made a phenomenal fight.

Before the convention Borah was regarded as Roosevelt's personal choice for temporary chairman against Senator Elihu Root. The Roosevelt men planned to make their fight with Borah as a test of T. R. strength within the convention. A switch occurred, however, when Cochems, manager of the La Follette boom, swung behind Governor McGovern, of Wisconsin, for the chairmanship and Roosevelt consented. Still Borah continued his fight for T. R., and at one time was prominently mentioned as the latter's choice for the vice presidential nomination in the event the third-termer landed first place. Because of his well-known ability as a fighter, Borah was both feared and admired by his opponents, and repeated efforts were made to wean him away from Roosevelt.

All, however, were without success until T. R. deliberately bolted the convention and called upon his friends to follow him. Borah refused to leave the Republican ranks.

Besides the Idaho man several other of the most prominent national Republican orators will attend the dinner. The plans for the latter are going ahead rapidly, with every indication that the event will be a marked success and that it will accomplish the purposes for which it was first suggested.

Lacine, Wis. News  
Monday, June 24, 1912.

APPROPRIATES THE PROGRESSIVE NAME

Col. Roosevelt may prove he is the logical leader to head the Progressive new party to his own satisfaction, but it may not be so logical to those with whom the people are familiar with as having been concerned in the progressive movement. Such men as Senator La Follette, Senator Cummins, Beveridge, Clapp, Gov. Hoch, McGovern, the late Senator Dooliver, Borah and others were missionaries and leaders a long time before the Colonel gave token he even understood what these men meant by progression. His temperamental disposition toward this sort of progression that included leading Populistic doctrines did not show evidence until his desire to beat President Taft arose uppermost.

It may be thought by many that the ambition of the Colonel with strong desire to knock out the President is superior to any progressive coloring of the men who gave it life and form. The real trouble with the Colonel is that he is a very bad loser in political games.

New Time  
Mountain Home  
PUBLISHED  
JAN 24 1913

Both Senator Borah and Senator Perky voted against Judge Archbald in the recent impeachment proceedings before the United States Senate, and public sentiment in Idaho apparently heartily approves their action. A new class of men is certainly coming to the fore in the Senate. Time was and not so very far back in "the sweet long ago" either, when a good coating of whitewash was all that was needed when a Senator was accused of buying his seat, or a judge of conduct unbecoming his office. But times have changed, and no one knows it better than Lorimer and Archbald, who have felt the heavy hand of discipline. Archbald has been on the bench for some twenty-three years, and it is asking too much of human credulity to suppose that he became corrupt in a night. If judges no longer enjoy "that sanctity that doth baffle about a king," they have only themselves to blame for it. A judge, like Caesar's wife, should be above suspicion, and the public was fain to so regard them, but a few corrupt judges can do more to shake public confidence in the courts in a year than all the honest judges can do to patch it up in a decade.

From *Star*  
Published at *Muncie*  
Date *Ind*  
**3 NOV 22 1912**

**Why Borah Was Strong.**

Idaho women of all parties exerted themselves in behalf of Senator Borah in the late campaign and made a point of voting and seeking votes for members of the legislature who would support Borah for re-election to the senate. One of their arguments in his behalf was that he was "never too busy to answer an inquiry, look up information, send documents, etc." That he, in fact, apparently realized, "as many legislators do not, that he represents the women as well as the men of his constituency."

Here is a point for men in public life to consider now that women are coming to take an active part in affairs. It is true that in Senator Borah's state women have the franchise and he is politically under the same obligation to them as to men, but the same principle applies in all cases. Whether women vote or not, they form a part of the community; they are citizens, and every public officer from president down to constable is a representative of the people without regard to sex or condition. That many such officers do not feel themselves under obligation to consider the requests and desires of any who are seemingly without political influence, many women have discovered. Muncie women, for example, engaged in promoting needed reforms, can tell tales of discourtesy on the part of legislators and city officials.

That such discourtesy is not unknown to the women of Idaho, even though they have the franchise, is indicated by their discrimination in favor of Senator Borah for his unflinching civility. It is worth while for a public man to cultivate the habit of politeness and of giving heed to all who come to him. It helps to establish him firmly in the regard of men as well as of women. It placed Borah above party.

PER  
**SALT LAKE CITY**  
PUBLISHED  
**DEC 21 1912**  
DATE

**BORAH'S IRRIGATION BILL.**

The people of all this Western region will look with approval upon Senator Borah's newly introduced bill to advance \$30,000,000 from the Treasury of the United States to the National reclamation fund to enable the Secretary of the Interior to complete the irrigation projects which have been begun under the National irrigation act. Those projects drag for lack of funds. Even though through the influence of President Taft there was an advance of \$20,000,000 to aid these reclamation projects, that is found to be insufficient, and \$30,000,000 more will be needed to finish the works already under way. That money should be advanced, because until the projects are finished the money thus far invested in them is dead money, from which nothing can be realized. The projects are unremunerative in every way until the reclamation works are put in complete, and usable. Evidently from the business as well as the common sense standpoint the necessary thing to do is to get on with those works and complete them so that the money invested in them will become productive and the makers of homes under these projects be able to begin to reimburse the fund which has permitted the creation therefrom of their homes.

Senator Borah does not, so far as appears, include in his bill the proposition for the extension of time in which the settlers upon these reclaimed lands are to make their payments. But it will be necessary to make some extension of this time, even if the extension of twenty-five years, as urged in Ari-

zona, is not granted; for the long delay in finishing reclamation works began and assured of completion has made grievous expense upon the takers of the lands to be reclaimed, and has crippled them so that it will be impracticable for them to make up their ten years' payments as the law now requires.

If the reclamation projects had been limited to such as the funds immediately available could have speedily completed, there would probably have been no reason why the settlers could not meet the payments as required by law; but the settlers have become impoverished by the long delays, and they are trying to hold on to their filings even though the reclamation project under which they placed their claims is not completed, as expected and promised. This delay has been far more to the disadvantage of the claimants than to that of the Government, for the Government has lost nothing, while the prospective settlers have suffered large losses. It would be no more than right, therefore, for the Government to extend the period of payment correspondingly, at least, to the period of delay which the settlers have suffered in waiting upon the tardy completion of the reclamation projects.

**IDAHO FALLS, IDA.**

*Register*

**MAY 10 1912**

The Ohio State Journal, published at Columbus, the chief republican paper of that great state, places Senator Borah, of Idaho, at the lead among all the men of the republican party of the nation as the most likely presidential candidate.

In addition to this, report comes from Washington that republican leaders are explaining that Idaho is no further west now than Illinois was fifty years ago, or Tennessee fifteen years prior to that, when modern transportation methods, business conditions and other elements are considered, and that there is no more reason why the nation should not go to Idaho for a president, provided Idaho has the man available, than there is that it should not look to any other state. The Ohio State Journal analyzes the situation as follows:

"The republican unknown is not likely to be Justice Charles E. Hughes if the tip that Ohioans have received is correct. Justice Hughes is understood to have told President Taft that he will not be a candidate under any conceivable circumstances. Senator Cummins has been eliminated by the action of the Iowa convention, and today the most promising pacer in the republican presidential stables is Senator Borah of Idaho."

PAPER **REPUBLICAN**  
PUBLISHED *Palouse*  
DATE **SEP 27 1912**

**BORAH AND HIS CRITICS.**

Senator Borah's reply to his critics is worthy of a place in the voter's scrap-book. It is a sermon, in itself, for the week-kneed individual who has been in the habit of voting blindly for a party name, or for a party leader without regard for his policies or his acts. It is a fitting rebuke for the leader, real or imaginary, who denounces as false and unworthy all beliefs save his own. It is a righteous demand for freedom of political thought and political action, that will find a quick response in the minds of all those who are seeking to make

the republican party the medium through which the best interests of the people of the state are to be served.

Idaho Tribune,  
24, 1913.

remain to show that in this at least Greece was not 'mendax'."

**BORAH ON CONSERVATION.**

In his speech to the Idaho legislature on Wednesday, Senator Borah very justly scored the Eastern idea of conservation. That idea plainly is to halt the development of this Western region at its present stage, stop the taking up of further public lands, deny the use of water powers, and in general to paralyze the development of every mountain and coast State. These States are already badly hampered by the huge railroad and other grants, by forestry reserves, by reservations of coal lands, of water-power sites, so that it is indeed difficult for the people to make progress. All these various reservations and grants keep off from the assessment tall large values that ought to be added to the States' resources, and should be taxed according to their value; but as long as the Federal Government reserves these values it is impossible to get them under assessment or to tax them in any form.

Senator Borah declared emphatically against the policies of Mr. Fisher, the Secretary of the Interior, and expressed the opinion that he ought to be thrown out of office. He also attacked the Interior Department conservation policies on the just ground that they retard the development of the West, and if carried to their ultimate purposes would paralyze advancement in all this western country.

The truth is that the people of the East do not really comprehend what it is that they have accepted as a fact. If applied in their own regions they would denounce the idea as an outrageous imposition. If it were proposed, for instance, to withdraw from the States of New York and Pennsylvania all the timber lands, to make huge land grants of various kinds, withdrawing large tracts from use and taxation, to deny the people the right to use water power or to mine coal, there would be such an outcry, such amazed indignation and resistance, as would rouse the Republic and bring people to their senses. But the West is remote, and it is borne in upon the people of the East that they have some right in the lands, in the water power, in the coal, and in various of the natural resources of all this region. The fact that any such right is so shadowy as to be impossible of realization is lost sight of in the general sentiment that something is coming to them, and they want it.

Senator Borah pleads for encouragement in the development of all this Western region, and against the hampering policies that are so evil in their effects towards restricting development and the heading off of progress. There can be no question but that he is right in the position that he has taken. And it is to be hoped that he may be able to convince President Wilson of the enormous fallacy that underlies the Pinchot and Fisher conservation policies, and which reverses the policies of the Government from the first, and which, if such conservation had been applied in the past generations, would have preserved the whole Mississippi valley to this time in a state of savagery, and limited white settlements to a fringe along the Atlantic. Indeed, if there could have been such conservation policies applied from the very first discovery of this country, white people could never have obtained a lodgment at all in America.

It is to be hoped that Senator Borah and other Western men may be able to convince President Wilson of the fallacy of all this stupid faddism. If they can do so, there will be little occasion to regret the overture of politics that was made by the election of last November.

**SENATOR BORAH'S SCHEME.**

Senator Borah of Idaho, who is a leading Republican progressive, and who refused to come out to the support of President Taft for reelection, has strongly expressed himself upon the various plans which have been set forth to re-organize the Republican party. He does not take any stock in any of them. He declares that the only way to reorganize the party is to take up some important question and go before the people on that issue, and drop all fight along personal lines. In this way he suggests the trust question as the most important before the country, and one which will attract the attention of the people as no other question would at this time.

He declares that all attempts to re-organize the party along lines laid down by President Taft and his immediate followers, as well as by a few progressive Republicans, who are more or less friendly to Senator La Follette, is worse than useless, for the reason that it would simply be the turning down one boss to exalt another.

In this Senator Borah is undoubtedly right. The standpatters have the control of the machinery of the Republican party. That is what they wanted. That is what they stole the delegates at Chicago last June for. Their scheme worked then and they are now entrenched. They cared nothing about the success of the party in November, if they could control the organization. They cared nothing for the success of Taft. They only used him as a means to an end. If that end ruined the party, in made no difference to them as defeat at that time would have meant their end politically. Success through stealing a few of the people's delegates meant a longer lease of life in which to keep hold of party power.

The progressives left within the party can talk about re-organizing all they want to, but as Senator Borah well says, it will amount to nothing. They are not in control.

But the senator will find his position just as difficult as that of other progressive Republicans. He may take up the trust question, but before it is the accepted issue of the party it must be approved by the party managers, and how much confidence have the people in those managers? If the senator will study the returns of the recent election, he will be confronted by some startling facts. The fact is that the present chaotic political conditions will doubtless con-

tinue until the progressives of all parties get together, and it is not likely that they can be brought together under any kind of scheme to re-organize the Republican party.

Senator Borah is very near to the Progressive party. He may not like to own it. But that is undoubtedly

where he and many others like him will land in the very near future. They have no time for standpatism, and the coming four years will, without question, thoroughly convince them of the utter futility of longer attempting to fuse with that element.

PAPER Republic

PUBLISHED Palouse, Wash.

SEP 13 1912

**GOD BLESS THE STORM.**

The following excerpts from an address by Senator William E. Borah of Idaho, who is one of the nation's big men, give expression to the belief that much good will come out of the present chaotic political conditions:

"This is a time and an hour for men of faith and vision, poise and purpose. We appear to be passing through a period of moral, political and intellectual proscription. Party lines are dim and uncertain, party discipline a little lax. Party platforms are lost in a maze of charges and counter charges, criminations and recriminations.

"The traditions of 50 or 100 years are thrown aside and party achievements in the discussion of the day seem impudent and out of place. The friendships of a lifetime give place to hate and vengeance with the passing of a night.

"Everybody is busy examining the records and doings of everybody's past, but if we keep well to our purpose and avail ourselves of the opportunities which the situation affords, the people will in the end be benefited by this contest—for it is a contest, after all, of ideas and a deep seated movement for a different and better condition of affairs.

"For mark you, there is something wrong. I have faith in the ninety millions of people of this nation and rely upon their good judgment. I believe that in the end the conflict will result in elevating the moral principles of this country.

"I have not suffered the despair of conscience and discouragement which so many good people have and are suffering by reason of this trouble. I may be alone, but cannot see it in that way.

"God bless the storm, let it come. It will cool and clarify the atmosphere and bring relief to the toiling millions. Political chaos reigns throughout the republic and I say again, God bless the storm, let it come. To me the scene is an inspiring one, and the situation prophetic of a splendid future."

Haller, Idaho Times.  
Wednesday, Nov. 22, 1912.

**GIVES BORAH A CHANCE**

Since the fight between Roosevelt and Taft has become so bitter that it is doubtful if either can be nominated and elected, it is well that our delegation to Chicago should be uninstructed, as it may enable it to do telling work for Borah.

Idaho is no less accessible today than Nebraska was when Bryan was first nominated, and if Borah were named by the convention we believe that he would sweep the Union.

**SENATOR BORAH'S POLITICS AND HIS PROSPECTS.**

Considering that Senator Borah is between two fires, that he is upon the horns of a dilemma and must steer his course between Scylla and Charibdis, etc., etc., it must be admitted that he has made the best of an embarrassing situation and taken an attitude that is logical, sensible and forceful. Unfortunately, that is not all that is required of the man in politics. He must also serve the party, even at the cost of other considerations. We say he "must" advisedly. He must do so for good reasons and for others not so good. The "party" is not composed of men all of one mind, of one interest, of one quality, but they are all agreed on the one point only, that of holding together great masses of people along general lines of policy, but in which each must sacrifice or subordinate something in order to enable the whole to be leavened. At this juncture, however, there is so much disagreement on general lines that the "party" is well nigh disrupted and alienated from the popular sympathies. Those charged with managerial duties, or who are thick and thin party men, are therefore more concerned than ever to procure a certain party regularity, at least from those who seek and who receive party preferment. Therefore Senator Borah still has a rocky road to travel, from a party standpoint, however much his pleasing, clear-cut and resolute declaration of purpose and of plan may appeal to the general public. The attitude of Senator Borah towards his party, or of his party towards him, is not, broadly speaking, any of the Tribune's business, but his attitude towards the state, and the state towards him, is Senator Borah has served the state creditably and well. He has brought honor upon himself and upon his constituency in the national senate. He has been industrious, painstaking, loyal and sympathetic concerning matters of policy and of individual interest on the part of the state's citizenry as affected at Washington. The state has had a great asset and a tower of strength in Senator Borah in the national councils. His removal from the sphere where he has been so useful and so distinguished would be a distinct loss, and yet such loss is by no means an improbability. The party rupture does not explain all the jeopardy in which Senator Borah is placed. Local factionalism, animosities over sumptuary questions, county division alignments and similar contentions are entering into the legislative situation very extensively this year, and in which the state's representation at Washington plays little or no part. Of course, if the state goes democratic, or if the legislature is democratic, a democrat will logically be elected to the senate. But if Senator Borah is simply jockeyed out of the election over mere inter-party quibbling and quarreling, and some weak or unknown politician given the position now filled with such signal ability and success, the state's prestige will suffer an eclipse that will do little credit to its politics or its discretion. The Tribune has not infrequently criticized and condemned specific acts and alignments of Senator Borah, as it has of other public men whether of its own party or of some other party, but that does not alter the fact that Mr. Borah's record in its entirety measures up to the best of them for one term of service, that he has given the state the best there was in him, that he has won his honors in the open field by his own personal merit, and that he has done nothing to require his forfeiture of the confidence and support of the people of the state. We believe the public at large feels that way, too, and that it will regret and resent any politics that seeks to sacrifice him on a question of discipline that, from the larger standpoint, should be far more honored in the breach than in the observance.

## OLIVE BRANCH FOR MOOSE

Republicans At Lincoln Banquet  
Wave It At Them.

## BORAH HAMMERS AT MONOPOLY

McCumber Denounces Violators Of  
Constitution—Jackson Hits At  
Professional Politicians.

Old-time Republicans, at their banquet last night under the auspices of the Union League at the armory of the Fifth Regiment Veteran Corps, not only held out the olive branch to their former brethren who went off last summer and are still flocking by themselves as Progressives, but actually waved it at them and invited them to come in out of the wet.

This sentiment ran through all the speeches and was pronounced as the general spirit of the gathering. At the same time there was no disposition shown to surrender the name Republican and adopt any other, such as Liberal, or to yield an iota of their allegiance to "the Constitution." No bitterness toward the Progressives was shown, the references to "our erstwhile brethren" being more sorrowful than angry.

At the same time, all the speakers admitted that conditions which have grown up under the various administrations of the Republican party are not what they should be, and that remedies more or less drastic are demanded by the people. Senator Porter J. McCumber, of North Dakota, thought the remedies could all be found under the Constitution as it stands, and he was severe in his denunciation of those who would violate that sacred instrument.

### Treads On Roosevelt's Toes.

In his remarks along this line, he tread rather heavily upon the toes of Colonel Roosevelt, although he did not mention him by name, protesting that, if some of the theories known to be advocated by the Colonel should be carried out, anarchy and national destruction would result. It was clear that while he pointed out that the necessity of the times demands a new Lincoln he did not think Roosevelt was the man.

The Republican party, he said, was born of the heart and brain of Lincoln and, in his opinion, the character and the fundamental doctrines of Lincoln would furnish the only true basis for the reuniting of its members.

"He who seeks to check any progressive policy that will keep abreast of the necessities of the age and insure to the lasting benefits of the people," he said, "is a Republican. He who goes to the other extreme, believes in making our courts subservient to a majority sentiment, who believes in removing all restraints on majorities, who believes in a democracy rather than in a representative form of government, belongs to the socialist fold rather than to the Republican ranks."

But between these two extremes he thought there was ample room for all true Republicans to unite.

### Monopoly The Great Problem.

Senator William E. Borah, of Idaho, who responded to the toast "The Republican Party," and who made the principal speech of the evening, expressly denied that he was seeking to offer a program for the reorganization of the Republican party or that he was assuming to point the way for a future policy. Beside the question of dealing with monopoly all other questions were, to his mind, incidental. That was the great problem of the time. At the same time, he made the plea for the return to the Republican fold of those who had strayed away. While the party of the days of Lincoln, he thought, might never again be equalled in moral grandeur, yet those brave old days make Republicanism a badge of honor.

"So," he asked, "why reject it? Why give up an honored name? Why abandon our household gods?"

### Interest In Jackson's Speech.

One of the features of the dinner was the maiden speech of Senator William Jackson, of Maryland, and in it he headed his plea for the return to the Republican fold of those who had forsaken it. His invitation to the Progressives was the most marked of any made by the speakers of the evening. His speech was a creditable one, and was received with enthusiasm. Although he is not an orator in any sense of the word, he made out very well. His subject was "Maryland," and while he did not say much about the State, he did have something to say about "professional politicians who have helped to complicate and render difficult the popular expression of will."

He also announced his belief that "political parties do not exist for the welfare of the professional politician." In fact, some of the things he said about politicians were really unkind. At the same time, he had nothing but feelings of charity for the Progressives, and his vote against the Works resolution limiting an occupant of the Presidency to one term was evidence that he did not have any hard feelings toward Theodore Roosevelt and would not be a party to shutting him out of the Presidency if he could again get it.

### Enthusiasm From The Start.

The dinner was an enthusiastic one from the beginning to the end. Gen. Joan R. King was toastmaster, and the "Welcome" was delivered by former Congressman Al-

bert A. Blakeney, president of the Union League. The first toast, that to "The President of the United States," was standing. Then followed the speeches of Senator McCumber, speaking to the toast "Abraham Lincoln"; Congressman Frank B. Willis, of Ohio, speaking of "Abraham Lincoln, the Man"; Senator Jackson, to "Maryland," and Senator Borah closing the oratorical part of the program with his toast to "The Republican Party," but devoting most of his speech to a denunciation of monopoly and methods of curbing it. His speech was a splendid effort and created something of a sensation.

Congressman Willis spoke of "Lincoln, the Man." He traced his career from his boyhood until his death, dwelling upon his tenderness, a spirit which kept Lincoln always on the alert to prevent suffering. Willis next alluded to the War Department, where he stayed beside the telegraphic board all night long in order to give assurance to a sorrowing mother in New Hampshire that the life of her son who had fallen asleep at his post would be saved.

### Letters From Taft And Others.

Letters from President Taft, Charles D. Hilles, chairman of the Republican National Committee, and George R. Sheldon, treasurer of the committee, expressing regret at being unable to attend the dinner, were read, as was a letter from Governor Goldsborough, who is out of the State. "The Governor said, in part:

I wish you a large measure of success, and that the banquet will be productive of much good to the party in the State. The Republican party is not dead. It cannot and will not die, for it has accomplished much for the welfare of the nation during the half century gone by, and there is yet much left for it to do, which I am satisfied it will do with credit to itself and with distinction to the country. What we need is to forget the past and turning our eyes to the front, march on as a united and harmonious body, determined to uphold the principles of a party that gave birth to Lincoln, Grant, McKinley, and the achievements of which party and its wise legislation have brought this country to a condition of prosperity unrivaled by any other nation in the world, and not experienced by it during any other period of its history.

## TWIN FALLS, IDA.

PUBLISHED

SEP 12 1912

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### Borah Confuses Matters.

Senator Borah has added materially to the confusion in the Republican ranks by his announcement that he will not support President Taft. It is true that the senator says at the same time that he will not join the third

party, but that he will work for the progressive principles for which he has labored and planned in recent years.

This announcement, made immediately after the senator's arrival in north Idaho from Washington, is subjecting him to a severe cross-fire. Radicals in both camps are taking great pleasure in aiming their shafts at him, and this naturally makes his position an unpleasant one.

Just before the senator returned home from the capital it was announced from the Republican headquarters in Chicago that he would take the stump for Taft. This announcement seems to have been made without authority. In any event the senator repudiates it. This has given deep offense to some of the more ardent Taft men, and they swear that the senator will be forced to line up on one side or the other before the campaign is much older. They argue that Senator Borah had no moral right to accept the Republican nomination in the primaries if he did not propose to support the Republican standard bearer; that if he could not support President Taft, that was the time for him to declare his position; that he should at the time of the primary declared himself outside the Republican party and go before the people as a Progressive or independent if he desired re-election.

### Senator Has Strong Support.

Most of the Progressives profess to be well satisfied with Senator Borah in the position he has taken. But the more radical among them feel that he should cut loose from the Taft organization altogether and cast in his fortunes with the new party. In other words, some men prominent in both camps hold that the time has arrived to make the distinction just as clear between the Republicans and the Progressives as it is between the Republicans and the Democrats.

Senator Borah suffers from the charge that he is trying to carry water on both shoulders. The fact is that he is stronger than either Taft or Roosevelt in Idaho. He draws his strength not alone from Republicans or Progressives, but from Democrats as well. The fact still remains, however, that the political situation would be greatly simplified in Idaho were the senator to declare himself without reservation for either Taft or Roosevelt in this fight.

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## APPROVING SENATOR BORAH.

We are glad to print the following indorsement of our position respecting Senator Borah:

Salt Lake City, Sept. 17.  
Editor Tribune.—With deep interest and pleasure I read your editorial this morning commenting on the position and declaration of Senator Borah in his Meridian speech last week. I most heartily indorse every word of it. If this country had a few more men of the independent thought and speech of Senator Borah there would not today be the extremely disturbed feeling there is in the affairs of this Nation. As a representative of the people in the most important legislative branch of the country he stands out in great contrast when compared to our Senators from Utah, the apparent servile tools of the powers that be, either in politics or commerce.

As a Nation we need men who have the fear of God in their souls and who regard a political crime just as much a crime as when committed in the business world; men who have the independence of thought and sterling manhood to declare their principles and their position on the important issues of the day without first consulting the powers that be or without waiting to see how these issues are accepted by the people—whether they are popular or otherwise. The people need men who think and who are not afraid to speak their thoughts.

I regard Senator Borah as one of the very few strong men before the people today, and believe his strength lies in his honesty, his fairness and his frankness.

But now, Mr. Editor, why could not the Tribune have eulogized Senator Borah's frankness, and also commended one other statement he made in his speech at Meridian, when he said he could not support Mr. Taft because his nomination was made by counting for him 52 votes that honestly belonged to Theodore Roosevelt? I am sure the whole truth and nothing but the truth in this campaign will make better Americans of us all, and I would like to see the Tribune consistent and honest editorially as well as in its news columns. The writer never voted for any but a Republican for President, but he never will vote for a Republican candidate for President whose nomination was stolen, and I believe I speak the sentiments of the great mass of voters. ED. S. BROOKE.  
1221 South Ninth East.

Replying to the question, we consider the discussion of the "fraud" in the nomination of President Taft, to be entirely closed. There was no fraud. Even Senator Borah does not claim that the 52 votes he objects to would have nominated Roosevelt. But the whole matter has been gone over repeatedly, and no useful purpose could be served by reopening the question, since it would not be possible to arrive at any other result than has already been reached. Besides, it is useless to dispute with a man who claims that the only honest result is his result, as Roosevelt men are apt to do, forgetting that the great attempted fraud in Chicago was in Roosevelt's interest, in presenting 159 delegates from the South who had no possible claim to seats and whom Senator Borah and other Roosevelt members of the committee voted against, saying their claims had no merit.

with K. Post.  
Friday, December 10, 1912.

A Chicago newspaper thinks that Senator Borah, of Idaho, is the logical leader of a Republican-Progressive alliance in the next Senate because he is often seen walking away from the Senate chamber "between Senator Root, of New York, and Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts." That is better company than Senator Penrose or Senator Crane, but Mr. Borah has little claim to be considered a real Progressive. He voted for the Payne bill, and he trimmed from side to side all through the last contest. He gets back to the Senate largely because of a remarkable decision by the Idaho Supreme Court preventing the Progressive organization in a number of places from having the names of their candidates printed on the ballot. As a leader, Mr. Cummins, of Iowa, is far more promising than the Idaho Sen-

# The Globe

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Thursday, Dec. 26, 1912.

## WHAT HE IS DOING.

Some of the narrow-gauge editors of this glorious state of ours have frequently relieved the fomentations arising from their undigested dinners by asking the question: "What has Borah done?" And though that question might be effectively answered a hundred times over for them, that class of knockers still, parrot like, continue to sit in their little cages and croak out the same query. We have neither the time nor space to devote to answering such a question from a fellow who claiming to know enough to inform the public of things transpiring, does not know enough about what Senator Borah has done for the state of Idaho as well as for the nation, and the position which he occupies in national affairs and the prominence which he has given his state through his public services, to ring off for a time on the stereotyped question of "what has Borah done?" Really when you come right down to the fact, it is not so much what a party or man "has done" as what "he is doing," that is of vital interest to the public. No man who is "looking backward" the greater part of his time to find some musty law, or precedent, or the heroics of some defunct ancestor, to worship, or to shape his course in present day needs, unless it be along lines of rectitude, patriotism and moral courage, will ever take the leadership in this day of extreme activity and progress. Then laying aside the question of what Mr. Borah "has done" during the past six years of his senatorial career, let us see what he "is doing" right now in the present day activities of life.

On last Saturday he was singled out from among the numerous senators and congressmen at the national capital to make the principal address at the fourteenth annual dinner in New York commemorating the 125th anniversary of the framing of the constitution of the United States given in honor of James Bryce, the retiring British ambassador; and it is well enough to mention the fact that Mr. Borah dealt with the subject of the United States constitution, and its adaptability to our present day needs, and that he treated this important topic in practically the same manner that he did in his address delivered in Grangeville in October. Showing that he has fixed ideas on public matters and that they are the same whether addressing the brains of the national metropolis or the inhabitants of a mountain town in his home state. In other words he is not found trimming his sails to avoid criticism from the big guns, while posing as an oracle before the lesser lights.

A Washington dispatch of the 13th also announces that "Senator Borah has agreed to take part in the politics of New York

in the coming mayoralty fight in the effort which is to be made to clean up New York. A delegation from the Young Republican club came here and prevailed upon him to give them two or three nights. The campaign, in a sense, begins tonight at the dinner given to District Attorney Whitman, who will likely be the candidate for mayor. Senator Borah left today for New York to speak at the Whitman dinner."

Is it possible that it never occurs to those would be "wise-acres" as somewhat remarkable that while they are shooting their little pellets of nasty criticism at a home man who is doing such effective work for his state and nation, that strangers who have no personal interest in him, other than he has won from them by his own meritorious conduct, should be seeking constantly after his society and drawing freely upon his time for speeches and after dinner addresses, and that the leading papers of the east, as well as the west, recognize in him one of the leading spirits and level headed statesmen of the day? We ask is it possible that these persons have never pro-

found a that query to themselves. It must be so, or even they would be compelled, in the face of the great array of witnesses and the character of the same, to see that every time they launch their little squirts of invective at the big Idaho senator, they are only advertising more fully to their readers their own small natures and their utter incapacity to appreciate worth and brains which more sensible strangers readily understand and do honor to.

## THE POINT OF VIEW.

A good deal depends upon the point of view and also upon the point of order. At the meeting of the Republican National Committee Senator Borah is very much in view, but also very much out of order, that is, from the viewpoint of the chair. Chairman Rosewater has frequent occasion for rapping down the Idaho Senator with his gavel, but the rapping doesn't keep him down or prevent him from insisting that from his point of view his points are always in order. For instance, when the Chairman rapped with a mighty rap to silence Mr. Borah and declared "there is nothing before the house," the Senator promptly replied, "I am before the house." This asseveration was quite true, although in a strictly parliamentary sense Mr. Borah himself was not sufficient as a subject matter to be under the orderly consideration of the house. From the Chairman's point of view Borah was as though he was not, and on that particular point Borah was compelled to yield.

As a standing or, more properly speaking, a constantly bobbing up point of order, Senator Borah and his protesting allies was a bit perplexing, especially considered from this point of view. They bristle with objections and complain about and denounce the Taft road roller, but in nearly all the contests that have been brought up, when it comes to a vote, the Roosevelt committeemen vote with the majority to seat the Taft delegates. In other words, while they denounce the road roller, they are constrained except in a few instances to accept the Taft point of view and help push the road roller along. With all of the expostulations and objecting of Borah, Mellarg and company it doesn't appear that the road roller has been altogether ruthless. Perhaps from their point of view there is a big snag ahead with which they expect to smash the road roller.

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WEDNESDAY, JUNE 12, 1912.

## BORAH

Senator Borah, of Idaho, for vice-president, is a good suggestion. If it were not for the fact that he comes from a small western state he would be available as splendid material for a compromise candidate for President. He is young, able, sensible, vigorous. He is not an extreme radical but he is far from being a reactionary. Yet he is positive in his convictions and a first-class fighter. He knows what he wants and is not easily diverted from his goal. He is, in short, a strong man who understands that the people of this country are not all or possibly at all satisfied with present conditions and desire a progressive change. He is big enough and strong enough to capture the imagination of the people and he would be an excellent "vote-getter". Unlike Hughes, he is not cold but a real, full-blooded man. He appeals as being just about the sort of a man the party or the country needs in the present situation. But his nomination is out of the question. The East would never permit it.

All this talk, by the way, of what a man could or would do in the White House is beside the mark for the most part. No man as President can stay the progress of this country if the people are agreed on a course of action and are determined to advance. It does not lie within the power or the province of one man to say that this country shall or shall not go ahead. The need right now is an intelligent leader at Washington who can rightly interpret the unrest and the desires of the people and give them the proper direction. It is just in this particular that Mr. Taft has failed. He is more the judge than the popular leader. Mr. Roosevelt, on the other hand, is quick to catch the superficial, passing thought of the day and adopt it for his own making such additions—never modifications—as best suit his present purpose. It is this that accounts for his wonderful popularity and makes him a figure of adoration. His weakness is that he does not go deeper than the surface. Borah is the abler man of the two.

June 17, 1912.

When men like Borah and Hadley, and Stubbs and Aldrich, of Nebraska, and McCormick, of Illinois, and numerous others who supported him in his primary contest for the republican nomination for the presidency refuse to follow Roosevelt into the third party, it will be realized that it is no easy undertaking to induce men who for a life time have served the party, to sever all relations with it and bolt its nominees. The republican party is not a very satisfactory and harmonious condition just at present, but out of this discord will come harmony; out of this chastisement will come a better and brighter condition, both for the party and the people. It is no time to desert the party. Things have looked just as bad as now in former periods of its history, but in the end it came out with flying colors. It will do so again.

*Senator Borah*

Monday, Dec. 23, 1912

BORAH OR "THE SUN"?

Senator William E. Borah of Idaho having stated, in the course of his recent speech to the Pennsylvania Society:

With political power in the hands of the majority and wealth in the hands of the minority, the supreme test of the Constitution is yet in the future, the New York "Sun" took exception to the statement, arguing that the "few great fortunes" amount to nothing "by the side of the accumulated and accumulating wealth of the majority." The "Sun's" article closes with this paragraph:—

"Senator Borah seems to be the victim of a phrase."

Somebody surely is. Is it Borah or the "Sun"?

Placing the figures at their lowest the proletariat of the land makes up at least 60 per cent of our population. "Devil's Advocate" tho' the "Sun" is, the paper will hardly venture to claim that "the accumulated and accumulating wealth" of the majority makes up a fatter heap of wealth than that of the 40 per cent minority. Such a claim would be too clumsy. Devil's Advocates are too cunning to expose themselves like all that. They must resort to some dust for cover. The word "majority" in the "Sun's" sentence, together with the candor of its statement that there are "a few great fortunes," offers the cover under which to juggle.

No doubt the "great fortunes" such as those of the Astors, the Rockefellers, the Vanderbilts and the Goulds are not numerous. No doubt the individuals who hold these fortunes are only a "corporal's guard." No doubt, finally, the wealth held by this minority, does not overtop the wealth of all the other citizens of the land. Does it follow that wealth is in the hands of the majority? Not unless one is the victim of a phrase—the "majority" phrase, or term.

Not a nickel of the wealth of any of the wealthy people who rank below the Astors, etc., in affluence will butter a single slice of bread of that at least 60 per cent proletarian majority of our population, or buy a single slice of bread upon which to spread the butter. As far as that 60 per cent majority is concerned, the wealth of the below-the-plutocratic minority is as non-existent. To bracket that 60 per cent proletarian majority with the below-the-plutocratic minority, and impute to the proletarian majority a wealth that they do not possess is a trick kindred to the trick of horse thieves who conceal the stolen animals by turning them loose among the horses which they did not steal.

Already there is a majority of the land that is practically wealthless. That large numbers are daily added to these, and that even larger numbers feel steadily driven to the ragged edge, off which they will have to jump into the proletarian class Bull Moosia is the political weather signal of, a weather signal that is emphasized by the tall-tale figures of the late poll of the two parties that fly Socialist colors, and both of which more than doubled their poll of 1908. The under-tow of the coming storm has long been felt. One of the devices to stem it was the "Majority" term. It was a jugglery intended to cause the poor to imagine they shared the wealth of their plunderers. It was a twin brother of that other device known as "Average," by which poor people were averaged into the possession of wealth that they did not have. Many were duped by the phrase. Among the dupes there were not a few of the dupers themselves, who succumbed to the illusion of their own sleight-of-hand. Senator Bo-

rah has obviously pulled himself out of the number.

Not so the "Sun."

Newspaper Cutting Bureau in the World

From CAPITAL  
Address TOPEKA, KAN.  
Date NOV 25

WHAT THE WOMEN DID IN IDAHO.

One of the acceptable results of the late lamented election was the success of Senator Borah of Idaho, in a red hot and doubtful campaign. Borah denounced the actions of the stand pat National Committee at Chicago and was a power on the insurgent side in the convention. He therefore lost out with the regulars. Afterwards he followed his own ideas and refused to go in with the new party, and so he lost the new party men. It looked mighty dubious for Borah in his campaign for re-election. Now he attributes his success to the women of Idaho, who voted for him almost "to a man", and whose reasons for supporting him for re-election are worthy the attention of Senator Bristow and Senator-elect Thompson. It was because Borah, the ladies say, had time at Washington to look after their interests as well as the interests of men or the general public. He found time to look up information desired by women's clubs, to answer their letters politely and show a "more than perfunctory interest" therein. So all over Idaho women's clubs were champions of Borah, and they re-elected him, Idaho being an equal suffrage State.

This is a good thing for the country at large. The independence which Senator Borah showed during the late contest has been characteristic of his service in the Senate, where he occupies very much the same position that Judge Ed Madison held in the House,

enjoying the confidence of all sides but under the domination of none. Senator Borah is the author of the income tax amendment to the Constitution, which is glory enough for a man serving his first term, but as a matter of fact, he has been one of the most useful legislators at Washington and honors the State of Idaho by his service. Woman suffrage has handsomely vindicated itself in Idaho if it re-elected the man to the Senate who has raised the small State of Idaho from obscurity to more or less renown.

JOURNAL  
FENBACULA, FLA  
DEC 21 1912

Senator Borah On Reorganization.

Senator Borah, the brilliant senior senator of progressive proclivities, from Idaho, in a recent interview in the Chicago Record-Herald, gives his ideas on the reorganization of the all but defunct republican party. These views do not coincide with those either of the Bull Moose people or the old regime of republicans.

In this interview Mr. Borah says: "A political party is never formidable and dominant until its rank and file are aroused through the influence of some theme which is worthy of their time and worthy of sacrifice."

In other words there is no place in either the Republican or the Bull Moose parties for men like Borah.

No doubt patriotic leaders like La Follette, Cummins and others were sincere in their desire to form a new party, but after it became so apparent that this was to be used solely and alone to foster and encourage the ambition and inordinate vanity of Theodore Roosevelt, and after the last lingering reactionary principle left lurking in the Democratic party was crushed at Baltimore, it would have been wise and patriotic for these statesmen to have announced themselves as Democrats.

There is only one really progressive political party, and that is the democratic party, where all men who want a freer and better government should belong. Most of these so-called progressive leaders are democratic in nearly everything but name.

From POST  
Address: New York

At least one Republican Senator finds little encouragement in the plans for the reorganization and strengthening of his party. Senator Borah does not believe that they reach the real difficulty. The reason is that they deal with party machinery, when the true desideratum is an issue. The Idaho Senator points out the need of dealing adequately with national taxation, the reform of our banking and currency legislation, and with monopolistic combinations. He declares that any party which offers the country a comprehensive and effective programme on these subjects would have "no trouble in commanding the support of a vast majority of the people for the next quarter of a century." He evidently believes that the Republicans have no such policy, and affirms that, so long as they have not, they will remain in the quagmire. "What we want is an issue," asserts Senator Borah; and he adds, as if looking hard at the Bull Moose, "we want that issue to be policies and not persons."

In Tuesday's municipal elections in Massachusetts, the showing made by the Progressive party is worth a word of comment. In only four of the fourteen cities that voted did the Progressives put up a separate ticket. Nowhere did they elect anybody, with the exception of two Councilmen in Quincy. Their largest vote was in Brockton, but even there they were third. In general, their vote was nothing like what it was in November. This parallels the experience in the recent election in Portland, Maine, where the Progressives polled but ten per cent. of the total vote, though in the national election they cast thirty. The inference is clear that the Progressive party, if it insists upon going it alone in local elections, will not be able to hold its strength. This is one reason more for believing that the Progressives will be entirely ready to join in an anti-Tammany fusion next year.

JOURNAL  
PORTLAND, ORE  
JAN 17 1913

SENATOR BORAH'S BILL

AGAIN Senator Borah is trying to remedy a very serious difficulty to the struggling homesteader in complying with the rules for cultivation of the claim now imposed.

By the bill just introduced in the Senate and House by Senator Borah and Representative French, respectively, instead of the cultivated areas so hard to be reached, in Western Oregon or any other broken or wooded districts, within the three years' term an outlay averaging \$1.50 per acre on improvements, may be substituted.

Almost any genuine homesteader can show expenditures to that amount when house, barn, fences, orchard planting, shed buildings and so on are taken into account. The permanency of the home on the land is far better thus assured than if the settler's whole force and outlay is to be absorbed on clearing, grubbing, and cultivation, while the family meanwhile drags on in utter discomfort in a trilling cabin, and the fencing and planting have to be postponed. Any idea of making profit at an early date from the intensive cultivation of the small area first taken in hand must also be postponed.

Shortening of the five years' homestead residence term to three years is an empty gift to many an honest and hardworking settler in face of the burden of clearing and cultivation now imposed.



# SENATOR WM. E. BORAH

The Republican Legislative Candidates Are Pledged to Vote For His Re-Election.



Senator W. E. Borah, of Idaho, is celebrated throughout the United States as the most energetic and successful legislator of either branch of congress. The important three-year homestead bill becomes a law within a few months; the industrial commission bill passes the senate in eight minutes, giving to Senator Borah the record for quick action in the senate. But it is Senator Borah's land legislation that marks him the hope of the Black Canyon settlers. If Borah cannot help you who can? Who will?

### POLITICAL SNAPSHOTS.

St. Louis Globe-Democrat: Only one question will be asked by the colonel when a third party delegate presents himself: "Are you a good listener?"

Denver Republican: Some day Mr. Belmont and Mr. Perkins will get together and have a good long talk about how fast the money goes when one tries to make a man president against the will of the people.

Brooklyn Eagle: Ten dollars, \$15, and \$20 a seat are stiff prices to pay for admission to the third party convention. Intending spectators should compare the charges with those for regular vaudeville and govern themselves accordingly.

Indianapolis News: With the regular republicans determined to have nothing to do with the bull moosers and the bull moose determined to have nothing to do with the regular republicans, a political agreement is apparent that makes it look as if the campaign were going to be a good deal more harmonious than it may turn out to be.

Boston Transcript: Senator Borah, who won his fight in the primaries for re-election, files his bill of expenses as \$200,000. This is a facetious way of doing it, but it should not obscure to any observer the big fact, namely, that Borah's campaign was won by honest means and without a contest. It should furthermore serve to call attention to the fact that Borah is a really big man. He is a progressive and radical in many ways, but he is opposed to the recall of judges and refused to follow Mr. Roosevelt into the third party. Such a serene and strong champion of moderation in politics ought to have a splendid future.

### Screams and Silence.

Pittsburgh Dispatch. General Orozco and General Reyes are complaining of the Mexican steam roller. The Cuban insurgents are not complaining, owing to disability imposed by their demise.

*J. Mahaffey*

Anacosta, Mont., Standard. WEDNESDAY, DEC. 12, 1912.

finding of some diplomatic way in which to present the proposition to him.

### SENATE LEADERS.

It is not altogether settled that Senator Gore of Oklahoma will be the leader of the democrats in the senate after March 4, although there has been much comment favorable to the selection of the blind senator for this honor and position of responsibility. It is understood that all Senator Gore's democratic colleagues are on cordial terms with him and acknowledge his great ability and his excellences of character, but some of them, nevertheless, are preferring that Senator Hoke Smith of Georgia or Senator O'Gorman of New York should be the one selected.

Senator Borah of Idaho is being urged for the position of republican leader in the senate. The senator was one of the progressives who refused to "follow anywhere, everywhere." He was for Roosevelt for the republican nomination, but when the republican convention nominated Taft he staid with the republican party and its nominee.

Being a close personal friend of Ellhu Root and of Henry Cabot Lodge and also being on intimate terms with Senator Cummins of Iowa and Senator La Follette of Wisconsin, it is believed that the Idaho senator stands an excellent chance of winning this distinction.

rom  
address  
PITTSFIELD, MA  
ate DEC 8

### REPUBLICAN PROGRESSIVES.

Washington has it, and it may be guessed that for once Washington is about right, that the group of progressive-republican senators in congress will not do much to reorganize the republican party until public opinion has had time to settle.

These men do not fear the progressive movement. Their theory is that just as soon as the rank and file of the republican party make up their minds to support the republican-progressive policies that were started by La Follette and built up by Borah, Cummins and others, there will be no trouble in presenting a solid front and carrying states. The theory of these men is that the republican party thus managed will at once secure the bulk of the independent vote, and that between the tariff and political patronage the democrats will be more or less disorganized by the time Wilson's term of office is half over. The strength of this class of republicans is shown by the success of Senator Borah of Idaho. The senator, so the Washington comment runs, had no enthusiastic support from the regular republicans of his state, and as he declined to follow Roosevelt out of the party the third termers, of course, did not warm up to him. So Borah took the bull by the horns and went through his state declaring to the voters that upon his return to Washington he would accept dictation from neither Taft nor Roosevelt; that he would stand for such progressive legislation as he thought to be wise and for no other kind, and that if the voters of Idaho did not like that kind of a man they had better send some one else.

He went further. He challenged the republican state committee to hold a meeting at which he would present his resignation as a United States senator. He would then, he said, go before the people of Idaho without the restraint of any faction upon him and would abide by the result. The state committee did not hold the meeting, Borah did not resign, and the next Idaho legislature will be so strongly republican and so safely pro-Borah that the brilliant young senator will come back to Washington for another six years without even a contest.

### THREE-YEAR BILL MAY FAIL.

As week after week passes, and no agreement is reached on the Borah-Jones three-year homestead bill, the danger of the ultimate failure of that measure increases. Many a measure fails to become a law because it is caught in a disagreement between house and senate in the last days of a session, and that is likely to be the fate of the three-year homestead bill unless the conference committee of the two houses disregards the recommendations of Secretary Fisher and reports an agreement at an early day. At one time recently, it was thought an agreement had been reached, and there was prospect that the bill might be reported substantially as it passed the two houses; that is, with its main features retained. But before this agreement could be reported, Secretary Fisher came forward with a vigorous protest, and three of the six members on the conference committee got cold feet and retracted their first step.

This threw the bill back into complete disagreement, with half the committee standing by the secretary and half against him. There is no

majority vote in a conference committee. The trouble arose primarily over the requirement of cultivation, half the committee holding out for the cultivation of one eighth the area of the entry as a requisite for patent, while Secretary Fisher contended for at least a quarter. Then there is disagreement over the conservation amendment, to which there is strong western objection, and stout insistence by the secretary. It is impossible to tell at this time whether the bill will ultimately pass or fail, because of the opposition of the secretary of the interior. But every day of delay makes it the easier for the secretary to defeat the bill, and the session appears to be drawing to a close.

*Anacosta Standard*

PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARIES.

Senator Borah, one of the ablest men in the senate, is an ardent advocate of a change in the constitution that will permit the election of United States senators, by direct vote of the people. He is confident that such an amendment will be adopted. The indications are that it will be; but there are those who believe that with the change the country will look in vain for an improvement in the personnel of the senate.

That ardent Senator Borah says he will make a stand for the nomination of candidates for the presidency by nationwide primaries. If he should succeed in that it would remain doubtful if it would result in an improvement of the personnel of Presidents.

If all voters in all the parties could be induced to take part in such primaries it would work well no doubt. But can they? Will the people take upon themselves the responsibility?

If it were possible to safeguard primaries as regular elections are safeguarded, why that would make a difference. It is claimed that it can be done. Perhaps it may; but it never has been. In some of the older states, in some of the original thirteen, primary laws have been enacted; but they have in many respects been failures. In the old state of Massachusetts, a presidential primary election was held last spring, under terms that left it open for a man of one party, if he so chose to participate in and vote in a primary of the other party. Low minded men under such circumstances would think it smart to vote in the primary

held by the party opposed to the one to which they belong, and to vote for a weak man for such nomination giving as an excuse that he would be easier beaten on election day.

In most of the states, many good men refrain from taking part and voting in a primary, just as they refrain from taking part in a convention. It being easier and safer to use bribe money in a primary than in a regular election, it often occurs that the man with the most money to spend for a nomination is the man most likely to get it, whether he be fit and qualified for the office he seeks or not. These are some of the objections to the primary election system.

Twin Falls Times

The movement which is being made this week to instill new life into the Commercial club, is meeting with great success. The addition of the new members and the formation of the different bureaus should prove of untold benefit in getting the club together as a united body. With every member working in some one of the divisions with the idea that his services are valuable and worth while, there is no reason why the club should not accomplish wonders. The Times is particularly pleased over the outcome for the reason the plan is in line with ideas which the Times has expressed through its columns for the past three years. There has been nothing radically wrong with the Commercial club except in form of organization, which left too much to the directors and too little to the individual members. The result was inevitable complaint on the part of the members that the club was doing nothing merely because the average club member knew nothing of the actual work undertaken by the board of directors. The new plan will put every member to work along lines that he prefers and will give him the idea that the club is forging along, helped by his services.

Senator Borah is looming up larger every day in the minds of the people

all over the United States as one of the really big statesmen of the nation. The voters of Idaho for the most part probably fail to realize just how much prestige Senator Borah has in the East where his wonderful ability is viewed at close hand and where his fighting qualities for the legislation for the people is highly appreciated. Among the big men of the senate some eastern newspaper men rank Mr. Borah second; something of a compliment for a man who has just finished his first term in the senate. His ability to put things clearly and forcefully before the senate has made him a power in that body and whenever he speaks the closest attention is given him. Idaho has been put on the map in the East by the wonderful personality of both Mr. Borah and the late Senator Heyburn. While Senator Heyburn arrived at his influence after several terms, Senator Borah jumped into prominence almost at the beginning of his term. What he accomplished can be said to be directly due to his willingness to back any movement for general good, regardless of the cost to himself. During his campaign his enemies accused him of straddling the fence, but the real judges of the question, the voters, stated in no emphatic terms that they approved of his record and his stand. After all it is the voters to whom he must look for endorsement and not the smaller class of politicians.

BOISE, IDA.

NEWS

APR 28 1912

The Homestead Bill.

(Southern Idaho Review, Heyburn)

The Borah-Jones three-year homestead bill will undoubtedly soon become a law, and just as undoubtedly its adoption will mean a complete revivification of methods and manner of progress in every irrigation project in the west.

Too much credit cannot be given Senator Borah for his unremitting labor in this matter. He has had tremendous odds to contend against to pave the way for the passage of this bill, not the least of which has been official antagonism and utter congressional ignorance of underlying conditions. That he has scored a victory is very much to his credit, and not liable to be soon forgotten by the settlers of the irrigation projects in the west whose well being it most vitally affects. That the eastern people and senators have but recently been enlightened as to the condition of affairs on the various reclamation projects we in the west can readily believe, knowing as we do that only through ignorance of those in command of the situation could such a condition of affairs obtain, and it was no part of the policy of the army of high-salaried reclamation officials to advise the east as to the reclamation settler's hardships.

Heyburn, in common with the entire Minidoka project, may reasonably look for a very bright result from the passage of this bill, and the Review confidently expects to see our business and population double in the next two years. And that we owe this to Senator Borah no one will deny, and if the compromise candidacy for the highest office in the gift of the American people be denied him at this time, be sure that ultimately proper appreciation of his service and character will bring that position as his just due.

JAN 17 1913

Senator Borah was re-elected by the unanimous vote of his party on the first ballot, an honor which has been given to very few candidates for the United States Senate in other states, and we understand has never before been accorded a candidate in this state. This is certainly a very flattering tribute to Senator Borah, and the best thing about the compliment was that it was deserved.

TO REUNITE THE PARTY.

Senator Borah of Idaho is a pretty good Republican and an unquestionably good citizen and his opinions on the possibilities of reuniting the Republican and Progressive parties are worth considering. Commenting on Mr. Munsey's proposition as to "a holding party" he says:—

I am in sympathy with any plan which consolidates and reunites the Republican party upon progressive politics and issues.

The rank and file of the Republican party is Progressive by a very large majority. Mr. Munsey has correctly scented the situation in one respect. That is this consolidation is already going on with the rank and file. The leaders of both factions will have to disclose some speed to keep up with the procession.

The rank and file of these two factions will be as solidly united inside of three years as the Macedonian phalanxes.

The trouble with the "holding party" is that it might not hold. Instead of a "holding party" I prefer to experiment with a holding issue.

All these plans which assume that organization can direct and distribute and herd the mass of voters rest in error.

What we want is to unite the voters and let the leaders catch up if necessary. Principle first, organization second.

But the underlying of the suggestion is a good one—that is, a consolidation, and that is what is going to happen.

Let the procession begin early and I do not care who heads it."

Now this may all be true. It may be that the reuniting of the factions is going on in such a way that it can not be stopped, if so we shall accept the result, barring the personal ambition of any man who is working to bring it about in his own interest. All the same the action of the progressives in the Connecticut legislature does not seem to indicate that the drift is very strong up this way. We should have been willing to have accepted Governor Hadley of Missouri, when the Progressives refused him. President Taft would have stopped aside to let him in, but there were others! What, does Governor Hadley say, today, to this new proposition to reunite the party? Many of the Progressive issues are acceptable and would not trouble the most steadfast Republican and we all wish to be progressive in the truest and best sense of the word—if we can decide upon just what that is. Here is where the individual judgment must be exercised and every man do the best that he can to uphold the good, the true and the desirable.

From SAN ANTONIO, TEX. Date JUN 12 1912

ONE TERM ENOUGH.

Senator Borah said to the National committee which is hearing contests for seats in the Republican convention at Chicago: "It is in the air that the contest from the time the convention closes until the votes are counted in November will be the most severe and difficult since Lincoln was elected the second time."

Of course, he meant "severe and difficult" for the Republicans, for the leaders of that party—the Roosevelt insurgents and the Taft adherents—have filled the road which the Republicans must travel with obstacles that may prove insurmountable, whatever may be the outcome of the convention which is expected to announce a ticket and platform next week.

In the scramble for the presidential nomination the President and the former President have presented a spectacle of selfish ambition and disregard of dignity and ordinary proprieties that is humiliating to American manhood and womanhood and that has brought reproach upon the Nation. Roosevelt, of course, is the chief offender because he started the muck which Taft was weak enough to be drawn into, and it was impossible for him to wrestle with the pot without getting his hands smirched. Now there is a spectacle at Chicago in which leaders of the Republican party are engaged in an effort to secure delegates for their particular faction by fair means or foul and they are accusing each other of crimes and misdemeanors that should bring a blush of shame to the cheeks of an ordinary wardheeler at a precinct primary convention.

How will it be at Baltimore? So far the Democratic aspirants for the presidential nomination have conducted themselves with becoming propriety and their partisans, while in some instances a little extravagant in charges and countercharges of unfairness, have not descended to the billingsgate that has characterized the Republican campaign—have not called each other crooks and prevaricators, using the harsher term, and have not made it impossible for the defeated to support the successful candidate without self-stultification. Perhaps they have profited by the example of their opponents and

have determined, by reason thereof, to deserve better of the electorate.

It is not improbable, judging from the present temper of the people, that we have seen the last of the seeking of a nomination for a third, or even a second, term of the presidency in this country, for there is already a strong and growing sentiment in favor of limiting the presidency to one term, which may have crystallized into law through an amendment to the Federal Constitution before the next National election.

PRESS

New York

JUN 22 1912

Bolting.

Roosevelt delegates reluctant to follow the Colonel in a bolt are technically correct in their contention that they were chosen officially at primaries to vote for him in convention as the regular Republican nominee, not as an independent nominee. It would be just as logical to say that the delegates were commissioned by the primary voters to nominate the Colonel on the Democratic ticket as to say that they were commissioned to nominate him on an independent ticket. They might have been commissioned to nominate him on any ticket so long as he became nominated; probably if the question had been up at the primaries they would have been commissioned to name him, somehow; but the question was not up, and, as the matter went, they were not so commissioned.

We say probably the Roosevelt primary voters, if they had been asked to do so, would have instructed their delegates to give the Colonel the regular nomination if possible; but, if that were not possible, any sort of nomination, because undoubtedly the Roosevelt followers are and would be for the Colonel, as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or anything else. But, as the matter stands officially, the contention of those delegates averse to bolting under their present credentials is right.

This, however, is of small comfort to them for the very reason we have stated—the devotion of the Roosevelt followers to the Colonel under whatever flag. The reluctant delegates know perfectly well that there is not a Roosevelt candidate to-day because of them; they know that they are Roosevelt delegates because of him. This plants them squarely and without escape between the devil and the deep sea. They want to be "regular" because, hanging to the coat-tails of the Colonel, they have captured in their various States the regular machines. More than anything else, they want to keep possession of those State machines. But the regular Republican machines cannot be for them unless they are regular Republican Bosses. At the first glance the choice is to give up Roosevelt or to give up the precious prize of the regular machines so recently seized for them by the Colonel.

But the choice, at second glance, is just as bad. If the Colonel bolts and they do not follow him, if the Colonel is the single, solitary one of all of them to run away from the regular convention, make a new party and

nominate himself as its candidate for President, they will go up the spout just the same. They will go up the spout because the Roosevelt followers who gave them the machines the other day at the primaries will no longer be with them; they will be with the Colonel—with him not as the Republican Colonel, regular or irregular, but as their Teddy.

If Colonel Roosevelt bolts, and the Hadleys and Borahs don't go with him, he will take their States away from them. Not for himself in some cases; rather for the united Democrats fighting divided Republicans. But, in any event, those refusing to follow the Colonel to the wars will perish on the battlefield none the less. If Colonel Roosevelt bolts and the Hadleys and Borahs do go with him, their States in some cases will be taken away from them just the same. Borah, with virtually all the Republicans of Idaho united for the Colonel, might cling to his prize; but Hadley, with Missouri naturally, a Democratic State and thousands of anti-Roosevelt Republicans there, would pop like a toy balloon.

Colonel Roosevelt at the head of a new party could not save the political lives of all those leaders who bolted with him. But he could slaughter all those who refused to bolt with him, just as he could slaughter Mr. Taft or anybody else nominated by the Chicago convention to take the field against a Roosevelt ticket and the Democratic ticket. Whatever colors they pin on their jackets to-day, the thing they will wear to-morrow will be deep mourning.

This is an excruciating position into which the Roosevelt leaders have been thrust. It is quite as agonizing as the torture of Taft flesh. Two months ago they saw that they would be damned if they didn't. They did not realize that there might arise the chance where they would be damned if they did. They see it now. They will be damned if they don't; they will be damned if they do.

Well, there is one way out—one way for Roosevelt leaders who want to bolt, for Roosevelt leaders who don't want to bolt, for the Colonel, for Mr. Taft, for the Republican party. It is to nominate a compromise candi-

date whom nobody need bolt, whom everybody can support, from whom the Democratic nominee could not take away the Presidency like candy from a child, as it surely would be taken away from Mr. Taft, with or without a Roosevelt bolt.

The day is not yet hopelessly lost. But the two factions at Chicago can make its loss as sure as kingdom come.

Document JUN 21 1912

THE THIRD DAY.

Armageddon has been postponed again—perhaps indefinitely. The national convention was in session but a few minutes yesterday, and—in spite of a morn of thunder peals from the Colonel's hotel—nothing cataclysmic happened. The convention is still under republican control, Ellhu Root remains in the chair, the reports of the credentials committee and platform committee will be submitted to-day, and when they have been acted on the convention will proceed to make the national ticket.

It is not the Colonel's fault that the dispatches did not have a very different story to tell this morning. His voice was for war. He was eager for an immediate and theatrical breaking up of the convention and disruption of the party. But right there his soberer followers—men like Senator Borah, Governor Dineen and Governor Hadley, who have a prudent regard to the hereafter in politics—drew the line and stood still. They are the "respectable men" referred to in his manifesto of last evening, who "cease their opposition at the point when it would become really effective."

In this latest manifesto, he announces that he will not be bound by the action of the convention or by its nominations. He declares himself ready to become the candidate of a bolting fraction of it, and to try to start a new party. That's a precarious and very expensive enterprise. As we see it this morning, the third-term hullabaloo of 1912 is visibly petering out.

PAPER JOURNAL. PUBLISHED 4 Shoshone, Ida. DATE JAN 17 1912 SENATOR BORAH AGAIN.

The Republicans in the State Legislature voted unanimously on Monday for the return of William E. Borah to the United States Senate. For the short-term Senator the vote of the dominant party divided among Judge Ailsie, Governor Brady, Hamer, Beale, French and Babb, Ailsie having a slight lead with twenty-five votes. Brady had 23, Hamer 9, Beale 8, French 6 and Babb 3. The indications seem to be that a prolonged deadlock is inevitable.

For the selection of Borah there is expressed universal satisfaction, or something mighty near it, by the right thinking people of the State, regardless of party.

Portland, Ore., Telegram Thursday, Jan. 16, 1913.

The country will congratulate the state of Idaho on the re-election of Senator Borah. In the stewardship of that gentleman Idaho maintains an enviable distinction before the country. By virtue of character and by force of intellect Senator Borah has been accorded leadership in the affairs of the Nation, until the worth of his service is regarded as a National rather than a state asset. The community which can produce men like Senator Borah, and that has the good sense to select that sort of man as its representative in the National councils, is entitled to felicitation from the rest of the country.

POST  
WORCESTER, MASS.

MIN 20 1912

# Headlong Toward

Almost anything may yet come out of Chicago in the way of unexpected developments like the seemingly authoritative announcement this forenoon that Roosevelt had released his delegates from obligation to support him, followed by his denial that he had done so. All that is clear thus far is that the Roosevelt cause has been going head-long toward fiasco. The two Taftite victories give momentum, of course to the campaign for his renomination or more probably for a rally to some compromise candidate. But the majorities, 56 on the first test Tuesday and 54 yesterday, were so much beyond the actual Taftite strength as to be proof of the bad management with which it has been met from the other side. In neither vote was the alignment exact, but in the Taftite total on yesterday's issue were 21 Roosevelt votes, as the men were elected, leaving the actual strength of the president, providing he can hold it for himself, only 543, or just three more than a majority of the convention. But the effect of the Roosevelt tactics in forcing fight on the preliminaries has of course been to solidify this 543 as well as to strengthen them morally with temporary accessions from the Roosevelt side. And the Roosevelt playing to bring the Cummins and La Follette men into a deceptive showing of strength had been only to reveal weakness. Deducting these in yesterday's test, left a remainder of only 466 Roosevelt votes or 74 short of a majority.

It was bad tactics to make a fight against Root and worse to have wobbled in indecision for several weeks. It was bad tactics to at the last moment throw over Borah as candidate for temporary chairman and worse to substitute McGovern without acting in full concert with the Wisconsin delegation. All this was Roosevelt's own fault, for every move has been at his "orders," as peremptory as those of a slave driver.

But a worse blunder still was in making the fight as it was made yesterday where the issue was one that rightly presented and at the proper juncture contained appeal to fair men. It was over an attempt to exclude from voting 32 "contested" delegates. It came up on the Hadley proposition to replace them on the temporary roll with the Roosevelt claimants and as an amendment to an amendment referring all the cases to the credentials committee, where of course they belonged.

Not half of these 32 "contests" had "stolen" from him. This from the man who tried to "steal" so many votes that his best friends in the convention privately admitted that the Roosevelt claims were "undefensible." Borah, Lyon, Wright, the foremost Roosevelt men on the national committee, have admitted privately that many of these McHarg contests were "absolutely without a leg to stand on," and they were thrown out unanimously. And now Mr. Roosevelt, who was willing to profit by such theft, if it had been possible, talks about the "naked theft" of others!

Mr. Roosevelt did not lose one vote that honestly belonged to him. The very fact that the man they employed for the purpose of manufacturing these contests had previously been going around the country, denouncing Mr. Roosevelt as a charlatan and a demagogue, shows plainly enough how much "honor" or "conscience" there was in the whole nauseous claim. There are plenty of business men in Boston who have heard McHarg's private opinion of Mr. Roosevelt—too many for him to deny his own words, at this late day—and the fact shows plainly enough what a farce the Roosevelt contests actually were. Yet Mr. Roosevelt's whole case

any basis of merit, as the Roosevelt men on the national committee had admitted by voting against them. Probably not more than a fourth were cases where the right was with Roosevelt. If the fight for this fourth had awaited the credentials committee report it would have contained a good chance of succeeding though the cooperation of fair-minded men in the convention. But to exclude some 70 men from an undeniable right to vote because some 20 others had been wrongfully seated was a very different proposition. Between the committee grab and the characteristically brutal unfairness of Roosevelt, no chance was left for any delegate to vote of honesty, however much he might desire to do so.

Then the climax of folly was reached when again at his "orders" the Rooseveltians bolted from the credentials committee last night only to return later as a majority of them did.

And the play for a bolt or split position which had been the object of all these Roosevelt tactics brought the declaration yesterday from such of his leaders as Hadley, Deneen and Borah that they would countenance nothing of the kind. And a wrangle inside the camp had resulted from the cool heads suppressing Roosevelt's bolt declaration of the night before. The great demonstration for Hadley yesterday, with obvious purpose of making him the candidate was the outcome of the tension relaxed by his declaration.

Roosevelt is still mouthing the bolt, but it is to be doubted now if he can get more than 250 of his men to follow him. He is believed to plan a visit to the convention to organize a second convention on the floor. He has no right there except as a spectator and such a move would properly subject him to arrest. It would be a joke indeed if he should land in the jug. Rioting would be the well-nigh certain result of the attempt, but police provision is believed to be sufficient to suppress it.

Even if such a second convention could be held it would of itself be a joke. For it would take all the delegates that would follow him plus all of his bogus-contest men to make even a pretense of a majority an which to claim "regularity."

George Harvey has remarked that Roosevelt "can fool more kinds of people and keep them fooled for a longer time than any other man that ever lived." But the present indications are that the spell is ending.

compelling Roosevelt for a third term as President, so that his name should rank in history above that of Washington and Lincoln, has been defeated.

No sane, sober man, who thinks for himself, can tolerate the apology offered by Mr. Roosevelt for his mad scramble after a third term. He pledged his word, four years ago, that he would not be a candidate. He pledged his word again, more recently than that, that he would not run unless he were the unanimous choice of the republicans of the United States. And now he appears grubbing around in the mire of machine politics, led by Boss Elin of Pennsylvania and gently propelled by Mr. Perkins of the harvester trust, hunting for votes enough to justify a third term movement.

The worst insult to the intelligence of the average American, however, is to be found in the claim that votes which belonged to Mr. Roosevelt were

**JOURNAL**  
From  
Address **PENSACOLA, FLA**  
Date **FEB 2 1912**

Senator Borah is plain spoken in his opinion of Secretary of the Interior Fisher. In speaking before the Idaho legislature the senator said that Fisher had undertaken to annul a law of congress and had usurped powers that did not belong to him. There is little doubt Mr. Borah's opinion is entirely correct. At any rate the Osage Indians who claim that Fisher manipulated their oil lands in favor of Standard Oil, will heartily agree with the Idaho senator.

Indianapolis, Ind.

## THE ROOSEVELT PARTY

Mr. Roosevelt has been "tentatively" nominated as a candidate for the presidency by a few delegates who got together in Chicago Saturday night. Thus Mr. Roosevelt has taken himself out of the Republican party. He refuses to recognize the convention that nominated Mr. Taft, and he does this on the ground that some men were seated who, he thinks, should not have been seated. Of course he conveniently forgets that four years ago 20 of the southern delegates were contested, one-half of the number being regular. On the Roosevelt theory Mr. Taft, who was then the Roosevelt candidate, lacked 145 votes necessary to nominate him.

In the convention that has just adjourned regularly was all with the Taft contestants where they were seated, and all but seventy-two out of the contested were recognized as delegates by the Roosevelt members of the committee. Even in these cases the evidence was so favorable to the Taft representatives that little attention was paid by the convention to any contests except those from Arizona, California, Texas and Washington, involving fifty-one seats. In the Arizona and Texas cases, excepting perhaps six Texas delegates, the evidence was favorable to the Taft people. In the California case the question was one of re-establishing the unit rule, which was repudiated by the Garfield convention, which, like this one, had to deal with the third term issue. The two California men were chosen by the people of their district, and the convention decided that, under the rule which had been in force for thirty-two years, the state as a whole could not deprive the districts of their right to be represented by men of their own choice. If the Arizona, California and Washington contests, and those of Texas concerning which there was any doubt, had been decided in Roosevelt's favor, he would still have been from thirty to forty votes short of a nomination. And yet his great issue is as to the honesty of the convention.

We do not believe that his action in bolting the convention is prompted by any sensitiveness on his part growing out of the committee's action in the contested cases, most of which were based on trumped up charges prepared by Ormsby McHarg. What he was after was the nomination, and that is why he thrust himself into the campaign. There is no important difference between Taft and Roosevelt except on questions—such as the recall of judges—which have never found a place in Republican platform. Of course, the outcry against bosses and the interests can only be regarded as an absurdity in view of the fact that such men as Elin, Gary, Perkins, Ward, Littauer and Lyon were supporters of Mr. Roosevelt. If the third term had really been desirable of advancing the progressive movement he could have accomplished much by throwing the weight of his personality to La Follette, Cummins, Hadley, Borah, or some other of the real progressive leaders. Probably he could have brought about the nomination of one of these men. As it was he subordinated, as he has ever done, principle to self. Such is the origin of this bolting party. Here is the answer of Governor Hadley to the new Roosevelt call.

I believe I can render more service to the people as a member of the Republican party than by joining in the formation of a third party. While I have in no way changed my mind as to the correctness of that for which I have contended, I undertake to say that no political party ever did or ever will exist in which, at times, men will not use authority unfairly and to accomplish selfish and improper ends. In my opinion, the best way successfully to fight such men and methods, and also the best way in which to fight for correct principles of government is within the party, rather than by leaving it. There were some planks which were omitted from the platform which I should like to have seen adopted, but there will be found, I believe, in the platform nothing that is objectionable to any Republican, and, on the whole, it is the most progressive platform we have ever presented to the American people.

We have no doubt that there are other Roosevelt followers who are today asking themselves whether it is possible to further reform by becoming the pliant tools of an ambitious man whose animating impulse is love of power.

from AMERICAN  
address: Baltimore, Md.

### FOR REPUBLICAN UNITY.

From end to end of the land the note of unity for the Republican party that was struck at the Union League Lincoln banquet has sounded and the sentiment expressed have made a profound impression upon the responsible leaders of both wings of the party of Lincoln. The occasion for such expressions as those of Senator Borah, Senator Jackson, Senator McCumber and others was one of sentiment, in which the hearts of all Republicans are bound up—the sentiment aroused by reminiscence over the past of a great party that has ever held to the standards of Abraham Lincoln. The fact that within a few weeks' time the Republicans will lay down the reins of government and yield to the Democrats the conduct of the nation's affairs gives particular significance to the call for unity at this time. Senator Jackson well reminded his hearers that this is a government that calls for a strong party of the opposition and that the two-party system is inherent in the spirit and genius of American government. Senator McCumber did well to center progressivism in the sentiments of Lincoln.

The great task of the Republican party is to adapt itself to the progressive needs of the nation, to take account of the failures of the Democrats when in power and to so build up the sentiment and the forces of republicanism as to make a return of the country to its standards necessary in order to insure the best good of all the people. Senator Borah struck the keynote for the Republican party of aggressive undertakings when he declared that Republicans cannot live in the past. They cannot live in confusion. They must gird themselves for the fray and they must look to the future with the confidence he gotten of the great heritage that has been theirs. Why then should the house be divided against itself? Why then should the warning of the great Republican to the nation against the dangers of the divided house need repetition in reference to the house of his political upbuilding, the house of the Republican party?

The fact that Senator Borah and other progressive Republicans, who did not go out from the tent of Lincoln and discard the high traditions of the party of which he is the noblest exemplar, are united in their desire to see the chasm bridged is the best evidence of the mellowing of the baring resentments that led to the constitution of a woeful breach in its ranks and power. The party of action and construction is needed by the nation. The party of leaders and loyalty is demanded and the country looks to the Republicans to bring peace out of strife and healing out of animosity. Why should the progressive element give up an honored name and abandon the triumphs, the sacrifices and sufferings of the party of Lincoln in order to bring about things which, insofar as they are vital, can best be promoted and solely be gained through a united Republican party. Here then is the note of harmony struck in its loftiest appeal and only by consideration of the broadest party and national service can the response be appropriate.

It may be predicted that the Republican party of the future will be progressive, not visionary, not vapid, not given to strange doctrines, but progressive in the interpretation of the best things of American life. The Republican progressive party was achieving much of the facts of progress when its work was interrupted by discord. It is ready again to take up the task it has not in fact laid down, and to prove that it is constructively progressive and surely interpretative of the truest things in the nation's life and aspirations. The field for union need not even be that of compromise, for the Republicans have never given sufficient ground for belief that their party was not broad and liberal enough to be hospitable to all forward moves. Senator Borah is Republican. He is a progressive and the party which he adorns is not narrowed, prejudiced or confined.

The times are social and industrial and questions of vast economic import are presented to the country and call for the expedients, the ideals and the resources of the Republican party. So that Senator Jackson, of Maryland, was well within the bounds when he laid emphasis upon the constructive nature of the present era. His plea for the union of the two wings of the Republican party was based upon the incontrovertible grounds of similarity of platform and principles, similarity of caliber and aims of men, similarity of viewpoint and endeavor. The things that divide are not essential, they are pressing and the life of the party is dependent upon the liberality of its leaders. Republican leaders have sounded the keynote for the exaltation of republican doctrine and unity in aims to the end of the common good. "Every dictate of party interest, of patriotism, of good government demands a reunion of the two wings of the Grand Old Party."

says Senator Jackson:

The brethren now have the call to the common home extended to them and they will find that in reciprocating the sentiments expressed they will find the way of a common loyalty and a common service that will greatly advance every worthy ideal they represent as to the true function of a political party today. The speakers at the banquet have pointed the way for a fresh chapter in Republican history that may be made the more glorious because of the temporary division of Republican counsels. Shall the Republicans unite and live, shall they preserve the standards and endeavors of the party of faith and purpose? Here is the question presented at the Union League banquet that the seceding element of the party must answer in the light of a great responsibility. Maryland, the state of federal expedient and expediency, has led the way to the reconciliation of the factions of a party that, united, has been and will prove to be in the future the prophet of an ever-widening dispensation for the country.

Meadows, Ida.

EAGLE.

JUN 13 1912

SENATOR BORAH

A careful search of the records will show that Senator Borah has consistently worked and voted for every measure which the people need and against everything which predatory capital has demanded in the conflict between the interests and the masses. He has labored in behalf of Idaho and the settler on Idaho lands—in behalf of the farmers and the producers of the west, and for the old soldier against Lorimerism and the beef trust and timber trust. That is why Stevenson, Weyerhauser, the Potlatch Lumber company and kindred interests are seeking to defeat and destroy him. Is there a single reason why any individual citizen of Idaho should desire the defeat of a fighting statesman of such prominence and power? Should Idaho unseat him, his place will be filled by some man who will be but the spokesman and tool of the corporations and reactionaries.

St. Maries, Ida.

GAZETTE

APR 5 - 1912

### Three Year Homestead Bill.

The Borah-Jones three year homestead bill by unanimous vote passed the House of Representatives last week. The passage of this measure which will open a new era in the west and prove of incalculable benefit to all settlers in their efforts to make homes for themselves and their children is due largely to the great interest President Taft took in it and his personal appeal to many eastern senators to give it their earnest support.

The bill reduces the homestead period from five to three years; gives homesteaders five months leave of absence each year and six months in which to establish a residence after making the original filing. Before the bill was passed the house voted down amendments proposed by conservationists, reserving minerals, water power sites and timber to the government.

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JUN 24 1912

### THE REPUBLICAN SITUATION.

Saturday, June 23, 1912, is likely to be remembered in history as the day on which the Republican party split into contending camps, each claiming to be the party. Factional fanaticism has done its worst. The ambitious egotism of one man, intent upon dominating the party and the nation, has produced a situation which now promises little except defeat and disaster. There is reason to believe that if Colonel Roosevelt had preserved the slightest spark of loyalty to the party which has so repeatedly honored him in the past, there would have been a compromise arranged by which Governor Hadley or some other progressive follower of Roosevelt himself might have received the nomination rather than President Taft. But obsessed by the delusion that he is the sole personification of the progressive cause, he refused to permit his delegates to vote for any one else and succeeded in inducing the majority of them not to vote at all, thus paving the way for the second convention, or mass meeting, held after the regular convention had adjourned, which placed him in nomination.

There gathered in that second meeting many Republicans whose permanent separation from their party would be a great loss to it, because they are men of intellect and conscience, fitted for leadership. They represent thousands of other Republicans who believe with heart, mind and strength in the things which Roosevelt has been preaching, and which other men like President Taft and Governor Hughes have been practicing, in a less spectacular but more useful way. It is the great pity of the situation that the secession of these progressive leaders, if that shall be their final decision, leaves the Republican party poorer in mind and spirit for the great fight with the special interests and abhorrent political forces which can best be made inside the old parties, as Mr. Bryan is fighting them today at Baltimore.

The men who are going out of the party are taking a great responsibility upon themselves. They are wrecking the only political agency which has ever for any long period been instrumental in constructive legislation to bring about popular reforms. They are putting nothing in its place except their adoration for a single man, who would light fires that he cannot quench and who has become the avant courier of Socialism and the disturber of the public peace and order by his appeals to class prejudice. The Republicans who have followed his leadership through this stirring campaign should ask themselves whether he is taking them before they array themselves under his banners. They will find men like Senator Borah of Idaho, Governor Hadley of Missouri, and Governor Deneen of Illinois, to be safer leaders for progressive Republicans in this crisis in the party's history.

Whether one considers the renomination of President Taft and Vice President Sherman to have been good politics or not, and The Morning Post has no hesitancy in saying that we do not so

consider it, the fact remains that they are the regular nominees of a regularly constituted convention of the Republican party, whose decisions are binding upon men who still call themselves Republicans. At no time could Colonel Roosevelt have polled within 75 votes of enough to have given him a nomination and the best showing he made was on test votes, where his forces combined with the followers of La Follette and Cummins, as they did when they supported Governor McGovern of Wisconsin for Temporary Chairman. Neither La Follette nor Cummins would have ever turned their strength to Roosevelt and without them he could never have been nominated, even if he had succeeded in sending the delegates to whom he was rightfully entitled.

All of the Southern contests, except those in Texas, were trumped up by the Roosevelt men to make a show of strength they did not possess. With the possible exception of Washington, Arizona and a single district of California, the Northern contests proved to have no merit. If there was wrong in

deciding a few of these contests, does that afford any justification for wrecking the Republican party by a bolt? It is an unfortunate fact that the history of politics is full of instances where contested seat cases have been unjustly settled by political majorities, but when has it before been suggested that it is better to destroy a party so situated than to carry the party banners on to new victories, leaving factional differences to be fought out on some more convenient day.

That is the logic of the present situation. The Republican party is greater than either Taft or Roosevelt. Whether we like the one or the other, the interests of the nation as well as the party demand that Republicans shall recognize President Taft's claim upon their suffrages, not only because of the action of a convention, but because of four years of successful administration. He has made mistakes—and it is human to err—but he is honest, impartial, and faithful to the Constitution. When the future chronicler shall write the story of these troublous times, he will give full credit, as we do now, to the strong initiative of Theodore Roosevelt in producing a public sentiment favorable to needed reforms, but he will not pass over in silence the years of devoted, industrious, constructive labor that have written large upon our country's history the name of William Howard Taft.

Manville, Wyo.

NEWS

APR 4 1912

Concerning the Borah Bill

The Wyoming delegation is being flooded with questions concerning the Borah three-year homestead bill, and the following reference to its present status is to answer these many questions in brief form:

As the bill passed the senate it did not apply to the 320-acre homestead act, and it provided for a rather indefinite period of

absence. The house made a number of amendments, the most important of which were to require the erection of a habitable house, the proof of at least seven months actual residence out of each year, and extending the provisions of the act to all pending homestead entries requiring residence. This makes it take in the Mondell 320-acre homestead, and applies to every homesteader who has not made proof. When the bill was before the house, the ultra-conservationists tried to tack on several amendments reserving to the government the mineral and water, and leaving it to the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior to cancel any entry he thought contained too much timber. Representative Mondell and other western members succeeded in defeating all these amendments. The bill is now in conference, and until the report of the conference committee is made its exact provisions cannot be stated. The ultra-conservationists will make another attempt to get the conference committee to accept these or similar amendments. The house member of this committee, Mondell, Taylor and Ferris, may be depended upon, but just what the senate conferees will do is uncertain. Failing to secure recognition before the committee, the ultras will try to get the president to veto the bill, but with what chances of success cannot be stated.

Delta, Colo.

TRIBUNE

APR 5 - 1912

THE BORAH-TAYLOR BILL

WILL BECOME A LAW

A law decreasing homestead terms from five to three years and allowing entrymen to be absent from their holdings for at least five months of every year will be on the statute books. The house Friday passed the Borah-Taylor bill for this purpose. The bill now goes into conference and will run but one gauntlet before it gets to President Taft for his signature.

In the house Friday when the bill came up, Republican conservationists rallied in force and tried to swamp the measure with amendments of a nature which would have made Pinchot envious in his palmiest days. Restrictions as to water power, timber and minerals of every sort on homestead were proposed. The Westerners had the majority, and steadily voted them down.

Members from states already blanketed with forest reserves made strenuous and winning protests against reserving from entry any lands bearing timber.

The house amended the senate provision relating to leaves of absence by reducing it from six months to five months. It also struck out the committee recommendation that the new law extends to all existing Homestead entries.

se, Idaho, Statesman.  
27, June 14 1912

WORK OF FRAUDS?

What was it Hombastes Furioso, the colonel said when the majority of the delegates at the Indiana Republican convention instructed its delegates to vote for Taft? "Fraud!" "Political brigandage!" "Naked theft!" These were some of the terms he employed. Then a contest was instituted.

A few days ago in the Republican national committee meeting, on the motion of a Roosevelt committeeman and by unanimous vote, the Taft delegates at large from Indiana were seated.

Every thief and thug and confidence man and bunco steerer and forger and pirate and highbinder and Molly Maguire and sneak thief and bilk and brigand and kidnapper and tory and counterfeiter and liar and despot and malefactor and assassin on that committee voted to seat these Taft delegates from Indiana?

Senator Borah of Idaho said: "The Taft delegates were elected as the result of a primary in which Taft won, six to one. I am a red hot Roosevelt man myself, but we can't repudiate such a primary election."

But Borah must be a liar and a poltroon for saying it and the other members of the committee highway robbers and fire bugs and marauders and tyrants for voting the way they did—for did not the great Roosevelt himself say so when he characterized the action of the Indiana convention as a "fraud" and "an outrage" and stated that no Republican was bound by the "acts of a convention whose delegates were chosen in that manner."

The Roosevelt contest program has been shown to be a gigantic sham. There was no basis for practically any of them. They were not brought in good faith. They were instituted in the belief that the Roosevelt crowd would control the committee. Is not the inference justified that, in such event, every Roosevelt contestant would have been seated, notwithstanding the merits of the case?

And yet we are told that the Roosevelt campaign rests upon some unmeasurable (and unnamed) moral foundation.

BORAH AND FRENCH THE RIGHT BRAND.

Kooskia Mountaineer: We are told that a "true blue republican" in Idaho is one who is after bull moose hides. In other words the moose season is going to be open all the time at both ends. That'll be good. But if a fellow can't be a progressive republican in Idaho, he can be a progressive democrat, and in that way keep clear of the gang of political pirates who operated in Chicago last summer. The Mountaineer considers Idaho a progressive state, politically and otherwise. And a great majority of states are equally progressive. The result of the recent election bears out this assertion. Congressmen and senators of the old school, Joe Cannon with the bunch, were relegated to the very distant background. Idaho returns her Borah and her French, two men who made good, and with whose records in public life no fairminded man can find fault. They are progressive in every sense of the term, because they have always stood out for legislation favorable to the masses.

JUN 21 1913

The attitude of Judge Hughes towards a possible nomination at Chicago, as reported this morning by Rabbi Wise, with apparent authority, is one that does honor to him. No one will doubt that it is sincerely taken. It is in perfect keeping with all that Judge Hughes has said and done since he resigned a political office to assume a judicial one. With all that he urges about the high duty of keeping the Supreme Court beyond the taint of party politics, and free from even the suspicion of political ambition, every thoughtful man will agree. Such a jealous care for the reputation of judges is especially demanded at a time when their motives are violently impugned. All hearts must glow at the reply which Judge Hughes made when told that a nomination might be forced upon him as the "indispensable" man: "No man is so essential to his country's well-being as is the unstained integrity of the courts." One has only to contrast this with the glib assurance of another that he is "the one man for the job," in order to perceive the difference between a thirst for power and a stern sense of public duty.

At the same time, it is our opinion that Judge Hughes might find it consistent with the highest sense of public duty to resign from the bench and stand for the Presidency. Personal character enters into this question as well as general principles. If Mr. Hughes were to go back to political life, would there be the faintest breath of suspicion of his motives? Would the most conscienceless slanderer in the land venture to assert that Hughes's course, since becoming a judge, had been swayed by secret political aspirations? No such charge could possibly fleck his ermine. We have to deal with the known stuff of which a man is made. There have been judges of the Supreme Court who took politics with them on the bench—at least in the sense that they were understood to be willing candidates for the Presidency. Chase was one. David Davis was another. Stephen J. Field was frequently suggested as a Democratic candidate, with no public disclaimer from him. But Charles E. Hughes is of another type. Everybody knows that he has given himself to his judicial duties, *totus in illis*, without a thought of being swayed by politics, without one glance upwards from his law-books to a political convention. So that, in his own personality, as the country fully understands it, he would silently meet in advance any assertion that he had been a judge with political longings. And what he would be able to do, if nominated for the Presidency, to dignify and vitalize the campaign is equally a matter of common knowledge. One thing is clear, however: he ought not to be asked to yield to anything but the united demand of his party. A nomination that would be factional or divisive he would do right to decline. And so long as Roosevelt will not take his own selfishness out of the road, so long as he vows to attack any man but himself who may be nominated at Chicago, the selection of Judge Hughes is scarcely to be thought of as possible. Roosevelt, with one spark of generosity or party loyalty in him, could give Hughes to the country. But Roosevelt, in his present frame of mind, would see the country go to the devil first.

It is only rubbing salt into the Colonel's wounds to accuse him now of not listening to the cooler heads among his followers. Is it not easily demonstrable that precisely by listening to the cooler heads the Colonel has gone down to defeat? He designated Senator Borah, a man of self-control, to be his representative on the National Committee, and Senator Borah began by allowing the Committee to throw out Roosevelt

contestants on the perfectly ridiculous ground that the evidence was all against them. He designated Gov. Hadley, another man of self-control, to be his floor-leader in the Convention, and Gov. Hadley, instead of settling matters by braining Mr. Root with a chair, ac-

tually went in for a policy of such perfectly absurd reasonableness and self-restraint that the Convention cheered him for forty-five minutes. Thus at two crucial points the Man on Horseback found himself betrayed by his weak-kneed Marshals. Instead of Borah, the fight in the National Committee should have been led entirely by Heney, and instead of Hadley the hosts in the Coliseum should have been commanded by Flinn. It is true that neither Heney nor Flinn has displayed a capacity for doing anything but yell, but yelling was the proper tactics. It has been so since the hat went into the ring, and it should have been kept up till the lights were put out. Then, at least, the record would have been clear.

DEC 21 1912

Tribune Salt Lake

BORAH'S IRRIGATION BILL.

The people of all this Western region will look with approval upon Senator Borah's newly introduced bill to advance \$20,000,000 from the Treasury of the United States to the National reclamation fund to enable the Secretary of the Interior to complete the irrigation projects which have been begun under the National Irrigation act. Those projects drag for lack of funds. Even though through the influence of President Taft there was an advance of \$20,000,000 to aid these reclamation projects, that is found to be insufficient, and \$30,000,000 more will be needed to finish the works already under way. That money should be advanced, because until the projects are finished the money thus far invested in them is dead money, from which nothing can be realized. The projects are unremunerative in every way until the reclamation works are put in complete, and usable. Evidently from the business as well as the common sense standpoint the necessary thing to do is to get on with these works and complete them so that the money invested in them will become productive and the makers of homes under these projects be able to begin to reimburse the fund which has

permitted the creation therefrom of their homes.

Senator Borah does not, so far as appears, include in his bill the proposition for the extension of time in which the settlers upon these reclaimed lands are to make their payments. But it will be necessary to make some extension of this time, even if the extension of twenty-five years, as urged in Arizona, is not granted; for the long delay in finishing reclamation works began and assured of completion has made grievous expense upon the takers of the lands to be reclaimed, and has crippled them so that it will be impracticable for them to make up their ten years' payments as the law now requires.

If the reclamation projects had been limited to such as the funds immediately available could have speedily completed, there would probably have been no reason why the settlers could not meet the payments as required by law; but the settlers have become impoverished by the long delays, and they are trying to hold on to their flings even though the reclamation project under which they placed their claims is not completed, as expected and promised. This delay has been far more to the disadvantage of the claimants than to that of the Government, for the Government has lost nothing, while the prospective settlers have suffered large losses. It would be no more than right, therefore, for the Government to extend the period of payment correspondingly, at least, to the period of delay which the settlers have suffered in waiting upon the tardy completion of the reclamation projects.

DATE FEB 20 1913

WILSON'S CONSERVATION POLICY.

Senator Borah's commendation of President-elect Wilson's statement that a policy of reservation is not one of conservation and his definition of the western conception of the true conservation will be indorsed by every man who really knows the west and who wishes to see its resources developed and conserved, but neither wasted, monopolized nor reserved says the Portland Oregonian. Wilson's speech encourages hope in the west that he will reject the guidance of Pinchot, who set his own theories above the law, and of Adams, who assumes the right to nullify an act of congress which does not conform to his theories.

Let Wilson adopt Borah's suggestion by putting our natural resources in the hands of the people to use, not in the hands of the reservationists to lock up. Let him treat the settler at least as well as the man accused of crime, that is, presume him to be innocent until he is proved guilty. Let him instruct special agents that their duty is not to seek fraud where there is none, but to find facts whether they be favorable to the settler. Let him sell the timber in national forests on such terms that the people will get the benefit of its having been reserved. Let him take of the national forests those great areas where trees never have grown and never can grow. Let him unlock the water powers, that the people of the west may have cheap light and power. Let him dig the canals Borah suggests, pour water on the desert and open the opportunity for many thousands to make homes. Let him do all these things and he will prove himself a statesman of the first rank—one who sees that the strength of the nation rests in the multitude of its homemakers and home owners, in the use of its resources, not in placing them in cold storage.

Conservation is not a party question and, if Wilson accepts Borah's definition of the policy he outlined at Chicago, he may expect opposition from men of his own party. But he will secure the support of men like Borah among his opponents. He will have a fight on his hands, but, if he makes it, he will earn the confidence and gratitude of the west, whether he wins or not.

Downey Idahoan.

The Times Newspaper Cutting Bureau

LEADER

MANCHESTER, N. H.

DEC 13 1912

Senator Borah, as usual, gets at the soul of the proposition. He observes that the suggestions for revising or reviving the republican party do not reach the real difficulty. They relate to party machinery or organization, when the true thing required is "an issue." The people are interested in questions of national concern, national taxation, popular control in the government, more genuine democracy, reform of the currency, combinations of capital and credit, etc.

# ING CAPITAL

BOISE, IDAHO, THURSDAY, JANUARY 23, 1913.

## PLAN ON FOOT TO REORGANIZE G. O. P. WITH BORAH ITS CHIEF; WORKS BIG GUNS IN MOVEMENT LAFOLLETTE, CUMMINS, KENYON



Top, left to right, Senators Kenyon, Works and LaFollette. Bottom, Senators Borah and Cummins.

A plan is on foot to reorganize the Republican party, with Senator Borah at its head. Here are some of the men most interested in the movement, who expect to have a big influence in the party if it is reorganized according to the present plan.

Newspaper Cutting Bureau in the World

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### THE HOMESTEAD ACT MODIFIED.

The President having signed the amended homestead act, it is of interest to know how it affects the old homestead act provisions, and what benefits the present homesteaders will get out of the enactment of the amendments. The original homestead bill of 1862 provided for five years' residence on the land, and left the inference that this residence must be continuous. It is found, however, in the different conditions in the Mountain States, that this continuous residence is impossible, and that the length of residence ought to be decreased. Therefore, the new law requires but three years' residence instead of five, and it allows the homesteader to be absent from his homestead claim for five months in each year in order to earn money to support his family. Under the old law, this absence was largely discretionary, and was liable to be interfered with by jealous, scheming, or hostile officials. But in this mountain country it is a plain case that no one can go on to a homestead and get from it a support for himself and his family from the beginning; it is absolutely necessary that one should have liberty of absence so that he can work and get money for his support and that of his family, and that this be solidly guaranteed to him. The acreage which he is required to cultivate is also reduced so as to make homesteading practical in the arid regions.

Senator Borah was the sponsor for this amendment of the homestead bill, and to him is due primarily the thanks of homesteaders all through this Western country for the amendments. The Western members of the Senate and the House were not far behind in giving their support to this measure, so that all are entitled to their meed of recognition in this good work.

It is to be hoped that the new home-

stead law will be as beneficial to all the arid regions of the United States as the original homestead act was to the old West, which it sent forward by leaps and bounds. No such miraculously rapid settlement of a new region was ever known in the world before as the settlement of the region west of the Mississippi and in part also east of it, by reason of the homestead law of 1862. If there is even a mild approximation to that marvelous advance-

gions by reason of these amendments to the homestead act, everyone throughout all this region will have abundant cause for satisfaction.

### THE EVENING STAR.

With Sunday Morning Edition.

WASHINGTON,  
THURSDAY.....January 16, 1913

#### The Senate.

The senatorial contests are being decided in favor of thoroughly competent men. Idaho renews the commission of Mr. Borah, Massachusetts promotes Mr. Weeks, Maine confirms the choice made at the primaries and elects Mr. Burleigh. Colorado chooses two men widely known and experienced in affairs. No delay. No scandal. Everything done in the open, and according to Hoyle.

These selections are particularly praiseworthy at this time. In the first place, the Senate after March 4 will show a very close division. The democrats—when all stand together—will "have it" by only one or two. So that, in the maneuvering, parliamentary and otherwise, experience will count. It will be to the advantage of both parties and to the country that senators know their way around.

In the second place, the business that will come before the Senate immediately is vital to the public welfare. If the tariff is revised in bungling fashion the cost may be heavy. If the trusts get the better of the bargain in legislation affecting them, discontent among the masses arising out of monopoly may greatly increase. And unless the reform proposed for the currency is wisely shaped, the present situation, bad as it is, had better be continued. For of the three problems, that of the currency is the most delicate, and calls for the most careful solution.

In both these aspects of the case, therefore, the present demand in the Senate is

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of experience and demonstrated competency in legislation. A man who knows how has much the advantage of one who is beginning an apprenticeship. Mr. Borah is a master mechanic, while Mr. Weeks and Mr. Burleigh, because of their long service in the House, will take up their tasks with full understanding of their new surroundings.

If now New Hampshire, Illinois, Tennessee and West Virginia will consider their opportunities and obligations in this light, and pick men more with regard to the settlement of present paramount national issues than of local factional squabbles, which should be handled in some other way, they will do well by themselves and by everybody. Good men are available in all those states. Why not take matters out of the hands of the rings, and appeal to a higher and broader sense of duty, citing what other states have just done, and what is expected of the states yet to act?

The Senate, always an important and interesting body, will focus unusual attention for the next two years at least. The democratic margin will be so narrow the party's leaders in that body will have to be sleeplessly vigilant.

IDAHO FALLS, IDAHO

Register

MAY 10 1912

### SAYS BORAH IS THE MAN

A Prominent Ohio Newspaper Gives Idaho Man First Place

The Ohio State Journal, published at Columbus, the chief republican paper of that great state, places Senator Borah, of Idaho, at the lead among all the men of the republican party of the nation as the most likely presidential candidate.

In addition to this, report comes from Washington that republican leaders are explaining that Idaho is no further west now than Illinois was fifty years ago, or Tennessee fifteen years prior to that, when modern transportation methods, business conditions and other elements are considered, and that there is no more reason why the nation should not go to Idaho for a president, provided Idaho has the man available, than there is that it should not look to any other state. The Ohio State Journal analyzes the situation as follows:

"The republican unknown is not likely to be Justice Charles E. Hughes if the tip that Ohioans have received is correct. Justice Hughes is understood to have told President Taft that he will not be a candidate under any conceivable circumstances. Senator Cummins has been eliminated by the action of the Iowa convention, and today the most promising pacer in the republican race is

POCATELLO, IDAHO  
TRIBUNE

JUL 29 1912

### IDAHO MUST RE-ELECT BORAH.

Moscow Post: The people of Idaho undoubtedly understand that in Senator Borah, this state has one of the finest champions of progressive government in the United States' senate. Citizens of Idaho are entitled to a feeling of pride that this young statesman has in a few years measured up to the mightiest intellects that this great tribunal has known in recent years. Against such a man as this are pitted the combined forces of those who seek to retard the growth of popular ideas. Against him this year will be hurled the combined forces of the Democratic party in Idaho and the corrupt political manipulators, who know no party and who follow no creed save that which returns them a financial dividend. The people of Idaho have it in their power within the coming week to return Senator Borah to his present field of usefulness or to retire him to private life. They should support no man as a nominee for the state legislature who is not known to be unequally in sympathy with Senator Borah and the principles for which he stands.



## SENATOR BORAH'S BALTIMORE SPEECH POINTS THE WAY TO REPUBLICAN UNITY

Senator William E. Borah, of Idaho, a progressive Republican who refused to bolt with Colonel Roosevelt at Chicago, but still declined to press support of President Taft as the sole test of Republicanism, and who made and won his fight last fall for return to the United States Senate upon his progressive record as a straight Republican, appealing to all elements of the party, delivered a notable address at the Lincoln's birthday banquet of the Union League of Maryland.

The central thought of his speech was that the regulation and control of great corporations, the crushing out of monopoly and the restoration of normal financial, commercial and industrial conditions are the big problems that must be solved in the United States, and that the party that shows the courage and capacity to deal with these tremendous questions in the spirit in which the early Republicans under Abraham Lincoln grappled with slavery and saved the Union will live long to rule the Nation and bring blessings upon a people now suffering from the arrogance of unbridled wealth and power.

Senator Borah's address was in the main non-partisan, sketching broadly and rapidly our wonderful development since the Civil War, the growth of manufacturing and transportation, the rise of powerful corporations, the utter inability of the Sherman anti-trust law to prevent the abuses against which it was projected, and the absolute necessity of finding some means to curb monopoly before it becomes strong enough to control the government itself.

The speaker did not outline a program or propose specific remedies. He reviewed conditions today as he sees them, and expressed the view in conclusion that the greatest problem for our statesmen to grapple with in the future is the control of corporations, the overthrow of monopoly and the restoration of competition.

In his closing paragraphs he counseled a union of all progressive forces under the banner of the Republican party, pointed out the tremendous advantage of sticking to a political organization that has already made wonderful history, and declared his unflinching faith that the party of Lincoln would rise to the glorious opportunities presented to it even in this hour of defeat and adversity.

After tracing the remarkable era of development that came in the wake of the Civil War, and the industrial and commercial abuses that led to the passage of the Sherman anti-trust law, Senator Borah said it was an amazing fact that the quarter century that has elapsed since that measure was written into the Federal statutes has witnessed the greatest growth of trusts of every description the world has ever known. Following is a striking extract at this point in the speech:

It must now be apparent to all that, standing alone and unaided, the Sherman law cannot accomplish what its authors hoped it would accomplish. They underestimated the ingenuity, the almost supernatural sagacity, of greed. It has not destroyed nor even curbed monopoly. The period during which this statute has been upon the statute books is marked, defined, and individualized as the period of the greatest growth of trusts and the most pronounced decadence of competition. It has not protected the people from extortion. It has not kept open and free the channels of interstate trade. It has not preserved competition. It has not and does not now promise to give relief to the people at large.

Almost everything which we eat and almost everything which we wear, that which warms from without and that which sustains from within, all we have and all we want, are affected, enhanced, and controlled by combinations built up in defiance of this law. So far as the man in the street is concerned, competition is dead. It has not given relief as against the destructive, annihilating forces or combinations which are fast sweeping from the whole field of industry the independent producer or manufacturer. Powers have been reared here in the American market-place in defiance of the American policy and of the law of the land.

Taking of the disclosures of the Congressional committee that recently has been investigating the control of the finances of the country by a few men, Senator Borah said:

Within the last few weeks men who are in a position to know, and who are not anxious to tell, have testified to a condition of affairs which must be regarded as no less than startling. Blast furnaces and business institutions are closed from time to time in order to increase the price of things which the people must have. After paying freight and insurance, our products are sold in foreign markets cheaper than to our own people. At banquet boards men meet and determine what price will be put upon the necessities of life for ninety millions of people, some of whom are hard pressed to live. Territory is divided among powerful interests and fines and punishments administered for

leaving a territory or lowering a price agreed upon, with all the arbitrary and relentless power of ancient sovereignty.

With a boldness somewhat commendable, but apparently born of the power which they seemingly no longer stand in fear of losing, they tell us that less than two hundred men practically dominate the banking and business interests of the country with a minuteness of detail and relentlessness of vigilance never exercised by the most arbitrary government. And with a grace of egotism as refined as it was apparently unconscious, those same men admit that this would be a menace, grave and imminent, to our government if such power should accidentally drift into bad hands. What a travesty upon the apathy of the people! In view of what has been permitted to happen, they seem to fear not the future.

A striking feature of Senator Borah's speech was his indictment of the Sherman law for saddling upon the counts of the country foreign and unnatural duties that properly belong to the legislative and administrative departments of the government. In developing this thought he said:

The courts are now called upon to determine who shall sit upon this board of directors and upon that, what our corporation laws shall be outside of legislative guidance, who shall vote and who shall not vote stock, what the limitations of business in size and capacity are to be—in fact, to supervise and censor business methods, the degrees and forms of competition, the amount and extent of business which particular corporations are to enjoy. The whole business world and the whole vast realm of economics are to be regulated, directed, and controlled by judicial decree. It would be a farce if it were not a tragedy.

There is no greater tribunal among men, to my way of thinking, than our own Supreme Federal tribunal. But to consent for this work to go on in this way must inevitably involve that court in a work which no judicial tribunal can perform. It would be treason to our institutions if it were not that our seeming ignorance of what we are doing robs it of a criminal intent.

We find no relief in the Sherman law and we therefore criticize the courts. The blame is not there. Courts are not to be deemed above fair and honest criticism, but it is downright intellectual cowardice, if not moral delinquency, to lead the people in this country to believe that their relief can be realized by attacking the courts for not doing well that which they ought not to be called upon to do at all.

I venture to say here, and I stand ready to maintain it, that if the law-making bodies of this country would incorporate in our laws the principles long ago announced by the Supreme Court of the United States, and then provide the administrative machinery to enforce them, leaving the courts to determine only those matters which are purely judicial, there would not be a monopoly left in the United States inside of a decade.

How soon will men cease to give the people denunciation instead of relief, deluge them with vituperation and abuse, intended to serve the political necessities of the hour, rather than to provide a constructive policy intended to give permanent relief?

Senator Borah charged that the States are the greatest offenders in chartering all manner of corporations, endowing them with far-reaching power, encouraging them in their grasping proclivities and then calling upon the National government to undo their own folly.

"There is not a monopoly in existence today," said he, "that is not in existence by express authority of some State of this Union. There is not a corporation exercising unjust and unfair powers in the world of commerce that is not doing so through express authority and express approval of some State Legislature. . . . The whole question of monopoly goes back to the charter powers of our corporations, and the charter powers of our corporations come from the grants of the several State Legislatures."

Coming down to more specific recommendations Mr. Borah said:

I would not repeal the Sherman law, but I would reduce it from a generalization to a specific, enforceable statute. To my way of thinking, it would be just about as practicable to try a man who takes the life of another for retarding the development of the human family, instead of for the offense of homicide, as to try a corporation guilty of specific acts of fraud and extortion for restraining trade.

If a corporation lowers the price in a certain territory in order to injure a competitor, make that specific act a violation of the law and a basis for action civil and criminal. If an agreement be made limiting the output of an article, if there is a division of territory, if one company foments strikes in another, make these and similar acts specific offenses. The juries will be able to get hold of the subject and honest business men will have a guide, while dishonest business men will not escape through the interminable labyrinth of scholastic discussion as to what constitutes a restraint of trade. We can at least put up in this wilderness of discussion and speculation a few signboards and a few notices of danger.

When we have done this we should amplify the law for the benefit of private litigants who have causes of action by reason of such specific acts. No law which deals with the individual business affairs of men can ever be other than faultily and spasmodically enforced by the government. There is nowhere to be found so steady, so persistent, and so effectual an enforcer of the law as the private litigant who has suffered by reason of wrong-doing. We have in such instances a million guardians interested and vigilant instead of one officer, never acting until the evil becomes all but unbearable. Make it possible, both in the way of simplicity and expense, for the individual competitor to recover for his injuries, and you will have a more uniform and a more effective enforcement of the law.

If I had my way I would make this a government of law in respect to these matters instead of departmental discretion—a spasmodic and individ-

nal government. I would make every corporation convicted of wrong-doing, or subject to the control of an interlocking directorate, every corporation voting the stock of another corporation or guilty of monopolistic practices, after a certain day to be fixed in advance, an outlaw to the channels of interstate trade until it should purge itself of all these powers and practices.

When I see a great corporation condemned in unmeasured terms by the Supreme Court of the United States, which never speaks but with ample justification, and against which a decree has been entered, still openly, brazenly, defiantly, brutally putting aside all principles of justice and ignoring every provision of law, there is nothing I would not do, in a legal and orderly way, to destroy it. Men who set such an example of lawlessness and anarchy in a government of law ought to end their days in a prison cell and go broken and bankrupt to a pauper's grave.

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"My friends, we will either change these conditions or these conditions will change the Republic," said the speaker as he concluded this feature of his speech. "The war between the Republic and monopoly is a war of extinction — there is no neutral ground, no place for parley."

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As he drew to a close, after briefly outlining his views of the paramount political issues of the times, Senator Borah gave his address a more distinctly partisan tone by taking up the question of the future of the Republican party. His words are cheering to those who love the grand old party for its wonderful constructive statesmanship during a half century of power, and upon such a progressive platform as he has roughly sketched it ought to be possible for all except the most hidebound stand-pat reactionaries and the most populist radicals to unite for future contests with the now triumphant common political enemy. Following are some forceful sentences from the address at this point:

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It has been announced that I am speaking tonight to a program for the reorganization of our party and that I am assuming to point the way for a future policy. Nothing could be farther from the facts. I have been assigned to no such position and I assume no such authority. I speak for no one but myself. But, speaking for myself, I have no trouble as to the course to pursue. Beside this question of dealing with monopoly, to my mind, all other questions are incidental. And I am not able to be rid of the belief that the party which has written so many great laws upon our statute books will prove equal also to this great task.

I go back tonight to yonder meeting "under the oaks" in the great commonwealth of Michigan. The resolution of these men there gathered comes to me with startling pertinency. "Resolved, that in view of the necessity of battling for the first principles of republican government and against the schemes of an aristocracy the most revolting with which the earth was ever cursed or man debased, we will co-operate and be known as Republicans until the contest is terminated."

"Until the contest is terminated." Yes, that is the term of enlistment and that is the creed. At the time this was written there was not an officer nor a position of government, from the bootblack loitering upon the steps of the Capitol to the Chief Magistracy of the nation, unaffected or uninfluenced by that cruel system which lived upon the wealth gathered from other men's toil. But these men appealed to a constituency which no system could corrupt or make afraid. They presented the issue bold and clear and counted not the consequences. The people did the rest.

There are seven million voters in the United States who have been reared in this world-renowned school of politics. Back of them are the proud traditions which tell of countless battles fought and won. Confronting them is a question upon the solution of which turns the happiness of their children and their children's children and the perpetuity of the Republic. They are restless for the conflict. Let

us get down in honesty and courage, face to face and mind to mind with this great problem, the greatest of all problems when measured by its tendency to search and test the powers of free government.

A political party worthy of the name can live only and alone by means of a great issue, an issue which binds men together through the force of a common conviction and sends them to the conflict year after year through the zeal and enthusiasm of a common faith. With this great issue before us, those who would dedicate

a party to mere machine service, make of it a provender wagon—these mere minions of cunning, trickery and insolence—will disappear like the miserable things which slime and crawl and fester and die when exposed to the light of day.

We are driven, sirs, to consider whether we are worthy of our inheritance—whether we shall defend the heirlooms of our forebears, measure up to the precepts and examples before us, go forward in the great cause for which they organized under the guidance and in the light of their achievements and their purposes, or whether we shall skulk like cowards before an imperious and commanding duty—shameless in our sheer incompetency, shameless amid the waste and ruin of the most splendid party estate ever transmitted by one generation to the keeping of another.

I understand perfectly the discouraging circumstances under which we meet. In a few days each of the departments of government will pass from Republican control, and the party of almost unbroken authority for almost half a century retires. No party ever rose to a higher plane of service and power, and none ever descended over such precipitous paths in so short a time to the depths of humiliation and utter defeat. We find ourselves, therefore, at the shrine of our first great leader, humble and penitent, much in need of the courage and inspiration of other emergencies, hoping for the foresight and the wisdom, for the consecration and purpose of other days.

Moved by the memories which invest the hour, braced by the traditions of an intrepid and militant era, we ought to lay hold again of the great and unchangeable principles of justice in which the party was conceived and born. We ought to realize the worth and take as our guide the unflinching sympathy for things which are right, the eternal opposition to things that are wrong; the faith, the fortitude, the singular insight into the motives and aspirations of men which made formidable the leadership of Abraham Lincoln.

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Senator Borah's closing words ought to be an inspiration to Republicans and Progressives to bury the differences of 1912 and work together. He points out that the old Republican party, in its traditions and achievements, in the prestige of its great name and in the militant spirit in which it arose to its earlier opportunities, is the logical organization around which to rally for future service. The following concluding extract from the Idaho Senator's speech was a worthy benediction:

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The party of the days of Lincoln may never again be equalled in moral grandeur. The achievements which are now respected and honored of all parties and by all men may not soon have their like inside the efforts of any political party. Nevertheless, those brave old days make Republicanism a badge of honor; and why reject it?

One of the most striking figures in the history of the party has said, "The history of the Republican party in the past is not merely of abiding interest to the student, but of present importance to every man who seeks in practical fashion actually to apply the principles of civic righteousness."

Why should not the continuance of the story be in harmony with the principles and policies of the beginning and by the worthy sons of the noble sires who started this national epic of humanity and progress?

As we go forward to meet our own responsibilities and confront our own problems, why not take with us and keep with us this record, the prestige of these traditions, the incalculable influence of these past party triumphs?

It is certainly not so easy to win without them as to win with them, and the foe is just the same wherever we go.

There are certain forces and influences in politics we will have to meet under whatever flag we fight.

Why give up an honored name, why abandon our household gods?

There has never been a time, and there never will be a time, so long as men are capable of high purposes when the example of unselfishness and devoted men, the suffering, sacrifices, and martyrdom of great and noble souls, has not counted, and will not count, in the great renewed moral battles of men.

All these things, therefore, we will neither sacrifice nor abandon; no will we compromise with wrong (wrong-doing in order to keep them.

The First Established Newspaper Cutting Bureau in

HERALD  
Washington, D. C.

### Borah and Militant Progressivism.

The Progressive Republicans of the Senate have united upon a definite policy. It will follow the lines indicated by Senator Borah of Idaho when he declared that the people were little interested in parties, but were deeply interested in policies, and that they would turn to the leaders to carry out a definite scheme of progressive legislation. The Progressives have decided to begin matters of importance to business, and not to waste their energies over side issues. On the tariff, the trusts and corporations, railroads, the income tax and one or two other matters the Progressive Senators will band together. They will pay no attention at present to the task of reorganizing the Republican party, as they believe that the country is not yet ready for that step and will not be until some one supplies issues and action on them which will command public confidence.

The result of their co-operation is likely to be that the country will see actively pushed in the Senate a series of measures, without much regard for party lines. Tariff bills will wait until the special session, but the trust problem, railroads, and the currency will be taken up. No real action on any of these subjects is expected at this session, but plans can be made so that the Progressives can enter the Sixty-third Congress with a compact working organization.

Whether or not the Democrats, as a whole, will stand out against the Progressive group and insist upon the Democratic brand for all legislation, or whether they will split, may prove of much importance to the Democratic party. If Republican progressive policies take with the country, the Democrats will have much to lose, if they pull back simply for party reasons. If the Democrats follow the Progressives, they will lose the glory of leadership in the enactment of reforms. Taken either way, the Democratic position will not be a comfortable one if it turns out that the Progressives have made a hit. This may have its embarrassing features for President-elect Wilson, for it will be his task to select from the grist of bills such as he can give his support. His party is divided into radicals and conservatives, and, while no one is foolish enough to predict that victorious Democracy will wreck itself within six months after Wilson takes office, it must be recognized that the presence in Congress of a carefully thought out plan having the backing of a large element of the population will be an influence which the new President cannot ignore.

### DIRECT VOTE FOR SENATORS

#### SENATOR BORAH SEES HOPE FOR JOINT RESOLUTION.

His Belief that the House Will Accept the Bristow Amendment Supported by a Democratic Member of Ways and Means Committee — The States' Rights Contention.

[Special Dispatch to The Evening Post.]

WASHINGTON, December 28. — Senator Borah, whose interest in the matter seems to have led him to a study of the doctrine of chances, thinks that the House will yield to the Senate, and that the joint resolution providing for the popular election of United States Senators, with the Bristow amendment intact, will be approved not long after the holidays.

The expression of hope from Mr. Borah led to an inquiry among Representatives now here as to the likelihood that the House will accept the Senate's change in the original resolution. A Democratic member of the Ways and Means Committee said:

"I think eventually the House will yield and will take the Bristow amendment. As far as Federal control is concerned it leaves things as they are, and, while most of the Democrats would prefer it otherwise, there is a feeling that the cause of direct Senatorial elections may be set back for years unless action is taken at once. It would be a mistake for the Democratic party to stand out against direct elections because of a States' rights' contention. The country wants this thing, and it won't hurt us any to make the gift just before a Presidential election."

The direct election resolution is in conference, where it has been ever since the middle of last June. The conferees have been in no hurry to open the struggle. The understanding now is that the Committee will meet soon after the reconvening of Congress. If the Ways and Means member spoke truly, the majority in the House probably will let its will be known quietly to the chief conferee of the representatives, Mr. Rucker of Missouri, and to his fellow Democratic conferee, Mr. Conry of New York, who will refuse to yield, and then finally "with reluctance," will give way.

It is not possible for Mr. Borah, or for any Democratic Ways and Means member, to make affidavit that this pleasant programme is to go through, but apparently it is what the House leaders expect. Southern Representatives are not entirely of the mind of Senator Bacon of Georgia on the sacredness of States' rights as applied to this particular matter, and most of them are opposed to the Georgian's views on the subject of the direct election of Senators. Mr. Bacon, who is a member of the Conference Committee on the part of the Senate, is as antagonistic to the proposed change of system as is Mr. Root of New York. The House Democrats apparently want the resolution adopted, even if in getting it they must take the Bristow amendment along with it.

Senators Clark of Wyoming and Nelson of Minnesota are the two Senate Republican conferees. The fact that the Bristow amendment was adopted by the upper house makes it Mr. Clark's duty, as the leading conferee, to be as strong as he can in an attempt to get the House to accept the Senate's will. It took some time to turn the Wyoming Senator into a firm supporter of the Bristow amendment, which simply fixes things so that the Federal Government shall maintain the supervisory power over the election of Senators which is now given it by the Constitution. Perhaps it probably would be more accurate to say that Mr. Clark was a long time making up his mind as to the wisdom of letting the people choose their Senators by direct vote.

Senator Bristow's word on the subject is that he had trouble in obtaining a report on an original resolution of his providing

for direct elections. The Kansas Senator was wise enough to ask that his resolution be sent to the Committee on Judiciary rather than to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, where direct election resolutions one after another had been put to sleep from time to time.

The chairman of the Judiciary Committee is Senator Clark of Wyoming, and it was only after Mr. Bristow had acquired the habit of insistent and frequent inquiry as to what had become of his resolution that Mr. Clark finally acted. When the Bristow amendment to the resolution, as it came over from the House, finally was adopted, the Wyoming Senator had undergone such a complete change of feeling that he voted "Yea." The vote stood: Yeas, 64; nays, 24, among the negative votes cast being those of these Republicans—Brandegge, Crane, Dillingham, Gallinger, Heyburn, Lodge, Penrose, and Root.

In discussing an amendment to the resolution which was introduced by Senator Borah of Idaho, Senator Root said, "Mr. Borah's amendment should be worded as follows:

"Whereas, the people of the several States have been proved incompetent to select honest and faithful Legislatures in their own States,

"Resolved, that the Constitution be so amended as to relieve the people from the consequences of their interdependence by taking from the State Legislatures the power to choose Senators and vesting that power in the same incompetent hands."

Insurgent Republicans who favor the resolution for the direct election of Senators with the Bristow amendment attached say that House Democratic support for the Senate's position will be the easier to secure because of the nature of much of the Senatorial opposition. The antagonism of Gallinger, Root, Heyburn, Smoot, Bacon, Bankhead, Fletcher, and Johnston has been used to help the cause of the Bristow amendment in the House of Representatives

Newspaper Publishing Union

Address

SPRINGFIELD, MASS. FEB 18 1912

#### AN INCONSISTENT ATTITUDE.

On the Connecticut river dam bill Senators Borah and Weeks display an inconsistency as great as that which numerous Western Progressives exhibited not long ago in respect to the tariff. Conservation has been one of the main issues of the Progressives. Borah himself has insisted that it be made a test of faith with Progressives, and Col. Roosevelt has warmly supported the Pinchot policy. To the support of conservation these leaders have brought the doctrine of the "new nationalism." They have insisted that only strong powers of the federal government can avail to protect the people from monopolies. But when Western land and power monopolists want to grab timber and power sites in the public domain the cause of conservation and federal control suffers pronounced desertions by men who, though professing to be strong friends of conservation, happen to represent states where the sentiment for state control is, from motives of self-interest, particularly strong.

Such men forget all about their predilection for a strong federal government and their hatred of private monopolies, and wheel into line with the advocates of state rights and the great monopolistic interests that are eager for state control of timber tracts and water sites because they believe, from past experience, that under state control the strong safeguards which the federal government has reared against the selfish exploitation of our natural wealth will be broken down. Similarly many of these Western Progressives were outspoken and even rabid for tariff reduction, but when Canadian reciprocity was proposed, with free admission of meats and grain from Canada, these professed friends of the consumer hastened to take their stand with producing and distributing interests who desire to have the duties retained on these foodstuffs.

It is a pity that some of the more ardent of the so-called Progressives cannot emancipate themselves from local and special influences when it comes to such an issue as Canadian reciprocity or the issue involved in the Connecticut river dam measure, which the Westerners are fighting tooth and nail because it sets a precedent in favor of federal control that they are anxious should not be applied in their own states.

#### Amending the Law of the Sea.

No amount of denunciation, even of that most perverid kind that founds itself in ignorance and sustains its flights on rhetoric, will make shipping safer or protect life at sea. Senator BORAH suggested on Saturday that "those who controlled the Titanic were responsible for inadequate equipment." But the Titanic was built under the laws of Great Britain, outfitted in strict compliance with the hitherto respected regulations of the Board of Trade, and sailed without a question being raised as to her preparedness to withstand the perils of the sea.

Moreover, the official British regulations are recognized and accepted by this Government as approximately the same as those devised by the United States, for which Senator BORAH, as a member of the chamber to which he belongs, bears a personal and inescapable responsibility. If he has ever seriously argued that they were inadequate, that fact has escaped our notice. If, believing them to be inadequate, he has not been zealous in the effort to have them rejected, how does he square his conduct with his duty?

This is said with high respect to Senator BORAH. It is merely a literary excursion indicating the ease with which any individual might be held up as a responsible author of the calamity of seven days ago. The fact is that the British certificate has had, and was believed to deserve, worldwide acceptance. If the rules under which it is issued are not sufficiently strict, that fact has been demonstrated only within the week, and there has been no effort to defend them, but a unanimous promise to make them what they should be.

Likewise Senator McCUMBER, properly rebuking Senator RAYNER, bemoaned the tendency toward "larger proportion and greater speed" and the fact that "the spirit of contest and desire to excel has become rampant." But the Titanic was not a "flier." She did not compete with the Mauretania and Lusitania in speed. Large she was, but up to to-day who has regarded mere bulk as dangerous in oceangoing vessels? Has it not been hailed as the passenger's most efficient protection?

The high duty of the lawmakers, if it is to be fulfilled, must be undertaken with sanity and knowledge, not passion and prejudice, for if these latter rule the ocean traveller's last state will be worse than his first.

Signal

MAR 25 1912

#### VOTE FOR SENATOR BORAH.

Attention of Republican voters is especially called to the candidacy of Senator Borah for re-election. While his will be the only name to appear on the primary ballot as a candidate for the Republican nomination for senator, it would be a fitting tribute to his untiring service in behalf of the people of his state if every single person votes for him. Then, men of the people have been defeated by trickery when their friends were off their guard, and it is well known there are agents of special interests in Idaho who would stoop to almost anything to defeat Borah. Every Republican should attend the primary and everyone should vote for Senator Borah.

PORTLAND, OREGON

DEC 10 1912

THE FUTURE OF PARTIES.

The conference of Progressive party leaders in Chicago will have a most important influence on the future of that party, and also of the Republican and Democratic parties. The Progressive leaders are so pleased with the fact that Roosevelt stood second among the Presidential candidates that they now hope to gain enough recruits from one or both of the other leading parties to insure victory in 1916. They profess confidence in their ability to absorb all the progressive elements of the Republican party and in this manner seem to hope to drive the conservative elements into the Democratic ranks. It may be that they calculate upon the Democratic party becoming so inhospitable to its radical element through this accession of strength to the conservatives that the radicals will bolt and will find the most congenial surroundings in the Progressive party.

Republicans, conservative and radical alike, perceive this purpose and are deliberating how best to thwart it. They see that the rehabilitation of their party depends on their ability not only to reconcile their differences, but to do so in such manner as to win back to their old allegiance the mass of the Progressive seceders. Unwilling as the old leaders are to approve the measures upon which the radicals are likely to insist as a condition of remaining in the party, they may see no alternative, except to do precisely what the Progressives are apt to wish—flee to the Democracy. They are probably considering how little they must yield in order both to keep the radicals within the party and to win back the Progressives who have left it. That and a desire to see first what course is adopted at the Progressive conference may account for the desire of the Republican Governors to postpone consideration of reorganization.

Radical Republicans like La Follette, Borah, Hadley, Deneen and Cummins approve in the main the Progressive platform, but they believe they can induce the Republican party to adopt its essential features. They, therefore, are confident that the bolting Progressives can be convinced of the real progressiveness of the Republican party and can be won back. In order to do this, however, it is necessary that the old conservative leaders be reduced to the ranks until they have proved their hearty acceptance of the new programme by giving it unflinching support. That would bring the radicals into leadership. So long as they see the possibility of this outcome, the radicals may ask, why should they desert the old party for the one which seeks to supplant it? They would become only lieutenants of Roosevelt, whereas if they become leaders of a rejuvenated Republican party, any one of them may be in line for the Presidency. Party fealty, fidelity to principle and personal ambition combined prompt them to seek a basis of union with the moderate element of the Republicans, which will at the same time bring back the wandering Progressive sheep.

The Democracy may also be the victim of conflicting motives of its two chief component parts. Events seem to have given it greater cause for enmity towards the Progressive than the Republican party. Will it not be disposed, therefore, to join the Republicans in defeating any effort of the new party to score a point? Will it not at the same time do its utmost to prevent reunion of the two sundered parts of its once powerful opponent? With two factions within its ranks striving for supremacy, will not each seek to strengthen itself by winning over the more congenial element of the other parties? If so, we may see the conservative Democrats throwing out bait to catch the conservative Republicans, while the radical Democrats pursue the same course towards the Progressives and radical Republicans. If the conservative Democrats should win over the Republicans of the same trend of thought and thereby obtain mastery within the party, whither would the radical Democrats go, since their old party would no longer be a home for them? If they joined the Progressives, we should witness the strange spectacle of Roosevelt and Bryan in the same political fold. Since neither would be disposed to yield first place to the other, how would the new

party thrive under such double leadership?

In the contingency described the radical Republicans would find no place to go except the Progressive party. That might not embarrass Borah, Hadley, Deneen or Cummins, but how could La Follette reconcile such action with his denial that Roosevelt is really progressive? With such men as Bryan, Roosevelt and La Follette all in the same camp and each regarding himself as the only fit man to lead, what concord could be expected? How could Bryan reconcile his devotion to state rights with Roosevelt's penchant for a strongly centralized National Government?

Each party striving to hold what it has and reaching out for large sections of the two others, there is fine work in prospect for the most skilled political tacticians. The task is to make two parties out of three and each party is trying to avoid being eliminated and to eliminate one of the others. Will the outcome be a final realignment of parties as conservatives and liberals, as political prophets have been predicting? That question will only be answered after the country has been treated to the spectacle of some very drastic maneuvering.

Emmett, Ida.

MAY 10 1912

Senator Borah asserts that his state of Idaho is so good that even the people who get cheated within its smiling domain make money by the transaction. On his way home from Washington after the adjournment of the last session of Congress he was introduced on the train to an Eastern woman who immediately began to tell a long, sad story about the robberlike practices of Western people in general, and Idaho men in particular.

My husband was a traveling man," she explained, in lachrymose voice, "and one night in Boise City some of your people gave him too much to drink, so much in fact, that he didn't know what he was doing. The next morning he woke and discovered that he had bought \$1,400 worth of mining stock at four cents a share. Think of that, the greatest outrage I ever heard of. I have never even looked up the mine on which the stock was sold, but the experience has taught me that Western promoters are merely burglars. My poor, dear husband was robbed as surely as if those men had held him up at the point of a gun."

Mr. Borah asked the name of the mine, and she told him. Without saying a word, he picked up a newspaper and pointed to the stock quotations. Right there that Niobe like woman got the shock of her life. The stock was shown to be worth \$140,000 that day.

Chariton, Ia. Post Thursday, Jan. 9, 1913.

Senator Borah, of Idaho, a leading figure of the progressive republican movement and an ardent supporter of Roosevelt before the Chicago convention, has a plan of his own for the reorganization of the republican party and will deliver an address upon "The Republican Party" before the party organization in Baltimore the 12th of February. Senator Borah is an ardent admirer of Theodore Roosevelt as a political leader, but has little sympathy with his doctrines regarding the constitution and the courts and refused to follow him out of the republican party. The address of the Idaho senator will be awaited with interest.

From JOURNAL

Address LINCOLN, NEB

Date JUN 18 1912

THE FIRST ROUND.

At noon today the acting chairman of the national committee, Victor Rosewater of Nebraska, will call the republican national convention to order. He will announce that the committee recommends Senator Root of New York for temporary chairman, Governor Hadley of Missouri, according to the plans announced, will move to substitute the name of Senator Borah of Idaho for Root and the fight will be on. When California is called on that question it will try to cast its full vote for Borah. The two Taft men seated by the national committee will protest. Governor Hadley will then attempt to secure a vote of the convention on seating the delegates recognized by the national committee and substituting a list containing the Washington, California and Texas delegates of which the Roosevelt men believe themselves to have been robbed by the national committee. If such a motion can be put, the Taft delegates in question will be prevented from voting and the convention will fall into control of the Roosevelt men. Should this effort fail, the roll call on temporary chairman will proceed. With the questionable delegates voting with the committee that seated them, the "steam roller" has its chance to win and retain control of the convention organization.

Such will be the beginning of what is likely to be the most momentous political convention held in half a century. This is no mere struggle for the offices. While personalities play their part, the dividing line lies deeper. The fight is a clinching of fundamentally opposed political forces. The cleavage between progressive and standpatter which has been ten years growing comes to a climax in this convention. The question whether the republican party is to be liberal or conservative in organization and platform the next four years, and perhaps indefinitely thereafter, is involved. Both sides, the one backed by the organization, the other by popular opinion, are fighting desperately, with possibilities of serious damage to the bone of contention.

In prize fights and baseball games it is possible to employ an impartial referee. Fairness, as near as humanly possible, governs these contests. No such means to an orderly contest and fair results are applied to political conventions. The temporary roll has been made up by a partisan national committee, with some obvious disadvantage to the disfavored faction. Rosewater, the chairman whose decisions will determine the turn of events at the opening of today's convention is a partisan of one side who has not retained at times from using his power for factional advantage. Herein lies the excuse for violence in the convention and the danger of party disruption before the issue is fought out. It is because conventions seem irretrievably a dirty sport, on par with doped horse races and fake prize fights, that the American people have apparently resolved to be done with them.

Newspaper Cutting Bureau in the World

From LEDGER

Address TACOMA, WASH

Date JAN 16 1913

RE-ELECTION OF BORAH.

Idaho did well in re-electing William B. Borah to the United States senate. He has achieved a commanding position in that body and is today one of the best known men in public life. Senator Borah has, in unusual degree, the confidence of the people of Idaho and the country at large. While not an extremist, he is in step with the progress of the time, and will have opportunity in the next six years to influence national councils on critical occasions. Of the younger element in the United States senate, he is counted as one of the most potent in debate. It is good for Idaho, for Washington and for the entire Pacific Northwest to have in the United States senate men who stand high like Borah in the national congress.

The tabled woodchuck who tackled a fence so crooked that after worming and worrying he found himself emerging from the same hole he went in at has found a humble imitator in Senator McCumber of North Dakota.

The Senator is opposed to exempting American coastwise ships from canal tolls because no 20,000-ton vessels ascend the Mississippi and its tributaries as far as North Dakota, and he does not favor a high protective duty on lemons because the citrus crop of North Dakota has for some years been backward in coming forward.

The Senator has views on the subject of amending the Constitution of the United States. They are, so to speak, divergent views. They bestraddle the subject. In a Senatorial debate with Borah of Idaho he said: "I do not believe we should amend the Constitution as easily as we make a law. If we are to have no restraint, then, in heaven's name what is the use of a Constitution?"

And having thus announced himself as hostile to constitutional amendments he next declares in substance that he is in favor of amending the Federal Constitution frequently and copiously. He says that instead of spending our time in quoting Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton, whom we follow to the extent that they agree with our views, and whose views we abandon the moment they are found to be discordant with our own, we should use our own judgment in this year of our Lord. He avers that we have perhaps as great an opportunity to determine what our duty is upon a great fundamental question today as any of these old stiffs were able to tell us what we should do more than a hundred years ago. Jefferson rode to the Capitol grounds on horseback and never heard the bark of an auto. Washington wore knee breeches, and pantalooners knew him not. Jackson never sighted a Martini rifle nor assimilated a Martini cocktail. Syndicates in steel and stealing by syndicates were unknown a hundred years ago. The days shone with public virtue, and the nights were illuminated with tallow dips and whale-oil lamps.

Senator McCumber does not believe that we need the restraining power of a Constitution as much as our fathers did a hundred years or more ago. Although the exordium of his speech was that the Constitution should be let alone, yet as he progressed with his remarks he said he believed in changing the Constitution wherever the change will conduce to the greatest happiness and prosperity of the people, and he cannot overlook the fact that in these days we are not dealing with the Americans of the days of Thomas Jefferson. He is sorry to believe as a people we are traveling and rapidly traveling into the field of emotionalism, and that we act less deliberately upon some subjects than we did years ago. That we lack some of the staid qualities of our fathers.

The North Dakota Senator cannot forget one of the charming incidents of the Chicago convention. With scorn and reproof in his voice he asked the iconoclastic and humbug-hating Senator Borah of Idaho, "What would Thomas Jefferson or George Washington or Alexander Hamilton have thought of a convention in which were gathered 800 or 1000 representative American citizens for the purpose of choosing an Executive of this great government; what would they have thought of bringing in a queen of the footlights for the purpose of producing a stampede of deliberative men at some supposed psychological moment?"

And Borah, meeker than Moses at his meekest hour, replied: "I am not entirely familiar with all the history of Jefferson and Hamilton as to such things, but my opinion is, from what I have heard, that they would have enjoyed it."

The final conclusion of the North Dakota statesman is thus announced: "After the people, upon due deliberation, not under the first impulse of a majority, but after due and proper deliberation of the subject, have come to the conclusion that they want a change in the Constitution it is far from my duty to prevent them from having an opportunity to vote on such change. I do not say it is for me to make it, but I say it is my duty to give them the opportunity to make it."

And McCumber of North Dakota resumed his seat. The Senators who had fled to the cloakrooms returned slyly and in pairs and the business of legislation was resumed.

Register, N. Y. Times, Wednesday, Jan. 12, 1912.

ripen late; But I hold that the plum plucked late in the fall. The political plum, is the best plum of all.

It is a rather striking figure Senator Borah resurrected in his plea for simplicity and frugality that it is but three generations "from shirt sleeves to shirt sleeves." It is written in the Book:

Thorns and thistles shall it bring forth to thee, and thou shalt eat of the herb of the field. . . . In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread.

Nature always takes measures to remind her sons and daughters that they are mortal. Rockefeller would give a million dollars, no doubt, if he had the digestive apparatus of a coal heaver, and doubtless Carnegie would be willing to die a poor man if he could eat as he used to eat in the days when he carried telegrams for a living. Every one has a burden that he must carry, and there is no more instructive paper in Addison's "Spectator" than the allegory of the universal exchange of human burdens. When the exchanges were concluded each man and each woman picked up and carried away the very bundle of cares and pains he or she had brought to the market place. The lesson this allegory teaches is that if we knew more of our neighbor we should be less willing to change places with him. What must have been the envy of Narses when he contemplated the perfect physique of Belisarius! And how Belisarius must have chafed as he saw the opportunities, ready made, supplied to Narses! Would the Field Marshal Luxembourg have rid himself of his hunchback in exchange for the asthma of his great adversary, William of Orange? Was Cromwell really proud of the wart on his face? George W. Smiley, in his newly published volume of memoirs, tells us that Whistler was really sensitive concerning the famous white lock of hair that curled over his forehead. Themistocles could not sleep for the laurels that Miltiades gained at Marathon, and many a lesser man lies awake in the watches of the night wearing out his soul in envy of some other man. It is good therefore that not more than three generations should intervene between shirt sleeves and shirt sleeves. The going back to the soil restores the balance, as it were, of humanity.

Register

REGISTERED NOV 12 1912

THE SENATORSHIP

Senatorial ambitions are much in evidence in Idaho these post-election days. The first question to be settled will be fought out in the democratic camps among the members of that political organization who seek the honor and the title as the successors of Senator Heyburn to be appointed by Governor Hawley to fill the vacancy which will be filled at the meeting of the state legislature in January. There is considerable speculation in regard to the result. Governor Hawley is out of the political game for the time being at least and will have nothing to gain by playing politics and will have free rein to make the appointment without being accused of building a machine.

The real fight will occur in the joint session of the Idaho legislature which meets in January and will enjoy the unique distinction of having to elect two members to the United States senate. There is no question or argument about the return of Borah to the senate. That is a foregone conclusion. The real fight is on the successor to Heyburn and there are many ambitious statesmen willing to serve. It has been generally understood that the honor was to go to the northern part of the state but not necessarily so. Southeastern Idaho feels that this section of the state is to come into a big share of all the honors for the next two years and certainly this section of the state has the material. The developments will be watched with interest.

Wednesday, Jan. 29, 1913.

12,800.

CONGRESS AND POLITICS.

Legislation enacted by the coming congress promises to be as interesting for its effect on the political parties as on the economic situation in the country. According to dispatches from Washington the assurance is daily growing that the Wilson administration is to be progressive. That being true the progressive party's grip on life appears to be weakening. Progressives have long admitted they felt President Wilson would not be able to do anything and that the republican party would remain under the control of the men whose personality brought it the failure of political success.

Coincident with the promised progressiveness of the democratic party comes the announcement that the old line leaders in the republican party are letting it be known they are willing to step to the rear and are willing that republicans of progressive ideas shall assume the burden of leadership. This, it is announced, does not mean these members of the old guard will be no longer interested in politics, but it does mean that they realize they are out of tune with the times and are willing to surrender domination of the party. No formal conferences are to be held, but the situation is to be allowed to work itself out.

Evidence that the situation will work itself out along progressive lines is clear. One instance of this is that Senator La Follette will be the republican floor leader after March 4. This is pretty generally conceded now. If it is not La Follette it will be Borah. Both are progressive republicans. Another instance of the tendency to let the progressives control the party is declared to be the certainty that La Follette will be a candidate for the presidential nomination in 1916 and that Senator Cummins may also make the race. Under his new leadership the republican party will not adopt any of the vagaries of the new progressive party, says the report, but will work for progressiveness along constitutional lines. Hadley, Borah, Cummins and La Follette are all as strong in their support of the constitution as was ever President Taft.

Gossip around Washington refers to the new progressive party as being in a bad way within its own ranks. The sentiment against the wealthy George W. Perkins as the national head of the party, by virtue of his chairmanship of the executive committee, has not diminished, but, on the contrary, has grown. Even Col. Roosevelt is losing in prestige, it is said, because he continues to champion Mr. Perkins. Things political center in Washington. There it is being said that Mr. Munsey is the wisest of all the progressives. He has been able to see little hope ahead for the progressive or republican parties standing alone and consequently he wants to merge them. But a prophet is not without honor, save in his own country, and Mr. Munsey is coming in for severe condemnation from his fellow partisans.

Signs are also present indicating that many men who allied themselves with the new progressive party for various reasons, now that the heat of the campaign is over, realize that 25 per cent of the rank and file of the republican party is progressive. They believe their protest has been effective and so really care little whether the progressive party lives or dies. It has been one of their cardinal principles that the name of a party means nothing and independence is everything. If the party is imbued with the right spirit, that is sufficient. So the progressive character of the legislation in the coming congress will be watched with just as much interest for its political as for its economic effect.

A FABLE AND AN ANALOGY.

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SENATOR BORAH'S PROPOSAL

When Senator Borah, in his Lincoln birthday speech in Baltimore, advised that the enforcement of the anti-trust law be taken from the courts, which he declared were being burdened and demoralized by this task, he made an unusual, though by no means new, suggestion. Apparently his idea corresponds closely to that of Col. Roosevelt, who has favored the creation of an interstate trade commission that would tell the trusts what they could do and what they could not, and so keep their troubles out of the courts.

We believe these advisers are fundamentally wrong in this matter, and they are partly right. Courts are proper places in which to settle grievances. They are the constitutional agencies for the interpretation of laws. Why should any factor, and powerful industrial organization especially, be set apart and held exempt from the authority of the courts? We hold it as axiomatic that this cannot be done. The questions the Supreme Court has been concerned with in connection with the application of the Sherman law have been so deep, fundamental and important that no other body could have been deemed competent to decide them. Such matters take time, they tax the resources of that tribunal, we presume, but it is none the less important that they be met and solved by the authority expressly created for that purpose. There might be an argument in this for the appointment of more judges, but there is no real basis for an argument that the court be relieved of responsibility for this class of cases. Nor is it clear why Mr. Borah believes that the necessity of dealing with such cases is going to demoralize the judiciary. Would not an interstate trade commission be quite as much in danger of demoralization if allowed to speak the last word on such questions?

However, we believe that some standing commission like the one we already have to deal with interstate commerce would serve a useful purpose and relieve the courts to a considerable extent. There are many who oppose this plan, and we believe that President Taft, while first inclined favorably to that idea, has come to the conclusion that it is not a feasible proposition, but to a great many others it seems practical and desirable. Such a body, it seems, could exercise a preventive influence that would be wholesome and progressive in effect, and would be the means of checking many industrial troubles in their incipency. There is some force, as well, in the idea that the Sherman law can be made more specific with good results all around, yet this, too, is a proposition that is sharply debated. It is going to be exceedingly difficult to devise a statute that will afford a ready-made solution for every question which, in our complex industrial system, will arise under the law. The function that must be employed in this connection is, in an ultimate sense judicial, and it cannot be transferred with propriety to any administrative body. The view that such problems can be settled independently of the courts and the Constitution can be held consistently only by the man who deems constitutions and the judiciary anachronistic and superfluous.

NEWSPAPER CLIPPING BUREAU  
EVEN'G TRANSCRIPT,

from  
Boston, Mass.  
Address  
Date  
DEC 3-13

Senator Borah of Idaho has an opportunity to lead the Republicans in the Senate. Leadership is sadly needed there at the present moment. Borah is geographically prevented from harboring presidential ambitions. He is friendly to such insurgent statesmen as Cullinan and La Follette, and he is one of a trio of statesmen that frequently walk home from the Capitol together, the other two being Ellhu Root and Henry Cabot Lodge.

The Road From Moscow.

You would better have taken THE SUN's disinterested advice, Mr. THEODORE ROOSEVELT, and stayed at Oyster Bay. You see the point now, perhaps. You went out not to the crowning victory that in your mind at least would have obliterated the unworthiness of the previous proceedings but to your own humiliation and destruction. You have had a bellyful of the excitement that possibly you prize above all the etceteras of life, but the satisfaction of that appetite will not accompany you through the pages of history. You may bolt and struggle and continue to issue grandiloquent proclamations, all marking retreat, not glorious advance. The Republican party lives; it is the Rooseveltian ideal that is murdered. You killed it with your own mouth.

You broke your pledge to the people and the people have now broken you. The hardest part of it for you to understand and tolerate is that the people who have broken you are the Lincolnian "people" whose backs you had the audacity to straddle in your ride onward. They have felt it too true, as the wild-eyed WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE of Kansas expressed it, that your personal success at Chicago would change the history of this republic for half a century to come. You have tried to ride in on "principles" better and less selfishly represented by other Progressives—Progressives who are not revolutionists and are not pressing themselves in the direction of absolutism. The melancholy truth is that the sole "principle" contributed by yourself individually to the common cause was the "principle" of the recall of judicial decisions, of which you made so much at Columbus and in the Outlook but of which you seem to be politically so afraid just now that even the spook of it is not visible in your tentative draft of a Roosevelt platform. You are having the sad experience of witnessing the severance from your personal fortunes of the sane men among your recent following, the Hadleys and the Borahs and the like. You may talk bolt and assume "personal responsibility" as long as it comforts you to do so, but the retinue is likely to melt down rapidly into the original PINCHOT. You have had the agony of discerning—your discernment is perfect—a Progressive leader more popular with and more trusted by the Progressive element than yourself. And late yesterday afternoon you had the supreme mortification, with your eager ear at the telephone, of hearing the final attempt at a stampede in your own interest go off in the convention hall like wet fireworks.

In standing firmly against all that your individualist enterprise meant Mr. TAFT and his supporters on the field have rendered a service to the republic never likely to be forgotten.

We are rather sorry for you, Mr. ROOSEVELT, for our sentiments concerning you are not unfriendly when you cease to be dangerous. And you will pardon THE SUN for addressing you, on this solitary occasion, directly in the second person. You know you are no longer the first person.

Not only did the women support and save Senator Borah in Idaho, thereby doing a mighty good job, but they showed political ability of a high order. That is, they made candidates for the Legislature line up and say whether they would, if elected, support Borah or not, and then proceeded to vote for or against those candidates accordingly.

Senator Borah is to be commended upon his attitude in keeping carefully out of the fight for the short term United States senator. Although his personal preference is probably for some stalwart progressive, as a senator representing all classes and political creeds, interference would be extreme folly and only result in retarding his own chances to help Idaho as a state. Senator Borah came out of the recent election stronger than he was before as far as the people were concerned and all of it can be traced to his steadfast adherence to the policy that he is now following. It may have been called straddling the fence when the two branches of the party were locking horns, but it was not his fight. At no time did he for a minute refuse to state his position as far as policies were concerned while steadfastly staying with the party which had elected him to office. His courage has been called by other terms by the standpat element, but none-the-less, it was courage of the highest type, a courage little understood or appreciated by the ordinary type of politician.

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BORAH'S BOOMLET.

The suggestion has been made by a prominent eastern newspaper that Senator Borah of Idaho is a proper man to be brought forward as a compromise candidate for the presidential nomination in the event a deadlock develops. There is a possibility the Chicago convention may for a time be deadlocked—but this is not likely to happen. In the event of a deadlock, Senator Borah would be the kind of man the convention could agree upon, but there is not great likelihood that they will select him, because he comes from a state having only eight delegates in the convention and only four votes in the electoral college. Presidents are always nominated from states which have a large vote. It has always been deemed good politics to nominate presidents from big states, and the fact that Senator Borah comes from a new state in the West, with only a handful of delegates, will preclude his nomination, unless the next convention throws precedent to the winds and looks for the best available man in the highly improbable event the Taft and Roosevelt forces become everlastingly clinched in a deadlock. It is only fair to Senator Borah to say that he is not a candidate for the presidential nomination—is not giving the suggestion serious consideration. The likelihood increases daily that Taft will be nominated overwhelmingly on the first ballot.

JAN 24 1913

The commotion by Senator Borah of President Wilson's views on conservation may well give encouragement to the West. The aphorism that "conservation is not conservation" is a good expression of practical difference. It is to be hoped that the incoming of the new administration may make real progress in this matter, and not mere sham and pretense. A progress that results in holding everything still and preventing all advance is a sham and fraud.

ARE THEY FRIENDS OF BORAH?

Those who are the most zealous in forcing through the Taft program in Idaho in face of the overwhelming opposition to such program, declare themselves at the same time friends to Senator Borah and announce their anxiety to see him re-elected.

But are they friends of the junior senator of this state at all? In 1910 there was not a more popular man in Indiana than Senator Beveridge and the Republicans of the Hoosier state vied with each other in declaring their fealty to him, while thousands of Democrats of that state as well as Democrats and Republicans all over the country, publicly and often expressed a desire to see him re-elected. Yet he was defeated, and why?

It was simply because the Republican leaders of Indiana determined to stand with Taft and with Cannon and with the standpatters, as well as with the tariff law by which President Taft has stood so loyally.

The people of Indiana would not stand for Taft then; they abhorred Cannon; they despised standpatism in Republican politics and they would not tolerate the tariff law enacted at the expense of so many broken promises and so many violated vows and the result was that a Democratic legislature was elected and Kern was sent to the United States senate. Senator Kern has made a good record and the country, perhaps, has lost nothing material in the exchange, but there is a serious warning here to those Idaho friends of Senator Borah.

There never was a time when Senator Borah was more popular with the people of the state than now. Not only does he apparently have back of him the united support of his own party, but there are thousands of Democrats in the state who are anxious to see him kept in the United States senate both because of the good he has done, and because of the prestige his name has given to the state of Idaho with which is coupled a desire to gratify the wishes of many millions of Republicans and Democrats all over the nation who want to see Senator Borah returned to the United States senate.

But to an already serious local condition which may make it doubtful if a Republican legislature can be elected in Idaho this year—a situation which will cause thousands upon thousands of Republicans and Democrats alike to look rather to the man and what he stands for in relation to the acute tax situation in this state rather than to his affiliations with the Republican or Democratic parties, or as his attitude upon the election of a United States senator—to this already most serious situation, we say, there is a certain clique of would-be Republican dictators who have undertaken to deliver this state pledged to President Taft, thus committing the party locally as well as nationally to his candidacy, in spite of the overwhelming sentiment of the people against such action.

Can these Republicans justly claim to be the friends of Senator Borah any more than could the standpat Republicans who controlled the situation in Indiana against Senator Beveridge and thus defeated him, claim to be the real friends of the Hoosier orator?

This is a situation which should strongly appeal to those Republicans of this state who ARE friends of Senator Borah, and they should at least see to it that at the Lewiston convention no pledged delegation is sent to the Chicago convention bound hand and foot to vote for Taft.

Owing to the determination of the politicians to ignore the wishes of the people, Senator Borah was never in more real danger than right now when he is most popular.

HOW SHALL THERE BE A REORGANIZATION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY?

Those who believe they can effect a reconciliation between the warring elements of the former Republican party without taking Colonel Roosevelt into consideration are just as foolish as would be the novice in the poultry business who would try to hatch chickens without eggs.

"If the salt bath lost its savor wherewith shall it be salted?" A party union without Roosevelt would be a union without savor and wherewith would it be savored?

Not because Roosevelt is Roosevelt, but because Roosevelt stands for certain principles any attempted union which takes no account of him would by that very act stamp itself as a union without consideration of the things he stands for and therefore a union effected as

much at the sacrifice of progressive principles as if a invitation were accepted by the former Republicans affiliated with the Progressive party to return to the remnant of the Republican organization as it now stands.

What would be thought of the Democratic party reorganized as a progressive body with Bryan purposely left out? It would be more feasible and more plausible than to reorganize the Republican party with Roosevelt left out. Bryan may never again become the standard bearer of the Democratic party, but Bryan's influence in that organization is one that must be reckoned with, as has been shown in the past. Roosevelt may never again become the standard bearer either for the Progressive party or for the reorganized Republican party, but he is a fool who believes that any movement in either party can be successful without a reckoning with him.

Will the Progressives who left the Republican party this year, return to the same Republican party advocating the same principles and dominated by the same men that they left last summer?

That is just as likely to happen as that the Progressives will unite with the Republicans with Roosevelt ignored in the union.

The whole discussion along this line comes from men who cannot understand that the common people have any capacity for self-government. They have ruled so long in behalf of the special interests of one kind or another that they have served by fooling the people with promises, by pretended favors extended to them or by insignificant but real favors that were non-essential in the great game of advancing the interests of those they wished to serve that they have no comprehension of what the fact means that more than four millions of the American people have declared anew their independence by voting the Progressive ticket.

If Cummins, La Follette, Hadley and Borah have any idea that they can effect any union of such antipodal elements as those who voted the Progressive ticket this year and the majority of those who voted for Taft, then it only shows that Cummins and La Follette and Hadley and Borah and the rest of them do not themselves fathom the motives and purposes of those who supported the Progressive candidates this year.

If Taft, Penrose, Barnes, Crane, Guggenheim, Lorimer, Stephenson, Cannon, and all the other men of their kind voluntarily retire from leadership and advice in the Republican ranks, if the present national committee will tender its resignation, and if real and trusted progressives are put in their places, that would be a reorganization that would appeal to those who voted the Progressive ticket. Unless those who talk about reorganizing the party and of the "return" of the Progressives to the Republican party are prepared to do this, there is nothing but wasted energy in a repetition of offers that were made before the Chicago convention and afterwards during the time that these same former Republicans were aligning themselves with the Progressive party.

The remarks here made on the national situation apply with increased force to the local situation. Who is the Progressive that could return to a party dominated and controlled by the Clintons, the Johnsons, the Cunninghams, the Cobbs, the Harts, the Beales, the Ailshies, the Grunbaums, the Hayses and the same class of politicians? In other words where is the Progressive who could return to the party still dominated by the wool trust, the beet sugar trust, the timber syndicate, the smelter and mining

trust, the Oregon Short Line, the great municipal public utilities combines so recently formed in the state, and all the other special interests of Idaho.

If the prospect of participation in the spoils of office did not tempt those who supported the Progressive movement this year, how can it be expected to tempt them next year, or the year following or ever again?

Roosevelt spurned the offer to make a progressive showing by the nomination of Hadley or Borah or Cummins at Chicago while the same old crowd of special-interest servers remained in control of the organization, and Roosevelt and all those who accepted his leadership after that convention adjourned, will spur all like

Senator Borah's speech before the legislature today was after the manner of his usual pronouncement, brilliantly logical, eloquent and witty. He approached his subjects as a great lawyer presents his argument to the jury. More than that his heart was filled with the emotion of gratitude for the token of love and confidence expressed toward him by the people. He is fully conscious of his great office as a true servant of the State, and being bound by no limitations of action beyond his own conscience.

The third meeting of the main men's conference was held this evening.

Borah's speech  
Nov 25-1912

BOISE, IDA.

DEC 17 1912

**BORAH AND THE CONSTITUTION.**

Some very interesting discussion of the constitution is being had at this time. One of the most interesting events was the dinner of the Pennsylvania society held Saturday night in New York at which James Bryce, retiring British ambassador, and Senator Borah of Idaho were speakers. Ambassador Bryce is a recognized critic and admirer of the American constitution and it was to his published work upon the government of the United States that Senator Borah referred in one part of his address. The occasion of the New York meeting, commemorating the 125th anniversary of the framing of the constitution, was especially adapted to a discussion of this subject.

Colonel Roosevelt added to the interest of the general subject in his recent Chicago speech in which he likewise referred to that instrument. He there said:

"We hold with Abraham Lincoln \* \* \* that the people are the masters of the constitution. We believe in the constitution, and for that very reason we contemptuously thrust aside the efforts of the reactionaries to turn it into a fetish for the obstruction of justice. The constitution was created to secure justice, and we refuse to allow it to be so perverted as to become a barrier between the people and justice."

Senator Borah, who delivered one of the greatest speeches at the New York dinner Saturday night also spoke of this effort to try to make of the constitution a sort of ark of the covenant which must not be touched by the profane hands of the people in whose behalf it was ostensibly written and adopted. He said:

"Those who have been disposed to look upon the great charter as an inspired document will find in a renewed study of its growth and adoption ample facts with which to dispel the superstition. \* \* \* We are seeking to adjust the details of the government to an industrial life of which the fathers never dreamed—the result must for a time remain in doubt. With political power in the hands of the majority and wealth drifting more and more into the hands of the minority, the supreme test of the constitution is still in the future. The effect of another hundred years upon the fundamental law no one is wise enough to foretell nor foolish enough to attempt to prophesy. \* \* \* The true friend, therefore, of these institutions, the real defenders and protectors of the constitution are the men and women who seek to better conditions and make more prosperous, sanitary and wholesome the life of the average citizen, who at the risk of being charged with insincerity and demagoguery are looking to the physical and moral being of those and their children who have been less successful than their brothers in the gathering of this world's goods. The statesman who raises the average of good citizenship, who diffuses contentment and happiness and loyalty throughout the home of the discontented and discouraged, who sees not alone to the cold legal rights of man but to the doing of social justice as well must in the end rank as the real defender of the constitution."

Senator Borah, however, included words of caution upon the other side. He said:

"Those who are prone to regard it as obsolete, cumbersome and impracticable will find more than enough to dispel the illusion. In its fundamental conception it can never become obsolete until a people's government becomes ancient and out of place, and the rights of the humble and the poor shall be conceded to be the property of power, the plaything of caprice and intrigue."

Ambassador Bryce, among other things, said:

"Both the federal constitution itself and all those state constitutions which have been enacted upon similar lines have had the effect of steadying the machinery of government, of slowing down impulses, of securing respect for the rights of every man and every section of the people. Such services would seem to you much more wonderful if it were not that you are so familiar with them. Look at other popular governments and see how much they have suffered from the want of similar safeguards if you wish

fully to realize what your constitutions, federal and state, have done for you.

"Every government in which popular sovereignty is recognized needs to be in some way or other steadied.

"With you, where class counts for so much less than it does in Europe and where traditions have not had so

much power, there have been many moments when things would have gone badly had it not been for the respect you have all formed for the constitution. In particular, you have shown the world how it is possible to reconcile national unity with the existence of local self-government in larger and smaller communities over the immense spaces of a continent, a problem which a century and a half ago every one would have thought insoluble. Thus has the constitution of the United States become, by the example of its workings and the halo of fame which now surrounds it, one of the vitalizing forces of the world.

"Let us honor the memory of the illustrious men who rendered this incomparable and enduring service not only to you, but to all mankind."

One point we want to make in all this is the recognition of the need of change. Sometimes those changes are made by the people; sometimes they are made by the courts through judicial construction, a number of which changes could be cited. Even Ambassador Bryce, reared as he has been under the atmosphere of opposition to governmental changes, is forced to admit inferentially, at least, the necessity for change. His point relative to too hasty changes is good, but hardly pertinent in view of the history of such changes as have occurred. Our history would appear to prove conclusively that there is little likelihood of hasty changes of our fundamental laws. Rather it seems to show that there has been too much conservatism along that line and that here, as elsewhere, it is time for the people to awaken to the need of action on their part.

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**WHY THEY FIGHT BORAH.**

The claim of some Republicans who are opposing Senator Borah that their opposition is based on the ground that as a Republican candidate himself he has no right to oppose Taft who is also a Republican candidate on the same ticket, is all dishonest pretense.

As matter of fact these same individuals opposed him just the same before Taft was nominated. Their pretense then was that their opposition was based upon his support of Roosevelt for the nomination. Then they were unwilling to permit him to have a preference for candidate; now they claim they are opposed to him because he is not supporting Taft, who is the nominee. They would not give him the right to a choice for the nomination and they do not propose to give him a choice now but to accept a man dishonestly nominated.

The truth of it is that both these grounds named are false ground upon which the opposition to Borah is based. That opposition is based solely and wholly upon the fact that he has opposed Taft's congressional program because he has believed that program was antagonistic to the interests of the people. Their opposition to Senator Borah is based upon the fact that he is an advocate of Progressive principles and a supporter of measures to give the people real control of their own government. Their objection to him because he supported Roosevelt for the nomination and because he now refuses to support Taft who was dishonestly and fraudulently nominated is all a sham and a pretense. They oppose him because he does not advocate their ideas of governmental principles. They like the Heyburn brand, while Borah advocates the Roosevelt brand; they approve of the Lorimer kind, while Borah abhors Lorimerism and Lorimer tactics and methods; they indorse that representative form of government which makes the representatives subservient to seekers after special government favors, while Borah advocates that representative form of government which will make the representatives subservient to the will of the people.



## CHILD LABOR AND SENATOR BORAH.

Such aggravated cases as those disclosed in New York do not exist in many points in this country. More because of the arousal of a wholesome public sentiment than on account of any legal intervention, the crime against childhood, which is the crime against manhood and against womanhood, has been greatly minimized—and there would be less of it today but for the activities of mouthy sophists who have magnified exceptional cases into glaring general wrongs by way of promoting their personal politics. Such men are not friends of the laboring classes nor of their offspring. They only "use" them because they can no longer "use" the other side. Their representations, overdrawn if not absolutely false, have delayed the consummation of reforms by employers through arousing opposition in the ranks of those to be benefited and disheartening those who have been actuated by lofty motives.

Starting out with a wholesome and worthy expression of shocked sensibilities because of revealed conditions made by the state factory committee of New York, the morning paper from which the above is taken ends up with a nasty but poorly veiled fling at Senator Borah whose activities in favor of an efficient child labor law is well known.

What right has any paper to charge that men and women who seek to prevent conditions such as those revealed in New York with merely seeking political advantage or of being friends of the laboring classes only for the purpose of "using" them because they cannot "use" the other side?

Are not conditions which show that mere babes of four and five years of age are required to work from 4 o'clock in the morning until dark at night and sometimes are not allowed more than two or three hours sleep out of the twenty-four, such conditions as to justify the activities of good men and women to seek a method to prevent their continuance?

"There would be less of it (such conditions) today but for the mouthy sophists who have magnified exceptional cases into general glaring wrongs by way of promoting their personal politics," says the morning critic. Since when did Senator Borah become a "mouthy sophist"? Since when did he begin to exercise his "activities" in this direction for "promoting" his personal politics?

But above all, since when has it become a trait of human nature such that men who will give employment to such children where such frightful conditions are portrayed as were those in the New York canning factories where little children were set to work until they actually fell asleep at their work and had to be pinched, slapped and even whipped to get them awake so that they could go to work—since when, we demand to know, has that kind of human nature so changed that it would remedy the evils more quickly if it were not for the activities of such "mouthy sophists" as Senator Borah, if Senator Borah be a "mouthy sophist"?

How could such a condition possibly be "overdrawn if not absolutely worse," as the morning paper charges these "mouthy sophists" of doing who seek to remedy factory conditions where children are employed? That paper does not charge that they are overdrawn in this case but that generally or frequently they are overdrawn. How can it be said that this is true, when these conditions are admitted? Could there be worse?

And even if overdrawn, how could their representations "have delayed the consummation of reforms by employers?" This startling commentator declares that it is by "arousing opposition in the ranks of those to be benefited." Could anything be more astounding? Could opponents of the protection and elevation of human rights go further in opposition to reform than this? Could those who abuse, maltreat, and retard the growth and development of children, making them aged and invalid even before they attain their youth, make a better defense for their desire to make a few paltry dollars at the expense of infantile sacrifice, than this?

We can see no purpose in such a defense in this state except to try to add a few more unthinking voters to the ranks of the opponents of Senator Borah and to lend further encouragement to those enemies he has already made.

Senator Borah has done a nationwide service to the cause of protection to child labor and it is to be regretted that in his home community, through the organ of his own political party, he should receive this kind of opposition.

LEADERS POINT WAY TO  
FUTURE PARTY VICTORIESReaffirm Devotion to the Principles  
of Republicanism

NOTABLE SPEECHES AT UNION LEAGUE BANQUET

Borah Stands by His Party, Which Alone Can Accomplish  
Reforms—Attacks Criticism of Courts—McCumber  
Pleads for Constitution and Representative Government—Willis'  
Tribute to Lincoln.FORCEFUL EXCERPTS FROM SPEECHES AT  
LINCOLN BANQUET

## SENATOR BORAH, OF IDAHO.

The failure of the Sherman Antitrust Law is not the only indictment against it. There is another equally as serious. It is the shifting to the courts of the work which the courts are unfitted and never designed to do, and which in the end will break down the whole judicial system.

Courts are not to be deemed above fair and honest criticism, but it is downright intellectual cowardice to lead the people in this country to believe that their relief can be realized by attacking the courts for not doing well that which they ought not to be called upon to do at all.

There is not a monopoly in existence today that is not in existence by express authority of some state in this Union. There is not a corporation exercising unjust and unfair powers in the world of commerce that is not doing so through express authority and approval of some state legislature.

Ours has been a party of action, of constructive power. It has been a party of progress. Its creeds have been crystallized into laws; its platforms of today are accepted and cherished policies of the whole nation tomorrow.

The party of the days of Lincoln may never again be equaled in moral grandeur. Nevertheless, those brave old days make Republicanism a badge of honor; and why reject it?

## SENATOR McCUMBER, OF NORTH DAKOTA.

Never since the Civil War has the country stood in need of men of the character of Lincoln.

In our restless impatience we are becoming the followers of a new doctrine that would abolish all constitutional restraints and send us adrift on a sea of shifting and turbulent sentiment.

God pity this country when any man, though the whole world be against him, cannot stand under the dome of the temple of justice and demand his rights according to the Constitution and the law of the land.

The Republican party was born of the heart and brain of Lincoln. The character, the fundamental doctrines of Lincoln furnish the only true basis for the reuniting of its members.

Lincoln was a stalwart who believed in the Constitution, and a Progressive who believed that all true progress could be accomplished only under the Constitution and through a representative form of government.

## SENATOR JACKSON, OF MARYLAND.

I believe the Republican party is as truly progressive as the gentlemen who voted under that name last November. Those gentlemen have no more right to exclusive ownership of that name than persons of a particular religious sect have to the name Christian.

Corporations should have no more rights and be subject to no more liabilities than the smallest partnership in the nation.

While I believe that political parties should not be controlled in the interest of the professional officeseeker, I believe that parties are necessary factors under our form of government.

I say to all, let us put aside our dissensions, let us forget the past; let us unite on this common doctrine of true progress, the best interest of every individual in the nation.

United States Senator William E. Borah, of Idaho, whose fealty to Colonel Roosevelt never wavered until the former President deserted the Republican party, and who the Union over is regarded as the real exponent of progressivism, aroused his audience to the highest pitch of enthusiasm when, in responding to the toast, The Republican Party, at the Lincoln banquet, held under the auspices of the Union League, at the Fifth Regiment and Veteran Corps Hall, last evening, he declared the party of Lincoln was equal to the task now before it.

This reaffirmation of the noted Western statesman of his loyalty to the Republican party and devotion to its principles, following, as it did, a severe criticism of the doctrinaires who would tear down the Constitution and destroy the judicial system of the country, indicated plainly enough where he stood. Senator Borah's address was the last of the evening, and though the hour was late all remained seated and gave him their undivided attention to the close, when the several hundred prominent Republicans present tendered the Senator an ovation. It was a great speech, devoted wholly to the great questions of the day, how they should be treated, and the fact that only through the great Republican party could the desired reforms be brought about.

## CAUSES OF OPPRESSION.

What impressed the business men, as well as those in the professional world, was the Senator's contention that it was not to the courts that the people must look for relief from the oppressive monopolies, but to their own states. There

is food for thought in the earnest declaration made by the speaker in the course of his address that "there is not a monopoly in existence today that is not in existence by express authority of some state in this Union. There is not a corporation exercising unjust and unfair powers in the world of commerce that is not doing so through express authority and approval of some state legislature."

To attack the courts for passing on the laws as they found them was, the speaker declared, most unfair, and while there

were tribunals whose decisions might be questioned, it was suicidal to tear down the judicial structure in its entirety. This pronounced disagreement with the Roosevelt policy met with unanimous approval and was received with hearty applause.

The address of the distinguished Senator bristled with such unanswerable statements, all of them presented with an earnestness and vigor that could not fail to carry conviction.

Senator Borah's speech brought to a climax the gradually increasing enthusiasm aroused by the no less magnificent renditions of the speakers who preceded him. Every address was a masterpiece. No attempt at oratory was made. The talks were plain and to the point. All presented Lincoln as a model Republican, after whom the advocates of republican principles might well pattern, and they proved that only through a representative form of government and the upholding of the Constitution could the country be successfully governed.

## PINCHOT'S CONSERVATION.

Elsewhere in today's TELEGRAM will be found a communication from Mr. Pinchot.

Senator Borah of Idaho has more than once fully answered the article. We suspect from the brief notices in the dispatches that Senator Thomas of Colorado did the same in the senate on Wednesday.

The conservation of the forests would not be objected to specially in the west except that included in that is all the water power, all the coal measures, all the land supposed to contain oil, and to western men it has seemed that since Mr. Pinchot was given an office and a great salary to carry out some of his theories, the object was to fill the land with government agents and starve to death the poor people in the frontier states.

And it is hardly becoming in Mr. Pinchot to refer to the men who are trying to make a living in the western states as would be land grabbers, inasmuch as he is the great land grabber of the earth, in the name of the government. When he says that the measure to transfer the national forests on public lands to the western states was introduced and defeated at the last session of congress, he might also have added that the party in power, perhaps more because of this very land policy of Mr. Pinchot's than for any other reason, was overwhelmed at the polls in every state of the west except Utah. And there were reasons why Utah voted as it did outside, or in spite of, Mr. Pinchot's policy.

And when he says that national forests, timber, water power, the grass where the forest is open, and the minerals they contain do not stop and the use of them does not stop at state lines, and that they can be protected and used with success only under a policy that is alive to the interests of the whole people, he is very gravely mistaken. That policy did succeed for two hundred years; it was under that policy which he condemns that all the country from the Atlantic to the Rocky mountains was settled, and it was because of that policy that our country in the last sixty years has advanced in general wealth more than any other land ever did in the same time since the beginning of the world.

When he declares that the forest service has always stood for prompt development of the national forests, and the use of them by the small man first, what he says does not count, because the development of them under his regime would be by government money and by special agents who know, as a rule, no more about the needs of the west than would so many chimpanzees.

And when he insists that the resources of the west are not for the west, but for all the people of the United States, he makes mostly a misstatement. The people of Connecticut, or of New York, or of Illinois have no interest in the undeveloped resources of the west, except such interest as the government in its sovereignty exercises over everything. Every man's life and property are subject to call by the government in case of need, but in no other way; and when the poor man finds himself in a new state and finds it necessary to make a living, as Mr. Pinchot would fix the business every door would be closed against him.

He raves at land grabbers. Land grabbers have to buy what they get. Probably they do not pay the full intrinsic value of the property they get, but they have to pay the poor man who locates the property, and then they have to pay the poor man to help develop it.

And when under Mr. Pinchot's idea the forest is tied up, all the coal mines are tied up, all the water powers are tied up, all the lands where it is believed oil may be found are tied up, what is the poor man to do? Could Mr. Pinchot have lived in 1620, when the Pilgrims landed in New England, he would have said: "Now, you go ahead and make a living the best way you can, but you must not cut this timber, because that leads to monopoly; you must not use this water power to turn your little mills, because that leads to monopoly; you must not cut down the trees because after awhile they will be very valuable and they belong to all the people of this country."

That policy was tried sixty years ago or more. It was tried and it was found after a five years' trial that while it was crippling the settlers, it did not bring the government as much money as was required to pay the government agents who were keeping guard lest a lead mine in Galena, Ill., should be worked, and the proceeds appropriated by the struggling settlers of Illinois; or lest up in Minnesota some man or company wanted to use the water running to

waste to turn a little mill so that the settlers there could have their wheat ground. And the system was finally stamped out by act of congress, not one congressman opposing the bill.

Mr. Pinchot says: "This service has built more than 11,000 miles of telegraph lines, over 13,000 miles of trails, and 1600 miles of road." Yes, and the service under Mr. Pinchot cost seventeen million dollars a year more than it did before he was given authority.

He tells us that 45,000 miners operate in national forests and the service conserves the water supply of 1175 towns and cities, and 324 water power projects are furnishing light and power for individuals of every kind. That has not been built up under the conservation policy. Those cities were supplied with the water before that was thought of, and enough water power was utilized so that now, to prevent any new man taking up water power, gives to those who have water power a square monopoly.

He tells us that the forest service is a clean and efficient organization. We have no doubt but what it is a clean organization, but we doubt its efficiency immensely. That is, there is another way to handle the matter which would make it much more efficient.

The whole theory of conservation as propounded by Mr. Pinchot merely looks like an attack upon money, to prevent money from helping develop the country in any other way than through taxes and by the federal government. If that could be effected, the country would lose by it, but in carrying out that policy thousands of poor men are denied what they need in daily wages. Just when the most promising oil field of the United States was beginning to be developed in Utah, a reservation was stretched over it, which killed what was being done, and it lies there now, waiting for the time when the government concludes to go to work in its own way to develop it, which may be in ten years and may be not for a hundred; which may be successful and may never be, because it takes very often a great number of holes in the ground to develop one oil well.

Sensible men believe that when money is spent, even in monopolies, in a way not to oppress anyone, but will give thousands of men employment, it is legitimate, and the way to reach that is to tax the proceeds of the work with a graduated tax, very light when the proceeds are light, very heavy when the proceeds are heavy.

If Mr. Rockefeller, who is held up as the king monopolist of the earth, had been followed by the government and his tremendous profits had been taxed almost to confiscation, he would have had less money, the government would have had more revenue, and at the same time the people would be paying twice as much as they now are for oil. The whole policy is wrong. It is a brake on progress. With Mr. Pinchot it is a fetish, and naturally so, because he never had to figure how he could make a living and feed his babies. He knows nothing about the hard fate of the men who settle the frontier, and his idea that when a man on the frontier finds a treasure he is bound to divide that with all the people of the United States, is not three removes from the theory of the I. W. W.'s that if any man, no matter how honestly, has become possessed of more or less wealth, it is his duty to divide with every loafer who under the sacred name of labor is a menace to his country and a nuisance unbearable.

From \_\_\_\_\_  
 Address **PORTLAND, OREGON.**  
 Date **FEB 13 1912**

#### FUNCTIONS OF THE CHILDREN'S BUREAU.

**M**R. BORAH'S BILL authorizing the establishment of a children's bureau within the Department of Commerce and Labor, has passed the Senate, and there is little doubt that finally the same measure, substantially, will pass the House and become the law. There is a great deal of misunderstanding concerning the contemplated scope of that law and the functions of the bureau that will be established under its provisions.

Much of the debate, as conducted by opponents of the measure, was misleading in these regards; and, strange to relate, that phase of the debate was given publicity above the affirmative side. Senators Gallinger, Heyburn, Bailey and others protested vigorously that the bureau, in the exercise of its functions, would interfere with the rights of the state and of the individual, and incidentally there was much talk of an ultra-paternalistic government which would invade the home and interfere with the family right of the management of children according to the individual family view. Unquestionably these gentlemen knew that all this was sophistry, the mere setting up of a straw man; but very many people who read what they had to say on the subject did not know that.

There are certain very ugly facts disclosed by child statistics in this country. As an instance, it is shown that 20 per cent of the deaths of all ages are children under one year; that one quarter of all the blind children are unnecessarily blind; that factory and general labor conditions under which the greater number of

children are employed are conditions that tend to increase the mortality, the incapacity and general weakness of the little tots who are compelled to labor. It is shown in a general way that the lack of regard for children who work is so manifest that it would cause a decent man to blush with shame if he were to be responsible for it.

The purpose of the bureau that is in contemplation is to make a more careful and specific inquiry into all the facts concerning the children than it is now possible to make. To insure the children treatment commensurate with the importance and the value of their lives, commensurate with what the value of their future citizenship ought to be, it is held that the American people should know all the facts about the little ones, about their conditions at work and their conditions at home and at school, and regarding every phase of the child life of the Nation.

The large hearted, Christian charity behind this law does not believe that the American people are doing their whole duty toward the children so long as 20 per cent of the mortality is recorded before they reach the age of one year, or so long as one quarter of the blindness among them may be prevented with a little knowledge and a little thought based thereon.

The bureau has the indorsement of every eminent worker for the betterment of children in the country. It eventually will have the indorsement of all the people except those who are sordidly indifferent to the rights of childhood.

ED

*Star Puckler*  
*Sentinel*  
 UG 30 1912

#### Borah's Independence

**S**ENATOR BORAH'S announcement yesterday is an emphasis of the stand taken by all the great leaders of the progressive movement in the republican party. Senator Borah, in refusing to have anything to do with the third party movement, aligns himself with La Follette, Hadley, Cummins, and the greater number of men who fought to depose "Uncle Joe" Cannon and his rule of iron, and aided the democrats to change the rules of the house of representatives so that representatives of the people might have a voice with representatives of the machine.

True, the band that stood together two years ago last spring in that memorable congress that finally overthrew the machine Roosevelt had perpetuated during his administration, has split. Some of its members are to be found in the third party movement, especially those in a few of the middle western states, and on the coast. But the leaders, both in the senate and house, believe in the republican party, and recognize the necessity for overthrowing the bosses of that party within itself. Borah says his speeches will be distasteful to the republican

national committee, and no doubt they will. Probably nothing could please the managers of the Taft campaign more than the defection from the party of all who are independent enough to fight the rule of the interests. But the fact that such action pleases the national committee does not prove that it is wise. To Senators Borah and La Follette and to Governor Hadley, at least, it does not seem wise.

No one of these men has advised the public to vote for one or the other national candidate. Yet their attitude of opposition to the Roosevelt bolt and their refusal to support Taft, leads to but one conclusion—Woodrow Wilson. And the average broad-minded republican agrees with them.

Danville, Ill., Commercial News,  
 Monday, July 1, 1912.

EDITORIAL

#### SENSIBLE ADVICE AGAIN

Each day shows more and more the folly of the third party plans. One of these plans that is rapidly falling into utter collapse, is that of putting local tickets in the field throughout the country. Resentment in all quarters against such a destructive program is being manifested. A few days ago The Commercial-News published approvingly an editorial from another newspaper to the effect that Illinois did not need a third party, for the simple reason that it would sacrifice the republican party of the state, whereas the leaders of the republican party in this state had not been guilty of the offenses which are claimed to constitute the reason for starting a third party. A Danville man, through the medium of the democratic organ, denounces our attitude as not being sensible. He admits that the Illinois delegation to the Chicago convention, headed by Gov. Deneen, who was ably backed by L. Y. Sherman, did everything in its power to carry out the will of the people of this state, which was for the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt. Almost the entire delegation from Illinois voted with Roosevelt on every proposition the leaders urged in the convention. Gov. Deneen was one of those leaders. Admitting Deneen has done all he could to carry out the will of the Illinois republicans as expressed at the primary, said contributor asserts that Deneen has not done enough, and that he, himself, and Mr. Sherman should put themselves in a position to go down to defeat, simply because they were not able to bring about the results they desired. This contributor would also demand that Gov. Hadley of Missouri, who has refused to bolt, should himself imperil the republican party of his state; that Senator Borah of Idaho, who is strong for Roosevelt, but who has refused to bolt, should carry down the republican party of Idaho; that Gov. Stubbs of Kansas, who is enthusiastically for Roosevelt, but who yet has refused to bolt, should carry down the republican party of Kansas. Great party leaders like Deneen and Hadley and Borah and Stubbs, all supporting Roosevelt, have all refused to bolt, and all have declared that there is no occasion for a third party. They have all asserted that the chances of making the republican party the progressive party are greater than making a new party the successful progressive party. Yet one little man in Danville sets himself up in judgment against all these great leaders and says their attitude is not sensible, and that they have not done enough, and implies that he will not be satisfied until each has destroyed the party in his respective state. The assinnity of such a demand is too apparent to need further comment.

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Date *Star Puckler*

MAY 25 1912

#### IMPROVED HOMESTEAD LAW

**T**HE FIGHT for a better homestead law in which Senator Borah of Idaho and Representative Taylor of Colorado have been the leaders is practically won as a result of the agreement by the senate and house conferees, who smoothed the difficulties which caused a deadlock of both branches. In its final shape the bill retains most of the original features and is much fairer to those seeking rights to property under the homestead bill. Hereafter three years' residence, instead of five, will be sufficient and settlers can be absent from their claim five months of each year. The amount of land to be cultivated is also

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reduced, and as a whole the bill is an excellent one. It will be passed by congress and is expected to meet with the approval of the president.

Representatives from all the western states were active in promoting the measure and had much opposition to contend with. Under the leadership of Borah in the senate and Taylor in the house the friends of the bill fought persistently for its success despite the attitude of the interior department, officials of which endeavored to spoil the bill by amendments. The fate of the bill has been in doubt for some time owing to this opposition, but the threats of the westerners to prolong the session of congress removed much of the opposition. In the senate Borah threatened to prevent adjournment unless the bill was acted on and it is certain that he would have done so.

Passage of this bill will be of great benefit to every public land state. It furnishes greater inducement than ever to people to take up claims, and inducement of this kind was necessary owing to the fact that much of the most desirable land in the country has been taken up by settlers. Compelling a settler to remain practically all of his time on the land was an injustice, as no good resulted from his remaining there when the season was unsuitable for cultivation of any kind. Permitting five months' absence and reducing the amount of land to be cultivated remedy this objection.

From  
Address  
Date

DEMOCRACY'S OPPORTUNITY TO ACHIEVE.

With a democratic President and a democratic congress the party of Jefferson and of Jackson now has the opportunity of its life to achieve that success in constructive legislation which its principles and policies merit, and if the offered opportunity is not seized the democratic party will not and can not long remain in power.

The responsibilities of government so long with the republican party are now with the democratic party, and if they are not met in a bold and decisive way they will not long rest where they have been placed, as it is more manifest now than ever before that political parties, whatever name they may bear or heritage they may enjoy, are mere agencies of the people to do those things the people want done, and the party that fails in this will be displaced.

There are certain questions which the democratic party will be expected to treat in a direct and emphatic way.

Senator Borah, of Idaho, gives the democrats a tip in these pertinent words:

Take three—a proper system of national taxation; the rehabilitation of our financial system; a proper and effective treatment of the subject of trusts. The political party which offers the country a comprehensive and effective plan by which to deal with these matters in the light of present conditions will have no trouble in commanding the support of a vast majority of the people for the next quarter of a century.

The existing conditions and the public requirements as relates to these three vital questions must be met by the democratic party, for the taxing system, the banking and financial system and the trusts call for looking deeply into by the federal congress to the end that the people may have less oppression from these sources than they are now forced to bear.

A constructive policy and definite action on the part of the party in power would be a wise course to pursue, and indeed it is the only course that will meet the approval of the American people, as a policy of evasion and cowardice will not only merit but it will receive the contempt of the people.

The dominant element of the democratic party in congress is in perfect harmony and thorough sympathy with Governor Wilson in his progressive ideas, and if the party should be prevented from fulfilling its obligations in respect to the legislation that the people demand the fault will not be with Governor Wilson and the majority of the democrats in congress, but it will be with a small minority against whose influence the party must struggle to accomplish anything of a constructive or progressive character.

Nations have their hours of fate, as do parties and men, and when they meet bravely the conditions and the demands they do well. If there ever was a time in the history of the democratic party when decisive action was essential to the good of the country and the perpetuity of the party, that time is now. The democratic party's hour of fate is its hour of opportunity, and if it is seized and utilized all will be well. As Shakespeare's Julius Caesar said of the tide in men's affairs, it may now be applied to the tide in our party's affairs—

There is a tide in the affairs of men,  
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune,  
Omitted, all the voyage of their life  
Is bound in shallows and in miseries.

SENATOR BORAH'S SPEECH

The great speech of Senator Wm. E. Borah, at Meridian, last week has given the friends of liberty in Idaho, much satisfaction, and added discomforture to those who stood for Taft, regardless of how his nomination was secured.

Mr. Borah, says he is a Republican, but a "Progressive," and as a Progressive there is nothing to prevent him from stating what he considers right, and what he considers wrong.

Borah is against Taft, and for the Progressive principles, which Mr. Taft, is not; and as Senator Borah, has been speaking for advanced doctrine, and voting for the so-called Progressives all the time he has been serving the people of Idaho in the United States Senate, and standing for the things that the Progressive element have been standing for he does not figure that he has to leave the party to still advocate what he has advocated all the time.

His claim is that he is for the people, and civil righteousness; and as he was elected by the Republican party, and as there was no other party in Idaho when he came out for Roosevelt, and for what Roosevelt stood for, that it would be inconsistent to leave the party in which he had grown to be able to advocate the principles of Lincoln.

In other words because the Republican Party apostatized from the principles that have made it a great party, and planned and stole a presidential nomination, that did not change the principle of right and justice, and as no man or men made him a Republican with reform ideas, and ability to carry them into effect, for his constituency, neither could any set of men tell him what he should do, in his fight for what the time and hour demands.

And neither could any set of men tell him whom he should speak for in the campaign, and that he would speak for what he has always advocated, and in his speech, which is quoted in the columns of this paper, he has told the Taft Committee in the state where to go, and what to do.

If they dare attempt to defeat Borah, Borah will appeal to the people. If they dare to attempt the defeat of Borah, it will mean the defeat of every Republican in the State. They know it, and it is well. Under the awkward conditions that have arisen, as they naturally would, it is inconsistent in appearance, for men to stand for what they seem to not stand for, but the overpowering force of the position of Borah from his splendid record upon great public questions, have made him bigger, than all the Taftites in the party, and his unswerving and uncompromising stand for his own convictions, compels the whole Republican Party of Idaho, as a party to be a Progressive Party, in everything except in name.

This is a glorious and splendid victory of one great man who is standing for all the people all the time, against a few narrow political bigots who would sell their immortal souls, and those of every citizen of the state, to a reeking, decaying old moss covered theiving tribe of machine rascals, who made up the major part of the National Republican Committee.

Well does Senator Borah, wrend the mask from the face of the damning steal, and answer trumpet tongued to his courtymen, that they may not longer be deceived by the lying sheets, that are trying to cover the conspiracy, and crime of the Taft-Root-Barnes Committee of the Chicago Robbery. He knows; he was there; he has spoken; and any man that knows Senator Borah, knows down in his soul that his lips gave the right answer at Meridian, and from the meridian the sun commences its decline, and from the flood-tide of Boranian eloquence at Meridian, commences the decline of Taft enthusiasm, and support.

Senator Borah will be noted all is well

Cutting Bureau to the

APR 16 1912

A Cause for Unity

A Washington dispatch to the New York Sun, quoted in The Times recently, referred to the Borah homestead bill now before congress as one of the most important pieces of legislation affecting the West originated since the Civil war. A strong statement, this, yet by no means exaggerated, as we of the West regard this remedial measure which is so full of promise to Colorado and the other semi-arid regions of the Rocky Mountain area.

The action of the theorists who are victims of the monomania of conservation, in jeopardizing the success of the bill by unreasonable demands for government reservations of this, that and the other thing, is a source of bitter disappointment to Colorado. Yet it is not cause for discouragement. In the face of the influence brought to bear upon these fanatics by the commercial organizations of the sections interested in the bill, even the most narrow-minded of these misguided patriots must become convinced of the excellence of the measure and its urgent need as a means of peopling the productive reaches of the West and stopping the alarming emigration to Canada.

Colorado business and agricultural interests should present a united front on this issue and should compel congress to recognize the justness of its demands for the speedy passage of the Borah bill.

Killed

## COULDN'T MAKE A JACKASS OF HIM.

Ever since the National Republican convention many people have wondered what came over Senator Borah to induce him to forsake Col. Roosevelt in his hour of need. It has been one of the vexatious questions which has arisen out of the present campaign and has caused many people to lay awake nights trying to figure out the answer. But there is no need to rack our brains further for the whole story has been made public by the Mirror, published at Olathe, Kansas, and now it is as plain as the nose on your face. Here's the story:

"When it became evident that Roosevelt could not be nominated, Senator Borah of Idaho made the colonel the following proposition as coming from the Taft leaders, whom, he stated, were able to deliver the goods. 'The roll will be purged of the 78 delegates we claim are tainted, a progressive platform acceptable to us will be adopted, Taft and Roosevelt both to withdraw and we will name Hadley by acclamation.' Colonel Roosevelt, was seated at a table under a glass chandelier when he received the proposal from Borah. He sprang to his feet and raised his fist, smashing the chandelier, then bringing his fist down on the table with a whack, he said: 'By God, I will never do it! Let them purge the roll and then come to me and I'll tell them what I will do.' There was a silence and a drawing away for a few seconds and then Borah, white faced, said: 'Well, Colonel, in the future you and your friends can do as you please, but you can't make a jack ass out of me any longer.' Borah immediately left the room and never returned. 'Shortly afterward Roosevelt issued his famous statement, 'I can only serve the progressive cause by bearing the brunt of the fight myself.'

The above statement was personally given to the editor of the Mirror by one of the Roosevelt delegates from Kansas City, who was high enough in the councils to be made chairman of the caucus of all the Roosevelt delegates of the United States. His name is Homer B. Mann, the original Roosevelt man of Kansas City. His office is in the Dwight building, Tenth and Baltimore, if you care to verify this statement."

If true as stated as to the facts of the occurrence, there is, to say the least, nothing to Borah's discredit. But does reflect something upon the colonel's piety and overbearing bossism and

### NORTH AMERICAN

Philadelphia, Pa.

make a jackass of Senator Borah  
as which are being circulated, he  
an ex-senator of him

## ANOTHER TORY DREAM

EVER since the tremors of the election earthquake died away, a favorite serious diversion among a large number of earnest Republicans has been the invention and proposing of plans for reorganizing their party. A reunion of the Progressive and Republican forces, preceded by a general lovefeast and followed by the tender intermingling of all differences, haunts their dreams and glorifies their waking visions. Incomparable and indefatigable optimists are these Tory harmonizers.

Their very latest plan, up to the hour that this paper goes to press, selects Senator Borah, of Idaho, as the leader. He, it appears, is "satisfactory" to the reactionary soul, and it needs but the soft music of his pipe to lure back into the fold the lost sheep who have strayed into the stark deserts of Progressivism.

There is something quite appealing about this bland confidence in the efficacy of a manufactured harmony. Successive defeats seem only to stimulate it. Hardly a month ago it was planned that the reunion should be brought about by intervention from the Republicans in the conference of governors. But after solemn consideration, the somewhat hurried announcement was made that no steps in the matter would be taken for at least a year.

The next opportunity was the great banquet in New York on January 4. It was to be a gathering of the brains, as well as the bone and sinew, of the party; such a demonstration of solidarity and "true" Progressivism as would first paralyze the deserters with despair and then melt them to tearful repentance and vows of renewed allegiance.

But if the angelic form of harmony peeped into that banquet room, she must have fled with startled eyes and stopped ears. For in the places of honor she would have seen John D. Archbold, David Baird, Nicholas Murray Butler, Senators Brandegee, Briggs, Crane, Guggenheim, Franklin Murphy and Penrose; William Barnes, Jr., J. P. Morgan, George Harvey, Chauncey M. Depew, Hampton L. Carson and Elihu Root. And she would have heard President Taft—"presiding at his own wake," as he tastefully expressed it—offering to the Progressives such inviting words as these:

The result of the Chicago convention was a triumph for the permanence of republican institutions. \* \* \* Neither through Democratic radicalism nor Progressive radicalism shall we permit the pillars

of our noble state to be pulled down and the real cause of the people be sacrificed to dreams of demagogues and theorists.

Meanwhile the Progressives had assembled, 2500 strong, in Chicago, had declared anew for the full program of their party, and had given their heartiest cheers to the speeches which repudiated the remotest suggestion of compromise with the discredited Republican machine.

That these ambitious plans of amalgamation fail is not due merely to suspicion of the projectors' good faith. Mr. Munsey's suggestion, which involved the obliteration of the Republican party, was offered in palpable sincerity, yet to his pained surprise no Progressive indorsed it. The cause of failure lies far deeper.

The project to utilize Senator Borah will likewise go to the scrap-heap. Yet it is not without its significance; when the Tories select such a man for the work it shows that they are ready to go the limit in concessions. Mr. Borah not only is conspicuously able, but he has been for all Progressive legislation, although retaining his standing as a Republican. Moreover, the would-be harmonizers have selected the man who led in denunciation of the theft of the nomination. They could hardly go further. However, since they are playing politics, and not fighting for principles, the step is easy for them.

On all counts this is the strongest selection that could be made. If the promoters fail with Senator Borah as their stalking horse, they may as well give up. He has just been re-elected—a deserved tribute to a forceful personality. He is, despite his consistently Progressive record, an able practitioner in politics, as he needs to be, in order to remain in public life in a state where special privilege is powerful and 40 per cent of the population is Mormon.

Quite naturally, the scheme appeals strongly to Republican members of congress. They judge it solely by the effect its success would be likely to have upon their standing in their own constituencies. Senators Cummins and Kenyon are quoted as favoring the proposal. They are not to be censured for this. Both are admirable public servants. Cummins is of presidential size; Kenyon has ability as well as good intentions. But their views in this matter are colored by consideration of their personal political fortunes.

For, after all has been said by the inveterate optimists who bring forth these schemes, and those who are led to add their indorsement, such reunion as is proposed is a moral and philosophical absurdity; a mathematical and scientific impossibility. It is not to be done. As well might one attempt to create an effective combination from elements chemically repellent as to bring into one party the upholders of present-day Republicanism and the advocates of Progressivism. There is a fundamental and irreconcilable conflict of principle.

This fact we find set forth with admirable lucidity by Senator Beveridge in the current number of Collier's:

The Progressive viewpoint is national, affirmative, constructive, up-to-date. We view the constitution as a living thing, and study to find in it the power to do what must be done for the general welfare, instead of searching to find in it excuses for not doing what the common good demands. \* \* \* The Progressive party is a frankly and openly liberal party, with clean-cut progressive principles stated in plain terms. This is not true of either of the old parties, whose platforms have that shifty, vague, vote-catching character which does not make either of them frankly and plainly progressive or frankly and plainly reactionary.

Senator Beveridge shows, too, that the Republican party can never adequately serve the nation because the south is, and will always be, "solidly anti-Republican." Among the people of the south there are just as earnest progressives and just as ardent reactionaries as in any other part of the country; but sectionalism forces both of them to cling to the Democratic party; and so long as the Republican party remains in the field both will be against it.

This unnatural barrier of sectionalism costs the nation dear; for the citizens of the south, by temperament and natural bent, have a special aptitude for clear thinking upon public questions. Out of that great and growing section, destined soon to expand in wider promise and development, there might come invaluable aid in meeting the governmental and social problems of the time. But Republican ascendancy would simply shut the door of opportunity and co-operation.

If it were possible completely to reunite the Republican and Progressive parties tomorrow, the impassable barrier of sectionalism would remain, and this country would still be fatally divided. Any plan which ignores this fact is the idlest folly, for it offers simply to perpetuate a geographical political division, when the only difference to be tolerated among Americans is that arising from sincere opposition regarding present-day problems affecting the whole nation.

This is the only free country, Senator Beveridge points out, where political action is determined by geography and where the parties are not divided upon rational lines of liberalism versus conservatism. Such an alignment must inevitably arrive here also. Will it be possible, then, for the Republican and Democratic parties to represent these ideas? Not while there remain such anomalies as he describes:

Can anything be more ridiculous than the spectacle of Mr. Barnes and Mr. La Follette both voting the same ticket, each declaring that he is the true Republican and the other an apostate? It is even more laughable to see Mr. Bryan marching to the polls with one arm through that of Mr. Murphy and the other through that of Mr. Sullivan, all voting the Democratic ticket; Mr. Bryan loudly shouting that of the three he alone is the real Democrat, while Mr. Murphy and Mr. Sullivan as vigorously declare that Mr. Bryan is a renegade from the faith of the fathers.

In every state reactionary and progressive Republicans join hands on election day, gayly march to the polls together and vote the same ticket. And each is able to justify his action to his conscience by saying to himself that in reality his party platform means what each would like to have it mean. And always, of course, there is the appeal of the "tendency of the party," which means one thing to one party and the exact opposite to another party man.

Neither of the old parties can become the liberal or progressive party of America. Their leaders have the same constitutional viewpoint. Their ideas of the functions of government are largely identical. Both of them hold to the outgrown, extreme and savage individualistic theory of the social order. When changed conditions call for some great new measure to make those conditions helpful instead of oppressive to all the people, they search the constitution with a microscope to find some pretext for not putting that measure on the statute books. Their mental attitude is not "How can we do this needed thing?" but "How can we get out of doing it?"

Let those who talk so glibly of harmonizing the Republican and Progressive parties exercise their skill first on squaring the circle and making water flow uphill. When they shall have accomplished these feats, they may have acquired sufficient ingenuity to create the union of their dreams.

From

*Journal  
Pueblo Colo  
4-12-12*

Newspaper Cutting Bureau in the U.S.A.

from SPOKESMAN

SPOKANE, W.A.S.

Address

Date

MAY 15 1912

## Aiming Another Blow at the West

**O**PPPOSITION IN GOVERNMENT CIRCLES to the Taylor-Borah three-year homestead bill has become such that Congressman Taylor feels it necessary to denounce the emasculation of that measure through changes by Secretary Fisher and other officials of the interior department. The bill in the shape it was presented to congress was an admirable measure and would have accomplished much for Colorado and every other western state which has large areas within the public domain, but the amendments favored by the interior department make the bill of no practical use to the West, and, if adopted, will only serve to continue the present policy by which settlement of the public domain is retarded instead of developed.

The Pinchot policies are still popular at Washington and President Taft and Secretary Fisher are continuing the obnoxious practices which have been characteristic of the forest service. Settlement of vacant public land ought to be encouraged by making reasonable inducements to those who take up such lands, and this is the purpose of the bill for which the Colorado congressman is one of the sponsors. The hearty support given the bill by western states indicates how they feel upon the subject, but the department at Washington cares very little for the attitude of the West regarding natural resources, conservation and other matters of vital interest.

Congressmen from other sections are inclined to listen to the forestry service and the immense army of retainers who flourish because of the federal system of handling the public domain. All that the West wants is fair treatment and a chance to develop its resources in the easiest possible way. It does not seek any unfair advantage, but asks for a sensible method of dealing with the problem. If the West wins its fight for the passage of the Taylor-Borah bill it will be through vigorous objection to the plan of the interior department. The West must get busy and back the original bill in an emphatic manner.

From PRESS

Address: New York

Date

### UNFALTERING PROGRESSIVISM.

Progressive Republicans who cling to the vanishing hope of Republican party reorganization were represented in the group of leaders who lately met at Washington and discussed a vague plan of harmonizing the Republican and the Progressive parties.

This programme naturally did not get any encouragement anywhere. It was not supported by those who control what remains of the Republican organization. Progressive Republicans like La Follette, Cummins, Hadley and Borah would not be allowed to reorganize the Republican party.

Mr. Barnes of New York, who is begging the backward financial backers of the New York machine to contribute funds for a "reorganization" under his auspices, insists that he and Penrose and Crane are the men to do the reorganizing. Bosses like Barnes, Penrose and Crane will not permit the really progressive sentiment which clings to Republicanism to assert itself in the effort to bring the Republican party back to life.

The attempt of the Republican progressives to win back the millions of voters who were driven out of the Republican party by the very men who now insist on reorganizing it is, of course, doomed to failure. In making advances to the Progressives, the few progressive Republican leaders are proceeding on the erroneous assumption that they have nothing to do except to settle a party quarrel. They could never be more greatly mistaken, and the complete collapse of their undertaking shows how far in the wrong their idea was.

The Progressive party, whose leaders are meeting at Chicago to determine its policies with regard to approaching political contests in which it must take part, is not a faction, to be mollified with terms or appeased by harmonizers. It is a strong, growing and permanent party. Its millions include not only former Republicans, but former Democrats.

It has no more business to deal with the Republican party than it has to deal with the Democratic party. It is opposed to much of what both organizations of the old parties stand for and to many of the most conspicuous leaders in both the old parties. It fights the Barneses as well as the Murphys, the Penroses as well as the Guffeys. It will go on fighting them without cease.

The Progressive party came into existence because of public hostility to many of the men and many of the measures of the Republican and the

Democratic parties. It will remain in existence because of this public hostility and because the Progressive party has a great political mission to perform which both the old parties have refused to perform and which they will not in future undertake.

Undoubtedly the course of action the Progressive leaders will take at Chicago will be dictated by the unescapable logic of the facts which confront them. Their party has been commissioned by decisive popular and electoral vote as the American party in opposition. They must accept the trust so reposed in them, and they must discharge the duty under that trust.

Since the party's obligation to its formerly Democratic adherents forbids it to act with the Republican party, and since in any event the Progressive voters formerly Republican could not be delivered back to the Republican party, the Progressive leaders have no escape from the duty of adopting a programme that will hold their organization aloof from all alliances.

They must carry out their party's pledges to the people and obey the people's mandate to the party. They must drive straight ahead on a path clearly blazed. They will drive ahead, too, with enthusiasm and confidence. If the Progressive Republicans want to affiliate with the Progressive party the way is open for them to do so by acting within the young and virile organization which invites them to enlist honorably in its cause.

From

Address

Date

COLUMBUS O.  
JUN 29 1912

### No More National Conventions.

Surpassing strange it is, that there should be so much excitement and passion at Chicago when the general opinion is that whether it is Taft or Roosevelt that is nominated, either will be beaten. So the whole country is turned upside down, not on the question, who will be the next president, but who will enjoy the honor of being the nominee? Consider that question in all its naked proportions, and the excitement will seem as trifling as a caterwaul at night.

The situation makes a convention the absurdest sort of affairs. No wonder Senator Borah said this is the last national convention that will ever be held. The people will say whom they want as candidates and they will say it in their own balliwicks. Inside the next four years the presidential primary machinery will be so perfected that it will run as smoothly and noiselessly as a Swiss watch. Then, if the candidates for president are put under bonds to keep the peace, we will be able to elect a president without losing our good sense.

### Federal Commission to Inquire into Industrial Relations.

Senator Borah and Representative Hughes have introduced identical bills into congress to carry out the recommendations of President Taft for a federal commission of inquiry into industrial relations.

Their joint bill covers the entire field. Under it the commission would consider the conditions of American labor, their effect on public welfare, the rights and powers of the public to deal with these effects, the relations of employers and employees, the methods of adjusting their difficulties, organization of capitalists and of wage-workers, collective bargaining and similar subjects. The commission would include equal numbers of representatives of employers and of organized labor and number nine persons in all.

There is urgent necessity for accurate, comprehensive and trustworthy information on this subject.

The question of the condition of the people has become about the topmost subject in Europe and the United States.

The public is the party chiefly concerned by the subject and the party that knows least about industrial matters.

Permanent settlement of industrial troubles is seldom effected, but society is lulled into thinking that peace has been secured when it rests on frail foundations.

While the commission, if appointed, as it probably will be, is digging at the roots of industrial unrest a practicable step along its road can be taken quickly. The Erdmann act can be extended from the interstate railways to interstate industries. Judge Knapp of the interstate commerce court and Commissioner Neill of the bureau of labor approve such an extension of the act.

It would in effect create a permanent national board of mediation and arbitration clothed with legal authority to intervene in interstate industrial disputes at the request of either party.

DATE

JUN 28 1912

*Boston Traveler*

### BORAH'S BOOM

SAILING for Europe, George Harvey, the eminent political philosopher, promoter and prophet, expresses his opinion that Senator Borah of Idaho is a logical candidate—or did he say the logical candidate?—for nomination in 1916 by the Republican party. As the man who first pushed Woodrow Wilson into the limelight and made him a presidential possibility, and as one who brings logic to the aid of prophecy, Col. Harvey's opinion is worth a good deal. Obviously, it is Col. Harvey's belief that the Republican party will be alive and make a nomination for President in 1916.

Senator Borah represents progressive Republicanism of the genuine kind—not the kind now and then prominent and which is progressive solely because it did not have a chance at the trough when the trough was full. The next Republican candidate for President will be nominated by the voting members of the Republican party, and that in itself is warrantable ground for believing that he won't be a reactionary or a progressive in name only.

The Borah boom will bear watching—not because George Harvey has given it a push, but because it is being very favorably considered by Republican leaders as well as non-partisan prophets.

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER.

## BORAH AND THE CONSTITUTION.

Some very interesting discussion of the constitution is being had at this time. One of the most interesting events was the dinner of the Pennsylvania society held Saturday night in New York at which James Bryce, retiring British ambassador, and Senator Borah of Idaho were speakers. Ambassador Bryce is a recognized critic and admirer of the American constitution and it was to his published work upon the government of the United States that Senator Borah referred in one part of his address. The occasion of the New York meeting, commemorating the 125th anniversary of the framing of the constitution, was especially adapted to a discussion of this subject.

Colonel Roosevelt added to the interest of the general subject in his recent Chicago speech in which he likewise referred to that instrument. He there said:

"We hold with Abraham Lincoln \* \* \* that the people are the masters of the constitution. We believe in the constitution, and for that very reason we contemptuously thrust aside the efforts of the reactionaries to turn it into a fetish for the obstruction of justice. The constitution was created to secure justice, and we refuse to allow it to be so perverted as to become a barrier between the people and justice."

Senator Borah, who delivered one of the greatest speeches at the New York dinner Saturday night also spoke of this effort to try to make of the constitution a sort of ark of the covenant which must not be touched by the profane hands of the people in whose behalf it was ostensibly written and adopted. He said:

"Those who have been disposed to look upon the great charter as an inspired document will find in a renewed study of its growth and adoption ample facts with which to dispel the superstition. \* \* \* We are seeking to adjust the details of the government to an industrial life of which the fathers never dreamed—the result must for a time remain in doubt. With political power in the hands of the majority and wealth drifting more and more into the hands of the minority, the supreme test of the constitution is still in the future. The effect of another hundred years upon the fundamental law no one is wise enough to foretell nor foolish enough to attempt to prophesy. \* \* \*

The true friend, therefore, of these institutions, the real defenders and protectors of the constitution are the men and women who seek to better conditions and make more prosperous, sanitary and wholesome the life of the average citizen, who at the risk of being charged with insincerity and demagoguery are looking to the physical and moral being of those and their children who have been less successful than their brothers in the gathering of this world's goods. The statesman who raises the average of good citizenship, who diffuses contentment and happiness and loyalty throughout the home of the discontented and discouraged, who sees not alone to the cold legal rights of man but to the doing of social justice as well must in the end rank as the real defender of the constitution."

Senator Borah, however, included words of caution upon the other side. He said:

"Those who are prone to regard it as obsolete, cumbersome and impracticable will find more than enough to dispel the illusion. In its fundamental conception it can never become obsolete until a people's government becomes ancient and out of place, and the rights of the humble and the poor shall be conceded to be the property of power, the plaything of caprice and intrigue."

Ambassador Bryce, among other things, said:

"Both the federal constitution itself and all those state constitutions which have been enacted upon similar lines have had the effect of steadying the machinery of government, of slowing down impulses, of securing respect for the rights of every man and every section of the people. Such services would seem to you much more wonderful if it were not that you are so familiar with them. Look at other popular governments and see how much they have suffered from the want of similar safeguards if you wish fully to realize what your constitutions, federal and state, have done for you.

"Every government in which popular sovereignty is recognized needs to be in some way or other steadied.

"With you, where class counts for so much less than it does in Europe and where traditions have not had so

much power, there have been many moments when things would have gone badly had it not been for the respect you have all formed for the constitution. In particular, you have shown the world how it is possible to reconcile national unity with the existence of local self-government in larger and smaller communities over the immense spaces of a continent, a problem which a century and a half ago every one would have thought insoluble. Thus has the constitution of the United States become, by the example of its workings and the halo of fame which now surrounds it, one of the vitalizing forces of the world.

"Let us honor the memory of the illustrious men who rendered this incomparable and enduring service not only to you, but to all mankind."

One point we want to make in all this is the recognition of the need of change. Sometimes those changes are made by the people; sometimes they are made by the courts through judicial construction, a number of which changes could be cited. Even Ambassador Bryce, reared as he has been under the atmosphere of opposition to governmental changes, is forced to admit inferentially, at least, the necessity for change. His point relative to too hasty changes is good, but hardly pertinent in view of the history of such changes as have occurred. Our history would appear to prove conclusively that there is little likelihood of hasty changes of our fundamental laws. Rather it seems to show that there has been too much conservatism along that line and that here, as elsewhere, it is time for the people to awaken to the need of action on their part.

GALDWELL, IDA.

NEWS

AUG 29 1912

## DO THEY LOVE BORAH

The statement of the News a short time ago that Senator Borah is in an embarrassing position politically is confirmed particularly in this county. No less authority than The Blab—and the Blab is regular—says: "But we were not deceived in Roosevelt and we are not deceived in his understudy, Borah. The one is for Roosevelt, the other for Borah, and they care for nothing so long as their ambitions are served."

The republican party in Canyon county, as constituted since the county organization last Saturday is strictly regular. Those who know the personnel of the executive committee know that the party in this county is strictly a Taft party. And how can they love Borah? The senator espoused the cause of Roosevelt so much before the Chicago convention these Taft men are sure to have some misgivings as to the senator's possible future activities. And the senator is so strenuously progressive in all his sentiments, in all his characteristics, as a statesman of this day, he cannot have a warm place in the hearts of the Canyon county republican executive committee. His overwhelming popularity with the people may save him but if the state were the same in its executive organization as that of Canyon county and at the next election time former governor Brady, or ex-governor Frank Gooding, were to come into the senatorial forum, how would Senator Borah fare?

Do they love him?

True he is coming back to Idaho—he is back to Idaho, to stump for Taft. And there it is again—the progressive spirit of Idaho is strong. Progressive legislators are in the field in the majority party. They might have some say in the next senatorial selection and after Mr. Borah has stumped the state for Taft and had before been close to the patron saint of the Bull Moose what love would Bull Moose have for the junior senator? Truly, the way of the political benefactor is hard. Though the people love senator Borah what hope have they for him. If they had his proposed direct-election-of-senator law—a democratic law and a good law—Borah would possibly be safe, but in the wake of uncertain, conflicting, party squabble, we are prone to ask, voter, what democrat would you have in lieu of Borah?

TIMES

HAILEY, IDA.

PUBLISHED

JAN 29 1913

TE

Senator Borah's speech before the legislature today was after the manner of his usual pronouncement, brilliantly logical, eloquent and witty. He approached his subjects as a great lawyer presents his argument to the jury. More than that his heart was filled with the emotion of gratitude for the token of love and confidence expressed toward him by the people. He is fully conscious of his great office as a true servant of the State, and being bound by no limitations of action beyond his own conscience.

OGDEN, UTAH  
STANDARD  
MAY 4 1912

NEW HOMESTEAD MEASURE.

The progress of the Borah three-year homestead bill in Congress is being watched with much interest by those in Utah who contemplate making homestead entries.

An agreement has been reached by the conference committee on the bill and the report will endorse the measure as it passed the house, providing for a redemption of the time to complete homestead entry from five to three years, permitting an entryman to be absent for not more than five months in each year after establishing a residence and allowing in case of sickness or climatic reasons, twelve months from the date of filing in which to commence residence.

The amendments agreed upon by the conference committee require cultivation on each homestead entry of one-sixteenth the second year of residence and one-eighth the third year. This cultivation requirement will also apply to enlarged homesteads, thereby reducing the cultivated area one-half on homesteads of this class.

The secretary of interior, upon a showing of good faith by the entryman, may further reduce the area required for cultivation in individual cases.

The bill as agreed upon by the committee it is expected will have the support of the interior department and be approved by the president.

There is a large acreage of dry farming land to the northwest of Ogden, along the Promontory range and further north to the Idaho boundary, which is open to location and will be sought after with the passage of this new homestead bill.

Thousands of acres of uncultivated land, heretofore unattractive to home builders because of the requirements of the homestead law calling for five years residence, will be quickly taken up.

Ogdenites, who think favorably of homesteading 320 acres of dry farm land will be kept informed by the Standard on the Borah bill and will be advised at the earliest moment possible of the enacting of the measure into law, so that they may be among the first to avail themselves of the benefits of the new legislation.

BOISE, IDA.  
NEWS

MAY 13 1912

We believe this can be done. The Roosevelt people will, of course, be in control of the convention. They may adopt any such resolutions as they may deem to be for the best interests of the party and of the people. If they shall determine to instruct for Roosevelt, they may even do that, or if they believe it would be wiser to elect delegates known to be favorable to Roosevelt and friendly to Senator Borah, which we fully believe would be the wisest course, they may do that.

But in either or any event it might be the part of wisdom to instruct the delegates elected to cast their ballots for Senator Borah upon the second ballot provided a second ballot should become necessary, for should the first ballot pass over without a nomination being made, as we firmly believe will be the case at Chicago, then the fight will be an open one and a dark horse is sure to win, and no state in the union has such an acceptable candidate to present as has Idaho.

With Idaho voting for Borah upon the second ballot, other western states will join in the movement and before the third ballot shall be announced it will be found that many eastern delegates have joined the movement and the nomination of Senator Borah will be assured probably upon the fifth or sixth ballot.

The same purpose, however, can be accomplished, and we had believed it would be wiser to do it that way, by electing an uninstructed delegation favorable both to Roosevelt and to Borah—men who could be trusted to do their duty by the state and by their party and at the same time seize every opportunity to advance Senator Borah to this exalted position. By selecting such a delegation they would be left absolutely free to exercise their very best judgment which will be required under the circumstances likely to prevail at Chicago. We firmly believe that men of this kind will be enabled to secure for Idaho and her "favorite son" this great honor.

AN REORGANIZATION.

American, one of the greatest of the country, and one of the party, while admitting that Borah to lead the reorganization, the strongest man possible

tion of the Republican party to select in the nation has been chosen, still thinks the effort will prove a failure. Concerning Senator Borah the Philadelphia paper says:

On all counts this is the strongest selection that could be made. If the promoters fall with Senator Borah as their stalking horse, they may as well give up. He has just been re-elected—a deserved tribute to a forceful personality. He is, despite his consistently Progressive record, an able practitioner in politics, as he needs to be, in order to remain in public life in a state where special privilege is powerful.

Mr. Borah not only is conspicuously able, but he has been for all Progressive legislation, although retaining his standing as a Republican. Moreover, the would-be harmonizers have selected the man who led in denunciation of the theft of the nomination. They could hardly go further. However, since they are playing politics, and not fighting for principles, the step is easy for them.

The very selection of such a man, however, is taken by the Philadelphia paper to indicate how desperate is the situation of the Republican party as now constituted. "It is not without significance," says that paper, "when the Tories select such a man for the work it shows that they are ready to go the limit in concessions."

We think Senator Borah a short time ago struck the keynote of the situation, according to a story that comes from Washington. It is related that Senator Penrose invited Senator Borah to deliver an address at the Republican conference to be held at New York on January 4. It was to be a gathering of the brains of the Republican party and it was to be the occasion for outlining the reunion policy to be pursued. One of the chief speakers was to be the president himself.

After Senator Penrose had delivered his invitation, Senator Borah said:

"I should be very glad to deliver an address at that time but before I accept your invitation perhaps it would be better for me to indicate the line upon which I believe reunion of the Republican elements can be brought about."

"I should be very glad to know your views," replied Senator Penrose.

"I shall take the position that as a basis for such action it will be necessary for Barnes, Crane, Butler, Guggenheim, Archbold, Penrose and men of that class to retire

from the party organization and from participation in its councils and be substituted by La Follette, Beveridge, Cummins, Hadley, Norris and men of that character. Now, if you think you would like to have me make an address at that conference, I should be delighted to do so."

"Well, perhaps, under the circumstances, it would be as well for you not to do so," was the reply of Penrose.

The Progressives have not become attached to a mere name, neither are they prejudiced because of a mere name. All they desire is the success of the principles they stand for. If that can be accomplished by reorganization and rehabilitation of the old party still under the name "Republican," there can be no valid objection. But it cannot be done with Penroses, Barnes', Guggenheims, Archbolds, Depews, Cranes, Morgans, Roots and men of that class in control of the organization, or even sharing in such control.

Nor can it be accomplished simply by the adoption of a certain number of the specific remedies now demanded by the Progressives. The remedies now proposed do not by any manner of means constitute the whole reform to be accomplished. Specific remedies are now proposed to the worst evils now appearing. These will no sooner be settled than new evils will appear demanding new remedies. The political party that wins success must be the party so constituted that it will move along to meet evils as they appear and not the one that will be content with the accomplishment of one object forced upon it by an outrage and aroused public sentiment.

There is a well-defined path along which progressivism lies and there is another well-defined path along which reactionaryism may be found. No party can be successful which attempts to travel both paths nor can it be led by leaders following both paths. Either it must take one or abandon the other or it will find itself in trouble in spite of itself. Penrose, Barnes, Guggenheim, Crane and Tafhold political views antagonistic and hostile to the view of the advocates of progressivism. There is no more room for them in the same party with Roosevelt, Beveridge, Borah, Hadley, Cummins and La Follette, than there is room in the same church for Buddhists and Christians.



PAPER

PUBLISHED

## WHO WRECKED THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Combined with this is resentment over what they call Colonel Roosevelt's wrecking of the Republican party. They overlook the fact that the colonel did not wreck the party. The party wrecked itself, and the very new forms of government that exist in these states and elsewhere prove it, for whatever there is new in government here is the outcome of the revolt of the people against the methods and manners of the old party, is an attempt of the people to rid themselves of the very bonds which the standpatters and their followers think must be tightened if the political integrity of the country and particularly if the grand old party is to be preserved.

The above is taken from an article in the current number of the Saturday Evening Post by Samuel Blythe, the political writer for that magazine who will be remembered as spending a few days in this state recently getting a line on the political situation in Idaho. The article is the first of a series dealing with the political situation in the country as viewed by this writer, and it treats of Oregon, Washington and California, in each of which Taft is placed a poor third in the race with indications favoring Roosevelt as the first choice unless the Taft supporters flop to Wilson, which Blythe declares many of them are already preparing to do. In that event he expresses the belief that the result will be very close between Roosevelt and Wilson so far as those states are concerned.

We wish to call attention, however, especially to the above quotation which emphasizes a point which the Taftites who are condemning the Progressive party leaders fail to grasp, and that is the fact that it is not Roosevelt and the Progressives who are wrecking the Republican party but it is the party itself, and Mr. Blythe gives the very reason which makes that fact so evident.

There are very few progressive measures of any kind for which anybody is entitled to credit, but such as there are certainly neither the Republicans nor the Democrats can justly claim that praise is due them for their enactment into law because of party pledges. Such as there are have been forced upon both parties by the people and by representatives of the people in spite of the parties and in spite of their refusal to indorse such measures.

Take the income amendment and the election of United States senators by direct vote of the people. The Republican party at least has year after year deliberately refused to indorse these progressive measures, yet their enactment has been secured at the hands of congress, the Republican party being forced to accept them instead of having progressively demanded their enactment and submission to the people for adoption.

Senator Borah's entire career in the United States senate has been one of opposition to his party and its leaders in order that he might urge measures beneficial to the people of his state. In other words, he has found that his party instead of being an aid to him in the enactment of land laws, irrigation laws, social and political laws and others as the interests of the people have demanded has been an actual hindrance to him, and whatever progress he has been able to make which is considerable under such adverse circumstances, he has had to make by lifting his party up to him in spite of its obstinate desire not to be lifted up.

In this state there is scarcely a law demanded by the people which has been enacted because of party promises, but most of those that we have have been forced through the legislature by popular demand in spite of party obstruction. As matter of fact, it is almost universally known that party pledges are most often broken.

More real progressive legislation was enacted under the administration of former Governor Brady than under any other administration of the last eight or ten years, but it was done in spite of the party's attitude and not because of that attitude. It was under his administration that the direct primary law was enacted, taking power from the politicians and placing it in the people, and this was accomplished through his exertions together with the hard work of active, progressive members of the legislature in spite of the "drag" applied to its enactment by the party organizations. The only reason that there is complaint now against that primary law is because the politicians have thrown every obstacle in the way of its

successful achievement of its aims. The politicians here, just as Mr. Blythe describes them to be in Oregon, were "sore" and they are still "sore" because of the law and they have voted in such a way and have conducted their campaigns in such a way and have put up such candidates

as to bring the law into disrepute if they could.

Governor Brady in his message also recommended a public utility commission and now, as shown by the poll of the legislative candidates made by the State Grange, there is almost a universal demand for such a commission. But still both of the old parties deliberately refused to recognize this demand and if such a commission is created it will be in spite of the party organizations and not because of their aid and assistance.

A number of other progressive recommendations made by Governor Brady, Senator Borah and others could be mentioned, some of which were enacted in spite of the balking and holding back of the Donkey and the Elephant, and others of which have been ignored until this day.

America and Idaho are a hundred years behind the rest of civilization in the matter of progressive legislation. All these matters which we have to fight for as "progressive" principles, have been enacted into law in other countries and are there pointed to by the conservative and reactionary elements as the acme of wisdom and as indicative of the lack of need for further progressive legislation. We, in this country, have had our eyes so tightly glued to a tariff policy for the protection and building up of certain special interests and for the fostering and encouragement of gigantic trusts and corporate associations that we have been frightened to death by the mere suggestion of general legislation beneficial to all the people.

The Republican party is more responsible for this than any other party or than anybody else, hence it is responsible for its own wrecking at this time and should not blame Roosevelt or those former Republicans who have grown weary of the inaction, the corporate and special privilege favoritism and the actual reactionary doctrines of that party. **THE TIME HAS SIMPLY COME WHEN THE PEOPLE WILL NOT ENDURE SUCH CONDITIONS AND THAT IS WHAT HAS WRECKED THE PARTY.** It is because the party is not big enough, wise enough and progressive enough to keep up with the people.

The limited express train which runs over the grasshopper which insists in sitting upon the railroad track should not be blamed for not stopping to remove the self-imposed obstacle.

CALL

San Francisco, Cal.

ONE hears a great deal of loud talk about a bolt from the Chicago convention, but for the most part it fails to convince. It need not be disputed that some of these threatening political

### Threats of a "Bolt" Have a Hollow Sound

thunderbolts are very much in earnest, but these are mostly the hotheads like Gifford Pinchot, Jimmy Garfield and other survivors of the late "tennis cabinet," who have nothing in particular to lose by wrecking the republican party and have slight regard for consequences. They make a deal of noise and are full of strange threats.

The other day Medill McCormick vowed that he would "shoot the roof off the convention" if certain contesting delegates were not seated. Jimmy Garfield is free to say that "a third party is possible," and so it goes. Others there are, like "Bill" Flinn of Pittsburg, who find their interest in "making a roar" of similar portent, but these, unlike the hotheads, do not mean it. They are simply talking for

political effect of the customary sort, proceeding on the assumption that they are playing with children.

A moment's consideration should demonstrate how little there is behind these threats. Men like Pinchot and Garfield and McCormick, who are making most of the noise, have nothing to lose by splitting the party, but they could carry with them no important following. The real backbone of the progressive movement is supplied by men like Borah, La Follette, Cummins and others of their standing, who are the really influential people in the movement. Such men have a positive following and none of them has any purpose to bolt, no matter what happens. Even Senator Dixon, who has managed Roosevelt's campaign, gives not the slightest countenance to any bolting proposition.

The reason is plain. These men all have a stake in the republican party and this is their capital. They have no idea of destroying their capital and their standing by wrecking the party. All this is thoroughly understood by the colonel, who knows American politics better than any man living. He knows that the wheel horses of the progressive movement, such as La Follette, Borah and Cummins, would not follow him in a bolt.

DEC 26 1917

GROWING WITHOUT LEADERSHIP.

Such radical opponents of anything with which Roosevelt is connected as the New York World and the Indianapolis News profess to believe that the Progressive movement is dormant or retrogressive, because they recognized no few faces in the recent conference of Progressives at Chicago.

By this these newspapers mean that they recognized the faces of no new leaders. If they had seen there such men as Cummins, Hadley, La Follette and Borah for instance, they would have been prepared, perhaps, to believe that the movement was gaining headway. In other words, these newspapers, like others of their kind and those of even more radical trend than these, cannot recognize possibilities in any political movement except as the movement accumulates leaders.

Now, why should the Progressive movement attract to it any of the old political leaders? If it did do so, that very fact might throw doubt upon the honesty, or efficacy of the movement itself, for with the same leaders in charge of the Progressive movement that had charge of the Republican party, where would be the difference between the Progressive party and the Republican party? The opponents of the Progressive movement recognize the efficacy of this point by their effort to emphasize the presence of such men as Senator Flinn of Pennsylvania, of Perkins of New York and of McCormick of Illinois in the movement.

The Progressive movement is not a movement of the leaders. It is a movement of the people. Leaders are essential in any great movement, to be sure, but they are less essential in a movement of this kind than in any other known. In this movement, as in all like movements, leaders will be made or found as necessity demands. Borah, Hadley, Cummins, La Follette and all other men holding views such as these men hold, would be welcome within the ranks of the Progressive party but the Progressives do not want them until they are ready to come. The time is coming when they will be not only ready to come in, but anxious to do so. That time will be when they become convinced, as they will be, that there is no hope of accomplishing what they admit must be accomplished in the ranks of the old party, so thoroughly controlled as it is by interests so diametrically opposed to their views, and when they become convinced, as they will be, that the people are depending upon the Progressive party for the relief and return of power demanded by them. When they do come in they will be made leaders only as they convince the people that they deserve leadership and not because of old-fashioned boss and political manipulation.

The idea that a party's strength depends upon its leadership belongs to the old Republican party and to the old Democratic party but it has no place in the Progressive party. That party will be strong only as it stands for what the people want and as it serves those people when in power, and conversely, it will be strong only as it minimizes the power and influences of the leaders, so called.

This is why such newspapers as those named and others like them, are unable to appreciate that the recent Chicago conference shows a tremendous gain in strength of the Progressive movement. After another election or two a considerable change in their views will be noticeable.

The political enemies of Senator Reed and Representative Herndon are trying to make capital out of the fact that these gentlemen did not vote for the re-election of Senator Borah. The facts are that these gentlemen pledged themselves to vote for Senator Borah if their votes were needed to prevent his defeat. In as much as there was not a republican vote against the senator, on the joint ballot, the votes of the Lemhi members were not necessary. The Recorder predicts that both of the Lemhi members will not only work for the interests of the people of Lemhi county, but will carry out every pledge.

SENATOR WM. E. BORAH

Who Received the Unusual Compliment of a Nine-Tenths Vote From the Legislature of His State in His Re-Election to the United States Senate.



While the Idaho legislature was engaged in the election of the United States senators for Idaho, Senator Borah was, as usual, interesting himself in work for his state. But a few short weeks at the Washington capitol, he announces favorable committee consideration of his bill appropriating \$30,000,000 by the government, the greater part of which will be used to bring water to Idaho.

AN INVITATION TO TREACHERY.

Senator Borah of Idaho seems to be reaping a just harvest from the seed sown by himself at the outset of the national campaign. When he assumed his strictly impartial attitude of supporting neither Mr. Roosevelt nor Mr. Taft, one could but guess at his motives, but the inevitable results forecasted themselves with ease. He was warned that neither Bull Moose nor Republicans would be pleased at his position and that he who endeavors to ride two horses risks falling between them and spraining his political ankle. And the news from Idaho indicates that both the Taft and Roosevelt men in the legislature will require powerful arguments before they will consent to join issues and support Mr. Borah for re-election.

The above from the Salt Lake Herald-Republican, standpat organ of Senator Smoot and the Utah reactionaries, published under the head, "Mr. Borah Is Reaping Just That He Sowed," seems rather to be a suggestion of the hopes of that organ than the publication of any fact and comment thereon.

Just how the Salt Lake paper should get "news from Idaho" indicating that "both the Taft and Roosevelt men in the legislature will require" any kind of argument before keeping their pledges to the people to support Borah for re-election, is very strange in view of the fact that there is no such news in Idaho, at least none that any of Senator Borah's friends have heard of. Moreover, we do not believe that any single member-elect of the legislature, Taft man or Roosevelt man, has dared to intimate at any time that any circumstances could arise whereby he would not vote for Senator Borah's re-election.

It is true that there is some rambling talk of the kind among the irresponsible clique of obstructionists in Boise that sulk and growl every time the people gain a step in advance, but the Salt Lake paper understands the situation well enough to know that this talk does not come from any member of the legislature. There is no such talk and both the Boise contingent and the Salt Lake organ of the reactionaries know it. They are simply hoping to create such talk, that is all.

We wouldn't give five cents apiece for the hides of any member-elect of the Idaho legislature who, under the pres-

ent condition of the public mind of this state, should come down to Boise and announce his intention to violate the pledge he gave the people to vote for Senator Borah. The people can, therefore, laugh at the efforts of the spokesman of Senator Smoot of Utah to invite treachery in Idaho.

From

# Aiming Another Blow at the West

**O**PPPOSITION IN GOVERNMENT CIRCLES to the Taylor-Borah three-year homestead bill has become such that Congressman Taylor feels it necessary to denounce the emasculation of that measure through changes by Secretary Fisher and other officials of the interior department. The bill in the shape it was presented to congress was an admirable measure and would have accomplished much for Colorado and every other western state which has large areas within the public domain, but the amendments favored by the interior department make the bill of no practical use to the West, and, if adopted, will only serve to continue the present policy by which settlement of the public domain is retarded instead of developed.

The Pinchot policies are still popular at Washington and President Taft and Secretary Fisher are continuing the obnoxious practices which have been characteristic of the forest service. Settlement of vacant public land ought to be encouraged by making reasonable inducements to those who take up such lands, and this is the purpose of the bill for which the Colorado congressman is one of the sponsors. The hearty support given the bill by western states indicates how they feel upon the subject, but the department at Washington cares very little for the attitude of the West regarding natural resources, conservation and other matters of vital interest.

Congressmen from other sections are inclined to listen to the forestry service and the immense army of retainers who flourish because of the federal system of handling the public domain. All that the West wants is fair treatment and a chance to develop its resources in the easiest possible way. It does not seek any unfair advantage, but asks for a sensible method of dealing with the problem. If the West wins its fight for the passage of the Taylor-Borah bill it will be through vigorous objection to the plan of the interior department. The West must get busy and back the original bill in an emphatic manner.

From **PRESS**  
Address: **New York**  
Date

## UNFALTERING PROGRESSIVISM.

Progressive Republicans who cling to the vanishing hope of Republican party reorganization were represented in the group of leaders who lately met at Washington and discussed a vague plan of harmonizing the Republican and the Progressive parties.

This programme naturally did not get any encouragement anywhere. It was not supported by those who control what remains of the Republican organization. Progressive Republicans like La Follette, Cummins, Hadley and Borah would not be allowed to reorganize the Republican party.

Mr. Barnes of New York, who is begging the backward financial backers of the New York machine to contribute funds for a "reorganization" under his auspices, insists that he and Penrose and Crane are the men to do the reorganizing. Bosses like Barnes, Penrose and Crane will not permit the really progressive sentiment which clings to Republicanism to assert itself in the effort to bring the Republican party back to life.

The attempt of the Republican progressives to win back the millions of voters who were driven out of the Republican party by the very men who now insist on reorganizing it is, of course, doomed to failure. In making advances to the Progressives, the few progressive Republican leaders are proceeding on the erroneous assumption that they have nothing to do except to settle a party quarrel. They could never be more greatly mistaken, and the complete collapse of their undertaking shows how far in the wrong their idea was.

The Progressive party, whose leaders are meeting at Chicago to determine its policies with regard to approaching political contests in which it must take part, is not a faction, to be mollified with terms or appeased by harmonizers. It is a strong, growing and permanent party. Its millions include not only former Republicans, but former Democrats.

It has no more business to deal with the Republican party than it has to deal with the Democratic party. It is opposed to much of what both organizations of the old parties stand for and to many of the most conspicuous leaders in both the old parties. It fights the Barneses as well as the Murphys, the Penroses as well as the Guffeys. It will go on fighting them without cease.

The Progressive party came into existence because of public hostility to many of the men and many of the measures of the Republican and the

Democratic parties. It will remain in existence because of this public hostility and because the Progressive party has a great political mission to perform which both the old parties have refused to perform and which they will not in future undertake.

Undoubtedly the course of action the Progressive leaders will take at Chicago will be dictated by the unescapable logic of the facts which confront them. Their party has been commissioned by decisive popular and electoral vote as the American party in opposition. They must accept the trust so reposed in them, and they must discharge the duty under that trust.

Since the party's obligation to its formerly Democratic adherents forbids it to act with the Republican party, and since in any event the Progressive voters formerly Republican could not be delivered back to the Republican party, the Progressive leaders have no escape from the duty of adopting a programme that will hold their organization aloof from all alliances.

They must carry out their party's pledges to the people and obey the people's mandate to the party. They must drive straight ahead on a path clearly blazed. They will drive ahead, too, with enthusiasm and confidence. If the Progressive Republicans want to affiliate with the Progressive party the way is open for them to do so by acting within the young and virile organization which invites them to enlist honorably in its cause.

From **COLUMBUS O.**  
Address  
Date **JUN 19 1913**

## No More National Conventions.

Surpassing strange it is, that there should be so much excitement and passion at Chicago when the general opinion is that whether it is Taft or Roosevelt that is nominated, either will be beaten. So the whole country is turned upside down, not on the question, who will be the next president, but who will enjoy the honor of being the nominee? Consider that question in all its naked proportions, and the excitement will seem as trifling as a caterwaul at night.

The situation makes a convention the absurdest sort of affairs. No wonder Senator Borah said this is the last national convention that will ever be held. The people will say whom they want as candidates and they will say it in their own balltwicks. Inside the next four years the presidential primary machinery will be so perfected that it will run as smoothly and noiselessly as a Swiss watch. Then, if the candidates for president are put under bonds to keep the peace, we will be able to elect a president without losing our good sense.

Newspaper Cutting Bureau in the  
from **SPOKESMAN**  
**SPOKANE, WASH.**  
Address  
Date **MAY 15 1913**

## Federal Commission to Inquire into Industrial Relations.

Senator Borah and Representative Hughes have introduced identical bills into congress to carry out the recommendations of President Taft for a federal commission of inquiry into industrial relations.

Their joint bill covers the entire field. Under it the commission would consider the conditions of American labor, their effect on public welfare, the rights and powers of the public to deal with these effects, the relations of employers and employees, the methods of adjusting their difficulties, organization of capitalists and of wage-workers, collective bargaining and similar subjects. The commission would include equal numbers of representatives of employers and of organized labor and number nine persons in all.

There is urgent necessity for accurate, comprehensive and timely information on this subject.

The question of the condition of the people has become about the topmost subject in Europe and the United States.

The public is the party chiefly concerned by the subject and the party that knows least about industrial matters.

Permanent settlement of industrial troubles is seldom effected, but society is lulled into thinking that peace has been secured when it rests on frail foundations.

While the commission, if appointed, as it probably will be, is digging at the roots of industrial unrest a practicable step along its road can be taken quickly. The Erdmann act can be extended from the interstate railways to interstate industries. Judge Knapp of the interstate commerce court and Commissioner Nell of the bureau of labor approve such an extension of the act.

It would in effect create a permanent national board of mediation and arbitration clothed with legal authority to intervene in interstate industrial disputes at the request of either party.

DATE **JUN 28 1913**  
*Boston Traveler*

## BORAH'S BOOM

**S**AILING for Europe, George Harvey, the eminent political philosopher, promoter and prophet, expresses his opinion that Senator Borah of Idaho is a logical candidate—or did he say the logical candidate?—for nomination in 1916 by the Republican party. As the man who first pushed Woodrow Wilson into the limelight and made him a presidential possibility, and as one who brings logic to the aid of prophecy, Col. Harvey's opinion is worth a good deal. Obviously, it is Col. Harvey's belief that the Republican party will be alive and make a nomination for President in 1916.

Senator Borah represents progressive Republicanism of the genuine kind—not the kind now and then prominent and which is progressive solely because it did not have a chance at the trough when the trough was full. The next Republican candidate for President will be nominated by the voting members of the Republican party, and that in itself is warrantable ground for believing that he won't be a reactionary or a progressive in name only.

The Borah boom will bear watching—not because George Harvey has given it a push, but because it is being very favorably considered by Republican leaders as well as non-partisan prophets.

FRANKNESS IN ORDER.

Some of the Democrats appear to be greatly perturbed over what they are pleased to term "evasion" on the part of Republican candidates with reference to the head of the ticket. With laborious effort they attempt to create an issue where none exists. They assert with great vehemence that the hour has come when evasion can no longer be tolerated—but the galleries are silent before the cheap theatrical efforts of the opposition.

The people are vitally interested in the reelection of Senator Borah. The people will elect a legislature this fall which in turn will perform the important function of electing a United States senator. The Democrats will attempt to elect to that legislature three members in the house and one in the senate from Twin Falls county. If successful in that attempt, whom will those four men vote to send to the United States senate?

So far as the people of Twin Falls county are concerned, they are entirely in the dark as to what the Democratic candidates for the legislature intend to do if elected, in the all-important matter of choosing a United States senator.

Are they for Hawley? Are they for Tannehill? Are they for Dubois? Are they for Nugent? If not, who in the world are they for? Or will they attempt to slide into the legislature by keeping the voters in the dark as to their intentions, and then do some cheap political trading for the most important office in the gift of the people, defeat Senator Borah, and place the toga upon the shoulders of some man that the people do not want?

THE KEYNOTE SPEECH.

Senator Borah's keynote speech may be said to have more or less covered the ground. Upon the closest kind of scrutiny it does not appear to have left the senator's position in doubt upon any particular issue, and he made it, Oh, so plain as to one William Howard Taft.

"I think 78 delegates were seated for Taft that any fair tribunal would have given to Roosevelt, and 52 delegates were seated for Taft that no honest tribunal could have denied him. I believe in a national presidential primary, and I think the Chicago convention demonstrates that the American people can not govern themselves without it."

Borah then is opposed to the candidacy of Taft. Let so much be written in the tablets of memory.

He is a Republican, but not a Taft Republican. If the state central committee desires to advance another candidate for the position of senator, Senator Borah offers the field.

Here is an excerpt from his speech which seems to make clear his brand of Republicanism:

"Where is the Republican who will defend upon the rostrum free trade for the farmer and protection for the manufacturer, free trade for all your grain and farm products and protection for the blanket which you buy to protect you from the winter's cold? Where is the Republican who will oppose in the open the election of senators by popular vote? Where is the Republican who will meet me in debate in defense of the commerce court? Is the three-year homestead bill, which gives to the settler a chance to overcome adversity and win a home, un-Republican—the first homestead law was signed by Abraham Lincoln? Is the dry homestead bill, which enables man to reclaim these vast areas of desert and make them habitable and fruitful, un-Republican? Is the Children's Bureau bill, which uncovers the fiendish greed of Eastern manufacturers and rescues from industrial slavery the girls and boys coming to the responsibilities of citizenship, un-Republican? Is the bill that I now have pending to create a department of labor and make the secretary thereof a member of the cabinet un-Republican? Is the title bill which gives the settlers on reclamation projects a chance before they are driven off in adversity and despair un-Republican? Is the eight-hour law I urged through congress un-Republican? What bill have I advocated that they will condemn? Who are these self-constituted guardians of the Republican party, these pious-faced political Pharisees who stand on the street corners and denounce all creeds except their own?"

Mr. Borah puts aside the questions which the more radical elements in the party regard as uppermost, and takes up those upon which "no Conservative and no Progressive can refuse to consider as imminent for solution." He says:

Take three—a proper system of national taxation; the rehabilitation of our financial system; a proper and effective treatment of the subject of the trusts. The political party which offers the country a comprehensive and effective plan by which to deal with these matters in the light of present conditions will have no trouble in commanding the support of a vast majority of the people for the next quarter of a century. Without this we will all be in the quagmire and broken into factions—and this condition will prevail in all parties. What we want is an issue, and we want that issue to be policies and not persons.

Taking up the issues which relate to the Sherman law, Senator Borah declares that two-thirds of the trust question is "wrapped up in a proper consideration, supervision, and limitation of the charter powers of the corporation." In conclusion:

If some man comes forward as Lincoln did in his Bloomington speech with a simple but comprehensive, fearless, fair, and statesmanlike plan to deal with these problems as our new industrial life demands, he will not need to worry about organization. He will not need to sit up nights worrying about the bosses. The American people will take care of both propositions. This is my idea of reorganization.

In Mr. Borah's view, the root of the trust evil is in the abuse of powers under the corporation laws, and he is in substantial agreement with Mr. Taft at this point,

though he has not approved some of Mr. Taft's methods. In his (Borah's) opinion, the Democrats "are not likely to do much with respect to the trust issue at the first session of the new Congress. Their love for states' rights, he says, "will almost surely prompt them to oppose any Federal incorporation measure." Rejuvenation of the party, Senator Borah thinks, is dependent upon future action rather than upon conferences. If the factions can come together on an affirmative policy with respect to the trusts and can offer the country something better than any plan to be developed by the Democratic party, they will have no difficulty in finding an issue upon which they can make an appeal to the country.

From \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
Date \_\_\_\_\_

THE PROGRESSIVES TO REMAIN INDEPENDENT.

The recent Republican conference in Washington revealed that the effort to rehabilitate the Republican party by the Hadley-Borah-Cummins wing will not be successful. The reason for this is that the dominant Taft-Penrose-Barnes wings will never willingly surrender control of the party to the Progressives.

On the other hand, the out-and-out Bull Mooseers who left the reservation with Colonel Roosevelt have no idea of returning to the Republican party, because they are convinced that the future belongs to them and that the country has definitely repudiated the principles and leaders of the old Republican party. Whether or not they have accurately gauged popular opinion, it is obvious that they are going forward toward their own destiny, for they have burned their bridges behind them. They are determined to remain an independent party, opposed as much to the Republican as to the Democratic party.

There is no possibility of fusion with the Republican party, unless that party consents to incorporate in its platforms the whole Progressive programme, and such conservative Republican leaders as Taft, Root and Barnes will never consent to surrender their convictions, hence both parties, instead of getting together, will be found drifting farther apart as time goes on.

This was made clear by the instructions given to the Progressive members of the Illinois Legislature at the recent Bull Moose conference at Chicago. In the Illinois Senate there are twenty-five Republicans, twenty-four Democrats and two Progressives; in the House there are seventy-five Democrats, forty-nine Republicans, twenty-five Progressives and four Socialists.

The Progressives are in a hopeless minority, yet they have been ordered to fight for a legislative programme embodying all the pledges of their party, and they must do this without any "trafficking or dickering" with those who are outside the fold. It would seem, however, that the complex composition of the Illinois Legislature offers a fine opportunity for considering measures on their merits, provided that the alliance between the Republican and Democratic bosses that has dominated the sessions for several years be smashed.

It is well to note that eight Democratic representatives have already pledged themselves to oppose for Speaker of the House any member of the old combine that helped to elect Lorimer. All things considered, it would be the right sort of "dickering" for the twenty-five Progressives in the House to do what they can to bring about the election of a good Speaker and good United States Senators, even though this might mean their voting for decent Democrats.

From **INTELLIGENCER**  
**SEATTLE, WASH.**  
Date **NOV 24 1917**

Political Parties—Looking Ahead.

Four years ago, in a notable speech at Philadelphia, William Howard Taft said that the country needed, and would always need, two strong political parties.

The Republican party, in the twelve years following the split of the Democratic party over free silver, had no compact, virile opposition and grew weaker steadily, in spite of its uninterrupted lease of power. Still a constructive party, and, in the main, true to its best traditions, its leaders in congress, returned biennially without effort, became unresponsive not only to the popular will, but to the will of congress itself.

Legislation by executive authority—the enforcement of White House policies by use of the patronage club—cost the lawmaking body the respect and confidence of the country. Divided against itself and impotent from factional feuds, the Republican party, in the end, disintegrated hopelessly, and thus the Democratic party now comes back into power, not by virtue of its own strength, but wholly for lack of united opposition.

What has happened in the case of the Republican party will assuredly happen, soon or late, in the case of the Democratic party, if not confronted constantly by a formidable political foe. It cannot be a great party, cannot successfully work out a national destiny, unless kept alert to its duties and responsibilities by a compact, active and vigilant opposition.

The rehabilitation of the Republican party may seem, for the moment, an impossible undertaking. It must mark time until the political atmosphere is further cleared. But a Democratic landslide in 1892, he it remembered, was followed by a complete political reversal in 1896. Such Republicans as La Follette, Cummins, Borah and Hadley, who come out of the contest with prestige as progressive statesmen unimpaired, may be depended upon to give their influence and activities to the upbuilding and rehabilitation of the party to which they have held unswerving allegiance and through which all notable reforms to date, political, industrial and economic, have been achieved.

Events make men and make movements. The Democratic party, twice successful under Grover Cleveland, was quickly unmade by the course of events, and Woodrow Wilson will not enter the White House under auspices more propitious than those which marked the ascendancy of his illustrious predecessor in 1885 and 1893. All right-minded, country-loving people, however, will wish for him a successful administration and certainly a fuller measure of public support than has been accorded the able, duty-doing and patriotic American whom he is shortly to displace.

Political fates may decree that a new party is to rise, or that the erstwhile warring factions of the Republican party, under leadership acceptable to both, will reunite and form an organization worthy of the name. All this is for the future to say.

Meanwhile, it is sufficient to emphasize the need of a virile opposition party—the country's need of it—and any move in that direction, state or national, if not prompted by mere partisan and self-seeking aims, will receive due consideration and the respectful treatment it deserves.

From **ARBONAUT**  
**SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.**

Party-Craft and State-Craft.

The inveterate tendency of great affairs, including the larger arrangements of politics, to shape themselves in their own time and after their own fashion is again illustrated by current movements in the political sphere. An effort on the part of a few Republicans at Chicago to reorganize and reequip the party has come to nothing—as everybody knew it would. It represented, and nobody of any particular account was there. Furthermore it was an attempt to establish new lines of policy in contempt of the principle which insists that lines of political action shall establish themselves. It sought to get on arbitrarily without waiting upon the development of events by which alone political policies are forged and shaped.

Observation of this failure has brought out certain frank and timely declarations from prominent party men, notably one from Senator Borah. "We can not expect," says Mr. Borah, "a great deal in the way of a revival of power until we submit to the people a definite and comprehensive policy in regard to the great problems of the day. \* \* \* A great party must be built up on a great principle and in a great cause, and no political party is ever formidable and dominant until its rank and file are aroused."

Proceeding to consideration of the party interests,

SEATTLE WASH Post-Intell (1912)

Monday, June 17, 1912

No attention will be paid to unsolicited contributions. Communications on timely topics are welcomed for publication, but must be signed and should not exceed 300 words in length.

MONDAY, JUNE 17, 1912.

### Bluster and Bluff.

The national committee voted to seat the regularly elected delegates to the national convention from Washington. Col. Roosevelt has fifteen avowed friends and supporters on the national committee, including those there by virtue of proxies given that they might represent the colonel as attorneys in the tribunal in which they are also sitting as judges. The case for the regular Washington delegation was so strong that even the strongest of the Roosevelt advocates did not protest against the final action. But eight of them voted to seat the Roosevelt contestants.

Senator Dixon, Boss Fliin and the Colonel himself are filling the air with loud talk of brigandage and theft in the matter of turning down the Roosevelt contestants. Yet, in the great majority of the contested seats the national committee has voted unanimously in favor of the Taft delegates. This has been done because in nearly every case the contests were utterly frivolous, without even a pretext of merit, and were instituted, not with the slightest hope that the delegates would ever be seated by the national committee, but entirely for the purpose of affording some shadow of pretext for the cries intended in advance to be raised, that Roosevelt was being cheated out of the nomination.

Senator Borah is easily the ablest of the leaders of the Roosevelt following at Chicago and is a member of the national committee. After the first series of contests were decided, Senator Borah spoke out plainly, saying: "There have been only two contests considered by the committee thus far which have the slightest merit—the Ninth Alabama and the Fifth Arkansas districts. Those were the only two contests thus far considered for which there was any excuse whatever. The others should not have been brought."

Yet, there were 230 regularly chosen Taft delegates, the seats of whom were contested by Col. Roosevelt; and after each decision against the contestants the cry of fraud, theft and brigandage has gone up from the men who instituted these contests, knowing in advance that the decision must inevitably be against them. These cries are raised, despite the fact that in but one single instance did all the Roosevelt members of the national committee vote in favor of a contesting delegation.

It is a game of brag, bluster and bluff carried to the most extreme point ever seen in the history of American politics.

Columbian State Journal,  
Monday, December 2, 1912.

### Reuniting.

Senator Borah, one of the pioneer Progressives, is not hopeful of an early coalescence of the regular Republicans and the Progressives. He thinks it will take time to do this. The antagonisms are too fresh to expect the return of harmony for awhile yet. It takes time to remove the acerbities of the late fierce belligerence. But time will do it. It is a great leveler and it will finally destroy recollections that are all too unkind.

Perhaps, some of time's triumphs will include the whole political situation and bring men's minds to a friendly attitude in considering what is best for the country. We need to reach that attitude, for the country is suffering for the lack of it. Tolerance is one of the happiest influences in human affairs and we can never expect to reach the truest ideals of the republic without it.

There is much sense in Senator Borah's suggestion and it will be well for those who hope to mend the existing disparities to keep out of the solution as much of spite and ill-will as possible.

WORLD

New York City

dress

DEC 10 1912

etc

### WHAT IT MEANS.

The hundreds of Progressive leaders who have assembled in Chicago are not there to hear Mr. Roosevelt deliver a 15,000-word speech.

They are not there to see Miss Jane Addams preside at the afternoon session.

They are not there to bind up the wounds of social justice and to sing "Onward, Christian Soldiers!"

They are there for the eminently practical purpose of seizing the machinery of the Republican party.

And who is left to oppose them? Not Mr. Taft. If his leadership had ever been accepted by the rank and file of Republican voters there would have been no Third-Term party. Not Aldrich and Cannon and Penrose and Crane and Barnes and the rest of the Old Guard. They are done for. Not the semi-Progressives like Hadley and Borah and Cummins, who maintained a quasi-regularity during the campaign. Most of them would have abandoned the Republican ticket after the National Convention had they foreseen that Taft would run third.

The Republican party is leaderless and its organization is at the mercy of the Progressive element. It would be impossible to hold a regular Republican conference that matched the Progressive conference in numbers or enthusiasm. There is no fight left in the regular organization. The way is now open to the Progressive leaders to take possession of the wreck. This is what will happen. They have shown what they can do in the way of smashing a party that defies their dictation, and the spoils belong to them.

With the Progressive leaders in control of the Republican machinery it will not be difficult to bring about a truce in the party. The battle at Chicago last June was not fought for an issue or a principle but for a man. If the Republican "reactionaries" had nominated Mr. Roosevelt for President they would have been permitted to frame their own platform, and whenever they are willing to accept his overlordship their standing will be as exalted as that of Fliin or Stubbs. That is the beginning and the end of it.

In 1916 we shall see both factions of the Republican party working together again, providing there is a chance of Republican victory at the polls. A party that has quarrelled about a man and not about a principle can always compose its differences, and that is the situation in the Republican party. But this much is sure—the leaders of the reunited party will not be the men who managed the Republican campaign of 1912. The old order has passed away.

From TIMES

Address: Washington, D. C.

### THE "DEAD HAND" OF ECONOMIC IGNORANCE.

Senator William E. Borah of Idaho is another "man in the ranks" of that growing army which realizes that the theory of political economy evolved from the speculative and industrious mind of a private tutor 100 years ago is but a lame hypothesis with which to set about the settlement of the questions of the day. "Whether compulsory competition is a good thing to preserve or not," said Senator Borah recently, "I am not going to discuss. I am stating the fact that so far as the man in the street is concerned it is dead." And that is true. But it is the Dead Hand of this fallacious theory of "compulsory competition" that still lies upon all our industrial and economic legislation to make it either clumsy and useless or a hobble to our progress.

From  
Address  
New Orleans  
AUG 22

PAPER CHRONICLE  
PUBLISHED ST. ANTHONY, IDA  
SEP 19 1912

AGAINST THE ONE-TERM PLAN.

Senator Borah of Idaho, one of the ablest of the Republican insurgents in the upper house, ranges himself against the proposed constitutional amendment fixing the presidential term at six years and limiting incumbents of that office to one term. He can see no justification for "taking from a free people their right to select whom they will for Chief Magistrate." No development in national history, recent or remote, in his opinion has disclosed the need of the change now proposed in the system devised by the Fathers.

Heretofore Mr. Borah has figured more than once as the stout champion of constructive reforms—at least one of which requires an amendment of the Constitution. He is no thick and thin defender of the original governmental plan against changes rendered inevitable by new times and new conditions. His opposition to the limitation of presidential tenure is for that reason the more surprising. Possibly its inspiration is found in his admiration for Col. Roosevelt and his suspicion that this no-re-election proposal is aimed at the Colonel's ambition.

At any rate, the Idaho progressive's objections to the plan do not seem to us insuperable, by any means. His argument is largely theoretical. The one-term plan is devised to meet conditions, not theories. The right of a free people to choose whom they will for Chief Magistrate was limited to some extent by the Constitution framers themselves. Afterward it was further restricted by a tradition that has almost the force of law, limiting the President to two terms of four years each. All that is proposed now is to reduce his term of possible occupancy from eight years to six and to remove the temptation offered by the present necessity for a second election, to practice politics rather than statesmanship during his first years in office.

A comparatively young man, Senator Borah has lived and served in Federal office long enough to realize how the average President's ambition for a second term impairs his usefulness during his first. He has made acquaintance with the "steam roller" of the Federal machine. He knows as well as any man that the civil service regulations have never succeeded in preventing "pernicious political activity" on the part of government employees. He has

HURSDAY, AUGUST 22, 1912.

watched one President dictate the nomination of his successor, and knows to what extent the renomination of another was owed to the "Federal machine" behind him. As the government machinery enlarges and the number of government officials and employees multiplies, the temptation to use these patent agencies to secure renomination must grow stronger. The temptation to "play politics" during the closing years is to our mind as logical, as necessary, almost as important, as some of those which progressive Republicans like Senator Borah have helped to bring about.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Republican Reorganization Progress.

The significance of the widespread Republican harmonization and reorganization movement discussed in various Washington dispatches lies in the fact that it is not confined to leaders who supported President Taft in the recent campaign. Although the few statements Col. Roosevelt has deigned to make since the election have been marked by an unregenerate belligerence and a seeming belief that the disaffected anti-Taftian Republicans who voted the Bull Moose ticket on Nov. 5 can be led into permanent alienation from the Republican standard, it is clear that there are many of the Progressives who do not accept his point of view. It is these men who are the hope of a Republican reorganization which will reach its goal and which will make the party stronger than it has ever been, not accepting the period when it acknowledged Col. Roosevelt as its standard-bearer.

There has never been any question in unbiased minds that the great majority of Republican voters are sincere progressives and that they will follow devotedly sincere progressive leadership. The idea that the party as a mass was corrupt in its sympathies and deserved destruction has never been warranted. What the party deserves is leadership of the kind that Col. Roosevelt and his friends could give it if they would unite with Gov. Hadley and Senators Cummins and Borah and the numerous other progressives who remained loyal to the party in the recent campaign. And there is every sign that the proper leadership will be supplied, whether the Bull Moose return to the fold or not. It is to be hoped that in the end this is what they will decide to do, for the returns showed conclusively that they had failed to attract votes from any party but the Republican and that they are regarded by the country as a Republican faction rather than a party.

SENATOR BORAH.

Senator Borah, in his opening address at Meridian, spoke out upon his position, as a Progressive, and told the fellows that did not like it to go to—well, where ever they want to, but he made it plain that the little federal squad around Boise, and through the state were not going to give him orders.

We like this alright, and it may be that Senator Borah is between two conditions, that he cannot come out either for party, or either candidate; by saying, "I am a Republican", we infer he means that he was elected upon the Republican ticket in Idaho, and as a Republican he has been a Progressive, and his work in the senate, and before the people on all measures of public benefit, he has been a commoner, and for the common people, without injustice to anyone; that now under the party of Lincoln, he has a right to advocate what Lincoln advocated, and as a Republican he does not have to fore swear Lincoln and his policies of reform and Borah and his policies of Progress, and adopt those of a reactionary like Mr. Taft even if Taft does happen to head the Republican ticket; in other words, "What's in a name?" Borah according to the closing notes of his speech, seems to be this; that if, the men who are running the regular Republican party in Idaho, and in the respective counties, believe he is doing what the people want done, what boots it, whether you call him a Progressive or Republican. Also that if he so understands the people, and for political purposes, these men now running upon the different county legislative tickets, repudiate him, simply because he will not stand for what Taft stands for, they may do so and he will then go before the people upon measures for the people and take his chances. From Borah's point of view his position is consistent, but subject to many arguments, from another point of view, but as Borah's record is in favor of that position, we give him the benefit that it entails.

Newspaper Cutting Bureau in the World

From STANDARD  
Address

A TEXT FROM LINCOLN

One of the sayings of Abraham Lincoln which has often been quoted is the following:

"I am not bound to win but I am bound to be true. I am not bound to succeed, but I am bound to live up to what light I have. I must stand with anybody that stands right; stand with him while he is right and part with him when he goes wrong."

No better guide for political action than the above could be adopted by any citizen. The blind following of any man or set of men or of any mere party name is always dangerous, and no political organization can long endure which does not represent a live issue. Stand for it if it is right—fight it if it is wrong.

United States Senator Borah, the brainiest of the so-called Progressive senators, has recently emphasized this doctrine by declaring that any party which offers the country a comprehensive and effective program on the great questions of national taxation, the reform of our banking and currency legislation, and the dealing adequately with monopolistic combinations would have "no trouble in commanding the support of a vast majority of the people for the next quarter of a century." "What we want is an issue," asserts Senator Borah; and he adds, as if looking hard at the Bull Moose, "we want that issue to be policies and not persons."

BORAH DEVELOPS PENROSE'S HUMOR.

Senator Penrose, the corrupt boss of corrupt politics in corrupt Pennsylvania, has never before been accused of being a humorist. It remained for Senator Borah to develop this unexpected trait of his character. It happened during a recent session of the senate when Penrose was condemning Roosevelt because, as Penrose alleged, Roosevelt had purchased southern negro delegates to the Chicago convention at \$5000 per head. The following account of the senate proceedings brings out the humorous side of the Pennsylvania corruptionist very nicely:

Senator Borah interrupted to ask about the activities of the Republican national committee at the Chicago convention. "The majority of the national committee exercised every opportunity possible to restrict and restrain the efforts to purchase colored Taft delegates at \$5000 a head," replied Senator Penrose. "I suppose the senator is not prepared to state how they got them back," asked Senator Borah. "We got them back by appealing to their manhood and their reputation for honor and integrity, and in most every case we got them back," Mr. Penrose answered. "I take it, Mr. President, that the men who would wander off the reservation for the purpose of raising the price could not have very much manhood left to appeal to, to get back," Senator Borah said.

IN A NUTSHELL

From

Address

Date

SHREVEPORT  
DEC 2 - 1912

## THE G. O. P. REJUVENATION SCHEME.

Many men prominent in the councils of the republican party have since the catastrophe of November 5, been at work on plans for the rejuvenation of the sick and shattered organization—the hopelessness of the task has not deterred the patriots at all, and they are rushing into print with their schemes as frequently as space will permit.

President Taft announced the day after the election that he would devote all of his spare time from the law office after next March to the gathering up of the broken and tangled remnants of the old organization, incidentally preaching harmony and "get-together" whenever opportunity might present itself, but that he was not to be considered as ambitious for another nomination. Which last remark was very easily understandable under the circumstances.

Others have been talking rejuvenation along the same lines, but none of the old-line party men, not even the president, himself, has been able to present a plan that possessed any merit or contained any hope of ultimate success.

Senator William E. Borah of Idaho, however, comes forward with a plan which at least has the virtue of being based upon something that is tangible. He proposes to reorganize the republican party upon policies and not individuals. As Senator Borah was one of the few republican senators who made a clean-cut campaign for re-election as an independent, siding with neither Roosevelt nor Taft in the recent unpleasantness, and won a sweeping victory, his views as to the reorganization schemes may be worth something. Especially is this true when it is considered that the old party, if it is ever revived at all, must be revived by some beside a Taft or a Roosevelt—or a supporter of either faction. Senator Borah belongs to this middle class—progressive enough to cause him to leave Taft, but not crazy enough to go off after Rooseveltism. The Idaho senator, discussing his reorganization plan, says, among other things:

I do not believe we can expect a great deal in the way of a revival of power until we submit to the people a definite and comprehensive policy in regard to the great problems of today.

"The people are in advance of their leaders; the generals are bringing up the rear. Political machines may thrive for a time and to a remarkable degree through the power of organization and the influence of patronage. But a great party must be built up on a great principle and in a great cause—a cause which unites and welds the thousands whose unselfish purpose in it is to achieve something for the general good.

"A political party is never formidable and dominant until its rank and file are aroused through the influence of some theme which is worthy of their time and worthy of sacrifice.

"Suppose we put aside many of the questions which the more progressive members of the party advocate and take alone, for the sake of argument, those questions which no conservative and no progressive can refuse to consider as imminent for solution. Take three—a proper system of national taxation; the rehabilitation of our financial system; a proper and effective treatment of the subject of the trusts. The political party which offers the country a comprehensive and effective plan by which to deal with these matters in the light of present conditions will have no trouble in commanding the support of a vast majority of the people for the next quarter of a century. Without this we will all be in the quagmire and broken into factions—and this condition will prevail in all parties.

"Perhaps it is too soon to expect it, but we must witness the chaotic condition of politics until it happens. No reorganization which is not built on such a foundation will amount to a great deal.

"What we want is an issue, and we want that issue to be policies and not persons.

The Idaho senator then proceeds to stress the anti-trust issue as the one upon which the republican party is most likely to regain the confidence of the people—and the offices. He recalls that the anti-trust law has been upon the statute books for nearly twenty years, with the republicans in power at Washington, and that it has never worked out the objects for which it was placed upon the statute books, saying:

"Nothing in my judgment except either a sense of constant oppressive weariness or a most inordinate intellectual pride in past achievements could persist in pronouncing the Sherman law as it stands and as it now operates a success. It has been wholly inefficient and its enforcement a lamentable failure.

"It has not preserved competition.

"It has not destroyed or even curbed monopoly. It has not kept open and free the channels of interstate trade.

"Above all, it has not and does not now promise to give any relief to the people at large.

"It has not protected the people from extortion. It has not given them relief as against the destructive and annihilating forces or combinations which are fast sweeping the field of independent producers or manufacturers.

"Everybody seems to see this except Congress.

And yet Senator Borah seems to entertain a notion that the republican party can go upon the stump four years hence, with the anti-trust statute for a campaign cry, and win another victory. Just how he gets his own

consent to this feeling that the American people are a set of imbeciles we do not know; certainly the voters remembering what the republican party failed to do to the trusts while they had an opportunity, are not going to vote them back into power again on such an issue.

Senator Borah, however, in his concluding statement, indicates that he has but little faith, after all, in his own remedy calling for an issue built on policies and not on persons, for he says that it will be necessary for some man to come forward, as did Lincoln in his Bloomington speech, "with a simple but comprehensive, fearless, fair and statesman-like plan to deal with these problems as our new industrial life demands." In which case, what's the matter with Roosevelt? Isn't he another Lincoln, another Jefferson and another George Washington all in one? Sure, he is. He admits it.

## Newspaper Cutting Bureau in the World

From

Address: New York City

Date

## HIGH CLASS SENATORS NEEDED.

Two questions concern every one who is interested in the prosperity of the country very closely. One is, Will the Democratic majority in the new House of Representatives act harmoniously and sensibly? And the other is, How will the Senate deal with bills sent up to it by the House? There seems to be good reason for assuming that any reasonably sensible bills which may pass both houses will be approved by Mr. Wilson, but will the action of Congress be determined by common sense, or by partisan or personal influence? The *Washington Star* says:

The Senatorial contests are being decided in favor of thoroughly competent men. Idaho renews the commission of Mr. Borah. Massachusetts promotes Mr. Weeks. Maine confirms the choice made at the primaries and elects Mr. Burleigh. Colorado chooses two men widely known and experienced in affairs. No delay. No scandal. Every thing done in the open and according to Hoyle.

These selections are particularly praiseworthy at this time. In the first place, the Senate after March 4 will show a very close division. The Democrats—when all stand together—will "have it" by only one or two. So that, in the maneuvering, parliamentary and otherwise, experience will count. It will be to the advantage of both parties and to the country that Senators know their way around.

In the second place, the business that will come before the Senate immediately is vital to the public welfare. If the tariff is revised in bungling fashion the cost may be heavy. If the trusts get the better of the bargain in legislation affecting them, discontent among the masses arising out of monopoly may greatly increase. And unless the reform proposed for the currency is wisely shaped, the present situation, bad as it is, had better be continued. For, of the three problems, that of the currency is the most delicate, and calls for the most careful solution.

In both these aspects of the case, therefore, the present demand in the Senate is for experience and demonstrated competency in legislation. A man who knows how has much the advantage of one who is beginning an apprenticeship. Mr. Borah is a master mechanic, while Mr. Weeks and Mr. Burleigh, because of their long service in the House, will take up their tasks with full understanding of their new surroundings. If now New Hampshire, Illinois, Tennessee and West Virginia will consider their opportunities and obligations in this light, and pick men more with regard to the settlement of present paramount national issues than of local factional squabbles, which should be handled in some other way, they will do well by themselves and by everybody. Good men are available in all those States. Why not take matters out of the hands of the rings, and appeal to a higher and broader sense of duty, citing what other States have just done, and what is expected of the States yet to act?

The Senate, always an important and interesting body, will focus unusual attention for the next two years at least. The Democratic margin will be so narrow the party's leaders in that body will have to be sleeplessly vigilant.

From **EVG. NEWS**  
Address: **Baltimore, Md.**  
Date

### THE PRELIMINARY TO REPUBLICAN-PROGRESSIVE FUSION

In the last election President Taft's vote was about 7,500,000. The campaign became an assault upon the old order of things, and by force of circumstance the President was made the champion of about every form of standpatism. He had the economic conservatives with him—those who believed in "letting prosperity alone." Also he had something like 2,000,000 Republicans who would have preferred a broad, constructive, progressive platform, but hated to surrender their party name; also about 1,000,000 men whose bread and butter depends upon the continued vitality of the Republican organization.

The conservative element in this vote is not available to any amalgamated party of which the Progressives form an integral part. But the 2,000,000 rank and file Republicans are. They are a legitimate source from which to seek Progressive strength, and it cannot but be a wise step for the Progressive party to consider how their support may be gained to it.

Mr. Roosevelt struck, we believe, at a practical difficulty in amalgamation when he urged against it the obvious unwisdom of a fusion with the Republican machine. If amalgamation means the continued leadership of the Barneses and Penroses, or even a place for them in the new party councils, it would clearly be impractical.

But there are Hadleys, Borahs and Cumminses in the Republican party, and these men are working hard for a reorganization of the party's organization on lines that the Progressives can not only tolerate but endorse. The 2,000,000 look to them, and it is at least possible that by compromise with them this great vote, now divided by the machine, could be won to the Progressive cause.

The text of Mr. Munsey's proposition indicates that, so far as the Republican party is concerned, the suggestion was broached, not to the old-time machine leaders, but to the rank and file. The question of its feasibility depends primarily and obviously on whether, having seen to what pass the old organization leaders have brought the party the rank and file would have the initiative to do away with them. Until this has happened direct union of the two parties is, of course, impossible. Once it has happened, slow amalgamation, at least, is inevitable; and any discussion at all which will serve to aid in bringing it about and then hasten the union is pertinent.

Certainly it would be a ridiculous and unfortunate situation were several million voters, all desirous of the same general ends, to remain divided into two hostile camps, each resolved that nothing good shall come from and to the other.

Possibly it has been so long since a new party was born that we fail to recognize the inevitableness of certain conditions attending its birth, and are unduly intolerant of the slow process of its growth. But if that growth can be hastened, it is well to try it, so that between senility of the party and immaturity of the opposing the enemy.

### National Water-Power

**I**N WATER-POWER the Federal Government owns outright a national asset the present value of which is great and the future value hardly calculable. Most of the other so-called natural resources of the country that were once public property have been given to private owners, with little or no compensation to the public. Upon some of them great individual fortunes have been built.

No water-power that is publicly owned today should be surrendered to private ownership upon any conditions whatever; neither should it be leased except with explicit reservation to the Government of broad powers of regulation over rates and service. The Government exercises regulation over rates and service of railroads that were created mainly by private capital. There can be no reasonable question of its duty to reserve a like right with respect to publicly owned water-power; and there should be a reasonable compensation to the public for use of it.

There ought to be no dispute about these propositions; but unfortunately Washington is so obsessed by anti-monopoly notions that it may waste the public water-powers through excessive fear lest they be captured by some monopolistic bogey of its feverish dreams. It may hedge them about with foolish conditions that will keep them idle. Reserving broad power of regulation over rates and service, so that the capital invested can never earn more than a reasonable return, what ground remains for fearing a monopoly? In the case of a water-power it is hardly feasible to prescribe that every citizen who wishes to travel a mile shall draw his barrelful of water, convert it into electric current and propel himself the desired distance. If Washington is going to deal with this subject in a horror of all large aggregations of capital it will get nowhere.

From **COLUMBUS, O**  
Address  
Date **JAN 25 1913**

### Party Reorganization.

Intelligence from Washington is that work is quietly in progress looking to the reorganization of the Republican party. It will not reach definite shape until after the 5th of March, when President Taft ceases to be the titular leader of the Republican party. It is thought that "opposition to President Taft, fully as much as any personal regard for Colonel Roosevelt, impelled many of the Progressive leaders to antagonize the Republican ticket last fall." Somehow, the president has been locked upon as the exponent of the standpat idea, which ruled the Republican party under the domination of Aldrich, Cannon et al.

So the new departure is being started by such men as Borah, Cummins, La Follette and other leaders of progressive Republican ideas. It is thought this is the only platform it is possible to re-establish the party upon. It will not build on the old foundations—it will not return to the old camps. This is not going back on the traditions of the party, for the very idea of progress belongs to the essence of Republicanism. Nor is there any expectation of an alliance with the Progressive party, because the opposition to Colonel Roosevelt is quite as vigorous as that against President Taft.

PER **EXAMINER**

**OGDEN, UTAH**

BLISHED

**NOV 13 1912**

### IDAHO'S OPPORTUNITY.

No man in one state has a right to elect a United States senator for another state. At the same time, and notwithstanding, The Examiner rises to remark that Idaho's opportunity is being recognized in the forthcoming election of a senator from the Gem state. They can elect William E. Borah, or something. Not even somebody just something.

Senator Borah has done more for Idaho than its own soil has done. He has done more for his state than its water courses have done. He has put Idaho on the map, and—outside the Coeur d'Alene country—Idaho didn't enjoy daily mention east of Boise.

Washington recognizes Borah as a really able lawyer and a decidedly able man. He may fool us people west of the continental divide, but he can't fool Washington for more than a day or two. Some men have tried to press the limit, and on the third day have gone up like rockets, and have come down like sticks. Senator Borah does not attempt anything beyond his powers, and his powers are fully sufficient to the demands of even the exacting duties of a United States senator.

Idaho has a chance to elect some one else; some one who more carefully trims his sails; some one who can make bigger promises—wind bags that have nothing but super-heated atmosphere for the people beguiled by them. Or Idaho can elect the man who has served her people well, and who is better fitted than any other man alive for Idaho's work in the future.

### TELEGRAM

PER

**PORTLAND, ORE.**

BLISHED

**JAN 16 1913**

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The country will congratulate the state of Idaho on the selection of Senator Borah. In the stewardship of that gentleman Idaho maintains an enviable distinction before the country. By virtue of character and by force of intellect Senator Borah has been accorded leadership in the affairs of the Nation, until the worth of his service is regarded as a National rather than a state asset. The community which can produce men like Senator Borah, and that has the good sense to select that sort of man as its representative in the National councils, is entitled to felicitation from the rest of the country.



DEC. 20 1912

# The Senate Democrats

(From the Washington Star.)

It seems hardly likely that the committee assignments in the Senate growing out of the change of party control will be decided on the basis of a contest strictly between the youngsters and the oldsters. That would be folly, particularly if the youngsters won, and would cost the majority party heavily in public esteem. Penalizing experience is always unwise, and often expensive. Young blood is good and should have recognition, but old blood has valuable uses and should have free circulation.

The Democrats are confronted by two things, both worthy of consideration: (1) Their majority will be uncomfortably slender, and (2) the opposition will be ably led. If, therefore, they fail to provide for their best leadership, either in committee work or in the general debate in the chamber, they will be heavily handicapped.

It is worthy of note, too, that for the loss of Mr. Rayner by death, and for the coming loss of Mr. Bailey by voluntary retirement, no early compensation is possible. They have headed their party's debating force for some years, and the Senate debates will be much the poorer for their disappearance.

While the Republican side of the Senate has at times been stronger it is still very strong. Root, Lodge, Sutherland, Borah, Smoot, McCumber, Cummins, LaFollette, Penrose, Nelson and others represent both great ability and long service, and in committee work as in general debate must be well met if met at all. Some, it is true, are called progressives, but when party lines are drawn again—as inevitably they will be when protection in the matter of the tariff, and central power as in the matter of the trusts and of the currency are under discussion—we shall probably see the distinction, temporarily at least, disappear and the old fight renewed, with Democrats on one side and Republicans on the other.

It is suggested that Mr. Wilson will be asked to decide the more difficult points in the dispute. The Democratic senators would do better by keeping full control of their own affairs. It is no part of Mr. Wilson's task proper to arbitrate factional differences in Congress about organization matters, and as a rule the less interference by a President with Congress, or by Congress with a President, the better for party control and for legislation. A President's recommendations as to measures and his nominations as to officers mark the limit of his connection with the lawmaking body.

Of recent years there has been complaint in congressional circles about White House influences on Capitol Hill. Better not invite any, and then if the new administration offends the complaints will be the more strongly based.

From

Address

Date

FROM

SAN JOSE, CAL.

FEB 16 1913

## WILL PUSH RECLAMATION.

NEWS comes from Washington that the president-elect intends to give special attention to conservation, particularly with regard to the arid lands of the west. The newly-elected president has said publicly that he believes in conservation, but not in reservation.

Senator Borah of Idaho, who is a progressive, also declares that he is in favor of conservation, but does not believe in the policy of tying up the public lands so as to interfere with the wholesome development of the west, or which will work a hardship to bona fide settlers.

The senator has recently written a long letter to Mr. Wilson on the subject, and it is said that the reply that he received was entirely satisfactory, and that the senator and the next president are in thorough accord on the subject.

Conservation is one of the questions in which the people of this state are vitally interested, especially those who live in the interior of the state, and have had their natural and legitimate activities interfered with by the bureaucratic branch of the government, through the pernicious interference of so-called experts on forestry, whose knowledge of the subject is only theoretical.

What we need and what the people of the mountain counties need is a conservation administration by practical men whose lives have been spent in close contact with nature and who are not dependent upon the dictum of inexperienced clerks in the interior department.

Bozeman, Mont.

REPUBLICAN

JUN 18 1912

## Views of Senator Borah.

Because Senator Borah voted with the Taft members to seat the Taft delegates from Indiana, the anti-Roosevelt folks have been crying that the Idaho senator has deserted the cause which he has so earnestly espoused. Senator Borah, explaining his vote, addressed the members of the committee as follows:

I don't want my vote construed as believing there were not things done at that primary that ought not to have been done, and I don't want the vote construed as approving the action of the credentials committee. But back of all that was the fact that they had a primary, and that the primary unquestionably, even after the illegal votes are excluded, was in favor of the president, and for that reason I shall vote for the Taft delegates.

That seems to dispose of the accusation, recklessly made, that Borah was out of touch with the Roosevelt force, and that he had deserted the men with whom he had been fighting.

Bozeman, Mont. Plain Dealer

Tuesday, December 3, 1912

### A Utopian Program.

In a recent interview Senator Borah of Idaho presented a splendid recipe for the reorganization of Republicanism. In brief Mr. Borah suggests to the reorganizers to forget all selfish considerations, to ignore all bosses and to have no care as to who shall be leader, and to formulate a constructive and progressive party policy that shall offer something definite and comprehensible to the dissatisfied people.

It need scarcely be remarked that a party organized or reorganized along these lines would meet with instant and enthusiastic support. It would deserve victory, and would win it. It would make the United States temporarily a one party nation, and establish a new era of good feeling.

But there will be no reorganization of this kind. The question of boss prerogative and leadership will be paramount. In the Bull Moose councils this question is vastly simplified, because the Progressive party is a one-man party, but it is nevertheless the vital consideration. Regular Republicanism has as its greatest task the selection of leaders and the satisfying of bosses.

Senator Borah, one may well believe, is a real disciple of the doctrine of political salvation which he lays down for others. His public record is such as to lead to this high confidence. He has pursued honesty when his party was pursuing privilege, and he declined to be blinded by the effulgence of the Bull Moose splendor.

It is a Utopia of which Mr. Borah dreams. Such dreams are pleasant and such dreamers are useful to the nation. But political parties are not thus reorganized in these days.

LOB ANGELES

ADDRESS

MAY 9 - 1912

### ADVANCING THE INTERESTS OF BORAH.

The suggestion by Bartlett Sinclair, former state auditor, that the Lewiston convention declare for Senator Borah for president, appeals to us as possessing merit. Senator Borah is not a candidate for the presidential nomination, however, and any efforts in this direction must be carried out in such a manner as not to embarrass him.

PLAIN DEALER

Washington, Pa. Press. June 21, 1912

om  
dress  
NOV 7 - 1911

Court Needs a Progressive.

The late Justice Harlan was considered the chief or only insurgent member of the supreme court. His vigorous protests against the court's majority view in the oil and tobacco cases will be long remembered. As long as he remained on the bench the progressives in and out of congress were satisfied that their views on business and economic matters would at least receive full consideration even if they did not control the court's decisions.

Now that the Kentuckian is dead, the insurgents feel themselves unrepresented and the suggestion is made that President Taft, in filling the Harlan vacancy, choose a lawyer of the insurgent or progressive school. A man prominently mentioned in this connection is Senator Borah of Idaho.

Borah was considered a possibility when a previous vacancy existed, but his qualifications were overlooked in favor of another man. No one questions his ability as a lawyer. In the senate he has been a progressive, not of the ultra type, but one ready to vote on the side of progress. Geographically, the appointment seems feasible.

President Taft has invited public confidence by the character of his several appointments to this court and the nation looks to him to be equally free from unfortunate political influences when he fills this latest vacancy. He ought in fairness to the prevailing sentiment in all parts of the country name a man of known insurgent or progressive ideas.

Billings (Mont.) Gazette SATURDAY, JUNE 21, 1912

Decided Step Taken

Through the passage and signing of the Borah three year homestead bill a distinct step has been taken in the direction of the solution of the problem of the immigration of American citizens to the Canadian Northwest, and to the solving of the question of how best we may settle up the lands on this side of the border and thereby aid in solving the vexed problem of supplying the nation with food.

There is no question that much of the blame for the present condition under which Americans pass over the fertile lands of the Northwest to settle in a foreign country where neither soil or climatic

conditions are equal, has been done to the retention upon our statute books of land laws that have far outlived their usefulness. The policy of this government seems to have been to regard the settler as a man who will beat the government if he can, and that therefore he must be not only hedged about with restrictions but it should be made difficult for him to acquire title to any portion of the public domain. That congress recognizes the injustice to the settlers, is evidenced by the passage of the Borah bill and its becoming a law through the signature of the president.

Senator Borah has inaugurated a more liberal policy in relation to our public lands, and while it would not do to go so fast in the way of remedial legislation as to lead us to go to the opposite extreme and to make our land laws lax, still it is to be expected, now that a start has been made, that our land laws will be overhauled and revised and that the nation will make the man who is willing to endure the hardships of building up an empire in the West, feel that he is regarded as a very valuable asset of the country and that conditions will be made as easy for him as is consonant with justice and reason.

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tegrity, form and such a ticket would be given by President Taft's renomination and that extent a better chance of preventing a Democratic victory in November

A Progressive Leader On Tariff

IT IS worth the while of tariff smashers to note that the Senator Borah who has been so determined a partisan of Roosevelt a Chicago is one of those who are most outspoken in denunciation of the Democratic tariff platform. Senator Borah has demonstrated by the courage with which he led the fight for Roosevelt in the national committee that he is one of the biggest men in the progressive movement. Borah is not a tariff smasher, nevertheless.

In a recent speech in the Senate Mr. Borah illustrated the futility of tariff changes as regulators of the cost of living by calling attention to the fact that when hides were put on the free list boots and shoes advanced in price, "and \$2,125,000 of revenue went into somebody's pocket"—that somebody being one of the trusts. Then he referred to the removal of the duty to the extent of \$1,125,000 from lumber, and the foreign (Canadian) dealer put the money into his pocket, "and the American home builder never received one cent of benefit from it." While plenty of more illustrations could be given, it would only point out the impotence of pending tariff legislation to give the consumer relief.

"You may go to the free-trade countries, you may go to the protection countries, and these combines are extorting their millions while legislators shrink from taking hold of them."

Mr. Borah called attention to the fact that the whole country last fall was engaged in a discussion of the Standard Oil and tobacco cases and calling on congress for legislation, and the Democrats had fooled away their time on preposterous tariff bills without doing a single thing to meet the demand for sincere and genuine trust regulation. As his loyalty to the people's interests is just now much in evidence his tariff views acquire a new significance.

Chico, Cal.

RECORD.

JUN 27 1912

All the big newspaper agree that the advice of Governor Johnson and Heney, which Colonel Roosevelt accepted over that of Senator Borah and Governor Hadley, was fatal to his success, says the Woodland Democrat. These fire-eaters first wanted to take everybody who failed to agree with the Roosevelt propaganda by the sleek of the pants and throw them out of the coliseum windows, and next wanted to bolt the convention when they found they could not control it. Then they bolted the committee on credentials, but finally went back when they discovered that nobody would follow them. Then they published a statement that they would withdraw from the convention, but backed up when the time came for calling the convention to order again. It will really do both good to discover that when they withdraw their fingers from a bucket of water the hole quickly disappears.

The First Established and Most Complete Newspaper Clipping Bureau in the World

From  
Address  
Date

SPRINGFIELD, MASS JUN 19 1912

TAFT WINS ON FIRST TEST.

The election of Senator Root as temporary chairman of the Republican national convention—an election made amid scenes of the wildest disorder—in ordinary circumstances would pre-empt the renomination of President Taft, but there is no telling what will be the final outcome of the momentous struggle now going on in the Chicago Coliseum. For Mr. Root were recorded 555 delegates as against 502 for Gov. McGovern, the candidate of the Roosevelt following. The vote for Mr. Root therefore accords very closely with the estimate of the number of delegates credited to President Taft. The Roosevelt forces thought they had made a clever move in switching from Senator Borah to Gov. McGovern as their candidate, but they failed to trap the wily Wisconsin delegates, only a few of their votes going to McGovern. Senator La Follette is not in the trading business. He is standing for what he deems true progressive principles and his delegates are standing loyally by him. They are going to keep themselves free from entangling alliances and continue to occupy their strategic position. They, too, know how to play

the political game.

Lacking the votes to put their man over, the Roosevelt shouters disclosed what all along has seemed to be their plan of action—to rough-house and intimidate the convention. Treated with respect, courtesy and absolute fairness by Chairman Rosewater, they gave an exhibition of themselves that does neither them nor their leader who directed their course any credit. There was no resort on the part of the Taft men to steam roller methods. They conducted the proceedings in accord with strict parliamentary usage, seeking no advantage and giving their opponents every possible opportunity to be heard. And they were heard. They cried "liar," "thief," "robber," "pack of thieves," "receivers of stolen goods," "convention of rascals," and similar endearing epithets. They made an exhibition of themselves that never before has been seen at a Republican convention. And they did it in the name of the people! They disgraced the Republican party. They would not even accord Senator Root the courtesy to remain seated while he delivered his masterly address, but surged out of the hall a shouting, frenzied mob.

What today will bring forth no man can tell. Feeling runs high and the worst may be expected. It is Mr. Roosevelt's opportunity to preserve the Republican party as a "party fit to govern" to quote the words of his first secretary of state, John Hay. But will he rise to the occasion or will he still persist in a rule or ruin policy?

CONGRESS AND WATER POWER.

Practically all the various schools of conservation had their say Thursday in the senate debate over the proposed passage of the Connecticut river dam bill. The press report says that Senator Root advocated the right of the federal government to attach as a condition of the license to maintain the dam a requirement of a payment to the federal government of a portion of the revenue obtained by the dam company for the aid of the navigation of the stream. Senators Works and Borah attacked this condition as stopping the development of the resources of the country.

Senator Poindexter advocated approval of the bill as being a step toward preserving the natural resources of the public by preventing their getting into the exclusive control of great monopolistic corporations.

No one of the senators appears, from the report made, to have attacked the question from its legal side. The question the courts will be asked to decide, if the bill should be passed is: Is it constitutional?

Let this question be now considered for a moment. Let reference be made to the record.

The report of the senate committee on the James river bill, submitted by Senator Nelson, said:

In such cases the federal government has nothing to sell, and, therefore, has no moral or legal ground to demand compensation in any form.

Interrogatories as to legality were submitted to a sub-committee, and the answer in part says:

It seems to us that the federal government has no water power to sell or charge compensation for, for it is only authorized by the constitution to regulate interstate and foreign commerce, which in this case means navigation.

The sub-committee cited numerous decisions by the supreme court sustaining this view, this paragraph being the most pertinent:

Each individual state of the Union has control of the waters of navigable streams and lakes within its borders, the right and interest of the United States in such waters being only that their navigability be preserved for interstate commerce. The title is in each state and the use of the water is a matter of state regulation. (Pollard v. Hagan, 3 How., 212; Shively v. Bowlby, 182 U. S. 1.)

Senator Borah, in an address on the James river bill, quoted Justice Marshall as saying: "Should congress, under the pretext of executing its powers, pass laws for the accomplishment of objects not entrusted to the government," it would be the duty of the court to say that such act is not the law of the land.

The majority report on the Connecticut river dam bill says that: "It appears to be a settled question that the federal government may impose a charge for the use of the surplus water not needed for navigation." On this point a statement by Senator O'Gorman is applicable:

The right of the government to sell or lease its own property does not justify an attempted appropriation of the property of a state. . . . What belongs to the state cannot be the property of the federal government.

The minority report on the Connecticut river dam project says that the principle asserted by the majority "has been denied since the beginning of the government;" and concludes:

The minority are convinced that the adoption of the principle recommended by the majority will create a divided responsibility, causing two sovereign powers to attempt to regulate and control the same property at the same time, and would grant to the secretary of war discretionary powers never contemplated under the commerce clause of the constitution.

Evidently, the weight of the argument is with the minority. It is perfectly plain that the dam bill is an effort to get and exercise powers never specifically granted the federal government, and, therefore, retained by the states. Whether such powers could be better employed in federal than in state hands is problematical; but, whether so or not, there is no law for it. We doubt if the courts will go so far to make law cover a case of this sort.

THE TALK OF A BOLT.

Senator Borah Says There Will Be None of It for Him.

LIKE a burst of sunshine in a rainstorm comes the announcement of Senator Borah of Idaho. "No bolt for me," says this leader among the Rooseveltian forces, and he adds that he hasn't even considered such a possibility and doesn't expect to do so.

Thus it would seem that, after all, the fight at Chicago may turn out to be just a family quarrel—a pretty strenuous family quarrel—that, once settled, will become only an incident.

Things may turn out differently, but at present everybody seems to be satisfied. President Taft is the most satisfied of all, because the hearings on the contests have resulted in his favor. Colonel Roosevelt is more or less contented, because he has gained two Southern delegates and there are rumors of defection among a few pledged to the President. Senator La Follette is gleeful because he holds a sort of balance of power, and Senator Cummins is happy just because he has a happy disposition.

All this is as it ought to be. June in Chicago is often a hot month, and a spirit of optimism is necessary when the temperature is high. There may be evidences of terrible demagogism in the land, and, on the other hand, of shameful domination by the bosses. But why not be cheerful about it?

It undoubtedly is in this spirit that Senator Borah speaks when he says no bolt for him. Indeed, it would be quite incomprehensible if anybody having a regard for the propriety of things would want to go to the trouble of bolting after being through all the fuss that has to be endured before the convention gets to work.

Of course, there are limits where optimism has to stop. Mr. Roosevelt may be one of these limits. The contests which he has brought before the National Committee have all been of the flimsiest nature, and he must know full well that he would lose them. The Colonel's followers may accept the situation as Senator Borah seems ready to do, but the Colonel himself may not acquiesce.

In that event, and if a separate Roosevelt convention is held, the only names to come before the regular Republican Convention would be Taft, Cummins and La Follette. But that two conventions will be held at Chicago is improbable. The fight is likely to be carried through on the floor of a single convention to one conclusion or another, and after that the country will be ready to watch the squabbles.

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WESTERN LAND LAWS

If what is charged by most of the Western senators is true, there is need for real reform in the laws relating to homestead entries on government lands.

Senator Borah, for example, has called public attention to the onerous conditions attached to the work of those settlers who take out entries on desert lands, reclaimed by government irrigation. He says that under these reclamation projects a man must first reside upon his land for five years, just the same as under the old homestead law. In addition to that, he is not permitted to take title until the government is paid in full for the expenditure made in reclaiming the land, putting water upon the land, and this may result in his having to remain out of title from 10 to 12 or 14 years, as the payments may be made in annual instalments.

This seems unfair, to put it mildly. That the government might retain some lien on the land in the shape of a mortgage, would be fair enough. But, as Senator Borah points out, the government requires a man to go upon the land and build his home. He must necessarily build his barn, outbuildings, and stable. He must necessarily make those improvements which are essential to show good faith for the purpose of reclaiming his land. He must reclaim one-half of the land. He must pay not only maintenance expense, but he must pay the annual charge of the government, without any basis of credit, without anything upon which to base a business transaction. His assets, his labor, his land, may remain in the government, under its control, and subject to

forfeiture for 10 or 12 years. "We require him to do a vast amount of work, to incur a great deal of expense, yet we provide no means in the world by which he can get the benefit of his labor for almost a quarter of a lifetime."

Senator McCumber has also pointed out what he believes to be a mistaken policy in the treatment of homestead settlers. He insists that congress is employing today a corps of people known as special agents, but whose general duties seem to be those of detectives, "for the purpose of arresting every possible farmer in the country who is upon public land." These men are employed, he explains, "with the idea that has been very prevalent of late that every man who is upon a homestead is necessarily there because he wants to steal it from the government without paying a proper price. Assuring that to be the case, we have assisted the departments in furnishing them with a great army of detectives who feel that they can not earn

their salaries unless they do it at the expense of the man who is on the farm and upon government land in attempting to show that he is trying to steal his land."

Senator Dixon announced that it had been his experience that the great delay and drag and irritation has come from the administration of the land laws rather than from the land laws themselves. He stated that he had a letter on his desk, not over 10 days old, relating to a case where he personally knew the conditions, in which five homesteaders in the county where he lived had lived there 15 years before the lands were surveyed. One of them was a member of the board and county commissioners of Senator Dixon's own county. Three years ago he made final proof on his homestead, but the patent has been withheld on account of a desire for the classification for a power site. Senator Dixon added:—

A year ago last June they withdrew from entry over 20,000,000 acres in Montana, either homestead or desert, and classified it for coal. Eighteen months have passed and not an acre of the 20,000,000 has yet been classified, and the settlers are waiting and waiting and becoming more poverty stricken every day, because they do not know what the final result is going to be.

Senator Clark of Wyoming cited a recent instance where the man has lived upon his land for five years. There is no question as to his good faith. There is no question as to his raising agricultural products. There is no question but that the man and the land were both right for entry under the homestead law. The final receipt has issued at the local land office. The patent has not been issued. The senator went on to explain that only at the end of two years patient waiting

inquiry was made while the settler stands waiting there, hoping he can realize something, either by borrowing money or getting credit. It is there found that notwithstanding the fact that the law has been fully complied with, the patent is still held up awaiting investigation by certain bureaus as to whether or not the land is valuable for other purposes, the last one awaiting the investigation of the geological bureau whether or not there is a water power site upon the land; and when the question is asked of the head of the bureau, "What difference does it make whether there are water power sites upon the land or not, suppose your geological survey finds there is a water power site, what then?" they reply, "Then, eventually, the man must get his patent whether there is a power site there or not."

It simply means delay, delay, and delay.

All these statements are based on facts within the personal knowledge of the senators, speaking. The blame for these conditions must rest largely on the agitation raised by Garfield, Pinchot, and that ilk, creating a public hysteria which has not yet wholly died away, and which makes it hard for the administration to expedite cases as rapidly as it would like to do, so long as the laws are what they are. Congress ought to pass a law, at the present session, that will give the President power to cut most of this red tape and to treat the homesteaders as fairly as they deserve.

NEW HOMESTEAD LAW

THE conference committee between senate and house on the Borah-Jones homestead bill having reached an agreement the amended bill will be reported to senate and house at an early day.

The latest requirement as to the area to be cultivated before patent is granted is a compliance in principle with Gifford Pinchot's suggestion.

Shortly stated the main provisions of the new bill are—reduction to three years of the homesteading period—leave of absence not exceeding five months in each year when establishing residence—the three years to run from the time of actual residence, and a settler to be allowed a delay not exceeding 12 months from date of filing if climatic conditions, sickness, or other unavoidable causes demand it—cultivation of one sixteenth of the area of entry is required during the second year, and one eighth of the area the third year.

The cultivation requirement is to apply to 160 acre homesteads, to enlarged homesteads, and to homesteads on reclamation projects.

The subject has been so thoroughly thrashed out in committee, both in senate and house, that a speedy passage of the bill may be expected. The views of Secretary Fisher have been laid by him before the committee and every effort made to meet them. There is no probability of a presidential veto of the bill in its amended form.

In many changes made the new bill is an adoption of western views of which Senator Borah has been a persistent advocate.

NEW HOMESTEAD LAW.

As agreed upon by the Senate and House conferees, the Borah homestead bill provides for three-year residence, with leave of absence for five months in each year. It applies to all homestead entries made prior to the passage of the act, and includes, if the Washington dispatches have correctly reported the bill, all entries made under special acts of Congress, such as the reclamation act and the Mondell 320-acre act.

This law will make it possible for hundreds of settlers to make final proof this year who would otherwise have to wait for two years more. It will doubtless bring into private ownership in the state of Wyoming during the current year at least two million acres that would otherwise remain unpatented for two years to come. This will give the settlers an opportunity to borrow money upon their holdings with which to improve their places, buy stock, etc. This will work untold good to the struggling farmer or ranchman who is now barely making a living while waiting for the patent period to arrive. Another benefit will be to get the land upon the tax rolls of the state.

Lands under patent are improved more rapidly than when they are simply held under unperfected filings. Owners take a pride in making them more valuable, knowing that anything that may be done is for their permanent benefit.

This law ought to bring thousands of people to Wyoming.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 1st day of June, A. D. 1912.

W. T. LAMBERT, Notary Public.

COMPROMISE POPULAR.

That the sober judgment of the rank and file of the republican party is for a compromise at Chicago is disclosed by every comment relative to the immediate business of that gathering.

Politics may be a game, but about 3,000,000 voters in the ranks of the republican party must approve of the winner at Chicago, and the way he has played it, or his victory will spell disaster not alone for himself but for his party. That the terrific bitterness with which the leading candidates have carried on their contest, involving armies of followers on each side, serves as a warning to those interested in republican success in November is discernible from developments of the last few days and the wide comment in newspapers of all factions, deploring the condition and urging a compromise.

Senator Crane's views have been made public and the great conservative newspaper of the east, the Springfield Republican, specifically has indorsed Senator Cummins as the most available man to lead the party to victory in November; Mr. Woodruff of Brooklyn has signified determination to bolt the programme; the New York American says that the Pennsylvania delegates have been talking Cummins; Hughes, Borah and other men have been considered by delegates at Chicago in this connection; even Mr. Hart of Iowa has been quoted as ready to break away from Taft, and newspaper comment on every side, reflecting the average sentiment of the party, chiefly concerned with the November election, has been for a compromise candidate.

The Minneapolis Journal of yesterday, for instance, alluding to the bitterness which has characterized the fight between the colonel and the president says hopefully that the night's darkest hour is just before dawn, and when things get too bad they grow better, adding:

As now in Chicago a demand circulates, gathers sound, grows articulate. Why carry this Taft-Teddy fight into the national campaign, why allow it to split the progressive thinkers of either faction? There are other men. Turn to some one of them, get rid of this factional row, which is as much of persons as of principles, or more so. Such is the undertone discernible in Chicago. Such is about what many delegates say when one buttonholes another. And in such talk may be wisdom, as from such talk may proceed action.

If this sort of expression were isolated or factional, it would not be significant; but perusal of newspapers and interviews with delegates at Chicago discloses the fact that it expresses a view commonly held in the party ranks. It is hardly conceivable that such a sentiment will not have an effect on the convention which begins its sessions tomorrow.

WILL ROOSEVELT BOLT?

The progress of the steam roller at Chicago apparently is rapidly bringing the situation in the Republican party to a climax. The crisis may be reached any day now or it may await the meeting of the convention itself next week. The feeling is tense, however, and it seems impossible to avoid an explosion.

One can well imagine Colonel Roosevelt's feelings as he watches the

THE HOMESTEAD BILL.

THE PRESENT status of the Borah-Homestead Bill and its exact provisions seem to be matters on which there are different understandings.

As the bill passed the senate it did not apply to the 320 acre homestead act, and it provided for a rather indefinite period of absence. The house made a number of amendments, the most important of which were to require the erection of a "habitable house," the proof of, at least seven months' of actual residence out of each year, and extending the provisions of the act to all pending homestead entries requiring residence. This makes it take in the Mondell 320 acre homestead, and applies to every homesteader who has not made proof. When the bill was before the House, the ultra-conservationists tried to tack on several amendments reserving to the government the minerals and water, and leaving it to the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior to cancel any entry he thought contained too much timber. Representative Mondell and other western members succeeded in defeating all these amendments. The bill is now in conference, and until the report of the conference committee is made its exact provisions cannot be stated. The ultra-conservationists will make another attempt to get the conference committee to accept these or similar amendments. The House members of this committee—Mondell, Taylor and Ferris—may be depended upon but just what the senate conference will agree to is uncertain.

In response to a message from J. W. Howell a telegram was received from Mr. Mondell this morning stating that the bill as it passed the House includes homesteads in the Mondell 320 acre law, and further

A CHANCE TO GET RIGHT.

reports give the news that Speaker Champ Clark, of the forces in the house, has been importuned to lend his assistance to a new land measure that would bring relief to the homesteader who is striving to develop the domain that has stood against civilization these many years. He is reported to be generally inclined toward the Jones-Borah measure and will use his influence to it. Let it be hoped that the democrats, led at speaker, will see this opportunity to do a real service for a class of people and go on record for the meritorious legislation. Speaker Clark will have opportunity in this instance to show himself as a man for the people who are doing the country a good service against great odds and undue hardships.

actions of the national committee day after day in flattening out delegates that he had confidently counted upon to vote for his nomination. He is not the kind of man to brook treatment of this sort as his statements to the public since the meeting of the committee clearly indicate.

The question naturally arises, will Roosevelt bolt if his nomination is rendered impossible by the decisions of the national committee in the contest cases? Undoubtedly Colonel Roosevelt has threatened to lead an independent movement if what he terms "bald thefts" by the Taft organization triumph. And some of his political friends, notably William Flinn, of Pittsburg, in a statement yesterday, appear to be of the same mind.

On the other hand, a number of the Colonel's friends, among them Senator Borah, have cried down all talk of a bolt and signified their intention of supporting the nominee of the convention, whoever he may be. Be this as it may, there is no doubt in the minds of any political observer that Roosevelt would be stronger as an independent candidate than Mr. Taft as the regular nominee of the Republican convention.

And while both sides indignantly repudiate any suggestion of a compromise candidate, the logic of the situation is that a dark horse may get the nomination if neither Taft nor Roosevelt is named in the early balloting.

AN EFFECTIVE ANSWER.

Senator Borah, the Idaho member of the Republican national committee, is a stalwart supporter of Colonel Roosevelt's candidacy—and an equally resolute upholder of "the square deal."

Finding no substantial basis for a claim upon a seat in the convention, his vote is recorded against a Roosevelt contestant just as promptly as it would be cast against a Taft contestant. And what is true of Senator Borah is true of other friends of Roosevelt in the committee. They are friends of fairness before they are the partisans of any candidate.

Senator Borah has effectively answered some of the hotheads who have denounced him and the "Roosevelt members" of the committee generally for not favoring the seating of the contesting delegates at large from Indiana.

"Supposing," he says, "that I had voted to seat the Roosevelt delegation at large from Indiana. Then when the Washington case came up the Roosevelt men who are criticising me so bitterly today, would have wanted me to vote to seat the Roosevelt delegates from that state, which the Roosevelt men carried by so large a plurality, but which had been attacked by the Taft people on the grounds of insignificant fraud. Then the Taft people could have said to me, and with good reason, that the only time that I was in favor of the primaries was when it seemed to suit me."

"Honesty is the best policy."

"Right wrongs nobody."

And not only Senator Borah, but most other "Roosevelt men"—most "Taft men"—most Republicans—have the sense to

HAILEY, IDA  
FEB 5-1913

Borah a Big Man

Chairman Ben. R. Gray states that Senator Perky has been successful in impressing the Senate with his worth during the short time he has been in Washington, says the Catipal News. "But I want to tell you," said Mr. Gray, "that William E. Borah is the big man in the United States Senate. Not only is he a big man in Idaho, but he is a big man in the nation and he is so recognized by all members of the United States Senate. Now that Bailey of Texas has retired, the honors lie between Borah of this State and Senator Reed of Missouri as to which is the greatest orator of the United States Senate; but aside from that Senator Borah is looked to and consulted as are few of the big men of the nation. Idaho may well be proud that it has such a man to represent the State in Washington."

APR 30 1912

Borah for President.

Some weeks ago we expressed the belief that Senator Borah had one chance in a hundred of being nominated for the presidency at Chicago in June. That chance is today much stronger—perhaps one in ten. Should neither Taft nor Roosevelt be nominated on the first ballot Borah will stand on an equal footing with Hughes, La Follette, Cummins and Beveridge as a compromise candidate. He would stand far above some of these were it not for his geographical position. Idaho cannot afford to overlook that chance. Some day the old precedent, that a president must come from the east, is going to be smashed. Idaho should take a crack at it this year.

RECORD.

MAY 9 1912

WHY THIS EXTRAVAGANCE?

The Borah-Jones homestead bill has passed the House and is now before the Senate Committee. Secretary Fisher has given it out that he will use every means at his command to prevent the bill passing until it has been modified to meet his ideas. Mr. Pinchot has also decided that he don't want the bill in its present form and states just what HE will accept. Now Mr. Fisher is a citizen of the United States and at present fills the office of Secretary of the Interior, a purely executive office. It is his business to enforce what laws Congress shall pass and no more of his business as to what laws shall be passed than it is of any other citizen of the United States, unless he has some hidden interest to protect which it seems he must have. As to Mr. Pinchot, if the newspaper reports are correct, he is not even a citizen of the United States, but is a British subject. Yet these two men assume to dictate what laws Congress shall or shall not pass. If the United States Congress permits these two meddling busybodies to bulldoze it into modifying laws to suit their individual opinions which have a) the evidence of being purchased opinions and being the property of great interests, then Congress should adjourn and pass its authority over to Fisher and Pinchot. These two men could make such laws as they wish, and at much less expense to the taxpayers, than by doing it as the present conditions require. If Congress is forced to comply with the wishes of these two gentlemen why hamper the gentlemen with a Congress, just turn the law making power over to them and save money by doing so. Why the present extravagance? Why have a Congress and a Fisher and Pinchot at the same time. Let's dismiss Congress until Fisher and Pinchot pass from the stage of action.—Gooding Leader.

Bloomington, Ill., Pantagraph  
Tuesday, June 18, 1912

scheduled to open on Tuesday next.

CURRENT COMMENT

An European View.

Francis Peabody, in Boston Transcript—"The crying sin of American life is its lawlessness." President Taylor of Vassar College made this pointed statement in his sermon to graduates yesterday. Senator Borah said the same thing last winter, and Mr. Taft was sorrowfully compelled to admit it. Every thoughtful and observant American citizen knows that this charge is unhappily too true. There is an epidemic of dynamite and Black Hand outrages, race riots, lynchings and murders all over the country. A whole court system, lawyers, law-yers and jury men shot down in cold blood in Virginia. Finally we have a strike here in Boston, and the first act of the strikers is to stone cars, assault the motormen and conductors, destroy property and drive the unfortunates outside from the cars. President Taylor well says: "The practice of the law itself by bad methods and 'red-tape' technicalities that defeat justice, and excusable delays has a way of its own to answer for; but if it were tenfold worse it could not excuse the teaching and example of lawlessness which attacks courts and judges without restraint and which..."

of actual statutes. This indiscriminate abuse of judges is too like the Lynch law which plagues our country."

In this great crisis in our American republic where do we find Mr. Roosevelt and where Mr. Taft? The former has seized every opportunity of attacking our courts and weakening the confidence of our people in them; he treats the great bulwark of our liberties, the constitution, with levity and disrespect. When General Harrison G. Otis charged that his Times building in Los Angeles was dynamited by representatives of organized labor, as was subsequently proved to be the fact he was bitterly attacked by Mr. Roosevelt. He would have the decisions of our courts revised by the mob in the street, and has no word of condemnation for such infamous crimes. Mr. Taft, on the other hand, has constantly urged that our criminal laws should be simplified and the red tape eliminated so that justice may be swift and certain. Thus alone can crime be checked. It is of course true that Mr. Roosevelt has made the sage remark that "murder is murder," but apart from that singular concession represents to most of us lawlessness, crime, anarchy and mob rule, while Mr. Taft stands for the constitution and the enforcement of law and order.

And so, too, Mr. Roosevelt is becoming a candidate for president and in his political methods is a law unto himself. The candidacy of Mr. Roosevelt despite his solemn promise to the people that he would not become a candidate for a third term, and of his repeated assurances to his friends that nothing would induce him to become a candidate, has seemed absolutely inexplicable to such of us as have been away from the country for the last six months, while the character of his campaign has impressively shocked his many admirers in the countries of Europe. He has talked of the presidency of the United States in terms of the prize ring, and has resorted to methods which are universally reprobated by all fair-minded men here and in Europe. In England particularly, where he was regarded as an audacious but sound and courageous statesman, he is now regarded as a selfish and dangerous demagogue, disloyal to his friends, his party and his country. Many of us who formerly liked and admired him hoped upon our return to America to find that there was some good and substantial excuse for his extraordinary attitude, but have sought in vain for a satisfactory explanation.

We find that with all his vigilance he has been unable to make any specific charges that are true against Mr. Taft of his administration, that while he asserts that there is great social unrest, he has himself done more than any other man to aggravate that dissatisfaction; he has excited the animosity of the poor against the rich, has not hesitated to deceive where falsehoods would serve his purpose, and finally he has fought his campaign with poisoned bullets. It is asserted by some of his friends that he was forced to be a candidate because he dreamt that the country was in great danger and that he alone could save it. The hideous fact now appears to be that Mr. Roosevelt is a candidate because he has an insatiable thirst for power, and a totally groundless hatred of Mr. Taft. His attitude is in effect "I made Mr. Taft president and he is therefore answerable to me—not to the country. I am disgraced with him. I will therefore destroy him and resume power myself." And how does he proceed to carry out this plan? By crying out "fraud, fraud," when he is beaten and exulting with diabolical glee when he wins. What an edifying position for one who ought to be a gentleman and a sportsman! We find now that so far from being well founded his charges of fraud in the choice of southern delegates are so groundless that even the Roosevelt members of the Republican national committee are unable to indorse them and that in Indiana his claims are equally without foundation.

After abusing that most distinguished statesman, his old friend and former secretary of state, Mr. Root, and condemning all bosses when he was engaged in trying to get the votes of the people, he now sends to Chicago as his personal representative, the notorious Senator Wain, probably the most unscrupulous boss of them all. With one breath he says he is a candidate of the "plata people," in the next he says he is not inimical to "big business" and his managers have succeeded in inducing the large capitalists, sometimes called "captains of industry" but designated by Mr. Roosevelt as "malefactors of great wealth," to pour money into his campaign. In his treatment of Mr. Edward Harriman after he had extorted \$200,000 from that railway magnate so soon forgotten? Do these rich men really believe that Mr. Roosevelt if elected will be allowed to be a dictator and to usurp the functions of congress and the courts? Do we find in Mr. Roosevelt any of the qualities of the great statesman, such as dignity, loyalty, veracity, modesty, force, unselfishness, honor, or do we find boorishness, treachery, mendacity, boastfulness, egotism, violence and a malignant meanness hitherto happily unequalled in this country?

BLOOMING GROVE

—Perry Orendorf, of Elwanda, Ill.

APR 5 - 1912

The Wyoming delegation is being flooded with questions concerning the Borah three-year homestead bill, and the following reference to its present status is to answer these many questions in brief form: As the bill passed the senate it did not apply to the 320-acre homestead act, and it provided for a rather indefinite period of absence. The house made a number of amendments, the most important of which were to require the erection of a "habitable house," the proof of at least seven months actual residence out of each year, and extending the provisions of the act to all pending homestead entries requiring residence. This makes it take in the Mondell 320-acre homestead, and applies to every homesteader who has not made proof. When the bill was before the House, the ultra-conservationists tried to tack on several amendments reserving to the government the minerals and water, and leaving it to the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior to cancel any entry he thought contained too much timber. Representative Mondell and other western members succeeded in defeating all these amendments. The bill is now in conference, and until the report of the conference committee is made its exact provisions cannot be stated. The ultra-conservationists will make another attempt to get the conference committee to accept these or similar amendments. The House members of this committee—Mondell, Taylor and Ferris—may be depended upon, but just what the senate conferences will agree to is uncertain. Failing to secure recognition before the committee, the ultras will try to get the president to veto the bill, but with what chances of success cannot be stated.

New York N.Y. World  
uesday, Apr. 11, 1912.

**NAKED AND UNASHAMED.**

It was by unanimous vote that the Republican National Committee yesterday seated the four Taft delegates-at-large from Indiana, Senator Borah and all the other Roosevelt members of the committee voting with the majority. It was by a practically unanimous vote that six of the eight contested district delegates were given to Taft.

Yet Indiana is one of the two States mentioned by Mr. Roosevelt in an Outlook editorial this week in which Republican voters "were deliberately cheated by the Taft supporters out of their right to vote." Mr. Roosevelt quotes an Indianapolis newspaper as his authority for the assertion that "the convention was fraudulent, that the Roosevelt delegates were cheated out of their seats and that the Taft delegates were unfairly elected."

"In many of these cases," continues Mr. Roosevelt, on his own authority, "the Taft delegates represent nothing but fraud as vulgar, as brazen and as cynically open as any ever committed by the Tweed régime in New York forty-odd years ago."

Yet when the formal testimony is taken before the committee, these vulgar, brazen, cynical Tweed-esque frauds suddenly vanish and Mr. Roosevelt's own supporters sustain the claims of the Taft delegates.

Did any country at any period of the world's history ever know such a campaign of mendacity, demagoguery and false pretenses as Mr. Roosevelt is now making?

Take the case of the Ninth Alabama District, in which Mr. Roosevelt said of the action of the committee in seating the Taft delegates:

Again and again we have sent to the penitentiary election officials for deeds morally not one whit worse than what was done by the members of the National Committee who unseated the two properly elected delegates in this Ninth District of Alabama and substituted for them men who have no more right to vote in the National Convention than a repeater has to vote in elections.

Yet the facts which we have taken from the Tribune's report of the testimony before the committee are as follows:

The committee met on Feb. 15. The Chairman was absent and the Secretary called the meeting to order. Authority had been given to the Chairman to add five members to the committee, and this authority the Secretary attempted to exercise, but, according to the fifteen members of the existing committee, he exceeded his prerogative in so doing.

A quarrel ensued, but Alexander C. Birch was elected Chairman, fifteen members voting for him. A call was issued for a convention on March 16, and that convention elected the Taft delegates, who have been seated. The Secretary, however, proceeded subsequently to name the five additional members of the committee and to fill the two vacancies with them, and the other Roosevelt members, who had been in a minority, called a convention for May 11, at which the contesting delegates were chosen.

The fact that there were only twenty-seven actual members of the committee when the meeting took place; that of these twenty-seven, fifteen, a clear majority, took control of the meeting, elected a Chairman and issued a call, and that the facts here stated are not questioned by the contestants, led the National Committee to seat the Taft delegates by a vote of 33 to 15.

The contention of the Hurdley faction was that the Secretary enjoyed the authority vested in the Chairman to add five members to the committee, and that when he had done so and had filled the two vacancies the Roosevelt faction numbered nineteen, as against the Taft faction of fifteen.

The "plain theft" and the obvious criminality of the Alabama contest is like the vulgar, brazen frauds in the Indiana case, where there is theft again, but where the thieves will not be allowed "to get away with the swag." Neither ever existed outside of a third-term candidate's irresponsible vocabulary.

"The contest for the Republican nomination has now narrowed down to a naked issue of right and wrong!" screams Mr. Roosevelt. So far as he is concerned, the issue is worse than naked. It is naked and unashamed.

From Miami, Fla  
Address Miami, Fla  
Date APR 15 1912

**SOCIAL LEGISLATION IN CONGRESS**

Two items of what Colonel Roosevelt would call a "social policy" have been approved by the present senate, which is usually the graveyard of such legislation.

The senate took up and passed in advance of the house the Borah children's bureau bill. Both senate and house have passed the bill taxing the use of white phosphorus in matches out of existence.

This is an ingredient, says the Minneapolis Journal, which produces a loathsome and incurable disease. Nevertheless, legislation against its use only a few years ago would have been magnificently resisted as an unconstitutional interference with the right of contract, or it would have been called taking property without due process of law.

At any rate, it would have been something to make Senator Bailey's constitutional hair stand on end like quills upon the reactionary porcupine. As a matter of fact, his hair did rise when this abhorrent bill was on its passage.

Senator Bailey assured the senate that if women reformers had their way there soon would not be a shred of the constitution left. The senate heard him—and passed the bill.

Somehow we have survived the trembling feeling that every effort to ameliorate conditions of industrial workers involves a total sacrifice of the work of the fathers of the constitution.

We have the phosphorus act. We shall certainly have the children's bureau, which will busy itself with conditions which make against the normal development of the rising generation. We shall have other legislation of this character, and nobody now fears that its passage will mean the downfall of the republic.

The republic is strong enough to survive and do good as well.

Established and Most Complete  
Culling Bureau in the World

UNION  
SPRINGFIELD, MASS.  
APR 18 1912

**MR. ROOSEVELT'S APPEAL.**

Mr. Roosevelt knows how to make a strong popular appeal. Nobody in the country, or out of it, for that matter, is his equal in that respect. He knows what to say and how and when to say it. He can anticipate the psychological moment. He can prove that black is white and white is black in a way to satisfy and convince the average audience. Not an orator in the accepted sense, he can make more converts in a given space of time than the most finished and adroit public speaker. He possesses the faculty of persuading his hearers that he is tremendously in earnest, that he is fired by an intensity of purpose that is intense merely because of the righteousness of his cause. When he has finished one of his fighting speeches the temper of the crowd is very much like that which Mark Antony addressed. "We'll mutiny. We'll burn the house of Brutus. Away, then. Come seek the conspirators."

They say that the Colonel has made a great mistake in going to Chicago, that it is a most undignified proceeding on his part, that it violates all precedent, and that his cause actually will suffer by the very rashness of his act. Even Senator Borah, his staunch friend, thinks it would have been better had he kept away. But who is there that can teach Theodore Roosevelt anything about politics? Whether it be sober judgment or intuition, he possesses the remarkable faculty of being able to do the right thing at the right time, and it may be assumed that he knows his business in going to the scene of the conflict, there to lead and there to make his own fight. And unless we are greatly mistaken his speech last night at the Auditorium will win over to his side many a wavering delegate. It was just the kind of speech for which most of the delegates are in mood. It was a speech well calculated to appeal more to passion and prejudice than to sober judgment, but he is not to be condemned for that.

His purpose was to convince his hearers of the absolute righteousness of his cause, and it is too much to expect that he would assume a judicial attitude and weigh facts with any degree of nicety. It was not for him to take account of whatever of right or justice there might be on the other side. Let them of the other side attend to that. He was concerned only with making out the strongest possible case for himself. And this we think he succeeded in doing. His object was to sway the multitude, to create added enthusiasm, to convince the delegates that the only thing that need concern them was not his own success, his own personal triumph, but the success and triumph of the plain people. "What happens to me," he said, "is not of the slightest consequence; I am to be used, as in a doubtful battle any man is used, to his hurt or not, so long as he is useful, and is then cast aside or left to die. I wish you to feel this. I mean it; and I shall need no sympathy when you are through with me, for this fight is far too great to permit us to concern ourselves about any one man's welfare."

Now comes the word that Senator Dixon has ordered a complete third party ticket be placed in the field in Idaho, the home of Senator Borah. It seems that the Colonel and his man Friday have forgotten the services rendered them by Senator Borah in the Chicago convention and have demanded the ounces of flesh because the Idaho senator has expressed his intention of remaining a Republican. "Those who are not with me are against me," is the Colonel's motto, and if he still persists in his plans to place third party tickets in the running in all the states, the few he has "with" him may be "against" him.

From **THE TIMES**  
Address **NEW YORK, COB**  
Date **FEB 12 1913**

### Federalism

In another column appears a letter from Mr. Gifford Pinchot to The Times in support of one of the policies associated with his name. It is an interesting communication in that it takes deliberate stand against the state as such. He is a Federalist. The states, in looking after the common good, have failed; therefore it behooves the federal government to take possession of forest reserves and administer them for the benefit of the nation as a whole. The forests of Colorado and Idaho are no more to the citizens of these states than they are to the inhabitants of the New England coast line.

The states have failed—failed miserably in certain respects; they permitted federal encroachment without protest; their sins have been of omission more than of commission.

But what of the bureaucracy and red tape of the federal government?

All over the West there has been complaint against the severe measures adopted by the forestry bureau. This is voiced at Washington by Senator Borah. In this state are many who believe that the decline in mining and failure to discover a new camp are due to Pinchotism as exemplified in the forest ranger.

And there is no question but what the reclamation service—an outgrowth of federalism and disrespect for state rights—has been a distinct failure in the West. Charges of graft are not accepted in arriving at this decision. The system has failed for other reasons.

Apart from the dollar-and-cent point of view, it is interesting to know what the high priest of federalism thinks of the states in their relation to the nation. Permission to exist as a geographical convenience might be permitted them under the new regime.

### "INDUSTRIAL SLAVERY."

The senate committee's report on industrial conditions in the United States Steel mills and the report of a committee of stockholders of the steel corporation, appointed to investigate the same subject are at wide variance. The senate committee, of which Senator Borah, one of the ablest of congressmen, is the head, declares that conditions of labor in the steel mills are deplorable enough to warrant the attention of the nation. Describing these conditions as "a brutal system of industrial slavery," the report says:

The government is bound in its own defense, for its citizenship, its life, to interpose between the strong and the weak. No man can meet the obligations and discharge the duties of citizenship in a free government who is broken in spirit and racked in body through such industrial prostrations.

Before he has reached the prime of life under such conditions, sudden in mind and broken in health, he is cast off as a useless hulk—a burden and a curse in society and a menace to the government. It is just as much the government's duty to protect citizens from such outrageous treatment as from the burglar and highwayman.

In sharp contrast to this view the stockholders' committee found conditions in the steel mills "satisfactory," and commended the system of dealing with employees. It will be remembered, of course, that the testimony of the latter committee is the testimony of an interested party. On the other hand, the senate committee is made up of men who are distinguished for their judgment and conservatism of thought and expression—men who are not likely to make false charges in so grave a matter. The American public will be inclined to give credence to its findings.

It is noteworthy that the vicinity of the steel corporation's great mills have always been a fruitful ground for discontent and anarchistic uprisings. This simple fact would seem to suggest an investigation to determine whether the steel corporation's methods of dealing with its employees are responsible for the discontent.

From **EXPRESS**  
Address **CHICAGO, ILL.**  
Date **MAY 2 1913**

One of the arguments for the direct election of senators, made over and over again with great earnestness, is that this method would put a stop to deadlocks in the legislatures, which always lead to a neglect of the ordinary business of legislation. For example, Senator Borah recently said: "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 electing senators proved powerless to perform its office;" and he added: "Not only is legislation which ought to be had not had, but public interests which ought to be cared for are not cared for, but charges of bribery arise and scandal attaches to the entire law-making department of the state." Realizing that there was some force in this argument, Senator Root proposes a very simple way to break the deadlocks—the passage of a law by congress providing that after a certain time spent in fruitless balloting to elect a senator by majority vote, the candidate receiving a plurality of the vote shall be declared elected. What can be the objection to that? Practically all the offices filled by the people, from the smallest civil divisions to the highest, are filled in this way. We have had presidents who did not receive a majority of the popular vote, and scores of representatives in congress and many governors in office to-day were elected by a plurality, rather than by a majority, vote. Why should not senators of the United States be elected in the same way?

From **REPUBLICAN**  
Address **SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH**  
Date **APR 17 1913**

### Mr. Borah's Wisdom

SENATOR BORAH'S announcement that he means to remain with the Republican party indicates that his well-known political sagacity has not deserted him. The Idaho senator is convinced that forward movements in constructive statesmanship must be accomplished through political parties, and his mature judgment, as one on the inside of politics, is that in America this must be done through the Republican party. He speaks no more than the simple truth when he declares that the great body of the Republican party and those who made its history are in thorough sympathy and full accord with the things that ought to be done.

It is true, of course, that the Idaho senator, in speaking of "the things that ought to be done," is considering those things that he thinks ought to be done. But the phrase he uses is strikingly significant as emanating from one who has always been a warm admirer of Colonel Roosevelt. The letter planned at Chicago to present Mr. Borah as his candidate for temporary chairman of the national convention, an intention which he revised later without telling anybody why. But that incident, and others, are valuable as showing the extent to which Senator Borah has figured in the Roosevelt plans, and the knowledge he has thereby gained of the probable future of the Bull Moose movement.

It is no reflection upon the Idaho senator to assume, from his statement, that false progressivism, as exemplified by the colonel and his followers, does not seem to him to have a bright political future. The wise man, however high or low his ideals, must work with the material that is at hand. Mr. Borah may have many reasons for adhering to the Republican party, but chief among them is his conviction that it will return to power and that it will do, in the future as in the past, the things which the American people wish to be done.

From **CHRONICLE**  
Address **Chicago, Mich**  
Date **MAY 2 1913**

### REQUEST OF REP. PROGRESSIVES

Any effort to fight the Republican-bull moose battle of last summer over again would be sheer waste of energy, says the Chicago Record-Herald. What, if any, high crimes and misdemeanors the national committee and the Republican convention committed by strictly following the precedents and rules of the party is a question for history. But future rules and methods vitally concern every thoughtful Republican, and assuredly this is a good time to consider soberly and calmly the changes deemed essential by leaders of progressive tendencies.

There is nothing revolutionary in the statement issued by the senators and others who attended the Chicago conference. The question of southern representation is old; that of recognizing state primary laws is new in one sense and old in another, since it revives the issue of state unit rule; the other questions relate to the power of the national committee, the proper settlement of contests, etc. Issues of doctrine and party creed had better, as Mr. Borah thinks, be left to time and tide.

There is no national election in sight just now. There is no need of any campaign for the capture of southern or other delegates. A candid and honest discussion of party organization and party policy with a view to modernization and true representation of the disinterested voters would be beneficial from every point of view.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 9, 1913.

End of Graft in Legislatures.

Discussing the importance of the amendment Mr. Borah said: "It will do away with deadlocks and scandals in State legislatures, and will remove the corrupting influences that have done so much to destroy the confidence of the people in their legislatures. It is safe to say that nine-tenths of the corruption engendered in State legislatures has its source in senatorial elections.

"It will enable the people to elect State legislatures on well-defined State issues, disentangled from senatorial elections; and enable the people to elect United States senators on well-defined national issues disentangled from matters of local legislation. In other words, it will give a free scope in this feature of the government to the representative principles of our government.

"The ratification of this amendment demonstrates after all it is not so difficult to amend the Constitution. When the people are thoroughly aroused and are thoroughly interested they can make Congress conform to their desires promptly and rapidly."



SENATOR BORAH,

Who achieves a great triumph in negotiating the direct election of senators to a successful issue, regarded as hopeless in the senate when he took hold of the proposal.

BORAH WINS BIG VICTORY

DIRECT VOTE WILL ELECT U. S. SENATORS

Constitutional Amendment Ratified by Connecticut and President Issued Proclamation—Idaho Senator Fought Long and Hard.

Washington, April 9.—Direct election of United States senators by the people was authorized and made compulsory yesterday when the Connecticut legislature ratified the constitutional amendment submitted by Congress less than a year ago. The situation that results throughout the country where many legislatures have adjourned until 1915 is such as to leave confusion in the minds of members of the senate as to how the early steps toward direct election of senators will be carried out.

While the proclamation of the secretary of state, announcing final ratification of the amendment by thirty-six states is required by law. Senators Bristow and Borah, leaders in the direct elections fight in Congress, expressed the opinion that the amendment for all practical purposes now is part of the constitution.

"Any man who may be elected to the senate hereafter must be elected directly," said Senator Borah.

The new amendment gives to the state legislatures, however the right to prescribe the methods for electing senators. Many legislatures have adjourned and will not reconvene until early in 1915, a few weeks before the terms of more than thirty senators expire.

N. Y. COMMERCIAL New York City. APR 11 1913

SENATORS ELECTED BY PEOPLE

Connecticut is the last of the requisite number of American commonwealths to come into the procession, by which the Constitution has been amended prescribing the election of the members of the United States Senate by popular vote, instead of by legislatures, as has hitherto been the vogue. The revolution in public sentiment has been in progress for the last score of years, so far as active public debate is concerned. It was within the last half decade, however, that the joint resolution, which was the product of Senators Borah and Bristow, passed Congress, placing the amendment before the country in a formal way curiously within a very short time only. The movement throughout the country has been a Democratic one in the main, though it has been supported by the Progressives. Hereafter then the same sort of electorate will be behind the senators that exists in the making of representatives to Congress. The many scandals of intrigue, log-rolling, and bribery, and the deadlocks which have occurred in the system hitherto in vogue, have been sufficient to make the nation very restive under the effects of a selective method, admirable in itself. The men of 1789 who made the Constitution could not foresee all the complications of good and evil that might exist under such a colossal development of the nation, a growth indeed which no human wisdom could anticipate.

As a problem of reasonable logic, a deduction from the general conditions of the government which was planned, no wiser method could have been evolved. Those who have read the debates which accompanied the formation of the Constitution will remember the exhaustive discussion under which it was determined to make the source of selection in the case of the United States senators different from that which chose the members of the House. In obedience to the logic of the states rights doctrine, the separate commonwealths were to be directly represented in the one great Wittenagemot as distinct entities, and consequently to be elected by the legislatures as corporate political bodies, free from all other forces in mak-

ing their choice. The House of Representatives on the other hand was to represent the great mass and body of the nation, as apportioned in the different states. It was reasoned, and with a very sound philosophy, that in the House thus elected the fresh impulses, needs, and aspirations of the people would find their fullness of expression.

On the other hand the Senate, selected to represent the states, as separate entities, would suffice to weigh, measure, analyze and finally determine with the greater deliberation how far the measures emanating in the popular branch would be true to the best interests of the nation in the finale. It would be their function to orientate the work of the House with a larger vision of truth, a wider horizon of perspective. This method, so eminently consistent, too, with the fundamental doctrine of states rights, would make the best type of that bicameral authority which the political experience of the world even then had made the ideal one for adoption. The States as distinct commonwealths, then constituted one electorate, and the great body of the people the other. The difference in the sources of the two bodies, it was conceived, would be an all-important factor in the mutual correction of the faults of legislation and insure its greatest chances of sound law-making.

With the new electoral fact created now, all distinction will be erased. The same sort of popular choice and direct power of influence and representation will be behind Senate and House alike. So the people will drift more and more to the pure democracy, under the new conditions created by the amendment, which only needs the ratified announcement of Secretary Bryan to become promptly effective.

Scarcely a constitutional change which could have been made, simple as this one appears to be, is more pregnant with possibilities of good and evil. The American people would probably not have dreamed of making it, had it not been for the many disgraceful conditions which have grown up about the legislature system of senatorial election in so many instances, which have shocked the conscience and dignity of the people. Whether they in doing this, that is, excising surface evils, however rotten and salient, have or have not planted the roots of deeper ones is an uncertainty which will remain on the knees of the Gods for a good while to come. The effects of such a change do not become quickly apparent.

Outlook

Hereafter the people will elect directly their representatives in the United States Senate. What now becomes the Seventeenth Amendment to the United States Constitution received last week the ratification of enough States to make it the law of the land. Our readers will remember that an amendment to the Constitution must first be passed by a two-thirds majority in each house of Congress, and must then receive the ratification of three-fourths of the States—that is, at the present time, of thirty-six States. The ratification of States may be made at any time. In the case of the income tax amendment, the interval between its passage by Congress and its complete ratification was about four years; in the present instance, a little less than a year.

Connecticut was the thirty-sixth State to ratify, and no doubt still others will follow. Although it took about four years to secure the passage of the amendment through the United States Senate, there is to-day hardly any strong opposition to the principle involved. Senator Borah, in commenting upon the ratification of the new amendment, pointed out succinctly its value as essentially strengthening the right form and principle of representative government when he said, "I believe that wherever it is feasible every barrier and intervening influence between the people and their representatives should be removed." The old form of election through the Legislatures has been notoriously conducive to log-rolling, and even, as in the Lorimer and other cases, to bribery or charges of bribery; and has also in very many cases resulted in deadlocks in the Legislature, thus depriving States for considerable periods of time of their just and due representation in the upper branch of Congress. The acceptance of the Seventeenth Amendment is only one of many indications that the ultimate appeal in Government must be to the people, from whom just authority springs.

From Address Date MONTGOMERY ALA APR 11 1913

People Will Elect Next Senator

The people of Alabama will vote direct for United States senator when the next contest comes, which is expected to be between Senator Johnston and Congressman Hobson. This authority has been taken away from the legislature by the adoption of the amendment to the constitution of the United States.

Heretofore in this state the people have been selecting their senators by popular vote, but it was not compulsory upon the legislators to elect them. Now, they vote for them the same as they do for governor and other state officials.

Senator Wm. E. Borah, who introduced the resolution by which the amendment was submitted to the states, makes the following statement:

"It will do away with deadlocks and scandals in state legislatures and will remove the corrupting influences that have done so much to destroy the confidence of the people in the legislatures. It is safe to say that nine-tenths of the corruption engendered in state legislatures has its source in senatorial elections.

"It will enable the people to elect state legislatures as well as enable the people to elect United States senators on well defined state issues disentangled from senatorial elections; defined national issues disentangled from matters of local legislation. In other words, it will give a free scope in this feature of the government to the representative principles of our government."



# BORAH DEFIES BOSSES; SEES REPUBLICAN GAIN

## Writes Kansans That Party Under New Control Will Enact Reforms People Demand.

### TAKEN AS PERSONAL BOOM

#### Many in Washington Believe the Idaho Senator Will Be Urged for the Presidency.

THE CHICAGO RECORD-HERALD BUREAU,  
122 FIFTEENTH STREET, N. W.,  
WASHINGTON, APRIL 9.

Senator William E. Borah of Idaho has written a letter to the Kansas Republicans who invited him to address the "net together" convention which they are to hold next month. Declaring his belief that the Republican party has a future of usefulness, the Idaho senator, who supported the candidacy of Roosevelt for the presidential nomination against Taft, but refused to bolt, announces that he will tour the country after the adjournment of Congress this summer in the interest of revivifying work which the Kansans seek to start.

#### TO AFFECT 1916 FIGHT.

It is probable that this tour of the country will bring Senator Borah into the limelight as an available progressive candidate for the Republican presidential nomination in 1916. Former Governor Hadley of Missouri already is preaching reorganization of the Republican party on progressive lines, and the understanding in Washington is that he is being backed in his political lecture tour by persons who expect to boom him for standard bearer in the next national contest. Friends of Mr. Borah, believing that his commanding position in the Senate more than counterbalances a certain geographical disadvantage, have been grooming him quietly for 1916 leadership for some time.

#### TEXT OF BORAH LETTER.

The Borah letter to the Kansas Republicans follows:

"I have your letter relative to the Republican conference soon to assemble in your state. I wish it were possible to accept your invitation to address the conference, but owing to duties here it will be impossible for me to be present at any time while Congress is in session.

#### WOULD STRENGTHEN PARTY.

"I am in full sympathy, however, with any movement which has for its purpose the strengthening of the Republican party and the directing of its influence and power along effective and progressive lines. I have no desire to quarrel with, and certainly I shall not question the sincerity of those who think they can better serve their country by working with other organizations. But surely it is the duty of all those who propose to remain with the Republican party and to make the fight there to see to it that the party is made an effective and militant force for sound and wholesome service in dealing with the questions of the day.

"I am quite willing to concede that there is room for honest difference of opinion as to how we can best effectuate those things which for the welfare of society ought unquestionably to be done.

#### TO REMAIN REPUBLICAN.

"No man, in my opinion, is wise enough to foretell the alignment which is to come in the next few years. So every one acting in sincerity must map out his own course. But, speaking for myself and believing as I do that the great body of the Republican party, those who have made its history, are in thorough sympathy and full accord with the things which ought to be done, I propose to remain with them.

"So long as the rank and file, the body of the party, is sound and animated by just and wholesome principles, upon what theory either of expediency or courage do we quit the field. It may be said that it is boss-ridden. Well, then, I am in favor of unshoring the riders.

#### THINKS WILSON UNBOSSSED.

"When the Baltimore convention met last June the most famous of living Democrats declared in print that it was a national convention controlled by a national committee, the committee controlled by a subcommittee of sixteen, the subcommittee controlled by a group of eight men, and those men controlled by Boss Murphy. Yet the country will be greatly surprised and greatly disappointed if the cultured gentleman now coming to his great task with the good wishes of all who place their country above their party's interest yields in the least to the influence or suggestion of Boss Murphy.

"If, as I believe, the Republican voters are sound and true and the only trouble is a few bosses, then if we have not the ability and courage to get rid of the bosses, it seems quite certain we haven't the ability and courage to organize a new party and keep them out of it.

#### FAVORS CLOSE PARTY FIGHTING.

"No, the great battles of the world have been won by the soldiers with the short-arm weapons, and let us imitate their example, engage the enemy close at hand and make our fight for clean and wholesome and progressive principles inside the party whose achievements are the richest in the progress and growth of free government.

"I am not familiar with the rules by which you distinguish the good boss from the bad boss, nor have I reflected much upon the efficacy of fumigation, though both may have their merits; but I do know that they will all be swept aside utterly if the millions who have for fifty years been trained in the school of Republican politics are called in earnest by competent leaders to the settlement of the great questions which now demand attention at our hands.

#### URGES PATIENT JUDGMENT.

"On the fourth day of March, 1913, the Republican party retiring had been in continuous power for sixteen years. It has not during that time accomplished all that its critics demanded, nor by any means all that its best friends desired. But when it comes to the question of abandonment rather than strengthening and rebuilding, it is well to reflect upon what it did do. The things which we have to do in this complex and industrial life of ours cannot be done in a day or a year.

"The great question is, are we going forward and are we doing the right things in a permanent way, though more slowly than some might wish. It is just as essential that a party fearlessly reject the specious, but fallacious schemes put forward in the name of advancement as that it with due vision and purpose select the permanent elements of progress.

#### REVIEWS WORK OF PARTY.

"During these sixteen years in which the Republican party has been in power there has been created the Department of Commerce and Labor, within which entitled to special mention is the bureau of corporations.

The interstate commerce act has been greatly improved and amplified and the interstate commerce commission strengthened.

A drastic anti-trust law passed and enforced. The employers' liability measure has been enacted into law.

The widows' pension bill and the age pension bills of 1897 and 1912 passed.

The safety appliance law enlarged and extended. Rural delivery established throughout the country.

A postal savings system was inaugurated and a marvelous post law enacted.

The eight-hour law extended and made effective. The children's bureau created.

The Department of Labor established. The three-year homestead bill enacted.

The title law for settlers upon reclamation projects passed.

The enlarged dry homestead bill enacted. An amendment to the Constitution providing for the levying of an income tax admitted and adopted.

An amendment providing for the popular election of senators submitted and now practically ratified.

An election publicity law enacted. The Federal valuation of railroads provided for. The Panama Canal acquired and practically completed.

#### PAST MEASURES HELPFUL.

"Certainly it must be conceded that these

measures are sound and progressive measures and extend over the whole field of industrial and humanitarian legislation. I recall these among other things which might be noted as having been done as sufficient proof that within the party there always has been and there now is a powerful force for progressive and effective legislation and efficient and capable administration.

"However, much some of us might have desired other things, can there be any possible doubt that nowhere is to be found a better beginning for that power with which we are going to get the other and better things. Where are we to find among any body of voters a greater capacity for that singular political insight and remarkable wisdom, which chooses the real from the spurious and the permanent from the ephemeral, who know that progress consists not alone in the things which are new, but also in the things which will stand the test when they come in contact with the actual affairs of life.

#### MUST STAND PRACTICAL TEST.

"Progress consists in selecting those plans and policies which serve not alone to interest and excite, but which will actually administer to the wants and necessities, the comforts and joys of those actually engaged in the struggle for existence.

"So, I repeat, others may do as they will and as their judgment and conscience direct; but so far as I am concerned there will be one more fight at least. When I think of this great organization, with its thousands of earnest and devoted members—men from every walk of life; men who have given of their time and their money, their thought, energy and purpose to the building up of a great party, not for selfish purposes alone, but that through it the best thought of a great people might be finally crystallized into laws and built into institutions—when I think of turning it all over and deserting it, not because of treason and backsliding in the ranks, but because, perchance, a few men would misdirect or poorly direct its forces, I can look upon such action only as sheer and shameless cowardice.

#### WOULD DISREGARD LEADERS.

"I am in favor of moving forward. I am in favor of ceasing to worry or doubt about what this or that individual is going to do or what a few men are going to plan, and making our appeal to the voters—those who make or unmake a party and who determine its policies. What difference does it make what some self-elected leaders say about what the issues shall be?

"I want to know the wisdom of those who constitute the voting power of the party. A political party worthy of the name, a party that is a permanent force in the service of the country, can only be organized and maintained around great issues which bind men together through the force of a common conviction, and send them to the conflict year after year through the zeal and enthusiasm of a common faith.

#### TO ASK AID OF ALL.

"Let me say, in conclusion, strength to your arm! Throw open the door to every one who wants to see the Republican party again what it was when the prosperity of the common people and the perpetuity of the republic were the inviolate tenets of its creed and humanity its religion. I keenly regret that I cannot be with you. After Congress adjourns it is my purpose to visit different parts of the country in connection with this work, and I shall endeavor to

NEWS  
APR 10 1913  
The Oregonian  
Portland, Ore.

#### A LONG BATTLE

The day of legislative scandals in connection with the election of United States senators is a thing of the past. Direct election of senators has become a part of the constitution of the United States.

Ratification of the direct elections amendment by the general assembly of Connecticut brought the total of states which have approved the change to 36, the requisite three-fourths vote required to alter the organic law of the nation.

All that remains to be done to put into complete effect a reform which has been agitated for 99 years is for the governors of the states which approved the amendment to notify Secretary of State Bryan. Mr. Bryan who for 16 years has lifted his voice for direct elections, will then issue a proclamation announcing the change.

The change will go into effect automatically without the necessity of any further action by congress. The general assemblies of the states will have no alternative but must remodel the state statutes to conform with the revised federal constitution.

Until within 15 years ago, congress refused to permit the proposal of direct election of senators to get further than the stage of introduction. Each resolution proposing the change was referred to a committee where it was strangled.

Increasing public sentiment for the change, however, gradually became so insistent that the house responded. On five separate occasions the lower or popular branch of congress passed the resolution. It was not until two years ago that the senate could be budged from its position of opposition.

The reactionary senators fought to the end but with the political overturning of the past three years their hold was broken and the resolution giving the people the power to elect directly was forced from a hostile senate committee.

The resolution which has been approved by the states passed the house of representatives April 13, 1911, and the senate June 12, 1911. It was pushed through the senate under the leadership of Senator William Borah of Idaho.

#### THIS DATE IN HISTORY.

PAPER OREGONIAN  
May 12/18  
PORTLAND, ORE

#### WRONG DONE TO LANDLESS POOR.

Senator Borah's letter to Samuel Friedman brings home to the people of the West the wrong being done them by the reservation policy which now rules the Land Office. We have been inclined to assume that the people of the West are the only sufferers by the obstruction placed in the way of settlers, but Mr. Borah's letter shows that Eastern people also feel the sting. The doctrinaires who follow Mr. Pinchet have been taken as speaking for the East, but there are thousands for whom they do not speak—the people who live in the congested districts of the cities and who would be only too glad of an opportunity to make a home for themselves in the West where there is room to breathe, to become independent and to raise children without packing them into a tenement.

But these people are poor, and have little beyond their strong arms and their willingness to work, and, as Mr. Borah says, "it requires men of wealth to get a home on the public domain under the present administration of public land laws." The homestead law was passed to enable the poor to secure homes. Under its provisions the Middle West was populated and many thousands found homes west of the Rockies. But it is now so construed as to defeat its own purpose. A rich man can more easily pass through the needle's eye than can a poor man comply with the homestead law as now construed.

The thousands who pine for escape from the congested districts of the cities include many who came from farms in this country or in Europe and would soon make themselves at home again in the West. It is not a fight of the Western people alone. It is a fight of the landless poor the country over for that which the law offers them, but which the Land Office denies them.

SENATOR BORAH AND THE MONOPOLY EVIL.

We wish every admirer of Senator Borah might read a recent article from his hand published in "The Independent" on "The War With Monopoly." Every sentence in it is a text for a splendid sermon and no sermon from any text would need be a repetition of the other.

The senator treats the question with his usual fairness, yet he shows the tremendous danger the country is in from the avarice and greed of monopolistic wealth.

"We make a mistake," he says, "in dealing with the question purely as an economic problem or as a matter of business. It is also a question of government, and more; it has at its base a question of morals. There is in it a supreme question of justice, of right and wrong, as searching and universal in its analysis as the principles which sent our veterans to the battlefield fifty years ago."

With such a question before this generation for treatment and settlement is it any wonder that we must demand that the lines must be strictly drawn so that we may know who stand upon the side of the monopolistic and who stand upon the side of the populace? There can be no common ground between. Either one must be for the whole people or he must be for the monopolistic corporations. Those veterans of fifty years ago that Senator Borah speaks of, in the early days preliminary to the great bloodshed, never intended that the slaves should be freed. They were laboring for a confinement of the evil to its original ground in the southern states. Freedom for the slaves merely came as an incident to the fight and as an inevitable result of it.

We are not now fighting for suppression or annihilation of monopolistic corporations, but who can say, if obstacles be continuously thrown in the way of relief and if opposition shall continue where there ought to be co-operation and assistance, what shall be the result? Although the great men of the country and especially those who possess the wealth do not seem to appreciate it or to know it, the American people are ready for revolution. All that is needed is a leader to rally around, and all that can prevent it is action curbing the rapacity of the rapacious in this country.

Do we put it too strongly? Then listen to Senator Borah:

"Monopoly is at war with democratic institutions. The conflict is irrepressible. \* \* \* It must be apparent to all that, standing alone and unaided, the Sherman law cannot accomplish what its authors hoped. They underestimated the ingenuity, the almost supernatural sagacity of greed. It has neither destroyed nor curbed monopoly. The period during which this statute has been upon our statute books is marked as the period of the greatest growth of trusts and the most pronounced decadence of competition. Almost everything which we eat, almost everything which we wear, all we have and all we want are affected and controlled by combinations built up in defiance of this law. So far as the man in the street is concerned, competition is dead. The destructive, annihilating forces of combinations are fast sweeping from the field of industry the independent producer and manufacturer."

Here seems enough to end with, but the conditions are such that the senator, being an honest man and writing an honest article, cannot end it here. He continues:

"Men who are in a position to know the truth, but who are far from anxious to give it publicity, have been forced within the past few weeks to testify to a condition of affairs which must be regarded as no less than startling. Blast furnaces and business institutions are closed from time to time, in order to increase the price of things which the people must have. After paying freight and insurance, our products are sold in foreign markets cheaper than to our own people. At banquet boards men meet and determine what prices shall be put upon the necessities of life for ninety millions of people, some of whom are hard pressed to live. Territory is divided among powerful interests, and fines and punishments administered for lowering a price agreed upon, with all the arbitrary power of an ancient sovereignty. They tell us that less than two hundred men practically dominate the banking and business interests of the country with a relentless vigilance never exercised by the most arbitrary government; and,

with a grace of egotism as refined as it was apparently unconscious, they admitted that this would be a menace, grave and imminent, to our government if such power should accidentally drift into bad hands."

Senator Borah suggests a remedy and that is to deny these great monopolies the right of interstate commerce. They are all state-authorized institutions and therefore the government cannot reach their organizations, but the government has exclusive control over interstate commerce and can prohibit it or regulate it at will.

"Nothing could be more simple, direct or effective," says the senator in his article. "But while reaching out for more power, while traversing the realm of governmental fancy, while talking about changes in government and the building of bureaus, we shamelessly refuse to exercise the power easily at our command or to discharge the simplest and most primary duty of citizenship. With full power to forfeit every charter which is being used to the detriment of the people, we continue to permit the corporations to exercise their sovereign powers. Upon what theory do we send men to prison for violating the law and permit corporations living in open defiance of the

law to enjoy their grants of sovereignty from the states? Upon what theory do we permit corporations to invade the channels of interstate trade when they have been convicted of crime and are living in open defiance of the law? Upon what theory do we permit them to organize and issue fraudulent stock—to the amount in a single instance of seven hundred millions of dollars—and put it out to the people? \* \* \* If I had my way I would make this a government of law in these matters instead of a government of spasmodic, individual departmental discretion. I would make every corporation convicted of wrongdoing an outlaw to the channels of interstate trade. When I see a great corporation condemned in unmeasured terms by the supreme court of the United States, and against which a decree has been entered, still openly, brazenly, defiantly putting aside all principles of justice and ignoring every provision of law, there is nothing I would not do, in a legal and orderly way, to destroy it. Men who set an example of lawlessness in a government of law ought to be punished in a way which befits the crime."

Has the Capital News been treating this subject too harshly, has it gone too far, has it done more than its duty when it has called attention to men and institutions which are in collusion with each other and with these great lawless corporations and institutions? If we have, what about Senator Borah's belief in the importance of the subject when he says:

"Confronting us is a question upon which turns the happiness of our children and our children's children and the perpetuity of the republic—the greatest of all problems when measured by the tendency to search and test the powers of free government. With this great question before us we are driven to consider whether we are worthy of our inheritance. Our fathers believed that business prosperity not founded in justice, resting upon fraud and oppression, was in the end far worse than no prosperity at all. If we are worthy of them we will apply the same rule and restore justice, let the cost be what it may."

LIST ALL WRONG

NOTWITHSTANDING the losing of Works and Lissner and others as influential in California," says the Los Angeles Times, "and the dropping out of Hadley, Borah, Cummins and La Follette in the Northwest from the Progressive party, nevertheless there remain a few brainless persons still affiliated with it." It is a curious comment even for the Times to make, considering that Works never did belong to the Progressive party, and that Lissner not only has not withdrawn from it, but is a member of its National Executive Committee, and that all the other persons mentioned by the Times never were members of the Progressive party.

LaFollette repudiated the organized progressive movement as soon as he found that it would not concentrate on him. Cummins remained with it a little more faithfully but he and Hadley both professed local reasons in their own states for avoiding coming out openly for the Progressive party. Borah is a good progressive in principle, but he got cold feet when he found that he might have to risk something personally in staying by his colors. Works is a logician who found it inconsistent with his position as a nominal Republican officeholder, to support a Progressive candidate, but not inconsistent to support a Democratic candidate. This covers the entire list except Lissner, who was, is, and will continue to be, a Progressive of the most uncompromising sort. C. H. R.

Los Angeles  
Outlook  
June 14/13

# DIRECT ELECTION FIGHT IS ENDED BY CONNECTICUT

## Illinois the Last to Choose Senators Through Its Legislature.

### SOUGHT FOR 87 YEARS

BY SUMNER CURTIS.

THE CHICAGO RECORD-HERALD BUREAU,  
123 FIFTEENTH STREET, N. W.,  
WASHINGTON, APRIL 8.

The fight for direct election of United States senators is ended. The State of Connecticut by its ratification today of the amendment to the constitution proposed by Congress at its last session clinches the matter.

Eighty-seven years ago the movement was inaugurated, and less than a year ago Congress adopted a resolution that put the question squarely up to the legislatures of the several states. The ratification action is the quickest on record. The action of legislatures in three-fourths of the states was necessary, and the Connecticut legislature put on the finishing touch. Connecticut is the thirty-sixth of the forty-eight states to say "aye" to the proposition.

All that remains to put the constitutional amendment into effect is the formal proclamation of the Secretary of State. This will be forthcoming as soon as the action of the ratifying states is formally transmitted to the State Department. Some twenty of the states already have reported officially and the others are expected to follow in short order. It is probable that Secretary of State Bryan will hasten the reports of the laggards.

In any event the last of United States senators has been elected under the old system and the last of them came from Illinois, where the breaking of a deadlock a few weeks ago gave narrow escape to recourse to a special election under the new system.

When the action of the Connecticut legislature in making ratification of the constitutional amendment complete was communicated to President Wilson this afternoon he said: "I am sincerely glad that the amendment has been ratified so promptly and a reform so long fought for so promptly accomplished."

Senator Borah of Idaho, to whose energy and strategy the adoption of the resolution submitting the proposed amendment to the Constitution was so largely due, spoke as follows to THE RECORD-HERALD correspondent:

"I am, of course, delighted with the final adoption of this resolution. It will, in my opinion, prove a most beneficial provision of the Constitution. It will eliminate scandals and deadlocks in state legislatures and remove that which more than all other things has brought about the lack of confidence which the people of late years have had in our state legislatures. It will enable the people to elect their legislatures upon well-defined issues of state legislation and their United States senators upon well-defined issues of national legislation.

"It strengthens representative government. It will accentuate and make effective the representative principle—a most important thing to consider in these days. It also demonstrates that the federal Constitution is not so difficult to amend when the people are truly in favor of the amendment. It responds to public sentiment when public servants are faithful and the people are interested and alert, and no legislation could ever be a success without those two things were true."

The culmination of the direct elections fight today is particularly pleasing to the progressives in both of the old parties. It is pleasing especially to those who still are Republicans, to those who have not seen fit to ally themselves with a third party. In the result accomplished the latter promise to the country that progressive reforms are possible through party organizations that existed prior to the new party movement launched less than a year ago.

One of the most salient facts to which attention already is being directed is that the direct election of senators movement was carried to fruition by those who

still are Republicans. No credit is withheld, however, from Democratic progressives who were identified with a party minority organization when Congress sent the question to the country.

Throughout the last winter an active campaign to force the ratification of the direct elections amendment has been conducted from Washington. The organization for action has operated through correspondence with political leaders in various states, Senator Borah and Senator Bristow of Kansas taking the most active part. When the matter narrowed down to the question of the position to be taken by only a few states these senators asserted a more intense interest and did much to expedite ratification.

Outside of Washington it may not be so apparent, but here the observer of politics notes that the most interesting conflict of the day is between the progressives who cling to their label of "Republican" and those who have elected to cast their fortunes with a separate organization. The direct election achievement discloses, according to the former, that effective work for the progressive cause is being done by the old party and that the progressive force in the party is sufficient to control the situation and force through measures demanded by the people. The clinching of the direct election of senators proposition is evidence, it is declared, that if those who are supporting the progressive cause are supported they will accomplish what the people want accomplished.

The Republicans who inaugurated the last and successful direct elections movement also declare that the progressive element of the Democratic party was in thorough harmony with the fight and rendered every possible assistance.

It was on May 12 of last year that the House of Representatives, by receding from its disagreement with the Senate, adopted the Bristow amendment to the proposed constitutional amendment affecting the election of United States senators and sent the resolution to the country. That was a red letter day in the constitutional reform line. Eighty-six years before the first resolution to amend the Constitution with respect to the manner of choosing senators had been introduced in Congress. Many times after that the House had passed resolutions proposing an amendment and sent them to the Senate, where year after year they found dusty tombs in committee pigeon holes. Four years before the specific movement that ended in complete action had its beginning and a little less than two years before the question came to a direct vote in the Senate for the first time in the long decades of agitation.

That was a great victory—the mere setting of a day to vote on a proposition that the mighty Senate, boastfully indifferent to "popular" outcries, had scornfully neglected through all the past. That may be said to have been the first score for the new progressiveness that had already stirred the dry bones of the dignified and conservative Senate, just as on that day the new progressivism scored its first complete victory in Congress and achieved a triumph which on many sides was declared to be ample recompense, standing apart and alone from everything else, for all the expenditure of time and energy along every line of reform endeavor to date.

Senator Borah of Idaho, recently re-elected for his second term, took the lead in the direct elections fight from the start of his congressional career, having a point of vantage by reason of his position on the judiciary committee. Senator Bristow of Kansas also carries off high honors, and has been particularly congratulated for having won the incidental fight to keep the control of senatorial elections with the federal government.

The question of federal control was the rack on which the whole thing seemed likely to split more than once. Three years ago the first real test came in the open Senate when Mr. Borah sought to have the resolution made the order of unfinished business. The old guard had it all arranged to sidetrack the proposition in the good old style in which so many other obnoxious "isms" had been shunted aside.

Former Senator Hale, pastmaster in the art of avoiding reform legislation, manipulated affairs for the standpatters. When Senator Borah arose to make his motion, Senator Nelson, who is slower in leg movement and not so quick on saying "Mr. President," was a few seconds behind him. But it had been all arranged in advance. Senator Nelson was recognized, and the Alaska coal bill was made the order of unfinished business. A few minutes later, however, Senator Borah moved to take up

the direct elections resolution and the motion went through killing.

From then on until a vote was had the Progressives pressed the proposition. The resolution met defeat finally by a margin of only two or three votes. The next day Senator Borah reintroduced the resolution, a new report came from the committee, and then the fight was centered on the defense of the Bristow amendment, which had been voted down the time before. The Senate kept at it, and on June 12, 1911, adopted the resolution as it was sent to the states in May last.

There ensued the long inference stage which was raised after several months by an agreement to disagree. Then the Senate voted to adhere to its amendment, which did not appear in the verbiage of the resolution itself, but which struck out of the resolution as it was adopted by the House the paragraph providing that "the times, places and manner of holding elections shall be as prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof," and thus made the present constitutional provision applicable to elections of representatives in Congress continue applicable to elections of senators as well.

The resolution, as it went to the country, read as follows:

"That in lieu of the first paragraph of section 3 of article I of the Constitution of the United States and in lieu of so much of paragraph 2 of the same section as relates to the filling of vacancies, the following be proposed as an amendment to the Constitution, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the states.

"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.

"When vacancies happen in the representation of any state in the Senate the executive authority of such state shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies. Provided, that the legislature of any state may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

"This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution."

Many of the progressive senators were on the floor of the House that afternoon to witness the last congressional act in the accomplishment of the great reform, and when the vote was announced they joined heartily in the handclapping. Several hours of debate preceded the vote, the southern members arguing strenuously against the infliction of a "force bill" on their states. This argument was bitterly combated by the staunch friends of the underlying proposition, who declared such fears to be groundless and urged that the main thing was to embrace the only opportunity for real reform that might be presented in many years.

Some months later a mild sensation was caused by a memorial from the Georgia legislature setting forth that the regulation for the constitutional amendment was not legal because it had not been adopted by two-thirds of the entire House membership. The sensation was short-lived, however, and at present no obstacle is seen to the proclamation of the Secretary of State that will make the amendment effective in the very near future.

## HARPER'S WEEKLY

A Prediction

We predict to-day—May 17, 1913—that the next Republican candidate for President of the United States will be WILLIAM E. BORAH, of Idaho.

The Drawn Bow. N.Y. S.

In the *Journal of Civilization* we find this more or less interesting announcement:

"We predict to-day—May 17, 1913—that the next Republican candidate for President of the United States will be WILLIAM E. BORAH of Idaho."

Insatiate archer! Could not one suffice?

Chicago, Ill. Record-Herald  
Wednesday, May 21, 1913.

Flouting a Prophet.

"We predict today—May 17, 1913—that the next Republican candidate for President of the United States will be WILLIAM E. BORAH of Idaho."—Colonel HARVEY in *Harper's Weekly*.

A paragraph that has drawn the gentle railery of the journalists from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the tropical Everglades to Our Lady of Snows. A perverse generation scoffing at an oracle is a sad sight. Let the scoffers remember that Brother HARVEY is no minor prophet, he is at least a walking delegate of the forecasters' union. Was it not his voice crying in the wilderness that brought Woodrow to the throne?

Literary Digest - Apr 1-14/13  
THE SENATE POPULARIZED

ONE-TIME OPPONENTS of the popular election of Senators have become either so reconciled or so resigned to the change that the news of the ratification of the Seventeenth Amendment is received with little but welcoming comment. True, there are expressions of doubt whether the plan will work as well as its advocates predict, but even the most conservative editors admit that it was something the people wanted and that it could not be "stood off" much longer. Most of these writers take the occasion to point out that this prompt action of the States, less than two years after the Senate passed the proposal for amendment, disposes of "whatever may be left of the long-standing notion that the difficulties in the way of an alteration of the Federal Constitution are almost insuperable."

Few subjects have been so thoroughly debated in Congress, on the stump, and in the press as the change now accomplished. Senator Borah, the father of the Senate resolution calling for the amendment, other progressive Senators, President Wilson and Secretary Bryan are among the men high in official life whose expressions of gratification are most emphatic. Mr. Bryan took occasion to remark that as "Massachusetts was the first State to vote for the amendment, and as Connecticut is the last whose vote is necessary to ratification, New England can claim to have been the alpha and omega of ratification, altho it was not at the laboring oar during the twenty years of struggle for this great reform," and from the conservative Hartford *Courant* (Rep.), published in the capital of the State whose action "puts the amendment over," comes this statement of "some manifest advantages in the new arrangement:

"Take Connecticut for an example. See how a senatorial struggle breaks up a General Assembly. For a generation members were known as 'Hawley men,' or 'Fessenden men,' or 'Bulkeley men.' However they lined up on that critical issue, so they were classed for the session. This at times led to unnecessary and unfortunate divisions. Moreover, there have too often been rank charges of the use of money at senatorial caucuses. Maybe there will be just as many such charges, if the Senator is to be nominated in a State convention, but a State convention is over when its nominations are made and does not sit for five months making laws for the people. Better to have such a body corrupted than a General Assembly. This is plain English, and it strikes us as logical, too."

The quality of the Senate membership may not be greatly improved by the change, says the *New York Evening Post*, but there are other benefits:

"To have got rid of a prolific source of intrigue and corruption

is in itself an incalculable gain. . . . Under the new régime, the Senate will command a kind and degree of respect which, a few years ago, it was evidently in imminent danger of losing. And elections to State legislatures will be freed from a disturbing element that has gone far toward paralyzing all efforts to improve the quality of those bodies. With the election of United States Senators eliminated from the problem, it is not too much to hope that we shall, before long, acquire the habit of choosing members of our legislatures on the basis of State issues and the personal merits of candidates, instead of following party labels and playing into the hands of machine politicians."

There will be no more "dark horses" or legislative deadlocks, notes the *Washington Star*. The ratification of this amendment, observes the *Seranton Tribune-Republican*, "strikes one of the very hardest blows ever aimed at the rule of the boss in American politics." And the *New York American* calls the roll of undesirable Senators whose like will not appear in the Senate again.

Taking the change as an accomplished fact, the *New York Sun* points out that it is but one step in a world-wide process:

"What has now been accomplished with reference to the United States Senate was in another fashion done to the House of Lords in Great Britain. The French Senate and Chamber-to-day have locked horns over a measure which would change the whole character of French legislative representation, and change it in the direction which has already been followed in America and England."

The Seventeenth Amendment to the United States Constitution reads 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.

"When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies, provided that the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct."

This means that the places of the Senators whose terms expire in 1915 will be filled by popular election. As the *Philadelphia Press* explains:

"The States will have to amend their laws so as to provide for the popular election of Senators. Where the legislature is not in session and has made no provision for the election of a United States Senator by the people there will have to be an extra session of the legislature to avoid the possibility of vacancies after March 4, 1915. If there are such vacancies probably the Governors will undertake to fill them."

THE SUNDAY STAR, WASHINGTON.  
A Prophet and His Work.

Col. George Harvey has again taken the field as a prophet. Having predicted the nomination and election of Woodrow Wilson to the presidency, he now predicts the nomination of Senator Borah as the republican candidate in 1916.

Col. Harvey's prophecy in the case of Mr. Wilson was extraordinary, considered in connection with the circumstances of its fulfillment. At the time it was made both Col. Harvey and Mr. Wilson were anti-Bryanites, and from their point of view the democracy's only hope was in the squelching of Mr. Bryan. Mr. Wilson expressed a wish that he might be knocked into a cocked hat.

Col. Harvey thought the time approaching when that could and would be done. He fancied he saw evidences of the waning of Bryanism, and a determination on the part of the democracy, freed from that influence, to return to the old, the Cleveland, order.

Under the spell of such conviction, he took a look around and picked Mr. Wilson, then an educator, for the restored democracy's new leader. A resident of the east, and eastern in his attitude toward Mr. Bryan, Mr. Wilson, in Col. Harvey's judgment, was the man for the coming emergency.

But, behold! Bryanism did not wane. It waxed, and grew strong. Some of its old opponents went over to it, and among the number was Woodrow Wilson. He changed his opinion completely about Mr. Bryan, and hailed him now as the one man who had for years seen the country's real needs and started democracy on the right course.

The rest is recent history. Eighteen months ago Col. Harvey and Mr. Wilson parted company. Six months later Mr. Bryan nominated Mr. Wilson for President, and today is the premier of Mr. Wilson's cabinet, while Col. Harvey, unchanged as to Bryanism, continues in private life and in his old path.

The basis of Col. Harvey's prediction as to Senator Borah is not given. The republicans now, as were the democrats a few years ago, are divided, and faction feeling is high. Mr. Borah is a progressive republican, and has just entered on a new term in the Senate. He is young, eloquent, able and aggressive. Last year he confined his activities to his own state, where the republican factions were at daggers drawn.

Maybe Col. Harvey in time will go into particulars. As a prophet he has a record, and that record shows a winning, even after all the conditions upon which the prophecy was based had been

Newspaper Cutting Bureau in the World

From **POST STANDARD**  
Address **SYRACUSE, N.Y.**  
Date **MAY 19 1913**

Mr. Harvey Makes a Prediction.

George Harvey has sold the excellent periodical whose support gave Dr. Wilson so much pain to the estimable and astute Mr. Hagedood.

Before releasing his newspaper to his successor Mr. Harvey indulges in political prognostication. It is Mr. Harvey's favorite recreation to make long distance forecasts.

His judgments, set forth boldly in his *Weekly*, have been amazingly discerning. His latest prediction therefore is entitled to more than passing attention:

We predict to-day—May 11, 1913—that the next Republican candidate for president of the United States will be William E. Borah, of Idaho.

Senator Borah is an able lawyer, a clear-headed and far-sighted statesman, a Progressive Republican whose right to both the title and the qualification has never been challenged. Senator Borah has in his one term in the senate become recognized as a leader of that body. So far as may be judged at long range he has as good a chance as any other of being the nominee of the Republican convention in 1916, a better chance we should say than Mr. Hadley of Missouri for Borah is a bigger man.

From **TRAVELLER & EVG. HI**  
Address: **Boston, Mass.**  
Date

"WE PREDICT."

COL. GEORGE HARVEY, who is one of several hundred almost infallible political forecasters, issues this bulletin from his observatory in Franklin square, New York:

We predict today—May 17, 1913—that the next Republican candidate for President of the United States will be William E. Borah of Idaho.

Excellent. But prophecy, after all, is not difficult. For example:

We predict today—May 20, 1913—that if William E. Borah of Idaho should become a candidate for the Republican presidential nomination and become a presidential possibility through the activity of Col. George Harvey as a persistent boomer, William E. Borah of Idaho would not, after his arrival under the guidance of Col. George Harvey within speaking distance of the nomination, request Col. George Harvey to efface himself as a Borah boomer because of a fear on the part of William E. Borah of Idaho that further booming by Col. George Harvey would injure the candidacy of William E. Borah of Idaho.

The First Established and Most Complete Newspaper Cutting Bureau in the World

From **TRAVELLER & EVG. HI**  
Address **SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH**  
Date **MAY 19 1913**

The boom started by Harper's *Weekly* for Senator Borah of Idaho for President in 1916, though no doubt premature, is yet fraught with great possibilities; and it brings to the front a strong candidate, a man in every way qualified, whose abilities and fine record commend him emphatically to the admiration and confidence of the American people.

32  
BURLINGTON, VT  
MAY 20 1913

### THIRD TERMISM FUNDAMENTAL NOT A PARTY ISSUE

It will always be unfortunate when discussion of third termism cannot be divested of personal or party character. It is above and beyond both. It is fundamental, involving the very foundations of popular self-rule.

The very first president of the United States was brought face to face with this far-reaching problem, and he settled it in a way that won the plaudits of the world and established a precedent for all time to come.

Washington's example was followed by Jefferson, who upon being importuned to accept a third term, used this striking and convincing language:

"If some termination to the service of the chief magistrate be not fixed by the constitution, or supplied by practice, his office, nominally for years, will in fact become for life, and history shows how easily that degenerates into an inheritance.

"I should unwillingly be the person who, disregarding the sound precedent set by an illustrious predecessor, should furnish the first example of prolongation beyond the second term of office."

Washington and Jefferson, federalist and republican, alike spoke not with reference to other aspirants, but respecting their own temptation. Recall, moreover, that a president of the United States did not then wield the tremendous power over the presidential succession held by a chief magistrate at the present time through gigantic party organization and administration patronage, either to bring about his own renomination in spite of the popular wish or to force an "heir apparent" upon a protesting people, as when Harrison dictated his own renomination, or when Roosevelt forced Taft's nomination, in spite of a pronounced popular demand for Hughes as the champion of direct primaries and of a new republicanism.

The fathers in the White House fully realized that the argument that the man of experience was best qualified for service would apply with even more force to a fourth term than to a second and so on; that the lust of power has shown itself to be well nigh irresistible and that self-rule is never more in danger than when one man is held necessary to national existence, as proved by history, both ancient and modern. They showed themselves to be true patriots by subordinating personal ambition to the common weal.

If this powerful precedent were ever to be broken the conditions could not well be more favorable than existed in 1880. General Grant, the military hero, regarded as the real savior of the nation by many, had recently returned from a triumphal tour of the world in which he had received ovations at the hands of all nations.

A host of people were swept off their feet for the time being. The Great Empire State gave Grant its support, and various other States were caught up by the wave of popular enthusiasm. The "solid 306" delegates stood immovable for a third term. Well might the champions of fundamental principles tremble, not loving Grant less, but fearing "Caesarism" more.

There were oratorical giants in those days. One of these was Roscoe Conkling, and when he made his famous speech in nomination of Grant it is easy to see how the convention might easily have been stampeded in a lesser crisis.

"When we are asked whence comes our candidate," dramatically exclaimed Conkling, "we say from Appomattox." How could he appeal more effectively to the gratitude of the people for a saved nation. Then came the appeal to expediency and to love of party success.

"I wish in behalf of the State of New York to propose a nomination with which the country and the Republican party can proudly win the election before us. It will be the Austerlitz of American politics. It will decide whether for years to come the country shall be republican or Cossack."

"The need of the hour is a candidate who can carry the doubtful States, north and south. New York is for U. S. Grant. He alone of living republicans has carried New York as a presidential candidate.

"The convention is master of a supreme opportunity. It can name the next president of the United States, and make sure his election and peaceful inauguration."

How could more well be said in few words? The last phrase was especially fetching. The democrats, smarting over the alleged unseating of Tilden in 1877, had made threats as to what might come in the future, and the appeal for Grant's "peaceful inauguration" was doubly effective.

Vermont yielded to no State in its admiration of the "Soldier Hero," yet it stood uncompromisingly opposed to his election for a third term. Moreover, Edmunds would rather see any other man nominated than Blaine, who seemed about to win, yet even with him third termism was the paramount issue.

That this feeling was dynamic is shown by the utterance of that great Vermonter, the Hon. Frederick Billings, maker of an impressive speech in nomination of Edmunds, who upon the concentrating of sentiment on Garfield, used these eloquent and significant words:

"Vermont would call upon her everlasting mountains to fall upon and hide her before she would thrust local pride and selfish ambition into the councils of the nation at this critical epoch."

Those splendid words, appealing to the pride and loyalty and patriotism of every Vermonter, show how the men of giant intellectual stature in the days of Edmunds and Billings and a host of other big Vermonters of the time regarded the third term menace.

We of this age have seen the Republican party again rent by third termism. The charge is made that it was reactionism that split the party at Chicago in 1912, but, as the writer personally knows, a host of delegates were willing to accept Borah or Hadley or Cummings or any other champion of the progressives, yet absolutely refused to compromise on a third term.

Anti-third termism is no more a personal issue now than when the eloquent Billings joined in 1880 with representatives of other "favorite son" candidates in making common sacrifice in a "critical epoch," and it is safe to say that the Green Mountain spirit will never prove recreant to the noble patriotism for which Vermont then stood and has continued to stand in every national crisis.

that *dukes Register*

Harper's Weekly, which is long on predictions, made an editorial forecast recently that William E. Borah of Idaho would be the next republican nominee for president, and as there is every chance of the factional elements of the party uniting before another election, the prediction does not seem out of the way, particularly as Borah is doing more than any other one man to bring the elements together. More than one year before Woodrow Wilson's nomination Harper's Weekly made the prediction that he would be the nominee of the democratic party and that he would be elected. The nomination of Borah and his election would be a great tribute and recognition of the ability of a great man.

The boom started by Harper's Weekly for Senator Borah for president in 1916 is fraught with great possibilities, and brings to the front a strong candidate—a man in every way qualified, whose abilities and fine record commend him emphatically to the administration and confidence of the American people.

but when it comes to ascertaining their guilt and fixing their punishment, that is a work for judge and jury. For officers of the militia, untrained in the law, to attempt it, is almost certain to lead to actual injustice, and in any event creates an angry feeling that the ordinary processes of justice are being arbitrarily set aside. Into such an obvious irregularity it is proper for the Senate to inquire; and we may hope that the evidence elicited and the conclusions reached will be such as to prevent the will of a military commander from being substituted for the decision of a court of justice—whenever, that is, the courts are open and accessible.

It has been said that most of the pressure for this Senate investigation has come from labor unions in West Virginia. That does not affect the merits of the case. All of us are concerned in maintaining due process of law, against the mere argument of pike and gun. It may be true that laboring men are more directly interested than any other class in having this particular matter set straight. But with this interest, there goes an obligation. It is to recognize the general desire to have courts that are pure and impartial, and will do exact justice between man and man. Labor leaders praised the Massachusetts court that acquitted Ettore and Giovanni; but too many of them were ready to break out in denunciation of the New Jersey court that convicted Quinlan.

PAPER NEWS  
PUBLISHED BOISE, IDA  
DATE MAY 22 1913

is enough for honest operation.  
Where is the fellow who declared the Capital News was absurd and even dishonest in mentioning the name of Senator Borah with the presidential nomination? Harper's Weekly is not such poor company for an ordinary scrub country daily to find itself in company with in national politics. The only difference is we beat Harper's to it by several months.

## THE WEST VIRGINIA INQUIRY.

It is now settled that a Senate committee is to take testimony regarding the labor troubles in West Virginia, and especially in the matter of the declaring of martial law in certain districts, with trials by military commissions. The terms of the inquiry were agreed upon yesterday. The committee will consist of five Senators, who will sit in Washington to examine witnesses. As outlined, the investigation would seem to be of a wider scope than is desirable. To look into the whole range of labor conditions in the West Virginia coal mines, to determine what rôle in the disturbances has been played by the railroads, would lead the committee far, and into matters where the Federal jurisdiction is not clear. Probably the inquiry will narrow, as it proceeds, in sheer self-defense. And, after all, the question of greatest interest, and the one with which Congress has the undoubted right to concern itself, relates to the way in which justice has been administered in West Virginia during the period of violence and rioting by the miners on strike.

It was the anomaly, to use no harsher word, of civilians being tried in West Virginia by the military, although the courts were open, which first caught the attention of the public. This it was which prompted Senator Kern's original resolution for an inquiry. All the other matters were collateral and subordinate. It may or may not be true that the West Virginia miners have been compelled to work under oppressive conditions. There may or may not be warrant for the assertion that railroad companies have selfishly fomented labor troubles. Those things are important in their place, but it is certain that by themselves they would not have moved the Senate to act. What aroused concern and debate in that body, and what has finally led it to appoint a committee of investigation, was the fear that law-breakers in West Virginia had been deprived of their Constitutional right to due process of law. The disorders are admitted. The need of bringing turbulent men to justice is not denied. But the question which stirred some of the ablest men and best lawyers in the Senate was whether martial law in West Virginia had not overstepped its due bounds; and the fear that it had was what really brought about the determination to have a Senate inquiry.

The substantial points at issue were clearly indicated in the speeches, and the running debate, of Senator Goff and Senator Borah. The former is from West Virginia, and undertook a thoroughgoing defence of the action of Gov. Hatfield, both in declaring martial law and in directing military commissions to try offenders. As one who had been on the Federal bench, Mr. Goff was naturally familiar with the judicial precedents, and cited several decisions of the Supreme Court upholding the action of military tribunals. But Senator Borah contended with great force that all these cases had to do with a time of war, or of military administration of a conquered territory. His argument was, and it seems to us very weighty, that the military arm can be used to the limit by the Executive, and should be fearlessly when the occasion demands it, but should be used as essentially a police force. When public order cannot be preserved by the ordinary officials, let the soldiery be called in without hesitation. Let rioting and insurrection be put down with the sternest hand. If the processes of the courts cannot be executed by sheriffs and constables, let them be executed by the militia. But, affirmed Senator Borah, martial law must stop at the door of the courtroom. The troops may run down and arrest criminals and hold them under guard;

*The preceding page*

A "class verdict" was the epithet applied to the findings of the jury in that case. Justice can know no classes; and the multiplying evidence, such as that furnished by the coming Senate inquiry and by the resolute prosecution now going on in Massachusetts of employers charged with conspiring against their men, should convince honest workmen that the outcries of the Industrial Workers against the courts are both unfounded and unpatriotic.

## The Oregonian

PORTLAND, MONDAY, MAY 19, 1913.

### CLINGING TO A LOST CAUSE.

"The hearts of those who made the fight in the ranks of the new political party last Fall will not go out with overwhelming kindness to Senator Cummins, Senator Borah, former Governor Hadley and the other Progressive Republicans who are conferring upon the reorganization of the Republican party," says the Chicago Evening Post. We do not know so much about that. They seem to have gone out with considerable kindness to Republican candidates in the Spring election in Michigan and in those cities and counties which elected municipal officers. The hearts of Mr. Munsey and Mr. Hanna are going out to the old party. Those gentlemen are willing to write off their \$498,000 investment in the Progressive party as a total loss and are begging their mother to take them home.

There never was a more striking example of the effectiveness after election of campaign arguments than is afforded by the disintegration of the Progressive party. The seceders have since the election become convinced by thousands of the soundness of arguments to which they turned a deaf ear while they were in the heat of passion over Colonel Roosevelt's defeat at Chicago. It was proved then that Colonel Roosevelt was an eleven-hour Progressive and that he gave cold comfort to men like Senator La Follette when the latter and his associates most needed aid and comfort. It was proved by the records that practically all the progressive legislation passed since the Civil War was the work of the Republican party and that the Progressive movement had its genesis in the belief of the most advanced thinkers in that party that it did not progress fast enough. Colonel Roosevelt was put out of court on his cry of fraud by his own action in using excessive Southern representation to secure his own nomination in 1904 and Mr. Taft's in 1908, also by Mr. La Follette's cold analysis of the flimsy character of his contests and by the admission of his lieutenants that many of these contests were brought for political effect.

Mr. Borah and Mr. Hadley were champions of the nomination by the Republican convention, not of his nomination at any price. They condemned the rules under which he was defeated, but submitted to the result and set to work to procure a change in the rules. Their loyalty to the Republican party in the crisis, and that of Mr. La Follette, Governor Deneen and many other leading Progressives stamped the third party as a party organized to promote the candidacy of one man and as having no distinctive principles justifying its permanent existence. Now that the third party men have opportunity to think calmly, they are realizing the truth of these statements and are acting upon the conviction by returning to the Republican party, not as an organized body nor with any loud confessions of error, but singly and quietly, though in great numbers, as recent elections show.

The Post argues that "with the Progressive party founded on progressive principles and with the Democratic party aggressively progressive, the Republican party inevitably tends to be the conservative—not to say reactionary—party." The conclusion is silly. The Progressive party is already breaking up. It was founded on adherence to one man. He has already shot his bolt and missed the mark. It is highly improbable that he can ever again secure a nomination for President with any hope of election, either from the Progressive or the Republican party. With or without him as its candidate, the Progressive party promises to become a negligible factor in future elections.

True, the Democratic party is now controlled by its progressive element, but so is the Republican party. We will match the Post's prediction that the Cummins conferees cannot hope to "do more than wrest a thin concession of progressivism from Barnes and his friends, whose party overlordship they still recognize," with a counter prediction that, at the special

convention the progressives will dictate terms and that the reactionaries will accept them. The progressives are already pulling the Republican party in Congress and each election will strengthen them in the Senate.

There is nothing in the basic principles of either Republican or Democratic party which is inconsistent with progressiveness. The principles of each can be applied in a progressive spirit, though the state rights doctrine is an obstacle in the way of the Democracy. There is no probability that a frankly conservative party will ever exist in the sense in which it exists in European countries. There privilege is buttressed by law and constitution and centuries of custom; here it is contrary to constitution and such law as is on its side is recent and has always been attacked. There the struggle still is for removal of old established privilege; here it is between two methods of making progress, while privilege is declared by both parties to be repugnant to the spirit of our institutions and to have crept in against the popular will.

There is, for these reasons, no excuse for a Progressive party. The fact is becoming patent to many more minds every day, and its remaining adherents are simply clinging to the remnant of a lost cause.

Newspaper Cutting Bureau in the World

WISCONSIN  
MILWAUKEE, WIS.  
MAY 20

### Wilson's Inventor Brings Out Borah.

The current issue of Harper's Weekly contains the following:

We predict today—May 17, 1913—that the next Republican candidate for President of the United States will be William E. Borah of Idaho.

The New York Sun reprinted the above with this terse comment:

Insatiate archer! Could not one suffice?

Harper's Weekly, like other hebdomadal papers, has been in the habit of coming out a little ahead of the formal date of its issue. It was on the 17th that the New York Sun published its comment, and it was on the 17th that announcement was made of the sale of Harper's Weekly to Norman Hapgood, the former editor of Collier's. G. M. Harvey, the editor of Harper's Weekly, was the man who first brought out Wilson for the Presidency. He supported him until Wilson made the extraordinary request that he should "let up." The report had got abroad that the late J. Pierpont Morgan controlled the Harper publications, and Wilson's injunction was widely construed as emanating from a fear that the impulse which had started him might deprive him from other support that he desired, and

needed, if it remained conspicuous as his campaign progressed. Colonel Harvey, whatever might have been his feelings under the circumstances—and they may be imagined so well that an attempt to describe them would be superfluous—subsided from that time until after the Baltimore convention had put Wilson in nomination.

There is no likelihood that Senator Borah would have imitated the Wilson tactics, but the sale of Harper's Weekly saves him from any temptation to do so, even were he minded to adopt an expedient so little compunctions of what might be supposed to be the feelings of a friend.

### SENATOR BORAH'S FEARS.

The Washington correspondent of the Chicago Tribune, after setting forth a proposed plan of reorganization that is to avoid the necessity of calling a preliminary convention, concludes with this significant statement:

The fact is that the progressive republicans are split on the proposition of having a preliminary convention to reorganize the party. Senator Cummins has advocated one from the start, but has been opposed by Senator Borah and many others. There is a widespread idea that the convention proposition is loaded with political dynamite.

If the name of Senator Borah were not the one mentioned it would be easy to surmise that the political dynamite referred to was a likely demand for a declaration of progressive principles. But Senator Borah's name is enough to give progressives pause. Is it possible that Senator Borah fears the convention might be reactionary and take the back track?

Des Moines, Iowa, and Eastern  
Frequency May 27, 1913.

From **GLOBE**  
Address **JOPLIN, MO**  
Date **MAY 20 1913**

Shake!

**ENTER SENATOR BORAH.**

It will be remembered that Woodrow Wilson's election to the presidency was predicted by Colonel George Harvey of Harper's Weekly a long time before it came about. Not only this particular event, but others of importance in our president's climb up the political ladder. His nomination for governor of New Jersey, his election to that office and his nomination for the presidency as well as his election thereto were each predicted at different times by the democratic magazine editor. And finally, in the last issue before the November election, Colonel Harvey clinched his claim to undying fame as a political prophet by making the then astonishing prediction that Mr. Wilson would have a majority of over 490 in the electoral college.

In the light of these remembrances, the following editorial item in the current issue of Harper's Weekly is of some interest:

"We predict today—May 17, 1913—that the next republican candidate for president of the United States will be William E. Borah of Idaho."

Colonel Harvey seems not one whit abashed by the proverb concerning the pitcher that went to the well once too often. He takes the above mentioned "undying fame as a political prophet" in his hands and risks all in one more throw of the dice. It would be melodramatic to call it "one last throw," but there is no assurance that it will be that. Especially if Mr. Borah does get the nomination.

Politicians, it may be said, will not overlook this prediction. Colonel Harvey is entirely too mature to talk just because he has a reputation. He is making the forecast after due deliberation and it comes from a brain as well supplied with political history and political sagacity as any in the country. He may have guessed wrong, but this much may be believed: Senator Borah has a chance. And any amount of people had never thought of him in that light.



TELEGRAM

PAPER \_\_\_\_\_

PORTLAND, ORE.

PUBLISHED \_\_\_\_\_

DATE **MAY 20 1913**

**PROSPECTIVE-PRESIDENT BORAH.**

**H**ARPER'S WEEKLY has predicted it, and we fancy there is some straightening of back in Idaho.

Senator Borah is a good man, a capable man, and from what he has shown in his official record as good as any other man we could think of to be President. He is of the West, most Western; and people of the West will agree that other things being equal it is high time that the banner of National honor was planted out this way.

But Senator Borah, if he is to be President, must achieve the honor as the leader of what looks very much at this writing like a forlorn hope. His good fortune, if realized, must first depend upon the harmonizing and rejuvenation of the Republican party—two feats that in themselves comprise no mean task. He must, after that, oppose the record which the Wilson Administration will make, and again the prospects are not rosy from the angle of Senator Borah's Presidential interests.

All things considered, Harper's Weekly has made a hazardous prediction, albeit it is one which we know that the West, and we believe the country generally, might like to see fulfilled, if intervening circumstances shall approve.

Col. Harvey's Guess  
Thursday, May 22, 1913

**Colonel Harvey's Guess.**

Colonel Harvey, of Harper's Weekly, ventures the prediction that the Republican nominee for president in 1916 will be William E. Borah, of Idaho, at present representing that state in the United States senate. Forecasting presidential nominees is a rather precarious business, and no doubt a good many Republicans will be inclined to scout the prediction of Colonel Harvey. There is no question, however, that Senator Borah is already considered a "strong possibility" in this connection, and the chance of Colonel Harvey being mistaken is, therefore, not as remote as some may believe.

Should Senator Borah develop a pronounced following for the next Republican nomination, however, the inevitable effect will be to diminish the chance of Senator La Follette reaching the goal of his ambitions. Borah, like La Follette, belongs to the Progressive wing of the Republican party, and if the Progressives divide their strength they will simply increase the possibility of the Stand-patters retaining control of the party and again dictating the party ticket. It is not improbable, moreover, that this will be the game of the Stand-patters next time—an effort to split up and divide the Progressive forces and thus play the latter against each other. And if this can be successfully worked the outcome would likely be the nomination of a "dark horse" candidate, which is a guess just as apt to prove correct as the one made by Colonel Harvey.

Col. Harvey's Guess  
THURSDAY, MAY 22, 1913.

**HARVEY PREDICTS**

Col. Harvey, who has acquired some fame as a political prognosticator, predicts that William E. Borah, now U. S. senator from Idaho, will be the next Republican candidate for president. While the Republicans might do better, they could do a great deal worse than nominate Borah.

Press  
PORTLAND, ME.

Senator Borah says that he doesn't want the Republican nomination for the presidency. The party might do a whole lot worse than induce him to change his mind.

PAPER TRIBUNE  
PUBLISHED LOS ANGELES  
DATE MAY 14 1913

### A Hopeless Task



### Second the Motion Times

"We predict today—May 17, 1913—that the next Republican candidate for president of the United States will be William E. Borah of Idaho."—Harper's Weekly.

Looked at from a nonpartisan viewpoint, this nomination would suit to a T the Rocky Mountain states, Colorado included. Senator Borah knows his West, its needs and its aspirations. He is a conservationist who believes in taking care of the present generation, while conserving for posterity; he is a protectionist without being an extremist in that direction; and he is a progressive without being a crank. Senator Borah, in a brief time at Washington, has taken a commanding place. He is an independent, who yet believes that without organization there can be neither party nor good government. He held fast to the Republican faith last year without permitting Rooseveltian hero worship to drag him into the rapids or allowing himself to fall into the reactionary pit that had been spread for him. Above all, he is loved by his own people. Idaho worships him. In three years he will have gained full stature and will make a fitting candidate for the Republican party, or the party that will take up the burden.

And don't forget that the Harper prophet is the same who predicted Wilson four years before the happening.

Newspaper Cutting Bureau in the world

LEAVENWORTH, KANSAS  
MAY 24 1913

#### HENRY IS WRONG.

In the Wichita Beacon Henry Allen declares that the stand-pat leaders of the Republican party had sat down on the efforts at harmony being made by Cummins, Borah and others and that the movement had flattened out. This is but another case in which the wish was father to the thought. The movement has not flattened out but is gaining in strength. Thursday's dispatches from Washington told of how the members of congress were getting together and preparing for a united fight against the Democrats at the next election and they brought the information that the plans of the get-together conference would be presented to the national Republican committee today. The movement is very much alive.



# AMENDMENT FOR ELECTION OF SENATORS PROCLAIMED

### Long and Arduous Fight by N. Y. American Is Crowned by Last Formal Act Changing Fundamental Law of the Land

### Four Pens Used by Secretary Bryan in Ceremony Attended by Senator Borah and Others Who Aided in the Fight

Washington, May 31.—The long, persistent and arduous fight which the New York American has made for the election of United States Senators by the people was formally crowned with success at the State Department today when Secretary of State Bryan signed and issued the proclamation of the Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution.

At his side were Harry St. George Tucker, of Virginia, who made the first fight for it in the House of Representatives twenty-two years ago; Representative Rucker, of Missouri, who piloted the cause to its final passage in the House about a year ago, and Senator Borah, of Idaho, who fathered the amendment in the Senate.

"My only regret is that I did not also have the pleasure of signing the income tax amendment three months ago," said Mr. Bryan, "but Mr. Knox got ahead of me in that."

#### TEXT OF PROCLAMATION.

The proclamation follows:  
William Jennings Bryan, Secretary of State of the United States of America, to whom all these presents may come, greetings:

Know ye, that the Congress of the United States at the recent session sixty-second Congress, in the year one thousand nine hundred and twelve, passed a resolution in the words and figures, following:

To Wit—A joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution, providing that Senators be elected by the people of the several States, and further that it appears from official documents on file in this department that the amendment to the Constitution of the United States proposed as aforesaid, has been ratified by the Legislatures of the States (here follows the names of the thirty-six States which ratified the amendment)

And further that the States whose Legislatures have so ratified the said proposed amendment constitute three-fourths of the whole number of States in the United States.

#### AMENDMENT NOW IN EFFECT.

Now, therefore, be it known that I, William Jennings Bryan, Secretary of State of the United States, by virtue and in pursuance of Section 265 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, do hereby certify that the amendment aforesaid has become valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution of the United States.

Secretary Bryan used four pens to sign the proclamation. The first, which he used to write "William" went to Mr. Tucker; the second, with which he wrote "Jennings," went to Mr. Rucker; the third, with which he wrote "Bryan," he kept for himself. The fourth, with which he wrote the date, he delivered to Senator Borah.

Mrs. Bryan and several invited guests witnessed the ceremony.

#### REAL FIGHT IN THE SENATE.

The amendment was popular from the beginning in the House, where it was originally passed without a dissenting vote. The real fight was in the Senate and there the New York American took it up and fought it to a finish.

The Senate was finally induced to act by the disclosures by the Hearst publications of the character of Senators elected by the existing method and of the influences to which they owed their election. The struggle was kept up, at times a forlorn hope, until Senator Borah took hold of the matter and introduced the final amendment which had passed the House.

In its fight The American encountered many flat refusals to consider the matter and many dilatory propositions, as for instance that the number of Senators from each State should be proportioned to its population.

The "Old Guard" was also always strong enough in the Senate to prevent the discharge of the Judiciary Committee and evaded a fair fight on the merits of the case on the floor of the Senate. Efforts to this end were made by Senators Blackburn, of Kentucky, and Terry, of Arkansas, but they were beaten by Senator Depew and the old line of Senators.

There is no question that the creation of the sentiment that made possible the signing of the joint resolution by Mr. Bryan to-day was due largely to the persistent efforts of the New York American.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 31, 1916

#### BORAH IN 1916.

We predict today, May 31, 1916, that the next republican candidate for president of the United States will be William E. Borah, of Idaho—Col. Gen. Harvey W. Harper's Weekly.

Does that sound like a long shot? In a way, of course, it is a long shot, but before anyone offers to risk his money 100 to 1 against it let him reflect that it comes from a political soothsayer whose predictions are entitled to respect.

As a matter of sporting dope William E. Borah to win the republican convention handicap in 1916 is a much better tip than the tip Col. Harvey gave us away back in 1909 concerning the democratic presidential nominee in 1912. Yes, it was as early as 1909 that Col. Harvey picked Woodrow Wilson as the man the democrats must nominate to win the presidential contest of 1912. At the time Col. Harvey made the suggestion there was hardly a man of sufficient prominence to be considered as a presidential possibility who might be considered a longer shot than Dr. Wilson. The Princeton professor had a reputation as a first class man in his line, but he had no experience in practical politics. That he could get into politics and make a good enough showing there to warrant his nomination and election to the presidency within three years seemed as improbable as anything that could have been suggested in the wake of the great Taft-Roosevelt republican landslide of 1908. Everybody thought Col. Harvey was joking at first, and it was a year or more before the paragraphers stopped "kidding" the Woodrow Wilson presidential boom. But they did stop finally. None who engaged in that round of airy persiflage will use Col. Harvey's Borah prediction as provocation for another round.

Col. Harvey's reputation as a political wisecracker does not rest on calling the turn on the nomination of Wilson. In 1910 he foresaw the avalanche that swept the republicans out of control of the house of representatives and ousted them from the statehouses in many supposedly solid republican states. Weeks in advance of the election he printed a table of predictions indicating the outcome in all the important states and approximating the actual democratic majorities. Last year, when most of the political experts were dubious as to the effect of the Roosevelt candidacy on the democratic prospects, Col. Harvey repeatedly predicted the election of Wilson by a majority of more than 100 votes in the electoral college—a prediction that the most optimistic democratic managers were afraid to duplicate. Again Col. Harvey had an "I told you so" coming.

We may think the republican presidential nominee in 1916 should be Senator Root or President Butler or Gov. Hadley or Senator La Follette or Senator Cummins, but when Col. Harvey boldly predicts that Senator Borah will be the man we must accept the suggestion respectfully and file it for future reference without cracking a smile. Whether it is due to second sight or more shrewdness, Col. Harvey has a record as a prophet that demands serious consideration for any new positive prediction.

The Borah boom may be considered informally inaugurated whether Mr. Borah and his friends like it or not.

#### BORAH IN 1916

Does that sound like a long shot? In a way, of course, it is a long shot, but before anyone offers to risk his money 100 to 1 against it let him reflect that it comes from a political soothsayer whose predictions are entitled to respect.

As a matter of sporting dope William E. Borah to win the republican convention handicap in 1916 is a much better tip than the tip Col. Harvey gave us away back in 1909 concerning the democratic presidential nominee in 1912. Yes, it was as early as 1909 that Col. Harvey picked Woodrow Wilson as the man the democrats must nominate to win the presidential contest of 1912. At the time Col. Harvey made the suggestion there was hardly a man of sufficient prominence to be considered as a presidential possibility who might be considered a longer shot than Dr. Wilson. The Princeton professor had a reputation as a first class man in his line, but he had no experience in practical politics. That he could get into politics and make a good enough showing there to warrant his nomination and election to the presidency within three years seemed as improbable as anything that could have been suggested in the wake of the great Taft-Roosevelt republican landslide of 1908. Everybody thought Col. Harvey was joking at first, and it was a year or more before the paragraphers stopped "kidding" the Woodrow Wilson presidential boom. But they did stop finally. None who engaged in that round of airy persiflage will use Col. Harvey's Borah prediction as provocation for another round.

Col. Harvey's reputation as a political wisecracker does not rest on calling the turn on the nomination of Wilson. In 1910 he foresaw the avalanche that swept the republicans out of control of the house of representatives and ousted them from the statehouses in many supposedly solid republican states. Weeks in advance of the election he printed a table of predictions indicating the outcome in all the important states and approximating the actual democratic majorities. Last year, when most of the political experts were dubious as to the effect of the Roosevelt candidacy on the democratic prospects, Col. Harvey repeatedly predicted the election of Wilson by a majority of more than 100 votes in the electoral college—a prediction that the most optimistic democratic managers were afraid to duplicate. Again Col. Harvey had an "I told you so" coming.

We may think the republican presidential nominee in 1916 should be Senator Root or President Butler or Gov. Hadley or Senator La Follette or Senator Cummins, but when Col. Harvey boldly predicts that Senator Borah will be the man we must accept the suggestion respectfully and file it for future reference without cracking a smile. Whether it is due to second sight or more shrewdness, Col. Harvey has a record as a prophet that demands serious consideration for any new positive prediction.

The Borah boom may be considered informally inaugurated whether Mr. Borah and his friends like it or not.

Storn L. L. Low, Phil-Tribune, Friday, June 6, 1916.

arent tneror: it certainly is mean to pull matter and attempt to palm it off as original.

The Manson Journal wants to get into the game early and is now urging Senator Borah as the republican candidate for the presidency three years hence. The suggestion, however, has been made before and has met with considerable favorable comment.

# POPULAR ELECTION OF SENATE IN FORCE

Bryan Promulgates the Addition of the 17th Amendment to the Constitution.

## END OF 87 YEARS' FIGHT

Secretary Uses Four Gold Pens to Sign Enacting Document—Pioneers of Reform Present.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, May 31.—The seventeenth amendment to the Constitution, providing for the election of United States Senators by the direct vote of the people, became effective to-day when Secretary Bryan formally announced its adoption by the Legislatures of thirty-six States, that number being the required two-thirds necessary to attach the amendment to the Constitution.

The signing of the document promulgating the amendment was made the occasion of considerable ceremony. Mr. Bryan entered into the spirit of the occasion with a rejoicing sense of its importance historically.

One of those invited to be present was ex-Congressman Harry St. George Tucker of Virginia, who was the ranking member of the majority side of the House Committee on the Election of President and Vice President in the Fifty-second Congress, when the resolution providing for the submission of the amendment to the Legislatures was first favorably reported to the House and adopted by that body. Mr. Tucker is the sole survivor of the prominent Democrats on the committee who were active in supporting the resolution.

Mr. Bryan also invited representative William W. Rucker of Mississippi, Chairman of the Committee on Election of President and Vice President in the Sixty-second Congress, when the resolution was again passed by the House, and Senator William E. Borah of Idaho, of the Senate Committee on Judiciary, on whom fell the duty of championing the measure in the Senate, and to whom credit was given for its success in that body, where it had often met defeat in previous Congresses.

Four silver pens had been provided for Mr. Bryan's use in signing his name. One was tied with a red ribbon, another with a white ribbon, the third with a blue ribbon, and the fourth with two white ribbons. Mrs. Bryan and Miss Mary Sharp, sister-in-law of Mr. Tucker, and a large number of department officials also witnessed the signing of the amendment.

Mr. Bryan took the pen with the red ribbon and signed his first name, immediately handing the pen to Mr. Tucker. Then he took the white ribboned pen and signed "Jennings," and this pen he handed to Judge Rucker. With the blue-ribboned pen he signed "Bryan." This pen the Secretary gave to Mrs. Bryan. With the double white-ribboned pen he wrote in "Thirty-first," the day in May on which the new amendment was to go into effect, and gave this pen to Senator Borah.

The tri-partite signature occupied the Secretary just three minutes, the last word being blotted at 11:16 o'clock. Edward Savoy, the veteran chief messenger to Secretaries of State, whose first departmental service was under Secretary Hamilton Fish in 1869, got the blotter used by Mr. Bryan. A certificate that the blotter had been used on this occasion was written on it by Mr. Bryan in lead pencil.

"That marks the end of a long fight," said Mr. Bryan as he arose from his chair. "The struggle for election of Senators by the people began twenty-one years ago in Congress, and eighty-seven years ago among the people." "Yes," said Senator Borah, "it began in 1825."

Secretary Bryan expressed his gratification that the making of this official announcement of the ratification of the amendment had fallen to him as one of his official duties. He mentioned that he was elected to Congress in 1890 upon a platform containing such a plank.

Mr. Bryan voted in both the Fifty-second and Fifty-third Congresses for the resolution submitting the amendment, and assisted in the writing of four national platforms which endorsed it. Mr. Bryan said that he regarded it as the most important reform made in a century affecting the Federal Government.

# The Tribune

## BORAH FOR PRESIDENCY

The Tribune is highly gratified that a citizen of Idaho should be even seriously mentioned as the nominee of the Republican party for the presidency of the United States. Knowing his worth and ability we are still more highly gratified that the citizen of the state upon whom this honor is to be thrust is none other than Senator Borah. Harper's Weekly in a recent editorial expression predicted that Senator Borah would be the Republican nominee in 1916. Harper's Weekly is edited by Col. Geo. Harvey, the discoverer of Woodrow Wilson and the man who predicted his nomination two years prior to the event. However the then governor of New Jersey, after he was well on his way to the nomination concluded that the support of Col. Harvey was inimical to his interests, and asked that the active support of the Weekly be withdrawn. As a predictor Col. Harvey hit the mark once at least and that is a very fair average as predictions go. He should have stopped there. The candidacy of Senator Borah has been discussed by the New York Sun and other eastern papers of prestige and influence. Not a few Idaho newspapers have become highly enthusiastic. The enthusiasm is highly commendable. We wish we could feel it.

There are at least two reasons in the opinion of the Tribune why Senator Borah will not be the nominee of the Republican party, any one of which is sufficient to defeat the project. In the first place Senator Borah, if we are frank with ourselves we must admit, has not reached a position of such prestige in the nation, that all thought of expediency will be thrown to the winds. Senator Borah comes from a small, unimportant state. He would not add that strength to the ticket which the candidate is supposed to add in at least one large doubtful state. Geographically he is all to the bad. In the second place who knows whether or not Senator Borah is a Republican. In an interview given in the Lewiston Tribune the chairman of the Progressive party states that within a reasonable length of time Senator Borah will be found working heart and soul with the Progressives. It is well known that during the last campaign Senator Borah promulgated a brand of Republicanism peculiarly his own. We hardly imagine that the Republican party will take as its nominee a man whose political convictions are in doubt.

The Tribune believes that the Republicanism of Senator Borah is all right but at times he is a little timid. We believe he comes from the best state in the union and the one that should furnish the next president, but the eastern states are apt to be of a different opinion and as they have the votes their opinion will carry the weight. We would be pleased to see

Senator Borah President Borah but have little hopes of ever seeing it happen.

Harper's Weekly predicts the nomination of Senator Borah of this state as the next Republican candidate for president. The Press knows of no other man in the country who can measure up with Borah for reasonable progressive legislation. He is the hub around which the progressive and reactionary wings of the party can unite and his nomination would be equivalent to election.—Coeur d'Alene Press,

# TUNNEL JOB IS CLAIMED BY MINERS

Western Federation Men Here Ready to Construct Stockton-Street Bore.

By FREDERICK W. ELY.

The Western Federation of Miners, through President Charles F. Meyer, has laid claim to the work of constructing the proposed tunnels in San Francisco.

In a communication to the San Francisco Labor Council, Meyer calls attention to the decision of the American Federation of Labor, which awards jurisdiction over all tunnel construction to the Western Federation of Miners and serves notice that the organization claims the right to construct the proposed tunnels in this city.

Representatives of the Western Federation of Miners have established a local branch organization of the Western Federation of Miners, which has applied for affiliation with the San Francisco Labor Council.

As some other labor organizations now affiliated with the San Francisco Labor Council also claim jurisdiction over tunnel construction work, the matter will be threshed out in the executive committee of the Labor Council on Monday evening, June 9.

### WOULD UNIONIZE HOTELS.

Painters' Union No. 49 has recommended to the Labor Council that steps be taken at once to unionize the numerous hotels and lodging-houses of this city that now employ only non-union help.

### JAPANESE FURNITURE.

Upholsterers' Union reports that some retail furniture dealers of this city are patronizing a Japanese furniture manufacturer of Berkeley. A list of such dealers will shortly be published.

### BONUS FOR STRIKE-BREAKERS.

It has been reported to the San Francisco Labor Council that the Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company is offering \$100 per month and expenses in its efforts to secure non-union operators to break the strike of the Wireless Telegraphers' Union. The regular pay for such employees of the company is \$35 per month. The men on strike are asking \$45 and \$50 per month. It is believed that the strike will shortly be won by the union.

### FRIENDS OF LABOR.

That Senators Kern and Borah are staunch friends of organized labor and are doing some effective work along this line, was the report made in the Labor Council last night by Frank Ainsworth, delegate from the Federal Service Employees' Union, who has just returned from Washington, where he was successful in preventing a reduction in salaries of customs guards.

### UPHOLD COMMISSION.



The Labor Council received an application for affiliation from the Western Federation of Miners, whose members, it was stated, are preparing to engage in the work on the Stockton st. tunnel. The matter will be considered by the executive committee one week from Monday night, when representatives of the miners will be asked to be present. Delegates from the United Laborers' union objected to the possible awarding of the work to the miners if they are affiliated.

### PRaises BORAH AND KERN.

Delegate Ainsworth of the Federal Employees' union, who has just returned from Washington stated that the secretary of the treasury had given assurance that there will be no reduction in the pay of custom guards of this city. Ainsworth paid a glowing tribute to Sens. Kern and Borah, both of whom he said championed the cause of labor in West Virginia.

### COMPANY NEEDS MEN.



United States Senator William E. Borah

William E. Borah was re-elected United States senator for Idaho, on the first ballot in the legislature Tuesday, by the unanimous republican vote. It was his second popular election to this position. Six years ago he was endorsed by the republican state convention, was an issue in the fall campaign, and received the unanimous republican legislative vote to succeed Senator Heitfeldt. This year, he was the primary nominee, and was so much an issue in the election that it is probably the whole truth that he saved the whole republican ticket in Idaho. He has come to be a national figure, and there is not a state but would trade any man it has, for him!



W. E. BORAH

"I cannot sufficiently express my gratitude to the people of this state for their generous endorsement for re-election and their entire approval of my effort to serve them for the last six years. An analysis of the vote discloses that not only did the rank and file of the Republican party and the third party voters but thousands of Democrats and members of all parties voted the legislative ticket. I express to them one and all, regardless of party, my sincere appreciation and can only say that so far as lies within my power, my time, my energies and whatever ability I possess shall be devoted untiringly to the people of the state of Idaho and the nation at large. I shall continue to do in the future as I have done in the past, advocate without compromise or modification, those things which I believe to be for the welfare of the people who are building up and developing the state of Idaho. No man ever had more reason or better cause for serving faithfully and devotedly a great and generous people. I hope to prove my appreciation of the trust reposed in me."—Statement made today by William E. Borah, who was given such a remarkable tribute and indorsement by the people of Idaho Tuesday.

# BORAH IS GIVEN A SPLENDID INDORSEMENT BY PEOPLE OF STATE AT POLLS

There Will Be But Three Democrats in State  
Senate and Three in the House  
of Representatives

### WHAT BORAH'S STRENGTH DID FOR THE LEGISLATURE.

- The Twelfth Idaho legislature will be more strongly Republican than the legislature in this state has been since territorial days.
- The Democrats carried but three counties, Custer, Lemhi and probably Owyhee, although the latter is still doubtful. The minority party lost senators in Fremont, Bear Lake, Bannock, Latah, Nez Perce, Twin Falls, Shoshone and Washington counties.
- The Democratic representatives in these counties were also lost.
- The Republicans lost a senator and representative in Lemhi county which was Republican during the Eleventh session, Senator Whitcomb and Representative Haumer being defeated.
- The Democratic stronghold in Latah county was badly shattered, Jerome Day and Minority Leader Morgan being defeated and Progressive Republicans elected to succeed them.
- Giving Owyhee county, doubtful, to the Democrats, the next legislature will have a joint Republican ballot of 79, the Democrats having but a combined vote of six in the house and senate or three in each.
- Two years ago the Democrats had nine senators in the upper house to 14 for the Republicans and has therefore lost seven senators. In the house there were 24 Democratic members to 35 Republican. By yesterday's election they lost 21 members and the Republicans swelled from 15 to 53, due to the new counties having representation.

The re-election of Senator William Edgar Borah, Idaho's brilliant senator, made the paramount issue in the state of Idaho during the campaign that closed with yesterday's election, swept north and south, east and west across the state and carried with it practically a solid Borah legislature, assuring the Twelfth session solid Borah-Republican representation from all but three counties in the state, and his own re-election by almost unanimous vote. The Democrats, who for the past several sessions have made a strong showing in both branches of the legislature are cut down to but a total combined strength of six members and six votes, three in the senate and three in the house, while several of the Democratic strongholds considered entrenched in their counties beyond possible removal, have been defeated by overwhelming majorities.

**Tribute to His Record.**  
Senator Borah went before his constituents for re-election upon his first term record alone, a record that has not been duplicated by any member of the United States senate in the same length of time, but did so in face of a cowardly warfare carried on by bitter partisan enemies within his own party, vividly in evidence in Ada, the senator's home county. But the legislative ticket in Ada county, pledged unqualifiedly in support of Senator Borah, making its fight against the attacks of those enemies in its own party who attempted to defeat them, swept practically every precinct and are given the largest majorities ever given a legislative ticket in the history of the county—a remarkable tribute to Senator Borah in his home county.

**Party Enemies Active.**  
The most dastardly attempt in the history of Idaho politics to defeat the Ada county Borah legislative ticket was resorted to through the use of fraudulent ballots distributed broadcast in every precinct. The object of these ballots was to cut off the votes of Progressives wishing to cast their ballots for Senator Borah and virtually disfranchising them. These ballots succeeded in some instances.

The other counties in the state fol-

lowed the lead of that of Ada county and rolled up large majorities in support of those Republican candidates pledged to his support. The Borah legislative tickets in Ada, Bannock, Blaine, Bear Lake, Bingham, Boise, Bonner, Canyon, Cassia, Elmore, Fremont, Idaho, Kootenai, Latah, Lincoln, Nez Perce, Owyhee, Shoshone, Twin Falls, Washington. The Democrats carried Lemhi, Custer and probably Owyhee, although the result in the latter is in doubt.

### Some Notable Defeats.

The two notable defeats of legislative candidates were those in the case of Jerome Day of Latah county, Democrat, who made a hard fight for re-election and the snowing under of William "Bill" Morgan of the same county, minority leader of the last legislature. Senator Whitcomb, Republican, of Lemhi county and Senator Kerns, Democrat, of Shoshone county were also defeated.

The Republicans will have a combined strength of 79 in both houses, re-electing Senator Borah on a joint ballot that large. The Democrats will have but six members combined in both houses, three in the senate and three in the house. Last session they had 9 senators and 24 representatives.

The Democrats lost their senators in Bannock, Bear Lake, Fremont, Latah, Nez Perce, Shoshone, Twin Falls and Washington counties, where they had representation in the upper house two years ago.

The Ada county legislative vote in 24 precincts complete of the 36 in the county, all of which are going strong for the Republican ticket, shows the following total vote:

Republican Senator.	
Fairchild	5032
Republican Representatives.	
Koelch	5737
Storey	5859
Gardner	5830
Lawson	5825
McDermott	5673
Democratic Senator.	
Regan	2122
Democratic Representatives.	
Leonard	2264
McCue	2195

From TIMMIE  
Address HARTFORD, CONN.  
Date JUN 7 19

county in the senate and house, the total strength both Republican and Democratic:

County	Senate		House	
	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.
Ada	1	..	5	..
*Adams	1	..	1	..
Bannock	1	..	3	..
Bear Lake	1	..	2	..
*Bonneville	1	..	2	..
*Bingham	..	..	2	..
Blaine	1	..	2	..
Boise	1	..	1	..
Bonner	1	..	3	..
*Clearwater	1	..	1	..
Canyon	1	..	6	..
Cassia	1	..	1	..
Custer	1	..	1	..
Elmore	1	..	1	..
Fremont	1	..	4	..
Idaho	1	..	2	..
Kootenai	1	..	4	..
Latah	1	..	3	..
*Lewis	..	..	1	..
Lemhi	1	..	1	..
Lincoln	1	..	3	..
Nez Perce	1	..	2	..
Oneida	1	..	4	..
Owyhee	1	..	1	..
Shoshone	1	..	3	..
Twin Falls	1	..	2	..
*Washington	..	..	1	..
Total	21	2	55	3

\*Joint senators. Nez Perce county was apportioned the extra senator.

**Ada County.**  
Republican—Senator—S. D. Fairchild.

Representatives—C. F. Koelsch, F. M. Gardner, H. A. Lawson, T. H. McDermott, Charles Storey.

**Adams County.**  
Republican—Senator—E. M. Barton. (Joint senator, Adams-Washington counties.)

Representative—M. Brown.

**Blaine County.**  
Republican—Senator—J. G. Hedrick.  
Representatives—S. Campbell, J. W. Parks.

**Bannock County.**  
Republican—Senator—J. Frank Hunt.

Representatives—H. V. A. Ferguson, D. J. Lan, W. H. Mendenhall.

**Bear Lake County.**  
Republican—Senator—J. R. Shepherd.

Representatives—F. C. Evans, C. E. Wright.

**Bingham County.**  
Republican—Senator—G. W. Edington.

(Joint senator, Bingham-Bonneville counties.)

Representatives—P. G. Johnston, A. S. Dickinson.

**Bonneville County.**  
Republican—Senator—G. W. Edington. (Joint senator, Bingham-Bonneville counties.)

Representatives—W. S. Shattuck, C. L. Warnick.

**Bonner County.**  
Republican—Senator—Byron Deffenbach.

Representatives—E. D. Farmin, E. E. Elliott, A. H. Conner.

**Boise County.**  
Republican—Senator—C. W. Luck.  
Representative—A. Michels.

**Clearwater County.**  
Republican—Senator—A. G. Johnson. (Joint senator, Lewis-Clearwater counties.)

Representative—W. M. Chandler.

**Canyon County.**  
Republican—Senator—H. C. Baldrige.

Representatives—A. J. Reckwood, C. S. French, R. W. Oakes, H. C. Bradley, H. C. Lewis.

**Custer County.**  
Democratic—Senator—Ravenel Macbeth.

Representative—C. A. Clark.

**Cassia County.**  
Republican—Senator—H. C. Haight.  
Representative—David Taylor.

**Elmore County.**  
Republican—Senator—Worth S. Lee.  
Representative—J. Rosevere.

**Fremont County.**  
Republican—Senator—John W. Hart.  
Representatives—G. E. Bowerman, B. S. Hunt, R. Giberist, R. D. Merrill.

**Idaho County.**  
Republican—Senator—H. E. Sweet.  
Representatives—A. L. Harchelrod, H. E. Church.

**Kootenai County.**  
Republican—Senator—P. W. Johnson.

Representatives—R. G. Wearne, William Edelblute, C. A. Norton.

**Latah County.**  
Republican—Senator—George Fields.

Representatives—Columbus Clark, W. H. Mason, A. H. OverSmith.  
**Lewis County.**

Republican—Senator—A. G. Johnson. (Joint senator, Lewis-Clearwater counties.)

Representative—Charles H. Works.  
**Lincoln County.**

Republican—Senator—C. F. Borden.  
Representatives—L. R. Adams, E. Ralph Evans.

**Lemhi County.**  
Democratic—Senator—John C. Reed.  
Representative—Roy B. Herndon.

**Nez Perce County.**  
Republican—Senator—J. G. Goodnight.

**Owyhee County.**  
Representatives—George Flake, Sherman C. Case.

Democratic—Senator—Dow Dunning.  
Representative—William Healy.

**Oneida County.**  
Republican—Senator—D. W. Davis.  
Representatives—Clyde Hansen, A. Henderson, James Johnson, George D. Castro.

**Shoshone County.**  
Republican—Senator—W. H. Hanson.

Representatives—A. H. Featherstone, Robert O. Jones, M. J. Sinclair.

**Twin Falls County.**  
Republican—Senator—C. A. Robinson.

Representatives—C. E. Booth, F. J. Nihart, L. G. Hayford.

**Washington County.**  
Republican—Senator—Edward M. Barton. (Joint senator, Adams-Washington counties.)

Representative—Frank D. Ryan.

### EYES "SOT" ON THE PRESID

There is a good deal of politicking the amendment to the tariff bill which was proposed in the senate on Thursday by Mr. Borah of Idaho, which provides:

"That all goods, wares, articles and merchandise manufactured wholly or in part in any foreign country by convict labor, or by children under 14 years of age, or by children under 14 years of age employed for more than eight hours per day or forty-eight hours per week, or by boys under 14 years of age or women over 16 years of age employed for more than nine hours per day, or fifty-four hours per week, shall not be entitled to entry at any ports of the United States, and the importation thereof is hereby prohibited and the secretary of the treasury is authorized and directed to provide such regulations as may be necessary for the enforcement of this provision."

Of course, the Idaho senator knows that such a provision of law could not possibly be enforced—many importers would retire from business rather than attempt to provide an affidavit with every invoice acknowledging compliance with an American law fixing the hours of labor in foreign factories.

It is only necessary to remember in this connection that Mr. Borah has been named as the most available connecting link between the Republicans and the progressives in the next presidential campaign. That his eyes are "sot" in that direction this tariff proposition plainly indicates.

## THE LAST RESORT



Wahad Jda

JUN 5 1913

Harpers Weekly has made an editorial forecast that the next Republican candidate for president of the United States will be William E. Borah of Idaho. This prediction may be founded on rare intuition as the same paper made a similar prediction of the nomination of Woodrow Wilson more than one year before he was nominated by the Baltimore convention. The Republican party could not possibly select a better man for its standard bearer. The only objection that could be advanced against Senator Borah is the fact that he hails from a western state. This to the people of the aristocratic east is a great and mighty impediment. They have been so accustomed to thinking that no presidential timber grows west of the Mississippi—that their soil only produce the wise, the great, and the best men in the nation, that a prediction that the next president of the United States will be a western man seems to them the height of absurdity. However, Senator Borah has demonstrated the highest class of statesmanship since his entrance into the senate, and he is, without the shadow of a doubt, one of the most powerful men in that body; and his services to the country could not be better rewarded than to place him at the helm of state, nor could this nation secure a wiser pilot than he.

## The Globe

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GEO. A. SMITH, Business Manager  
C. A. BRANSCOMBE, Managing Editor

Thursday, May 29, 1913.

### THE PRESIDENCY, PROPHECY, AND PAST POLITICS.

Barker, of the Sandpoint Review, in an editorial under the head, "Senator Borah, the Presidency, and Colonel Harvey," takes up the prophecy of Borah's candidacy for the presidency in 1916 predicted by Harper's, coupling it with the before-convention announcement of Wilson as a presidential winner by the same journal, douses in a little democratic ancient history, hits Colonel Teddy a swat, and finally clips Colonel Harvey's prophetic wings by casting a few bouquets to himself and the other Idaho editors as prophets of no mean merit along the line of Borah's presidential prospects. He says:

Colonel Harvey of Harper's Weekly, given to political revelations, is trying to repeat. He was the "original Woodrow Wilson man" and carried his name at the top of the editorial page for two years in advance of the democratic convention which nominated the Princeton scholar. He carried it until the celebrated little tilt in which Colonel Harvey and that other colonel of journalistic fame, the Colonel Henri Watterson, became embroiled and which resulted in Colonel Harvey "for the good of the order" taking Woodrow's name from his masthead but never from his heart. "They" claimed, as you remember, that Harper's Weekly was a Wall street organ and that Colonel Harvey pulled the stops only as Pierpont Morgan and the big fellows told him to and that the heavy bass with which Colonel Harvey was acclaiming the name of the Princeton professor would make the "common people" (bless their hearts) suspicious of Woodrow's real "progressive" sentiments and his desire to pull the tail of Wall street until it bleated like unto the lamb that gets shorn when it appears there.

Be that as it may, however, that incident was closed without blood-

shed, and, as we all remember, with the colonels getting no further than the coffee in that duel which all were looking for. But, having tagged one, Colonel Harvey is now out to tag another. This time he is as right as he was the other time, for he has predicted as near the mark, as present senses of the future would give most anyone the "hunch." He says, while the predicting is good, "We predict today that the next republican candidate for president will be William E. Borah of Idaho."

Now there's a prediction that is a prediction. It comes out without any "perhapses" and "ifs." It stands right out loud on the printed page. It is a real good prediction because, as we have indicated, successful predicting is right along in Colonel Harvey's line. He is the best little predictor in the United States, for didn't he predict Woodrow who at the time was about a ten to one shot at least? Borah is better than that. We would call him a one to three shot at least, and now that the Colonel has predicted we will make him a one shot in two.

It is too bad that still another colonel could not have done a little of this predicting business back there in June, 1912. If that niftiest colonel of them all, the Honorable Theodore Roosevelt, had had any sense of what was beating in the people's hearts he would have done a little predicting there in Chicago in June. He could have predicted that if he had put his hand on the shoulder of our own sweet William, and had said, "Here goes my mantle and Bill, you're it," we wouldn't now be struggling against the near approaching shadows of democratic hard times. William would now be in the White House and we would be representing Uncle Sam in the court of St. James and all would be well.

As a predictor we greatly prefer Colonel Harvey who is to Colonel Roosevelt who refused to be was. Colonel Harvey has a better viewpoint than Colonel Roosevelt had, largely because Colonel Harvey was never thought of for president and Colonel Roosevelt was thought of so hard for it, both by himself and the country at large, that he entirely overlooked trying to predict anything for anybody but himself.

However, and to resume the more pleasant task, we congratulate Colonel Harvey upon his again hitting

the bulls-eye. "Bill" Borah is going to get there in 1916, and now that he has Colonel Harvey's rabbitfoot in his pocket he will run the harder.

But while predicting we would remind Colonel Harvey that he is not the "original" little predictor this time. When William rides up Pennsylvania avenue that morning in early March we are going to tell Colonel Harvey how we and a lot of

other good newspaper boys out west here "discovered" Bill as a presidential possibility before he did.

## LEWISTON TRIBUNE

ISSUED EVERY MORNING

BY

THE TRIBUNE PUBLISHING CO.,  
Publishers.

West Virginia and the nation at large are fortunate in having Senator Borah as one of the arbitrators, so to speak, of the controversy, because of his participation in similar experiences in his own state. The origin, development, ramifications, culmination and aftermath of such situations are all understood in advance by him, and about all he needs is to insert dates and names in a prescribed formula. He also understands the pity and kindness due to the misguided men who are made to be the sacrifices to both sides of the controversy and the supreme urgency the state is under of maintaining conditions that will save them from their own primitive and perverted notions of law and justice, as well as from the cruel machinations and conspiracies of their leaders. Senator Borah is peculiarly qualified to appreciate both sides of the proposition, and for that reason a more valuable report should come out of it, with practical legislative recommendations, than could well be expected from any other available quarter.

Boston, Mass.

JUN 28 1913

### BORAH'S BOOM

SAILING for Europe, George Harvey, the eminent political philosopher, promoter and prophet, expresses his opinion that Senator Borah of Idaho is a logical candidate—or did he say the logical candidate?—for nomination in 1916 by the Republican party. As the man who first pushed Woodrow Wilson into the limelight and made him a presidential possibility, and as one who brings logic to the aid of prophecy, Col. Harvey's opinion is worth a good deal. Obviously, it is Col. Harvey's belief that the Republican party will be alive and make a nomination for President in 1916.

Senator Borah represents progressive Republicanism of the genuine kind—not the kind now and then prominent and which is progressive solely because it did not have a chance at the trough when the trough was full. The next Republican candidate for President will be nominated by the voting members of the Republican party, and that in itself is warrantable ground for believing that he won't be a reactionary or a progressive in name only.

The Borah boom will bear watching—not because George Harvey has given it a push, but because it is being very favorably considered by Republican leaders as well as non-partisan prophets.

From TRAVELLER &amp; EVG. HERALD

Address: Boston, Mass.

Date

JUL 8 1913

Senator Borah explains that he is not a candidate for the Republican nomination for President, and the manner in which he does it deepens the general impression that he would make a mighty strong candidate for a party with a purpose.

# FEDERAL INQUIRY INTO CONDITIONS IN WEST VIRGINIA SOFT COAL FIELDS



Charleston, W. Va., June 12.—Five United States senators started back into the West Virginia hills today to view the battlefields of the coal strike on Paint and Cabin creeks. Only one witness was examined by the committee today before they started on their trip to the mines.

## BORAH NOT OUT FOR 1916.

Senator Won't Assent to Plan to Nominate Him for President.

*Special to The New York Times.*  
 TOPEKA, Kan., July 5.—In a letter to his friend, James A. Troutman of this city, Senator William E. Borah of Idaho, who has been foremost in the movement to rehabilitate the Republican Party, declines Mr. Troutman's suggestion that he assent to a proposed movement to nominate him for President on the Republican ticket in 1916. Senator Borah says that he is not a candidate, and indicates that he will not be a candidate.

Senator Borah has a strong following in Kansas, and Mr. Troutman wrote to him that he and other friends in the State would be glad to organize a systematic movement with the object of placing his name at the head of the Republican ticket in the next national campaign.

Mr. Borah's response was as follows: My Dear Troutman—Replying to your kind letter of the 29th, permit me to thank you sincerely. I appreciate what you say and what you have said. As you have been generous enough to treat the subject with sincerity, I must answer with equal sincerity. I am not a candidate for that high office. I haven't my lightning rod up as is now being published abroad, and I haven't the slightest intention of putting it up or of conniving at its being put up. I am not or cannot be misled by the generous words of friends as to the real situation or persuaded into the belief that there is any possibility, much less a probability, of such a thing happening, and I promise you as my personal friend that I do not propose for a moment to divert my mind from the things in which I am interested, and the work I am now in a position to do or help do into a serious consideration of the matter.

I should like to be helpful in making the Republican Party a positive and affirmative influence in political affairs again, to help direct it along progressive and aggressive lines, to rehabilitate it in principles and restore it in power, to make it the faithful medium through which its millions of devoted supporters can enjoy the realization of their hopes and aspirations, and I do not want to be considered while doing this as a candidate at all for any office. I positively am not. Please accept this as covering and conclusive of the whole subject both now and later. I feel sure you will understand how very much I appreciate your more than generous suggestions, but that you will well know also that I am not speaking with any mental reservations.

## Committee Probing Conditions in West Virginia Coal Fields

Seated At Table, From Left To Right Are Senators MARTINE, SHIELDS, SWANSON, BORAH and KENYON.



All that Senator Borah has said about the cowardly trick whereby two classes of our people were recently relieved from prosecution under the anti-trust law was absolutely true, but he might have gone further and drawn some interesting historical comparisons. Those of us whose memories stretch back a generation will recall the fact that when the anti-trust bill was before the Senate in 1890 every man in that body who resented the spirit of unrest that pervaded the country and who felt any anxiety about his political future seemed bound to force upon it some amendment which would bear his name and furnish him with ammunition in his next campaign for reelection. The bill and all its proposed improvements were referred to the Finance committee of which Mr. Sherman was chairman and when the multitude of adds and ends had been stitched together by the committee a legislative crazy quilt was reported back which prohibited trade-restraining combinations generally "between two or more citizens or corporations or both," expressly exempted such combinations between "laborers, made with a view to lessening the number of hours of their labor or of increasing their wages," and "among persons engaged in agriculture, made with a view of enhancing the price of their own agricultural or horticultural products."

Whatever we may say of its speciousness or its absurdity, that was an effort at class legislation which at least had candor behind it. There was no attempt to force the President's hand by an un-American proviso to an appropriation bill which said in effect: "You may have the money to run your Government if you are willing to pay our price for it; if not the wheels of this part of your administrative machinery may stop." Congress in that era overflooded with noisy cranks and credulous doctrinaires, but even these were for the most part men with the courage of certain impulses which they mistook for convictions.

Of course the intelligent press was all on one side of this question of class legislation, and so much unanswerable logic or keen satire was hurled at the proposed exemption of laborers and farmers, along with some other features of the bill which pointed in the same general direction, that the whole business was taken out of the hands of the Finance Committee and referred to the Committee on Judiciary, over which Senator Edmunds of Vermont presided. Ably seconded by Senator Hoar, Mr. Edmunds ripped the bill to pieces and prepared a substitute based on common sense and the common law, and thus released the Senate from its place in the pillory of public ridicule.

It seems as if, with the warning of this historical episode in mind, the present Congress might have been wiser than to re-vamp such projects of class immunity; or, if it conceived that popular opinion had reversed itself in the interval, would have had the courage to come out openly, like its predecessor of more than a score of years ago, and try to make its exemptions lawful by a process more honorable than blackmail. President Wilson had, for his share in the matter, a much later lesson to guide him, in the way President Taft, faced with precisely the same crisis, threw the whole issue before the people for decision, and carried his point.

But having made one serious mistake, Mr. Wilson may have a chance to retrieve it in part at the next regular session of Congress. Whatever its importance for the time being, the obnoxious proviso is attached only to an appropriation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914. At the coming session must be passed the supply bills for the following fiscal year; and, unless a similar rider is hung upon one of these last-mentioned bills, the exemption is due to expire about a twelvemonth hence. He will have no such excuse then as has been put forward in his behalf in the present instance—that, in an unguarded moment and without realizing all the conditions, he had committed himself to the approval of the bill which has just become law. The country would welcome an explanation next session, of some of the fighting blood with which the promoters of his campaign last year were so prone to credit him. Indeed, it may well be doubted whether his "memorandum of protest," if he would have his countrymen accept it in the spirit in which it purported to have been written, leaves him any alternative.

Senator Borah on Better Politics

IN HIS address at Atlantic City, N. J., on Monday night, before a body of Republicans who, while claiming to be progressive, prefer to be known as regular, Senator Borah of Idaho, who also clings to the old organization, gave expression to some views that have the merit of being reasonable and liberal. The senator studiously avoided harsh criticism of those who differ from him and from the policies to which he adheres. In taking the high ground that not only his own party, but all others, should first of all aim to be clean and upright, he will find the best thought in all parties on his side. To him it appears that the formulation of a clear and candid program upon right lines is all that is necessary for the attainment of the success of the Republican party in the future. "The mere getting together of so-called leaders from the different factions," he said, "will be a tiresome masquerade if such a program is not formulated."

But the getting together of recognized leaders might, on the other hand, prove the best means of reaching an agreement upon points now honestly in dispute. While Senator Borah is disposed to agree with those who have gone out from his party on one or more important issues, his idea of reaching desirable ends is not the same as that held on the other side at present. Something must be readjusted, therefore, if an agreement is to be reached finally. For instance, it is interesting to note the standpat idea of getting into line with popular sentiment, in contrast with the progressive, as it is presented in this sentence from Senator Borah's speech: "Unless popular government is a delusion—and it is not—then the right thing to do in public life must always in the end be the popular thing to do."

Regardless of shades of difference in thought and reasoning, the senator's speech is one that can be read with interest by all earnest students of the present political situation in the parties. Whether the right thing is the popular thing at the beginning or the end, it is the proper thing for men and bodies of men to do. It is easy to agree with Senator Borah that a free trade party ought to be a clean and upright party, that a protection party ought also to be clean and upright, that cleanliness and uprightness ought to be the attributes of the regular and progressive Republicans, the Democrats and the Socialists alike. When this is generally recognized, when this becomes the ideal of those engaged in public life, mistakes may not be altogether avoidable, but they will be fewer. They also will be less harmful. There is a cheering note, indeed, and one that might well herald the coming of better conditions, in Senator Borah's closing words: "Let us bid the others godspeed in their work and let us do what we think is right, make our party what we want it to be, dedicate it to policies which it should advocate—and wait for the returns." Assuming that all the parties should compete for the attainment of the right, regardless of lower considerations, partizanship would cease to be harmful and become beneficial to the republic and its people.

THE Scioto Gazette

A Daily Republican Newspaper Published by The Scioto Gazette Co.

Senator William E. Borah, of Idaho, is frequently mentioned as the next Republican candidate for President. A friend in Kansas recently wrote the Senator on the subject and received in reply a very appreciative letter, closing with these words:

"I am not or cannot be misled by the generous words of friends to the real situation or persuaded into the belief that there is any possibility, much less a probability, of such a thing happening, and I promise you as my personal friend that I do not propose for a moment to divert my mind from the things in which I am interested and the work I am now in a position to do or help do into a serious consideration of the matter."

"I should like to be helpful in making the Republican party a positive and affirmative influence in political affairs again and to help direct it along progressive and aggressive lines, to rehabilitate it in principles and restore it in power, to make it the faithful medium through which its millions of devoted supporters can enjoy the realization of their hopes and aspirations, and I do not want to be considered while doing this as a candidate for any office."

Senator Borah is the kind of Republican that is much needed just now. May his kind increase.

Mr. and Mrs. Ne his an col mi

From Address Date JUL 7 - 1

It is pretty early to be offering presidential nominations to anybody, but there are several suggestions being made along that line. It seems that some enthusiastic friends have intimated to Senator Borah of Idaho that he could rehabilitate the Republican party and draw many Progressives with him if he would accept the nomination for 1916. The movement apparently went far enough so that he felt justified in writing a letter to a friend in Kansas, saying that he is not a candidate and does not think he ever will be. He remarks that he can not be misled by the generous words of friends, which is certainly a very good attitude for a man circumstanced as he is to assume at this time. Wilson has hardly commenced his term, and it will be quite a little while yet before they will be voting for his successor. There are exceptions to all rules, and so perhaps a case like this is an exception to the adage that the early bird catches the worm. Should it so happen that the Republicans and the Progressives could get together on a strong man

For 1916, the selection would have to be a matter of mutual agreement and would hardly be the one put forth by either faction in 1913. There is many a slip 'twixt the cup and the lip, and a lot of things may happen in the next year or two.

BORAH NO G.O.P. CANDIDATE

WOULD NOT RUN FOR PRESIDENT AS REPUBLICAN, HE SAYS.

Too Busy With Other Things to Consider Leading a Ticket, He Writes to Troutman—Would Like to See the Party Rejuvenated.

TOPEKA, July 5.—In a letter to James A. Troutman, made public tonight, Senator W. E. Borah denies he is a candidate for the Republican nomination for President and says his denial covers "the whole subject, both now and later."

The letter was the result of a recent one in which Senator Borah was asked to lead in the attempt to reconcile the factions within the party by becoming a candidate for President.

"I promise you," the letter reads, "that I do not purpose to divert my mind from the things in which I am interested and the work I am now in a position to do, or help do, into a serious consideration of the matter. I should like to be helpful

*H.C. War 7-6-13*



SENATOR WILLIAM E. BORAH, WHO SAYS HE WOULD NOT RUN FOR PRESIDENT AS A REPUBLICAN.

in making the Republican party a positive and affirmative influence in political affairs again, to help to direct along progressive and aggressive lines, to rehabilitate it in principles and restore it in power, and I do not want to be considered, while doing this as a candidate at all for any office. I positively am not. "I have no lightning rod up as is now being published abroad and I have not the slightest idea of putting one up."

Senator Borah was a leader of the Roosevelt forces at the Republican national convention last year, but did not align himself with the Progressive party.

BORAH DECLINES TO BE CANDIDATE

Idaho Senator Not After Presidential Nomination, Despite Urging of Leaders, He Writes to Troutman.

WILL WORK FOR PARTY

Wants to Help Make Republican Influence in Political World Again, But Is Not Out for Office.

Senator William E. Borah, of Idaho, will not be a candidate for the nomination for the presidency on the Republican ticket in 1916. He makes that plain in a letter received yesterday by James A. Troutman, state senator from Shawnee county, and the leader in Kansas of the harmony movement.

"I am not a candidate for president," writes Senator Borah. "I haven't any lightning rod up, as is being published abroad, and I haven't the slightest intention of putting it up or of conniving at its being put up. I am not speaking with any mental reservations."

Senator Borah has been frequently and

favorably mentioned as a presidential possibility. He has been a leader in the progressive faction of the Republican party, and since the recent harmony meeting at Chicago his name has been used in many sections of the country as that of one well qualified to revitalize the party. While at Chicago Senator Troutman mentioned the subject to Senator Borah, and afterward wrote him, asking if there was any chance of his being prevailed on to consider the nomination. The Idaho senator's reply follows:

"My Dear Troutman,

"Replying to your kind letter of the 24th, permit me to thank you sincerely—



SENATOR W. E. BORAH, Who Denies He Will Be a Candidate for President.

I appreciate what you say and what you have said. As you have been generous enough to treat the subject with sincerity I must answer with equal sincerity. I am not a candidate for president. I haven't my lightning rod up, as is now being published abroad, and I haven't the slightest intention of putting it up or of conniving at its being put up. I am not or can not be misled by the generous words of friends as to the real situation or persuaded into the belief that there is any possibility, much less a probability, of such a thing happening, and I promise you, as my personal friend, that I do not propose for a moment to divert my mind from the things in which I am interested and the work I am now in a position to do, or help do, into a serious consideration of the matter. I should like to be helpful in making the Republican party a positive and affirmative influence in political affairs again, to help direct it along progressive and aggressive lines, to rehabilitate it in principles and restore it in power, to make it the faithful medium through which its millions of devoted supporters can enjoy the realization of their hopes and aspirations, and I do not want to be considered, while doing this, as a candidate at all for any office. I positively am not.

(Continued on Page 3, Column 4.)

Please accept this as covering and conclusive of the whole subject both now and later. I feel sure that you will understand how very much I appreciate your more than generous suggestions, but that you will well know also that I am not speaking with any mental reservations.

"I shall be glad to hear from you at all times. I am always interested in the affairs of the great state in which I had the pleasure of spending some pleasant and profitable days.

Very sincerely,  
"WM. E. BORAH."

*Boys 7-6-13*  
*Boys 7-6-13*  
**BORAH SAYS MAY, PRESIDENTIAL**  
A Kansas admirer of Senator Borah recently received a letter from the senator which sets at rest for the time being at least the talk that Idaho's brilliant member of the upper house of congress may be a republican presidential candidate in 1916. The senator wrote: "I have not my lightning rod up, as is now being published abroad, and I haven't the slightest intention of putting it up. I am not and cannot be misled by the generous work of friends as to the real situation or persuaded into the belief that there is any possibility, much less probability, of such a thing happening, and I promise you as my personal friend that I do not propose to divert my mind into a serious consideration of the matter."  
It is hardly to be conjectured, however, that if Senator Borah is "drafted" he will refuse the call and the call is coming as surely as the election, if political conditions as they exist today continue until that time and there is no great reason to believe that these conditions will change. No progressive candidate in the republican party can unite, through the charm of personality and the absolute cleanness and vigor of his political record, the warring party factions. His nomination will come from the great arbiters of these things, the people themselves, and Senator Borah has already grown to full stature in their confidence and esteem.  
The republican party is not going to run counter to public demand again very soon, and it is in that fact that Borah's strength is growing. By 1916 he will be able to repeat his performance of 1912 in Idaho when by almost unanimous consent of the electorate of the state he was chosen than any "boss" or aggregation of politicians, through his firm grip upon the people himself.



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### BORAH AND 1916.

One of Col. Harvey's last acts before retiring from Harper's Weekly was to file a prediction that Senator William E. Borah, of Idaho, will be the next presidential candidate of the republican party. Col. Harvey's prediction, although generally regarded as a long shot, was accorded respectful treatment by the newspapers. The colonel had a long string of successful political prophecies to his credit, and his reputation as a political logician was well above par. The Harvey suggestion was received with favor in many localities where the problem of 1916 was just beginning to receive attention from republicans. Among those who were favorably impressed by it was James A. Troutman, of Kansas, engaged in promoting a harmony program designed to bring the republicans and progressives of Kansas together in the old party on a rationally progressive basis. Mr. Troutman wrote Senator Borah endorsing the Harvey suggestion and assuring the Idaho senator of cordial support among the progressive republicans of Kansas should he desire to fling his hat into the ring. In response to the Troutman courtesy Senator Borah wrote a nice long letter, in which, among other things, he said:

I am not a candidate for president. I haven't my lightning rod up, as is now being published abroad, and I haven't the slightest intention of putting it up or of coniving at its being put up. I am not or can not be misled by the generous words of friends as to the real situation or persuaded into the belief that there is any possibility, much less a probability, of such a thing happening, and I promise you as my personal friend, that I do not propose for a moment to divert my mind from the things in which I am interested and the work I am now in a position to do, or help do, into a serious consideration of the matter. I should like to be helpful in making the republican party a positive and affirmative influence in political affairs, to help direct it along progressive and aggressive lines, to rehabilitate it in principles and restore it in power, to make it the faithful medium through which millions of devoted supporters can enjoy the realization of their hopes and aspirations, and I do not want to be considered, while doing this, as a candidate at all for any office. I positively am not.

Senator Borah's language is sufficiently clear. He is not now seeking the republican presidential nomination in 1916 and has no intention of pushing himself as a candidate. Does this mean that Col. Harvey's guess must be wiped off the blackboard? On the contrary, it means that the chance of eventual victory for Col. Harvey's entry in the presidential futurity is increased some 10 or 15 per cent. If Senator Borah nurses any faint hope of being the republican nominee for the presidency in 1916 the way to nourish it is to refuse to become a seeker for the place.

At best the republican situation on the eve of the next presidential campaign will not be such as to call for the nomination of the man who can put up the strongest fight in a hot competition for the honor. The time will not be favorable for a display of individual or factional selfishness. At the next republican national convention the candidate will have to be chosen carefully with a view almost solely to his capacity for timely and effective service to the party. The logic of the situation will call for the nomination of some particular candidate. He will be selected according to the needs of the occasion as they are disclosed three years hence. In all probability service to the party in the meantime will do much to influence the selection. When the time comes the fact that a man seeks the nomination probably will cut little figure. Neither will the wish of any individual to avoid a nomination have much effect upon the outcome. The wise men of the party will name the man of the hour. If he is a good republican he will accept the nomination. And all good republicans will support him for the good of the party.

The Search-Light herewith presents an extract from some remarks made by Senator Borah at a republican banquet held at Atlantic City, June 29, at which there was present 1,394, and at which good republican sentiment was dominant all the way through.

The sentiment expressed in the extract is of the right sort, and in it is embodied true republicanism. This sentiment is different from that expressed in the meetings of the Roosevelt-Perkinites—they are always sounding the tocsin for war on the republican and democratic parties, and that is their principal battle cry. Borah, for true republicanism, extends the right hand of fellowship to men of all parties so far as they are in the right and bids them God speed.

Roosevelt, Perkins, Munsey, Flynn, and Brown will not like the patriotic sentiments of Borah, because they speak for the continuance and up-building of the republican party, while the Steel Trust and International Harvester Trust party is built to tear down the old parties, and put into power in this country the two most gigantic trusts that have ever existed in the history of the world.

The people, however, are not going to be dictated to by the Steel Trust and the International Harvester Trust, even though Roosevelt "mothers" the combination. The bluff of 1912 cannot be repeated. A careful reading of the extract that follows, is commended, and The Search-Light hopes soon to have a communication from Senator Borah, which it has solicited, and which will be of great interest. The extract from the Senator's remarks follows:

"Unless popular government is a delusion, and it is not, then the right thing to do in public life must always in the end be the popular thing to do. Unless the American people upon reflection have both the capacity and the courage to discriminate between the right thing and the wrong thing and of fully endorsing the former, then popular government is doomed and any delay is but postponing the agony. But they have that power and they have that courage. They may not get around to it today but if not they will tomorrow. The American people have never yet made a mistake upon any question of great moment upon which, figuratively speaking, they have been permitted to spend a night in reflection and prayer. The most remorseless and inexorable power for right and the most illuminating guide in the whole realm of knowledge is the deliberately formed judgment of ninety millions of people. I repeat, therefore, that the right thing, the brave and manly thing, must in the end be the popular thing.

"If this is so with individuals it must be so with political parties which are but aggregations of individuals. We can afford to say what our position is upon all these questions which so much concern the people—the currency, the tariff, the trusts, social reform—we can afford to declare our position squarely and openly and wait for the returns. If we do so, if we submit a program, clear, candid and upon right lines, that is all we need to do to insure success. If we do not, then the mere getting together of so-called leaders from different factions will be regarded as that which indeed it will be, a tiresome masquerade of political soothsayers. The people are so anxious to hear the bugle call to downright constructive workmanship that when it is once heard they will make no mistake.

"Now, those who have organized a third party are well within their rights. It is not our business to quarrel or criticize them. They are entitled to make as strong a party as they can. On the other hand, it is quite within the right and certainly within the solemn duty of those who have remained in the republican party to make that party all that they would like to have it to be. That we are going to do and no criticism from within nor discouragement from within will stop the work. You would naturally think that we would have the good wishes and encouraging words especially from those whose creed it is to make the whole world better. Men may differ as to policies but no man ought to wish defeat or failure to any bunch of men whether large or small in whatever party they may be found, who are trying to make politics better and cleaner and trying to place party action upon a right basis. A free trade party ought to be a clean and upright party, a protection party ought to be a clean and upright party, the socialist party ought to be a clean and upright party, and all good citizens whether of one belief or another will wish to see all parties of whatever creed or faith organized upon a high basis and equipped for clean and efficient work and fighting for clearly defined and distinct policies.

"If I were going to give any advice I would say, let's bid the others Godspeed in their work and let us do what we think is right and make our party what we want it to be and dedicate it to policies which it should advocate and wait for the returns—those returns which have come in almost unbroken regularity for nearly a half a century—the returns which tell the story of the most faithful constituency that ever raised to and sustained in power a great political organization."

For the present Borah... since to wait for the result. One of the party, free from any suspicion of self seeking in that connection. Whether the senator be credited with absolute sincerity in this or whether he be credited with enough political acumen to see that such an attitude may best serve a budding ambition. Col. Harvey's prediction need not be canceled on account of it.

TRIBUNE

55; Providence, R. I.

### THE WISDOM OF BORAH.

When a Kansas friend of Senator Borah of Idaho foolishly suggested the other day that the Senator sanction a movement to boost him for the presidential nomination in 1916 on the Republican ticket he lost no time and wasted few words in putting a quietus on such very premature enthusiasm.

No doubt the Kansan's thought was that the Senator, as one of the Roosevelt leaders before the Chicago bolt who remained in the Republican ranks, would be acceptable to both Republicans and Progressives. But Mr. Borah, with a broader and deeper knowledge of the situation, knows that no such easy solution of the problem is available at this time. Opinion may concentrate on some one before 1916, but it is not likely to be assisted in the process by the announcement of any candidacy now.

After the cataclysm of last year political opinion is in process of readjustment; and it is an individual process rather than an operation of the mass.

Men are turning things over in their minds day by day, not in the stress of the excitement of a campaign of personalities, but in the almost unconscious assimilation of the ideas suggested by the course of events. This is not a time for partisan oratory or appeal, for booming this or that candidate, which would only distract and confuse. Even Mr. Borah's attempt to hurry the readjustment is quite as likely to do harm as good at this time. But his prompt squelching of the boom started for him is sound and sensible.

Newspaper Cutting Bureau in the World

CHILLICOTHE, O.  
 JUL 8 1913

Senator William E. Borah, of Idaho, is frequently mentioned as the next Republican candidate for President. A friend in Kansas recently wrote the Senator on the subject and received in reply a very appreciative letter, closing with these words:

"I am not or cannot be misled by the generous words of friends to the real situation or persuaded into the belief that there is any possibility, much less a probability, of such a thing happening, and I promise you as my personal friend that I do not propose for a moment to divert my mind from the things in which I am interested and the work I am now in a position to do, or help do into a serious consideration of the matter.

"I should like to be helpful in making the Republican party a positive and affirmative influence in political affairs again and to help direct it along progressive and aggressive lines, to rehabilitate it in principles and restore it in power, to make it the faithful medium through which its millions of devoted supporters can enjoy the realization of their hopes and aspirations, and I do not want to be considered while doing this as a candidate for any office."

Senator Borah is the kind of Republican that is much needed just now. May his kind increase.

# SPOKESMAN-RE

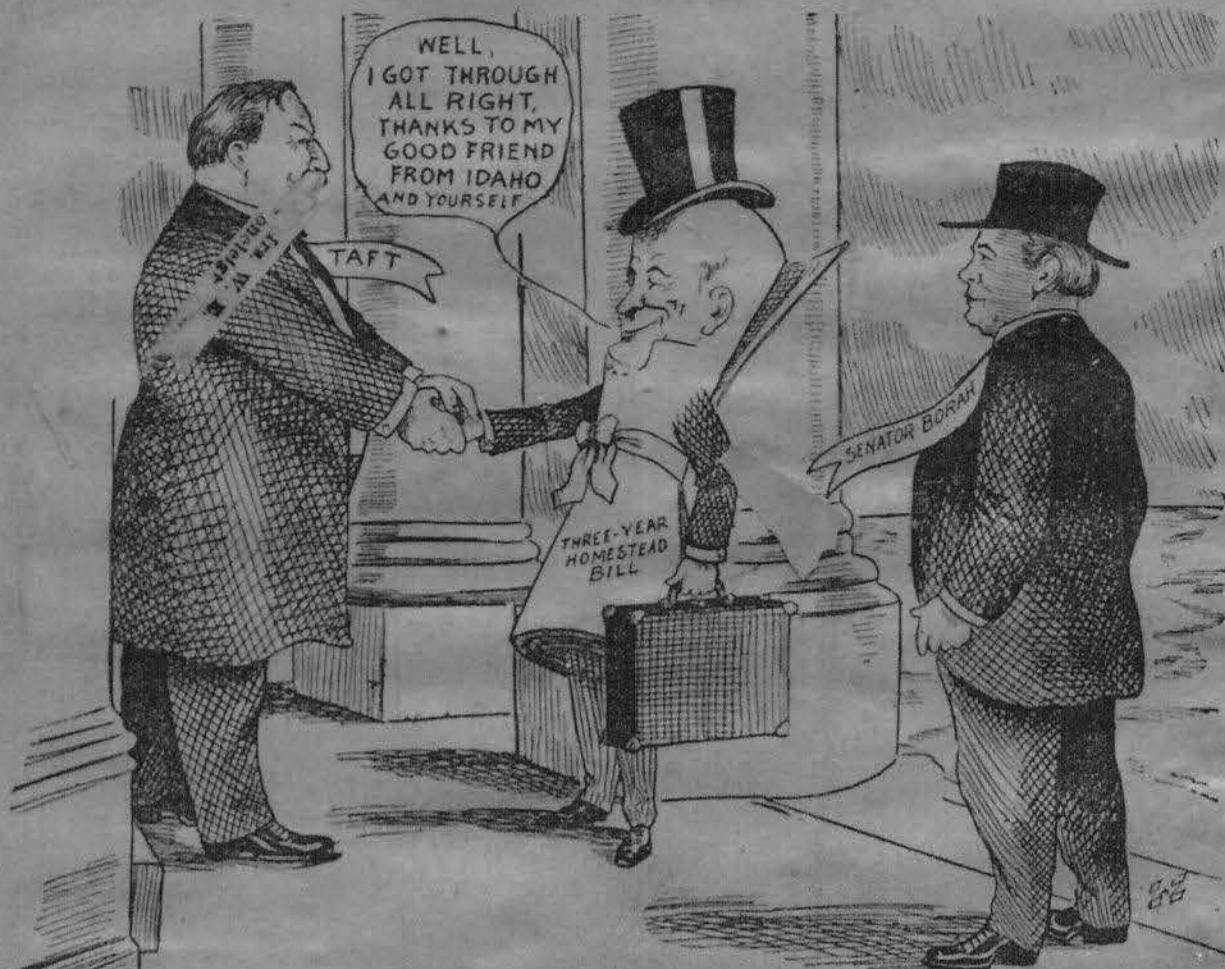
THURSDAY MORNING.

NOVEMBER 2, 1911.

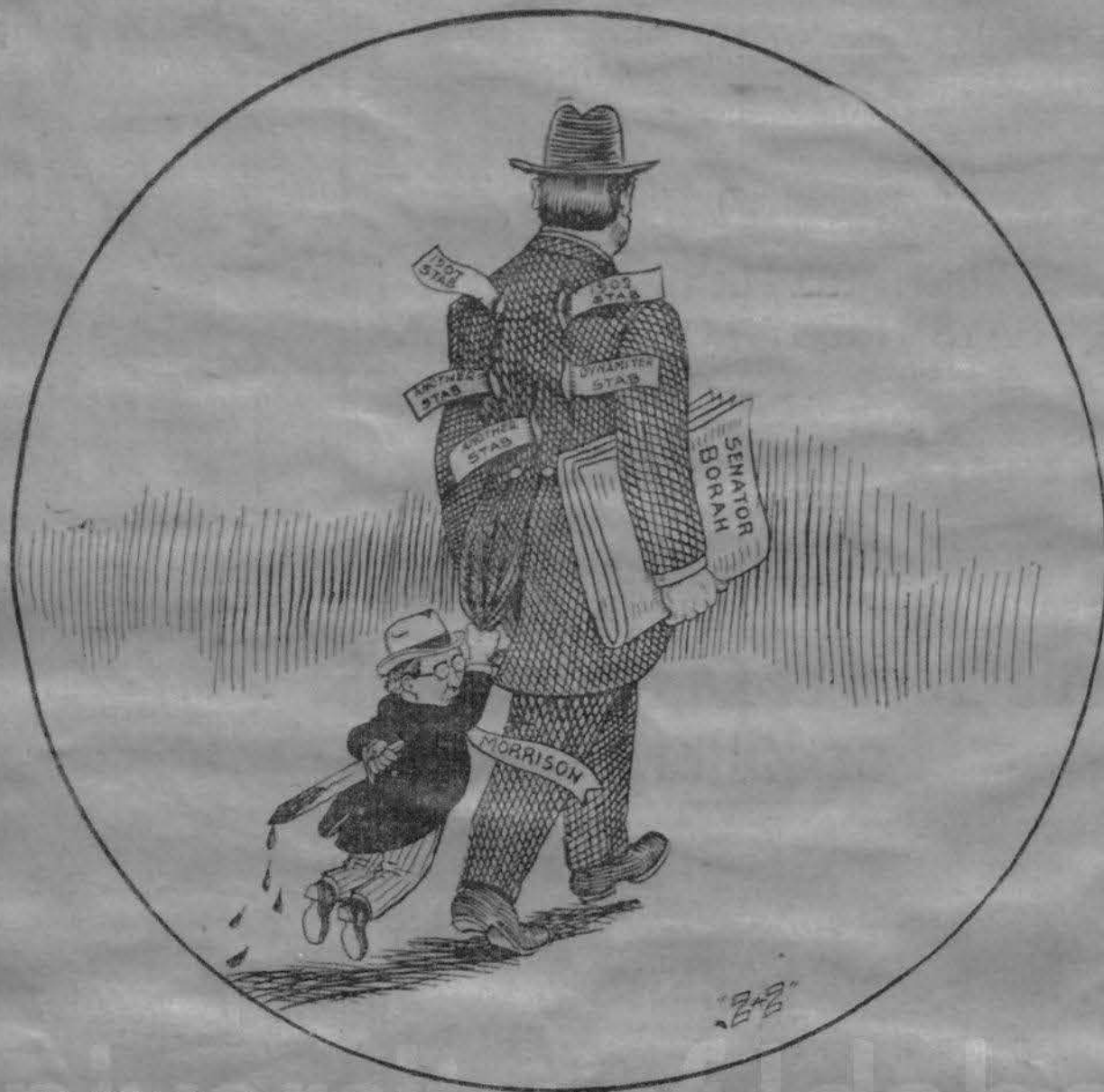


It shows what a low moral ebb many have reached in this country when, for fear of business, they denounce a president for enforcing the law.—Senator Borah.

## Three Year Homestead Bill Goes to the President



WHIP BEHIND, SENATOR!



John T. Morrison hopes to be dragged into office by hanging onto the coat tails of Senator Borah—the tails of the coat that is full of holes (in the back) punctured by Morrison and other known enemies of the senator.

HUNDREDS OF PROMINENT CHARITY WORKERS FROM ALL PARTS OF THE COUNTRY FLOCK TO CLEVELAND FOR ANNUAL CONFERENCE



At the top, left to right, Brand Whitlock, Jane Addams, Luther Gulick; at the bottom, Alexander G. Bell and Senator Borah.



From DISPATCH  
Address: Pittsburg, Pa.  
Date

JUL 7 - 1913

St. Louis, Mo.  
July 11, 1913

Burlington, Ia. Hawk Eye  
Friday, July 11, 1913

### The Wisdom of Borah

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NEWS  
DALLAS, TEX.

The statement of Senator Borah that he will not, in any circumstances, be a candidate for the Republican nomination for the Presidency, may impress some as being only a politician's platitude, devoid of significance. Nevertheless, it seems to us, it is entitled to much more consideration. Senator Borah is one of the really strong men of the Republican party; strong not only in point of intellectual equipment, but equally strong in moral equipment, an asset of which the Republican party has no overplus just now. If the Republican party can be kept alive at all, it can be done only by persuading some such man as Senator Borah to accept its nomination, nor has it many such as he, so that his declination reduces it to a very small choice of availabilities indeed. Whether the declination of Senator Borah is prompted by a belief that the Republican party's nomination will be something an ambitious man should shun rather than covet, does not appear. In either case it augurs ill for the Republican party. The Republican party has few leaders left who are capable of shedding some respectability on it, and if it loses many Borahs or many who even approximate him in political virtue, it will be bankrupt indeed. Whatever poor hope it may have of surviving the exposure of its iniquities must be based on the chance that its Borahs will have the martyr-like courage to lift up its sullied banner. Evidently this particular Borah has no stomach for enterprises so absurdly heroic.

### BORAH AND 1916.

One of Col. Harvey's last acts before retiring from Harper's Weekly was to file a prediction that Senator William E. Borah, of Idaho, will be the next presidential candidate of the republican party. Col. Harvey's prediction, although generally regarded as a long shot, was accorded respectful treatment by the newspapers. The colonel had a long string of successful political prophecies to his credit, and his reputation as a political logician was well above par. The Harvey suggestion was received with favor in many localities where the problem of 1916 was just beginning to receive attention from republicans. Among those who were favorably impressed by it was James A. Troutman, of Kansas, engaged in promoting a harmony program designed to bring the republicans and progressives of Kansas together in the old party on a rationally progressive basis. Mr. Troutman wrote Senator Borah endorsing the Harvey suggestion and assuring the Idaho senator of cordial support among the progressive republicans of Kansas should he desire to fling his hat into the ring. In response to the Troutman courtesy Senator Borah wrote a nice long letter, in which, among other things, he said:

I am not a candidate for president. I haven't my lightning rod up, as is now being pushed abroad, and I haven't the slightest intention of putting it up or of conniving at its being put up. I am not or can not be misled by the generous words of friends as to the real situation or persuaded into the belief that there is any possibility, much less a probability, of such a thing happening, and I promise you, as my personal friend, that I do not propose for a moment to divert my mind from the things in which I am interested and the work I am now in a position to do, or help do, into a serious consideration of the matter. I should like to be helpful in making the republican party a positive and affirmative influence in political affairs, to help direct it along progressive and aggressive lines, to rehabilitate it in principles and restore it in power, to make it the faithful medium through which millions of devoted supporters can enjoy the realization of their hopes and aspirations, and I do not want to be considered, while doing this, as a candidate at all for any office. I positively am not.

Senator Borah's language is sufficiently clear. He is not now seeking the republican presidential nomination in 1916 and has no intention of pushing himself as a candidate. Does this mean that Col. Harvey's guess must be wiped off the blackboard? On the contrary, it means that the chance of eventual victory for Col. Harvey's entry in the presidential futurity is increased some 10 or 15 per cent. If Senator Borah nurses any faint hope of being the republican nominee for the presidency in 1916 the way to nourish it is to refuse to become a seeker for the place.

At best the republican situation on the eve of the next presidential campaign will not be such as to call for the nomination of the man who can put up the strongest fight in a hot competition for the honor. The time will not be favorable for a display of individual or factional selfishness. At the next republican national convention the candidate will have to be chosen carefully with a view almost solely to his capacity for timely and effective service to the party. The logic of the situation will call for the nomination of some particular candidate. He will be selected according to the needs of the occasion as they are disclosed three years hence. In all probability service to the party in the meantime will do much to influence the selection. When the time comes the fact that a man seeks the nomination probably will cut little figure. Neither will the wish of an individual to avoid a nomination have much effect upon the outcome. The wise men of the party will name the man of the hour. If he is a good republican he will accept the commission. And all good republicans will support him for the good of the party.

For the present Senator Borah desires to work for the rehabilitation of the party, free from any suspicion of self seeking in that connection. Whether the senator be credited with absolute sincerity in this or whether he be credited with enough political acumen to see that such an attitude may best serve a budding ambition, Col. Harvey's prediction need not be canceled on account of it.

### SENATOR BORAH'S POSITION.

Senator William E. Borah, who was a staunch republican, went over to the progressive ranks and endeavored to secure the nomination of Roosevelt for president, and afterwards refused to follow the colonel out of the republican party, and who is now registered as a progressive within the republican ranks, says he has no ambition to become president. Nearly every man prominent in political life, is slated by some one as good timber for president. There are without a doubt, thousands of men in this country who would make the very best of chief executives. It really is a mistake to presume that but one or two men in the country in each party are available for the position. Borah is a man of brains and of ability in national affairs and would probably make a first class president. But he says he does not want the position. He, rather, according to his authorized statement sent out from Washington, is desirous of being free to use his best influence to bring the republican party back into power. In the course of his statement, Borah says:

"I should like to be helpful in making the republican party a positive and affirmative influence in political affairs again, to help direct it along progressive and aggressive lines, to rehabilitate it in principles and restore it in power, to make it the faithful medium through which its millions of devoted supporters can enjoy the realization of their hopes and aspirations, and I do not want to be considered while doing this as a candidate at all for any office. I positively am not."

Senator Borah's sentiment does him credit, except that he would have a hard time improving the principles of the old party. There is vastly more hope for a reunited republican organization in his method than in all the ideas so far presented of rebuilding and revising the party. The fundamental principles of the republican party are just as sound and correct now as they were when the party held full sway with a united and effective membership.

The trouble with the party is not its failure to carry out its principles and to work for the best interests of the country, but the antagonism within its ranks of ambitious men who sought by breaking down its power and turning the people against the men who were its leaders, to become leaders themselves. They have succeeded temporarily in their plans, by assisting from the inside the assaults made upon the party by the enemies on the outside.

But they will not realize their ambition to become leaders. Their very action in opposing the party organization has prejudiced the minds of too many people against them. Had they, instead of fighting the party and its leaders and filling the minds of the people with distrust for men as honest as themselves, stood for their ideas of reform as republicans in the republican ranks with respect for their fellow partisans, they would have won just as quickly, and might have become a powerful influence in the party ranks today.

### The Mitchell Clarion

Published every Thursday at Mitchell, South Dakota.

W. A. BRANCH, Editor and Publisher.

THURSDAY, JULY 17, 1913

Senator W. E. Borah, of Idaho, is being prominently mentioned as available timber for the republican presidential nomination in 1916. The suggestion sounds good to the Clarion and the republican party might hunt a long time before securing better material. It is the belief of the Clarion that he could come more nearly uniting the republican party than any other man now in the public eye.

even venture to assert that corporations are not only acquiring souls, but visions!

The statement of Senator Borah that he will not, in any circumstances, be a candidate for the republican nomination for the presidency, may impress some as being only a politician's plati-

tude, devoid of significance. Nevertheless, it seems to us it is entitled to much more consideration. Senator Borah is one of the really strong men of the republican party, strong not only in point of intellectual equipment, but equally strong in moral equipment, an aspect of which the republican party has no overplus just now. If the republican party can be kept alive at all, it can be done only by persuading some such man as Senator Borah to accept its nomination, nor has it many such as he, so that his declination reduces it to a very small choice of availabilities indeed. Whether the declination of Senator Borah is prompted by a belief that the republican party's nomination will be something an ambitious man should shun rather than covet, does not appear. In either case it augurs ill for the republican party. The republican party has few leaders left who are capable of shedding some respectability on it, and if it loses many Borahs or many who even approximate him in political virtue, it will be bankrupt indeed. Whatever poor hope it may have of surviving the exposure of its iniquities must be based on the chance that its Borahs will have the martyrlike courage to lift up its sullied banner. Evidently this particular Borah has no stomach for enterprises so absurdly hopeless.

JOURNAL

City of Independence, Mo.  
July 7 1913

### THE WISDOM OF BORAH

A Kansas friend of Senator Borah of Idaho foolishly suggested the other day that the Senator sanction a movement to boost him for the President nomination in 1916 on the Republican ticket. Mr. Borah has lost no time and wasted few words in putting a quietus on such very premature enthusiasm.

The Kansan's idea, no doubt, was that the Senator as one of the Roosevelt leaders before the Chicago bolt who remained in the Republican ranks, would be acceptable to both Progressives and Republicans. But Mr. Borah with a broader and deeper knowledge of the situation, knows that no such easy solution of the problem is available at this time. Opinion may concentrate on some one before 1916, but it is not likely to be assisted in the process by the announcement of any candidacy now. Political opinion is in a process of readjustment after the cataclysm of last year. It is an individual process rather than an operation of the mass. Men are turning things over in their minds day by day, not in the stress of the excitement of a campaign of personalities, but in the almost unconscious assimilation of the ideas suggested by the course of events. It is not a time for partisan oratory or appeal, for booming this or that candidacy, which would only distract and confuse. Even Mr. Borah's effort to hustle the readjustment is just as likely to do more harm than good at this time. But his prompt squelching of the Kansas boom is sound and sensible. —Pittsburgh Dispatch.

### THE DAILY STAR-MIRROR

Published every evening except Sunday, at Moscow, Idaho.

JOHN F. YOST, Proprietor

Entered as second-class matter October 16, 1911, at the postoffice of Moscow, Idaho, under the Act of Congress of March, 1879.

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One Year..... 5.00  
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Six Months..... 1.75  
One Year..... 3.00

The Daily Star-Mirror is delivered every evening (except Sunday) by carrier in Moscow, between the hours of 4:30 and 6:00.

All copy for advertisements must be in the office at 10:00 a. m. of day on which they are to appear.

All complaints of whatsoever nature should be made at the office at once.

The Daily Star-Mirror carries the United Press Association Service.

SATURDAY, JULY 12, 1913

#### FOR PRESIDENT.

The Star-Mirror has a toast to propose and it is one which every citizen of Moscow should drink in that best and most common of beverages—pure cold water.

This is the toast: "To William E. Borah, the next president of the United States."

Doubtless there are those who will say that the Star-Mirror is hurrying matters; that a boom may be launched too early, etc., etc. But it is never too early for the people of any state to show their appreciation of the state's favorite son, a title which all will freely accord to Mr. Borah.

The Star-Mirror is in favor of Senator Borah as the next nominee for president on the republican ticket. To our mind, he is the one man who can reunite the party so unhappily divided at the Chicago convention. If he is nominated, no progressive republican would dare vote against him for no man in congress has taken a more vigorous stand for real constructive, progressive legislation than has Wm. E. Borah.

Idaho voters know this, and it is scarcely needful to remind them of the many occasions when Senator Borah has shown himself the true friend of the people, not alone of his Idaho constituents but of the whole people of the nation.

To him more than to any other man in the United States senate, is due the credit for the final passage of the bill for the election of United States

senators by direct vote of the people. Senator Borah was chairman of the judiciary committee which reported that bill to the senate, and it was his efforts that overcame the objections of its opponents to prevent its consideration by the senate.

We need not mention Senator Borah's connection with the child labor legislation in congress. That he fathered the bill for the appointment of an industrial commission is likewise well known. It is the business of this commission to inquire into the causes of industrial restlessness and discontent, and it is a commission whose work will be productive of great good.

In the present session of congress, Mr. Borah is efficiently attending to the business of caring for the people's interests. He has introduced a bill correcting the hardships of the three-year homestead law, hardships which crept in after the measure had left Mr. Borah's hands. He is one of the members of the commission which is investigating the intolerable situation in West Virginia, and the people of that distracted commonwealth can safely count on honest judgment from him.

But why particularize further. The people know Senator Borah's record and they showed their appreciation of his ability and fidelity by their vote for him at the polls last fall. It was his strength that won the state back from the democrats on the governorship. The people wanted William E. Borah for senator, and they will want him for president in 1916.

While Senator Borah is distinguished by his activities in behalf of the people he has always stood with his party and voted with it. Unlike Roosevelt, he has believed that reforms in government could be best secured through the medium of the great republican party. Every true republican honors him for that loyalty, and they rewarded him with their vote, last fall. Idaho would vote solidly for William E. Borah for president in 1916.

Nor is it only in his own state that Mr. Borah is known and honored. He is a figure in national politics—one of the big men at Washington. The republicans of other states are watching him, and as time passes they too will feel as we do, that he is the one man who can reunite and hold together the great republican party.

There is no need of saying that Idaho is too far west. Why, it is no further west in 1913 than was Illinois in 1860. Yet the then supposedly uncultured state of Illinois gave us our greatest president after Washington—the immortal Martyred Lincoln.

Thus, here and now, the Star-Mirror nominates William E. Borah for presidential candidate on the republican ticket in 1916. He is available, efficient, skilled in statesmanship, and able to weld together the dividing factions in the grand old party, and lead it to victory.

Recently in a letter to a friend in Kansas Mr. Borah said he was speaking without any reservations in declining to consider himself a candidate for president in 1916. He no doubt wrote as he felt, but he is too loyal a republican to refuse to lead his party to victory in the nation when the call for him to do so becomes as urgent as the Star-Mirror believes it will long before the next republican national convention.

# Borah and Murdock At Union League Club



© Harris Ewing



© Harris Ewing

Senator Borah

Victor Murdock.

**A** TREAT is in store for those who attend the Lincoln Day dinner of the Union League Club on February 12. The committee in charge of the function have obtained as speakers two oratorical stars from Washington, Senator William E. Borah of Idaho and Representative Victor Murdock of Kansas. There will be other speakers also.

It is doubtful if the Union League Club ever had a better bill of speakers for any occasion. Senator Borah has come to the front with wonderful strides during the past few years. He is a man of great force and strength, a real orator

and an attractive personality. His advice is sought in the high councils of his party. President Taft would like to have him as his running mate on the ticket this fall. Borah is a progressive of the best type.

Victor Murdock, the red-headed Kansan, is known from one end of the country to the other as the man who inaugurated the fight on the Cannon rules. He stuck to his job in spite of personal persecutions from the powerful Speaker, but he won out. Murdock always has an interesting story of insurrection to tell. He is one of the best speakers in the House.

## What Will Congress Accomplish?

Leading Senators and Representatives on the Skirmishing Line for the Big Battle of 1912  
Tell What May Happen.

By ROBERT D. HEINL, Washington Correspondent for Leslie's Weekly



REED SMOOT,  
The able and active Senator from Utah.



WILLIAM E. BORAH,  
The sturdy and brainy Senator from Idaho.



NICHOLAS LONGWORTH  
Representative from the First District of Ohio.



JAMES R. MANN,  
Illinois, Republican leader in the House.



WILLIAM B. MCKINLEY,  
Representative from Ninth District of Illinois.

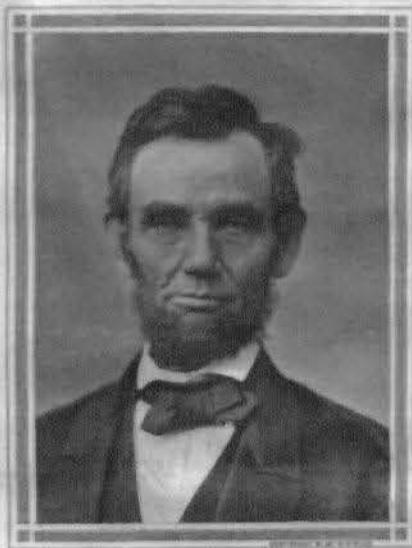


JONATHAN BOURNE, JR.,  
The "insurgent" and aggressive Senator from Oregon.



VICTOR MURDOCK,  
Representative from the Eighth District of Kansas.

WELL KNOWN REPUBLICANS IN THE SENATE AND THE HOUSE.



*The Officers and Trustees of  
The Lincoln Farm Association  
request the pleasure of  
Hon. William C. Borah's  
presence on Thursday, the ninth of November  
One thousand, nine hundred and eleven  
at Hodgenville, Kentucky  
at the ceremonies attending the dedication of  
Lincoln Memorial Hall  
erected in honour of  
Abraham Lincoln  
over the log cabin in which he was born  
The President of the United States  
will deliver the oration*

DEDICATION

OF

The National Lincoln Memorial

HODGENVILLE, KENTUCKY

NOVEMBER 9TH, 1911

ORDER OF EXERCISES

Invocation..... Rabbi H. G. Einclaw  
Welcome on the Part of the Lincoln Farm Association  
..... Honorable Joseph W. Folk  
Welcome on the part of the State of Kentucky.....  
..... Governor Augustus E. Willson  
The Oration of the Day..... The President of the United States  
Address—"Lincoln the Orator"..... Hon. W. E. Borah, of Idaho  
Address—"Lincoln, the Emancipator".....  
Major General John C. Black, Ex-Commander-in-Chief  
G. A. R.  
Address—"Lincoln, the Forgiving Fool".....  
..... Gen. John B. Castleman  
Benediction.....  
..... The Rt. Rev. Thomas S. Byrne, Bishop of Nashville

HERALD-REPUBLICAN  
PAPER  
SALT LAKE CITY  
PUBLISHED  
19 1912  
DATE

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NOV 18 1912

REVOLUTION.

All question of the progress of political ideas and of the high minded fairness of the national committee was for one day set at rest by the committee's action on the contest in the Eleventh Kentucky district. In this district the Roosevelt men had won the two delegates. The committee conceded this. So it voted to give Roosevelt one of them.

This is epochal. So far as anybody seems to know, this is the first time in history that a national committee has decided a contest against its own leanings where control of the convention was in doubt. Yesterday it would have been a Quixotic thing to do, and Don Quixotes are scarce on national committees. The decision is revolutionary.

Senator Borah was there to object, of course. He couldn't see why, since the Roosevelt men won two delegates, they should get only one. There's the impractical reformer for you, revolting against half a loaf. Can't see how lucky he is to get that; forgets that yesterday he would have got nothing. Some people can never be satisfied. For ourselves, it makes us almost sorry this bids fair to be the last damnation a national committee is to assist in making. It robs us of the chance to see whether by another fear the national committee would not have risen to such heights of dreaminess as to give the other side half its dues, only but all-satisfying even a captious Borah.

Let Borah Return to His Party Or Quit

ANY Republican who is unable to accept as final the judgment of his party, as expressed at Chicago by its authorized representatives from all sections of the country, should get out of it. That is the opinion of the national chairman, the manager of the party's campaign, and it is our opinion. In demanding that the national committee disbar those members who are not supporting the party's candidate, Chairman Hilles has established a principle which Senator Borah may consider to his profit. The Idaho statesman, in the absence of knowledge as to the particular direction in which the political cat means to jump in that state this fall, announces that he will support neither Mr. Taft nor Mr. Roosevelt, but that he will work for "measures rather than men."

Senator Borah's attitude is interesting and worthy of comment because he is a bit more frank than the other members of the trimming fraternity. Having participated in the Republican national convention, and having refused to leave the party when Mr. Roosevelt asked him to do so, Borah apparently was only playing for time until the situation resolved itself into definiteness. But evidence accumulates that he is as badly befogged as he was in June; his hope that he could withhold his announcement of party affiliations until certain who would be the winners, seems to have been badly conceived. Political conditions are not so clear as Borah could hope and he therefore decides that he will remain on the fence upon which he perched himself at Chicago; to climb down looks dangerous and he will wait until the battle is over.

The Idaho senator was chosen to that office by the Republican party. If he lacks the courage to oppose it and the honesty to declare openly his affiliation with that of which he would like to be a member, the Republican organization in the Gem state should see to it that he is replaced by some one less timid. Politically, he is useless, and his influence with his fellow-senators certainly cannot be retained in view of the lack of moral courage which he exhibits.

Mr. Borah Is Reaping Just That He Sowed

SENATOR BORAH of Idaho seems to be reaping a just harvest from the seed sown by himself at the outset of the national campaign. When he assumed his strictly impartial attitude of supporting neither Mr. Roosevelt nor Mr. Taft,

one could but guess at his motives, but the inevitable results forecasted themselves with ease. He was warned that neither Bull Moose nor Republicans would be pleased at his position and that he who endeavors to ride two horses risks falling between them and spraining his political ankle. And the news from Idaho indicates that both the Taft and Roosevelt men in the Legislature will require powerful arguments before they will consent to join issues and support Mr. Borah for re-election.

ADVERTISEMENT  
Elmira, N. Y.  
SEP 1 1912

REPUBLICANS GETTING TOGETHER.

Every day adds something to the evidence that the Republicans of both factions of the party are getting together, says the Washington correspondent of the New York Tribune. The indorsement of the La Follette bills by the Senate steering committee, a majority of which consists of regulars, was related in this column some days ago. Yesterday the more progressive Republicans began again to discuss the advisability of a national convention called to consider the questions of limiting Southern representation in national conventions and of providing for adequate recognition of popular primaries in selecting delegates to the national convention of four years hence. Some of the skeptics, notably the few Bull Moosers in Congress, said when they heard of this: "Just wait till the regular Republicans hear of this and see how they will stamp on the movement." But the regular Republicans have done nothing of the kind. They have learned that the subject was being agitated and they have all discussed the matter with interest and even optimism. Senators Penrose and Crane, for instance, admit that some such step is an essential to insure Republican success four years hence and declare they are ready to receive any suggestion looking to the welfare of the party, irrespective of the fortunes of any particular faction. Even William Barnes, jr., who has been in the city recently, has been brought to an appreciation that party loyalty demands that those who stand for the principles espoused by the Grand Old Party must subordinate personal interests and preferences to the general welfare and must make material concessions in methods if they are to promote the success of the party as a whole. This situation is gall and wormwood to the Bull Moosers, who, following the disintegration of their party in Michigan, are forced to realize that if the Republicans show so much good sense and thus succeed in bringing about Republican unity they and their hero will be left outside the breastworks. Some of the more rampant Moose insist that the discussion of reorganization along the lines proposed is merely a scheme of Penrose, Crane, Gallinger, Cannon and other reactionaries to hoodwink the bulk of the party. The flaw in the claims consists of the facts that the plans of reorganization have been put forward by such men as Senators La Follette, Borah, Cummins and others whose progressiveness can not be questioned and that the regulars are merely yielding to their

HERALD-REPUBLICAN  
PAPER  
SALT LAKE CITY  
PUBLISHED  
SEP 18 1912  
DATE

Borah of Idaho Ought to Be Retired

SENATOR BORAH'S defenders do not make a good case for him. The senator's statement that he will support neither Mr. Taft nor Mr. Roosevelt but will work for measures rather than men, cannot be construed as other than a straddle. The

Idaho senator is not supporting Mr. Taft because the chief Borah adherents are admirers of Mr. Roosevelt; he is not in the open for the colonel because the result of the primary election in the Gem state indicates that Bull Con sentiment there is an indefinite and elusive quantity. Being a candidate for re-election to the Senate, Borah feels much as did Mark Twain when discussing heaven and its alternative, the humorist remarking that he had "friends in both places." The senator's ambition bids him sit on the fence until the battle is over, whereupon he may easily join the victors.

Idaho's histrionic statesman talks mere twaddle when he speaks of pinning his faith "to measures rather than men." The lines of demarcation between the Republican and Bull Con parties are clear and distinct; he who runs may read and a wayfaring man though a fool may not err therein. A believer in Colonel Roosevelt's theories, as Borah is known to be, is pitifully weak if he fails to join the Bull Con forces and help what he believes to be right; the admirer of the principles of the Republican party who prattles of "measures not men" and withholds his support from that party's candidate is politically dishonest and is trying to deceive even himself.

The simple truth as to Borah is that he wishes to be elected, cannot satisfy himself as to which party is more likely to win, and has cynically determined to join neither. His moral cowardice is about equal to the illogical sycophancy of those who de-

RAID TRANSCRIPT  
SEP 12 1912

BORAH'S LITTLE ERROR.

Senator Borah was the lion of the Roosevelt cause in the fight before the national committee and almost displaced Dixon as chief adviser to the colonel during the convention scrimmage. But he refused to bolt. After being roughly heralded by the Moosers for this refusal, Mr. Borah offered this bried statement:

"I do not think it necessary to leave the Republican party to fight for these reforms. Others may differ from me. But I will say this, to talk of leaving the Republican party because of its bosses is asinine. There are bosses in the new party, and there will be in every party."

Senator Borah made one trifling error. There are bosses in all parties but one. In the third-term party the use of the work must be confined to the singular number.



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**VERY UNKIND, VERY.**  
The Bureau-Persons Republicans are affronted because the country does not take their word as sufficient and their position as a guarantee. Proved by the Committee-Bureau Republicans organization, the answer seems that all will be attended to in due time. In spite of the deep indignation that the Republican party can be treated only by the elimination of the Bureau-Persons status, answer comes that it requires men of experience to conduct the affairs of a political party and that those who would the party are the proper ones to handle it in time and place.  
The general laugh which greeted the pronouncements and impotent action of the Executive Committee of the Republican National Committee was not so much at the action of that body as much as the character of the Committee's own pronouncements. The pronouncement comprising the last Chicago conference repeated just reward for their efforts. Rather, they received a slap on the wrist for presuming to interfere with the assumed rights of the Republican Bureau. Now it is the turn of the Bureau to afford surprise at the attitude of the press and public toward their former aggressions that they will engage themselves.

Dallas *T.M.* News  
Monday, July 8, 1911  
seems to be losing a great deal...  
Statement of Senator Borah that he will not, in any circumstances, be a candidate for the Republican nomination for the Presidency, may impress some as being only a politician's platitude, devoid of significance. Nevertheless, it seems to me, it is entitled to much more consideration. Senator Borah is one of the really strong men of the Republican party; strong not only in point of intellectual equipment, but equally strong in moral equipment, an asset of which the Republican party has no surplus just now. If the Republican party can be kept alive at all, it can be done only by persuading some such man as Senator Borah to accept its nomination; nor has it many such as he, so that his declination reduces it to a very small choice of availability indeed. Whether the declination of Senator Borah is prompted by a belief that the Republican party's nomination will be something of an ambitious man should show rather than covet, does not appear. In either case it augurs ill for the Republican party. The Republican party has few leaders left who are capable of shouldering some responsibility on it, and if it loses many Borahs or many who even approximate him in political virtue, it will be bankrupt indeed. Whatever poor hope it may have of surviving the exposure of its iniquities must be based on the chance that its Borahs will have the martyr-like courage to lift up its sullied banner. Evidently this particular Borah has no stomach for enterprises so absurdly heroic.

SNAP SHOTS.

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Date **MAY 13 1913**

**A STURDY SPIRIT**  
One cannot help admiring the sturdy spirit of the Republican leaders who are assembling in Chicago today for the reorganization of the Republican party. The main topic of the discussion will be whether there shall be a Republican national convention in this year or next. It is admittedly a most extraordinary thing to hold a convention such as is suggested. But the leaders also admit that conditions are extraordinary and demand unusual treatment. If the convention will be held, it will devote itself to only one thing, the reform of party procedure from within. The men mentioned as leading the conference, Senator Cummins, Governor Hadley, Senators Sherman, Borah, Cramm, Works and Keegan, among others, are all admittedly progressive Republicans. They were among the minority of the last national convention. They believe that their troubles have arisen from certain abuses or injustices in the form of the party organization. It is their purpose to correct these. Among the changes that are suggested are the following, as stated in yesterday's Dispatch:  
"To change the basis of representation according to Republican strength and according to the accident of the representations of states in congress.  
"To take out that rule which ignores or repudiates primaries.  
"To modify any other custom of the party which might interfere with the modern progressive spirit in the Republican ranks."  
These things sound well, nobody will deny. It may also be that the disaster of last fall might have been due partially to the existence of the evils indicated. But this much is clear to every one who watched carefully the events of last fall: the split of the party and the formation of the new party was due more than anything else to the mad ambition of one man. All the rules might have been changed to suit the ideas of the reformers, but if a certain man had been refused the nomination under the reformed rules, the new party would almost certainly have been formed just the same. But these leaders are right in their effort. If the rules need changing, now is the time to change them. There is no national campaign to confuse the issues. No delegates are being elected for the purpose of nominating anybody. The Dispatch admires the spirit of the men who realize that their defeat of last fall may be due in great measure to the faults of their own organization and who, instead of whining and sulking, go bravely ahead to improve matters. It is a sign of that old Republican spirit of doing the practical thing.

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**Coming Back.**  
Not out for the last by the leadership...  
ALIAS SUBMERS  
LEGAL ADVERTISEMENTS  
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# Argonaut.

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Intended for *Sen Borah*

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veit movement, which was essentially an emotional and personal affair connected with the grievances and the ambitions of one man.

Local elections in several states the competence of the Roosevelt brand of progressivism called, to sustain itself as a permanent political force. Chicago gave Roosevelt 24,183 more votes than Wilson and 76,533 more votes than Taft in the November election. Chicago was the very head centre of the Roosevelt movement. Yet only the other day with a Bull-Moose candidate in every ward, only three were elected, as against twenty-two Democrats, eleven Republicans, and one independent. Concurrently we find a similar result in St. Louis. The Bull-Mooseers named for mayor Frank H. Gerhart, the man who financed the Roosevelt campaign in Missouri and received the enthusiastic thanks of his patron for so doing. The Republican opposing candidate was Henry W. Kiel, a delegate to the Chicago convention and a supporter of Mr. Taft. Mr. Roosevelt in the recent mayoralty campaign in St. Louis denounced Kiel bitterly for his support of Taft and said he was not a fit man to be mayor. The issue between Gerhart and Kiel was plain and unmistakable. The total vote cast approximated 125,000, the largest ever recorded in a municipal election, and of this total the Bull-Moose candidate received only 4611 votes. The Republican candidate who had been denounced by Colonel Roosevelt was elected over Dr. Sisson, the Democratic candidate. The Socialist candidate, with 6000 votes, was ahead of the Bull-Mooseer, who was a bad fourth in the race.

Straws do indicate the direction of the wind; and they show unmistakably what it is in this instance. There is no Roosevelt Progressive party. There was of it never anything but an emotional movement, a movement which practically died with the failure to break a great national tradition and carry Mr. Roosevelt again into the presidency.

It is plain that the numbers who joined in the Bull-Moose movement last year acted under the impulse of political adventure. They were enamored of a man and his pretensions and they stepped aside from long-sustained party affiliations for the moment, but only for the moment. In voting for the Bull Moose they did not enlist in a Bull-Moose party. What might have happened if Roosevelt had succeeded in winning the presidency no man can know, but with his failure those who supported him fell back naturally and apparently with a sense of relief into old-time party affiliations.

Those who speculate upon the fortunes of political parties would do well to study the career of Populism, which appeared as a political movement in the years when Harrison and Cleveland were the leading figures in the political life of the country. There was a time when it looked as if Populism would swallow up not only Democracy but the larger forces of Western Republicanism. It ran like a prairie fire in the years between '88 and '96, attaining its climax the last-named year in the joint candidacy of Democracy and Populism. But it went as quickly as it came. It went because the established parties left it no ground to stand upon. Whatever in its creed was workable—whatever could be turned to rational political account—was taken over by the old parties, leaving the Populist party without a cause. Never strong in its organization, it ceased to exist altogether when the motives of its inspiration were seized upon by the old parties and incorporated in their working programmes. Precisely so it is in the case of Rooseveltian Progressivism. It can offer nothing which either or both of the old parties do not propose upon sounder assurances of success. It remains without a cause; therefore without mandate, without working inspirations. Its leadership, while lacking the forces essential to success, is at the same time too positive and too selfish. Under the exhilarations of an active agitation and of a fierce campaign,

## Some Present Political Tendencies.

Every now and again there comes to public notice some blind and deaf enthusiast, some belated partisan of the movement which supported Mr. Roosevelt last year, pointing with a dogged bravado to the four-million-and-odd votes cast for the Bull Moose, asking with few emphasis, where is the hard heart that in the face of the figures can deny the existence of a Progressive party. All the same there is no Progressive party, for of the four-and-odd millions who hearkened to the call practically all have moved back or moved on into old or new affiliations. In the matter of concrete "results" there is barely enough left to show that there was last year an eccentric political movement of some importance, just as stranded drift on the seashore indicates the storms of yesterday. There are, for example, some fifteen or eighteen members of the House of Representatives elected as Progressives, but they make a small and negligible minority element, tending to become even smaller and more negligible; for do we not discover in the case of Mr. Kent, who has abandoned his "party" to join the Democrats, a tendency certain within a few months to destroy the very name as well as the substance of organized Progressivism?

There was and is in these United States a very positive and a widely supported progressive movement. But this movement was and is a thing separate and apart from the wave of emotionalism which, seized upon by Mr. Roosevelt in 1912, carried him to so high a mark in a losing campaign. The real progressivism is a movement within the two traditional political parties rather than a movement independent of them and seeking to establish itself under an organization of its own. It began in the two parties at about the same period—some sixteen to twenty years ago—and it has practically dominated the Democratic party since the first candidacy of Mr. Bryan in 1896. In the Republican party its best notable exemplar was Senator La Follette, whose marked activities in Wisconsin began full twenty years ago; and it has in late years found notable recruits in the public life of Iowa and other Western States. Some seven or eight years ago it gained a foothold in New York under inspirations associated with the name and the career of Governor Hughes.

Today, Democratic progressivism, modified by the temperament and character of President Wilson as compared with that of Mr. Bryan, occupies the seat of authority. It is enthroned in the presidency and its proposals constitute the programme of the party which holds immediate responsibility for the conduct of affairs. If the party is not wholly and devotedly progressive in its spirit, at least a point has been reached where opposition has been reduced to silence, if not acquiescence. In the Republican party, progressivism is strongly entrenched, its champions being none other than the foremost men in senatorial and congressional life, notably Senator Cummins of Iowa, Senator La Follette of Wisconsin, Senator Borah of Idaho, Governor Hadley of Missouri, and many others of like solidity of character. Neither in one party nor in the other does progressivism in its vital aims or aspects bear a close relationship or resemblance to the Roose-

PAPER *Sedgewick*  
PUBLISHED *Tuesday*  
DATE *APR 2 - 1913*

## COURTS AND THE BUSINESS.

Senator Borah, *the* lawyer, has been investigating the attitude of the courts toward business corporations, and it is understood that he will give the results in a speech before the senate this year. Instead of being a friend of monopoly, the courts are, and long have been, the chief opponent of monopoly in both the United States and Great Britain. Senator Borah is right, and he is proposing to set forth a record of this matter, believing that there are serious impressions in the public mind.

It is his view that the legislative and executive branches of the government are far more reasonable than the judicial branch in its attitude toward monopoly. It is the legislative branch that authorizes the formation of corporations. It is the legislative branch that has power to say what corporations may do and may not do, though in constraining laws and restrictive laws contained in the courts are sometimes called upon to say what they may do or may not do. It is regarded that Senator Borah feels the courts have done a remarkable service for the protection of the public by the enforcement of principles of public policy, though had they not been imposed they might not have sustained these principles against monopoly.

In the absence of statutes, there is the common law against monopoly, and this the courts enforce. In the matter of so much criticism of the courts, their historic attitude against restraint of trade has been largely overlooked, and it is Senator Borah's purpose to review the subject.

It is not the province of the courts to go out and find monopoly or other illegal corporate business, though they do sometimes call grand juries and direct an investigation to be made. Their province is to apply the law when the case is presented, and proceedings depend upon the executive branch of the government. The Sherman law has been on the books since the time of the Harrison administration, yet it was not until the administration of William H. Taft that widespread attacks on restraints of trade were made. At first, etc. were made by monopolies, though in *Standard Oil* it was not the first of the courts.

In many of the states an attempt had been made by legislation to prevent monopoly. For a long time New Jersey encouraged the incorporation of "trusts." The state got a big revenue in the form of fees, and there was apparently not much opposition among the people. Yet there is something a popular feeling that the courts have been ready to do their duty. It is, as Senator Borah will contend, the fault of the legislative and executive branches rather than the judicial that we have contributions to restraint of trade.

WHICH SHALL IT BE? It is an interesting political question...

The subject of interest, however, is not with legislative enactment...

What the outcome of this struggle will be cannot be forecast with very safety...

A contest is now on in New York between Barnes on one side and some very respectable and eminent republicans on the other...

It is noted by those who are not clear men. No other need apply...

Any political party that constructs a platform along these lines will get a hearing...

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From LEADER Address BRIT PATIS. MORT. Date APR 23 1914

Borah Has It Right.

Senator Borah of Idaho, one of the brightest men in the United States...

Following, as I do, that the great body of the republican party...

Hundreds of thousands of republicans throughout the United States are feeling the same way...

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"GET TOGETHER" MEETING IN KANSAS.

Senator Borah has accepted an invitation to address a "get together" meeting of republicans in Kansas...

In accepting the invitation of Kansas republicans to address them next month...

The attitude of Senator Borah is especially significant in view of the fact that he supported Gen. Roosevelt...

Kansas is now in the hands of the democracy. The legislature is democratic and a democratic United States senator has succeeded a republican...

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From NEWS Address GALT ESTOX, 738 Date APR 23 1914

The statement of Senator Borah that he will not, in any circumstances, be a candidate for the republican nomination for the presidency...

clude, devoid of significance. Nevertheless, it seems to me it is entitled to much more consideration...

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Date **JUL 9 1913**

**HIS LIGHTNING ROD NOT UP**

It isn't at all surprising that in response to a letter of a Topka, Kansas, man asking him to permit his name to be used as a candidate for the Republican nomination for President in 1916 Senator William E. Borah of Idaho says that his lightning rod isn't up—that he is in no sense a candidate for the high office of President. If the Republican party had a ghost of a chance to elect the next President Mr. Borah's answer might be different. In fact, if the leaders of the Republican and Progressive parties agreed within the next year or two in reconciling the differences between the two factions of the once powerful Republican party to may be glad to get another request from the Topka man.

Just at present, however, the outlook for an adjustment of the differences of the two factions is by no means promising. Col. Roosevelt, who is the Progressive party, is showing no signs of a desire to get the two factions together, and the chances are that he will not unless he has assurance that he will be chosen to lead the reunited party. He is keeping his own counsel, but it is certain that his ambition to be President again isn't dead. If the truth were known it would probably appear that he is working hard to bring the two factions together or at least to arrange the political situation that the Progressive party would elect the Republican party. He knows that he couldn't come anywhere near being elected President as the candidate of the Progressive party and it is but natural that he should be trying to bring the two factions into harmony.

Senator Borah is one of the big men

of the Republican party and undoubtedly will have much to do with shaping its future course. Whether or not he will be chosen to lead it in 1916 is a question that cannot be answered now. He certainly has just as good a chance for that honor as any other Republican.

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From **NEWS COURIER CHARLESTON, S C**

Address

Date **JUL 3 1913**

**Stick to the Republicans.**

Not an easy words, but pretty hard, nevertheless, to say. Borah and the progressive Republicans assembled at Atlantic City that the policies of their party have recently been all wrong. "The right thing to do in public life," said the parliament from Idaho, "must always be the popular thing to do." Could Woodrow Wilson himself have said more plainly than this that the Republican party has been doing the wrong thing?

Senator Borah is inspired by progressive ideas, but his business at Atlantic City was to help in the rehabilitation of Republicanism rather than to make a surrender to the new third party. That he admitted as frankly that the Republicans have wandered from the paths of right is not of great importance, the people having made up their minds to that fact prior to last November, but the admission is interesting. Now it is the task of somebody else to be frank.

Republican needs many doses of unswerving truth. It is the only sort of medicine that can get it on its feet to recovery from the present very serious illness. Borah gave it a good dose at Atlantic City. Let the other doctors who are trying to cure the patient, do likewise. It is a case where even the Democrats would prefer a general.

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Date **MAY 3 1913**

**Coming Back.**

Not one of our best, but the thousands of republicans who joined in the progressive movement of the last year are coming back to the republican party. Senator Clark of Missouri, Chairman of Iowa and Borah of Idaho, Frank Steiwer of Washington, who got up something like 100,000 for the progressive campaign, and hundreds of other leaders are among the faithful of dividing the republican party because of the conditions of one man, of the shortcomings of a crowd of men. Dan H. Hoona, who testified yesterday up something like 100,000, is another one who has returned to the fold, and commenting upon it the Pittsburgh Courier Times remarks that the wise course for both republicans and progressives to pursue is not to dwell so much on the discussions of 1912, further than to remove their names as upon the necessity of reestablishing national control from the democratic party. It is imperative, therefore, that on the very evening Mr. Hoona issued his editorial from the Cleveland Leader, President Wilson who behind the people of New Jersey that "the country did not go democratic in November," but that "it was impossible to go republican because it could not tell which kind of republicans to go."

We have it from Mr. Hoona, progressive, that there is "minority rule in Washington," and in many states which is not "in accordance with the needs and convictions of the country," and from Mr. Wilson, Jefferson, that the country did not go democratic. In such a situation the opportunity for republicanism is wide open. Look at Michigan. In November it went for Roosevelt by 42,000 plurality, but in the April election of this year the republican ticket in the state won by from 15,000 to 17,000. Instead of the progressive party leading it finished third. Michigan will lose from 175,000 to 120,000 a year by the Wilson tariff bill's operations. Other states are similarly menaced, and for this reason, as well as because it is the sensible and effective political thing to do. The effort to rehabilitate the republican party should be encouraged.

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Date **APR 2 1913**

**WITH THE REPUBLICANS.**

Senator Borah of Idaho has been generous of opinion. He has been at left with republicans and progressives. Each side has been claiming him, and sometimes he has seemed to be leaning one way, sometimes the other. But since he returns from Michigan he seems to be no longer in doubt as to his future course. In a letter to the republicans of Kansas he says: "Believing, as I do, that the great body of the republican party and those who have made its history are in thorough sympathy and full accord with things which ought to be done, I propose to remain with them."

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