

eral deposits, than to building sites and farming opportunities.

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THE RISING TIDE FOR PEOPLE'S POWER.

The Associated Press is supposed to furnish an accurate and impartial report of the proceedings of Congress. It failed, however, to mention the shockingly reactionary harangue delivered by Senator Heyburn, of Idaho, on the last night of the session, in opposition to the People's Power provisions of the Arizona Constitution (p. 225).

Nothing could betray better the hatred that the class for which Heyburn speaks, bears toward any extension of the democratic principle. It is not often, though, that any reactionary throws the bridle off so completely as did the Idaho Senator, or lets his real sentiments shine forth so brightly. The gist of Senator Heyburn's remarks is in the following paragraphs:

I can see no reason whatever for delaying the admission of New Mexico because the people of Arizona came under the influence of this taint of insanity which seems to be abroad in the land. I can see no reason why Arizona should not remain a Territory until she demonstrates by her actions, by her wisdom in the making of a Constitution, that she is capable of self-government.

In my judgment no State is capable of or fit for self-government that does not know better than to adopt a rule of the Recall in its organic law.

I would not vote for the admission of either of these Territories, if they had twice their population and had multiplied their prosperity, if they came here with a proposition in their Constitutions that they might withdraw a judge or a representative of the State in either branch of Congress, or that they might withdraw the executive officers of their State. I would not vote for them in a lifetime if they should come here tainted with such madness, because it is political madness that seems to have taken possession of some people.

The Senate, which had just whitewashed Lorimer and defeated an amendment for the direct election of Senators, evidently concurred in the Heyburn theory of insanity, for the resolution to admit Arizona was voted down. This result, however, was not without its compensating features. One was that corporation-ridden New Mexico was likewise kept out, and the other was the complete co-operation of Progressives of both parties in the Senate in support of the People's Power provisions of Arizona's organic law.

The importance of this last feature cannot be overestimated. It shows not only a willingness of progressive Democrats and progressive Republicans to work together, but to work together on the most important issues now in politics, namely, Direct

Legislation and the Recall. Political co-operation between Progressives of all parties is vitally necessary at this time, and co-operation on these issues more necessary than anything else.

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Significant indeed were the last weeks of Congress in this particular. Some time ago the National Progressive League, composed exclusively of Republicans, put forth a manifesto. They differentiated themselves from the regular Republicans by declaring that the paramount political issues are Direct Legislation, the Recall, direct election of Senators and popular nomination of Presidential candidates.

When, under the brilliant leadership of Senator Robert L. Owen, of Oklahoma, a test vote was forced in the Senate on these issues, it was found that these issues constituted a dividing line also between progressive and reactionary Democrats.

It is interesting to note that thirteen Republican Senators voted to admit Arizona with her broadly democratic Constitution. They were Beveridge, Borah, Bourne, Bristow, Brown, Burkett, Clapp, Cummins, Dixon, Gronna, Jones, La Follette, and McCumber. Only three Democrats could be mustered against it—Bailey of Standard Oil infame, Overman and Taliaferro.

The Bourbon Senators were able, for the moment, to defeat Arizona's admission. To accomplish that they sacrificed New Mexico, their pet lamb, which adopted a Constitution satisfactory in the last degree to Privilege, drafted by corporation lawyers, and eminently agreeable to the distinguished reactionary in the White House.

Even then it was a victory certain to prove more costly than a defeat. It has brought the People's Power issue squarely before Congress for the first time. Before either State is admitted, the whole question must be debated at length in the hearing of the whole country. Public attention will be focused upon it. The Tory side of the discussion, of course, cannot stand the light of day. It will be as stale, flat and unprofitable as Senator Lodge's scholarly mush against the direct election of United States Senators. Speeches such as Heyburn made are worth more to the cause he antagonizes than a thousand speeches made in its favor.

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It is the history of the English-speaking peoples that reform, once put in motion, ultimately triumphs. The history of the race should serve to reassure those impetuous reformers, who despair often at the snail's pace of their cause. People's Power in its fullest sense, is bound to triumph at

last. The fright into which its barest suggestion throws Vested Wrong, and the debates which the coming session promise to witness, will serve to enlighten public opinion on this subject as it has never been enlightened before.

D. K. L.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

OUT AMONG THE COPPER BUTTES.

Whitefish, Mont., March 10, 1911.

The election of a United States Senator, always interesting, has been a peculiarly interesting struggle at this time in Montana.

One of the chief issues in last fall's campaign was Republican stand-pat Senator Carter. The Democratic opposition was led by the brilliant lawyer, W. T. Walsh, chairman of the Democratic State committee. When the Democrats won a majority in the legislature, they looked about for their best man to take the seat at Washington which Carter would vacate. Walsh seemed to be the natural man for that place.

But the Interests—copper, railroad and timber—were to be reckoned with. They own Montana and usually own its legislature. Anyway they had owned Carter. They preferred the return of their faithful servant. If they could not have him at once, then they designed to deadlock the legislature, prevent any election, and two years hence (when it was hoped a reaction in politics would occur and the Republicans—in this State their party—should get a majority in the legislature), Carter would be elected to the vacant seat; the Democratic governor meanwhile being prevented by a United States Senate decision in a previous Montana Senatorial fight from filling the seat by appointment. The Senate in that case had reasoned that if the legislature had failed to elect when it had the power, the seat could not be regarded as vacant, and so could not be filled by the Governor.

The Interests' first step in this plan was to divide the Democratic vote against Walsh. This they accomplished. They raised up as his chief competitor one Conrad, a banker. He made his money in various ways—chiefly, it is commonly said, by standing in with the Interests. His ambition and vanity have led him to buy personal advertising space for himself in many of the weak and dependent papers of the State. As for brains and democratic-Democrat principles, he has little of either.

There was never any chance of Conrad's election. The Interests did not intend that there should be. But they did intend that he should stop Walsh; and he did.

He also stopped State Senator W. B. George, who is a very active democratic Democrat. Senator George might have been elected had the Democrats been any freer to vote for him than they were to vote for Walsh. But they were not.

Or if either Walsh or George could not quite have reached it, there was ex-Congressman Charles S. Hartman, another of the democratic-Democrat type; and it looked for a time as if he would sweep

it. But the Interests seldom get stampeded; and Hartman, like the others, was kept out by keeping Conrad in the field.

The Interests then made their master stroke.

The Montana Constitution limits the session of a legislature to sixty days, and the balloting had reached the last hours of the last day without an election. The Republicans suddenly made a motion to adjourn the joint session of the two chambers. Three or four Democrats had been induced to vote with them. If the Republicans had stood solid they would have prevented any election and carried out the Interests' plan for Carter. But one Republican—C. P. Higgins—suddenly revolted and voted with the body of Democrats against adjournment. With that defeat, the Interests lost control of their men, who feared the Interests could not protect them against deepening popular resentment at the prospect of no Senatorial election.

At that juncture somebody mentioned Judge Henry L. Myers, a former State Senator from the southwestern part of Montana.

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Judge Myers' name had not been mentioned up to that moment. He was known to have been a strong supporter of Walsh, to stand for the popular election of United States Senators, to oppose a big army and a big navy, to be for real tariff reduction, and to be a Thomas Jefferson democrat.

Moreover, he had been an important witness against "Copper King" Clark, when the latter was charged with buying his way to the United States Senate.

The man and the moment had come.

Myers was elected with a rush. He probably had not dreamed of such a result. In fact, when his election was announced to him over the long-distance telephone, he could with difficulty be made to believe it.

And when we consider the past power of the Interests in the politics of Montana, especially of copper, Judge Myers' election is even now scarcely believable.

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The copper Interest is, of course, centered in Butte, the largest city in the State. The city rests chiefly on a single isolated hill, which, in the language of this part of the country, is a "butte." This particular butte is spoken of as "the richest hill in the world," because of the copper ore in it. It is plastered over with copper claims, and on or near its top is the renowned Anaconda mine, which was one of the first to be worked, and which has now given its name to the most recent copper combination—the Amalgamated with the Clark and Heinze possessions.

While I was in Butte I went down one of the Amalgamated mines—the Leonard, a so-called "dry" mine, but where, with all the pumping, there was roof drip and under-foot slop enough to make me glad that I had exchanged my above-ground clothes for regular mining apparel. The assistant engineer of the mine, directed by the superintendent's office, conducted me.

We sank to the 1,200-foot level. That depth is nothing to boast of, yet it is sufficient for a first