Notes to Chapters

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1 (pages 1-10)


4. Since both parents were unable to receive even a rudimentary education (they could scarcely write, though both could read), dates and facts as to their families and background are very vague. See for example, Alfred Lief, Democracy’s Norris (New York, 1939), p. 11, where Chauncey Norris is born both in New York and in Connecticut. Norris, however, believed that his father was born in Connecticut and moved to Cayuga County after the death of his parents where Chauncey and his sisters were cared for by a German family named Martin. George W. Norris, Fighting Liberal (New York, 1946), p. 3. A pension claim filed by Mary Norris in 1893, as the mother of a deceased soldier under the terms of the Dependent Pension Act of 1890, stated that Chauncey Norris was born on May 21, 1809, in Cayuga County, New York. I have followed this statement. See John Henry Norris, Pension Claim, War Department Records, National Archives.


7. Norris, op. cit., p. 32.

8. Basil Meek (ed.), Twentieth Century History of Sandusky County, Ohio (Chicago, 1909), p. 270; John Henry Norris, loc. cit. John Henry had been engaged to a local girl, Lizzie Tuck, who apparently never married. Years later Norris wrote her, “I remember well the last time I saw you. It was at the old school house at Mt. Carmel, when I was quite a small boy, and I remember yet that I wondered then why you seemed to take such an interest in me, but learned in later years that it was the love you bore for my soldier brother whom I can scarcely remember.” George Norris to Miss Tuck, January 15, 1900. George W. Norris Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. Hereafter, unless otherwise noted, all manuscript citations are from this collection. See also Norris, op. cit., pp. 27-28.
After his mother’s death in 1900, Norris received and treasured his brother’s watch. See Melissa Lowe to Norris, October 4, 1900.

10. Ibid., p. 11.
16. David Lindsey, “George W. Norris As A Student at Baldwin University,” *Nebraska History*, Vol XXXIV, No. 2, June, 1953, p. 117. Most of my information about this phase of Norris’ education comes from this article.
17. Ibid., p. 118.
18. Ibid., p. 120.
24. See Norris, *op. cit.* pp. 39–40 for one account and Lief, *op. cit.* pp. 29–30 for another. Lief in his account quotes Norris. Norris in these two volumes was dredging his memory, which on the whole was good, to recall these events. Few manuscripts exist for the period of his life prior to his residence in Beaver City, Nebraska. For Norris’ eloquent tribute to the L.U.N. see the chapter devoted to it in his autobiography.
25. Lief, *op. cit.* p. 34.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2 (pages 11–19)

2. Norris to A. M. Webster, August 10, 1889, Letterpress book; Webster to Norris, August 13, 1889, August 30, 1889. George W. Norris Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. Unless otherwise noted, all manuscript citations are from this collection.
5. So stated on the stationery of the Beaver City Board of Trade, G. W. Norris, Secretary.

6. Norris to Fletcher W. Merwin, March 26, 1914; Norris to Jesse Hadley, April 29, 1933; Norris to M. E. Cadwallader, January 17, 1939.


9. Betty Jones to Alfred Lief, October 5, 1937; Norris, op. cit., pp. 79-80. Norris refused, even in his autobiography, written when he was over eighty years of age, to name the friend who accidentally shot him.


12. Mappin, op. cit.


14. Fred S. James to Norris, April 11, 1889; George H. Smith to Norris, August 26, 1889; Albert Ottaway to Norris, December 16, 1889.


17. H. M. Marquis to Norris, June 8, 1889; Charles J. Bell (Omaha branch manager) to Norris, March 2, 1891; Thurber, Whyland & Company to Norris, March 21, 1889; Credit Guarantee Company to Norris, March 20, 1890; William Deering & Company to Norris, June 6, 1888.

18. Frank B. Stephens to Norris, July 2, 1890; Lamb, Ricketts & Wilson to Norris, April 12, 1890; Marquis to Norris, June 8, 1889.

19. According to the National Banking Act of 1863, national banks were not permitted to make mortgage loans on real estate, therefore this part of the business was handled by Miles separately from the authorized banking aspects.


21. Norris to First National Bank (Rulo), December 22, 1888,


24. Norris to B. F. Cunningham, April 14, 1890, Letter-press book; Cunningham to Norris, April 12, 1890, April 16, 1890, April 18, 1890, July 2, 1890.

25. Miles to Norris, July 1, 1890.

26. Norris, op. cit., pp. 81-82 and Lief, op. cit., p. 38. Though both these volumes cite 1890 as the year of the marriage, Norris' correspondence indicates that it occurred in 1889. See, for example, C. H. Martin to Norris, June 8, 1889, in which Martin congratulates Norris and offers him advice in the form of trite poetry.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3 (pages 20-26)


2. G. W. Norris to Mrs. L. S. (Melissa N.) Lowe, September 28, 1894. George W. Norris Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. Hereafter all manuscript citations, unless otherwise noted, are from this collection.


4. Nebraska Blue Book: 1948 (Lincoln, 1948), pp. 341, 342. The 1890 census stated that the average debt per Nebraska farm was $1,517.32. "Now it would not be safe to estimate the average value of these farms, even when well improved, was above, say, $25, an acre, so we can see what a large proportion on the average the debt on the mortgaged farm bears to their total value, being in fact considerably over one-third. With interest to pay on such a sum, and with the final payment to provide for, it is no wonder that the years of partial failure, always liable to occur in agriculture, become doubly discouraging to any but the most energetic farmer." Quote from Arthur F. Bentley, The Economic History of a Nebraska Township (Baltimore, 1893), pp. 61, 62. This volume provides an excellent study of Harrison township in Hall County in 1892 where conditions were very similar to those Norris encountered in nearby Furnas County.

5. B. F. Cunningham to Norris, September 5, 1890, October 15, 1890. The Bank of Rulo by mid-December, 1890, did over fifty-five thousand dollars worth of business ($34,251 in loans) while its deposits were more than forty-three thousand dollars. Cunningham to Norris, December 18, 1890.
NOTES TO CHAPTERS


7. J. H. Miles to Norris, August 26, 1891, November 25, 1892, January 21, 1893, June 22, 1893.

8. In 1893 the average rainfall for western Nebraska was 9.87 inches, the lowest recorded figure for the years 1867-1947. In 1894 it was 11.15 inches. Nebraska Blue Book: 1948, p. 392.

9. Miles to Norris, October 11, 1894. Norris to Miles, July 20, 1894, December 29, 1894, July 18, 1895, Letter-press books. It is interesting to note that their lengthy correspondence throughout these difficult years contains no comments about free silver agitation among the people with whom Norris comes in contact, though political comments are interspersed throughout their letters.


12. Burnham, Trevett & Mattis to Norris, October 17, 1891, March 17, 1892, November 8, 1892, July 26, 1894, March 9, 1895, June 4, 1895.


14. J. A. Cavanagh (President, Snow, Church & Company, Omaha office) to Norris, March 22, 1893, April 5, 1893, May 26, 1893; Norris to Snow, Church & Company (Omaha), May 24, 1893; Letter-press book.


NOTES TO CHAPTER 4 (pages 27–37)

1. A similar analysis, in accord with my findings, is succinctly presented in James C. Olson, History of Nebraska (Lincoln, 1955), p. 244.


3. B. F. Cunningham to Norris, October 18, 1890; J. L. Lashbrook to Norris, December 19, 1890; George W. Norris Papers, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress. Unless otherwise noted all manuscript citations are from this collection.

Alfred Lief in his biography, written while Norris was still alive and available for consultation, states that with the large number of desertions to the Populist party in 1890 there were only two Republican lawyers left in Furnas County, hence his nomination and influence in Republican affairs. See Alfred Lief, Democracy's Norris (New York, 1939), pp. 39–40.


5. W. S. Morlan to Norris, December 12, 1892, January 1, 1893; Norris to George H. Crosby, May 26, 1894, Letter-press book. Norris wrote to Crosby, "I am the local attorney for the B & M and, of course, can not take a case against the Company." However, as a member of the Beaver City Board of Trade, Norris was prepared on behalf of commissioners to commence proceedings against the Burlington and Missouri in order to compel
the company to put in a crossing on the main line west of Oxford so that wagons and other traffic could cross the tracks on a more direct route to Beaver City. See Norris to B. V. Haley, July 6, 1894.


7. By comparing the number of voters in this and the previous two presidential elections, the reader can obtain an idea of how the drought and financial stringency affected the county. In 1884, the year before Norris arrived, 1,229 votes were cast; in 1888, when Norris voted for Harrison and the boom period had not fully collapsed, 2,100 votes were cast. In 1892 the figure was 2,125, an increase of twenty-five voters in four years. See W. Dean Burnham, Presidential Ballots: 1836–1892 (Baltimore, 1955), p. 609.

8. Mrs. Anna George to Norris, July 14, 1891; William M. Arnold to Norris, November 9, 1892; W. M. Ward to Norris, November 10, 1892; J. E. Cochran to Norris, November 10, 1892; Frank H. Selby to Norris, November 11, 1892; Norris to Geneva National Bank, December 3, 1892; S. B. Moore to Norris, May 17, 1893, June 3, 1893; Sherwood to Norris, July 16, 1899; Edward Alstat to Norris, November 15, 1894; Norris to M. Z. Taylor, March 16, 1899.

9. E. N. Allen to Norris, July 2, 1894; T. A. Boyd to Norris, July 9, 1894; Morlan to Norris, August 9, 1894, August 17, 1894; Perry L. Hole to Norris, August 16, 1894.

10. Addison Erwin Sheldon, Nebraska: The Land and the People (Chicoga, 1931), pp. 738–40, for a discussion of the year in Nebraska.


14. Norris to Boyd, February 27, 1895, Letter-press book; Rathbun to Norris, August 31, 1895; J. A. Green to Norris, August 31, 1895; Hole to Norris, September 7, 1895.


17. James A. Cline to Norris, October 23, 1895.

18. J. W. Tomblin to Norris, September (no date), 1895; S. R. Smith to Norris, November 8, 1895. Several days later Smith explained his activities in detail: "I may possibly have gone farther than I should in the expense matter, without consulting you, but I did not know just where to reach you at any time, and men would come to me at the last moment and say, now for $5 or $10 or so & so we can do so & so, and I simply placed myself in your position and did what I would have liked that you would
do under the same circumstance. In order to show you that my work was quite effectual let me cite to you certain precincts in this county where my influence went out. Mo. Ridge is the strongest pop precinct in the County save one, the balance of the State Republican ticket ran 5 to 6 votes. You received 16. My German friends were at home that day. In Fritsch precinct the usual Republican vote is 10 to 12. Your vote this year was 20. In Indianola precinct a hard fight for both yourself and Judge Noval was made you ran 4 ahead of Noval, 11 ahead of the highest vote on the balance of the state ticket and 23 ahead of the highest vote on the county ticket.”

19. Charles W. Meeker to Norris, October 12, 1895; W. R. Starr to Norris, October 18, 1895.


22. A. T. Lardin to Norris, November 7, 1895; Henry Rice to Norris, November 7, 1895; George C. Eisenhart to Norris, November 7, 1895; Charles W. Meeker to Norris, November 8, 1895; J. A. Williams to C. E. Hopping, November 8, 1895; Hole to Norris, November 14, 1895.


24. Hole to Norris, November 13, 1895; Charles W. Meeker to Norris, December 6, 1895; J. A. Williams to Norris, December 12, 1895; J. A. Lynch (Sheriff) to Norris, December 16, 1895; Norris, op. cit., pp. 65–67.


26. Lief, op. cit., p. 37. See also affidavits of Norris and two members of the Furnas County canvassing board in 1895 which were printed before election day in 1899, when Norris sought a second term as judge in Beaver Valley Tribune, November 3, 1899, as well as in other papers throughout the eight-county judicial district.

27. Lincoln State Journal, November 30, 1895.

28. The Secretary of State of Nebraska did not file the oath of office left by Welty as judge of the Fourteenth Judicial District. He returned it to him claiming that he had already issued a certificate of election to Norris as judge-elect of that judicial district. See J. A. Piper to Norris, January 8, 1896.

29. Welty dismissed the action primarily because it was bankrupting him and his supporters would not or could not come to his aid. Norris had some knowledge of Welty's financial predicament, which was similar to his own, before he went to Lincoln. See M. C. Reynolds to Norris, February 23, 1896; Eisenhart to Norris, February 22, 1896; Henry Lehman to Norris, March 31, 1896.

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Burgh, January 25, 1896; Eisenhart to Norris, December 3, 1895, December 5, 1895, January 16, 1896, February (no date), 1896, February 22, 1896, for evidence that Eisenhart and others were tracking down further evidence of fraud until literally the very moment Welty gave up the fight.


NOTES TO CHAPTER 5 (pages 38–45)
1. G. W. Norris to D. M. Ure, September 4, 1896; Norris to Mrs. Melissa N. Lowe, September 6, 1897; Norris to A. Campbell, October 9, 1897; George W. Norris Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. Unless otherwise noted all manuscript citations are from this collection.
3. See John Henry Norris, Pension Claim, War Department Records, National Archives. Claim was filed by Mary Norris in 1893.
4. Solomon Mook to Norris, March 1, 1896; Norris to Mrs. Lowe, January 7, 1897.
5. Mrs. Lowe to Norris, June 30, 1897, September 26, 1897, November 26, 1897; Norris to Mrs. Lowe, May 4, 1898, June 21, 1898; Norris to D. R. Limbocker, October 8, 1898.
10. Norris to Perry L. Hole, September 24, 1896; Norris to Brother (a fellow member of the IOOF), September 25, 1896.
11. Norris to Hole, March 17, 1897; Norris to Charles Bailey, March 24, 1897; Norris to L. H. Blackledge, February 2, 1899; Norris to George Williams, February 20, 1899; Norris to E. N. Rakestraw, April 15, 1899; Norris to Dr. Lucas, April 29, 1899; Norris to W. S. Morlan, April 29, 1899.
12. Hole to Norris, July 1, 1899; Norris to A. H. Andrus, August 21, 1897; Norris to Rakestraw, April 15, 1899.
13. Mrs. Lowe to Norris, May 29, 1893; Norris to F. C. Schroeder, June 6, 1898; Grant D. Harrington to Norris, November 20, 1897; Norris to Morland, November 16, 1897; Norris to C. L. Kinney, February 17, 1898; Norris to Mrs. Lowe, May 4, 1898; William A. Poynter (Governor) to Norris, November 13, 1899; Norris to Poynter, November 24, 1899.

14. E. A. Armstrong Company to Norris, July 22, 1892; J. E. Coapar to Norris, December 8, 1892; J. A. Miller to Norris, March 18, 1896; Norris to George C. Eisenhart, January 8, 1897; Norris to Hole, September 16, 1897, September 10, 1899; Norris to C. K. Wilbur, July 21, 1898; Norris to L. P. Gage, October 7, 1898.


18. Norris to H. C. Fletcher, March 27, 1897; Norris to J. E. Axtell, April 14, 1898; Norris to E. A. Wyatt, July 27, 1897; Norris to A. Lofgreen, February 23, 1898; Norris to Secretary of Agriculture, December 26, 1897.

19. Norris to J. W. Thayer, January 6, 1898, March 9, 1899; Norris to Daniel Bisbee, December 12, 1899; Norris to J. W. Holt, February 2, 1898; Norris to Arie Andrus, February 3, 1898; Norris to J. H. Miles, February 17, 1898, April 8, 1898, May 4, 1898.

20. Norris to M. J. Evans, August 11, 1897; Norris to Mrs. Eva Kenestrick, September 28, 1897; Hole to Norris, March 1, 1898; Norris to Holt, July 28, 1899.

21. Norris to Albert Andrus, January 18, 1897.


23. Norris to Frank Neubauer, December 12, 1898; Norris to George Zulauf, December 12, 1898; Norris to C. P. Lashley, February 14, 1899; Norris to Creamery Package Company, February 2, 1899; Norris to Rakestraw, April 15, 1899; Norris to Miles, March 30, 1899; Norris to Nordyke & Marmon Company, June 5, 1899.

24. G. W. Shafer to T. J. Cress, June 24, 1899; Norris to W. P. Slocum, June 24, 1899; Norris to Cress, June 30, 1899; Norris to Miles, July 24, 1899.


2. Ibid., p. 69.
4. I have relied heavily for the material in this paragraph upon the insights contained in William Dudley Foulke, A Hoosier Autobiography (New York, 1922), p. 42. For the quote by Oliver Wendell Holmes, see Howe, op. cit., p. 250.
5. Norris to F. C. Krotter, July 23, 1896, Letter-press book; George W. Norris Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. Unless otherwise noted all manuscript citations are from this collection.
6. E. J. Dudley to Norris, May 17, 1896; Norris to A. E. Baller, December 31, 1897; Norris to J. D. Shahan, March 9, 1899.
7. Norris, op. cit., p. 70.
8. Ibid., pp. 70–71.
15. G. W. Meiklejohn to Norris, January 21, 1896; D. F. Smith to Norris, February 6, 1896; A. C. Wright to Norris, March 24, 1896; Lon Cone to Norris, April 6, 1896; Norris to Charles F. Manderson, September 21, 1896; Norris to G. W. Post, September 4, 1896; Post to Norris, September 8, 1896.
18. H. H. Taylor to Norris, November 5, 1897; H. A. Rowe to Norris, November 8, 1897.
NOTES TO CHAPTER 7 (pages 55–62)

1. G. W. Norris to Perry L. Hole, February 15, 1899; George Williams to Norris, February 22, 1899, George W. Norris Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. Unless otherwise noted all manuscript citations are from this collection.
3. George Eisenhart to Norris, August 1, 1899; Norris to Eisenhart, August 16, 1899.
4. Eisenhart to Norris, August 20, 1899; Norris to A. A. White, September 7, 1899; Norris to Scott, September 8, 1899.
5. Scott to Norris, September 10, 1899.
6. L. H. Cheney to Norris, September 19, 1899; Norris to G. W. Dow, September 11, 1899; Norris to J. L. McPheeley, September 11, 1899.
7. O. L. Burson to Norris, October 12, 1899; Charles W. Meeker to Norris, October 7, 1899; C. C. Vennum to Norris, October 27, 1899.
8. Vennum to Norris, October 27, 1899, October 28, 1899.
9. Vennum to Norris, October 31, 1899; Williams to Norris, October 28, 1899.
10. C. W. Meeker to Norris, October 31, 1899; Vennum to Norris, October 31, 1899.
11. Vennum to Norris, October 31, 1899.
12. Williams to Norris, November 8, 1899; D. T. Welty to Norris, November 10, 1899.
13. Norris to F. I. Foss, November 13, 1899; Norris to Stanley E. Filkins, November 24, 1899; Norris to Hole, December 12, 1899.
15. Cyrus E. Watson, Nebraska's Industries and Resources (Lincoln, 1902), pp. 138, 230–31; See Norris to Lizzie Tuck, March 10, 1900, where Norris gives his reason for moving to McCook.
16. Norris to C. H. Wilson, February 13, 1900, May 5, 1900; Norris to J. F. Fults, April 7, 1900; Norris to O. E. Champe, April 19, 1900; Norris to W. L. Leonard, May 3, 1900.
17. Norris to M. F. Doud, April 19, 1900.
19. Norris to Williams, July 7, 1900; Norris to J. W. Holt, June 23, 1900.
20. Norris to Judge of Probate Court, Fremont, Ohio, June 11, 1900; Mrs. Melissa N. Lowe to Norris, October 4, 1900.
21. Roscoe Lashley to Norris, August 14, 1900; Norris to A. A. McCoy, August 16, 1900. The dry weather and the failure of the wheat crop bankrupted W. W. Tallman who had rented the Beaver City mill owned by Norris and Shafer. In mid-October it was leased to another tenant. See Norris to Western Mutual Millers Insurance Company, October 12, 1900.
22. Norris to R. C. Orr, September 9, 1900; Norris to A. A. McCoy, August 16, 1900.
23. Norris to Charles M. Riggs, September 11, 1900; Norris to J. O. Hane, September 10, 1900.
24. Norris to Riggs, September 11, 1900; Norris to H. C. Lindsay, October 25, 1900; Norris to C. H. Dietrich, January 11, 1901; Norris to C. A. Ferrand, November 3, 1900.
25. Norris to C. E. Hopping, November 21, 1900; Norris to John M. Thurston, December 27, 1900; Wilson to Norris, November 10, 1900; Norris to J. H. Miles, November 24, 1900, December 21, 1900.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 8 (pages 63-70)

1. G. W. Norris to F. I. Foss, January 18, 1901; E. N. Allen to Norris, January 17, 1901; Norris to Allen, January 31, 1901. George W. Norris papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. Unless otherwise noted, all manuscript citations are from this collection.
3. A. J. Green to Norris, March 29, 1901, March 31, 1901.
4. Emma McKean to Norris, April 8, 1901; Norris to G. W. Holdrege, April 14, 1901; Mrs. A. J. Green to Norris, May 5, 1901.
5. Arie Andrus to Norris, May 22, 1901, July 15, 1901.
6. A. J. Green to Norris, July 1, 1901; Perry L. Hole to Norris, June 5, 1901; Norris to Thomas Kirtley, July 9, 1901; Sara S. Harrington to Norris, July 22, 1901; Norris to W. A. McCarl, August 23, 1901; Norris to Arie Andrus, May 29, 1901.
7. Norris to J. C. Gammill, April 25, 1901; Norris to J. H. Miles, April 13, 1901.
9. Norris to Dietrich, September 30, 1901; Norris to Fletcher W. Merwin, September 30, 1901; Norris to A. Bonham, October 3, 1901; Norris to C. C. Green, November 6, 1901.
10. Norris to Hole, December 9, 1901.
11. Norris to Miles, November 19, 1901, June 5, 1902; Norris to Fred D. Webster, April 1, 1902; Norris to Mrs. Knowles, February 5, 1902.
12. Norris to T. Sumney, November 25, 1901; Norris to G. W. Shafer,
November 25, 1901; Norris to A. P. Hyatt, June 3, 1902; Norris to Stanley E. Filkins, January 30, 1902.


14. Fletcher W. Merwin to Norris, February 6, 1902.

15. Merwin to Norris, February 6, 1902; Norris to Merwin, February 10, 1902.


19. Norris to A. J. Green, April 1, 1902; Norris to Merwin, April 1, 1902; Norris to Mrs. Watie Van Patten, April 8, 1902.


21. Merwin to Norris, May 12, 1902; Norris to Hole, May 13, 1902.


23. Norris to John Sanders, June 3, 1902; Norris to W. A. McCool, June 4, 1902; H. M. Crane to Norris, June 12, 1902; Nebraska State Journal, June 11, 1902.


25. Norris to Crane, June 18, 1902. Norris at first thought the chairman of the congressional committee should be a resident of Hastings which seemed to him “by common consent to be the capital of the district,” but on account of the many factional differences there he soon concluded that he could not select anyone there who would prove satisfactory to all of the Republicans even of Hastings. He offered the position to E. G. Titus of Holdrege before finally choosing Merwin. See G. W. Norris to E. G. Titus, June 21, 1902.


27. Norris to S. C. Brady, June 25, 1902; Norris to J. D. Stine, June 26, 1902.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 9 (pages 71–78)

1. George W. Norris to C. W. Lindsay, July 28, 1902; George W. Norris Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. Unless otherwise noted, all manuscript citations are from this collection.

2. Norris to Elliott Lowe, July 1, 1902.

3. Norris to C. P. Schwer, July 22, 1902; Norris to W. B. Ireland, August 19, 1902; Norris to M. B. Carman, September 16, 1902; Norris to J. S. Hoagland, September 20, 1902.

4. J. M. Hollingsworth to Norris, September 24, 1902; E. V. Overman
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to Norris, September 29, 1902, October 17, 1902; A. Galusha to Norris, October 17, 1902.

5. Norris to G. W. Holdrege, July 10, 1902.

6. The Swanson Reservoir near Trenton in Hitchcock County was completed after World War II.

7. Norris to E. A. Hitchcock, August 15, 1902; Norris to H. C. Lindsay, August 15, 1902; Norris to C. H. Dietrich, August 15, 1902.

8. Dietrich to Norris, September 29, 1902.

9. Dietrich to Norris, August 2, 1902.

10. Dietrich to Norris, August 8, 1902, August 10, 1902, August 14, 1902; A. H. Clarke to Dietrich, August 9, 1902 (copy in Norris papers).

11. Norris to Dietrich, August 30, 1902; W. S. Shallenberger to Dietrich, September 4, 1902.

12. Dietrich to Norris, September 23, 1902, September 28, 1902, September 29, 1902, October 17, 1902, October 21, 1902; Norris to C. W. McConaughy, September 20, 1902; J. L. Lashbrook to Norris, September 29, 1902.


14. Typewritten résumé of the early career of Norris, p. 8, for information about Champ Clark. George W. Norris Papers, Nebraska Historical Society, Lincoln, Nebraska; David H. Mercer to Norris, October 17, 1902; Harlow W. Keyes to Norris, October 18, 1902; Norris, op. cit., pp. 90–91.

The Republican press in the district unmercifully attacked Shallenberger's banking connections. For example, the Superior Journal, in its issue of July 10, 1902, asked, "Will Congressman Shallenberger take his name out of the list of officers in his bank advertisement in his home paper this year? He resorted to this cheap trick two years ago." This same paper also argued on its editorial page on August 7, 1902, "The result of the elections in November can not change the complexion of either branch of Congress; both will remain Republican. The Fifth Nebraska District consequently should make sure to send up a representative belonging to the dominant party, who can accomplish something for the district after he is elected." See also editorial on September 4, 1902.

15. Norris to F. B. Johnson, August 30, 1902; Norris to J. W. Hamm, September 27, 1902; Norris to J. R. Mercer, September 27, 1902; George Eisenhart to A. T. McCoy, September 27, 1902. Norris received the support of many small town Republican newspapers of which the following are a partial listing: the Superior Journal, the Hildreth Telescope, the Holdrege Citizen, the Edgar Post, the Oxford Standard, the Franklin Free Press, the Benkelman News, the Alma Journal in Shallenberger's home town, the Cambridge Clarion, the Hastings Tribune, the McCook Republican, and the McCook Tribune.


17. George A. Allen to Norris, September 26, 1902, October 3, 1902.
Typewritten résumé of the early career of Norris, p. 8. Copy in Nebraska Historical Society. For Welty’s statement see the Benkelman News, October 17, 1902.

18. Will Brookley to Fletcher W. Merwin, September 30, 1902, October 9, 1902; A. B. Allen to Norris, October 8, 1902, October 9, 1902, October 13, 1902; Galusha to Norris, October 17, 1902; J. B. Dinsmore to Norris, October 8, 1902; Keyes to Norris, October 18, 1902.


20. George A. Allen to Norris, October 23, 1902. See also the Franklin Free Press, October 24, 1902, for an account of Norris’ position on national issues. In addition to following the administration on pertinent national issues, Norris in a speech before a veterans’ reunion favored the direct election of United States senators and complained about American millionaires and heiresses spending so much time and money in Europe. The Franklin Free Press, August 22, 1902.

21. Allen to Norris, October 24, 1902, October 25, 1902; Norris, op. cit., pp. 90–91. Two of Shallenberger’s brothers owned banks in the district: one at Elwood and the other at Imperial, while another of his brothers was an official of the International Harvester Company in Chicago. This third brother, a writer for the Lincoln Daily Star assured Norris, was not interested in the re-election of his brother to Congress. A charge of this kind to be effective had to be backed by evidence, and the writer urged Norris to secure such evidence “by persuasion, if possible, but beg, steal or borrow it, and use dynamite if necessary.” See G. W. Bemis to Norris, December 10, 1902.

22. Allen to Norris, November 1, 1902, November 5, 1902; W. W. Campbell to G. W. Norris, November 11, 1902.

23. A. E. Sheldon, Nebraska: The Land and the People (Chicago, 1931), p. 796; Norris to A. R. Cruzen, December 5, 1902; Norris to A. J. Halford, December 10, 1902.

24. James A. Cline to Norris, November 6, 1902; George R. Chaney to Norris, November 5, 1902; Dietrich and J. H. Millard to Norris, November 5, 1902; J. S. and W. V. Hoagland to Norris, November 7, 1902.

25. Merwin to Norris, November 10, 1902, December 6, 1902.


27. Most Republican newspapers in the district believed along with the Oxford Standard (clipping, n.d.) that “old General Prosperity and a big crop have this year emblazoned a way to Republican success.”

NOTES TO CHAPTER 10 (pages 79–87)

1. G. W. Norris to D. S. Hasty, July 14, 1902; Norris to G. W. Shafer, September 16, 1902; Norris to C. S. Graham, November 24, 1902; Norris to C. O. Morse, January 24, 1903, January 30, 1903; Norris to Mill Own-
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2. Norris to J. F. Fults, December 28, 1902; Norris to C. E. Hopping, June 8, 1903, September 6, 1903.
3. Norris to May & Feiberger, April 17, 1903; Norris to I. P. Gage, September 20, 1902; Norris to Fleming Brothers, October 27, 1902; Norris to E. T. McGuire, December 6, 1902; Norris to M. T. Phelps, August 30, 1902.
4. Norris to Andrew Carnegie, June 12, 1903.
5. Norris to H. C. Miller, December 29, 1902; Miller to Norris, January 12, 1903.
6. Miller to Norris, May 3, 1903; Norris to Miller, May 2, 1903; Fletcher W. Merwin to A. T. Lardin, May 18, 1903.
7. Merwin to J. W. Eby, May 9, 1903; Merwin to Lardin, May 18, 1903; Merwin to W. D. Pruitt, May 5, 1903.
9. Norris, Fighting Liberal (New York, 1946), pp. 83–85. Norris wrote this account in which he stresses his loss of will to live after his heartbreaking defeat in 1942 by Kenneth Wherry. Repudiation at the polls induced a feeling of depression which probably lasted until his death in 1944 and colored his writing of this incident. That Norris was originally very ill is attested by both of the letters cited in note 8. While Norris claimed in his autobiography that this illness occurred in the fall of 1903, it actually happened in the spring. And Norris, as soon as he regained his strength, married Ellie Leonard, a McCook school teacher, whom he must have courted, however briefly, before his illness.

Norris, in his autobiography (pp. 85–86), mentions his second marriage and the marvelous change that occurred in his life and that of his children. He correctly states the date of the marriage as July 8, 1903, while on the previous two pages when discussing this illness which occurred “after my election [November, 1902] to the House of Representatives, but before I was sworn in [November, 1903]” and “in the fall of the year” which would place it from these statements in either September or October, 1903. He is, in his autobiography, still a lonely bachelor obviously mourning the loss of his first wife. In other words, Norris, in writing of these events, had his chronology confused and was probably projecting his current condition back to a serious illness suffered forty years previously.

Furthermore, during his illness the doctor had to convince Norris that it would be imprudent for him to travel and deliver the commencement address at the Wilsonville High School. Norris also wanted to get up and about before he had fully recovered his strength, an action not usually associated with a person who had no desire to get well or to live. See
Merwin to The Class of '03, May 18, 1903; C. C. Green to Norris, May 30, 1903, where Dr. Green writes, "I am glad that you have improved to such an extent that you feel able to go to Fairfield."

10. John H. Mickey to Merwin, May 21, 1903; Norris to William Peterson, June 4, 1903; Norris to F. Kuenneth, June 4, 1903.


12. A. J. Green to Norris, March 14, 1903.

13. Norris to C. J. Miller, March 28, 1903; Clyde Castle to Norris, March 25, 1903.

14. Grant Harrington to Norris, September 2, 1903; Norris to Grant Harrington, September 10, 1903; Norris to H. H. Harrington, September 10, 1903; Norris to G. H. Merriam, September 10, 1903.

15. Merwin to J. R. Balding, July 21, 1903; C. E. Stine to Norris, July 10, 1903; Norris, op. cit., p. 86.


20. Norris to E. J. Burkett, December 9, 1902.


22. Norris to Charles F. Manderson, December 9, 1902.

23. E. W. Eckerman to Norris, November 22, 1902; Norris to Merwin, December 29, 1902; Merwin to Norris, January 11, 1903.

24. Norris to E. F. Ware, December 8, 1902. Norris, as befitted a Republican politician, was ready to do anything he could "to contribute to the welfare and comfort of the gallant boys in blue who preserved this glorious nation." In the matter of pensions or in private bills for the relief of veterans, he intended to make "a direct contribution." See Norris to Pruitt, April 20, 1903.

25. Norris to J. M. Jones, February 20, 1903; Norris to James McNally, December 30, 1902; Norris to A. W. Machen, March 14, 1903.

26. Norris to J. A. Andrews, March 25, 1903; the Stockville Republican, October 2, 1903.

27. The Stockville Republican, October 9, 1903. Incidentally, Judge Orr was elected in the November, 1903, judicial election.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 11 (pages 88–96)


2. Ibid., pp. 95–96.


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5. Congressional Record, loc. cit.


7. Fletcher W. Merwin to George Allen, March 12, 1904. George W. Norris Papers, Library of Congress. All manuscript citations, unless otherwise noted, are from this source.

8. Norris in his later years related an anecdote which all previous biographers have accepted about an incident that occurred during his first term in Congress. The incident, involving his growing awareness of the evils of partisanship, supposedly took place on February 20, 1904, in the House, when John Sharp Williams, the minority leader, moved that the House adjourn on February 22 after the reading of George Washington's Farewell Address. Congressman Sereno Payne, who had the floor, objected and claimed that it would be "a far more patriotic observance of duty for this Congress to be in session on Monday, and to provide for the building of a proper navy, than to take a holiday on account of the birthday of George Washington." Since Payne had moved for immediate adjournment before Williams made his motion to adjourn after the Farewell Address was read on Washington's birthday, the speaker ruled that Payne's motion to adjourn had precedence and this motion was agreed to by the House which thereupon adjourned. Williams' motion was not voted upon.

On February 22, Williams again presented a motion to adjourn after the reading of the Farewell Address. When the yeas and nays were called for, 93 Democratic members voted to adjourn, 104 Republican members voted to remain in session, 10 members answered present, and 175, including Norris, were listed as not voting.

Norris' biographers claim that on February 20, 1904, on a standing vote on Williams' motion, Norris was the lone Republican to stand, and that this incident started his questioning the validity of partisanship—especially when two days later he found the Republican-controlled Senate chamber empty out of respect for the memory of George Washington.

The Congressional Record (Fifty-eighth Congress, Second Session) reveals no vote on a motion by John Sharp Williams on February 20 to adjourn on Washington's birthday (p. 2178), while the vote on February 22 (pp. 2208–09) is recorded above. Moreover, the Senate, on February 22, 1904, adjourned at 5:15 p.m. (p. 2207) after conducting a full day's business.

One of Norris' biographers relates this Washington's birthday incident and then cites in his footnote the relevant pages of the Congressional Record. My examination of the Record has yielded no such verification and has convinced me that this incident must be regarded as a fictional anecdote which, like Patrick Henry's famous oration (though never delivered), should have occurred. In 1912, on Washington's birthday, Norris offered a motion to adjourn which was defeated when the question was taken. At this time the Democrats controlled the House and Champ Clark of Missouri was speaker. The Senate on this day met at twelve noon and ad-
journeyed after the reading of the Farewell Address. See Congressional Record, Sixty-second Congress, Second Session, February 22, 1912, pp. 2317, 2325.


10. Norris to James R. Mann, June 7, 1904; Norris to Perry L. Hole, June 15, 1904.

11. George Allen to Norris, July 23, 1904. Allen wrote, “We can win as the feeling is so strong in this state against the Parker deal that the kicking would be so vigorous that it would carry everything and we would win all lines in the state.”


15. Allen to Norris, July 29, 1904.


17. Allen to Norris, September 17, 1904. In another letter on this same date Allen noted that in Hall County a fight had broken out between the Democrats and Populists because some Populist leader proclaimed that they could not support the Democratic nominee.

18. Cannon delivered his main speech for Norris at Hastings on September 26; Norris appeared with the Speaker when Cannon campaigned for him throughout his three day visit.

19. Norris to J. J. McCarthy, October 16, 1904; Allen to Merwin, October 18, 1904; Norris to B. K. Schaeffer, October 24, 1904.

20. Allen to Merwin, November 3, 1904; Merwin to Allen, November 5, 1904; Allen to Norris, November 5, 1904; C. E. Stine to Norris, November 4, 1904.


24. Merwin to J. F. Cordeal, January 31, 1905; Norris to Allen, January 30, 1905.

25. Norris to J. F. Crocker, January 14, 1905; Allen to Norris, February 18, 1905.

26. Norris to Editor of the Outlook, January 16, 1905; Congressional Record, Fifty-eighth Congress, Third Session, December 8, 1904, p. 92.


28. Norris to E. A. Hitchcock, September 12, 1904; Cordeal to Merwin, December 18, 1904.

29. Cordeal to Merwin, December 18, 1904.
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30. Norris to Cordeal, December 23, 1904; Norris to F. M. Rathbun, December 23, 1904.
31. Norris to Allen, March 27, 1905.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 12 (pages 97–108)

1. G. W. Norris to George Allen, April 15, 1905; Norris to C. A. Brandt, October 4, 1905. George W. Norris Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. All manuscript citations, unless otherwise noted, are from this collection.
2. Norris to Patrick Heogney, May 18, 1905.
5. For good brief discussions of the Kinkaid Act and its significance see A. E. Sheldon, Land Systems and Land Policies in Nebraska (Lincoln, 1936), pp. 159–65, and James C. Olson, History of Nebraska (Lincoln, 1955), pp. 268–70.

Several years later Norris claimed that he was the originator of the 640-acre homestead concept. On March 20, 1908, he wrote the following letter to H. E. Langerin explaining his role: "I supposed at one time that I was the originator of the idea of the 640-acre homestead in Nebraska. When I first came to Washington I told a newspaper correspondent that I intended to introduce this kind of a bill in Congress. A day or so afterwards Mr. Kinkaid came to me and said that he had read my interview in the paper and that he also had been thinking of introducing this kind of a bill. He asked me to withhold my bill and to consult with him over the matter with a view of agreeing upon a bill and thus securing united and harmonious action. I most cheerfully agreed to this and after waiting some time, saw Mr. Kinkaid in regard to it and suggested we get together and commence work upon the bill. I did this several times and on each occasion he agreed with me that we should get together with a view of agreeing upon the terms of the bill, but each time he postponed the meeting for one reason or another. It seems that during this time he was working on the bill, which he finally introduced. I have always thought that he made studied effort to prevent me from introducing any bill on the subject. His conduct and representations certainly did deceive me, because if it had not been for his requests for delay I would have introduced that kind of a bill long before he introduced his. In fact I had the matter practically mapped out when he came to me and requested the delay. It rather looks to me that he did this with a studied effort to get whatever credit there might be in the introduction of such a measure. I do not know much foundation there was in his claim that he had been thinking about introducing the same kind of bill. He may have given it much thought, but I never knew of it until he told me at the time he requested me to practically make a joint matter out of it. . . . I have never given any publicity to this matter, because I did not
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want to get into a controversy with the members of the delegation and I have suffered in silence what to me seems an injustice from Mr. Kinkaid, rather than to have the matter aired in public. I have no desire now to have the matter made public and prefer that nothing be said about it.”


7. Fremont Herald, February 24, 1906; Norris in the Fifty-ninth Congress actually introduced a bill (H.R. 16132) incorporating these suggestions. See Norris to S. N. Wolback, March 12, 1906.

Norris changed his mind chiefly because of several cases where defendants were charged with unlawfully fencing thousands of acres of the public domain and with intimidating homesteaders. Theodore Roosevelt endeared himself to many more Nebraska citizens when he obtained the resignations of several federal officials in Nebraska who were lax in their duties and responsibilities. For a discussion of these cases, see A. E. Sheldon, Land Systems and Land Policies in Nebraska, pp. 194–203.

8. Merle Curti, Peace or War (New York, 1936), pp. 218–19. Curti (p. 219) states, “Within a few years more than two hundred senators and representatives were enrolled as members of the Interparliamentary Union.” Norris to Richard Bartholdt, April (?), 1905.

The Interparliamentary Union helped indirectly to bring about the meeting of the first peace conference at the Hague, while the second was due directly to its initiative. See William I. Hull, The Two Hague Conferences (Boston, 1908), pp. 4–5.

9. Norris to Bartholdt, June 10, 1905; incidentally, Norris did not bother to acquire a passport from the Department of State, and later claimed that he had found no use for one. See Norris to Cora A. Garber, March 16, 1906.


14. For example, see Norris to L. T. Brooking, October 26, 1905.

15. Joseph Cannon to Norris, September 17, 1905.

16. Norris to Eugene Allen, June 5, 1906; Cannon to Norris, October 20, 1905.


19. Norris to David Diamond, December 18, 1905; Norris to William
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Loeb, Jr., January 8, 1906; Norris to E. Benjamin Andrews, May 24, 1906.

20. Congressional Record, Fifty-ninth Congress, First Session, January 13, 1906, pp. 1044-48, for the entire speech. The tariff measure, while easily passing the House, was never acted upon in the Senate.

21. Norris to W. L. Hilyard, January 24, 1906; Norris to W. F. Buck, January 26, 1906. For another view of the Philippine tariff bill see John M. Blum's essay, "Theodore Roosevelt and the Legislative Process: Tariff Revision and Railroad Regulation, 1904-1906," printed as Appendix 1 in Elting E. Morison (ed.), The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt (Cambridge, 1951), Vol. IV, pp. 1333-42. Blum argues that Roosevelt used the threat of tariff legislation as a lever to obtain an effective railroad bill from Congress and that he never vigorously supported the Philippine tariff bill. Blum further develops his views in The Republican Roosevelt (Cambridge, 1954), Chapter VI. Norris insisted that while the interests of his "beet sugar" constituents were considered, his position on the bill was a matter of principle and he would always do what he believed "to be right on principle" even though he felt sure "that the effect would prove injurious" to the personal interests of some of his constituents. Concern about unduly benefiting the sugar refinners and not hostility to American policy in the Philippine Islands was central to his position. See Norris to A. F. Buechler, March 30, 1906.

22. George Allen to Norris, January 25, 1906; Norris to Buechler, January 26, 1906; Norris to George Lyon, Jr., January 26, 1906.

23. Norris to C. E. V. Smith, April 30, 1906, for a full analysis of the tariff situation.

24. C. A. Patton to Norris, November 1, 1905; McCarl to Patton, November 4, 1905.

25. Norris to Daniel Cook, December 12, 1905.


30. Norris to First National Bank of Holdrege, Nebraska, June 8, 1906; Norris to C. E. V. Smith, June 11, 1906; Norris to T. L. Jones, June 18, 1906.


32. Congressional Record, Fifty-ninth Congress, First Session, December 16, 1905, p. 509 in particular, for entire speech see pp. 509-11. In his initial message to the Fifty-ninth Congress, Roosevelt requested such regulation, though it made no effective headway in Congress. In the Senate,
Morgan G. Bulkeley of Connecticut, since 1879 the president of the Aetna Life Insurance Company, led the fight against national regulation of the life insurance industry.

33. George Allen to Norris, December 4, 1905.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 13 (pages 109-116)

1. G. W. Norris to C. M. Brown, January 13, 1906; Norris to Charles W. Meeker, January 19, 1906; George Allen to Norris, June 21, 1906; Norris to T. C. Hacker, June 14, 1906, June 18, 1906. George W. Norris Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. All other manuscript citations, unless otherwise noted, are from this collection.


4. Norris to A. C. Wright, August 20, 1906; Adams County Republican, August 17, 1906.


6. Wright to Norris, August 14, 1906; Norris to Wright, August 20, 1906; Norris to W. L. Hilyard, September 1, 1906; Norris to the American Protective Tariff League, July 23, 1906; for other and later statements of Norris’ optimism about the outcome of his campaign, see Norris to W. E. Andrews, September 24, 1906; and J. R. McCarl to W. L. Crounse, October 23, 1906. Crounse, a former congressman and governor of Nebraska, now a lobbyist for the National Cigar Leaf Tobacco Association offered on behalf of the association to support Norris’ campaign because of his vote against the Philippine tariff measure. See Crounse to Norris, October 13, 1906.

7. George Allen to McCarl, September 7, 1906; Allen to Norris, September 8, 1906.

8. Allen to McCarl, September 8, 1906, September 12, 1906; Allen to Norris, September 18, 1906.


10. Allen to Norris, October 6, 1906.

11. McCarl to H. M. Crane, October 8, 1906; McCarl to H. C. Miller, October 15, 1906; Allen to McCarl, October 18, 1906. Allen, of course, handled all of the arrangements when Norris spoke in Clay County; McCarl to S. A. Dravo, October 22, 1906; McCarl to John S. Wise, October 8, 1906.


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18. McCarl to W. A. McCool, October 30, 1906; McCarl to Samuel Premer, November 1, 1906; McCarl to Allen, November 1, 1906, November 13, 1906.


22. Norris to George Williams, December 14, 1906; Norris to Buechler, February 19, 1907.

23. *Congressional Record*, Fifty-ninth Congress, Second Session, January 24, 1907, pp. 1594, 1596; Norris to D. M. Francis, February 2, 1907; Roosevelt, in February, 1907, signed the McCumber Act which provided graduated pensions to veterans of the Mexican or Civil War. On reaching the age of sixty-two the veteran was eligible to receive twelve dollars a month, at sixty-five, fifteen dollars a month, and after seventy-five, twenty dollars a month. The great advantage of this law was that it obviated the necessity for most special pension bills.


27. At least one congressman, disgruntled with Speaker Cannon and his authority, thought that Norris was sympathetic with his critical views during the Fifty-ninth Congress. However, he was not sure where Norris stood on this issue, and Norris never committed himself, on paper at least, to any criticism of Cannon at this time. See E. A. Hayes to Norris, September 30, 1907; see also the discussion in Chapter 14, pp. 126–28.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 14 (pages 117–128)

1. G. W. Norris to George D. McGill, March 27, 1907; George W. Norris Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. Unless otherwise noted, all manuscript citations are from this collection.

2. J. R. McCarl to George Allen, April 9, 1907; McCarl to Fletcher W. Merwin, July 26, 1907; McCarl to Norris, July 8, 1907.
3. Norris to J. K. Kalanianaole, April 13, 1907; McCarl to Burt E. Brown, April 29, 1907.


6. McCarl to Norris, September 2, 1907; McCarl to Allen, July 11, 1907; Norris to William Loeb, November 8, 1907; Norris to McCarl, March 30, 1908.

7. McCarl to Norris, September 2, 1907; McCarl to H. M. Grimes, September 18, 1907; McCarl to M. B. Reese, September 19, 1907.

8. A. E. Sheldon, *op. cit.*, p. 827; A. I. Vorys to Norris, September 19, 1907; McCarl to Norris, September 2, 1907; McCarl to H. M. Grimes, September 18, 1907; McCarl to M. B. Reese, September 19, 1907.

9. McCarl to Reese, September 19, 1907; Norris to F. P. Corrick, October 9, 1907, October 23, 1907; Corrick to Norris, November 6, 1907.


11. Norris to Edward W. Hoch, November 18, 1907; Norris to George L. Sheldon, November 18, 1907.

12. Norris to Sheldon, November 18, 1907; Norris to Charles Bunce, November 18, 1907; Norris to I. D. Evans, December 20, 1907; *Congressional Record*, Sixtieth Congress, First Session, January 7, 1908, p. 520.

13. Norris to Sheldon, November 18, 1907; *Congressional Record*, Sixtieth Congress, First Session, January 17, 1908, p. 520; Norris to S. M. Davis, December 14, 1907.

14. Norris to Davis, December 14, 1907; Norris to D. J. Wood, December 23, 1907; *Congressional Record*, Sixtieth Congress, First Session, January 7, 1908, pp. 519–22, for the entire speech.

15. This was the chief criticism Norris had for the bill introduced by Charles N. Fowler, chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee; Norris to S. C. Smith, December 17, 1907.


17. Norris to S. H. Burnham, March 27, 1908; Norris to W. E. Stephenson, April 13, 1908; Norris to Charles K. Hart, May 13, 1908. The provision in the Aldrich-Vreeland Act calling for a national monetary commission to investigate the currency problem and suggest permanent reform assured those members of Congress, including Norris, who wanted a stronger bill, that banking and currency reform would again be a subject of legislation in the near future. This provision pleased many members of Congress who thought it might not be wise for Congress to enact a comprehensive banking and currency law at this time, that more study and thought were needed on the subject and the situation.
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18. Norris to C. F. Bentley, December 20, 1907; Norris to Hart, May 13, 1908; Norris to B. Travis, May 18, 1908.


20. *Congressional Record*, Sixtieth Congress, First Session, February 3, 1908, Appendix: pp. 22–23; Norris to A. A. Burdick, November 16, 1907; Norris to F. N. Richardson, November 19, 1907; McCarl to H. C. Miller, March 24, 1908; McCarl to George Allen, March 24, 1908.


22. *Congressional Record*, Sixtieth Congress, First Session, January 21, 1908, p. 936; incidentally, Norris was aware that Champ Clark derived part of his livelihood by appearing on the lecture platform.


24. Norris to Isaac Le Droyt, November 9, 1907.

25. The Philippine tariff measure was probably the only instance where Norris did not support Theodore Roosevelt, though he did not agree with Roosevelt’s requests for appropriations for more battleships. For a list of measures he did support see McCarl to Allan Elliott, October 22, 1908, and Norris to Corrick, May 1, 1908.

26. Norris to McCarl, March 30, 1908; McCarl to C. W. Meeker, April 2, 1908; Norris to McCarl, February 21, 1908, April 14, 1908.

27. E. A. Hayes to Norris, September 30, 1907; Norris to Hayes, October 9, 1907.


29. Norris to Baldwin, May 28, 1908; Norris to Allen, June 22, 1908.

30. Norris to W. E. Andrews, September 21, 1908; Norris to W. L. Hilyard, September 26, 1908.

31. Norris to Hayne Davis, August 21, 1908; McCarl to J. F. Boyd, July 15, 1908; G. W. Norris to Hayne Davis, August 21, 1908; Norris to Jacob Fisher, September 3, 1908.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 15 (pages 129–138)

1. A. E. Sheldon, *Nebraska: The Land and the People* (Chicago, 1931), Vol. I, pp. 827, 831; *Nebraska State Journal*, November 29, 1907; William H. Taft to G. W. Norris, January 1, 1908; Norris to Fred Brown, January 4, 1907 (8); George W. Norris Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. All other manuscript citations in this chapter, unless otherwise noted, are from this collection.
3. McCarl to George Allen, January 11, 1907 (8); McCarl to Norris, January 12, 1907 (8), April 14, 1908; Norris to M. T. Garlow, March 4, 1908.

4. McCarl to J. F. Boyd, July 15, 1908, September 25, 1908; Norris to George C. Junkin, July 20, 1908; H. C. Lindsay to Charles W. Meeker, July 22, 1908; Norris to Meeker, July 28, 1908.

5. Norris to E. B. Perry, August 11, 1908; Norris to John C. Gammill, August 19, 1908.

6. F. P. Corrick to Norris, December 16, 1907; Fletcher W. Merwin to Norris, February 10, 1908; Jacob Fisher to Norris, September 2, 1908.

7. McCarl to Corrick, September 10, 1908; Norris to Henry Casson, September 10, 1908; McCarl to L. Morse, September 23, 1908.


10. Nebraska State Journal, September 21, 1908; the complete statement made by Norris on September 19 appears on p. 5.

11. Norris to Merwin, September 24, 1908; there were only two daily newspapers in the district at this time, The Daily Independent of Grand Island and The Hastings Daily Tribune, and they were both Republican in their point of view. The other local papers were usually weeklies and most of them were in continual financial difficulties. Selling their support to the highest bidder in an election year was one way of avoiding bankruptcy. All newspapers in the district had to meet the competition of the large Omaha and Lincoln dailies which circulated throughout the state.

12. Norris to Merwin, September 24, 1908; Norris to H. C. Lindsay, October 4, 1908.

13. Norris to Lindsay, October 4, 1908; McCarl to J. Warren Keifer, Jr., September 26, 1908; McCarl in this letter noted that 50 per cent of the funds contributed by the postmasters of the Fifth Congressional District were to be segregated and kept intact for the use of the congressional committee.

14. McCarl to George C. Eisenhart, September 26, 1908; F. Kuenneth to McCarl, September 30, 1908; McCarl to A. H. Thomas, October 3, 1908; Norris to A. B. Allen, September 28, 1908; McCarl to S. A. Dravo, October 10, 1908; McCarl to Dan Garber, October 10, 1908.

15. McCarl to H. M. Crane, September 28, 1908; McCarl to J. W. Hammond, October 1, 1908; McCarl to A. V. Shaffer, October 2, 1908; Shaffer to McCarl, October 4, 1908; George Allen to McCarl, October 3, 1903.
16. McCarl to John McCallum, October 13, 1908; Merwin to Norris, February 10, 1908.
17. George Allen to McCarl, October 14, 1908, October 15, 1908; McCarl to Allen, October 14, 1908; Shaffer to McCarl, October 16, 1908; 
*Nebraska State Journal*, October 16, 1908, editorial entitled "Butting Into the Fifth District" delineates Ashton's record.
18. McCarl to Allen, October 14, 1908.
19. Allen to McCarl, October 15, 1908, October 16, 1908; McCarl to Merwin, October 16, 1908.
20. Shaffer to McCarl, October 16, 1908; McCarl to S. W. Clark, October 17, 1908; McCarl to Norris, October 20, 1908.
21. William Lammers to McCarl, October 21, 1908; J. Frank Lantz to McCarl, October 23, 1908; McCarl to E. B. Perry, October 25, 1908; McCarl to W. James, October 25, 1908; McCarl to A. Martin, October 25, 1908; 
*Hastings Democrat*, October 30, 1908, caustically discusses the rally.
22. McCarl to H. C. Lindsay, October 29, 1908; Lindsay to J. F. Cordeal, October 28, 1908; M. S. Storer to McCarl, October 30, 1908; McCarl to Dravo, October 31, 1908; A. C. Felt to McCarl, October 31, 1908.
23. McCarl to H. C. Ready, October 1, 1908; McCarl to H. C. Miller, November 2, 1908; McCarl to Merwin, November 2, 1908; McCarl to H. G. Thomas, November 2, 1908.
26. H. C. Miller to McCarl, November 5, 1908; George H. Thomas to McCarl, November 6, 1908; Norris to C. P. Auderbury, November 10, 1908.
27. Norris to George C. Junkin, November 10, 1908.
28. Norris to J. F. Boyd, November 10, 1908; Jacob Fisher to Norris, November 21, 1908; Norris to Perry L. Hole, November 21, 1908; Norris to N. M. Ayers, November 23, 1908; Norris to J. H. Jones, November 23, 1908; the congressional committee came out $100.39 behind their expenses and Norris made up this amount out of his own pocket. See McCarl to Garber, November 20, 1908.
31. Junkin to Norris, November 13, 1908; Charles W. Meeker to McCarl, November 24, 1908; Norris to S. M. Erickson, November 24, 1908; McCarl to Garber, November 24, 1908; Norris to H. C. Miller, November 24, 1908; McCarl to Harry Bartenbach, November 25, 1908; McCarl to A. F. Buechler, November 30, 1908.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 16 (pages 139-152)

2. J. R. McCarl to A. F. Buechler, November 30, 1908; McCarl to George Allen, December 5, 1908; McCarl to G. W. Norris, December 7, 1908; Norris to James K. Polk, November 19, 1908; Norris to D. C. Turner, November 19, 1908; George W. Norris Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. All other manuscript citations in this chapter, unless otherwise noted, are from this collection.
3. McCarl to Norris, December 6, 1908, December 7, 1908; Congressional Record, Sixtieth Congress, Second Session, December 9, 1908, p. 74.
4. McCarl to Norris, December 8, 1908; McCarl to Alice Anderson, December 14, 1908; Norris to Turner, December 21, 1908.
8. The “Reed rules” refers to the arbitrary method, later accepted by the Democrats, by which Speaker Thomas B. Reed in the Fifty-first Congress in 1890, with a Republican majority of less than a dozen votes, proceeded to count silent members as present to achieve a quorum necessary for the House of Representatives to conduct its business.
9. House Resolution 417 stated in part: “The States of the Union shall be divided into nine groups, each group containing, as near as may be, an equal number of Members belonging to the majority party, and such Members in each of said groups shall meet and select one of their number as a member of said Committee on Rules. The States of the Union shall likewise be divided into six groups, each containing, as near as may be, an equal number of Members belonging to the minority party, and such Members in each of said groups shall meet and select one of their number as a member of said Committee on Rules.” This resolution, Norris hoped, would limit the use of the caucus, since the most important committee in the Congress, chosen according to a geographic basis, would then choose chairmen of all standing committees.
11. The House Calendar consists of all bills of a public character that do not have as a purpose the raising or appropriating of money, while the Calendar of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union,
George William Norris between three and four years old.
(Courtesy Mr. and Mrs. John P. Robertson)
Morris, age eight, with his mother.
(Courtesy Nebraska State Historical Society)
The Norris home in McCook, Nebraska, as it looked when the family moved in. Remodeled in the late 1920's, it is Mrs. Norris' home today.

(Courtesy Omaha World-Herald)
As a young schoolteacher in Whitehouse, Ohio, Norris took part in a play.
(Courtesy Mr. and Mrs. John P. Robertson)

Norris as a young attorney just arrived in Beaver City, Nebraska.
(Wide World Photos)
Left to right:
H. H. Harrington,
George W. Norris, and
Charles A. Murray,
practicing attorneys,
1885, Beatrice,
Nebraska.
(Courtesy Mr. and
Mrs. John P. Robertson)
Norris as he appeared on campaign posters when he first ran for Congress in 1902. (Courtesy Nebraska State Historical Society)

The L.U.N. Club about 1908: Norris, Harrington, Lardin, Smith. (The Archives of Valparaiso University)
Norris in 1908.
(Library of Congress)

A rare picture of Norris with full beard, taken in Omaha in 1895 after his election as district judge.
(Wide World Photos)
1913 — Norris enters the Senate.
(Courtesy Mr. and Mrs. John P. Robertson)
or the Union Calendar, consists of all bills, previously considered and reported by committees, that involve the raising or spending of money. Normally when these measures are taken from the calendar they are considered by the entire House of Representatives acting as if it were a committee.

14. Congressman A. P. Gardner, while one of the twenty-nine sponsors of this resolution, had previously on January 6, 1909, sponsored a “Calendar Tuesday” resolution. For a discussion of this point see Briggs, *op. cit.*, footnotes 463 and 495 on pp. 429, 430–31.
18. In order to placate the few people in Furnas County who did not take kindly to Norris’ part in the rules fight, Fletcher W. Merwin suggested that he send them a government document and an explanatory letter. Merwin’s list of critics contained ten names. See Merwin to Norris, January 17, 1909.
19. See Charles R. Atkinson, *The Committee on Rules and the Overthrow of Speaker Cannon* (New York, 1911). Chapter VI, pp. 71–93, entitled “The Development of Public Sentiment Against the Speaker,” presents an excellent survey of growing press and periodical hostility. The author has surveyed all the major magazines at this time on the question. *La Follette’s Magazine* between February and the end of April, 1909, contained six articles attacking the power of the Speaker. The magazine, a weekly, started publication in January, 1909. Blair Bolles, *Tyrant from Illinois* (New York, 1951), is a study of Cannon as Speaker. This book, while not carefully researched, is well written; the author, unlike Norris, is more concerned with the Speaker than with the rules.
20. See Elting E. Morison (ed.), *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt* (Cambridge, 1951, 1952), volumes III–VI, for the large correspondence the president conducted with the Speaker. And see especially the Chronology in Volume VI for an indication of how frequently Cannon visited the White House when Congress was in session.
23. Norris to W. A. Reynolds, December 21, 1908; Norris to Lon Cone, January 19, 1909.
24. Norris to Adam Breede, November 12, 1908; Norris to J. C. Hedge, January 25, 1909.
26. Norris to Mrs. N. L. Cronkhite, February 12, 1909. Norris was one of the few House members to return home. Most of the insurgents and
Cannon men remained in Washington trying to obtain support for their position from the administration and Democratic members of the House of Representatives. See Hechler, *op. cit.*, pp. 49–55.


28. *Congressional Record*, Sixty-first Congress, First Session, March 15, 1909, p. 32. For a discussion of administrative pressure against the insurgents which Norris comments upon see Hechler, *op. cit.*, pp. 52–53. Taft apparently was confused as to how to handle this situation. While he had some sympathy for the insurgents and was very critical of Cannon, he knew that he needed the Speaker's support if tariff revision were to be accomplished.


31. Hechler, *op. cit.*, pp. 54–59. Hechler's evidence of this arrangement is understandably rather skimpy, coming entirely from insurgent sources such as a 1910 newspaper article by Victor Murdock and a 1939 interview with John M. Nelson. For another version of this arrangement see Bolles, *op. cit.*, p. 181. Norris, too, believed that a deal had been made between Cannon and the Tammany Democrats. Commenting upon the charges by his New York Republican colleague, Herbert Parsons, that a tie-up existed, Norris said, "I can not prove absolutely what I think; but I could come pretty near it if forced, though some of this proof is confidential." See *Nebraska State Journal*, October 10, 1910.

32. Norris to E. A. Van Valkenburg, March 19, 1909; incidentally, the insurgents at this time aroused the admiration of Champ Clark, the Democratic leader, who on the floor of the House on March 15, 1909, said that the Republican insurgents were entitled to more credit than the Democrats who supported them.


34. Norris to Breede, June 4, 1909. Norris in this letter denied that he had promised during the campaign of 1908 to vote against Cannon. His correspondence and his statement to the press during the campaign reveal the opposite to be true. The first words of a press statement, which he commended to his correspondents, reads, "I am opposed to the re-election of Mr. Cannon as Speaker." (See *Nebraska State Journal*, September 21, 1908, and the discussion in Chapter 15.) In his defense Norris noted, somewhat ingenuously, in this 1909 letter, that he did not state in the campaign interview that he would vote against Cannon. He also correctly argued that in his campaign speeches he said he would vote for Cannon, notwithstanding his opposition, before he would vote for a Democrat as Speaker. In a February, 1910, article in *Current Literature* (pp. 127–31) Norris, reminiscing about the contest that occurred at the opening of this session, wrote, "It is doubtful if there was a single insurgent who did not most devoutly hope that the Speaker might be defeated for re-election."
See Norris to W. G. Partridge, December 20, 1909, where he tries to explain his position.

35. Atkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 97, suggests that a number of the insurgents were in favor of continuing their agitation against the rules even at the risk of postponing tariff legislation. But at one of their conferences a member (possibly Gardner of Massachusetts) reported that the manufacturers in his district were becoming demoralized over the uncertainty of business conditions and feared a panic on Wall Street. After discussion the insurgents then decided to cease their tactics, deeming it the patriotic thing to put nothing in the way of the earliest possible revision of the tariff.


37. Norris, *Fighting Liberal* (New York, 1946), pp. 101–02. Though Norris was not a member of the subcommittee, his old friend Edgar D. Crumpacker of Indiana was a Republican member. Crumpacker had been practicing law in Valparaiso when Norris was attending law school there. Incidentally, this account in Norris' autobiography adds further indirect evidence to Hechler's thesis of a deal between Cannon and some Democratic members to raise the rates on petroleum in return for their votes against a major curtailment of his powers. See supra, footnote 31.


40. Norris to C. E. V. Smith, April 13, 1909.


43. Norris to McCarl, May 14, 1909; Norris to L. Morse, June 1, 1909; Norris to E. M. Pollard, July 7, 1909. In 1896 while traveling in an official capacity for the IOOF he was overcome with heat prostration and found it necessary for the rest of his life to be very careful of his health in the hot weather, although for a period of about ten years after 1896 he thought he had completely recovered.


45. Ibid., pp. 4374–75.


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NOTES TO CHAPTER 17 (pages 153–165)

1. An open primary allowed a voter to cast his primary vote for any candidate of any party running for nomination, regardless of what party ticket he had previously voted. Wisconsin already had such a system in operation.


3. G. W. Norris to J. R. McCarl, July 16, 1909; Norris to T. A. Boyd, July 15, 1909; Norris to A. C. Christensen, December 6, 1909; George W. Norris Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. All letters, unless otherwise noted, are from this collection.


5. Norris to A. J. Watson, December 24, 1908.


7. In the next session of Congress he introduced an amendment which, if it carried, would have reduced naval appropriations by five million dollars, because it struck out one battleship and called for six merchant vessels in place of it. These vessels, he claimed, would develop our trade with Central and South America, provide for a merchant marine, expedite the services of the Panama Railroad Company which had the responsibility for carrying freight, mail, and passengers from American ports to those of Panama, and at the same time reduce naval expenses. See *Congressional Record*, Sixty-first Congress, Second Session, April 8, 1910, p. 4483.


10. Another criticism, besides expense, was that it gave an incentive “to dishonorable and disreputable men” to enter the primary for the purpose of “holding up” candidates, securing money from special interests or individuals
desiring particular legislation, or defeating another candidate. It gave moneyed men another undue political advantage. See Norris to Samuel Merwin, December 17, 1909.


13. Norris to F. M. Richard, December 18, 1909. In a letter to Richard on December 23, 1909, Norris noted that the Republican National Congressional Committee had recently launched a systematic campaign to defeat insurgent congressmen through the country press. This committee, "under the absolute control of Speaker Cannon," had just issued the first of a series of weekly newsletters purporting to present congressional news. By presenting in these letters critical items and malicious statements about the insurgents, the committee, Norris thought, hoped to reach the constituents of these men through the rural newspapers.


15. Norris to Mrs. Mary H. Williams, January 11, 1910.


17. Norris to L. A. Sheldon, January 28, 1910; Norris to Ben Patterson, January 31, 1910; Norris to S. R. McKelvie, February 5, 1910, February 18, 1910; Norris to W. B. Hargleroad, April 20, 1910.


19. Norris to William T. Evans, February 2, 1910; Norris to B. J. Seger, April 16, 1910. The settlers in the North Platte project requested that the term of payment be extended from ten to fifteen or twenty years, with the first two payments not to exceed a dollar per year per acre, construction charges. See Perkins to Norris, February, n.d., 1910.


25. Congressional Record, Sixty-first Congress, Second Session, January 7, 1910, pp. 390, 404. The vote was 149 to 146 with five members answering "present" and eighty-seven not voting. Over forty pairs were announced.
Norris in later years became confused as to the details of what occurred. He thought that Walter Smith of Iowa, an amiable supporter of Cannon and a “warm personal friend,” granted him the two minutes while Dalzell was out to lunch. But the Congressional Record for January 7, 1910 (p. 390) reveals that it was Dalzell who yielded him the two minutes in which he presented the amendment. After Norris spoke, Dalzell then yielded time to Smith who held the floor and allotted time to other members. For Norris’ later version of what occurred see his speech of June 25, 1932, at a Cosmos Club dinner honoring Harry Slattery and printed in the Congressional Record, Seventy-second Congress, First Session, July 15, 1932, pp. 15456–57 and Norris to Harold Ickes, May 26, 1933.

26. Norris to Alfred Lief, May 4, 1934; Norris erred in his recollection when he thought a ten-man committee was to be chosen and that consequently the insurgent member would prevent a standpat Republican majority from dominating it. Kenneth W. Hechler, Insurgency (New York, 1940), p. 64.

27. Norris to Walter J. Locke, January 22, 1910; Norris to Lief, May 4, 1934; Norris to Ickes, May 26, 1933; Norris, Fighting Liberal (New York, 1946), p. 110; Senator Knute Nelson of Minnesota, the chairman of the committee, was personally sympathetic to Ballinger’s position and intensely disliked Pinchot. Eventually the seven Republican members prepared a report exonerating Ballinger, while the Democratic members and Madison held that Ballinger should not be retained in office since he had violated the trust reposed in him as secretary of the interior. Congressman Edwin Denby of Michigan, who later as secretary of the navy was involved in the Teapot Dome scandal, signed the majority report. In the light of the strict party vote on these reports, Norris’ claim about a “real investigation” can be singularly applied to Madison, who was probably the only member willing to reach a conclusion on the basis of the evidence. Madison filed a separate report, agreeing in less partisan terms with the Democratic members that Ballinger should resign. For a thorough monographic study of the Ballinger-Pinchot affair see Alpheus T. Mason, Bureaucracy Convicts Itself (New York, 1941); Stahl, op. cit., is a careful study based on easily accessible published materials. Mason had access to manuscript collections, notably the papers of Louis D. Brandeis. More recent studies by Samuel P. Hays, Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency (Cambridge, 1959), and Elmo R. Richardson, The Politics of Conservation (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1962), present well balanced scholarly accounts which are more critical of Pinchot and more favorable to Ballinger than is Mason’s study.


30. Norris was here referring to the pressure supposedly exerted by Taft and other administration members to prevent the insurgents from making a fight against the rules on March 15, 1909. See Norris to Taft,
January 10, 1909; Hechler, *op. cit.*, pp. 50–53, reveals that Taft, though secretly sympathetic, made no commitment to insurgent members in March, 1909. Of course Taft, by taking no part in the fight against the House rules, became to many insurgents an avowed supporter of Cannonism.

33. Taft to Norris, January 7, 1910.
34. Norris to Taft, January 10, 1910.
35. *Ibid.* The measures cited by Norris as indicative of his support of the administration were the following: increase in the power of the Interstate Commerce Commission, further regulation of corporations, physical valuation of railroads, publication of campaign expenses, a postal savings bank law, conservation of natural resources, regulation of injunctions, reform of federal court procedures, and a permanent nonpartisan tariff commission. Norris opposed the administration on the ship subsidy question, but so did many of the regular Republicans who continued to benefit from patronage. Incidentally, for the rest of his congressional career, Norris never again received executive patronage.

36. Taft to Norris, January 11, 1910; Constance Gardner, (ed.), *Some Letters of Augustus Peabody Gardner* (Boston, 1920), p. 59. Gardner attended an insurgent meeting on the evening of January 10, 1910, at which a show of hands was requested to find out which insurgents had had trouble with their patronage.


38. Congressman Gardner, for example, had previously informed Norris that he could depend on his vote in matters pertaining to the rules at any time he notified him. See Constance Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

40. McCarl to Norris, January 7, 1910.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 18 (pages 166–179)


2. William Kittle, “The Progressive Movement,” *Twentieth Century Magazine*, Vol. I, No. 4, January, 1910, p. 315. With the economic analysis presented in this statement, Norris was in full accord. At the time this article appeared, Norris wrote to a critical constituent, “The facts are, that behind this power given by the rules to the Speaker, are intrenched all the special interests and combines that are seeking special favors at the hands of Congress.”


the "Mail and Breeze" column of the Topeka Daily Capital, January 16, 1910.


6. The articles were entitled "The Secret of His Power," January 8, 1910, and "Cannonism: What It Is," which appeared in two parts on April 2, 1910 and April 9, 1910. The articles on Cannonism, though appearing after the Speaker's defeat in March, 1910, were undoubtedly written before that time. Norris inserted all three articles in the Congressional Record, Sixty-first Congress, Second Session, May 14, 1910, pp. 6274–78.

7. Norris to George A. Mosshart, January 15, 1910; Norris to Walter J. Locke, January 22, 1910; Norris to Ross L. Hammond, February 4, 1910; George W. Norris Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. Unless otherwise noted, all letters are from this collection.

8. Norris to G. E. Hager, February 15, 1910. In a letter to a former judicial colleague, for example, Norris revealed that the insurgents were divided over what position to take on membership of the committee to investigate the Ballinger-Pinchot controversy once his amendment had been accepted. See Norris to H. M. Grimes, January 14, 1910.


17. Ibid., p. 3294.

18. Ibid., p. 3307.


22. After the House had been in session thirteen and one-half hours, James Tawney of Minnesota, one of the Speaker's lieutenants, tried for the last time to secure a recess. The House remained in continuous session for another twelve and one-half hours.
35. *Chicago Sunday Tribune*, March 20, 1910. Since the House did not adjourn until late in the afternoon of March 18, these proceedings were included in the Journal of March 17, 1910.
36. *Chicago Sunday Tribune*, March 20, 1910. Taft, on a speaking tour, first heard of the events in the House in Erie, Pennsylvania, on March 18. Though urged to return to Washington to save the regular organization from defeat, the president, unmoved by these requests and apparently convinced that he could do nothing if he returned, continued his speaking tour. See, Archie Butt, *Taft and Roosevelt: The Intimate Letters of Archie Butt* (Garden City, New York, 1930), Vol. I, pp. 306-08.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 19 (pages 180-188)

his resolution beforehand and that news of it had reached the Speaker probably before the House convened at noon on March 19, 1910.


4. Congressional Record, Sixty-first Congress, Second Session, March 19, 1910, p. 3438. Asle Gronna, one of the nine who voted to remove Cannon, was very unsure of himself. He first voted against the Burleson resolution and then requested that his vote be changed to favor it.


8. George W. Norris, Fighting Liberal (New York, 1946), p. 119. In the Sixty-second Congress, controlled by the Democrats, the Speaker was shorn of his power to appoint standing committees, though he could still appoint members of conference and other select committees, as well as the chairman of the Committee of the Whole. His power of recognition and deciding points of order is still virtually intact.


10. Congressional Record, Sixty-first Congress, Second Session, March 25, 1910, p. 3759. It would be well to acknowledge at this point that the splendid study by Charles R. Atkinson, The Committee on Rules and the Overthrow of Speaker Cannon (New York, 1911), served as my guide through the parliamentary maze of the rules fight.

11. Norris to William Owen Jones, May 8, 1910. George W. Norris Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. Unless otherwise noted, all manuscript citations are from this collection.


14. Congressional Record, Sixty-first Congress, Second Session, March 24, 1910, p. 3725. When almost two months later Dalzell, Payne, and Joseph Fordney of Michigan, all prominent regular Republicans, announced their opposition to the section of the Payne-Aldrich Tariff that called in effect for a board of experts to assist the president in securing information about maximum and minimum rates, Norris similarly chided them for their insurgency. He warned them that in a recent speech in New York Cannon was reported to have said that all insurgents ought to be hanged, and that a terrible fate was awaiting them. Norris, of course, favored this provision, believing it would remedy some of the inequity of the tariff, while regretting that the law did not provide for "a permanent, genuine, full-fledged tariff commission." See Congressional Record, Sixty-first Congress, May 24, 1910, p. 6808.

15. Norris to David D. Leahy, March 15, 1910; Norris, "Cannonism:
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18. For a brief but comprehensive discussion of the Mann-Elkins Act of 1910 see William Z. Ripley, Railroads: Rates and Regulation (New York, 1927), pp. 557–79; for the legislative side, particularly the role of the Senate, see Kenneth W. Hechler, Insurgency (New York, 1940), pp. 163–77; Norris to Arthur C. Smith, April 26, 1910; Norris to John W. Towle, April 29, 1910; Norris to Z. T. Lindsey, April 30, 1910; Norris to Wright and Wilhelm, April 30, 1910.


NOTES TO CHAPTER 20 (pages 189–196)

1. G. W. Norris to J. J. McCarthy, December 18, 1909, December 30, 1909; McCarthy to Norris, December 25, 1909; J. R. McCarl to Norris, January 2, 1910; McCarl to Jacob Fisher, January 25, 1910. Norris agreed with the harsh evaluation of Senator Burkett that was gaining ground throughout Nebraska. On February 18, 1910, Norris, writing to McCarthy, claimed that Burkett was really against the insurgents, that he was unfair as well as unscrupulous. George W. Norris Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. Unless otherwise noted, all manuscript citations are from this collection.


3. Norris to Frank Harrison, April 26, 1910; Norris to George F. Melbourne, May 8, 1910; Norris to J. M. Campbell, May 23, 1910; McCarl to Norris, May 15, 1910.

4. Norris to W. A. McCool, June 10, 1910; McCarl to Norris, June 13, 1910; Norris to G. R. Woods, June 14, 1910; Norris to J. M. Fuller, June 15, 1910.


6. Norris to J. P. Hurley, April 27, 1910; McCarl to L. G. Sherman,
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July 8, 1910; McCarl to Hamilton Fish, July 8, 1910; McCarl to Edward R. Sizer, July 9, 1910; Norris to M. B. Carman, July 19, 1910.

7. McCarl to I. H. Dempsey, July 12, 1910; McCarl to George Allen, July 12, 1910; McCarl to A. F. Buechler, July 14, 1910.

8. McCarl to W. W. Hawley, July 18, 1910; McCarl to Emma L. Talbot, July 19, 1910; Norris to Carman, July 19, 1910; McCarl to J. M. Campbell, July 19, 1910; McCarl to Buechler, July 19, 1910; McCarl to J. L. McBrien, July 21, 1910.


11. McCarl to E. E. Smith, August 6, 1910; McCarl to Carman, August 8, 1910; McCarl to Charles W. Meeker, August 12, 1910.

12. Roosevelt delivered his “New Nationalism” speech at the dedication of the John Brown battlefield at Osawatomie, Kansas, on August 31, 1910.

13. Robert M. La Follette to Norris, August 19, 1910, August 22, 1910; Norris to La Follette, August 26, 1910; McCarl to H. M. Crane, August 27, 1910; McCarl to W. H. Banwell, Jr., August 30, 1910; McCarl to Joseph Polcar, August 31, 1910.


15. McCarl to Hastings, August 31, 1910; McCarl to Albert R. Peck, September 1, 1910; McCarl to George C. Humphrey, September 6, 1910; Norris to William Owen Jones, September 13, 1910; Meyer Lissner to Norris, September 20, 1910; Norris to Lissner, September 21, 1910, October 17, 1910.

16. McCarl to Arthur V. Shaffer, September 20, 1910; McCarl to A. G. Williams, September 29, 1910; H. C. Miller to McCarl, September 20, 1910; McCarl to Allen Elliott, September 22, 1910; E. E. Wolfe to Norris, October 1, 1910.


18. McCarl to Gus Abrahamson, October 8, 1910; Hawley to McCarl, October 11, 1910; McCarl to Buechler, October 8, 1910; McCarl to William Husenetter, October 11, 1910.

19. McCarl to Polcar, October 19, 1910; Omaha *Daily News*, October 26, 1910; McCarl to C. R. Judkins, October 28, 1910.

20. James A. Tawney to Norris, October 20, 1910.

21. McCarthy to McCarl, October 25, 1910; McCarl to McCarthy,
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October 27, 1910, November 2, 1910; McCarl to Charles Galloway, October 28, 1910.

22. H. E. Bowman to Hawley, November 1, 1910; Lincoln Star, November 3, 1910; George Allen to McCarl, November 3, 1910; Murdock to Norris, November 6, 1910.


25. Nebraska State Journal, November 22, 1910; McCarl to George S. Scott, November 10, 1910; McCarl to Frank A. Harrison, November 18, 1910.


NOTES TO CHAPTER 21 (pages 197–206)

1. G. W. Norris to Charles D. Norton, November 22, 1910; Norris to Fred W. Rice, May 30, 1911; J. R. McCarl to Norris, January 18, 1911, February 3, 1911. George W. Norris Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. All manuscript citations, unless otherwise noted, are from this collection.


6. McCarl to George Allen, January 5, 1911, January 8, 1911; McCarl to H. M. Grimes, January 7, 1911, January 12, 1911; McCarl to Harrie G. Thomas, January 7, 1911.

7. Norris to George F. Work, January 14, 1911; Cummins statement is quoted by McCarl in his January 7, 1911, letter to Grimes.

8. McCarl to Norris, January 18, 1911; Norris to Baldwin, January 21, 1911; Omaha World Herald, January 18, 1911; Topeka Capitol, January 19, 1911.


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11. Dayton (Ohio) Herald, January 10, 1911. Since the Democrats had committed themselves to further revision of the House rules when they took over its administration in the next Congress, this vote was of no serious consequence, except as it allowed the Speaker and his supporters an opportunity to vent their spleen against the insurgents, and as it gave the Democrats an opportunity to aid in encouraging further dissension in the Republican party. Democratic members voted in this instance as they saw fit; no caucus was held to determine a party position. Meeting in caucus on January 19, 1911, the Democrats agreed in the next Congress to grant the Ways and Means Committee the power to name the standing committees of the House, subject to caucus ratification. See Atkinson, op. cit., p. 129, footnote 1.


15. McCarl to Norris, February 2, 1911; Norris to Henry Fox, Jr., February 11, 1911; Norris to E. E. Correll, February 11, 1911; Congressional Record, Sixty-first Congress, Third Session, February 26, 1911, pp. 3488–89.

16. The quote was the initial sentence on numerous printed petitions that Norris received in opposition to parcel post legislation. The other points were also included in these petitions.

17. Norris to W. S. Delano, April 29, 1911; Norris to George Bartonback, June 14, 1911; Norris to I. W. Crary, June 15, 1911, July 5, 1911; George E. Mowry, Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Movement (Madison, 1947), p. 171, footnote 57.

18. Norris to E. Clippiner, February 18, 1911.

19. Norris to J. R. Cameron, April 10, 1911.


21. A comprehensive study of this reciprocity proposition can be found in L. Ethan Ellis, Reciprocity: 1911 (New Haven, 1939).


25. Ibid. The entire speech will be found on pp. 136–39.

26. Norris to W. A. Smith, March 10, 1911; McCarl to Norris, February 16, 1911, February 26, 1911; for early examples of Nebraska sentiment
against reciprocity see letters in Nebraska State Journal on March 8, 1911 and the editorial in the Oshkosh Herald, February 24, 1911.

27. This line is the first couplet of a poem Norris had written and first delivered at an early L.U.N. banquet. The text may be found in the Congressional Record, Sixty-second Congress, First Session, July 12, 1911, p. 2876. On this day Norris regaled his colleagues with an account of the Y.M.C.A. speech and its aftermath.


NOTES TO CHAPTER 22 (pages 207-215)

1. J. R. McCarl to John Cordeal, March 11, 1911. George W. Norris Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. All other manuscript citations, unless otherwise noted, are from this collection.

2. Norris to Herman H. Schultz, June 3, 1911.

3. McCarl to Cordeal, March 11, 1911; Norris to John L. Kennedy, March 17, 1911; Norris to Frederic C. Howe, March 21, 1911.


6. For example, the Sixty-second Congress enacted legislation establishing a Children’s Bureau and an Industrial Bureau. An eight-hour day for workers on government projects and a federal corrupt practices bill were enacted. A parcel post act was passed and existing legislation, such as the Food and Drug Act, was improved by amendments.


10. Ibid., April 5, 1911, p. 64.

11. Norris to Woodrow Wilson, April 15, 1911; Wilson to Norris, April 18, 1911. It is perhaps of interest to observe here that while Wilson was criticizing committee secrecy, Bryan, in the pages of The Commoner, also was attacking the secret caucus. See for example editorials on July 28, 1911, August 11, 1911, August 18, 1911.
13. Congressional Record, Sixty-second Congress, First Session, April 27, 1911, p. 691.
16. Congressional Record, Sixty-second Congress, First Session, May 22, 1911, pp. 1472-73. Chances for these two territories entering the union during this session were destroyed when the president in August vetoed the enabling act creating the states of Arizona and New Mexico. Taft was violently opposed to the provision in the Arizona constitution permitting the recall of judicial officials. See Mowry, op. cit., p. 171.
17. Congressional Record, Sixty-second Congress, First Session, April 21, 1911, pp. 538, 559; Hechler, op. cit., p. 182.
18. Hechler, op. cit., p. 188; Norris to James Pratt, May 18, 1911. In the last weeks of the session both houses finally accepted the farmers' free list bill and two other "Pop-Gun" tariff bills which the president promptly vetoed. See Hechler, op. cit., pp. 189-93.
19. Norris to Oscar W. Underwood, May 25, 1911; Springfield Republican, May 12, 1911; Norris to George Watkins, August 15, 1911. The House on June 20 and August 14 approved the Underwood wool bill; the second time it merely approved the conference report. The bill was designed as a counterweight for the unjust treatment accorded to farmers by Canadian reciprocity. See Hechler, op. cit., pp. 188-90.
22. Cambridge University Press to Norris, March 7, 1911; Norris to J. C. Welliver, March 22, 1911; Norris to chief of Bureau of Statistics, March 24, 1911.
23. Congressional Record, Sixty-second Congress, First Session, April 26, 1911, p. 635.
24. Ibid., p. 636.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid., p. 637. The wholesale price of No. 7 Rio coffee in New York in December, 1908, was 6¼ cents a pound. In January, 1911, the same coffee in the same market was selling at 13¾ cents a pound.
27. Ibid., pp. 639-41.
28. Ibid., p. 642.
29. Norris to William H. Okers, May 24, 1911, October 14, 1911; Norris to Erving Winslow, May 20, 1911; Norris to Welliver, March 23,
1911. It should be noted here that Norris probably did not deliver this speech from a manuscript. Using notes, charts, and other material, he was able to deliver the speech extemporaneously. His dictated drafts were probably not consulted once he started to speak.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 23 (pages 216–222)

1. G. W. Norris to Ross L. Hammond, May 1, 1911; Norris to J. R. McCarl, May 4, 1911, May 11, 1911; McCarl to Norris, May 10, 1911. George W. Norris Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. All manuscript citations, unless otherwise noted, are from this collection.

2. McCarl to Norris, May 10, 1911; Norris to F. M. Richard, May 10, 1911; Norris to E. W. Rankin, July 22, 1911; Norris to Grant D. Harrington, May 29, 1911.


5. Norris to Frank A. Harrison, June 14, 1911, June 26, 1911; Norris to W. P. Pierce, June 15, 1911; Norris to I. D. Evans, June 23, 1911; Norris to Gilson Gardner, June 27, 1911; Norris to G. L. Keith, July 3, 1911. The Norris endorsement of La Follette was released to the press on August 5, 1911.

6. McCarl to Harrie (Thomas), July 11, 1911; Norris to T. A. Boyd, July 15, 1911; Norris to Lon Cone, July 15, 1911.

7. Norris to J. L. McBrien, March 31, 1911, July 15, 1911; R. J. Whiteford to Norris, May 30, 1911; Norris to J. F. Duncan, August 14, 1911; Norris to J. R. Ellison, March 15, 1911.

8. Norris to Harrison, July 12, 1911; Norris to McCarl, July 17, 1911.

9. McCarl to Harrie (Thomas), July 17, 1911; Norris to McCarl, July 17, 1911.

10. Actually the Red Willow County convention merely endorsed La Follette. No office was mentioned. This was the result of a fight among the delegates. Norris was endorsed without any opposition.

11. John E. Arnold to Norris, July 20, 1911; George Allen to McCarl, July 21, 1911; McCarl to Norris, July 20, 1911, July 27, 1911. The quote is from the July 27, 1911 letter.

12. Norris to John L. Kennedy, July 21, 1911; Harrison to Robert M. La Follette, July 29, 1911 (copy in Norris Papers); Norris to McCarl, July 10, 1911.

13. George Allen to Norris, August 8, 1911; Nebraska State Journal, September 6, 1911.

14. Norris to McBrien, August 15, 1911; Norris to C. R. Draper, August
NOTES TO CHAPTER 24 (pages 223–234)

1. Merrill G. Carman to J. Q. A. Fleharty, April 13, 1912. George W. Norris Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. All manuscript citations, unless otherwise noted, are from this collection.

2. Norris to T. E. Jamison, November 3, 1911; Norris to A. B. Cummins, June 20, 1912; Norris to August E. Gans, June 20, 1912; Norris to Samuel Berger, August 2, 1912.


4. The minority leader would select committee members, obtain caucus approval, and submit his list privately to the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, which would then pass on them. Norris claimed there was nothing in the House rules that sanctioned this procedure.
12. Norris to J. G. Lower, February 7, 1912; Norris to Niles E. Olsen, February 10, 1912; Norris to Charles C. Ryan, February 10, 1912. For an earlier statement of Norris' views about the necessity of revising the sugar schedule see the interview reported in the Springfield *Republican*, May 12, 1911.
18. *Omaha Daily Bee*, March 18, 1912; Norris to Jamison, April 19, 1912.
19. Norris to F. P. Corrick, January 4, 1912; *Omaha Daily Bee*, January 5, 1912.
20. Norris to D. F. Gruver, January 20, 1912; Norris to E. F. Baldwin, February 7, 1912; Norris to I. H. Rickel, April 1, 1912.
22. Norris to J. R. McCarl, February 10, 1912; Norris to Theodore Roosevelt, March 25, 1912; Roosevelt to Norris, March 26, 1912, Theodore

23. Norris to S. R. McKelvie, March 1, 1912.


27. *Nebraska State Journal*, March 2, 1912; *Omaha Daily Bee*, April 3, 1912; Norris to McCarl, June 6, 1912.

28. Norris to T. J. Mahoney, April 6, 1912, June 6, 1912; Norris to McCarl, June 6, 1912; Norris to A. J. Bowle, June 7, 1912; Norris to Lyman Cary, June 10, 1912.


31. Roosevelt to Norris, July 10, 1912. Roosevelt Papers (Vol. 468), Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. Incidentally, not only did Roosevelt endorse this bill, he invited Norris to discuss it and other matters with him over the luncheon table at Oyster Bay; Norris to Woodrow Wilson, July 10, 1912, Woodrow Wilson Papers (File II, Box 24), Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.


NOTES TO CHAPTER 25 (pages 235-242)

1. G. W. Norris to Dan Cook, January 20, 1912. George W. Norris Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. Unless otherwise noted, all manuscript citations are from this collection.
NOTES TO CHAPTERS

2. Norris to W. L. Minor, December 23, 1911; Norris to W. A. McCool, December 15, 1911; Norris to J. J. McCarthy, December 30, 1911.

3. Confidential source. Nebraska was entitled in 1912 to sixteen delegates at the Republican National Convention, two from each of the six congressional districts and four at large.


5. J. R. McCarl to Arthur V. Shaffer, December 22, 1911.

6. Norris to Theodore Roosevelt, December 27, 1911, Theodore Roosevelt Papers (Box 306), Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.


8. Norris to Roosevelt, January 5, 1912, Roosevelt Papers (Box 306), Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

9. Corrick to Norris, January 8, 1912; Corrick to Joseph Dixon, March 4, 1912 (copy in the Norris Papers). Though Corrick was denounced as a traitor by La Follette men, Norris was impressed with his devotion to the cause of a progressive Republican victory in Nebraska.

10. Norris to Corrick, January 4, 1912; Norris to D. McLeod, January 5, 1912.

11. Omaha Daily Bee, January 19, 1912, January 28, 1912; McCarl to Norris, January 18, 1912.

12. Norris to Corrick, January 24, 1912; Norris to McCarl, January 24, 1912. Norris in his correspondence at this time stressed the fact that while he had no grievance against Roosevelt, he was honor-bound to support Senator La Follette. Despite his efforts Aldrich was rebuffed by the Taft men and had to face a primary campaign.


14. Norris to John O. Yeiser, January 27, 1912; Omaha Daily Bee, January 31, 1912; Norris to Corrick, February 1, 1912.

15. Omaha Daily Bee, January 31, 1912; Corrick to Norris, January 30, 1912; Norris to Corrick, February 2, 1912.

16. R. A. Simpson to Norris, February 1, 1912; McCarl to Fletcher W. Merwin, January 28, 1912; Omaha Daily Bee, January 29, 1912.

17. Norris to Yeiser, February 2, 1912.

18. McCarl to Norris, January 28, 1912; Nebraska State Journal, February 2, 1912; McCarl to Corrick, February 5, 1912.

19. Norris to D. C. Van Deusen, February 6, 1912; Corrick to Norris, February 5, 1912; Norris to Chester H. Aldrich, February 6, 1912; Omaha Daily Bee, February 7, 1912, February 8, 1912.

20. Omaha Daily Bee, February 8, 1912, February 9, 1912.

21. Norris to Corrick, February 8, 1912; Norris to Simpson, February 9, 1912; Norris to McCarl, February 10, 1912.

22. Corrick to Norris, February 13, 1912.

23. McCarl to A. V. Pease, February 19, 1912; McCarl to H. M. Grimes,
February 21, 1912; McCarl to J. Frank Lantz, February 21, 1912; McCarl to Norris, February 15, 1912.

24. Norris to McCarl, February 16, 1912; McCarl to Norris, February 19, 1912; Norris to Corrick, February 19, 1912.

25. McCarl to Norris, February 19, 1912.

26. Norris to W. B. Ely, February 20, 1912; McCarl to Norris, February 20, 1912; Norris to M. E. Wells, February 29, 1912; Norris to R. W. Devoe, February 26, 1912; Norris to Norm Parks, February 29, 1912.

27. Confidential source.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 26 (pages 243–249)

1. J. R. McCarl to E. O. Lewis, March 2, 1912; McCarl to R. W. Devoe, March 5, 1912; McCarl to G. W. Norris, March 2, 1912; McCarl to J. J. McCarthy, March 2, 1912; George W. Norris Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. All manuscript citations, unless otherwise noted, are from this collection.

2. Norris to Joseph Polcar, March 2, 1912; Norris to McCarl, March 8, 1912; R. B. Howell to McCarl, March 6, 1912.

3. F. P. Corrick to Norris, March 4, 1912; Corrick to Joseph Dixon, March 13, 1912 (copy in Norris Papers).

4. Norris to Corrick, March 9, 1912.

5. Corrick to Norris, March 13, 1912; Corrick to Robert M. La Follette, March 13, 1912 (copy in Norris Papers).


7. McCarl to Norris, March 16, 1912; McCarl to McCarthy, March 18, 1912; McCarl to Norris, March 18, 1912, March 19, 1912.


9. Corrick to McCarl, March 29, 1912; Norris to McCarl, March 29, 1912; Norris to Corrick, April 1, 1912.

10. Belle Case La Follette and Fola La Follette, op. cit., p. 428; McCarl to Norris, April 2, 1912.

11. C. E. Stine to McCarl, April 3, 1912; McCarl to B. K. Schaeffer, April 4, 1912.

12. Belle Case La Follette and Fola La Follette, op. cit., pp. 429–30; Omaha Daily Bee, April 6, 1912, April 8, 1912; Corrick to Norris, April 6, 1912; Norris to Corrick, April 8, 1912.

13. George Allen to Norris, April 9, 1912.

14. McCarl to J. H. Christner, April 9, 1912; McCarl to H. C. Miller, April 9, 1912; McCarl to Dan Garber, April 9, 1912.

15. Norris to Corrick, April 13, 1912; Lewis to McCarl, April 13, 1912; C. H. Aldrich to Norris, April 16, 1912; Norris to Aldrich, April 16, 1912.

17. Norris to McCarl, April 16, 1912.


19. G. O. Van Meter to Norris, April 23, 1912; Lon Cone to Norris, April 23, 1912; W. P. Pierce to Norris, April 23, 1912.

20. McCarl to Lewis, April 24, 1912; Norris to J. F. Sharp, April 27, 1912.

21. Confidential source.

22. For an interesting discussion of “How the Farmers Used the Primary,” see the interview conducted under this title in the *Nebraska State Journal*, April 28, 1912. When asked if Taft could carry Nebraska in the November election, Frank G. Odell, secretary of the Nebraska Rural Life Commission, replied: “Not unless the farmers are chained up so they can not get to the polls. Look at the primary vote: The Roosevelt-La Follette vote four to one as compared with that for Taft; there is no conceivable combination of circumstances which will induce the farmers to condone what they believe to be a direct attack by the president on their prosperity.”

NOTES TO CHAPTER 27 (pages 250–258)

1. F. P. Corrick to G. W. Norris, May 1, 1912, May 10, 1912; J. R. McCarl to E. R. Sadler, May 2, 1912. George W. Norris Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. All citations, unless otherwise noted, are from this collection.


6. Norris to J. J. McCarthy, June 3, 1912; McCarl to Thomas Nelson, June 11, 1912; Norris to J. F. Lawrence, June 17, 1912.


9. Norris to Corrick, June 20, 1912.


11. Norris to Ely, June 26, 1912; Norris to H. W. Short, June 27, 1912; *Nebraska State Journal*, June 28, 1912; *Congressional Record*, Sixty-second

12. Norris to Ely, June 26, 1912; Norris to Short, June 27, 1912.
13. Norris to Ely, June 26, 1912; Norris to Short, June 27, 1912; Norris to William Colton, June 27, 1912.
14. Corrick to Norris, June 28, 1912; Norris to Corrick, July 1, 1912; “Nebraska’s Attitude Made Plain: Authorized Statement by Republican Delegates to Chicago Convention,” n.d. (typewritten copy); Norris to H. E. Sackett, July 5, 1912.
15. Norris to Aaron Chadwick, July 5, 1912; Congressional Record, Sixty-second Congress, Second Session, July 25, 1912, p. 9643.
17. Elihu Root defeated McGovern by a vote of 558 to 502. Since La Follette at best had control over only thirty-six delegates at Chicago, Root possibly could have been defeated if these delegates had voted for McGovern. For an interesting discussion of this point see Belle Case La Follette and Fola La Follette, Robert M. La Follette (New York, 1953), Vol. I, pp. 437–39.
18. Norris to Lawrence, June 29, 1912.
19. Omaha Evening News, June 29, 1912; Bloomington Advocate, July 5, 1912; E. J. Overing to McCarl, June 29, 1912; McCarl to Norris, June 30, 1912; A. J. Bowle to Norris, July 1, 1912.
20. McCarl to Norris, June 30, 1912, July 9, 1912.
22. Norris to Norman T. Johnston, July 2, 1912; Norris to William S. Mattley, July 5, 1912; McCarl to Richard May, July 13, 1912; F. W. Merwin to McCarl, July 5, 1912; Corrick to Norris, July 5, 1912; McCarl to Norris, July 9, 1912.
24. McCarl to Norris, July 20, 1912; McCarl to Karl L. Spence, July 24, 1912; McCarl to H. M. Grimes, July 28, 1912; Omaha Daily Bee, July 23, 1912; Nebraska State Journal, July 27, 1912.
25. Norris to Theodore Roosevelt, July 19, 1912, Theodore Roosevelt Papers (Box 309), Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress; Roosevelt to Norris, July 22, 1912, Roosevelt Papers (Box 468).
26. Omaha Daily Bee, July 30, 1912; McCarl to Norris, August 1, 1912.
27. McCarl to Norris, August 1, 1912; McCarl to Lawrence, August 2, 1912; Omaha Daily Bee, July 31, 1912.
28. McCarl to Norris, August 1, 1912; McCarl to Lawrence, August 2, 1912.
29. McCarl to Norris, August 1, 1912, August 4, 1912; Omaha Daily Bee, August 1, 1912.
30. McCarl to Norris, August 1, 1912.
NOTES TO CHAPTER 28 (pages 259–268)

1. J. R. McCarl to William B. Ely, August 3, 1912; McCarl to G. W. Norris, August 4, 1912; George W. Norris Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. All manuscript citations, unless otherwise noted, are from this collection.

2. McCarl to Norris, August 10, 1912, August 14, 1912; Omaha Daily Bee, August 4, 1912, August 19, 1912.

3. Norris to G. O. Van Meter, August 21, 1912.

4. Norris to F. P. Corrick, August 31, 1912.

5. McCarl to Norris, August 22, 1912.

6. McCarl to Norris, August 22, 1912.


9. McCarl to A. C. Epperson, September 4, 1912, September 6, 1912, September 17, 1912; McCarl to H. E. Sackett, September 6, 1912; McCarl to Norris, September 8, 1912.

10. Omaha Daily Bee, September 16, 1912.

11. Norris to Corrick, September 18, 1912; Omaha Daily Bee, September 20, 1912, September 21, 1912; Corrick to McCarl, September 16, 1912.

12. McCarl to James Schoonover, September 18, 1912; McCarl to M. F. Harrington, September 19, 1912; Epperson to McCarl, September 19, 1912; Corrick to McCarl, September 20, 1912; McCarl to Epperson, September 23, 1912.

13. McCarl to J. M. Cottrell, September 22, 1912; McCarl to Epperson, September 23, 1912.


15. H. G. Taylor to McCarl, September 25, 1912; W. V. Hoagland to McCarl, September 25, 1912.

16. McCarl to H. G. Taylor, September 26, 1912; McCarl to Meyer Brandvig, September 24, 1912; McCarl to E. J. Mitchell, September 24, 1912; McCarl to Corrick, September 25, 1912; McCarl to Epperson, October 3, 1912.

17. McCarl to George Thomas, October 3, 1912, October 6, 1912; George Thomas to McCarl, October 5, 1912.

18. A. E. Sheldon, op. cit., pp. 877–78; McCarl to George Thomas, October 6, 1912.

19. Don L. Love to Norris, October 4, 1912; Norris to Secretary of the United States Senate, October 7, 1912; Norris to H. D. Duncan, May 14, 1912.

21. Lincoln *Daily Star*, October 10, 1912; Omaha *Bee*, October 10, 1912, October 13, 1912, October 14, 1912.

22. Omaha *Bee*, October 17, 1912, October 20, 1912.

23. Omaha *Bee*, October 22, 1912, October 24, 1912; McCarl to Ferdinand Proebaska, October 25, 1912.

24. McCarl to F. C. Marshall, October 10, 1912; McCarl to T. W. Barton, October 10, 1912; McCarl to Arthur V. Shaffer, October 12, 1912; McCarl to G. A. Dudley, October 22, 1912; McCarl to Norris, October 13, 1912.

25. McCarl to Norris, October 13, 1912; McCarl to John L. Kennedy, October 14, 1912.

26. McCarl to Kennedy, October 14, 1912.

27. George H. Thomas to McCarl, October 14, 1912; McCarl to Joseph Polcar, October 14, 1912; R. B. Howell to Norris, October 14, 1912; McCarl to Howell, October 23, 1912. While Norris carried Douglas County, Roosevelt lost it to Wilson by less than three thousand votes. For the presidential vote see Edgar Eugene Robinson, *The Presidential Vote: 1896–1932* (Stanford, 1934), p. 263.

28. H. G. Thomas to McCarl, October 15, 1912; McCarl to Will Rice, October 22, 1912. Norris spent $585.30 on his campaign. This sum included a $150 contribution to the Republican State Committee and a similar amount to the Progressive State Committee. See *Nebraska State Journal*, November 15, 1912.

29. McCarl to Corrick, October 14, 1912; Omaha *Bee*, November 2, 1912; *Nebraska State Journal*, November 3, 1912.


33. Epperson to McCarl, November 8, 1912; Sackett to McCarl, November 9, 1912; A. V. Pease to McCarl, November 9, 1912.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 29 (pages 269–277)

1. Congressional Record, Sixty-second Congress, Second Session, July 11, 1912, p. 8933. John R. Farr of Scranton, Pennsylvania, Archbald's home town, was the only congressman to vote against impeachment. The House Judiciary Committee unanimously agreed to all the charges and indictments it presented to the House for approval.

2. Archbald was voted not guilty under articles Seven through Twelve
which pertained to his tenure as a district judge. See Congressional Record, Sixty-second Congress, Third Session, January 13, 1913, pp. 1442–45.

3. George W. Norris, Fighting Liberal (New York, 1946), pp. 120–28 for Norris' reminiscences on the Archbald impeachment. The information used here has been gleaned from the impeachment trial proceedings in the Senate chamber which are printed in the Congressional Record, Sixty-second Congress, Third Session, from December 3, 1912 through January 13, 1913. See pp. 1440–43 for the vote on articles Two and Eight involving the Marian Coal Company.


7. Norris to D. L. Davies, May 13, 1912; Norris to W. R. McKean, May 18, 1912; Norris to L. T. Pedley, May 20, 1912. George W. Norris Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. All other manuscript citations, unless otherwise noted, are from this collection.


9. Omaha Daily Bee, November 24, 1912, December 5, 1912.

10. J. R. McCarl to Harrie Thomas, December 29, 1912; McCarl to Norris, December 11, 1912.

11. McCarl to Norris, January 10, 1913, January 16, 1913; F. P. Corrick to McCarl, January 11, 1913. There was nothing in the 1909 law to compel a legislator to vote for the winner of the November senatorial popularity contest. No legal penalty was provided to force members to keep their pledges.


15. McCarl to Norris, January 23, 1913.


