

Dixon in the Senate: Anti-Company Politics in Montana

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Abstract

The Anaconda Copper Mining Company, later the Amalgamated Copper Mining Company, was a typical trust of the Gilded Age. Unlike many trusts, however, it maintained nearly complete control of Montana state politics from the 1890s to the 1950s. Only one anti-Company governor, Joseph Dixon, was elected during this timeframe, serving from 1920-1924. Dixon evolved from pro-Company to anti-Company during his Senate period, as evidenced by his voting record during the 61st Congress, 1909-1911. Compared to other senators and the Anaconda Company's politics during this time period, Senator Dixon was one of the 15 most ideologically separated senators from other senators. However, he showed surprising agreement with Amalgamated in most key votes, casting doubt on the conventional narrative of his opposition.

1 Introduction

In the history of Montana, no company has been more influential than the Anaconda Copper Mining Company, later renamed the Amalgamated Copper Mining Company. The Company was founded in 1881, and became one of the worlds' largest companies by the turn of the century.¹ In seeking to make Montana's greatest copper and silver mines more efficient and profitable, it grew to control Montana smelters, railroads, the power company, a political machine --- and eventually, nearly every Montana newspaper until 1959.²

By controlling Montana newspapers (and bribing lawmakers³), the Company maintained control over the political climate of Montana, providing them with additional opportunities for profit. Indeed, only one governor popularly perceived to oppose Company interests and politics was elected between 1900 and 1950: Joseph M. Dixon, who had previously served a term each in the House of Representatives and Senate.

Two historians have examined Dixon's legacy: Jules Karlin in 1974 and Dennis Swibold in 2006. Karlin was a professor of American diplomatic history at the University of Montana from 1945 to 1976, and remains Dixon's only biographer. Den-

¹Michael Malone/Richard Roeder/William Lang: *Montana: A History of Two Centuries*, 2nd ed., University of Washington Press, 1991, p. 230.

²Dennis Swibold: *Copper Chorus: Mining, Politics, and the Montana Press, 1889-1959*, 1st ed., Montana Historical Society Press, 2006, p. 319; Mary Murphy: *Mining Cultures: Men, Women, and Leisure in Butte, 1914-41*, University of Illinois Press, 1997; Michael Malone/Richard Roeder/William Lang: *Montana: A History of Two Centuries*, 2nd ed., University of Washington Press, 1991, chap. 13; Charles Mutschler: *Wired for Success: the Butte, Anaconda, and Pacific Railway, 1892-1985*, 1st ed., Washington State University Press, 2002; Dennis Swibold: *Copper Chorus: Mining, Politics, and the Montana Press, 1889-1959*, 1st ed., Montana Historical Society Press, 2006.

³Idem: *Copper Chorus: Mining, Politics, and the Montana Press, 1889-1959*, 1st ed., Montana Historical Society Press, 2006, p. 68.

nis Swibold is a professor of investigative journalism at the University of Montana from 1989 to the present. Both authors agree Dixon moved from pro-Company to anti-Company during his career, primarily during his time in the Senate.

From Dixon's earliest attempts at national office, he was beset by accusations that he was merely another Company man, in the mold of the senior senator from Montana, Thomas Carter. Amalgamated's last serious opposition occurred in 1902-4, when F. Augustus Heinze, another robber baron, attempted to carve a piece of Montana to be his company's domain. During this struggle in 1902-4 to retain the Amalgamated monopoly, the *Helena Independent*, Heinze's mouthpiece, said Dixon had been "recognized for several years as a cog in the old Carter-Amalgamated machine."⁴ These accusations continued into his later elections: Dixon was accused of being a "paid retainer of the Amalgamated"⁵, or of having his newspaper funded by Amalgamated⁶. The *Missoula Herald* and *Missoula Sentinel* both accused him of being pro-Company leading up to his election to the Senate⁷, and Karlin claims at least one vote in Dixon's election by the Montana legislature was furnished through the direct purchase of Amalgamated⁸.

Dixon and Amalgamated must have agreed strongly during this period leading up to his Senate term, yet he later was a progressive reformer after his Senate term⁹. Dixon led Roosevelt's Bull Moose Party campaign¹⁰, standing for reform and anti-

⁴Jules A. Karlin: *Joseph M. Dixon*, University of Montana, 1974, pp. 38-39.

⁵Idem: *Joseph M. Dixon*, University of Montana, 1974, p. 63.

⁶Idem: *Joseph M. Dixon*, University of Montana, 1974, p. 72.

⁷Karlin: *Joseph M. Dixon*, vol. I, As cited in Swibold, *Copper Chorus*: 358 footnotes 19 and 24, pp. 49-54,147.

⁸Jules A. Karlin: *Joseph M. Dixon*, University of Montana, 1974, p. 75.

⁹Idem: *Joseph M. Dixon*, University of Montana, 1974, p. 100.

¹⁰Idem: *Joseph M. Dixon*, University of Montana, 1974, p. 138.

trust legislation, which the Company spoke out against.¹¹ As a result, he lost his re-election campaign to the Senate, and did not hold another major office until elected governor.

Karlin cites Dixon's papers and speeches in his biography, but no source has examined his voting record to demonstrate Dixon's evolution of political views during his Senate term. This paper seeks to partially fill this gap by analyzing Dixon's political views and their agreement with the Company during the critical central years of his Senate term, when he became a progressive.

2 Methodology

Dixon's political views are generally perceived as matching the Company's during his House and Senate periods, especially his early Senate service, but opposing the Company's during his time as governor. He held no elected position for ten years between his Senate term and his governorship, making it difficult to discern the precise public evolution of his political views. However, Karlin cites Dixon's papers¹² to demonstrate significant changes between 1909 and 1911, the 61st Congress, suggesting a fertile period for investigation, since examining his entire record or entire Senate record is currently infeasible.

Dixon's record includes both his speeches and his votes, and merely analyzing his ye-a-nay votes in the Senate is scarcely sufficient to perceive his views. However, examination of senators' records on ye-a-nay votes can measure the degree to which

¹¹Jules A. Karlin: *Joseph M. Dixon*, University of Montana, 1974, p. 146.

¹²Idem: *Joseph M. Dixon*, University of Montana, 1974.

two senators agree. Analyzing a group of similar senators' votes, taken against the whole Senates' votes, indicate the instances where Dixon-associated senators differ sharply from the majority view. These sharp differences indicate the key votes and issues of the 61st Congress.

The Company's views can be approximated from editorializing in the *Anaconda Standard* during this timeframe. Marcus Daly, the founder of the Anaconda Copper Company, also founded Anaconda, Montana in 1883 and financed the founding of the *Standard* in 1889. Daly's political machine won the Senate election of 1888¹³, but the *Butte Miner*, owned by the losing candidate¹⁴, accused Daly of untoward machinations. Daly responded by starting his own newspaper, the *Standard*, to promote the Company's views. The Company's paper was deemed by its competitors one of the best newspapers in Montana from its inauguration¹⁵.

Daly hired John Durston from the beginning as editor-in-chief, and Durston preserved that position until 1912¹⁶, shortly after Daly's death. Even though Anaconda was scarcely a large town in 1889¹⁷, Daly poured money into the *Standard*, making it the best paper in Montana by 1906¹⁸. Due to the unchanged editorial board and strong Company investment, the *Anaconda Standard* can be considered to accurately reflect the Company's view of politics and world events during this

¹³Dennis Swibold: *Copper Chorus: Mining, Politics, and the Montana Press, 1889-1959*, 1st ed., Montana Historical Society Press, 2006, p. 26.

¹⁴Breitenstein: *A History of Early Journalism*, As cited in Swibold, *Copper Chorus*: 348 footnote 10.

¹⁵*Butte Miner* Oct. 5, 1889.

¹⁶Dennis Swibold: *Copper Chorus: Mining, Politics, and the Montana Press, 1889-1959*, 1st ed., Montana Historical Society Press, 2006, p. 143.

¹⁷Michael Malone/Richard Roeder/William Lang: *Montana: A History of Two Centuries*, 2nd ed., University of Washington Press, 1991, p. 205.

¹⁸Dennis Swibold: *Copper Chorus: Mining, Politics, and the Montana Press, 1889-1959*, 1st ed., Montana Historical Society Press, 2006, p. 127.

time period, particularly in its editorials by Durston.

Three pivotal legislative efforts were determined as previously discussed and discussed further in the Appendix. HR1438, the tariff bill of 1909; HR17536/S6737/HR17536, the Mann-Elkins Act, a railroad bill; and S5876/S6708, a government savings bank / depository bill Each of these issues had at least multiple contested votes and amendments. On every one of these, Dixon and the Company agreed in most elements, despite the expectation that Dixon did not significantly agree with the Company.

Other issues and sources could be considered, but there seems little evidence that they would be further useful. Dixon owned a newspaper, which he bought when he first achieved national office: the *Missoulian* (¹⁹). His papers indicate that he maintained control over his editors²⁰, providing useful direct indications of Dixon's projected image in Montana. Similar approaches using *Missoulian* editorials for Dixon's views, in collaboration with using *Anaconda Standard* editorials for Company views, might provide interesting further results. Alternatively, other issues and votes may have been important, in addition to those selected here. It is entirely conceivable that Company-favorable viewpoints were in the minority in a roll-call vote, and that Dixon disagreed and went with the majority. However, Senator Carter, the other senator from Montana during this period, was very closely Company-associated²¹, and was considered in determining key votes. Thus, it seems of limited utility to consider additional issues.

¹⁹Karlin: Joseph M. Dixon (see n. 7).

²⁰Jules A. Karlin: *Joseph M. Dixon*, University of Montana, 1974, p. 49; idem: *Joseph M. Dixon*, University of Montana, 1974, p. 88.

²¹Swibold: *Copper Chorus: Mining, Politics, and the Montana Press, 1889-1959* (see n. 13).

3 Tariffs

The 61st Congress began with discussion of a new tariff bill, endorsed by President Taft, which became one of the most important bills of 1909. It ended up integrating important tax benefits for Amalgamated --- and Dixon himself --- by protecting antimony ore, an important Montana product of the time. Taft and Dixon initially were strongly allied²², and Dixon was strongly with the president. Dixon had been known for ``bringing the goods home''²³, and the tariff bill promised advantages to Montanan products. Dixon supported strong protections for raw goods, Montana's primary category of production, and to that end, was one of the greatest supporters of protecting raw hides, wool, and antimony ore. In particular, he voted to force the committee on finance to report back a more favorable duty to protect domestic wool, one of only eight senators to do so, but gave up wool and hides at Tafts' request to make the bill more palatable to the rest of the country. Dixon introduced a bill to protect antimony ore specifically, a ore in which Montana (and Dixon's property) was rich, which was later passed successfully.

However, Dixon, during the course of discussion on the bill, became convinced that an income or inheritance tax was a useful addition. This unorthodox position was shared by many in the Senate, and Dixon attempted to convince his then-friend Taft to endorse this position. However, Taft later recommended against an income tax, and Dixon faithfully but reluctantly acquiesced²⁴. He later prepared a speech comparing the alternative taxes available to the Senate, in which he lackadaisically

²²Jules A. Karlin: *Joseph M. Dixon*, University of Montana, 1974, p. 81.

²³Idem: *Joseph M. Dixon*, University of Montana, 1974, p. 54.

²⁴Idem: *Joseph M. Dixon*, University of Montana, 1974, p. 86.

argued for the Taftian corporation tax²⁵.

The *Standard*, as befit the most important bill of 1909, editorialized multiple times about the tariff bill. The tariff appeared on the editorial page 88 times in these two years, and several more times on the front page. When it finally passed, a cartoon appeared on the front page depicting Taft as dragging the reluctant consumer to the wedding altar to marry the tariff bill (Figure 1), encouraged by the trusts, and said that it was highly unsatisfactory in some sections, especially in lacking free paper.²⁶

On the other hand, the *Standard* reported favorably on Dixon's self-interested amendment protecting antimony ore²⁷. This amendment gave the Company a labor advantage in the world antimony market, and resulted in great profit for Montana antimony producers. They also reported favorably on increased protection for wool²⁸. Thus, on the most relevant amendment voted upon, the Company agreed with Dixon.

The Company and Dixon disagreed strongly on the efficacy of the tariff bill: both thought it had advantages for Montana, but the Company seems to find the bill filled with disappointing parts. However, on the key vote in question, Dixon and the Company would likely have both been in favor of domestic wool protection, since it was a Montana raw product and the Company specialized in raw

²⁵*Cong. Rec.* Vol. 44.Parts 1–5, Mar. 4–Aug. 15, 1909, pp. 3940–3948.

²⁶John Hurst Durston et al. (eds.): *Anaconda Standard* July 19, 1909; idem (eds.): *Anaconda Standard* Apr. 27, 1909; idem (eds.): *Anaconda Standard* Aug. 3, 1909; idem (eds.): *Anaconda Standard* July 4, 1909; idem (eds.): *Anaconda Standard* Aug. 11, 1909; idem (eds.): *Anaconda Standard* June 23, 1909; idem (eds.): *Anaconda Standard* Mar. 24, 1909.

²⁷Idem (eds.): *Anaconda Standard* Mar. 22, 1909.

²⁸Idem (eds.): *Anaconda Standard* Aug. 23, 1909; idem (eds.): *Anaconda Standard* Dec. 4, 1910.



Figure 1: Cartoon depicting Taft and Taft's supporters dragging a hapless consumer to wed the ugly tariff bill, in the pocket of the trusts.³⁰

products.

In the course of the ratification of this bill, Carter and Dixon publicly became enemies. While they agreed on the bill, Carter did not desire compromise with Taft, and led a group of individuals who broke away from the bulk of Republicans and did not vote for the bill in the final vote. This led to a vehement patronage battle immediately after, where Carter induced Tafts' appointment of two census

supervisors without consulting Dixon.³¹ Dixon ended up fighting this vigorously, but the fight left Dixon partially disillusioned with Taft.

4 Railroads

Taft's overhaul of railroad regulation was a critical legislative effort of 1910, seeking to relieve farmers across the Great Plains from railroad malfeasance and inequity via a court of commerce and other measures. When President Taft announced his desire to create a court of commerce to adjudicate accusations of unfair rate hikes, the *Standard* reported on its front page and editorialized that "the large public must be content to accept the judgment of its representatives"³², i.e. Republicans, favoring the bill on the whole. Debate dragged on for months, and other measures were introduced to supplement and guide the court of commerce.

The railroad bill was one of Dixon's most passionate causes³³: he proposed³⁴ and had passed an amendment to make it illegal to charge differently for short and long hauls on the same rail line, a pivotal part of the bill. He also was in reluctant favor³⁵ of the original Taftian bill with a Court of five judges, but gave power to the attorney general instead of the president. He wanted a fast turnaround time guaranteed for disputes before the court, but also a freeze on rates until the court determined the rate reasonable: a presumption of railroad guilt in raising prices,

³¹Jules A. Karlin: *Joseph M. Dixon*, University of Montana, 1974, p. 92.

³²John Hurst Durston et al. (eds.): *Anaconda Standard* Jan. 8, 1910.

³³*Cong. Rec.* Vol. 45.Parts 1–8, Dec. 6, 1909–June 25, 1910, pp. 5653–5662.

³⁴*Cong. Rec.* Vol. 45.Parts 1–8, Dec. 6, 1909–June 25, 1910, p. 4497.

³⁵Jules A. Karlin: *Joseph M. Dixon*, University of Montana, 1974, p. 95.

and a strong endorsement of the Court of Commerce over the Supreme Court. These strong disagreements with Taft demonstrated a move toward the progressive, insurgent side of the party.³⁶

The *Standard* consistently reported favorable news towards the long-haul-short-haul amendment³⁷ and court of commerce³⁸ were consistently reported high on the front page, while ill news was reported on later pages³⁹. Dixon's speech in favor of his long-haul-short-haul amendment was also reported quite favorably by the *Standard*.⁴⁰ This suggests the Company was in favor of both the long-haul-short-haul amendment and the Court of Commerce, implying strong agreement with Dixon here. Presumably, the price equality desired made it cheaper for the company to ship its products to markets and seaports. The Company likely would not care about the Court of Commerce's turnaround time, but would have been strongly in favor of preserving the status quo price.

Dixon also favored unlimited railroad activity, permitting railroads to be owned and own other corporations arbitrarily, except other railroads. He was also strongly in favor of making telecommunications common carriers under the regulation of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Dixon opposed a later bill permitting state cooperation to protect navigable streams. Navigable streams directly compete with

³⁶Jules A. Karlin: *Joseph M. Dixon*, University of Montana, 1974, p. 94.

³⁷John Hurst Durston et al. (eds.): *Anaconda Standard* June 9, 1910; idem (eds.): *Anaconda Standard* June 3, 1910.

³⁸Idem (eds.): *Anaconda Standard* Mar. 28, 1910; idem (eds.): *Anaconda Standard* Jan. 31, 1910; idem (eds.): *Anaconda Standard* Apr. 27, 1910; idem (eds.): *Anaconda Standard* May 11, 1910.

³⁹Idem (eds.): *Anaconda Standard* Mar. 22, 1910; idem (eds.): *Anaconda Standard* Dec. 21, 1910; idem (eds.): *Anaconda Standard* July 3, 1910; idem (eds.): *Anaconda Standard* Mar. 14, 1910; idem (eds.): *Anaconda Standard* Mar. 11, 1910; idem (eds.): *Anaconda Standard* Apr. 21, 1910; idem (eds.): *Anaconda Standard* Mar. 31, 1910; idem (eds.): *Anaconda Standard* July 1, 1910.

⁴⁰Idem (eds.): *Anaconda Standard* (see n. 37).

railroads, and as Dixon showed with the railroad bill, Dixon was a strong supporter of railroads, even in his new guise as an insurgent reformer.

As the Company's broad endeavors resembled a trust, the Company would be strongly in favor, like Dixon, of unlimited railroad ownership and shipping of railroad products without losing common carrier status. At the time, the Company owned its own short-haul railroad, carrying primarily its own ore, while maintaining common carrier status.⁴¹ These would adversely affect its ability to operate its own railroad as a common carrier, increasing costs.

5 Postal Depository

Taft also desired to aid farmers across the Great Plains by regulating and guaranteeing some banks, so they could preserve their hard-earned money without risk from panics. After the hard-fought railroad bill, Taft proposed a government savings bank, with branches at every post office. The *Standard* was apathetic to the announcement of Taft's goal of postal depositories and a government savings bank initially⁴², but became enthusiastic after Montana's other senator, Carter, proposed and successfully passed the bill.⁴³ It did not seem especially relevant to the Company, but from the limited reporting in the *Standard*, it seems likely that the Company was mildly favorable toward it.

⁴¹Charles Mutschler: *Wired for Success: the Butte, Anaconda, and Pacific Railway, 1892-1985*, 1st ed., Washington State University Press, 2002, p. 52; idem: *Wired for Success: the Butte, Anaconda, and Pacific Railway, 1892-1985*, 1st ed., Washington State University Press, 2002, p. 104.

⁴²John Hurst Durston et al. (eds.): *Anaconda Standard* Feb. 13, 1909.

⁴³Idem (eds.): *Anaconda Standard* Feb. 1, 1910; idem (eds.): *Anaconda Standard* Oct. 7, 1910.

Dixon was strongly opposed to the creation of a government savings bank or depository, run through the postal system. Under both bills proposed to establish these postal depositories, Dixon voted against any limits on monetary interaction by the government, at their judgment.

Dixon and the Company strongly disagreed on the postal depository bill. The Company, and Carter, both strongly supported the creation of postal depositories, and regulations forcing their solvency. Dixon, however, opposed both the creation of depositories and regulations on how their funds could be invested. Dixon desired unlimited investment of the funds taken in, unhampered by a percentage that must be kept available.

6 Comparison of Anaconda Politics and Dixon's Politics

These key issues show that Dixon and the Company actually agreed in most cases. Of these, Dixon and the Company had only one major disagreement, composing only three key votes⁴⁴, and a few minor disagreements without major effect. This agreement in forty-one of forty-four key votes indicates very strong agreement between Dixon and the Company, a surprising result given the conventional narrative by Karlin and Swibold, of Dixon starting to oppose the Company during this time period.

⁴⁴*Cong. Rec.* Vol. 46.Parts 1–4, Dec. 5, 1910–Mar. 3, 1911, p. 2663; *Cong. Rec.* Vol. 46.Parts 1–4, Dec. 5, 1910–Mar. 3, 1911, p. 2780; *Cong. Rec.* Vol. 45.Parts 1–8, Dec. 6, 1909–June 25, 1910, p. 8633.

7 Conclusion

Using analysis of voting clusters, forty-four key votes in three key issues distinguish the 61st Congress. Senator Dixon disagreed with any other senator at least 14% of the time, but surprisingly, of these key votes examined, Dixon disagreed with the Company only about 6% of the time. This indicates strong agreement with the Company, better than any other senator of the 61st Congress.

In particular, Dixon agreed more, using this data, with the Company than Sen. Carter. Carter publicly supported Amalgamated during this time period, and Dixon's closer private agreement with Amalgamated is surprising. Even though Carter was the Company's long-time senator in Congress, Dixon appears to have acted in the Company's' interest more frequently. Further analysis is necessary, but this result belies Dixon transitioning to anti-Company politics during this time period, and suggests further research.

Interestingly, Karlin refers to Senators Bristow, Brown, and Burkett as Dixon's closest associates in the Senate⁴⁵, but these senators have voting records nearly opposite Dixon's record. While all Democrats disagreed more with Dixon than any Republican, Bristow was the second-most different Republican compared to Dixon, and Brown and Burkett also strongly differed. This data casts doubt on Karlin and Swibold's narratives, and suggests Dixon did not actually shift away from the Company until after the 61st Congress.

⁴⁵Jules A. Karlin: *Joseph M. Dixon*, University of Montana, 1974, p. 90.

A Methodology

A.1 Comparison of Senator's Voting Records

Data on roll call votes⁴⁶ was analyzed: yeas, paired yeas, and announced yeas were all treated as equivalent positive views; similarly, nays, paired nays, and announced yeas were treated as equivalent negative views. Every senator's ideological difference was then calculated: considering only those votes where both senators expressed a view, the fraction of identical views over total views expressed was treated as the distance between the two senators. Distances ranged from 0 for full-term senators Hale and Foster, who always agreed in 41 votes, to .94, for full-term senators Gore and Penrose, who disagreed 139 of 148 times. A histogram of the resulting distances confirmed the likely existence of clusters of senators who agreed well with each other and badly with other clusters.

Complete-linkage clustering⁴⁷ was then performed on the distance matrix of full-term senators' records. Senator Dixon was found to be particularly differentiated, with the most similar senator disagreeing in 14% of votes.

A.2 Clustering of Senators by Voting Record Similarity

To determine the cluster of senators relatively similar to Dixon, clustering was run to a radius of .2, corresponding to 19 clusters, on full-term senators only. The resulting clusters were primarily single senators; nontrivial clusters had sizes 5, 6, 18, and 36. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the senators in each cluster shared their party affiliation; 18 and 6 of the Democrats were clustered together, while 36 and 5 of the Republicans were clustered. Dixon was found to be closest to the cluster of size 36, with maximum distance to a senator in this cluster of .36, as opposed to other cluster distances being at least .45.

The nearest senators to Dixon without clustering were also determined, in Figure 2. 8 senators were within .2 of Dixon, corresponding to a jump in the distances away from Dixon; of these, 5 were in the previously-identified large cluster, while the other 3 were unclustered.

⁴⁶*61st Congress Roll Call Data*, in: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research/Keith Poole (eds.) 2008, URL: <http://voteview.com/senate61.htm>.

⁴⁷Single-linkage clustering was also attempted, but had no better clustering results.

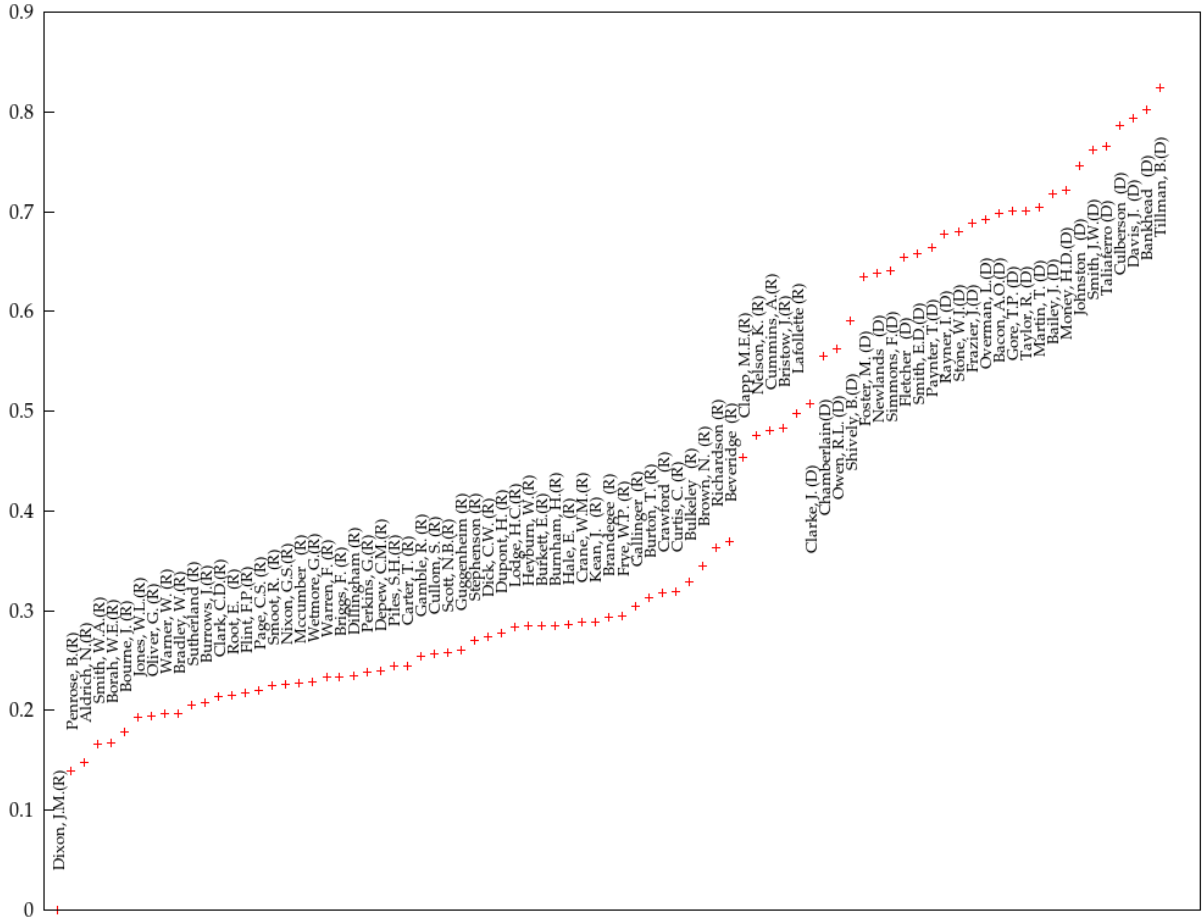


Figure 2: Distances between Dixon and every other senator of the 61st Congress. Lower means that the senator agreed with Dixon more frequently. Interestingly, every Republican was closer than every Democrat, although the border does not show a sharp distance increase. Also interestingly, Carter, Montana's other senator in the 61st Congress, was roughly as far away from Dixon as the average Republican.

ALDRICH, N.	BRADLEY, W.	BRANDEGEE
BRIGGS, F.	BURNHAM, H.	BURROWS, J.
CARTER, T.	CLARK, C.D.	CRANE, W.M.
CULLOM, S.	DEPEW, C.M.	DICK, C.W.
DILLINGHAM	DUPONT, H.	FLINT, F.P.
FRYE, W.P.	GALLINGER	GUGGENHEIM
HALE, E.	KEAN, J.	LODGE, H.C.
NIXON, G.S.	OLIVER, G.	PAGE, C.S.
PENROSE, B.	PERKINS, G.	PILES, S.H.
RICHARDSON	ROOT, E.	SCOTT, N.B.
SMOOT, R.	STEPHENSON	SUTHERLAND
WARNER, W.	WARREN, F.	WETMORE, G.

Figure 3: The Mainstream Republican cluster. Note the presence of Carter, Montana's other senator, firmly in the pocket of the Company⁴⁹, in this group.

PENROSE, B.	Pennsylvania
ALDRICH, N.	Rhode Island
OLIVER, G.	Pennsylvania
WARNER, W.	Missouri
BRADLEY, W.	Kentucky

Figure 4: The Mainstream Dixonite cluster. Surprisingly, both senators from Pennsylvania are within this cluster; it may be interesting to examine the correlation between geographical proximity and similarity to Dixon.

The 36 senators in the nearest cluster to Dixon are here called the Majority Republicans (Table 3), the 5 senators in the Majority Republicans who were within .2 of Dixon the Mainstream Dixonites (Table 4), and the 3 unclustered senators within .2 of Dixon the Radical Dixonites (Table 5).

A.3 Determination of Key Votes

To determine the most important votes of the 267 during this time period, four metrics were used. The agreement of Dixon's vote with all of Senate, the Mainstream Republicans, Mainstream Dixonites, and Radical Dixonites was plotted, as shown in Figure 6. As expected, Mainstream Dixonites and Radical Dixonites agreed with Dixon very often, and Mainstream Republicans fairly often; unexpectedly, most disagreements occurred during the second session of Congress.

BORAH, W.E. Idaho
 BOURNE, J. Oregon
 JONES, W.L. Washington

Figure 5: The Radical Dixonite cluster. Interestingly, all of these senators are from Northwestern states.

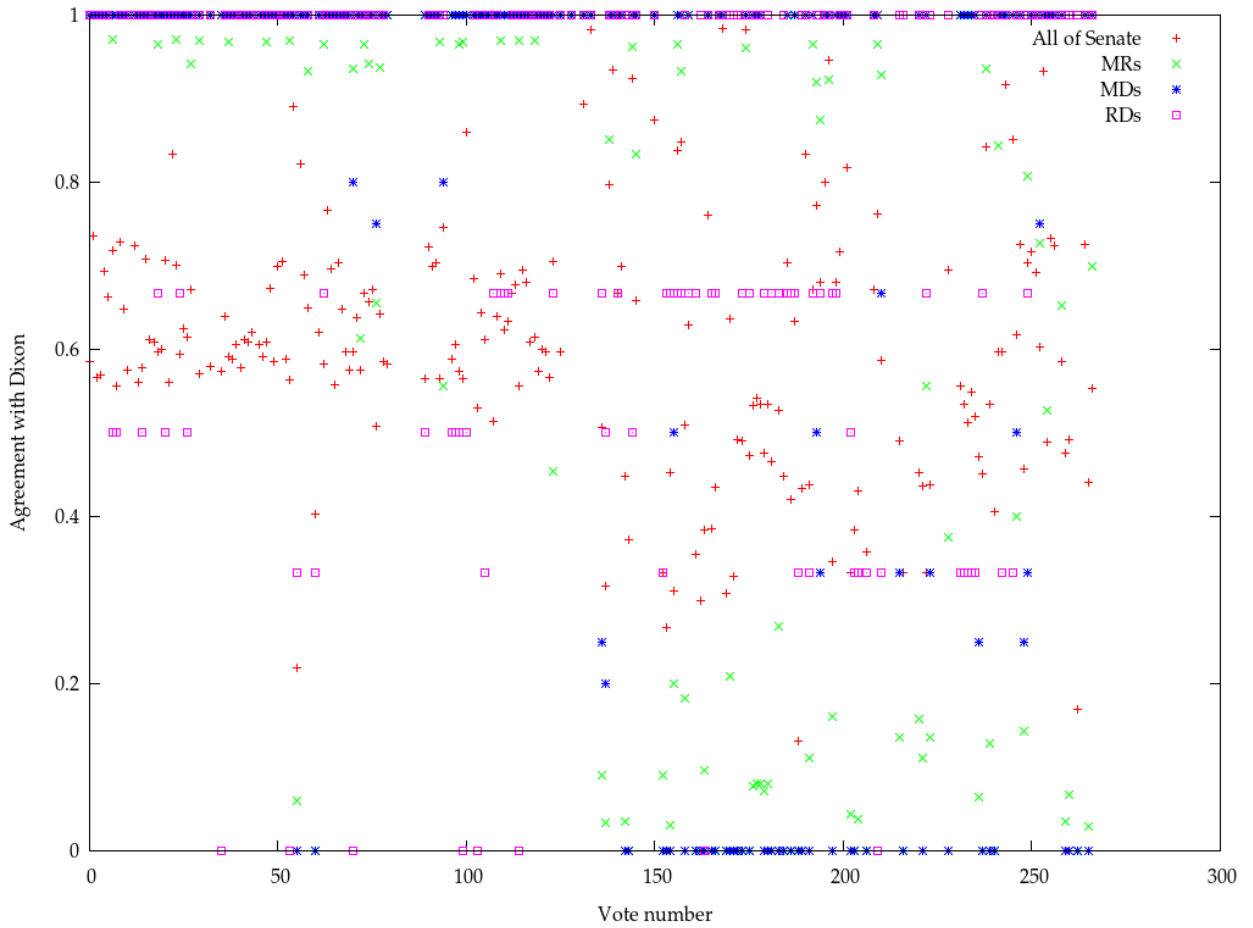


Figure 6: Fraction of the 61st Congress, Mainstream Republicans, Mainstream Dixonites, and Radical Dixonites in agreement with Dixon on each roll-call vote.

Dixon participated in 214 votes; any vote fulfilling one of these criteria was studied further:

1. where less than half of the Radical Dixonites and less than half of the Mainstream Dixonites agreed (9 votes fulfilled)
2. where no Mainstream Dixonite agreed (42 votes)
3. where less than a quarter of Senate agreed (all 3 votes fulfilling this criterion were selected by a previous criterion)
4. where less than a sixth of Mainstream Dixonites agreed (these indicate significant difference from the Mainstream Dixonite cluster) (43 votes)

This made a list of 54 unique votes where Dixon differed significantly from the mainstream, even from those he agreed strongly with, thus indicating potential important votes. After removing the 7 votes on adjournment, considered to be unimportant, and removing multiple votes regarding the same bills, 3 senate bills and 5 house resolutions were considered important, with 44 key votes. These can be summarized into just three key issues, as above.

HR1438 To provide revenue, equalize duties, and encourage the industries of the United States⁵⁰

HR11798 A bill enabling the cooperation of any state with another state or with the U. S., to protect the watersheds of navigable streams and to appoint a commission for the acquisition of lands for the purpose of conserving the navigability of navigable rivers⁵¹

HR17536 A bill creating a court of commerce⁵²

S5876 A bill establishing postal savings depositories for savings, at interest with security of government for repayment thereof⁵³

S6708 To amend the act of March 3, 1891, entitled ``An act to provide for ocean mail service between the United States and foreign ports and to promote commerce''⁵⁴

⁵⁰*Cong. Rec.* Vol. 44.Parts 1–5, Mar. 4–Aug. 15, 1909, p. 3139.

⁵¹*Cong. Rec.* Vol. 46.Parts 1–4, Dec. 5, 1910–Mar. 3, 1911, p. 2602.

⁵²*Cong. Rec.* Vol. 45.Parts 1–8, Dec. 6, 1909–June 25, 1910, p. 8391.

⁵³*Cong. Rec.* (See n. 44).

⁵⁴*Cong. Rec.* Vol. 45.Parts 1–8, Dec. 6, 1909–June 25, 1910, p. 2243.

S6737 To create a Court of Commerce and to amend the act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," and approved February 4, 1887, as heretofore amended, and for other purposes⁵⁵ (HR17536 replaced this bill⁵⁶.)

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Cong. Rec. Vol. 44.Parts 1–5, Mar. 4–Aug. 15, 1909, p. 3139.

Cong. Rec. Vol. 45.Parts 1–8, Dec. 6, 1909–June 25, 1910, pp. 5653–5662.

Cong. Rec. Vol. 45.Parts 1–8, Dec. 6, 1909–June 25, 1910, p. 4497.

Cong. Rec. Vol. 45.Parts 1–8, Dec. 6, 1909–June 25, 1910, p. 8633.

Cong. Rec. Vol. 45.Parts 1–8, Dec. 6, 1909–June 25, 1910, p. 8391.

Cong. Rec. Vol. 45.Parts 1–8, Dec. 6, 1909–June 25, 1910, p. 2243.

Cong. Rec. Vol. 45.Parts 1–8, Dec. 6, 1909–June 25, 1910, p. 2379.

Cong. Rec. Vol. 45.Parts 1–8, Dec. 6, 1909–June 25, 1910, p. 7374.

Cong. Rec. Vol. 46.Parts 1–4, Dec. 5, 1910–Mar. 3, 1911, p. 2663.

Cong. Rec. Vol. 46.Parts 1–4, Dec. 5, 1910–Mar. 3, 1911, p. 2780.

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