

He scouted the absurdity of the notion that while there should be free speech it should not be too free, claiming for Emma Goldman the same right to express her opinions that he claimed for himself. The only restriction he conceded was criminal responsibility for speeches actually made which advise the commission of crime. He proposed that such utterances should subject the offender to punishment whether the crime advised be committed or not. This is a sound position, provided the law creating that responsibility be so drawn as to prevent its abuse by intolerant officials; and this can easily be done by penalizing only those utterances which, though they may not actually cause the commission of the crime advised, would, if they did so, make the utterer an accessory before the fact.

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DIRECT LEGISLATION IN OREGON.

What tremendous political power is in the hands of the people of the State of Oregon! That is the thought which possesses one after looking through the 124 clearly printed pages of a pamphlet which has come across the continent from that State. Here is the title page in full:

State of Oregon. A pamphlet Containing a Copy of All Measures "Referred to the people by the Legislative Assembly," "Referendum Ordered by Petition of the People" and "Proposed by Initiative Petition," to be submitted to the Legal Voters of the State of Oregon for their approval or rejection at the regular general election to be held on the first day of June, 1908. Together with the Arguments Filed, Favoring and Opposing certain of said Measures. Compiled and issued by Frank W. Benson, Secretary of State. (Publication authorized under Chapter 226, Laws of 1907.) Salem, Oregon: Willis S. Duniway, State Printer. 1908.

Truly this Pacific State is a model of political freedom, of real popular government. The pamphlet deals with nineteen different measures which are to be voted on (p. 28) at the June election. Its purpose is to inform the voters on those measures as far as possible. Note these facts in regard to this proposed legislation:

1. There has been entire freedom in the initiation of these proposals. No power can prevent the people of Oregon from legislating on any subject they wish.

2. The State itself provides that every voter in Oregon shall have the opportunity of fully understanding the questions on which he is to vote. High above the flood of ordinary periodical literature this State pamphlet towers with a prominence, an importance, an insistence, a lucidity,

which ensures careful perusal and thoughtful consideration.

3. The issues are clear cut and unmistakable. Each measure is voted for or against on its own merits, totally disentangled from other issues and from the personnel of legislative candidates who may support or oppose it.

4. No interested politician can quietly emasculate any of these measures by the insertion of a "little joker"; nor will any of them be smuggled into law by an interested lobby, or rushed through without consideration at the close of a legislative session. They stand in the bright sunlight of publicity for four months before the voters say Yes or No.

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What are these nineteen measures which the Oregon voters have to deal with?

Four of them are proposed Constitutional amendments which have been referred to the people by the Legislative Assembly, probably in compliance with State law.

Four others are acts of the legislature which have been challenged by a sufficiently signed Referendum petition, and therefore not one of them can become law until it receives an affirmative popular majority. In each case more than seven thousand voters have so strong an objection to the bill that they have compelled its submission to the people.

The remaining eleven measures are new, and have been proposed by Initiative petitions. Among them are the woman suffrage and the single tax Constitutional amendments.

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The four measures referred to the people by the legislature relate respectively to the payment of members of the Legislative Assembly, to the location of State institutions, to changes in court procedure, and to the time of holding elections. There are no printed arguments for or against any of them.

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The four acts on which the Referendum has been invoked by petition of the people, are as follows: (1) Concerning the custody of prisoners, the salaries of guards and jailors, and so on; (2) an act requiring railroads and other common carriers to grant free transportation to State officers and county judges and sheriffs, etc., as a condition precedent to acquiring land for corporate purposes by the exercise of eminent domain, and to prohibit the payment of mileage for such free transportation; (3) an act appropriating \$100,000

to erect armories for the Oregon National Guard; (4) an act appropriating \$125,000 annually for the University of Oregon, instead of \$47,500 now annually appropriated.

The pamphlet contains arguments in relation to the second, third, and fourth of those acts.

The first argument in the book is one submitted by the Oregon State Grange against the pass law and the armory law, jointly. Farmers are availing themselves of this very practical way of exercising specific political influence as farmers. There are no affirmative arguments on these two measures.

An affirmative argument for the \$125,000 appropriation is submitted by the University of Oregon Alumni Association. It covers six pages, and concludes with an earnest appeal for careful and friendly consideration of the university's needs and a conclusive majority in favor of its adequate support. For the negative, a trenchant argument of four pages is submitted by the Linn County organization of the Patrons of Husbandry. These representative farmers accuse the university of extravagance, and point out that it has now a State appropriation of \$150 per student, as against \$8 for the common schools.

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The eleven new measures which have been proposed by Initiative petition are as follows:

(1) For an equal suffrage Constitutional amendment permitting women to vote on equal terms with men.

(2 and 3) Concerning fisheries.

(4) For a Constitutional amendment giving additional and exclusive power to cities and towns within their corporate limits to license, regulate, control and tax, or to suppress or prohibit, theatres, racetracks, poolrooms, bowling alleys, billiard halls, and the sale of liquors: subject to the provisions of the Local Option Law of the State of Oregon.

(5) The Single Tax amendment, which if adopted will make the taxation clause of the Constitution read: "Section 1. The Legislative Assembly shall provide by law for uniform and equal right of assessment and taxation, and shall prescribe such regulations as shall secure a just valuation for taxation of all property, both real and personal; excepting that all dwelling houses, barns, sheds, outhouses, and all other appurtenances thereto, all machinery and buildings used exclusively for manufacturing purposes and the appurtenances thereto, all fences, farm machinery, and appliances used as such, all fruit trees, vines,

shrubs and all other improvements on farms, all live stock, all household furniture in use, and all tools owned by workmen and in use, shall be exempt from taxation; and excepting all such property for municipal, educational, literary, scientific, religious or charitable purposes as may be specially exempted by law."

(6) A Constitutional amendment giving 25 per cent of the voters power to call a special election at any time to discharge any public officer and elect his successor.

(7) A bill for a law instructing members of the Legislature to vote for and elect the candidates for United States Senator who receive the highest number of votes at the general election.

(8) A Constitutional amendment providing for a Single Vote, permitting Proportional Representation, and permitting an Absolute Majority preferential method of electing single officers.

(9) A lengthy bill to regulate the conduct of elections, the expenses of candidates, etc.

(10) Relating to grand juries.

(11) To create a new county.

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There are not arguments upon all of these proposals, but such as do appear are very interesting. They are carefully drawn, terse, vigorous, and to the point.

First come four pages in favor of woman suffrage, signed by twelve women members of the Oregon Equal Suffrage Association, and embellished with eleven small half-tone portraits of prominent men who have expressed themselves in favor of equal suffrage, including President Lincoln and Governor Chamberlain of Oregon. The negative is presented in two pages by the Oregon State Association opposed to extension of suffrage to women, and is signed by twenty women.

There are four arguments on the two fisheries measures, measures which are no doubt of much local interest and importance. These arguments occupy fifteen pages in all, and are respectively presented by H. A. Webster, formerly Deputy Fish Warden, by the secretary of the Columbia River Salmon Protective Association (two arguments), and by packing and canning companies and those in the same interests.

Dr. Reddy submits half a page of argument favorable to the Constitutional amendment giving additional and exclusive powers to cities and towns. Against it the Portland Municipal Association and the Oregon Anti-Saloon League print a page and a half, ending thus: "Therefore we object for five reasons—First, it is a saloon meas-

ure, intended to entrench the saloon and nullify the local option law. Second, it makes the cities principalities independent of the criminal courts and police boards of the county and State. Third, it assumes for the city independence from the county, yet does not propose to provide for the expense of vice and crime to be borne by cities alone. Fourth, because cities and country in counties are an indissoluble whole. What affects one affects the other. Fifth. This measure is a violent reversal of the entire structure of our Government."

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No argument is yet submitted for the negative on the Single Tax amendment, but it is reported that one is being issued. An affirmative argument of four pages submitted by the Oregon Tax Reform Association, appears in the State pamphlet. Its opening words go straight to the mark:

The proposed amendment is a step in the direction of the Single Tax. If adopted it would exempt most personal property and improvements from taxation, and the argument submitted has in view that all such property will ultimately be exempted. It does not exempt business buildings, merchandise, cash, improvements of public service corporations, and a few other articles of personality and improvements.

The Oregon Tax Reform Association, composed of men who have devoted their lives to the common good, seeing the injustice and iniquitous results of our present system of taxation, which has been so carefully defended and unscrupulously evaded by the various special interests and monopolies, feel certain that the time has arrived and the people are ready to abolish this effete and iniquitous system and institute a better, just, and more certain method of taxation. We have therefore determined to submit the above amendment to remove taxation from industry and place it on land values.

Then follows an extract from page 285 of Henry George's "Social Problems"; and after that a clear and forcible presentation of the points with which Single Taxers are familiar; along with a telling concrete example taken from the city of Portland. Here are the concluding words of the argument:

This is no war on persons—no appeal to class or personal interest, but to progressive public spirit to amend a tax system which has encouraged injurious speculation and discouraged the increase of industry and wealth. After more than forty years of Statehood, Oregon had only 435,000 population in 1900. Her area is twice as great as New York; about as large as old England and New England combined. They surpass her in population one hundred times, while she surpasses them in all that should draw population and enterprise. If Oregon were as densely populated as Rhode Island she would have 45,000,000 people. This amendment appeals to that thoughtful conservatism which knows that we have opened too wide the door to speculation. Oregon is

rich in opportunity. It is only required to amend the laws that the abundance of nature may be free to the hand of industry.

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A joint argument is presented by the People's Power League of Oregon in favor of the four measures they promote—namely: the Recall, the United States Senators bill, Proportional and Preferential Voting, and the Purity of Elections bill.

First, the League tells who it is, by giving a list of its officers, its sixteen executive committeemen, and its forty-eight other members, as existing on the 3d of February, 1908. Then the intention of the four measures is summed up in these words:

This league is largely composed of the same group of men who proposed the Initiative and Referendum amendment in 1902, the Direct Primary Law in 1904, and Home Rule for cities and other measures of the People's Power League of 1906. Its object is to complete the direct power of the voters of Oregon over their State and local government in all its branches and officers. Many of our members were with Mr. Ed. Bingham in his agitation for the Australian Ballot Law and the Registration Law. We believe the approval of the above four measures by the people will complete the necessary practical methods by which the voters of Oregon will be able quickly, directly, and effectively to use their supreme power over the officers as well as the laws of our State and local government.

Then follow four pages of argument, about a page to each of the four measures.

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Two brief affirmative arguments are printed in favor of the Grand Jury bill and the new county bill respectively. This completes the list of arguments printed in the State pamphlet.

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Persons desiring to have arguments in the State pamphlet have to pay for them at a regular rate per page, which prevents undue length. One is struck by the immense educational value of all this practical political work, and also with the way in which it promotes straightforward politics. There is no hole-and-corner work. Everything has to be done in the open. Nothing is rushed, and ample time is given for deliberation—for the voter to make up his mind before he goes to the polls.

Direct Legislation by the Initiative and Referendum requires two factors for complete success; a good Direct Legislation law must be in the Constitution or statute book, and then there must be public spirited citizens who will see to it that the law is used and not allowed to lie idle. Ore-

gon is fortunate in being well supplied with public spirited citizens of that stamp. May they have that abundant measure of success which they so well deserve, and may their example be widely followed.

ROBERT TYSON.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

RAYMOND ROBINS IN BOSTON.

Boston, April 13.—Mr. Robins spoke six times in his three days' stay in Boston. His first address was on the subject of women's part in social and industrial betterment. Among his hearers were many veteran workers in the cause of the emancipation of women, and when he had finished his splendid plea for the legal right of women to a direct voice in the affairs of the state for the protection of themselves and their children and for the general welfare of the community, the verdict of these workers was that Mr. Robins had made the best statement of the case for equal rights they had ever heard.

On Saturday afternoon Mr. Robins spoke before the Twentieth Century Club on Education and the Workers, and in the evening on the Trades Unionists' Opportunity.

Sunday morning at the First Church in Cambridge he held his audience spellbound in his recital of the methods by which simple-hearted country boys and untutored men are made into thieves and jallbirds in our boasted Christian civilization.

Sunday afternoon at the New Voters' Festival in Faneuil Hall, his address, Civic Corruption and the Way Out, was enthusiastically received by a crowded audience, largely young men just entering upon their full privileges as citizens.

Monday morning before the Congregational ministers Mr. Robins gave his address on The Social Conscience of Christ. With the possible exception of his Sunday morning address this was perhaps the most moving of Mr. Robins's six genuinely remarkable lectures. We have long looked upon Jesus' message as almost purely a personal one, but illuminated by Mr. Robins's wonderful insight and by his years of experience among "the least of these my brethren," Jesus' teaching as a social gospel is convincingly revealed, and the call to the service of one's fellows becomes a compelling force.

In his eight years' work among the human driftwood of a great city Mr. Robins has traced back step by step the careers of scores of individuals who from simple, ignorant, well-intentioned folk, have become thieves and outcasts, enemies of society and a shame and menace to our civilization. His revelation of the causes that combine to produce these wrecks is calculated to make the smug and self-righteous sit up and take notice, but neither the prophets of old nor the Master himself softened the condemnation because it fell in unexpected places, and Mr. Robins, worthy follower of these, and of the preachers of social righteousness in all times, speaks the truth as he has found it, let the blows fall where they will.

MARGARET E. CHASE.

NEWS NARRATIVE

To use the reference figures of this Department for obtaining continuous news narratives:

Observe the reference figures in any article; turn back to the page they indicate and find there the next preceding article on the same subject; observe the reference figures in that article, and turn back as before; continue until you come to the earliest article on the subject; then retrace your course through the indicated pages, reading each article in chronological order, and you will have a continuous news narrative of the subject from its historical beginnings to date.

Week ending Tuesday, April 21, 1908.

Organized Labor in Politics.

A systematic movement under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor for concerted political action (vol. x, p. 1231) was begun in thousands of meetings, held on the 19th in every city and town where the influence of the American Federation of Labor extends. Samuel Gompers spoke at a large mass meeting in Grand Central Palace, New York. In referring to recent Supreme Court decisions, Mr. Gompers is reported to have said:

I will not tolerate, nay, I will resent, any imputations that our highest court has been prompted by any dishonest or sordid motive. But it remains a fact that men who have been successes as lawyers and jurists, what the world of our time regards as successful lawyers and jurists, are men whose very rearing, education and environment are not in accord with the spirit of the times. They are but human, like you and me. Like you and me they are liable to err, and they must not forget that they are subject, like you and me, to the criticism of their fellow citizens. We ask from Congress that the rights that have been taken from us be restored. We ask this, and in our sovereign rights as citizens of this country we purpose to send to industrial and political oblivion those who stand in the way of the toiler now and in the days to come. It is the most momentous question that the working people of this country have been called upon to face since the civil war. It is our duty to demand of Congress the passage of laws which shall give us the right to labor unmolested, and we demand those laws, not next year or some date remote in the future, but at the present session of Congress.

The resolutions protested against the recent decisions of the Supreme Court which were adverse to labor interests. Not only did they demand legislation at this session of Congress, but declared that they would send to political oblivion all who opposed them. Appeal was made to all workers to stand by their friends and elect them, and oppose those indifferent and hostile to their cause and defeat them at the coming election.

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The most notable proceeding before central labor bodies occurred at the meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor. Raymond Robins addressed this body upon invitation, and roused the delegates to a high pitch of enthusiasm in a remark-