

own has been. In him the people have recognized integrity, ability, enthusiasm, candor, and democracy. He has become to them as he is in fact, Bryan the Genuine; and by that sign shall his party conquer.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE OREGON SITUATION IN FULL.

Portland, June 21.—Many Oregon newspapers, including the chief daily—The Oregonian—are reproaching or bewailing the slough into which the State has fallen, as they view it, and are ashamed of it as a "freak State," the fertile soil for every lunatic idea possessed by the army of cranks. It is certainly true that as the reformer must expect to be misunderstood and abused, so that aggregation of reformers, the reform State, must expect to be ridiculed and misrepresented as a State by the conservative mind. But the interesting point is not what the angry or satirical critics say, but what are the facts, and what relation do those facts bear to the welfare of mankind. As one of the cranks, neither safe nor sane, let me present the view some of us have taken for years, and the results from the attempted reforms.

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The fundamental fact was, and is, that the great inequality of social development lies in the inequality of opportunity. The inequality of opportunity is due to special privileges created by law; and the government was not, and is not a government of the people, by the people, for the people, but a government of the people, by the Bosses, for the Interests. True, Oregon, as a sparsely settled State afforded land for homes, and the pressure of special privilege was not felt as in the denser populations; but true, also, its great forests, water power, latent wealth and its dependence on railways (the only feasible modern highway) made it a rich field for the exploiter. The consequence was as usual that the political power was used for special interests, not for the welfare of the people, and the people had no choice whatever in the elections. They took the slate offered and voted like sheep. The party convention settled every question. The primaries settled the convention, the Bosses settled the primaries, and the Interests settled the Bosses.

Every legislature was a lobbying spectacle and a scandal. Legislatures which had the duty of electing United States Senators were stacked up for the purpose as far as possible, and contending aspirants vied with each other in the purchase of votes. In one case the minority faction was sufficiently strong to prevent the organization of the Legislature by refusing to attend and make a quorum, and the State enjoyed a rest from scheming legislation. But it was a sorry spectacle. In short, corruption and the lobby and a contempt for the plain voter marked the whole political program.

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The passage of the Initiative and Referendum amendment to the Constitution operated instantly,

as if by magic. A wholesome fear of the people fell upon legislators. The lobby disappeared as useless; and while legislators are not now Solons or Hampdens, they are more nearly the servants, rather than the rulers of the people.

To cut up by the root the Machine Power, which power lay in the ability to stack up a convention of dummies and hand it a "slate," the Direct Primary Law was passed, a law which uncovers the real purpose of a primary election, and recognizing that in the primary the nominations were in effect made, requires that in fact and law they shall be actually made at the primaries; and it illegitimizes convention nominations. This law also had an instantaneous effect. No conventions have since been held, and the bosses find their employment gone.

But by reason of its novelty and the obstinacy of the influential men in the dominant party (Republican), who sulk in their tents, this law has not in my opinion thus far been the success which it can easily be made; though with all its present defects I would rather have it as it now operates than the old system of a convention and a slate. Under the old system the Bosses felt a certain personal responsibility and also desired the voting strength at the polls gained by a strong candidate. Therefore each party selected with some care the most available man. Under the present system there is no organization, no personal sense of responsibility. Each candidate selects himself and nominates himself and conducts his nominating campaign at his own expense, or with the aid of friends or influences which hope to profit by him if elected. The consequence has been that the best men—the self-respecting men, the successful men—will not nominate themselves, shout their own merits and hustle in the crush and crowd for a nomination. Cheaper men, shallower men, men of more demagogic pretense than solid ability, now secure the important nominations. It is a serious defect, but can be remedied and in my opinion will be, as I shall suggest further on.

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The laws of this State provide that the people may nominate and vote for United States Senator, which, of course, under the U. S. Constitution, can only have the effect of a nomination to the State Legislature. The first experiment under this law was six years ago, when ex-Governor Geer was nominated by petition, as may be done under our law, and I was nominated by the Democratic convention. Governor Geer received the majority, and I did what I could to influence the Democratic legislators to vote for him, hoping to at least establish a movement toward accepting the verdict of the people. But the Democratic legislators refused to vote for a Republican. Their vote would not in any event have been decisive, as they were a small minority and could not in any sense exercise any influence on the result. The popular vote in this case was not taken very seriously. Governor Geer was said to be not the party nominee, but self-appointed—that is, nominated by a petition circulated by his friends, and, as his enemies said, inspired by him. It was generally accepted that the showing I made at the polls was not a genuine expression of popular opinion, but was a fake vote thrown away on me by the anti-Geer

faction of Republicans—or perhaps, even sincerely hoping to give me a majority, knowing that the election of a Democrat by the Legislature would be impossible. Be the reasons what they may, very few attached any serious meaning to this first popular voting for United States Senator, and Senator Fulton was elected at the last minute of the session.

In order to make the popular vote for United States Senator effective thereafter, the Direct Primary Law provided that a candidate for the legislature might be asked to make either of two statements or pledges. One:

I further state to the people of Oregon as well as to the people of my legislative district, that during my term of office, I will always vote for that candidate for United States Senator in Congress who has received the highest number of the people's votes for that position at the general election next preceding the election of a Senator in Congress, without regard to my individual preference.

This is known as "Statement No. 1," now much ridiculed by The Oregonian as "The Holy Statement."

The other:

During my term of office I shall consider the vote of the people for United States Senator in Congress as nothing more than a recommendation, which I shall be at liberty to wholly disregard if the reason for doing so seems to me to be sufficient.

This is known as "Statement No. 2."

At the last Senatorial election, Senator Bourne, by an expensively organized and assiduous campaign, secured the nomination over Mr. H. M. Cake, and also a sufficient number of "Statements No. 1," from candidates for the State legislature to cause his election by that body after he had defeated the Democratic candidate (Senator Gearin) at the polls. But though there was much party bitterness against Senator Bourne and he was accused of having betrayed his party to the Populists and of other specific political crimes, he was a Republican candidate at this time and there was no good reason for disregarding the popular vote. Moreover this legislature had been elected in his interests, which after all was the controlling influence. Otherwise he would have shared Gov. Geer's fate. Senator Bourne is in my opinion a mere sensational, scheming politician of a cheap order, but I was glad to see him elected because it was the first apparent step toward vitalizing the people's choice at the polls.

And now we have confronting us for next January the severest test of all. Governor Chamberlain, the Democratic candidate for United States Senator, has received a plurality of about two thousand over his Republican competitor, H. M. Cake, Mr. Cake having defeated Senator Fulton for the nomination in the Direct Primaries. Already the Republican newspapers are taunting the "Statement No. 1" members of the legislature with the sorry figure they will cut in sending a Democrat to the United States Senate. The question which agitates these men is, Will they not cut a much sorer figure if they violate the solemn pledge on the faith of which they were elected? Undoubtedly some of them repent their promise and would be glad of an excuse to vote on party lines. That excuse is being offered them in various forms by The Oregonian and the old-line press. First they are told that Chamberlain organized the bulk of the

Democratic party in Oregon to register as Republicans so that they could assist in nominating Cake in the Republican primaries, as against Fulton, the present Senator and the stronger man. That Democrats did so register and so act is probable from the trifling registry of Democrats and the heavy registry of Republicans, but I know of nothing which indicates that this was a plot of Governor Chamberlain's. The fact, however, indicates one of the defects of the Direct Primary Nomination law. This door to political trickery and bad faith in making nominations ought to be closed.

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Next the reactionaries charge that Governor Chamberlain's approval by the people is a fiction, that his majority is not genuine or in good faith, but represents the disgruntled Fulton vote which knifed Cake, hoping to give Chamberlain a majority and thus throw the contest into the Legislature, it being Republican, and Chamberlain a Democrat. No personal bad faith is charged against Senator Fulton, nor indeed is this charge limited to the Fulton wing; but it is said that many Republicans, believing Mr. Cake too weak a man, and unwilling to have the State represented in the Senate by such a couple as Bourne and Cake, preferred to defeat Cake with Chamberlain, hoping to defeat Chamberlain in the legislature.

Now in the first place Governor Chamberlain has well served the people as governor. He is very popular. He has twice carried the State for the Governorship and he will make a good figure in the Senate. There is no reason to assume the vote for him was not in good faith. But if it was not, if it, too, was a political trick, it all the more merits the rebuke which will prevent its repetition. The legislature has no right to go into the motives of the electors. It can only look at the result, and if Governor Chamberlain, a Democrat, is returned to the United States Senate by a Republican legislature, this will be a final victory of the people, and there will be no more monkeying with votes in hopes of getting away from the logical conclusion. The principle is the important thing. The term expires, but the principle lives, and it is far more important to the plain Republican masses of this State to nail the principle down hard and fast, that the legislature must obey their official command, than it is to send a Republican to the Senate.

If Chamberlain is elected to the Senate by this legislature, I predict that all the ills of the Direct Primary law will vanish. They will vanish because it will then be settled that the people's election is an actual election. There will be no more political fooling with the buzz-saw. Leaders will see to it that strong men contest for the nomination and voters will vote as they really mean.

The Direct Primary law does not and no law ever can prohibit any body of the people from meeting in convention and discussing men and measures, nor from organizing to support those men and measures. The proper preliminary to the Direct Primaries is the organization of men believing in essentially the same ideas, to announce those ideas and select the candidates they will prefer and work for in the primaries. This is proper. It is necessary. It never can degenerate into the fixed slate, for such a con-

vention nomination has no force in law. The primaries are open to all factions of the party and even to the single individual. Each and every one can make his direct appeal to the voters of the party. There is the same full discussion as in an election campaign, and so far from this being an objection it is, to my mind, a great merit—that the candidates and principles of each party are thrashed out thoroughly before the people, before nominations are made.

The mistake made up to this point is that the parties have abandoned all organization. There is no concerted effort toward a definite goal and in support of the intellectually big men who are invited to enter the contest under support of the organization. The abuse of the primaries by enemies of the party masquerading in them would cease when able men were selected and induced to enter the race, and if necessary a law could be passed prohibiting a citizen from voting a ticket at the election different from that affiliation under which he registered. This is not a curtailment of the franchise nor an interference with the liberty of the citizen. It simply holds him to the consistency of a position which he himself freely elects in the first instance, and is no more restrictive than the present law which prohibits a citizen registered as a Democrat from voting in the Republican primary. If he doesn't like the nominations of his own party he may make others by circulating a petition. I believe this amendment to the law should be made. I believe conventions should be held before the primaries to determine platforms and induce the best possible candidates to offer themselves, under pledge of the support of those represented by the convention.

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So much for Oregon's existing problems. Now, briefly, in conclusion, let us glance at the wisdom of the people of Oregon, so much sneered at and derided by those the people have displaced as rulers, or those in other States who see the handwriting on the wall and know these "crank" measures mean eventually death to Special Privilege and the fat job of governing the people.

The people were required to use their intelligence on the following measures:

A law directing legislators to follow the popular choice for United States Senator. (It was understood this law could only have a moral force.) Carried.

An amendment to the Constitution permitting officials to be put upon their election a second time upon specific charges and after a six months' holding of office, known as the Recall. Carried.

An amendment to the Constitution authorizing the Legislature to enact a system under which minorities shall be given Proportional Representation. Carried.

An amendment providing that no person shall be put upon trial save upon indictment by a grand jury, but district attorneys may amend and correct indictments found to be faulty. Carried.

An amendment allowing State institutions to be erected and conducted elsewhere than at the State capital. Carried.

An amendment allowing all elections to be held on the Federal election day in November. Carried.

An act protecting salmon from the operation of traps and fish wheels. Carried.

An act protecting salmon from excessive use of seines and gill nets. Carried.

An act against corrupt practices and limiting expenditures in elections. Carried.

An act giving an enlarged appropriation to the State University. Carried.

An act giving enlarged powers to the port of Portland for the purpose of keeping a deep channel from Portland to the sea. Carried.

An act giving the sheriff the right to feed prisoners at a per diem rate. Carried.

An act creating the new County of Hood River. Carried.

An amendment allowing towns to regulate the liquor trade within their limits independently of State laws. Lost.

An amendment in the nature of the Single Tax, exempting improvements from taxation. Lost.

An amendment granting woman suffrage. Lost.

An amendment increasing the pay of legislators. Lost.

An amendment reforming the probate system and increasing the Supreme Court from three to five. Lost.

An act requiring railroads to give passes to State officials. Lost.

An act making an appropriation for armories. Lost.

The fact that both fish bills carried shows that the people fully understood each was aimed at a special privilege for a different and hostile branch of the fishing industry. By passing both bills the fish are doubly protected and the special privileges defeated. The Single Tax amendment received so large a vote and was defeated by so small a majority that it clearly indicates only education is needed to pass such a measure two years hence. I think we need an increased Supreme Court, but this bill embraced too many questions. Had it been a straight, simple bill to increase the Supreme Court, I think it would have carried. The voter evidently gave himself the benefit of the doubt and turned down what was to him perhaps a complicated technical question. The handling of money appropriations by the voter is suggestive. Money for the State University is given, for armories refused; for deepening the great waterway to the sea is given, for increased pay of legislators refused.

Every measure to increase the direct power of the people and limit corruption is passed by heavy majorities, and this, too, in spite of opposition by the heavy-weight journal of the State, The Oregonian. The Oregonian specially attacked these measures and the Single Tax, and printed an Advice Chart urging voters to vote no on every question except the university appropriation and the port of Portland. Yet its reasoning and advice seem to have had no effect.

To me the election indicates the ability of the people to understand their welfare quite as well as they can select some one to understand it for them. Take all these various measures and while the net result is not what I or any one man might wish, it does show understanding by the people, and I believe every election is educating the people more and more.

A suit is on its way now to the Supreme Court of the United States to test the constitutionality of the Initiative and Referendum. To my mind the question is an absurd one. The contention is that the republican form of government guaranteed to the States is a representative one exclusively. Every child ought to know that this was a guarantee only of a government by the people, as distinguished from a monarchy. The people exercised the Initiative when they adopted the Constitution itself, or a State constitution or an amendment thereof, and in bond issues by municipalities referred to the vote of the people. The Constitution reserves the right to the people to abolish any form of government. But as I say, it seems too absurd to seriously contend that the people, the source of all power, may not take to themselves the exercise of some of their own powers. If the Initiative is unconstitutional the Referendum is also, so the legislature (the people's delegates) cannot even ask their creators to pass upon a question; and the Legislature becomes superior to its creator—the delegate higher in authority than his principal.

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The papers have amused themselves with cartoons and editorials representing the Hegira of all cranks to Oregon. God forbid that this State should ever become the asylum for respectability and prostitute editors.

C. E. S. WOOD.

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, June 30, 1908.

Death of Ex-President Cleveland.

Near Princeton, N. J., on the 24th, Grover Cleveland, the 22nd and 24th President of the United States, died of heart failure. At the time of his death he was 71 years of age.

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President Roosevelt issued a proclamation in which he said:

In his death the nation has been deprived of one of its greatest citizens. By profession a lawyer, his chief services to his country were rendered during a long, varied and honorable career in public life. As Mayor of his city, as Governor of his State, and twice as President, he showed signal power as an administrator, coupled with entire devotion to the country's good and a courage that quailed before no hostility when once he was convinced where his duty lay. Since his retirement from the Presidency he has continued well and faithfully to serve his countrymen by the simplicity, dignity and uprightness of his private life. In testimony of the respect in which his memory is held by the government and

people of the United States, I do hereby direct that the flags on the White House and the several departmental buildings be displayed at half-staff for a period of thirty days, and that suitable military and naval honors, under the orders of the secretaries of war and of the navy, be rendered on the day of the funeral.

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William J. Bryan paid the following tribute:

The death of ex-President Grover Cleveland brings to a sudden end the phenomenal career of one of the strongest characters known to the political world during the present generation. Like every commanding figure, he had zealous supporters and earnest opponents, but those who differed from him were as ready as his warmest friends to concede to him the possession of the elements of leadership to an extraordinary degree. He was deliberate in action, firm in conviction and ever ready to accept responsibility for what he did. Few men have exerted a more positive influence upon those associated with them. We are not far enough from the period in which his work was done to measure accurately his place in history, but the qualities which made him great are a part of the nation's heritage and universal sorrow is felt at his death.

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The funeral took place on the 26th, Mr. Cleveland's body being buried at Princeton. Four clergymen officiated, but no eulogy was pronounced unless Wordsworth's poem "The Happy Warrior," read by Dr. Van Dyke, be so considered. President Roosevelt attended the funeral. Mrs. Cleveland forbade a military funeral. She consented to the presence of troops, only upon being urged to do so for the safety of President Roosevelt, and then simply as policemen.

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Democratic Presidential Politics.

Arrangements for the Democratic convention, to meet at Denver on the 7th (p. 298), have begun. The first definite indication of the yielding by Roger C. Sullivan and his coadjutors to Bryan's demand that there shall be no "mangling," came over the wires on the 28th. It was then announced that the declared intention of the present national executive committee to name a temporary chairman who would strike a hostile keynote in his opening speech, had been abandoned, and that Theodore A. Bell of California, a Bryan man, would be chosen for temporary chairman. Mr. Bell was the Democratic candidate for Governor of California two years ago. He is a lawyer, was a member of Congress from 1903 to 1905, and is 36 years of age. Mr. Bryan's nomination on the first ballot is now conceded by every one but the manager of Governor Johnson's campaign—Mr. Lynch. As paraphrased by a staff correspondent of the Chicago Record-Herald of the 26th, with reference to the reported purpose of professional politicians to "mangle," Mr. Bryan said that "he