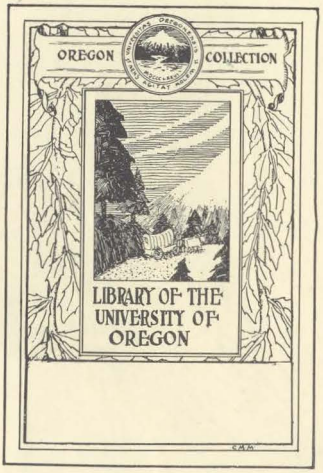
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WILLIAM SIMON U'REN: IN AN AGE OF PROTEST

by

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A THESIS

Presented to the Department of History
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

June 1956

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

LEARNING ABOUT POLITICS

A frail, sickly young lawyer arrived in Tin Cup, Colorado early in 1888 to become editor of an obscure newspaper. His emaciated body was at times convulsed with a wracking cough as he went about his duties in the small mining town. He was finally forced to seek medical care. The doctor told him that he had tuberculosis and that he could not live more than a few months. The only advice the doctor gave was that he should live in a milder climate. Within a few weeks William Simon U'Ren, age twenty-nine, was on his way to Honolulu to die.[1]

During his brief sojourn in Tin Cup, U'Ren read Henry George's Progress and Poverty, and immediately he became a rabid disciple of George. "I went just as crazy over the single-tax idea as any one else ever did," he said. "I knew I wanted single tax, and that was about all I did know . . ."[2] Progress and Poverty answered many questions that plagued the young lawyer; and here he found what he believed to be

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[1]Portland Oregon Journal, November 18, 1927, p. 14.

[2]James Duff Barnett, Initiative and Referendum in Oregon (New York, 1915), 4, 5, quoted from W. S. U'Ren, Report of Single Tax Conference, 1910, pp. 21-23.

the solution to the problems of poverty in a land of plenty. Had not the poverty of his father, and his friends, and himself been caused by great land monopolies representing the interests of mine owners, timber companies and railroads? If all land was taxed each year according to its true value, with all improvements exempted, no speculator could afford to hold land idle, but he would be forced to relinquish his holdings, and the earth would again become the property of all the people. Although the idea seemed plausible to U'Ren, he wondered how it could be brought about, since the monopolists who owned the land also controlled the government. U'Ren had time to think on these things in the Hawaiian Islands, where he worked on a sugar plantation to make a living while waiting to die.

For generations the U'Rens had been blacksmiths and preachers. They had been French Huguenots, Dutch Dissenters, and for three centuries English Dissenters. Early in the nineteenth century, U'Ren's parents came to the United States as followers of John Wesley. From the time of his birth in 1859, at Lancaster, Wisconsin, Will U'Ren lived in an atmosphere of mysticism and devotion to God. The religion of the U'Rens did not always conform to the orthodoxy of the Methodists, and eventually they drifted from the fellowship of the Church. Frances U'Ren, nevertheless, read the Bible to her children and imparted to them a genuine

faith in God. U'Ren later said, "I was especially fond of the Old Testament leaders, Moses and the rest; I suppose it's because they were never satisfied with things as they were, but were always kicking."[3]

After a few years in America, William Richard U'Ren turned from blacksmithing to farming. He took his family to Colorado, where he made several attempts to establish a home, but due to uncertain economic conditions and his own instability, the family never settled down in one place for very long. Young U'Ren attended school at Nevadaville, Central City, and Blackhawk before he had reached his tenth birthday. In 1868, he moved with his family to Cheyenne, Wyoming, and four years later to a homestead in Plum Creek, Nebraska. At the age of fourteen, U'Ren attended grange meetings where he heard the farmers discuss their problems of marketing produce and the need for cheap money. He was especially impressed with the efforts of the homesteaders to collect taxes from non-voting absentee landholders to build a school. He wondered if it was right to tax absent land-

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[3]Lincoln Steffens, "U'Ren, the Law Giver: The Legislative Blacksmith of Oregon and the Tools He Has Fashioned for Democracy," American Magazine (New York), LXV (March, 1908), 530; Burton J. Hendrick, "The Initiative and Referendum, and How Oregon Got Them," McClure's Magazine (New York), XXXVII (July, 1911), 236.

holders for schools they did not use, or if it was wrong for them to hold land they did not use.[4]

In 1876, U'Ren left home to work in the mines of Colorado. Two years later, at the age of nineteen, he took a job as a blacksmith in Denver and attended a business college in the evenings. After a winter of night school he read law in the office of France and Rogers and was admitted to the bar in 1881. During the presidential election year of 1880, he volunteered to work for the Republican party and was assigned the task of organizing the colonies of voters in doubtful wards. After refusing the assignment he asked to be appointed special deputy to protect the Chinese from mob violence as a result of riots that were occurring daily in the streets of Denver. However, he was informed that the riots were staged to convince the people they should vote for "law and order and the Republican Party." After he received his credentials in law, he left Denver to practice in Aspen, Gunnison, and Tin Cup.[5]

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[4]Steffens, "U'Ren, the Law Giver," American Magazine, LXV (March, 1908), 530; Portland Oregon Journal, August 19, 1932, p. 6.

[5]Joseph Gaston, Portland: Its History and Builders (Chicago, 1911), II, 649-50; Alfred D. Cridge, "William S. U'Ren, Lawgiver of Oregon and Single Taxer," Single Tax Review (New York), X (March-April, 1910), 35; Steffens, "U'Ren, the Law Giver," American Magazine, LXV (March, 1908), 531.

After working for a year in the Hawaiian Islands, U'Ren decided that he would rather die in the United States than to continue to live in the middle of the Pacific. He returned in 1889 to California, where he transferred to a ship destined for Portland, Oregon. But before he left California, a stranger handed him a pamphlet on the initiative. For the first time, he saw a means to the reforms he read about in Progress and Poverty.[6]

U'Ren went to work on a stock ranch near Bakeoven, where he became interested in the political issues of Oregon. E. W. Bingham, secretary of the Australian Ballot League, became acquainted with U'Ren; and soon he began teaching U'Ren practical politics. In referring to reform organizations, Bingham told his young student: "Never be president. Never be conspicuous. Get a president and a committee; and let them go to the front. The worker must work behind them out of sight. Be secretary." Together, Bingham and U'Ren presented arguments for the secret ballot to the Republican and Democratic conventions. The force of their arguments undermined the opposition to the bill, and both conventions endorsed it. Thus committed, the legislature

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[6]Portland Oregon Journal, November 18, 1927, p. 14; Hendrick, "The Initiative and Referendum," McClure's Magazine, XXXVII (July, 1911), 239.

passed a secret ballot law during the 1891 session.[7]

U'Ren moved into a deserted cabin near Milwaukie, where he found a more congenial society. He worked for his board, washing clothes and cleaning house for some of the people in the community. As he became more active in politics, his father, who now lived in Oregon, gave him money to help supply his needs. U'Ren had become a spiritualist medium, and he held seances in the homes of Seth and Alfred Lewelling. The Lewellings, who owned a fruit farm, hired U'Ren to work for them. Before the end of the year U'Ren accepted an invitation to become a one-third partner with Seth Lewelling and his wife on a 480-acre farm. The partnership lasted until 1897, when Lewelling died.[8]

In addition to holding seances, the Lewellings also held Farmers' Alliance meetings in their home, and many farmers from the Milwaukie community came to discuss their problems. At one of the meetings Alfred Lewelling gave U'Ren a paper-covered book entitled Direct Legislation by Citizenship, Through the Initiative and Referendum, written by James W. Sullivan. "I read the book through before I

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[7]Steffens, "U'Ren, the Law Giver," American Magazine, LXV (March, 1908), 532; Portland Oregon Journal, December, 31, 1950, p. 9.

[8]Portland Oregonian, January 9, 1898, p. 3; March 9, 1908, p. 4.

slept that night," U'Ren recalled later.[9] "I forgot for the time, all about Henry George and the single tax. . . . The one important thing was to restore the law-making power where it belongs--into the hands of the people." "Once give us that," he concluded, "we could get anything we wanted--single tax, anything."[10]

Discussion of Sullivan's "Swiss System" dominated the agenda at the Milwaukie Farmers' Alliance meetings. U'Ren presented a resolution at one of the meetings requesting the state executive committee to invite the State Grange, the Portland Chamber of Commerce, the Oregon Knights of Labor, and the Portland Federated Trades to form a joint committee to educate the people about direct legislation. With the exception of Portland's Chamber of Commerce, each of the organizations sent a representative to form the Joint Committee on Direct Legislation. They proposed to call for a constitutional convention to add the initiative and referendum to the constitution. The reformers considered it unlikely that the legislators could ever be coerced into giving legislative power to the people. The Joint Committee elected

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[9]Lute Pease, "The Initiative and Referendum: Oregon's 'Big Stick,'" Pacific Monthly (Portland), XVII (May, 1907), 565.

[10]Hendrick, "The Initiative and Referendum," McClure's Magazine, XXXVII (July, 1911), 239.

U'Ren secretary.[11]

In 1892, the same year the Joint Committee on Direct Legislation was organized, the Populist party became a factor in Oregon politics. Several People's party clubs were formed and sent delegates to county conventions. In March, a state convention was called immediately following the Farmers' Alliance Convention in Oregon City.[12] Since many Alliance delegates were also delegates to the Populist convention, direct legislation was given a prominent role in the Populist program. Indeed, many people joined the Populist movement in order to work more effectively for direct legislation in a growing element of reform. Eventually the initiative and referendum "became almost an obsession" with a strong segment in the national movement, "in whose platform it tended to overshadow nearly every other issue."[13]

Within a year after the organization of the Populist party, U'Ren became secretary of the state committee. Although he was also secretary of the Joint Committee on Di-

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[11]Gaston, Portland, Its History and Builders, I, 565; Paul Thomas Culbertson, "A History of the Initiative and Referendum in Oregon" (Ph. D. thesis, Department of History, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, 1941), 56.

[12]Marion Harrington, "The Populist Movement in Oregon," (Master of Art's thesis, Department of History, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, 1935), 33.

[13]John D. Hicks, The Populist Revolt (Minneapolis, 1931), 408.

rect Legislation, his duties were practically the same for both. His object was to conduct an educational campaign on the initiative and referendum in preparation for the election of 1894. Although the Joint Committee was heavily weighted in favor of the People's party, they approached the voters as being strictly non-partisan. If direct legislation was to be achieved, Democrats and Republicans would have to vote for politicians who would support it in the legislature.

During the winter, the women of Milwaukie folded and sewed nearly seventy thousand folders, including eighteen thousand written in German.[14] U'Ren wrote a series of articles for the Oregon City Herald explaining the history and purpose of the initiative and referendum.[15]

In March, 1894, Oregon City was host to the Populist convention. After unanimously electing U'Ren chairman, the delegates settled down to the task of selecting candidates, endorsing the Omaha Platform, and revamping the constitution to give a greater emphasis to the initiative and referendum. Some perceived that the nomination of Nathan Pierce, an ex-Democrat, was a bid for the Democratic vote and a move

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[14]Steffens, "U'Ren, the Law Giver," American Magazine, LXV (March, 1908), 533.

[15]Oregon City Herald, January 12, 1894, p. 1.

toward fusion. Although the majority were opposed to fusion, many of the leaders, including U'Ren, considered Democratic support a convenient means to reform. The speakers, however, who were chosen from the non-fusionists, "puffed the principles promulgated in the Omaha Platform, cast airy persiflage at plutocracy . . . and by other equally unavailing means endeavored to banish sorrow from the 'hayseed's' [non-fusionist's] hearts."[16]

U'Ren made a strong plea for fusion a few weeks before the election. He noted that "not a populist or democrat candidate has refused to pledge himself to the initiative and referendum." He contended that fusion was necessary not only to get direct legislation but also to prevent the Republicans from amending the Australian ballot out of existence.[17]

Ten Populists won seats in the legislature in the general election. Although the Republicans won large majorities in both houses, the Populists were encouraged by the gains they had made since 1892. In addition to the Populists and Democrats, some of the Republicans had promised

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[16]Portland Oregonian, March 16, 1894, p. 1; Roseburg Review, March 19, 1894, p. 1, 3; Harrington, "The Populist Movement in Oregon," 59, 60.

[17]Portland Oregonian, May 8, 1894, p. 2.

to support the proposal for a state convention. Indeed a majority of the legislators had promised U'Ren to vote in favor of reform.[18] He lobbied for five weeks in Salem during the legislative session in an attempt to make them keep their word. But some of the legislators who he thought would support his measure, voted against it. It lost by one vote in each house.[19]

U'Ren learned valuable lessons about politics while in Salem. He came to know the important politicians in the state and how they stood with one another. Joseph Simon, president of the Senate, was largely responsible for defeating the constitutional convention proposal. A Republican from Portland, Simon was ambitious to become a United States senator, but needed the support of the Oregonian, and he was not the Oregonian's first choice.

The editor of the Oregonian, Harvey W. Scott, was one of the most influential Republicans in Oregon. He had been editor of the Oregonian since 1865, "when it was a feeble broadside," and had developed it into one of the most important newspapers on the west coast. The editor's influence

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[18]Harrington, "The Populist Movement in Oregon," 66; Steffens, "U'Ren, the Law Giver," American Magazine, LXV (March, 1908), 533.

[19]Oregon City Courier, May 22, 1896, p. 4; Steffens, U'Ren, the Law Giver," American Magazine, LXV (March, 1908), 533.

was the strongest among the farmers. Indeed, it has been compared with Horace Greeley's influence in the farming areas of the East. Yet one of the few political powers in the Republican ranks that he could not control or destroy was the political machine of John H. Mitchell.

United States Senator Mitchell had a devoted following in Oregon who distrusted the Portland politicians. Although Mitchell's Republicanism was not very different from Scott's, their personal differences divided the majority party of Oregon. From 1873 until his death in 1905, Mitchell was elected to the Senate four times. Just prior to his death he was implicated by United States District Attorney Francis J. Heney for fraudulent conduct in disposing of timber in Oregon.

A newcomer to Oregon politics in 1895 was Jonathan Bourne, Jr., who successfully combined silver-Republicans, Democrats, and Populists to defeat the gold-standard Republican senator, Joseph N. Dolph, for re-election. During the last days of the session a compromise choice, George W. McBride, was elected. Bourne, a wealthy New England adventurer, came to Oregon in 1880, and after studying law entered politics for the entertainment it provided. Eventually, however, he became serious about politics and gave his means

to promote the cause of reform.[20]

Will U'Ren closely observed the master politicians at Salem, and undoubtedly learned from them a trick or two that served him well in the future. He no longer was a political novice. He was ready to do battle with the masters.

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[20]Hendrick, "The Initiative and Referendum," McClure's Magazine, XXXVII (July, 1911), 244-46.

CHAPTER II

"PRINCE OF HOLD UPS"[1]

On the national scene the People's Party was determined to make the "money question" the main issue in 1896. Although silver men could not compel the St. Louis Convention in 1895 to modify the Omaha Platform, many prominent leaders were committing themselves to campaign for cheap money. In mid-summer, 1895, James B. Weaver helped to set the stage when he said, "I shall favor going before the people in 1896 with the money question alone, unencumbered with any other contention whatsoever."[2] As cheap money succeeded in dominating the Populist party, fusion with silver Democrats seemed more likely. The lack of unanimity among party members over fusion and silver in the national movement presented similar problems in Oregon.

The Oregon Populists, not unlike the parent organization, were factions of protest unrelated and sometimes conflicting reforms. Although they had banded together in order

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[1]Oswald West, "Reminiscence and Anecdotes: Mostly About Politics," Oregon Historical Quarterly (Portland), LIII (June, 1950), 98. Mr. West recalled that the Salem Statesman referred to U'Ren as the "Prince of Hold Ups."

[2]John D. Hicks, The Populist Revolt (Minneapolis, 1931), 344.

to defeat traditional parties, they sometimes succeeded only in defeating themselves because of factional strife. The important Oregon factions concentrated on fiat money, silver money, fusion, and initiative and referendum. Despite the bitterness within their ranks, the party held high hopes for success at the polls. Organization was most important. In crucial counties the party's high echelon took a hand in organization.

Accordingly, on December 30, 1895, state leaders met in Multnomah County to organize. State Senator Will R. King and William S. U'Ren, "the lone referendum fisherman" and chairman of the Clackamas County Populists, were there to help County Chairman A. P. Nelson to organize. U'Ren made a speech in the afternoon session in which he stressed the importance of Multnomah County in the coming election. But the heart of his speech centered as usual around the initiative and referendum. "No state laws," he said, "save those which the Constitution provides to be for maintenance of officers, the penitentiary and asylums, and these on the most economical grounds, should become laws until referred to and adopted by the people." To U'Ren the fight in Multnomah County was most important because of the large Populist vote expected there from labor. He closed his remarks with an expression of sympathy for Eugene Debs, who had just been released from jail a month earlier, and he applauded Jacob

Coxey for his book on government roads.[3]

Since U'Ren was interested primarily in the initiative and referendum and believed that the only way of getting it was through the Populist party, he needed time to line up supporters before the state convention. But many of the Populists believed it would best serve their purpose to have an early convention in order to steal the thunder of cheap money Democrats or Silver Republicans. State Chairman W. H. Spaugh polled the county chairmen, suggesting February 22 as a date for the convention. A majority agreed, but immediately U'Ren and other single plank Populists objected so strenuously that the state central committee set the convention for March 23.[4] T. H. McGill, editor of The People's Party Post and paper money advocate, suggested that U'Ren had made a deal with silver Populists, which was probably true.[5]

As chairman of the party in Clackamas County, U'Ren tried to place a Populist judge and clerk on the election board.[6] Petitions had been circulated and submitted to

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[3]Portland Oregonian, December 30, 1895, p. 3.

[4]Marion Harrington, "The Populist Movement in Oregon" (Master of Arts thesis, Department of History, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, 1935), 38.

[5]Portland People's Party Post, January 9, 1896, p. 1.

[6]Portland Oregonian, January 11, 1896, p. 5.

secure the positions with a view to forcing Multnomah County eventually to also place Populists on election boards. A few votes dishonestly tabulated in Multnomah County could very well count out a candidate in what was expected to be a closely contested election.

For the two months preceding the convention, U'Ren used his influence lining up state delegates to support the initiative and referendum. Those Populists who insisted on emphasizing the whole Omaha Platform considered U'Ren a traitor. The outspoken Populist editor in Portland called U'Ren's actions "brazen-faced gall." He foresaw no victory for true Populists if "Brother U'Ren and his quack single idea remedies and his fusion machinations" continued.[7] Although the single tax was not an issue in the campaign, U'Ren's interest in it was well known, and the editor may well have been referring to the single tax as well as the initiative and referendum, which was a part of the Omaha Platform.

Most county conventions were held the week preceding the state convention. Clackamas County elected its state delegates, including the "fruitgrower." U'Ren was also a member of the committee on resolutions, a key position for one vitally interested in the platform. When the platform was reported, it reflected U'Ren's efforts, the initiative

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[7]Portland People's Party Post, March 5, 1896, p. 5.

and referendum being most prominent. It endorsed the Omaha Platform of 1892, and wanted an initiative and referendum amendment to the United States Constitution, and called for reducing all Clackamas County officers' salaries.[8] George Ogle and U'Ren easily won the nomination for state representatives.[9]

On March 26 and 27 the state convention was held in Salem. James B. Weaver as featured speaker stressed Oregon's importance in the coming election. He said, "As Oregon holds the first election and fires the first gun in the national campaign of 1896, it is important no false step be taken."[10] General Weaver was enthusiastically received, and cheers rang out "when threats were made at the hated 'landholder' or 'Plutocrat.'"[11] Weaver remained in the state to help in the campaign.

The next day U'Ren read the platform to the convention. The committee had endorsed the Omaha Platform, which was acceptable to the Convention, but U'Ren ran into trouble with the initiative and referendum. One delegate's objection was

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[8]Portland Oregonian, March 18, 1896, p. 2.

[9]Oregon City Enterprise, March 20, 1896, p. 1; Oregon City Courier, March 20, 1896, p. 6.

[10]Salem Daily Capital Journal, March 26, 1896, p. 4.

[11]Portland Oregonian, March 27, 1896, p. 3.

and referendum being most prominent. It endorsed the Union Platform of 1892, was marked by initiative and referendum machinery to the United States Constitution, and called for reducing all Illinois County officers' salaries.[8] George Gale and O'Ben early won the nomination for state senator and lost.[9]

On March 26, and 27 the third convention was held in Salem. Jesse E. Weaver as temporary chairman stressed Gale's importance in the coming election. He said, "A Congress holds the first election and first the first yes in the national congress of 1892, it is important to future step be taken."[10] General Weaver was enthusiastically received, and cheered very out "when Stewart was read as the Farmer's candidate' or 'Pinkerton.'"[11] Weaver remained in the city to help in the organization.

The week day O'Ben had the platform to his convention. The committee had endorsed the Union Platform, which was acceptable to the Convention, but O'Ben had long trouble with the initiative and referendum. Gen Colonel's objection was

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[8] Illinois Democrat, March 26, 1894, p. 2.

[9] Oregon City Enterprise, March 23, 1894, p. 1; Oregon City Courier, March 23, 1894, p. 3.

[10] Salem Daily Capital, March 30, 1894, p. 2.

[11] Illinois Democrat, March 27, 1894, p. 3.

that to compel the legislature to refer important legislation to the people was unconstitutional. He then made a motion to strike out the word "obligatory." U'Ren answered by saying that the committee had considered the constitution in writing the plank, which "allowed 10 percent of the voters to sign a petition and compel the legislature to submit any important question to them." The motion was passed. Now U'Ren was on his feet pleading for the right of petition. He declared, "It was a sacred right of the people and this convention has no right to vote down the rights of the people to ask by petition for local and state legislation and to have that right respected." Again he was voted down. U'Ren jumped to his feet and hotly remarked, "The Clackamas County Populists may as as [sic] well resign from the ticket after what you have done. The Republicans will sweep the county."[12] The blow-up was not serious to the welfare of the party but only encouraged those who favored the initiative and referendum to fight harder for it. The convention nominated W. S. Vanderburg and Martin Quinn for Congress.

For the next two months U'Ren continued to push the initiative and referendum in all his campaign speeches. General Weaver and other Populists were talking only about silver and fusion. It was ironical that U'Ren could make

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[12]Salem Daily Capital Journal, March 27, 1896, p. 1.

the initiative and referendum such a powerful issue, both during the campaign and in the legislative session, when gold and silver were the main issues in politics. Because the campaign was built around the money issue, U'Ren was not conspicuous in newspaper reports.

The big question in the state was who the Populists would support for the United States Senate. Would they sacrifice one of their own number or would they compromise with one of the traditional parties? The most likely compromise candidate was the silver Republican Senator, John H. Mitchell. By the end of April, Mitchell had the support of John C. Young, chairman of the State Central Committee.[13] Senator Mitchell had been consistently a silver man in Washington and at the moment had the support of many Populists and silver Republicans. While it seemed quite likely that the National Republican Convention would turn to the gold standard, Chairman Young was convinced that Mitchell would declare himself in favor of the Populists.[14] The Portland Republicans were largely controlled by gold -standard politicians; consequently they apposed Mitchell. The Portland anti-Mitchell Republicans were led by Joseph Simon, H. W. Corbett, and

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[13]Portland Oregonian, April 26, 1896, p. 10.

[14]Ibid., May 16, 1896, p. 10.

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[17]Pulliam, Pioneer in, April 24, 1896, p. 10.

[18]Ibid., May 14, 1896, p. 10.

the editor of the Oregonian, Harvey W. Scott. Despite the formidable opposition of the so-called "Portland gang," Senator Mitchell's chances were good. His chief supporter was Jonathan Bourne, Jr., of Portland, who had proved himself an effective politician in the 1895 legislative session. Bourne, an avowed advocate of the unlimited coinage of silver, admitted an interest of a million and a half dollars in silver mines.[15] In addition to pushing Mitchell's political future, Bourne was a candidate for state representative, and served as secretary of the Republican State Central Committee.

Young, who was a personal friend of Bourne,[16] sought Populist support for Bourne's candidacy. U'Ren fell in with this plan and used his influence to persuade the party to endorse Bourne, although there was considerable objection from the rank and file of the Populists. The Oregonian satirically reported: "First he became secretary of the state republican committee, next a Mitchell republican candidate, and finally a Populist candidate for the legislature. Here

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[15] Jonathan Bourne, Jr. Papers, 1900-1908. Oregon Collection, University of Oregon.

[16] John C. Young later became Bourne's personal secretary for many years. He was the nephew of Brigham Young, although he was a "blacksheep gentile."

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Dunne, an avowed advocate of the making and enforcing of gambling laws, exhibited an interest of a multiple and a half dollars in silver mines.[15] In addition to running Kitchelman's political fortunes, Dunne was a candidate for state representative, and served as secretary of the Republican State Central Committee.

Young, who was a personal friend of Dunne,[16] got political support for Kerrigan candidacy. Dunne felt in mid-this plan and used his influence to persuade the party to endorse Young, although there was considerable opposition from the rank and file of the Republicans. The Oregonian certainly reported: "First be secure supremacy of the state Republican committee, next a friendly Republican candidate, and finally a friendly candidate for the legislature." Dunne

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[15] Jonathan Dunne, Jr. Papers, 1900-1902. Oregon Collection, University of Oregon.

[16] John C. Young later became Dunne's personal secretary for many years. He was the mayor of Eugene Oregon, although he was a "Gladstone Republican."

is a scheme of politics truly Napoleonic."[17]

The question of fusion was becoming less acute. The Populist Central Committee met with the Democrats early in May to discuss the possibility of nominating new candidates acceptable to both parties. The Democrats were willing only to substitute other Democrats who might be more acceptable to the Populists. "The Populist Committee insisted on changing its own party candidates. "The members could not understand why a Democrat should be chosen when there was so much bona fide Populist timber lying around."[18] The Populists were now not inviting fusion but attracting "fragments of all the old parties" who agreed with them on the money question.[19]

U'Ren's most effective campaigning had been a series of debates. At times he wrote letters to the newspapers challenging the opposition. In May he challenged L. L. Porter, George W. Prosser and Charles Homan to canvass Clackamas County in a number of debates with him.[20]

A vivid description of an U'Ren debate was reported in the Salem Weekly Capital Journal. The contest took place in

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[17]Portland Oregonian, May 26, 1896, p. 4.

[18]Ibid., May 7, 1896, p. 10.

[19]Ibid., May 16, 1896, p. 10.

[20]Oregon City Enterprise, May 1, 1896, p. 5.

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The question of fusion was becoming less acute. The Populist national committee met with the Democratic party in May to discuss the possibility of nominating new candidates acceptable to both parties. The Democrats were willing only to withdraw other Democrats who might be unacceptable to the Populists. "The Populist committee insisted on choosing the town party candidates. "The Democrats could only withdraw a Democrat should be chosen whom was is not honorable Populist labor lying around."[18] The Populists were now not inviting fusion but attracting "independents of all the old parties" who agreed with them on the money question.[19]

Bryan's most effective campaigning had been a series of debates. As Bryan he made tours to the countryside, challenging his opponents. In May he challenged W. T. Peck but, George T. Fagan and Charles Ingam to contests. Oklahoma Comes in a number of letters with him.[20]

A vivid description of an Bryan debate was reported in the Daily Oklahoma Leader. The country men where in

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[17]Pawhuska Democrat, May 26, 1906, p. 1.

[18]Ibid., May 7, 1906, p. 10.

[19]Ibid., May 18, 1906, p. 10.

[20]Oklahoma City Daily Leader, May 1, 1906, p. 5.

a big country school house, which overflowed with Populists and Republicans. "It was an old-fashioned people's mass meeting." The Republicans and the Populists had choirs there to sing the patriotic songs and party doxologies. Poems were read; and the Star Spangled Banner was sung, which "filled all the people with patriotic inspiration." Finally the subject was announced: resolved, "That the representative system of government is a failure, and the best interests of the public would be subserved by introducing the initiative and referendum." U'Ren started the debate with a fifty minute speech. He began by discussing the Declaration of Independence. Then, "he touched on Negro slavery, industrial slavery, power of legislators to tax without consent of taxpayers, corporation powers, [and] corruption among judges," and ended by praising the successful experience of the initiative and referendum in Switzerland. U'Ren had taken all the allotted time and expressed regret that "he didn't have two hours." His opponent, Frank Davey of Salem, ended early, leaving time for some speeches from the audience. A genial atmosphere prevailed. "It was a people's meeting, almost devoid of politics, and 'the mare ran with her bridle down.'"[21]

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[21]Salem Weekly Capital Journal, April 30, 1896, p. 1.

The Populists left no stones unturned in their attempt to take Oregon. Besides General Weaver, other national figures stumped the state. They included James R. Sovereign, general workman of the Knights of Labor; Mortimer Whitehead, noted member and retired lecturer of the National Grange; J. H. Davis, the "Texas Cyclone"; and J. H. McDowell, editor of the Populist organ in Nashville, Tennessee. As the June election approached the Populists were confident of sending all free silver men to Washington. As Weaver prepared to leave a day or so before the election, he confidently boasted that the nation would go as Oregon went. "I leave for home this evening with a happy heart, full of hope for the future."[22]

Clackamas Populists made a clean sweep of all offices on their ticket. U'Ren's vote was among the highest in the county, even greater than the old war horse, George Ogle.[23] Altogether the Populists elected thirteen members to the lower house, while the Democrats elected three and the Republicans, forty-four. The Populist candidate for the United States Congress, W. S. Vanderburg, apparently was winning when mistakes were found that added to the votes of the

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[22]Portland Oregonian, June 3, 1896, p. 8.

[23]Oregon City Courier, June 5, 1896, p. 3.

Republican candidate. The changes were made in Multnomah County, and immediately the county chairman charged that fraud had been perpetrated. A protest meeting was called in Salem, where some promised to spill blood. Cooler heads prevailed, however, and U'Ren was placed on a committee to contest the election and to carry the fight to Washington if necessary. Oregon Populists fared no better than Populists in other states where their member candidates were also counted out.[24]

Portland elected a Populist mayor, ex-Democrat Governor Sylvester Pennoyer. The newly-elected mayor did not join in the protests of the Populists against being "counted out." U'Ren attacked Pennoyer bitterly for his refusal to support the Populists. He expressed his feelings in Portland as he spoke for the State Central Committee. "Mayor Pennoyer does well to express his satisfaction at the defeat of Senator Vanderburg. . . . There is a reason to believe his deal with the Mitchell Republicans provided for completing the sacrifice of Mr. Quinn." He continued by charging political bosses were shoving "repeaters back into the line for another vote before they had got 20 feet from the polls." U'Ren said that Pennoyer may not have known about what the bosses

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[24]Portland Oregonian, June 14, 1896, p. 3; Harrington, "The Populist Movement in Oregon," 43-44.

were doing but he did nothing to help the Populists elect other candidates. U'Ren changed his stand on fusion as a result of this campaign. He was convinced that the fusionists had a bray."[25]

When Mayor Pennoyer heard U'Ren's charges, the Oregonian said that the mayor only smiled and then remarked: "If he [U'Ren] really wants to find the man more responsible for the defeat of the populist ticket than anyone else in Oregon, it will be that man who for two years has worked incessantly to divert the attention of the populists from the financial question to the initiative and referendum."[26]

Politics for the next several months concerned the national tickets. After the Republican convention in St. Louis had proposed the gold standard plank and the Democrats had nominated Bryan and free silver, Jonathan Bourne resigned as secretary of the state committee and supported Bryan. U'Ren called on Senator Mitchell in August to make a deal with him. U'Ren was prepared to pledge the Populist members of the state legislature in support of Mitchell's reelection if Mitchell would help secure the initiative and referendum.

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[25]Portland Oregonian, June 13, 1896, p. 12; Harrington, "The Populist Movement in Oregon," 43; Bourne Papers, Oregon Collection.

[26]Portland Oregonian, June 14, 1896, p. 10.

Mitchell indicated that he would, but by November he was openly opposed to reform legislation. Undoubtedly Senator Mitchell believed he had enough votes pledged to him in the coming legislature to get reelected, including three Populist votes.[27] While it was true that he had been a silver Republican, now the party had taken a definite stand against silver, and he believed it was more politic to mend political fences in the nation's capital than to support silver. After McKinley's victory in November, Mitchell was straddling the fence on silver and refused to comment on the money question. Bourne was preparing to line up silver Republicans to oppose Mitchell unless Mitchell should use his influence among the regular Republicans to elect Bourne

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[27]Lute Pease, "The Initiative and Referendum: Oregon's 'Big Stick,'" The Pacific Monthly (Portland), XVII (May, 1907, 566; Lincoln Steffens, "U'Ren, The Law Giver: The Legislative Blacksmith of Oregon and the Tools He Has Fashioned for Democracy," American Magazine (New York), LXV (March, 1908), 534; Burton J. Hendrick, "The Initiative and Referendum, and How Oregon Got Them," McClure's Magazine (New York), XXVII (July, 1911), 246; Cecil T. Thompson, "The Origin of Direct Legislation in Oregon," (Master of Arts thesis, Department of History, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, 1929), 61, 62. These writers tell the following story: U'Ren called on Mitchell after having previously been given a promise to support the initiative and referendum. "'Well, Senator,' he began, 'I congratulate you; you certainly will be elected.' 'Oh, yes,' replied Mitchell, 'I have three Pops you can't take away from me.' 'And I suppose you will help us get the Initiative and Referendum?' . . . Mitchell glanced down on the floor and stroked his patriarchal white beard. 'If I were you, I don't think I would introduce that this session.'"

speaker of the house. This Mitchell refused to do. Mitchell believed that he would lose votes if he supported Bourne, and, besides, it would be embarrassing to support a man who had campaigned for Bryan. As Mitchell's campaign manager, Bourne had worked very hard before the June election to pledge candidates to support Mitchell. Documents had been signed with all the appearance of contracts to iron-bound pledges.[28] Now Bourne had to work equally as hard to defeat Mitchell. It was conceded that if the lower house organized, Mitchell would be elected United States senator. Still many political leaders did not want to see him elected. Scott, of the Oregonian, opposed him bitterly because Mitchell was independent of the Portland Republicans. Scott could rely on Joseph Simon to work for Mitchell's defeat in the senate. Silver Republicans had been double-crossed as well as the Populists; and, of course, the three Democrats in each house were not averse to causing him discomfort. If these minorities could get together through a "log-rolling" process, possibly the Mitchell forces could be defeated.

U'Ren was in complete charge of the Populists. John C. Young who was not in the legislature, although he was staying in Salem, allowed U'Ren to make any deals necessary

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[28]Hendrick, "The Initiative and Referendum," McClure's Magazine, XXXVII (July, 1911), 244.

to achieve Populist objects. U'Ren was ready to make a deal to support Bourne as speaker of the House and defeat Mitchell, in exchange for support of the two Populist measures, the initiative and referendum and a reform registration bill to give Populists representation on election boards.[29] The anti-Mitchell Republicans promised the Populists to support their reform measures in 1899.[30]

U'Ren had talked with both Bourne and Simon before the legislative session had started to make plans to defeat Mitchell.[31] He then called a meeting of Clackamas County Populists to meet in Oregon City to test his position with the party. U'Ren was sure of Ogle, but Representative J. L. Kruse had planned to vote for Mitchell. Pressure was brought to bear on him at the meeting, and Mitchell lost one of his three "Pops."[32] A few days later Young affirmed U'Ren's program as being in line with Populist policy. He stated the Populists would not vote for Mitchell but would probably

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[29]Salem Weekly Capital Journal, January 21, 1897, p. 3; Portland Oregonian, January 8, 1897, p. 10; Steffens, "U'Ren, The Law Giver," American Magazine, LXV (March, 1908), 535.

[30]Pease, "The Initiative and Referendum," The Pacific Monthly, XVII (May, 1907), 566.

[31]Steffens, "U'Ren, the Law Giver," American Magazine, LXV (March, 1908), 535.

[32]Portland Oregonian, January 3, 1897, p. 2.

their own candidate. He didn't know who would "offer himself as a sacrifice," but believed that the Populists would remain loyal to party principles.[33] Two days later in Salem, the Populists, meeting in a state-wide meeting with U'Ren presiding, voted not to support Mitchell.[34]

In the meanwhile Bourne had arrived in Salem and established an elaborate headquarters. He rented ten rooms in the Eldridge block as well as the Keller house. The purpose in acquiring the spacious quarters was not immediately apparent, but they came to play an important role in the legislative session. Bourne came shrouded in mystery as outsiders speculated whether he would support Mitchell. Is this to be the Mitchell headquarters? the Oregonian's editor asked. Mitchell had just announced that he would support the Republican platform completely; that he was opposed to unlimited coinage of silver unless there could be an international agreement. Bourne now was seen whispering with different politicians at his headquarters and in the corridors of the capitol. The Oregonian's correspondent was quite impressed with the Bourne whisper and called it, "the most mysterious, awe-inspiring, and over-whelming whisper of any man in

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[33]Salem Daily Capital Journal, January 8, 1897, p. 4; Portland Oregonian, January 8, 1897, p. 10.

[34]Portland Oregonian, January 10, 1897, p. 1.

their own candidate. Ex-Gov. Tom who would "offer himself as a sacrifice," has believed that the republicans could remain loyal to party principles.[30] Two days later in Salem, the republicans, meeting in a state-wide meeting with Governor Pennoyer, voted nay to support Mitchell.[31]

In the meantime Dunne had arrived in Salem and established an elaborate headquarters. He posted two rooms in the Eldridge block as well as his Salem home. The purpose in acquiring two spacious quarters was not immediately evident, but they came to play an important role in the legislative session. Dunne came forewarned in seeking an understanding with the democrats be would support Mitchell. In this to be the Mitchell headquarters the Oregonian editor acted. Mitchell had just announced that he would support the Republican platform exclusively; this he was expected to reiterate in a speech of sixty minutes upon such an informational occasion. Dunne was anxious cooperating with Mitchell's politicians at his headquarters and in the corridors of the capitol. The Oregonian's correspondent was quoted in accord with the Dunne strategy and called it, "the most expert, non-partisan, and non-whistling politician of any man in

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[30]Salem Daily Capital Journal, January 8, 1897, p. 1; Portland Oregonian, January 9, 1897, p. 10.

[31]Portland Oregonian, January 10, 1897, p. 1.

modern politics. It is a large part of his stock in trade."[35]

Monday, January 11, was the day when the legislature was supposed to begin. The Constitution provided that the senatorial election was to be held on the second Tuesday after both houses had organized. The anti-Mitchell forces knew that Mitchell would be elected if the legislature got started on the first Monday. But delay would work against Mitchell, as it would give U'Ren, Bourne, and Simon time to bring legislators over to their side. Bourne and Simon prevented their respective Republican followers from meeting in a party caucus to nominate a senator. Now if they could prevent the lower house from organizing on the eleventh no senator could be chosen for two weeks. In the meantime, Bourne hoped to be able to get enough support to be elected speaker and organize the House on his terms.

As the lower house met, Bourne men quickly took charge by putting the temporary organization in the hands of sympathetic supporters. Apparently Bourne knew who his friends were, but Mitchell did not know his enemies. E. J. Davis was elected temporary speaker by a viva voce vote. Five members were then appointed to the credentials committee. Three of the five, U'Ren, Lark Bileu, and H. L. Barkley, were anti-Mitchell; the remaining two, Warren E. Thomas

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[35] Ibid., January 9, 1897, p. 10.

and Fred S. Stanley, favored Mitchell.[36] The credential committee, or at least three of them, found technical errors in credentials. The committee refused to report throughout the day. The House tried to organize anyway, but Davis refused as a point of order. The Mitchell men tried to pass a motion to replace the committee but found that they did not have a quorum. The House remained idle all afternoon, finally adjourning until 7:30 in the evening. As the night session began there was an attempt to remove Davis, but the speaker read the constitution to the House to prove that a quorum was needed in order to organize. U'Ren made it a point to leave as roll calls were made from time to time. He took part in several debates during the evening. Most of the debates were good-natured. However, at one point a motion was made that George Riddle should be substituted as speaker for Davis. U'Ren jumped to his feet and declared, "no one but a revolutionist would dare make such a motion." This brought John M. Somers, a Mitchell supporter, to his feet. Shaking his fist at U'Ren, he charged him with being a revolutionist. U'Ren replied, "Nobody but a revolutionist would attempt to run a legislature with a minority." U'Ren explained that the committee could not report because many

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[36] West, "Reminiscence and Anecdotes," Oregon Historical Quarterly, LIII (June, 1950), 99; Oregon City Enterprise, January 15, 1897, p. 1.

of the members had not brought certificates of election from their county clerks.[37] The House adjourned.[38]

The next morning U'Ren reported that the credential committee was ready but would not report to an unorganized house. Later in the day Somers made a speech blaming U'Ren because the House had not organized. U'Ren asked Somers why the rest of the Republicans were not present. He said there were forty-four Republicans. If Somers would bring in thirty-nine Republicans, U'Ren jokenly promised to be the fortieth one to make a quorum. He seemed to be enjoying the embarressing position of the Republicans. Mitchellite "Riddle" moved that the flag be lowered to half-mast. U'Ren objected that it would be out of order. After ducking a roll call, he came back to his seat and asked: "Am I recognized?" Another member interrupted him, saying, "The gentleman from Clackamas is not present. He cannot be recognized until he arrives."[39]

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[37]Portland Oregonian, January 12, 1897, p. 6; Salem Daily Capital Journal, January 12, 1897, p. 1; Oregon City Enterprise, January 15, 1897, p. 1.

[38]Regarding a quorum, from the Constitution: "Two-thirds of each house shall constitute a quorum to do business, but a smaller number may meet, adjourn from day to day and compel the attendance of the absent."

[39]Portland Oregonian, January 13, 1897, p. 1; Salem Daily Capital Journal, January 12, 1897, p. 4.

On the thirteenth, U'Ren confessed that he had been wrong not to file the committee report. He filed it and then called for its reading. Davis informed him that there was no quorum. Somers arose, shaking his fist and declaring that he would not stand for it. "What do you mean?" U'Ren demanded. "Do you propose to inaugurate a reign of anarchy? Do you propose to seize this house by force?" The House was in an uproar; many were hissing at U'Ren when Representative Smith came to his aid, saying, "If you want to force a revolution on us, go ahead, 'Lay on Macduff, and damned be him who cries hold enough.'"

U'Ren was charged with holding out the rest of the Populists. He replied, "I do not speak for the rest of the Populists, I speak for U'Ren." Lark Bilyeu, the lone Democrat from Lane County, brought laughter when he said, "I'll bring in all the Democrats of Lane."[40]

The next morning U'Ren was the first to speak. He had a quiet laugh and spoke softly. He said that there was talk of force but the Populists knew how to use force, too. He didn't want a Kansas episode. If there were to be firearms, "Americans of all parties have been known to be handy with weapons." He pointed out that there were three minorities and any two could organize the House. The speech was

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[40]Portland Oregonian, January 14, 1897, p. 1.

followed with some debate. Finally a member "moved that the house adjourn to meet in Kansas in 1898, to obtain necessary information to perfect organization." The motion was amended to change the time to "1900 and the place Arkansas." The motion was again amended to substitute Clackamas County. U'Ren supported the motion, but there was no quorum. Later, while a roll call was in process, Somers caused much laughter as he dramatically opened the cloakroom door and disclosed U'Ren hiding. Davis ruled that U'Ren was not present.[41]

The first week closed, and no quorum had been present since the first morning. The average attendance was between twenty-nine and thirty-one. Most of the Bourne Republicans and Populists never came at all. Bourne himself was seldom seen at the legislature. U'Ren and Bilyeu took turns in being absent. Since Bilyeu's name appeared almost first alphabetically, sometimes he had trouble getting out before his name was called. On one occasion he didn't and was marked present. At one time Somers went to the clerk's desk and began to call the roll. U'Ren grabbed his hat and started to run out--much to the merriment of the House.[42]

Senator Mitchell arrived in Salem before the legislature met to help insure his reelection. When it became

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[41] Ibid., January 15, 1897, p. 1.

[42] Ibid., January 17, 19, 1897, p. 1; Salem Daily Capital Journal, January 15, 1897, p. 1.

evident that the lower house would not organize unless it could be organized by Bourne, Mitchell newspapers charged Bourne with bribery. The Corvallis Gazette declared, "Simonism, Bournism, and Populism have conspired against Republicanism. It is a case of boodle, lawlessness, and anarchy against the representatives of decency, law and order, and honest government."[43] Mitchell, too, used "boodle," as Populist Johnson Smith agreed to find out if Mitchell would pay him to take a seat to help organize the House. He would use the money as evidence. "Smith got from Mitchell and Fulton $1,500 as for himself, and $250 as for the go-between."[44] Smith did not keep his promise even if he did keep the money.

By now the function of Bourne's headquarters was apparent. If the House did not organize there could be no funds appropriated. Many of the legislators had very little money on which to live, and unless a special subsidy could be arranged, they would not be able to continue the hold-up. Bourne hired a "steward" and a cook to prepare meals. The finest food was served, and there was ample to drink. Rooms

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[43]Paul Thomas Culbertson, "A History of the Initiative and Referendum in Oregon" (Ph D. thesis, Department of History, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, 1941), 59, 60.

[44]Steffens, "U'Ren, the Law Giver," American Magazine, LXV (March, 1908), 536.

were provided for sleep and shelter for the weary. Here many deals were made among anti-Mitchell and potential anti-Mitchell men. Bourne's "Open House" played a key role in the success of the hold-up.[45]

On the nineteenth a letter appeared in the newspapers signed by fourteen Populists. It contained an explanation of why the Populists were not helping the Mitchell Republicans to organize. They believed that the only way to get the initiative and referendum, the election bill, and the registration bill was to secure Bourne for the speakership.[46]

The next morning Representative Vaughan started the day by making a motion "that since the absent members of the house had not been heard from for a week the governor be notified that they are dead." Later when a member who was writing objected that he couldn't concentrate because Somers and Smith were debating, the House adjourned.[47]

A newspaper, enjoying the hold-up, reported conditions in the legislature in the following manner:

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[45]West, "Reminiscence and Anecdotes," Oregon Historical Quarterly, LIII (June, 1950), 100; Hendrick, "The Initiative and Referendum," McClure's Magazine, XXXVII (July, 1911), 218.

[46]Salem Weekly Capital Journal, January 21, 1897, p. 3.

[47]Portland Oregonian, January 20, 1897, p. 1.

Simon he waltzed with the Portland Crowd,
While the deadlock is on.
He will glide 'cross the street, and the regulars meet,
While the deadlock is on.
But U'Ren exploded and Bilyeu is loaded,
And Joseph now shakes with alarm,
Now these are the facts, we await Bourne's ax,
While the deadlock is on.[48]

The second Tuesday saw no quorum in the lower house. As long as Davis remained temporary speaker no motions could be passed except to adjourn. But if those who wanted to organize, met and elected a speaker, then Mitchell could be nominated. Then both houses could declare him elected and it would be up to the United States Senate to accept him. Mitchell had friends in Washington. The quorum problem would be solved by declaring two-thirds of those qualified and willing, to organize a quorum. To lend dignity and prestige to this move, a letter from Mitchell's friend, Senator George F. Hoar of Massachusetts, was produced, which concurred on the legality of the House organized in this manner.[49] Of course the problem of getting the state Senate to recognize the rump House was yet to be solved.

Temporary Speaker Davis was in his seat when the Mitchellites took over. The Chief Justice had sworn in thirty-

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[48]Salem Daily Capital Journal, January 20, 1897, p. 1.

[49]Salem Oregon Daily Statesman, January 21, 1897, p. 1; Salem Daily Capital Journal, January 21, 1897, p. 1.

one members who were then ready to organize. The preliminary procedures took place while the anti-Mitchell group looked on. All Davis said was "out of order" as he watched the proceedings. Henry L. Benson was elected permanent speaker. The rump House then adjourned, followed by the Davis House.[50]

The majority of the Benson rump were not contemplating the use of force to prevent Davis from taking the speaker's chair; but rather they expected to meet while the Davis House was adjourned. However, during the night the leaders in the Benson House plotted to keep Davis out of the speaker's chair by force. Ten men from the Salem police force were appointed assistant sergeants-at-arms. The next morning as the members of both factions arrived they found the stairways to the speaker's rostrum guarded. Davis remained unruffled, though grim, as he approached the rostrum. He was escorted by Representatives Bilyeu and Barkley to the stairs. The sergeant-at-arms called out in a somewhat unsteady voice, "In the name of the state of Oregon I command you not to go up those steps." Davis asked, "By what right do you attempt to prevent me from taking the speaker's

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[50]West, "Reminiscence and Anecdotes," Oregon Historical Quarterly, LIII (June, 1950), 100; Portland Oregonian, January 22, 1897, p. 1, 6.

chair?" "By the direction of Mr. Benson, speaker of the house." The startled Bensonites, who were innocent of the plot to use force, hurriedly called a conference with their leaders, which resulted in abandoning the strong-arm policy. Davis proceeded to the chair, and the House adjourned.[51]

For the next five weeks each house met separately. The Davis House adjourned each day for want of a quorum; but the rump did the business of a regular organized house in introducing bills, debating, and passing on them.

While the two factions of the lower house were trying to organize or to avoid organizing, the Senate was grinding out bills each day. Since they were organized the senators would be paid, and funds could be obtained for printing the Journal and paying their clerical help. When the question of recognizing the rump House was posed and debated, Simon was able to get enough support to defeat recognition.

By the first of February, the Mitchell followers knew that something had to be done immediately or Mitchell's defeat was certain. In the Benson House, gloom and uncertainty prevailed at each day's session. It was difficult to find ministers willing to pray "over its remains" each morning.[52]

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[51] Portland Oregonian, January 26, 1897, p. 1; Salem Daily Capital Journal, January 22, 1897, p. 4.

[52] Salem Daily Capital Journal, February 1, 1897, p. 1.

But Mitchell had one more play to make, and his winning the game depended on it.

On the third of February a convention was called for both the Senate and the Benson House to meet in a joint assembly. If a simple majority from both houses would meet together they could elect a senator. The legality of this never became a factor, as it was impossible to get a majority together at one time. Each day the joint convention met, but each day there were fewer than a majority present. Deals were made to get members of both houses to meet with them. At each failure Mitchell's chance became less sure. Rather than count the number officially by roll call, the number was ascertained hurriedly and a motion was made to adjourn. Band wagon tactics were used to get legislators to appear. Mitchell told a senator who had been absent that if he would be present the necessary forty-six would be there as only one was needed to make a quorum for the convention. The senator went before the convention the next day and reported what Mitchell had said. How many others came to the convention duped by Mitchell? Mitchell's convention tactics failed to elect a senator.[53]

On the first of March the Davis House talked about

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[53] West, "Reminiscence and Anecdotes," Oregon Historical Quarterly, LIII (June, 1950), 101; Portland Oregonian, February 4, 10, 11, 1897, p. 1.

using force to make the absent members appear. U'Ren read an opinion from C. E. S. Wood stating that absent members could be forced to attend. The idea of compelling attendance, however, was not seriously considered. Since the Senate could not officially adjourn without the House concurring, it quit on the second of March. Finally on the fifth the Davis House met for the last time. U'Ren offered a resolution summing up the proceedings of the House and showing how the House was split to prevent a quorum from organizing. His resolution was unanimously accepted, and the House adjourned.[54]

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[54]Portland Oregonian, March 2, 1897, p. 1; March 6, 1897, p. 1, 3.

CHAPTER III

REFERENDUM U'REN

U'Ren's part in stopping governmental processes during the hold-up added notoriety to his name but not as a responsible lawmaker. A legislator is supposed to help make legislation and vote against legislation he opposes. Would a responsible lawmaker prevent a parliamentary body from organizing because he is a part of the minority? Would not his actions in the legislature discredit the Populist party? Did his cooperation with Simon and Bourne mean that he had sold out to the business interests of Portland? The Populists throughout the state as well as his constituents in Clackamas County demanded that he answer these questions.

Although U'Ren was not the titular leader of the party in the state, he had been given a free hand to direct the Populist efforts in the legislature. He alone had to explain why the Populists should be subjected to the embarressment of appearing to support the "plutocrats."

The Oregon City Enterprise charged U'Ren with either being a fool or having sold out to the Simon crowd. In commenting, the editor wondered why U'Ren had not appeared in Oregon City as often as he did before "the great chestnut pulling game at Salem." Had Simon "used him as a tool to

pull the Corbett[1] chestnuts out of the fire," and now he had to give "his Populist brethren . . . the cold shake"? the editor asked.[2] U'Ren immediately denied any connection with Corbett or the banks.[3]

A day of reckoning came for U'Ren on March 27, 1897. He met with the Populist Central Committee and others who were interested, in Oregon City. He was on trial before his Populist brethren. How much money had he gotten? U'Ren answered that he had received eighty dollars from a fund provided by the enemies of Mitchell, and fifty dollars from his father. He denied the charge he had made a personal fight with Mitchell. A stern rebuke came from Charles Spence. "You were sent there to do your honest duty, and prevent to the utmost of your ability vicious legislation. You were sent there to do something; not nothing. . . . Now we've got to defend your conduct."[4]

U'Ren answered in his quiet way. He began by retelling the whole story--Mitchell's duplicity; Simon's opposition to the three reform measures of the Populists; Bourne's

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[1]Joseph Simon would have supported H. W. Corbett, the banker, for United States senator.

[2]Oregon City Enterprise, March 12, 1897, p. 4.

[3]Ibid., March 19, 1897, p. 4.

[4]Ibid., April 2, 1897, p. 5.

pull the Cossack[1] absolutely out of the fire," and now he had to give "his populist brethren . . . his cold shoulder" the selfsame answer.[2] Dillon immediately denied any connection with Cossack or the banks.[3]

A day or weekending once for Dillon on March 27, 1897, he met with the Populist Central Committee and others who were interested, in Oregon City. He was on trial before his populist brethren. Now much money had he gotten? Dillon answered that he had received eighty dollars from a fund provided by the members of Mitchell, and fifty dollars from his father. He denied the charge he had made a personal fight with Mitchell. A short speech came from Charles Jones: "You were sent there to do your honest duty, and proved to the utmost of your ability violent legislation. You were sent there to do something not nothing. . . . Now we're put to defend your conduct."[4]

Dillon answered in his polish way. He began by probing the whole story--Mitchell's duplicity Simon's opposition to the three-cornered machine of the Populists, Governor

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[1]Joseph Simon would have supported H. H. Corbett, the banker, for United States senator.

[2]Oregon City Enterprise, March 12, 1897, p. 1.

[3]Ibid., March 19, 1897, p. 1.

[4]Ibid., April 2, 1897, p. 2.

commitment to Mitchell. Then came the falling out of Bourne and Mitchell and a chance for Simon to defeat Mitchell's candidacy. Bourne agreed to support reform legislation in exchange for Populist support for the speaker's chair. The Populist legislation was better off with Mitchell's group defeated, U'Ren argued. He showed that it wasn't a matter of a minority holding up the majority, but many minorities equally dividing the House. As for the Populists now having to defend him, he replied he did what he thought was right. If honest men disagreed with him "he would ask no political favors or endorsement if not freely given." He ended his remarks with a bitter denunciation of party politics. "I have no faith in party organization or party government. I believe if the Populists had had a two-thirds majority in the legislature for 20 years they would be in the same boat the republicans are now in."[5]

The Oregon City meeting was followed by a series of endorsement meetings across the state. Although the meetings usually officially endorsed his actions, many bitter protests came from important Populist leaders, and U'Ren was, in effect at least, often censured. In the Medford meeting,

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[5]Portland Oregonian, March 28, 1897, p. 2; Oregon City Enterprise, April 2, 1897, p. 5; Cecil T. Thompson, "The Origin of Direct Legislation in Oregon" (Master of Arts thesis, Department of History, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, 1929), 70.

commerce to Kitchell. Then came the falling out of Downs and Kitchell, and a change for Olsen to defeat Kitchell's candidacy. Downs agreed to support Peters legislation in exchange for republican support for the speaker's chair. The popular legislation was better off with Kitchell's group defeated, U'Ren argued. He showed that it wasn't a matter of a minority holding up the majority, but many minorities equally dividing the House. As for the republicans having to a free ride, he replied he did what he thought was right. If Lemons was displeased with him, he would ask no political favors or endorsement if not freely given. He ended his remarks with a bitter denunciation of party politics. "I have no faith in party organization or party government. I believe if the republicans had had a two-thirds majority in the legislature for 20 years they would be in the same boat the republicans are now in."[5]

The Oregon City meeting was followed by a series of disorganized meetings across the state. Although the campaign nominally officially endorsed his candidacy, many direct pro-voting came from important republican leaders, and U'Ren was in effect, by boat, often swamped. In the Medford meeting,

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[5] Portland Oregonian, March 20, 1907, p. 2; Oregon City Enterprise, March 22, 1907, p. 3; Gould, "Campaigns," p. 18; Gaston, "The Initiative and Referendum in Oregon" (Master of Arts thesis, Department of History, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, 1907), p. 70.

E. J. Kaiser, editor of the Ashland Record, was so bellicose that the city marshal had to intervene to prevent violence.[6]

Public excitement from the hold-up session soon faded away. While people were concerned about making a living during the economic depression, Populist politicians debated the virtues of fusion with Democrats. To the Democrats, fusion meant a better opportunity to partake of political pie. Republicans were divided over whether the governor should call an extra session. Governor William P. Lord appointed the banker, H. W. Corbett, to the United States Senate; but the Senate favored John Mitchell, and there was a question of whether Corbett's credentials would be recognized since he had not been endorsed by the state legislature.

The so-called "Mitchell push" demanded an extra session to be called before Congress convened and could accept Corbett. The Mitchell people felt assured of nominating their man if the legislature met.

Joe Simon and the Portland Republicans continued to work with Bourne and the silver Republicans and U'Ren, if not the rest of the Populists, to prevent the "Mitchell push" from succeeding.[7] In December U'Ren urged Bourne to

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[6]Oregon City Enterprise, April 30, 1897, p. 4.

[7]Joseph Simon to Jonathan Bourne, Jr., May 9, 1897; August 30, 1897; November 24, 1897, Bourne Papers.

drop silver as an issue and go all out for direct legislation in a union effort to defeat the old guard Republicans. Bourne adamantly insisted that free coinage should remain the principal platform, as it had resulted in more votes for Bryan than all the other issues combined.[8] As the year 1897 ended, the direct legislation movement had slowed down, and care must be taken lest it be forgotten.

Political storms broke upon the state as the new year fairly started. On January 14, Corbett was refused a seat by the United States Senate. Thus the "Mitchell push" was encouraged to continue efforts to elect Mitchell.

The Populist party was equally as divided as the Republicans. The trend toward fusion had forced Chairman Young and Secretary U'Ren to openly break with brother Populists in an attempt to stem the tide. When fusionist J. D. Stevens, an erstwhile socialist, publicly denounced U'Ren for making a deal with Simon, Young stoutly defended U'Ren's motives as being honest and in the best interest of the party. Young termed the anti-fusionist old guard as "men who are populist as a matter of principle, and . . . not

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[8]Bourne to U'Ren, December 16, 1897, Bourne Papers. It should be kept in mind that an initiative and referendum law would require a state constitutional amendment. For the constitution to be so amended a joint resolution would have to pass the legislature in two successive sessions and then passed on by public election.

after pie."[9]

Some months earlier, U'Ren's home had been burglarized and his desk ransacked. He found that letters had been stolen, including letters from Bourne and Simon. Now J. D. Stevens asserted he had affidavits proving that U'Ren refused offers from Mitchell to support the initiative and referendum; that U'Ren had exhibited a large roll of bills received for holding up the legislature; and that U'Ren was seeking to become governor. After due publicity had been given to the charges, Stevens presented the letters at a meeting of the Clackamas County Populist Central Committee. Following Stevens's charges, Seth Lewelling's stepdaughter, Florence E. Asom, arose to speak. She recalled that U'Ren had taken charge of the Lewelling estate and increased its indebtedness from five thousand to twenty thousand dollars. She remembered finding letters in a desk that he had left that proved him dishonest and that he had conspired with J. C. Young. However, she did not say what he had done was dishonest. U'Ren was hard put to answer all the charges satisfactorily. He repeated that he had done what he thought necessary to achieve the objectives of the party. He presumably meant that he had done what he had to do to obtain

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[9]Portland Oregonian, December 10, 1897, p. 10.

support for the initiative and referendum.[10]

In writing to Bourne, U'Ren explained his reason for opposing fusion. The Democrats couldn't win without dividing the Populist votes. U'Ren predicted that if fusion occurred the fusion ticket would lose from six to ten thousand votes and socialists would enter a ticket and pick up those votes. He contended that such a division would help the cause of Mitchell and the Democrats. He was sure that the old line Populists would not accept fusion with the Democratic machine.[11]

The Populist State Central Committee met on the twentieth to make a decision on fusion and to set a date for the state convention. J. C. Young presided. He suggested that only true Populists should be allowed to remain in the meeting. U'Ren made a motion to clear the hall of everybody, including the press, and that the sergeant-at-arms allow only Populists to re-enter. The motion was seconded. The purpose was to prevent fusionists from attending the meeting. U'Ren stood on one side of the door and the sergeant-

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[10]Portland Oregonian, January 5, 1898, p. 5; January 9, 1898, p. 1, 3. It may have been at this time U'Ren began to practice what became his policy of never writing a letter of political significance if he could possibly call on the person.

[11]U'Ren to Bourne, January 17, 1898; January 22, 1898, Bourne Papers.

at-arms on the other. One by one those who were considered Populist reentered the hall. A known fusionist, Dr. Barton,[12] entered and was not challenged. The last in line was J. D. Stevens. The sergeant-at-arms asked, "Who are you?" U'Ren quickly interposed, "He is no populist." "Yes, I am, Dr. Barton will vouch for me," replied Stevens. "Dr. Barton's word don't go here," retorted U'Ren. Stevens called U'Ren an "approbrious epithet." U'Ren hit Stevens in the face with a clenched fist. Stevens returned the blow on U'Ren's cheek, drawing blood. The two fighters clinched and struggled briefly before Stevens was thrown out.[13]

As the meeting got under way again, U'Ren proposed that the state convention be scheduled before the Democratic convention instead of on the same day. He contended that it would show that the Populists did not want fusion. After a two-hour debate U'Ren's motion lost. The discussion of the issue of fusion indicated that most of the Populists wanted fusion with the Democrats on "honorable terms." Young and U'Ren were defeated on the fusion issue.[14]

Four days later Young resigned as People's party

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[12]Full name unknown.

[13]Portland Oregonian, January 20, 1898, p. 10.

[14]Ibid.

chairman. He said he did not leave the Republican party to become a Democratic "adjunct to bourbanism." With his bitter resignation Young ended all service to the party.[15]

On February 6, U'Ren resigned as chairman of the Clackamas County Central Committee. But characteristically he would not so easily give up all that had been accomplished for direct legislation because of fusion. He announced that he would work in the ranks by stumping the county for the cause of party principle in the election.[16]

By March 1, U'Ren had returned from a speaking tour. He presented the conditions on which the Populists would cooperate with the Democrats; but he emphasized that the Populists must be allowed to maintain their independent identity. He felt that he had been too hasty and should have used a "soft glove" in dealing with the fusionists. He continued, however, bitterly to attack Will R. King and other Populists who he believed had sold out to Democrats.[17]

U'Ren's change of heart possibly saved him for the party and made possible his nomination for state senator. The state convention was held in Portland on the twenty-

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[15] Ibid., January 24, 1898, p. 9.

[16] Oregon City Enterprise, February 4, 1898, p. 4; Portland Oregonian, February 6, 1898, p. 3.

[17] U'Ren to Bourne, March 1, 1898, Bourne Papers.

third with the fusionists in control. The middle-of-the-road Populists walked out of the convention to hold their own and presented a separate ticket. U'Ren remained with the fusionists. The fusionists nominated King for governor and by doing so gave the Populists top position on the ticket. Of the other offices the Populists got three, the silver Republicans two, and the Democrats three. U'Ren was not satisfied but conceded it better to have the governor and make the platform than nothing. He urged all Populists to support the ticket and platform by saying: "If it must be thrown out for pie, for God's sake let the democrats do it." The Portland Oregonian sneered that the "Democrats take what little sop is thrown to them." U'Ren believed that King was posing as a Populist and was supported by Portland's Democratic mayor, Sylvester Pennoyer, but he was willing to forego interparty squabbles to make a determined bid for the State Senate against the Republican George Brownell.[18]

The Populists once again called on "Cyclone" Davis to campaign. The eccentric orator appeared carrying the same grip he used in 1896, and reading the same battered volumes of Thomas Jefferson. "Sockless" Jerry Simpson also appeared to carry the torch for the fusionists. When the ballots

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[18]Portland Oregonian, March 23, 1898, p. 12; March 24, 1898, p. 1; March 25, p. 28; March 26, p. 8; March 28, p. 4.

were counted the Populists were generally beaten everywhere. U'Ren went down to defeat against Brownell with more votes than most Populists received in Clackamas County; but the tide had turned against the Populist party, and the voters were returning the traditional party politicians to power. The middle-of-the-road Populists received only a small token vote.[19]

It would seem that U'Ren had foreseen what would happen when fusion succeeded in dominating the party. When the collapse of the party became imminent, he sought to offend as few people as possible in both factions and went along with the majority for the sake of direct legislation. The question remains why he ran for the Senate seat rather than a seat in the lower House. It would appear that he could have won a seat in the House, but the Senate post had been held by a clever Republican who was almost certain to be continued in office. Was U'Ren sacrificed by party leaders who had taken a dim view of his actions in the hold-up session, or had they counted on his popularity among the rank and file to upset Brownell? Even to Brownell it must have appeared that his victory over U'Ren was due as much to lack of party harmony among the Populists as to any other

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[19] Ibid., April 5, 1898, p. 6; May 9, 1898, p. 10; June 10, 1898, p. 6.

single reason.

U'Ren called upon Brownell to discuss the future of direct legislation. Those who knew Brownell's relations with the railroads and other vested interests, as U'Ren did, knew Brownell to be opposed to direct legislation. But U'Ren also knew that Brownell was politically ambitious and would make a practical deal. U'Ren proposed to support Brownell for office next time if the senator would work for direct legislation. Brownell agreed. He explained to his Republican friends, "I've got to vote for it. My district is chock full of 'Pops' and I have to placate them. . . . It's got to go through two sessions. Pass it now and we can beat it next time."[20]

The governor called a special session for September 26. U'Ren was present to remind those who were pledged for direct legislation to keep their promise. Because of the burden of catching up with state business, U'Ren was promised that a resolution would be proposed in 1899. The short session passed appropriation measures and elected Joseph Simon United States senator.[21]

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[20]Lincoln Steffens, "U'Ren, the Law Giver," American Magazine (New York), LXV (March, 1908), 536-37.

[21]Paul Thomas Culbertson, "A History of the Initiative and Referendum in Oregon," (Ph D. thesis, Department of History, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, 1941), 51, 60; Direct Legislation Record (Newark, N. J.), V (March, 1898), 1.

While promises and pledges from legislators are necessary to successful lobbying, and while it is necessary to have a knack for logrolling and trading votes, it is the control of public opinion that is the most effective device to keep legislators in line. U'Ren's propaganda efforts through the Joint Committee on Direct Legislation had successfully educated the people about the initiative and referendum. In an article written for the Direct Legislation Record, he estimated that two years previously not more than one in a thousand in Oregon knew about the initiative and referendum and now three-fourths of the people favored direct legislation reform.[22]

During the spring of 1898 the National Direct Legislation League recognized U'Ren's importance to the movement by electing him to the National Executive Committee. He had become known to the national movement through publicity he had been given in the Direct Legislation Record concerning his part in the hold-up session. He had previously discussed the hold-up in the Record, as being an "example of the failure of representative government" and suggested no hold-up would have been possible if the people could vote on the acts of the legislature.[23]

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[22]Direct Legislation Record, V (March, 1898), 1.

[23]Ibid., IV (June, 1897), 113-14; ibid., V (March, 1898), 1.

Political conditions in Oregon had all but made impossible the continuation of the Joint Committee on Direct Legislation that was organized in 1892. The Knights of Labor, Farmers' Alliance, and Populist party were no longer sufficiently organized to carry on the fight for reform. A new organization with a different approach was necessary to keep the issue before the voters.[24]

U'Ren was convinced that any new organization should be non-partisan. Fusion had robbed the Populists of their power, and if there were a Democratic ticket, a fusionist ticket, and a middle-of-the-road ticket, direct legislation efforts would be so badly divided that it could not possibly win. Also, he realized that many Republicans would support reform if it were labeled Republican. He favored urging Populists to sacrifice their own party if necessary and support a more likely candidate who favored the initiative and referendum.[25]

While U'Ren was lobbying in Salem during the special session, a meeting was held to organize a Direct Legislation League. The new organization was called the Non-Partisan

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[24]Lute Pease, "The Initiative and Referendum--Oregon's 'Big Stick'," Pacific Monthly (Portland), XVII (May, 1907), 567; Thompson, "The Origin of Direct Legislation in Oregon," 26.

[25]Direct Legislation Record, V (September, 1898), 54; ibid., V (December, 1898), 84.

Direct Legislation League of Oregon. D. C. Sherman was elected president, and U'Ren took his usual position as secretary. A seventeen-man committee was elected, representing all parties and many factions of parties in the state. Anybody could join who was willing to work and who would not make reform a party issue. They planned to circulate literature, write letters to editors, and make speeches until a constitutional amendment would be passed.[26] U'Ren bided his time until the 1899 legislature by practicing law in Oregon City and working at Direct Legislation League propaganda.

Later that year, U'Ren was forced to face the question of ethics in practical politics. George Ogle had been his closest friend, a brother Populist, and a Clackamas County colleague in the 1897 legislature. Just before the turn of the new year, Ogle's mother died and U'Ren was asked to conduct the funeral service. He spoke briefly at the cemetery. The newspaper reported that his "words were full of comfort," and he gave to those who grieved assurance of seeing loved ones again in heaven.[27]

The next day the two friends mounted horses and rode

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[26] W. S. U'Ren, "The Initiative and Referendum in Oregon," The Arena (Trenton, N. J.), XXIX (March, 1903), 275; Pease, "The Initiative and Referendum," Pacific Monthly, XVII (May, 1907), 567; Culbertson, "History of the Initiative and Referendum in Oregon," 63.

[27] Oregon City Courier-Herald, January 6, 1899, p. 5.

together in a cold winter rain. Ogle had been thinking of the deals U'Ren had made with many of the enemies of the People's party. Ogle was especially concerned over the deal to support Brownell. To Ogle and the Populists, Brownell represented political plunder and corruption at its worst. But U'Ren, like Dr. Faustus, would have what he wanted; yet unlike Dr. Faustus, he sought neither personal gain nor prestige. Ogle asked his friend about the moral right to make deals with evil politicians. U'Ren answered, "I am going to get the initiative and referendum in Oregon if it costs me my soul. I'll do nothing selfish, dishonest, or dishonorable, but I'll trade off parties, offices, bills--or anything for that." Ogle replied, "Good things are not worth that price." U'Ren retorted, "We can't choose our human instruments and we can't change political methods till we have passed some legal tools to do it with." The two men quarrelled and parted. Ogle went to his farm; U'Ren went to lobby at Salem. It was a few years later before the two men met again as friends.[28]

Populist Chairman Frank Williams and U'Ren went to Salem in January, 1899, to lobby. L. J. Kruse, representative from Clackamas, introduced the resolution in the lower

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[28]Steffens, "U'Ren, the Law Giver," American Magazine, LXV (March, 1908), 536-37.

House, and P. R. Kelly reported it out of committee for the Senate. It was overwhelmingly passed in each house. Only thirteen votes opposed it in both houses. Senator Brownell kept his word by helping the resolution pass. At one point Brownell helped to get two votes by exchanging appropriation votes for a normal school for two initiative and referendum votes. U'Ren gave Brownell credit for "most valuable assistance" in a report to the Direct Legislation Record.[29]

Another accomplishment credited to reform efforts was the passage of the Lockwood Registration bill. Edward W. Bingham worked the hardest to lobby the registration bill through, although U'Ren and Frank Williams helped him.

After thirty days of lobbying, U'Ren returned to Oregon City on February 9. He felt assured of eventual victory; yet he realized that many who voted for the resolution in the legislature would seek to defeat it in the next legislature or at the polls in 1902.[30]

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[29]Thompson, "The Origin of Direct Legislation in Oregon," 73; Steffens, "U'Ren, The Law Giver," American Magazine, LXV (March, 1908), 537; U'Ren, "The Initiative and Referendum in Oregon," The Arena, XXIX (March, 1903), 275; Direct Legislation Record, VI (March, 1899), 1.

[30]Salem Oregon Daily Statesman, February 10, 1899, p. 8; William Macleod Raine, "The Referendum At Work," World To-Day (Chicago), II (December, 1906), 1270. Raine paid the following tribute to U'Ren: "In his quiet way U'Ren is a fighter. This slight, modest blue-eyed man does not know how to quit. He is, too, possessed of that instinct for guaging both the practical possibility and the means to

From Oregon City he began an all-out effort to spread the gospel of direct legislation everywhere. The secretary of the Non-Partisan Direct Legislation League wrote much of the literature that appeared around the state from the law office he opened in April, 1899.[31]

Although the next election was more than a year away, the campaign was getting underway. U'Ren wrote an article stating that the recent legislature had done well but that a few poor laws were enacted that would not have been passed under the initiative and referendum. He wrote about a thousand letters, mostly to Populists, urging them to support the candidates who were up for reelection and who had voted right on direct legislation, regardless of party.[32] He urged the voters to accept candidates who were willing to submit the proposed amendment to the people, even if the candidates personally were opposed to it.[33]

Letters

(continued) achieve it, so rare in reformers. In short, he has the political sense. He had nursed his amendment through the first legislature, trading votes, picking up friends for it, always smiling good-natured at the banter of the very one who voted for it because they were confident it would be defeated."

[31]Oregon City Enterprise, April 7, 1899, p. 1; Pease, "The Initiative and Referendum," Pacific Monthly, XVII (May, 1907), 569.

[32]Pease, "The Initiative and Referendum," Pacific Monthly, XVII (May, 1907), 570.

[33]Ibid., 568.

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Although the mark election was more than a year away, the campaign was nothing unusual. Often voters on ballots stating that the voters Legislature had done well but that a few poor laws enacted that would not have been passed under the initiative and referendum. He wrote about a Non-and Laborer, mostly to Populists, urging them to support the candidates who were up for reelection and the bill voted right on direct legislation, regardless of party.[72] He urged the voters to accept candidates who were willing to submit the proposed amendment to the people, even if the candidates themselves were opposed to it.[73]

(continued) initiative it, he was in referendum. In short, he has the political sense. He has served him consistent through the five legislatures, leading voter, placing up friends for it, always selling good-natured as the leader of the very one who voted for it because they were confident it would be defeated.

[71] Grange Grey Independent, April 7, 1892, p. 1; Grange, "The Initiative and Referendum," Populist Pamphlet, Avis (Nov. 1892), 2pp.

[72] Grange, "The Initiative and Referendum," Populist Pamphlet, Avis (Nov. 1892), 2pp.

[73] Ibid., 2pp.

The most powerful newspaper in the state began to support the measure. Harvey W. Scott, editor of the Portland Oregonian, had changed his mind and now favored direct legislation. Bankers, capitalists, and politicians were giving lip service to the resolution if not whole-hearted support. The movement was gaining momentum, and it would be politically and commercially indiscreet to oppose it. Many office holders began to realize that the measure was not politically dangerous as they had once thought. The voter would no longer consider it necessary to vote out of office a public servant to overrule a vote or an opinion on an issue, nor would third parties be necessary to get reforms. Grafters and lobbyists would have to face the prospect of submitting their legislative whims to the people, and legislators would be freed from the burden of them.[34]

Just before the general election in June, U'Ren declared that he would support the Republican legislative ticket because of their strong support for the initiative and referendum and because of their record in voting for it. Almost all of the members of the new legislature were pledged

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[34]U'Ren, "The Initiative and Referendum in Oregon," The Arena, XXIX (March, 1903), 271-73; Pease, "The Initiative and Referendum," Pacific Monthly, XVII (May, 1907), 568.

to vote for it.[35]

After the election, U'Ren went to South Africa to settle the estate of a relative who had recently died. He went first to London, then to Johannesburg. While in Africa he observed the fighting among the Boers, and he was convinced of the righteousness of the English cause. He believed that the English were fighting for equal rights and not for conquest. It was the Boer, he believed, who was violating the rights of men. When he left South Africa he went directly to New Orleans and arrived in Oregon on New Year's day, 1901.[36]

Before leaving to lobby at the legislature, U'Ren established a law partnership with Christian Schuebel in Oregon City. Schuebel shared his beliefs in reform and had worked with reform movement. The arrangement with Schuebel permitted U'Ren to be absent from the law office.[37]

Again in 1901, the legislature was faced with the task of electing a United States senator. The politically

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[35]Russell Gordon Hendricks, "The Effect of the Direct Primary Upon Senatorial Elections in Oregon, 1900-1909," (Master of Arts thesis, Department of History, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, 1951, 22.

[36]Oregon City Enterprise, January 4, 1901, p. 5; Oregon City Courier-Herald, January 4, 1901, p. 3.

[37]Oregon City Courier-Herald, January 4, 1901, p. 3.

ambitious John H. Mitchell was again preparing the way for his election. Though opposed by Scott and the Oregonian, Mitchell was popular with the rank and file of Republicans. But Mitchell had opposed the initiative and referendum during the hold-up and now the Republican party was committed to it.

A few days before the legislature convened U'Ren paid the senatorial hopeful a visit. "You and I have had some troubles, Senator," began U'Ren. "That's right, U'Ren, we have had troubles. But they are all past. . . . My friends will help you get your Referendum through."[38]

J. C. Young, E. W. Bingham, and Frank Williams lobbied with U'Ren at the legislature. George Brownell introduced the resolution in the Senate and Kruse in the lower house.[39] On January 24, a Salem newspaper reported, "The Ref-U'Rendum has passed the house."[40] There was only one dissenting vote in both houses of the legislature. The Republicans had voted unanimously for it and were showing signs of continuing to support progressive legislation. The work of the

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[38]Burton J. Hendrick, "The Initiative and Referendum, and How Oregon Got Them," McClure's Magazine, (New York), XXXVII (July, 1911), 248.

[39]Direct Legislation Record, VIII (June, 1901), 18.

[40]Salem Weekly Capital Journal, January 24, 1901, p. 6.

ambitious John S. Mitchell was again preparing the way for his election. Though opposed by Scott and the Democrats, Mitchell was popular with the work and life of Re-Unionism. The Mitchell had opposed the initiative and referendum during the Populist-Red Scare the Republican party was controlled by it.

A few days before the legislature convened Mitchell said the amendment beneficial vitality. "You and I have had some troubles, Senator," began Mitchell. "Since right, often, we have had troubles. But they are all past. . . . My friends will help you get your Referendum through."[31]

S. G. Young, E. K. Hughes, and Frank Williams joshed with Mitchell as the legislature. Young Crossell introduced the resolution in the Senate and Kline in the Lower house.[32] On January 24, a Union newspaper reported, "The Re-Unionists are passing the bills." There was only one disenting vote in both houses of the legislature. The Republicans had voted unanimously for it and were showing signs of contending for by majority progressive legislation. The work of the

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[31] Warren S. Harrison, "The Initiative and Referendum and How Oregon Got Them," Independent Magazine, (New York), XXXVII (June), 1911, 1.

[32] Oregon Legislative Manual, VIII (Salem, 1901), 16.

[33] Salem Weekly Capital Journal, January 24, 1901, 6.

People's party was finished, and before the legislative session was over the party officially disbanded.[41]

During the next few months U'Ren practiced law and made speeches. His speeches were not only about the initiative and referendum but also about the Boer War. Typically American, since he had been in Africa a few months, he was an authority on the subject. Once he spoke at a benefit and people paid fifteen cents apiece to hear him.[42]

On March 6, 1901, the forty-two year old reformer married. Only a few friends and relatives witnessed the marriage of Mrs. Mary Beharrel Moore of Portland to U'Ren. The ceremony took place in the home of Mrs. U'Ren's cousin in Portland. There was not much publicity given to the marriage in the newspapers; indeed many missed it altogether. They made their home in Gladstone, a small community on the outskirts of Oregon City.[43]

The fear that the people would turn down the proposed amendment prevented the reformers from relaxing their efforts during the 1902 campaign. Every effort was made to bring the

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[41]Hendricks, "The Effect of the Direct Primary Upon Senatorial Elections in Oregon, 1900-1909," 55.

[42]Oregon City Courier-Herald, February 1, 1901, p. 7; March 8, 1901, p. 3.

[43]Oregon City Enterprise, March 15, 1901, p. 2.

names of influential public leaders from all parties before the people as supporters of direct legislation. The people of Oregon had never approved constitutional amendments, although many had been rejected.[44]

The Fabian socialist editor of the Direct Legislation Record, Eltweed Pomeroy, came to Oregon to campaign.[45]. Both the Republican and the Democratic conventions endorsed the amendment. George H. Williams, the president of the Direct Legislation League, and George Brownell wrote the plank for the Republican platform. U'Ren attended both conventions and spoke to the delegates. Finally election day arrived, and the vote was 62,024 to 5,668 in favor of the amendment.[46]

The next issue of the Record extolled U'Ren for the part he played in securing the amendment. But U'Ren insisted, as he continued to insist throughout his life, that he was only one of many who worked for it and deserved no

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[44]U'Ren, "The Initiative and Referendum in Oregon," The Arena, XXIX (March, 1903), 275; Hendricks, "The Initiative and Referendum," McClure's Magazine, XXXVII (July, 1911), 218.

[45]Direct Legislation Record, IX (March, 1902), 3; Who Was Who in America (Chicago,), 980.

[46]Oregon City Courier-Herald, April 4, 1902, p. 6; Astoria Herald, May 24, 1902, p. 1; Direct Legislation Record, IX (March, 1902), 3; Thompson, "The Origin of Direct Legislation in Oregon," 81.

more credit than others for their success. Even so his admirers in the national movement thought a statue should be erected to his memory now that his life's work was done.[47]

But reform was just beginning in Oregon; and so was U'Ren's life work. He had suggested earlier to the readers of the Record what should be done with initiative and referendum once it had been secured. He said it should be used as soon as possible because other states were waiting and watching to see if it would work. He thought that reformers would be the first to use it and suggested it should be used to secure the single tax, prohibition, and labor reform. No doubt, he said, the first measures would fail at the polls--that was not the point; but to use it would win the confidence of reformers and even conservatives.[48]

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[47]Direct Legislation Record, IX (September, 1902), 55.

[48]Ibid., VIII (December, 1901), 60; ibid., IX (September, 1902), 55.

CHAPTER IV

COMPLETING THE OREGON SYSTEM

The summer and autumn of 1902 must have been pleasant seasons for the Oregon City reformer and his wife. Mary U'Ren entertained visiting relatives and worked in the Women's Club, making speeches and fulfilling her tasks of a state officer. U'Ren practiced law and occasionally received visits from political friends who were passing through the city.[1]

Politically, U'Ren was without a party. Although the Populists had reorganized and the Socialists had gained strength, he remained aloof from them. He believed that the initiative and referendum would make possible legislation and reform that the people wanted without the effort of protest parties. However, he was inclined to favor the Republicans and to be identified with the progressive movement.

U'Ren purposed to use the initiative to secure the single tax as soon as possible. But single taxers and political reformers dissented in the immediate use of the newly acquired tools for anything unfamiliar to the voters. U'Ren

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[1]Oregon City Courier-Herald, June 6, 1902, p. 5; September 19, 1902, p. 3; October 10, 1902, p. 3.

was persuaded to turn his attention to the direct nomination of public officials.[2]

He spent time in the 1903 legislature lobbying for a direct primary law. After a bill failed by a narrow margin U'Ren began preparing to campaign for a primary law to be passed by use of the initiative in 1904. Although he was disappointed with the failure of the legislature to act on the law, he was impressed with the moral character of the legislature as a whole. He discovered a decrease in paid lobbyists over previous sessions, and he heard of fewer charges of bribery.[3]

In June, 1903, an attempt was made to reorganize the Direct Legislation League into the Direct Primary Nomination League. At an initial meeting held on the thirteenth, tentative plans were made to associate as many prominent people as possible with the League. But in July, the efforts to organize was abruptly halted when the Circuit District Court of Multnomah County declared the initiative and referendum

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[2]James H. Gilbert, "Single-tax Movement in Oregon," Political Science Quarterly (New York), XXXI (March, 1916), 25-6; Lincoln Steffens, "U'Ren, The Law Giver," American Magazine (New York), LXV (March, 1908), 537.

[3]W. S. U'Ren, "The Operation of the Initiative and Referendum in Oregon," The Arena (Trenton, N. J.), XXXII (August, 1904), 128; Oregon City Courier, February 13, 1901, p. 1.

amendment unconstitutional. The Circuit Court based its decision on the unconstitutional provision that prohibited presenting an amendment when an amendment was pending. The Court found five amendments were pending from as far back as 1895. An additional charge was made that the amendment conflicted with the United States Constitution, which guaranteed each state a republican form of government.[4]

U'Ren was confident that the state Supreme Court would uphold the amendment, but declared that the people would not accept defeat if the appeal failed. If the Supreme Court declared the amendment unconstitutional he planned to work for a constitutional convention.[5]

In August, U'Ren filed a petition to be allowed to present briefs before the Supreme Court. The petition was signed by eight lawyers, among whom were Senator John H. Mitchell, Senator C. W. Fulton, C. E. S. Wood, George Brownell, and U'Ren. In September two briefs of seventy pages were filed.[6]

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[4]U'Ren, "The Operation of the Initiative and Referendum in Oregon," The Arena, XXXII (August, 1904), 129-30; Russell Hendricks, "The Effect of the Direct Primary Upon Senatorial Elections in Oregon, 1900-1909" (Master of Arts thesis, Department of History, University of Oregon, 1951), 120.

[5]Direct Legislation Record (Newark, N. J.), X (September, 1903), 45.

[6]Oregon City Courier, August 7, 1903, p. 6; September 1903, p. 1; Steffens, "U'Ren, The Law Giver," American Magazine, LXV (March, 1908), 538.

U'Ren and Tilman Ford gave oral arguments before the Supreme Court on December 3. The Court's decision, given on December 21, stated that when an amendment had a chance to be presented to the people and the legislature failed to do so, then the amendment was no longer pending. The Court also held that the initiative and referendum did not violate the principle of representative government. "The people have simply reserved to themselves a larger share of legislative power--the government is still divided into three parts." The purposes of representative government were to protect the American people from "aristocratic and monarchical invasions," but the Constitution could be changed in any way the people choose, "so long as none of these results is accomplished." The Court continued by quoting Madison in The Federalist: "Whenever the states may choose to substitute other republican forms, they have a right to do so. . . . The only restriction imposed on them is that they shall not exchange republican for anti-republican constitutions." U'Ren happily reported in the Arena: "No more important . . . decision . . . more ably represents and sustains the American ideals of government."[7]

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[7]"A. A. Kadderly vs City of Portland," Oregon Reports, XLIV (1904), 118-60; U'Ren, "The Operation of the Initiative and Referendum in Oregon," The Arena, XXXII (August, 1904), 129-30.

Before the new year arrived the dormant Direct Primary Nomination League was rejuvenated. At the same time U'Ren circulated several proposed amendments among the members for their suggestions and criticisms. He felt the urgency of working quickly in order to have the proposals ready by the deadline of February 6, for election of June, 1904. The League elected as president A. L. Mills, who was the vice-president of the Security Savings and Trust Company. U'Ren was made secretary, and the executive committee included Harvey W. Scott, John H. Mitchell, Jonathan Bourne, Jr., Frank Williams, C. S. Jackson, and C. E. S. Wood. The membership list included corporation lawyers, bankers, farmers, and political leaders of Democrat, Republican, Socialist, Populist, and Prohibition parties. The State Grange organization asked their local granges to circulate petitions. C. S. Jackson's Oregon Journal gave whole-hearted support; and the Portland Oregonian reluctantly supported it "because it will end boss rule."[8]

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[8]W. S. U'Ren to Stephan A. Lowell, December 23, 1903, Bourne Papers; Portland Oregonian, January 20, 1904, p. 6; May 10, 1904, p. 6; Oregon City Enterprise, January 22, 1904, p. 1; W. S. U'Ren, "The Initiative and Referendum in Oregon," The Arena (Trenton, N. J.), XXIX (March, 1903), 272.

The original draft of the direct primary law was written by U'Ren. He based some of his ideas on work done in Minnesota and Maryland, but gave special attention to the Stevens Bill in Wisconsin, which Governor Robert La Follette was promoting. The object of the bill was to make party conventions and caucuses unnecessary in nominating all state officers and constitutionally to make possible direct election of United States senators. The writing of a direct legislation bill required considerable skill in law-making in order to circumvent the federal constitutional requirement that state legislatures elect senators. U'Ren asked Thomas A. McBride to help write the final draft to insure that the amendment would be constitutional.[9]

The ingenious feature of the amendment that facilitated direct election was called Statement Number One.[10] The Statement was a voluntary pledge taken by a candidate

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[9]Portland Oregonian, January 20, 1904, p. 14; Direct Primary Nomination League Pamphlet, 1904. Thomas A. McBride was a Circuit Court judge and later served for twenty years in the State Supreme Court. In 1930, at the time of McBride's death, U'Ren said, "Judge McBride . . . was one of the very strongest men in sustaining that measure by which Oregon succeeded in side-stepping the federal constitution." Oregon Reports, CXXXIII (1930), xxii.

[10]Statement Number One reads as follows: "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

to the state legislature committing himself to vote for the person chosen by the voter in the general election. Since candidates did not have to take the pledge, nor could be legally bound to it if they did take it, the constitution remained unviolated. But the politically wise knew they would have to take the pledge to win.

In the June election the primary law won by a vote of 56,285 to 16,354. The Direct Primary Nomination League had served its purpose and passed from the scene. U'Ren now turned his attention to his law practice. He occasionally spoke to civic groups to explain the operation of the new primary law or the initiative and referendum.[11]

The 1905 legislature caused a few moments of discomfort to the advocates of direct government when George Brownell introduced a bill for a constitutional convention. U'Ren suspected that the motive of those who advocated a convention was to eliminate the initiative and referendum. He pointed out that any necessary changes in the Constitution could be gained by use of the initiative and referendum. U'Ren, with the aid of F. G. Ely, circulated a petition

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(continued.)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." The candidate could also declare he would not promise to support the popular choice; or he could be a candidate and not commit himself.

[11]Oregon City Courier, August 5, 1904, p. 1; October 21, 1904, p. 4; Portland Oregonian, September 18, 1904, p. 6.

opposing Brownell's bill. In February, when U'Ren took the petition to Salem, he was confident that public opinion would prevent passage of the bill. He was quoted in the newspapers as saying: "The man who votes for the Brownell bill for a constitutional convention as it stands now is digging his own political grave and getting into it."[12] The Brownell bill was killed fourteen to thirteen in the Senate. U'Ren proposed a bill to change the direct primary law, and it was introduced by a member of the House from Clackamas. The bill provided for voters to be able to change registration of party from municipal to general elections; and it would exempt government officers from registering who were away from the country. The measure passed the House but not the Senate.[13]

During the summer months U'Ren was concerned with two important problems. First, he needed a senatorial candidate who would run and make Statement Number One the chief issue; secondly, he wanted to organize a new league to support such a candidate as well as to work for reform legislation. He

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[12]Oregon City Courier, February 3, 1905, pp. 3, 5; Oregon City Enterprise, February 3, 1905, p. 3.

[13]Hendricks, "The Effect of the Direct Primary Upon Senatorial Elections in Oregon, 1900-1909," 142, 147. Mr. Hendricks' thesis discusses the political history of this period in considerable detail.

assumed, though incorrectly, that Scott would support the Statement and therefore asked Scott to run for the Senate. After Scott refused, U'Ren asked McBride and Mills, both of whom turned a deaf ear. U'Ren finally decided to support Bourne if Bourne would agree.[14] In a letter to his sister, Bourne related a conversation he had with U'Ren in July. Upon entering Bourne's office, U'Ren said, "Jonathan, I had rather see you go to the Senate than any other man in the State, but I know you can't make it." Bourne protested that he did not expect to go back into politics. A few days later U'Ren again called on Bourne and said: "I have about concluded to ask you to run for the United States Senate." Bourne replied, "That is strange after what you told me a few days ago." "Well," U'Ren said,

> I have concluded that you are the only man in the state that can make a fight and enforce the spirit as well as the letter of the Direct Primary Law and while I do not think you can possibly be elected yourself, I think you are a big enough man to sacrifice yourself for a principle that you believe in.

After thinking it over, Bourne agreed to run but not with the pessimistic conviction that he would lose as U'Ren had

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[14]Fred Lockley to Jonathan Bourne, Jr., January 30, 1911, Bourne Papers; Steffens, "U'Ren, The Law Giver," American Magazine, LXV (March, 1908), 538.

suggested.[15]

By mid-October U'Ren had started to organize the People's Power League to be responsible for several initiative measures the following June. Bourne was eager to participate in the new movement and at the same time prepare himself to run for the Senate. He asked U'Ren to "jot down a skeleton of the main points you would cover in an open letter addressed to each voter of the State, giving me the benefit of your views as to what the leading questions are today and your convictions on same."[16] U'Ren responded by taking charge of Bourne's campaign.

U'Ren thought that Bourne would not be elected senator because he would not get the support of the legislature. Even if Bourne was elected by the people, the legislature could not be forced to vote for him. H. M. Cake announced his candidacy with the regular Republicans in support. Bourne was not well known in the state except to a few who remembered his part in the 1897 legislative fiasco. U'Ren's strategy was to find the answer to the two weaknesses.

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[15]Bourne to Emily H. Bourne, January 20, 1906, Bourne Papers.

[16]Oregon City Courier, October 27, 1905, p. 9; Bourne to U'Ren, November 27, 1905, Bourne Papers; Hendricks, "The Effect of the Direct Primary Upon Senatorial Elections in Oregon, 1900-1909," 190.

First, how to overcome the fact of Bourne's unpopularity with the Republican leaders; secondly, how to make Bourne known to the people.[17]

Bourne had one asset that gave him a chance to win. He was a wealthy man. But buying votes would not help the cause of reform. U'Ren insisted that principle was of primary importance in the election, even if it meant sacrificing his candidate. But money could win for Bourne if used to educate the people about Statement Number One. If the people thoroughly understood the significance of the Statement and voted only for legislators who would take the pledge, no legislature would dare equivocate. As Bourne's unofficial campaign manager, U'Ren proceeded to accomplish the task.[18]

The first strategem was a "two cent stamp campaign." Every voter in the state received a letter personally addressed to his home and signed by Bourne. He did not present himself as a candidate but discussed political issues,

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[17] Lute Pease, "The Initiative and Referendum--Oregon's 'Big Stick,'" Pacific Monthly (Portland), XVII (May, 1907), 573.

[18] Ibid., Oregon City Courier, February 2, 1906, p. 1; Hendricks, "The Effect of the Direct Primary Upon Senatorial Elections in Oregon, 1900-1909," 195.

scandals, bosses, and Statement Number One. Other letters followed, one of which contained a stamped post card to be mailed back to Bourne. It read:

> I, the undersigned citizen of Oregon, hereby pledge my sacred honor that I will not, under any circumstances, sign the petition of, or subscribe to the above pledge /Statement Number One/ in his petition for nomination.

Finally on March 4, 1906, Bourne sent a card announcing his candidacy with his picture and caption "Champion of 'Statement No. 1'."[19]

After the campaign to educate the voters had been started, U'Ren turned his attention to the candidates for the state legislature. He either secured the pledge of the nominees in the field or found others who were willing to "take the pledge." Many U'Ren candidates had a one plank platform--they would elect the people's choice senator.[20]

The Democrats generally endorsed the Statement, but the Republicans were completely divided. Many refused to sign the pledge; others agreed to sign modified statements that would allow the majority party in the legislature to choose the people's choice from that party. H. M. Cake, the

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[19]Burton J. Hendrick, "The Statement Number One," McClure's Magazine (New York), XXXVII (August, 1911), 509.

[20]Ibid., 510; Oregon City Courier, February 2, 1906, p. 1.

regular Republicans' choice for senator, side-stepped the issue with a declaration in favor of a constitutional amendment to allow direct election of senators.[21]

The political foes of Bourne thought that they could make political capital by spreading unsigned brochures telling of the alleged scandals in Bourne's headquarters during the hold-up session. U'Ren and others were named as frequent guests at "the house of mirth." U'Ren answered the charge in an open letter to the press, in which attention was focused on the insult to himself and others who frequented the headquarters. He pointed out that Reverend H. L. Barkley, George Ogle, Chris Schuebel, Lute Pease, Colonel E. Hofer, and Harvey W. Scott had all accepted the hospitality of the headquarters. U'Ren inferred that these were the people charged as being "blackguards, pimps, gamblers, grafters, and thugs," who employed dissolute women "for the free use of the gang." U'Ren denied the charge as being "villainous, cowardly, false and criminal libelous."[22] Not only had U'Ren succeeded in relieving Bourne as the key person in the

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[21]Hendricks, "The Effect of the Direct Primary Upon Senatorial Elections in Oregon, 1900-1909," 187; see Portland Oregonian, April 15, 1906, p. 13.

scandal, but he cleverly implicated some of Bourne's 1906 political enemies.

Bourne beat Cake in the primary, 12,877 to 12, 252. He continued his post card campaign in support of the Statement Number One. The Democrats wondered if the people would be properly served by the aristocrat in Washington. In support of their candidate, John M. Gearin, a man of the people, they asked what would happen to the "deluded followers of W. S. U'Ren and Chris Schuebel who largely made it possible for him to reach a place for which he is not in any respect . . . fitted."[23]

Bourne was selected by the people with 3,121 votes more than Gearin. His victory, however, was expensive. It is estimated to have cost fifty thousand dollars.[24]

Professor James D. Barnett called U'Ren's People's Power League "by far the most important organized influence in direct legislation."[25] In February U'Ren had filed five initiative measures in the name of the League.[26] These

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[23]Hendricks, "The Effect of the Direct Primary Upon Senatorial Elections in Oregon, 1900-1909," 208; Oregon City Courier, May 25, 1906, p. 4.

[24]Hendrick, "The Statement Number One," McClure's Magazine, XXXVII (August, 1911), 511.

[25]James D. Barnett, The Operation of Initiative and Referendum and Recall in Oregon (New York, 1915), 18.

[26]Oregon City Enterprise, February 9, 1906, p. 1.

measures, but he cleverly implicated some of Bourne's 1905 political enemies.

Bourne had done in the primary, 12,917 to 12, 252. He continued his poor uncl campaign in support of the State-wide Ballot Law. The Democrats wondered if the people would be properly served by the referendum in Washington. In support of their candidate, John H. Ferrin, a man of his position, they asked what would happen to the "delayed followers of W. S. U'Ren and Chris Schnebel who largely made it possible for him to remain a place for which he is not in any respect . . . fitted."[23]

Bourne was defeated by the people with 3,121 votes more than Ferrin. His victory, however, was moderate. It is estimated to have cost fifty thousand dollars.[24]

Professor James D. Barnett called Ulrich's Peoples Power League "by far the most important organized influence in direct legislation."[25] In February U'Ren had filed five initiative measures in the name of the League.[26] These

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[23]Anonymous, "The Effect of the Direct Primary Upon Sectional Politics in Oregon, 1900-1914," 1924; Oregon City Enterprise, May 25, 1906, p. 4.

[24]Anonymous, "The Statement Makers," Portlandia Magazine, XXXVII (August, 1911), 311.

[25]James D. Barnett, The Operation of Initiative and Referendum and Recall in Oregon (New York, 1915), 12.

[26]Oregon City Enterprise, February 9, 1906, p. 1.

including a proposed law prohibiting free passes on railroads and four proposed amendments to the constitution: requiring a referendum to call a constitutional convention, giving cities sole power to amend their charters, authorizing state printers compensation to be regulated by law at any time, and specifying that the initiative and referendum should apply to all local, special and municipal laws.[27] The People's Power League measures were passed by the people in the June election.

A natural corollary to the direct primary law would be a corrupt practices act. By mid-July U'Ren announced his concern that candidates could spend money for publicity too freely.[28] The People's Power League secretary drafted a law to limit the amount of money spent in an election. The Oregonian editor asked a rhetorical question: "Will it be enacted?" The vitriolic editor sarcastically answered:

> Of course it will. In Oregon the state government is divided into four departments--the executive, judicial, legislative and Mr. U'Ren--and it is still an open question which exerts the most power. One fact must be considered in making comparisons: that the legislature does not dare to repeal the acts of Mr. U'Ren, the executive has no power to veto them, and thus far the judiciary has upheld all his laws and constitutional amendments. On the contrary, Mr. U'Ren has boldly clipped the wings of the executive and legislative departments,

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[27] Oregon Blue Book, (1949-50), 251.

[28] Oregon City Enterprise, July 20, 1906, p. 4.

and when he gets time will doubtless put some shackles on the supreme court. To date, the indications are that Mr. U'Ren outweighs any one and perhaps all three of the other departments.[29]

During the summer and fall months the U'Rens worked quietly in Oregon City, except for a business trip to Victoria, B. C. Mary U'Ren and Father Anthony Hillebrand worked on plans to establish a library in town. Rumors began to circulate that U'Ren was interested in running for the Senate in 1908 on the slogan, "What I have done for the people of Oregon." Serious politics awaited the arrival of the new year.[30]

The 1907 legislature failed to enact a corrupt practice law as U'Ren had hoped. He lobbied in Salem nearly the whole forty days of the session. The legislature dispatched the matter of electing a senator in twenty minutes. U'Ren reported that the election had neither "boodle or booze, not even a cigar." He saw no signs of corruption or bosses. In more than eight previous sessions he had attended he could not say as much. By implication he meant to make clear that the initiative, referendum, and direct primary had made

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[29]Portland Oregonian, July 17, 1906, p. 8; Barnett, The Operation of Initiative and Referendum and Recall in Oregon, 17.

[30]Oregon City Courier, August 31, 1906, p. 5; Oregon City Enterprise, August 31, 1906, p. 8; September 21, 1906, p. 1.

and when the polls close will be glad to put some knowledge on the express count. To date, the indications are that Mr. U'Ren outstripping any one and perhaps all three of the other departments."[7]

During the master and fall months the U'Rens worked quietly in Oregon City, except for a business trip to Victoria, B. C. Harry U'Ren and Robert Anthony Hillebrand worked on plans to establish a library in town. Harvey began to circulate that U'Ren was interested in running for the Senate in 1906 on the slogan, "What I have done for the people of Oregon." Serious politics marked the arrival of the new year.[8]

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[7]Portland Oregonian, July 17, 1906, p. 3; Harvey H. U'Ren to Jonathan and Deborah Ferguson and Daniel in Oregon, 17.

[8]Oregon City Enterprise, August 31, 1906, p. 5; Oregon City Enterprise, August 31, 1906, p. 5; September 21, 1906, p. 1.

it possible. As for the failure to pass a corrupt practices bill, the People's Power League would present the voters an opportunity to pass one in June.[31]

Following the legislative session Oregon was visited by Lincoln Steffens. He was writing a series of articles for the American Magazine in which he discussed fraud, political corruption and bosses. Also he pointed out a person in each region who was actively combating the evils in government. He had toured from New York to California and stopped at various places to investigate the political health of the area. He became interested in the Northwest because of the Haywood trial in Boise and the alleged Mitchell-Fulton land frauds in Oregon. But he also wanted to see Will U'Ren. He first heard of U'Ren from the advocates of direct legislation in Rhode Island. Later he discovered U'Ren's influence in the Dakotas and Washington. In San Francisco he found that U'Ren had drafted a part of the San Franciscan charter that included the referendum.[32]

For a week Steffens attended banquets and dinners,

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[31] Oregon City Enterprise, February 8, 1900, p. 2; Oregon City Courier, March 1, 1907, p. 1.

[32] Portland Oregon Journal, March 13, 1907, p. 7; March 20, 1907, p. 8; Steffens, "U'Ren, The Law Giver," American Magazine, LXV (March, 1908), 527-28.

made speeches, gave interviews, and asked questions about political conditions.[33] In the midst of his busy schedule Steffens spent a few hours at the home of U'Ren. He described the home as being "a small cottage on a point of land that looks up the Willamette River to the famous Falls." The floor was covered by a rag carpet made by Mary U'Ren.[34] Here Steffens and U'Ren discussed Oregon politics and the effects of reform legislation in the state. Steffens interrogated U'Ren about his personal life as well as his public life for an essay in the American Magazine. After the discussion, Mary U'Ren served dinner before Steffens returned to Portland. But the writer whom Roosevelt had singled out as being a muckraker was highly impressed with the quiet, soft-spoken "country lawyer." In speaking of U'Ren to the news reporters, he said, "I've seen all sorts of reformers, but he is a new one to me. I have never met a man like him. If the country generally knew of him and his work, he would be a conspicious figure, and he's likely to become such."[35] And Steffens, the editor, would make it come true.

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[33]Portland Oregon Journal, March 13, 1907, p. 7.

[34]Oregon City Enterprise, March 16, 1907, p. 1; Steffens, "U'Ren, The Law Giver," American Magazine, LXV (March, 1908), 539. Steffens refers to Mary U'Ren as a "New England woman." This is incorrect; she was born in Indiana and moved to Oregon.

[35]Oregon City Enterprise, March 16, 1907, p. 1.

The day following Steffens's visit, U'Ren spoke at the opening of a new Grange hall in Milwaukee. In a ten-minute speech he urged the farmers to participate more actively in securing reform legislation. J. D. Stevens and Mrs. Seth Lowelling were present to hurl invectives at him as he spoke. In addition to the insults he was "threatened with rotten eggs." U'Ren ignored Mrs. Lewelling, as the audience hissed her, but he silenced the Socialist Stevens "with some well-chosen sarcasm." As U'Ren left the hall Stevens followed to cast more abusive remarks.[36]

These two consecutive days in U'Ren's life present a picture of contrast. On the fifteenth, Steffens saw a soft-spoken idealist, quietly living in a humble home; but on the sixteenth, U'Ren was the fire-eating, practical, hard headed reformer, mixing in rough and tumble politics.

For the next several months U'Ren was plagued with the temptation to run for the Senate in 1908. In discussing the prospect with with Young in April, he said that he believed that a campaign would cost as much as Bourne's and that he did not think he could win on his income of $1800.[37]

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[36] Ibid., March 22, 1907, pp. 1, 2.

[37] Young to Bourne, April 29, 1907; Bourne Papers; Steffens, "U'Ren, the Law Giver," American Magazine, LXV

The day following Stefanko's visit, Ulrich spoke at the opening of a non-Orange hall in Milwaukee. In a vociferous speech he urged the Germans to participate more actively in working towards legislation. G. H. Stevens and Mrs. Zedd lectured were present to lend moral support to the speech. In addition to the lecture he was "strengthened with notions, cups." Ulrich ignored Mrs. Zeddlitz, as the audience pleased her, but he allowed the Socialist Stevens "with show well-chosen accents." As Ulrich left the hall Stevens followed to cast more sharp arrows.[36]

These two cooperative days in Ulrich's life presaged a pleasure of conclusion. By the fifteenth, Ulrich was a moribund isolated, quietly living in a Mexicle house but on the minutes. Then was the fire-setting, prosecution, hung hooded volunteer, making up rough and tumble politics.

For the week several months Ulrich was planned with the preparation to convention Stevens in 1908. He discussing the prospect with with Young in April. He said that he believed that a campaign would cost as much as Stevens's and that he did not think he could win on his income of $1000.[37]

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[36]Ibid., March 23, 1907, p. 1.

[37]Young to Stevens, April 26, 1907; Stevens Papers; Stevens, "Ulrich, the Man Driven," Unpublished Manuscript, 117

A month later, however, Young reported to Senator Bourne that U'Ren was still talking of going to the United States Senate.[38] Young tried to discourage him because he believed he could not win and it would be "disastrous to his health, his pocket, his career, his already secured fame, and to his influence."[39]

U'Ren was in San Francisco during July to have a conference with Francis J. Heney. Heney had successfully exposed John Mitchell's part in the land frauds and now pointed an accusing finger at Senator Fulton on a similar charge. Fulton was up for reelection in 1908, but if U'Ren would oppose him, Heney would come to Oregon to campaign for U'Ren; moreover, Young thought that Lincoln Steffens and Robert La Follette might come to Oregon on U'Ren's behalf.[40]

U'Ren worked throughout the summer on two measures to amend the direct primary law regarding Statement Number One and corrupt practices. The Oregonian and other opponents of Statement Number One had misconstrued the Statement

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(Continued.) (March, 1908), 539. John C. Young was employed by Senator Bourne as his Portland secretary.

[38]Young to Bourne, May 24, 1907, Bourne Papers.

[39]Young to Bourne, July 12, 1907, ibid.

[40]Young to Bourne, July 26, 1907, ibid; July 30, 1907, ibid.; Oregon City Enterprise, September 6, p. 4.

to mean that a legislator could vote for the popular choice within his party. U'Ren proposed to re-submit Statement Number One in June, 1908, establishing the law as an instruction to the legislators to elect the people's choice. He carefully worded the instruction to make the pledge voluntary, thus keeping it constitutional.[41]

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[41] Young to Bourne, June 19, 1907, Bourne Papers; Oregon City Enterprise, September 13, 1907, p. 1.

CHAPTER V

STATEMENT NUMBER ONE

The winter and spring of 1908 was a crucial period for Statement Number One. The anti-Statement Republicans were attempting to rule out the Statement as part of the primary law by declaring it only an added suggestion and not actually a true part of the law. They argued that candidates for the state legislature would not be expected to sign the pledge or be held to vote for a United States senator of another party. If this concept became accepted by the voters, popular choice of senators would become meaningless under the primary law and party machines would dominate the legislature.

The popularity of Senator Jonathan Bourne, Jr., with the voters in the election of 1906 had forced the legislature to elect him in spite of his unpopularity with the Republican party leaders. Even more distasteful to anti-Statement Republicans was the prospect of being forced to elect a Democratic senator. The popular Democratic governor, George E. Chamberlain, was a likely candidate for the United States Senate, and if Statement Number One was not repudiated by the Republicans, he probably would be elected by a Republican legislature.

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Since the Republicans were expected to win a majority of the legislative seats in the general election in June, the anti-Statement faction would seek to control the primary election in April. While the advocates of Statement Number One needed to win a majority of the state to continue the effectiveness of the pledge, it was of equal importance for them to nominate a man for the United States Senate who would abide by the pledge if he was defeated in the June election. The incumbent senator, Charles W. Fulton, who was seeking reelection, had declared himself opposed to Statement Number One. Late in January, H. M. Cake announced his candidacy to run against Fulton and he agreed to accept the conditions of Statement Number One.

Until Cake declared his intentions of seeking the nomination, rumors persisted that U'Ren would become a candidate. Shortly after Cake's announcement, U'Ren said that he would like the job but that he was too busy working for People's Power League measures to provide more direct government. "I want to show the voters of Oregon that they may safely trust themselves with power."[1] U'Ren's statement led an editor to quip, "and then it is to be remembered that

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[1]Portland Oregonian, January 27, 1908, p. 3; Oregon City Enterprise, January 31, 1908, p. 1.

Mr. U'Ren . . . runs a good sized legislature of his own."[2]

The People's Power League was sponsoring four initiative measures to be placed before the voters in June. These measures were better known as "U'Ren measures" since he wrote them, did most of the speaking for them, and filed the petitions in Salem after securing more than the necessary number of signers.[3] As secretary of the People's Power League, U'Ren submitted the measures to the press on January 12, 1908. Two were initiative amendments to the state Constitution, one calling for a "special election to discharge a public officer, who is faithless, dilatory, corrupt or unpopular" and the other granting "parties and political organizations representation in law making bodies in proportion to their voting strength." There were two other measures of an initiative statutory nature. One was "to instruct members of [the] Legislature to vote for the 'people's choice' for United States Senator" and the second, "to prevent corrupt practices and limit campaign expenses of candidates in elections."[4] U'Ren declared at the time that

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[2]Oregon City Courier, January 31, 1908, p. 1.

[3]Oregon City Enterprise, January 31, p. 5.

[4]Portland Oregonian, January 12, 1908, p. 10; Paul Thomas Culbertson, "A History of the Initiative and Referendum in Oregon" (Ph D. thesis, Department of History, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, 1941), 97.

if the amendments were carried in June, his "lawgiving will cease as far as the Constitution is concerned. And should his two statutory measures be adopted, also, his lawmaking objects will have been attained, for a time at least."[5]

In the meantime, Senator Bourne was given patronage privileges by President Theodore Roosevelt. Bourne appointed U'Ren's law partner, Christian Schuebel, district attorney. In making this appointment, Bourne broke an agreement with his Oregon colleagues in Washington to consult them about any federal appointments in Oregon.[6] The appointment of U'Ren's partner was considered a payment for supporting Bourne in the 1906 election.[7] Indeed, U'Ren's efforts in Clackamas County alone may have made possible Bourne's victory in the primary.[8] Although Roosevelt was willing to support Bourne, pressure from a critical press and opposition from the other members of the Oregon delegation forced Bourne to accept a compromise candidate. The unhappy editor

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[5]Portland Oregonian, January 12, 1908, p. 10.

[6]Ibid., January 16, 1908, p. 1.

[7]Portland Oregon Journal, January 7, 1908, p. 1, 11; Oregon City Courier, January 10, 1908, p. 4; Portland Oregonian, January 13, 1908, p. 6; Jonathan Bourne, Jr. to Thomas A. McBride, August 14, 1907, Bourne Papers. "Personally, as you must know, I feel extremely friendly to both Schuebel and U'Ren."

[8]Oregon City Courier, January 10, 1908, p. 4.

of the Oregonian wanted Mr. U'Ren and Mr. Bourne to know that they and their families were not the "whole thing." In continuing the attack, the editor accused U'Ren and Bourne of considering themselves the "original patentees and sole proprietors" of the initiative, referendum, primary law and Statement Number One.[9]

It seemed to U'Ren that anti-Statement Republicans, including Harvey W. Scott, were successfully undermining the popular appeal of Statement Number One and even the initiative and referendum. An editorial from the Washington Post was quoted as saying, "The initiative and referendum . . . is iridescent humbug," and "The fishers and choppers and plowmen of Oregon will take a day next June and try their hands at lawmaking."[10] In noting that the People's Power League was increasing its efforts to stem the tide of anti-Statement forces, the editor called to the readers' attention that "Mr. U'Ren is practically the 'whole thing' in the League."[11] Mrs. Clara Waldo, grand lecturer of the State Grange, stumped the state against Statement Number One. She condemned U'Ren publicly and "denied that he is the father

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[9]Portland Oregonian, January 13, 1908, p. 13.

[10]Ibid., February 14, 1908, p. 8.

[11]Ibid., February 16, 1908, p. 9.

of the Commission wanted Mr. U'Ren and Mr. Dourne to know that they and their families were not the "whole thing." In continuing the attack, the editor reasoned U'Ren and Dourne of considering themselves the "original pathfinder and sole propriatedore" of the initiative, referendum, primary law and statement Number One.[9]

He agreed to U'Ren that anti-Statement Republicans, including Harvey G. Booth, were successfully undermining the popularity of Statement Number One and even the initiative and referendum. An editorial from the Washington Post was quoted as saying, "The initiative and referendum . . . is irksome humbug," and "The Farmers and shoppers and pioneers of Oregon will help a day more soon and say that humbug as humbugging."[10] In noting that the People's Power League was increasing its efforts to stem the tide of anti-Statement forces, the editor called to the readers' attention that "Mr. U'Ren is practically the 'whole thing' in the League."[11] Then, Oliver Walds, grand lecturer of the State Grange, managed the state against Statement Number One. She condemned U'Ren publicly and "doubted that he is the father

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[9]Portland Oregonian, January 13, 1908, p. 12.

[10]Ibid., February 14, 1908, p. 8.

[11]Ibid., February 25, 1908, p. 9.

of the initiative and referendum." She admitted, however, he might be its step-father.[12]

By the middle of February, U'Ren had organized an active campaign. A score of speakers were enlisted in every county; a letter writing program was started; and U'Ren challenged several opponents of the Statement to debate.[13] A U'Ren debate was a popular attraction around Portland. The South Portland Republicans provided a hall for many of the debates. O. L. Price, a lawyer and close friend of U'Ren, remembered him as an effective debater. "It was seldom that anyone could make him angry. He was a competent debater who always knew just what he wanted to say. He won many followers by his earnestness and sincerity."[14]

To U'Ren the silence of H. M. Cake on Statement Number One was not golden. Indeed Cake's lack of words spoke loudly for the anti-Statement cause. U'Ren telephoned him urging him to make a fight for the primary law, but Cake continued to remain silent. Finally, U'Ren went to see him personally, and Cake said that he was doing considerable in

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[12]Oregon City Enterprise, February 14, 1908, p. 8.

[13]Portland Oregon Journal, February 12, 1908, p. 2; February 22, 1908, p. 5; Portland Oregonian, February 17, 1908, p. 14.

[14]Interview with O. L. Price, October 21, 1955.

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By the middle of February, U'Ren had organized an active campaign. A series of speeches were initiated in every county; a letter-writing program was started; and U'Ren challenged several opponents of the statement to debate.[13] A U'Ren debate was a popular attraction around Portland. The Portland Republicans provided a hall for many of the debates. O. L. Price, a lawyer and close friend of U'Ren, remembered him as an effective debater. "It was said that anyone could make him angry. He was a worrisome debater who always knew just what he wanted to say. He won many followers by his earnestness and sincerity."[14]

To U'Ren the alliance of W. S. Gale on behalf of the initiative was not welcome. Indeed Gale's lack of works appeals hardly for the anti-statement cause. U'Ren telephoned him urging his co-works a fight for the primary law, but Gale continued to remain silent. Finally, U'Ren went to see him personally, and Gale said that he was doing considerable in

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[12]Oregon City Enterprise, February 14, 1908, p. 8.

[13]Portland Oregon Journal, February 16, 1908, p. 2; February 20, 1908, p. 2; Portland Oregonian, February 17, 1908, p. 14.

[14]Interview with O. L. Price, October 21, 1952.

the way of correspondence.[15] U'Ren considered letter writing hardly the way for a strong advocate of Statement Number One to campaign against the daily attacks of the Oregonian and the speeches of those he considered machine politicians.

On February 24, U'Ren announced his intention of entering the race for the United States Senate. He said that he had eleven hundred dollars in his purse to finance his campaign. He would fight for Statement Number One and the People's Power League measures. Cake had not been aggressive in supporting these measures, and in the words of U'Ren, "Since January 30 last Mr. Cake has not opened his mouth to speak a word in behalf of the election of United States Senators by the people."[16] As for Senator Charles W. Fulton, he was unfriendly to Statement Number One and allied with the Standard Oil Company.[17] U'Ren also entered the race because neither Fulton nor Cake was actively supporting Roosevelt in his fight against Standard Oil and other monopolies. Roosevelt should also be urged to run for a second elective term.[18]

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[15] Portland Oregonian, February 25, 1908, p. 1.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid., p. 6.

[18] Portland Oregon Journal, February 26, 1908, p. 3.

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[12]Portland Oregonian, February 25, 1908, p. 1.

[13]Ibid.

[14]Ibid., p. 6.

[15]Portland Daily Journal, February 25, 1908, p. 3.

Senator Bourne quickly denied that U'Ren was "his candidate," but said "he has done more for our state than any other twenty men in it to elevate its political and legislative tone." Bourne, considering his position embarressing, decided not to openly back a candidate for nomination. An effort was made by his Portland staff, however, to persuade Cake to withdraw in favor of U'Ren.[19]

Many of U'Ren's friends who favored the candidacy of Cake, frowned on U'Ren's decision to run. Left-wing voters would probably have favored Cake in preference to Fulton, but now socialists, single-taxers, and labor would probably vote for U'Ren. Some considered that U'Ren was running for office because of a principle and was thereby sacrificing his political future. The Oregon City Enterprise declared, "If such is the case he is one man in a thousand."[20]

U'Ren began a tour of speech-making and debates. On February 26, he was in Canby declaring the fight to be between the people and money interests. He accused Harvey W. Scott of offering Bourne $25,000 if Bourne would support him for the United States Senate back in 1903.[21]

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[19] Ibid., p. 7; J. H. Arneson to Bourne, February 29, 1908

[20] Oregon City Enterprise, February 28, 1908, p. 4.

[21] Bourne to Harvey W. Scott, March 8, 1906; July 3, 1908. These letters, among others, show the Scott-Bourne deal charge was true.

Therefore Bonnes quickly decided that Ulman was "the candidate," but said "We have done more for our state than any other twenty men in it to elevate its political and legislative tone." Bonnes, considering his position embarrassing, decided not to openly back a candidate for nomination. An effort was made by his personal staff, however, to persuade Dale to withdraw in favor of Ulman.[19]

Many of Ulman's friends who favored the candidacy of Dale, fearing an Ulman's desertion to them, left-wing voters would probably have forced Dale in preference to Ulman, but non-coalition, single-tonnage, and labor would probably vote for Ulman. Some contributed that Ulman was running for office because of a prudent man was thereby sacrificing his political future. The Oregon City Enterprise declared, "If such is the case he is one who is a thoroughbred."[20]

Ulman began a tour of speech-making and debates. On February 20, he was in Canby defending the right to be between the people and money interests. He received Harvey W. Scott of offering Bonnes $25,000 if Bonnes would support him for the United States Senate that in 1903.[21]

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[19]Ibid., p. 17; G. H. Ulrenson to Bonnes, February 20, 1902.

[20]Oregon City Enterprise, February 28, 1902, p. 4.

[21]Bonnes to Harvey W. Scott, March 8, 1902; July 1, 1902. These letters, among others, show the Scott-Bonnes deal change was true.

The Oregonian retaliated by printing accounts of U'Ren's private life that would place him in an unfavorable light. State Senator T. B. Kay discovered a Widow McGrath who, in 1893, had had $500 willed to her husband. U'Ren signed a joint note with two friends as an accommodation. The note was left unpaid for several years. The Oregonian, concluding that U'Ren owed her $1,400, suggested he should use the $1,100 campaign fund to pay it. U'Ren admitted that he signed the note but said that he never received any of the money. He had given the lady $300 of his own money less lawyer's fees.[22] A few days later U'Ren's past was again looked into by the Oregonian. Mrs. Sophronia V. Lewelling, wife of U'Ren's old partner, Seth Lewelling, told the Oregonian that U'Ren had hypnotized her husband in 1892, took over the fruit farm, put several mortgages on it, and left the estate financially ruined. She said U'Ren claimed to be under the control of her dead son's spirit. U'Ren, she charged, was posing as a trance medium of the spiritualist faith. She concluded her biographical sketch of U'Ren by accusing him of taking all the credit for the success of the initiative and referendum. Again U'Ren was forced to defend his reputation concerning events that had occurred

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[22]Portland Oregonian, February 28, 1908, p. 6; February 29, p. 8.

The Gorgonian satisfied by printing accounts of Ulden's private life that would place him in an unfavorable light. Above number 7, E. Ray discovered a widow Sorrell who, in 1893, had had $500 willed to her husband. Ulden aligned a joint note with her friends as an accommodation. The note was left unpaid for several years. The Gorgonian, concluding that Ulden owed her $1,500, suggested he should use the $1,500 campaign fund to pay it. Ulden admitted that he signed the note but said that he never received any of the money. He had given the lady $500 of his own money less Lagrew's fees.[22] A few days later Ulden's past was again looked into by the Gorgonian. Mrs. Georgenia V. Lawalling, wife of Ulden's old partner, both lawyking, said the Gorgonian that Ulden had hypnotized her husband in 1892, took over the fruit farm, put several mortgages on it, and left the estate financially ruined. She said Ulden claimed to be under the control of her dead husband's spirit. Ulden, who charged, was posing as a spirit medium of the spiritualist faith. She concluded her biographical sketch of Ulden by accusing him of taking all the credit for the success of the initiative and referendum. Again Ulden was forced to defend his reputation concerning events that had occurred

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[22]Portland Gorgonian, February 22, 1904, p. 6; March 20, p. 8.

fifteen years earlier. Late in 1891 he had gone to live with the Lewellings and became a partner at their invitation. Although he put no money into their fruit farm, he was a one-third partner. At the time he became a partner, the business had an indebtedness of five to six thousand dollars. When the depression occurred, fruit sales fell off and U'Ren wanted to leave the business. "But Mr. and Mrs. Lewelling would not consent to my withdrawal," he related. "I was required to remain in the business, which was conducted to the best of my ability. I have never claimed any credit for securing the Initiative and Referendum. It all came from others."[23]

The Oregonian's attacks on U'Ren were personal as well as political. The editor thought it was U'Ren who had told Lincoln Steffens of Scott's offer of $25,000 to Bourne for support in obtaining a Senate seat. Steffens had exposed the affair to the world in an article featuring U'Ren [24]

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[23]Ibid., March 9, 1908, p. 4. The Oregonian was the only major newspaper to make political capital out of these events in U'Ren's life. U'Ren was often being caricatured in cartoons by the Oregonian.

[24]Lincoln Steffens, "U'Ren The Law Giver," American Magazine (New York), LXV (March, 1908), 527-40; Young to Bourne, July 3, 1908, Bourne Papers. U'Ren professed ignorance of how or where Steffens got his information. He thought that William Ladd may have furnished it to the Oregon Journal and that the editor gave it to Steffens.

fifteen years earlier. Late in 1891 he had been to live with the Longstreets and became a member of their invitation-only circle. Although he was no money into their first issue, he was a one-third partner. At the time he became a partner, Ann Dunlap's had an indebtedness of five to six thousand dollars. When the depression occurred, Frank Longstreet and Ulman wanted to leave the business. "But Mr. and Mrs. Longstreet would not consent to my withdrawal," he related. "I was required to remain in the business, which was conducted to the best of my ability. I have never claimed any credit for assuming the initiative and responsibility. It did come from others."[23]

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[23]Ibid., March 9, 1900, p. 4. The Longstreet and the only so far encountered by some political capital out of these events in Ulman's life. Ulman was often being quoted in conversation by the Longstreet.

[24]Letter to Editors, "Ulman the Law Giver," American Hebrew (New York), XXV (March, 1900), 527-528; Press to Issues, July 3, 1900, Donnie Papers. Ulman performed his services of law or which Editors got his information. He thought that editors had may have formulated it to the Longstreet and that the editor gave it to Editors.

in the March, 1908 number of the American Magazine. The Oregonian was outraged. How could a "leading moral force in Oregon" be accused of bribery? Besides, U'Ren was a "scoundrel," "rogue," "demagogue," and "a regular hanger-on of Oregon politics."[25]

U'Ren was having difficulty finding men who were willing to debate Statement Number One with him; John F. Logan and T. F. Fording reluctantly agreed to do so on the evening of March 6. Each speaker talked for about ten minutes to begin the debate. Fording said that he hadn't debated in ten years and according to the Oregon Journal, he proved it." In referring to "my friend Harvey" [Scott], U'Ren said, "There has never been a time when he has not been right, sometime." There was much laughter. "He was right on Statement Number One two years ago." "If the voters do not know enough to vote for United States Senators they do not know enough to cast their ballots for constable." He argued that the opponents of the Statement were grinding axes. He referred to the 1890's as having legislatures of "booze, boodle, bribery, and corruption."[26] The speech was interrupted when someone in the audience spilled a bottle

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[25]Portland Oregonian, March 7, 1908, p. 8.

[26]Ibid., March 6, 1908, p. 12; Portland Oregon Journal, March 6, 1908, p. 4.

in the Senate, 1908 number of the American Magazine. The Oregonian was outspoken. It could a "leading moral force in Oregon" be received of bribery. Heating, Dixon was a "scoundrel," "coward," "damn-scum," and "a mighty hunter-on of Oregon politics."[24]

Dixon was having difficulty finding men who were willing to debate Vandevanter under the with that John P. Logan and W. F. Harding reluctantly agreed to do so on the evening of March 6. Each speaker talked for about ten minutes to begin the debate. Harding said that he hadn't debated in ten years and according to the Oregon Journal, he proved it." In referring to Jay Richard Harvey" /Poole/ , Dixon said, "There has never been a time when he has not been right, morning." There was much laughter. "He was right on Statement Number One ten years ago." "If the voters do not know enough to vote for United States Senators they do not know enough to cast their ballots for constable." He argued that the opponents of the Statement were pushing axes. He referred to the 1907's on having legislatures of "booze, boodle, bribery, and corruption."[25] The speech was interrupted when someone in the audience spilled a bottle

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[24]Portland Oregonian, March 7, 1908, p. 8.

[25]Ibid., March 6, 1908, p. 12; Portland Oregon Journal, March 6, 1908, p. 8.

of sulferetted hydrogen. Quickly the hall was vacated by all present including U'Ren. The Oregon Journal wanted to know "who uncorked the bottle that corked the arguments of W. S. U'Ren"; the Oregonian reported, "U'Ren was just about to fire his biggest guns when someone pulled the cork,"[27]

The Oregonian's persistent attacks on U'Ren's personal life finally lead him to reply. He believed that Scott was attacking him because of the Bourne-Scott expose. He wondered why Scott didn't sue the American Magazine if it wasn't true. Scott reminded him of "the Irishman who when called upon by the court to plead guilty or not guilty, said, 'How can I tell how to plead your honor until after I have heard the evidence.'" U'Ren admitted he was a spiritualist but could not understand why religion was a political issue. As for Mr. Lewelling, if he was "hypnotized for five years it is the longest stretch of hypnotism on record."[28]

An important factor causing U'Ren to become a candidate for the Senate was Cake's lack of zeal for Statement Number One. But Cake was not an anti-Statement candidate. Indeed, if he was to defeat Senator Fulton he had to have

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[27]Portland Oregonian, March 6, 1908, p. 12; Portland Oregon Journal, March 6, 1908, p. 4.

[28]Portland Oregon Journal, March 9, 1908, p. 6.

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The Oregonian's persistent attacks on O'Hem's personal life finally land him in court. He believed that Roots was attacking him because of the Damme-Roots expose. He wondered why Roots didn't use the Oregonian libraries if it wasn't true. Roots recalled him of "the Irishman who when called upon by the court to plead guilty or not guilty, said, 'How can I tell how to plead your honor until after I have heard the evidence.'" O'Hem admitted he was a politicians but could not understand why politics was a political issue. As for Mr. Lewelling, if he was "hypnotized for five years it is the longest stretch of hypnotism on record."[28]

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[27]Portland Oregonian, March 6, 1906, p. 12; Portland Oregon Journal, March 6, 1906, p. 4.

[28]Portland Oregon Journal, March 9, 1906, p. 6.

the support of Statement Number One Republicans. But with U'Ren running, pro-Statement votes would be divided. Apparently Cake did some soul-searching to see where he may have made a mistake. It is also possible that he deliberately was waiting until later to make a strong fight for the Statement. However this may be, one week after U'Ren's announced candidacy, Cake presented his platform in which he strongly supported the primary law with Statement Number One, and favored Theodore Roosevelt for nomination in the summer convention.[29] A few days later U'Ren suggested to Cake that they both withdraw as candidates and find another strong candidate who would represent their views. If Cake would name two people, U'Ren would name two people and the four would find a fifth person to make a committee of five to name a proper candidate. Cake immediately and respectfully rejected the offer.[30]

On March 12 U'Ren withdrew from the Senate race. He realized that if he remained a candidate the Statement Number One votes would be divided. Furthermore, he was satis-

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[29] Portland Oregonian, March 1, 1908, p. 10; Russell G. Hendricks, "Election of Senator Chamberlain," Oregon Historical Quarterly (Portland), LIII (June, 1952), 71.

[30] Portland Oregonian, March 4, 1908, p. 6; Portland Oregon Journal, March 4, 1908, p. 5.

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[29]Portland Oregonian, March 1, 1909, p. 10; Russell C. Hoshiyama, "A Study of Direct Democracy," Oregon Historical Quarterly (Portland), LIII (June, 1952), 74.

[30]Portland Oregonian, March 4, 1909, p. 6; Portland Morning Journal, March 4, 1908, p. 5.

fied with Cake's platform.[31] U'Ren thought that Scott and others had "unduly alarmed him" a few weeks earlier, but now Scott realized that Fulton could not win. Scott was now working "to elect as many members of the legislature as possible, unpledged, or with some equivocal promise."[32] Still smarting from the Oregonian's personal attacks, U'Ren said, "the deal Scott made with Bourne was not uncommon in the old days when the Senate seats were up for sale in the state Legislature."[33] The editor of the Oregon City Courier, who often took editorial slaps at U'Ren, now openly admired him. Apparently it was U'Ren's single-tax activities that displeased the editor. For U'Ren to withdraw from the Senate race impressed the editor with U'Ren's devotion to his cause. The editor wrote: "No one realized what a bitter fight is being made against the people's right to elect United States Senators until Mr. U'Ren drew their fire."[34]

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[31] Oregon City Enterprise, March 13, 1908, p. 1.

[32] Portland Oregon Journal, March 12, 1908, p. 1, 10. By "equivocal promise" U'Ren was referring to the so-called Statement Number Two which pledged the member of the Legislature to vote for his party candidate who won in the primary election but not the interparty winner in the general election.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Oregon City Courier, March 20, 1908, p. 4.

fled with Odell's platform.[71] Olsen thought that Scott and others had "unduly slanted him" a few weeks earlier, but now Scott realized that Patton could not win. Scott was now working "to place as many members of the legislature as possible, regardless, or with some equivocal pledges."[72] Still smarting from the Oregonian's personal attacks, Olsen said, "the deal report made with Scott was not unknown in the old days when the Senate seats were up for sale in the state legislature."[73] The editor of the Oregon City Enterprise, who often took editorial slaps at Olsen, now openly endorsed him. Apparently it was Olsen's single-tax activities that displeased the editor. For Olsen to withdraw from the Senate race leaving the editor with Olsen's devotees to him seemed. The editor wrote, "In one realized what a bitter fight is being made against the people's right to elect United states senators until Mr. Olsen drew their fire."[74]

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[71]Oregon City Enterprise, March 19, 1909, p. 1.

[72]"Portland Oregon Journal, March 12, 1909, p. 1. In. by "equivocal pledges" Olsen was referring to the so-called statement under the which pledged the member of the legislature to vote for his party candidate had even in the preliminary election but not the interparty winner in the general election.

[73]Ibid.

[74]Oregon City Enterprise, March 20, 1909, p. 1.

U'Ren may have become a candidate to force Cake to take either a more aggressive stand for Statement Number One or to withdraw from the race.[35] With U'Ren out of the senatorial picture, the Oregonian began to concentrate on electing anti-Statement Republicans in the April primary. Between the middle of March and the middle of April, the Oregonian led its readers to believe that the Statement Number One proposal could not win, while the Oregon Journal knew that the Statement could not lose. U'Ren conducted a speaking tour around the state that continued until election time. In a debate with George W. Stapleton, he said, "My sole purpose in this life is to secure for the people the direct control of the government and every officer in it."[36] A week later, in Portland, he declared that he would support a Democrat if necessary, or change parties, or run for office, or stop running when it seemed advisable. "The very worst Democrat you can send to the Legislature who subscribes to Statement Number One is far better than the very best Republican you can send there who insists on his party electing the Senator. That is the kind of Republican I am."[37]

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[35]Hendricks, "Election of Senator Chamberlain," Oregon Historical Quarterly, LIII (June, 1952), 70-71.

[36]Ibid.; Portland Oregon Journal, March 13, 1908, p. 10.

[37]Oregon City Enterprise, March 20, 1908, p. 4.

O'Ryan may have become a candidate to force Cake to take either a more aggressive stand for Statement Number One or to withdraw from the race.[36] With O'Ryan out of the nomination picture, the Oregonian began to concentrate on electing anti-Statement Republicans in the April primary. Between the middle of March and the middle of April, the Oregonian led its readers to believe that the Statement Number One proposal could not win, while the Oregon Journal felt that the Statement could not lose. O'Ryan conducted a speaking tour around the state that continued until election time. In a debate with George W. Stapleton, he said, "My role propose in this life is to serve for the people the direct control of the government and every officer in it."[37] A week later, in Portland, he declared that he would support a Democrat if necessary, or change parties, or run for office, or stop running when it seemed advisable. "The very worst Democrat you can send to the legislature who subscribes to Statement Number One is far better than the very best Republican you can send whom the insists on his party electing the Senator. That is the kind of Republican I am."[37]

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[36]Woodbridge, "Election of Senator Chamberlain," Oregon Historical Quarterly, LIII (June, 1952), 70-71.

[37]Ibid.; Portland Oregon Journal, March 13, 1908, p. 10.

[37]Oregon City Enterprise, March 20, 1908, p. 4.

The fighting secretary of the People's Power League continued the attack until the day of the primary election, April 17.

Cake won the nomination for the Republicans; Governor Chamberlain won for the Democrats; and a majority of pro-Statement Republicans and Democrats won seats in the state legislature. The editor of the Oregonian was outraged. "It would serve them [Republicans] right if Chamberlain won in June," he declared. The anti-Statement faction began to campaign for Cake because if he was elected the Statement would not be as important in the new legislature. Chamberlain made a bid for Republican votes by strongly supporting the Statement. U'Ren wrote an open letter to Governor Chamberlain accusing him of using the Statement to secure his election rather than from principle.

In the June election the Republicans won generally throughout the state with a notable exception of Governor Chamberlain, who edged past Cake by a plurality of the votes cast. All four of the "U'Ren measures" sponsored by the People's Power League passed.[38] And if the newly elected members of the state legislature who were pledged to Statement Number One kept faith with the voters a Democrat would

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[38]Gulbertson, "History of the Initiative and Referendum in Oregon," 101.

The fighting secretary of the People's Power League continued the attack until the day of the primary election, April 17.

Cake won the nomination for the Republicans; Governor Chamberlain won for the Democrats; and a majority of prohibitionist Republicans and Democrats was made in the state legislature. The editor of the Oregonian was outraged. "It would serve them [Republicans] right if Chamberlain was in June," he declared. The anti-Statement faction began to campaign for Cake because if he was elected the Statement would rule be as important in the new legislature. Chamberlain made a bid for Republican votes by strongly supporting the Statement. He wrote an open letter to Governor Chamberlain accusing him of using the Statement to secure his election rather than from principle.

In the June election the Republicans won generally throughout the state with a notable exception of Governor Chamberlain, who edged past Cake by a plurality of the votes cast. All four of the "three measures" sponsored by the People's Power League passed.[30] And of the newly elected members of the state legislature who were pledged to Statement Number One high fifty with the voters a Democrat would

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[30] Culbertson, "History of the Initiative and Referendum in Oregon," 101.

be elected by the Republican legislature to the United States Senate. The frustrated Oregonian sadly commented, "The Republican Party of Oregon behaves as if it had made up its mind to do nothing rational anymore."[39]

The summer conventions nominated William Howard Taft and William Jennings Bryan to be the Republican and Democratic standard bearers in the fall election. U'Ren and Bourne favored Roosevelt rather than Taft; but after Taft was nominated U'Ren gave him nominal support. He at least attended the Taft Republican clubs of Oregon meetings.[40]

Late in the summer U'Ren and his wife went on a three-week vacation trip to British Columbia. After their return they soon again departed, this time for San Francisco. In that city, the Women's Suffrage Convention had engaged U'Ren to speak on the initiative and referendum and how it worked in Oregon.[41]

In the meantime Scott-Fulton Republicans were seeking means to defeat the popular Chamberlain. Their campaign emphasis was twofold. First, they would attack Chamberlain; secondly, they would discredit Statement Number One.

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[39] Portland Oregonian, June 2, 1908, p. 8.

[40] Oregon City Courier, September 18, 1908, p. 3.

[41] Ibid., September 4, 1908, p. 5; October 2, 1908, p. 3.

be elected by the Republican legislature to the United States Senate. The frustrated Oregonian sadly commented, "The Republican Party of Oregon behaves as if it had made up its mind to do nothing political anyway."[39]

The summer convention nominated William Kennedy Tait and William Tonkinson Dupuis to be the Republican and Democratic standard bearers in the fall election. Dufur and Bourne favored Democratic rather than Tait; but after Tait was nominated Dufur gave his material support. McArdle attended the Tait Republican office of Oregon meetings.[40]

Late in the summer Dufur and his wife went on a three-week vacation trip to British Columbia. After their return they seem again departed, this time for San Francisco. In that city, the Bryan Democratic Convention had endorsed Dufur to speak on the initiative and referendum and how it worked in Oregon.[41]

In the western Scott-Fulton Republicans were making means to defeat the popular Democrats. Their campaign emphasis was threefold. First, they would attack Chamberlain; secondly, they would discredit statements under the

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[39]Portland Oregonian, June 2, 1908, p. 6.

[40]Oregon City Courier, September 18, 1908, p. 3.

[41]Ibid., September 4, 1908, p. 5; October 2, 1908, p.

They accused Chamberlain of responsibility in registration frauds during the primaries: He was charged with initiating a scheme to raid the Republican primary. Then he was sued for allegedly taking state money illegally. Of this charge the Supreme Court declared him innocent. Finally he was reported seen drunk at the Astoria regatta.[42]

Statement Number One was bitterly assailed in every way possible. An attempt was made to declare the Direct Primary Law unconstitutional, but the court upheld the law. Neither could it be declared unconstitutional for binding legislators to illegal commitments since it only asked for a voluntary pledge and not a forced oath. Its foes said that it would destroy the Republican party in the state by creating factions and that it would ruin the state's influence in national party politics. It "breeds division" and is "only a crazy notion of such minds as those of U'Ren and Bourne," the Oregonian declared.[43]

Late in December U'Ren answered the charge of fraudulent registration. He wrote articles that appeared in the Courier and the Oregon Journal in which he stated, "I have

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[42]Russell Hendricks, "The Effect of the Direct Primary Upon Senatorial Elections in Oregon, 1900-1909," (Master of Arts thesis, Department of History, University of Oregon, 1951), 252, 253, 261.

[43]Ibid., 256. Quoted from the Oregonian.

They assumed Gunderson's acceptability in regulating Oregon during the primaries. He was charged with initiating a scheme to yield the Republican primary. Then he was sued for allegedly taking state money illegally. Or this charge the Supreme Court declared his innocence. Finally he was recycled back onto ballots as a regular candidate.[42] Independent Hunter One was bitterly assailed in every way possible. An attempt was made to declare the Direct Primary law unconstitutional, but the court upheld the law. Neither could it be declared unconstitutional for binding legislators to illegal constituents since it only asked for a voluntary pledge and not a forced oath. The Journal said that it would destroy the Republican party in the state by crippling factions and that it would ruin the state's influence in national party politics. It "breeds disloyalty and is only a crazy notion of such nuts as those of U'Ren and Hume," the Oregonian declared.[43]

Late in December U'Ren announced the change of Pseudonym registration. He wrote articles that appeared in the Courier and the Oregon Journal in which he stated, "I have

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[42] Russell Sandholm, "The Effect of the Direct Primary Upon Sectional Elections in Oregon, 1900-1920," (Master of Arts thesis, Department of History, University of Oregon, 1921), 218, 219, 224.

[43] Ibid., 224. Quoted from the Oregonian.

carefully studied and analyzed the registration and election returns" and "the record indicates it did not happen." He had compared the results of the primary election with the general election and found that fewer people voted Democratic in June than were registered as Democrats.[44]

January 19, 1909, Chamberlain was elected to the Senate on the first ballot. Some who voted for Chamberlain did so under protest but felt obligated to abide by the pledge. The Oregonian foresaw a dreary future for the Republican party regulars, and considered "It is as much a triumph for Bourne and U'Ren as for Chamberlain." The editor hopelessly objected to giving "Bourne and U'Ren and the vagaries they represent . . . ascendancy in the Republican Party and politics of the state."[45]

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[44]Ibid.; Oregon City Courier, January 8, 1909, p. 4; Portland Oregon Journal, December 31, 1908, p. 9.

[45]Hendricks, "The Effect of the Direct Primary Upon Senatorial Elections in Oregon, 1900-1909," 274; Oregon City Courier, January 22, 1909, p. 1; Portland Oregonian, January 19, 1902, p. 8.

carefully studied and analyzed the registration and election returns' and "the recent indicators in Ala not happen." He had compared the results of the primary election with the general election and found that fewer people voted Democratic in Ala than were registered as Democrats.[44]

January 12, 1909, Chamberlain was elected to the Senate on the first ballot. Some who voted for Chamberlain did so under protest but felt obligated to abide by the pledge. The Oregonian ran a cheery furore for the Republican party regulars, and concluded "It is as much a triumph for Dunne and Tiers as for Chamberlain." The editor hopelessly objected to giving "Dunne and Tiers and the vagaries they represent . . . necessary in the Republican party and politics of the state."[45]

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[44] Ibid.; Oregon City Enterprise, January 6, 1909, p. 4; Portland Daily Journal, December 31, 1908, p. 9.

[45] Anderson, "The Effect of the Direct Primary Upon Contested Elections in Oregon, 1908-1909," Ethel Oregon City Enterprise, January 22, 1909, p. 1; Portland Oregonian, January 17, 1909, p. 6.

CHAPTER VI

THE SINGLE TAXER

In the decade following the death of Henry George, in 1897, there arose three factions in the Georgian movement. There were the fiscal reformers who emphasized the single tax as a just means of collecting revenue. They believed a tax on unearned land values would provide sufficient funds to run the government. The second faction was the "political Georgists" who emphasized the need of reform to drive the land speculators from the government. The third group was the "intellectual-moralists," of which Lincoln Steffens, Hamlin Garland, and Leo Tolstoy were the spokesmen. They decried the immorality of speculators who grew rich by merely holding land idle while community development increased the value of their holdings.[1]

For ten years the single taxers made no concerted effort to drive the "money changers" from high places. But in 1907 a small group of single taxers met in New York City. The conference established the American Single Tax League, which became defunct in less than two years. In 1909 a more

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[1]Charles Albro Barker, Henry George (New York, 1955), 621.

solvent organization was established under the sponsorship of the Joseph Fels Fund of America.[2] The national organization attracted many straying deviates into the fold of orthodoxy.

Will U'Ren was of the "moral" school of single taxers, although he used the "political Georgian" methods to achieve his object. To him, direct legislation, primary laws, and corrupt practice acts were not ends as sought by "political Georgists" but means to "moral Georgism." He declared: "The purpose of the single tax is much more than fiscal reform in method of raising public revenues. . . . But the strongest reasons for the single tax are moral rather than fiscal." The moral issue as U'Ren saw it was that land speculators did not have to pay for the unearned increased value of his land, but the man who improved his land by hard work and investment was taxed for both the land and the improvements.[3] W. G. Eggleston phrased it more aptly when he asked, "Does the increased value of land, separate

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[2]Joseph Dana Miller (ed.), Single Tax Year Book (New York, 1917), 23.

[3]W. S. U'Ren, "Single Tax," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (Philadelphia), LVIII (March, 1915), 223-25; W. S. U'Ren, "Oregon," Joseph Dana Miller (ed.), Single Tax Year Book (New York, 1917), 45.

from the improvements, belong to the land owners or to the people who create that value?"[4] The single taxer believed that God created the world for all to enjoy and that the only way to make the land available was to make it too costly to be held idle. If the government claimed the unimproved value of all land as a tax, no one could afford to hold land for speculative purposes.

The nucleus of Oregon single taxers who had worked for direct legislation since the early 1890's were eager to use the initiative on single tax measures. But a number of problems prevented hasty use of the legislative tools to force a single-tax decision on the electorate. First, they did not want to jeopardize hard won victories in direct government by associating what some called "freak" and "crank" ideas with the Oregon System. A second problem was the need to educate the people about the single tax before they were asked to vote on it. The proponents of the single tax had maintained discreet silence within the numerous leagues in which they had labored to attract people to political reform. A new organization was needed to direct the people's attention to economic reforms. A third problem was the method to implement the single tax. Single taxers in Oregon

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[4]Letter to the editor, Portland Oregon Journal, October 30, 1912, p. 8.

from the improvements, belong to the land owners or to the people who create that value?" The single taxers believed that God created the world for all to enjoy and that the only way to make the land available was to make it too costly to be held idle. If the government claimed the unimproved value of all land as a tax, no one could afford to hold land for speculative purposes.

The zealous of Oregon single taxers who had worked for direct legislation since the early 1890's were eager to use the initiative on single tax measures. Put a number of problems prevented early use of the legislative tools to force a single-tax decision on the electorate. First, they did not want to jeopardize hard won victories in direct government by manipulating what some called "fraud" and "crooked" ideas with the Oregon System. A second problem was the need to educate the people about the single tax before they were asked to vote on it. The proponents of the single tax had maintained discreet silence within the numerous leagues in which they had labored to attract people to political reform. A new organization was needed to direct the people's attention to economic reforms. A third problem was the method to implement the single tax. Single taxers in Oregon

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"Letter to the editor, Portland Oregon Journal, October 30, 1912, p. 6.

were divided on the issue of presenting the single tax as a pure, radical Georgian measure or of using a gradualist approach. The gradualist would present a tax law providing some exemptions on homes and farm improvements rather than tax true land values with all improvements exempted.

In January, 1908, single taxers met in Portland and organized the Oregon Tax Reform Association.[5] H. D. Wagnon and A. D. Cridge prepared a constitutional amendment that would give partial exemption to personal property, "dwelling houses, barns, sheds, outhouses, . . . all machinery and buildings used exclusively for manufacturing purposes, . . . all fences, farm machinery, . . . fruit trees, vines, shrubs, . . . live stock, . . . furniture, . . . and tools."[6] A hot debate followed led by U'Ren, who proposed a pure single-tax amendment. Three times the single taxers met, and each time the session ended in deadlock. At the fourth meeting two U'Ren supporters were absent, and the Wagnon-Cridge amendment was adopted. U'Ren quietly and "with characteristic candor" said he would not support the amendment; that he "never stood for and would not consent to stand for a half-

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[5]Portland Oregonian, January 11, 1908, p. 10.

[6]Ibid., January 12, 1908, p. 6; U'Ren, "Oregon," Single Tax Year Book, 42.

were divided on the issue of preserving the single tax on a pure, radical Georgian measure or of using a graduated measure. The graduated would present a tax law providing more exemptions on house and farm improvements rather than the true land values with all improvements exempted. . . . In January, 1909, single taxers met in Portland and organized the Oregon Tax Reform Association.[2] E. D. Cameron and A. E. Corbett prepared a constitutional amendment that would give partial exemption to personal property, "dwelling houses, barns, sheds, outhouses, . . . all machinery and buildings used exclusively for manufacturing purposes. . . . all fences, farm machinery. . . . fruit trees, vines, shrubs, . . . live stock, . . . furniture, . . . and books."[3] A hot debate followed led by Watson, who proposed a pure single-tax amendment. There since the single taxers met, and each time the question ended in deadlock. At the fourth meeting two other amendments were placed, and the Cameron-Corbett measure was adopted. "Then quietly and "with unmentionable oaths," said he would not support the measure; that he "never stood for and would not consent to stand for a half-

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[2] Portland Oregonian, January 12, 1909, p. 10.

[3] Ibid., January 12, 1909, p. 6; Dillon, "Oregon," Single Tax Review, 12.

way measure."[7] U'Ren's break with the single taxers lasted throughout the 1908 campaign. However, he later modified his view concerning gradualism and accepted leadership among single taxers.

The campaign was waged as an avowed "step in the direction of the single tax."[8] The farmers were appealed to by the promise to exempt farm improvements, and some manufacturers were induced to contribute to the Tax Reform Association before they realized that the measure was the single tax.[9] The New Zealand experiment was given as evidence of success for the single tax. Cridge quoted a New Zealand report that indicated that the single tax was largely responsible for the early rebuilding of Wellington after the disastrous fire.[10]

The opposition to the amendment came from the influential Portland Oregonian, the State Grange, the East Side Push Club, and the Taxpayers League of Portland.[11]

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[7]Louis Bowerman, "Oregon," Single Tax Review, VIII (May-June, 1908), 39, 40.

[8]State of Oregon Official Voter's Pamphlet, 1908, p. 63.

[9]Arthur Nichols Young, The Single Tax Movement in the United States (New Jersey, 1916), 170.

[10]James H. Gilbert, "Single Tax Movement in Oregon," Political Science Quarterly (New York), XXXI (March, 1916), 30.

[11]Ibid., 34

On June 1, the voters turned down the single tax by a vote of 60,871 to 32,066. But the measure carried in Coos County and lost only by 250 votes in Portland's Multnomah County.[12] U'Ren asserted that defeat was caused by the half-way measure, and that a pure single tax amendment would have carried.[13] Although defeated nearly two to one, single taxers claimed a partial victory. All they had to do was convince the farmers to vote for the single tax.

On June 5, the single taxers met in Portland to determine their future course. The "partial victory" of Wagnon, Cridge, and followers, and the complete victory of U'Ren's Statement Number One fight made the meeting a harmonious occasion to welcome U'Ren back into the fold. He was made a member of a committee including E. S. J. McAllister, H. W. Stone, C. E. S. Wood, F. E. Coulter, Wagnon, and Cridge to "carry the partial victory to ultimate success." A fortnight later the committee presented a plan to educate the people by distributing maps with shaded areas showing the unused land. Following the committee report the Oregon Single Tax League was organized. McAllister was elected presi-

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[12] Ibid., 34.

[13] Bowerman, "Oregon," Single Tax Review, VIII (May-June, 1908), 39, 40.

[14] Ibid.

[illegible] In June 1, the voters turned down the single tax by a vote of 60,971 to 32,664. But the measure carried in Ross County and lost only by 250 votes in Sandusky's Erie County.[12] Others asserted that defeat was caused by the half-way measure, and that a pure single tax amendment would have carried.[13] Although defeated twice by the single tax, Johnson claimed a partial victory. All they had to do was convince the farmers to vote for the single tax.

In June 2, the single tax men met in Portland to determine their future course. The "partial victory" of Hogan, Gilbert, and Fullerton, and the complete victory of Ulrich's Bill caused Tracey, the right man in the meeting, a burgeoning optimism to volcano forth from the fold. He was made a member of a committee including E. H. C. Mallinger, H. M. Stone, C. M. Hood, S. E. Coulter, Hogan, and Gilbert to "carry the partial victory to ultimate success." A fortnight later the committee presented a plan to educate the people by distributing maps with shaded areas showing the unused land. Following the committee report the Cuyahoga Tax League was organized. Mallinger was elected presi-

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[12] Ibid., 34.

[13] Cleveland, "Outcome," Single Tax Review, VIII (May-June, 1906), 39, 40.

dent and U'Ren, secretary.[14]

Little was done in Oregon in 1909 to promote the single tax, but Joseph Fels, a Philadelphia soap manufacturer, wrote a letter to Bolton Hall, a prominent single-tax advocate, and started a single-tax revival across America. In his letter, Fels wrote, "I will agree to donate $25,000 each successive year for the next five years toward a propaganda, provided others can be found to give an equal amount each year."[15] Next, Fels went to Lincoln Steffens and inquired how he could spend $250,000 a year and "not do any harm." Steffens told him that it couldn't be done, but accepted a position on a commission to promote the single tax.[16]

In addition to Steffens and Bolton, Fels secured the services of Daniel Kiefer, Frederic C. Howe, Jackson C. Ralston, George Foster Peabody, and Louis F. Post to help him spend his money. For four years Fels made donations at random to foster the single tax. He spent $1,400 in Oregon during the 1908 campaign, but wanted the movement to be well organized with others to direct the activities. The commission attached Fels's name to the fund because they believed

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[14] Ibid.

[15] Mary Fels, Joseph Fels: His Life-Work (New York, 1916), 184.

[16] Lincoln Steffens, The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens (New York, 1931), II, 642.

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In addition to statewide and local campaigns, Fels secured the services of Daniel Kiefer, Frederic C. Howe, Jackson C. Ralston, George Foster Peabody, and Louis F. Post to help his proud his money. For four years Fels made donations of prodder to finance the single tax. He spent $1,500 in Oregon during the 1908 campaign, but wanted the movement to be well organized with others to direct the activities. The prominent attached Fels's name to the that reasons they believed

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[14]Ibid.

[15]Henry Fels, Joseph Fels: His Life-Work (New York, 1910), 148.

[16]Lincoln Steffens, The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens (New York, 1931), 11, 690.

his position in business would add dignity to the movement.[17]

Born of German-Jewish parents in 1853, and reared in Virginia, Joseph Fels had become a soap manufacturer in 1875, and in fifteen years was a wealthy man. By 1900 he was disillusioned by the unconcern of the wealthy for the poor. Shortly he became a Henry George disciple. His acceptance of Georgism was a religious experience. He believed "that even the single tax issue was not political, but rather a moral issue. 'It is,' he wrote, 'if you please, somewhat of a religious question.'"[18] He called land monopoly a "God-denying crime." He considered the divorcement of men from the soil the main source of poverty. Their birth-right should be restored "to their inheritance."[19]

Fels had a high personal regard for U'Ren. Their correspondence was a source of inspiration to each other--not only because they happened to be engaged in kindred work but because they had dreamed the same vision. In answering a letter to U'Ren, Fels wrote, "I value what you write to me, and it will serve me well in the work to which I have consecrated my life--I say concentrated, for so I consider

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[17] Ibid.; Fels, Joseph Fels: His Life-Work, 129.

[18] George E. Mowry, The California Progressives (Berkeley, 1951), 314.

[19] Fels, Joseph Fels: His Life-Work, 129

devotion to the high and noble cause in which we find ourselves engaged."[20]

To U'Ren, the Christian, and Fels, the Jew, the single tax was not a panacea, nor a god, but it was an institution upon which ethical values could be achieved. It would have been unorthodox, if not heretical, to make materialism, in the Marxian sense, God. "Mr. Fels," Lincoln Steffens once asked, "I believe that you Jews are the chosen people, but tell me, what were you chosen for?" Noting Steffens's humorous mood, Fels quickly replied, "Oh, to introduce Christianity."[21]

The Joseph Fels Fund Commission hired Dr. W. G. Eggleston of California to go to Oregon in 1910 as a publicity worker.[22] When Eggleston arrived in Oregon in February, he found that not only the single tax was on the defensive but the Oregon system of popular government was threatened. The opponents of the initiative and referendum were assailing the system with charges of confusing the voters with too many measures to be considered at one time. The People's Power League proposed four measures of which the presidential

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[20] Ibid., 179.

[21] Steffens, The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens, II, 644.

[22] Pamphlet, Second Annual Singletax Conference (Cincinnati, 1912), 7.

devotion to the high and noble cause in which we find ourselves engaged."[70]

To Pyle, the Quakelsim, and Pala, the Jew, the single-tax was not a panacea, nor a god, but it was an institution upon which evident values could be achieved. It would have been wonderful, if not heretical, to make materialism in the twentieth century, God. "Mr. Pyle," Lincoln Steffens once asked, "I believe that you Jews are the chosen people, but tell me, what were you chosen for?" Noting Steffens's humorous mood, Pala quickly replied, "Oh, to introduce Christianity."[71]

The Joseph Pala Fund Quakelsim hired Dr. E. O. Pigeon of California to go to Oregon in 1910 as a publicity worker.[72] When Quakelsim arrived in Oregon in February, he found that not only the single tax was on the defensive but the Oregon system of popular government was threatened. The opponents of the initiative and referendum were attacking the system with charges of controlling the voters with too many measures to be considered at one time. The Popular Power League proposed four measures of which the presidential

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[70] Pyle, 179.

[71] Steffens, The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens, II, 644.

[72] Proceedings, Second Annual Quakelsim Conference (Pittsburgh, 1912), 1.

primary law was most important.[23] The reformers were forced to fight to prevent restrictions from being placed on the initiative, referendum, and direct primary. Only with the aid of the Fels Fund and Eggleston's talented pen was the "people's power" preserved in Oregon. As a result, discreet single taxers believed the time was not propitious to introduce radical Georgism.

Reconciling himself to the will of the majority, U'Ren entered into a campaign for gradual single tax. Although the burden of leading the campaign was shared with Eggleston and Cridge, U'Ren was the organizer. Cridge's tribute to him in the Single Tax Review was typical.

> U'Ren has that peculiar and wonderful power of getting people to drop non-essentials and pull together for fundamentals. He is not a boss nor an originator. He is a combiner of men. None of his work has been done alone. He has always been willing that honors and credit should go to others. . . . U'Ren is never a president of anything. . . . All U'Ren had to do to carry any measure was to be elected secretary of some organization and then he bought and used a bale of postage stamps in sending out literature.[24]

An elaborate strategy was concocted to prepare the

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[23]Paul T. Culbertson, "A History of the Initiative and Referendum in Oregon" (Ph. D. thesis, Department of History, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, 1941), 107.

[24]A. D. Cridge, "William S. U'Ren, Lawgiver of Oregon and Single Taxer," Single Tax Review, X (March-April, 1910), 35.

way for the single tax in the future. A tax amendment was prepared by the Single Tax League, but the origin was obscured by the fact that it "emanated from labor organizations" and was endorsed by the Central Labor Council of Portland and the State Federation of Labor. A further strategem was to introduce the amendment by outlawing the hated poll tax with these words: "No poll or head tax shall be levied or collected in Oregon." No mention of single tax was made in the amendment or associated with it. But the principal feature of the bill, which was successfully ignored, provided county option in taxation, and thus deprived the legislature of power to regulate taxes and exemptions. If the amendment passed, single taxers could campaign in counties where success was possible, and when exemption laws were passed other counties would be forced to fall in line.[25]

The amendment passed in November by 2,000 votes. No apology was offered for not making a single-tax fight. U'Ren reported to the Fels Fund Commission that it would have been impractical, since no real single-tax measure was

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[25] U'Ren, "Oregon," Single Tax Year Book, 42; Young, The Single Tax Movement in the United States, 170; Gilbert, "Single Tax Movement in Oregon," Political Science Quarterly, XXXI (March, 1916), 35; F. C. Young, "Public Finance," The American Economic Review (Cambridge, Mass.), I (November, 1911), 646.

before the voters.[26] Neither did U'Ren apologize for the "Trojan horse" tax law. To such criticism he retorted, "I never went hunting deer with a brass band."[27]

The Fels Commission inaugurated the first Single Tax Conference in November, 1910. In addition to $16,775 spent in the Oregon campaign, the commission provided transportation for U'Ren to go to New York to report on Oregon single-tax activities.[28]

In 1911 the legislature bitterly assailed the county option amendment and overwhelmingly voted to resubmit it for repeal in 1912. It was declared a fraud perpetuated by "Socialists, Anarchists, and soapbox orators."[29] The people had been "hoodwinked," and only "chaos" would result if the amendment was not repealed.[30]

Single taxers generally conceded that Oregon and

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[26]Young, The Single Tax Movement in the United States, 172

[27]Cri dge, "William S. U'Ren, Lawgiver of Oregon and Single Taxer," Single Tax Review, IV (March-April, 1910), 36-37.

[28]Pamphlet, First Singletax Conference, 1910; Fels, Joseph Fels: His Life-Work, 241; Young, The Single Tax Movement in the United States, 172.

[29]Oregon City Courier, February 10, 1911, p. 1.

[30]Young, "Public Finance," The American Economic Review, I (November, 1911), 647.

before the voters.[26] Hatches did urge colleagues from the "Prairie Dogs" to join. Our work criticism he reported. "I never met hunting down with a brass band."[27]

The Pole delegation inaugurated the first single tax conference in November, 1910. In addition to $14,777 spent in the October campaign, the committee provided transportation for 9 Poles to go to New York to support an organized single-tax activities.[28]

In 1911 the legislature bitterly assailed the county option amendment and overwhelmingly voted to submit it for repeal in 1912. It was declared a fraud perpetrated by "zealots, crackpots, and dogmatic doctors."[29] The people had been "hoodwinked," and only "Pleasy" would result if the amendment was not repealed.[30]

Single tax generally polarized that campaign and

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[26]Shaw, The Single Tax Movement in the United States, 172

[27]Orr, op. cit., William S. Hatches, Reminiscences of Oregon and Single Taxer, "Single Tax Review, XI (March-April, 1911), 35-37.

[28]Hampton, First Single Tax Conference, 1910; Pole, Joseph Pole, The Tax-Gouge, 20; Shaw, The Single Tax Movement in the United States, 172.

[29]Oregon City Enterprise, February 16, 1911, p. 1.

[30]Shaw, "Pleasy Pleasey," The Southern Morning Herald, I (November, 1911), 417.

missouri were closer to accepting Georgism than any other place in the United States. In Oregon the Joseph Fels Fund Commission and the Single Tax League prepared to make taxation the paramojnt issue in 1912. Neither money nor speakers were spared in the effort to make the election the most crucial for the single tax in America. U'Ren told a State Grange audience that taxation would be more thoroughly discussed i n the next two years "than the last forty years all put together."[31] The future of the movement had a high stake in Oregon, and failure could end the rising tide of Georgism in the United States. In February, Joseph Fels and Daniel Kiefer, chairman of the commission, were guests of U'Ren, as they observed the movement in Oregon. Less than two months later Henry George, Jr. paid his compliments to the U'Rens as he made a speaking tour of single-tax areas.[32]

A prodigious debating, speech making, and letter writing campaign was made by Schuebel, U'Ren, Cridge, Eggleston, and C. E. S. Wood.[33] Petitions were circulated

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[31]A. D. Cridge, "Oregon," Single Tax Review (New York), II (May-June, 1911), 49.

[32]Oregon City Courier, February 24, 1911, p. 1; March 13, 1911, p. 1.

[33]Ibid., May 26, 1911, p. 1; July 21, 1911, p. 1, 3; July 28, 1911, p. 1.

calling for tax exemptions in Clackamas County, a graduated single tax, the short ballot, reorganization of the executive office to give more responsibility to the governor, and proportional representation. These sundry governmental innovations brought forth vitriolic editorials from the press. The Oregonian led the journalistic tirade calling U'Ren "the Oregon City factory" who wanted again to amend "the battered hulk of a state constitution" and by doing so would "abolish the present state government and substitute a new fangled governmental device."[34]

In November, 1911, the Fels Fund Commission called the second Annual Single Tax Conference in Chicago. U'Ren's attendance was assured through the generosity of the fund in order that he could report on the progress of Oregon. He gave a statistical report on how the proposed single tax measure would work if it passed in Clackamas County. He declared that speculators' taxes would be doubled, while farmers' and merchants' taxes would be reduced. He said the moral need of the tax being more important than the fiscal. He concluded, as one may suppose a U'Ren speech would, by preaching the gospel of direct legislation. "You cannot do anything in the United States in any Legislature I know of

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[34]Ibid., July 28, 1911, p. 8; Portland Oregonian, August 23, 1911, p. 8.

calling for two conditions in Dinkmann County, a prohibit ion tax, the stand-alone, reorganization of the executive office to give more responsibility to the governor, and proportional representation. These nearly governmental innovations brought forth vitriolic editorials from the press. The Dragonline led the journalistic strife calling "the Oregon City Industry" who worked again to grant "the business men of a state constitution" and by doing so would "abolish the present state government and substitute a new Singles governmental device."[3]

In November, 1911, the Pale Pond Democratic unified the second annual single tax Conference in Chicago. Dunn's attendance was assured though the generosity of the fund in order that he could report on the progress of Oregon. He gave a statistical report on how the proposed single tax measure would work if it passes in Dinkmann County. He declared that "speculators' gains would be doubled, while farmers' and mechanics' taxes would be reduced. He said the moral good of the cause being more important than the fiscal. He concluded, as usual, by supposed a Utopian speech urging, by preaching the gospel of direct legislation. "You cannot do anything in the United States in any legislature I know of

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[3]Ibid., July 20, 1911, p. 8; Portland Oregonian, August 23, 1911, p. 8.

with a measure that touches the pocket books--until you get the Initiative and Referendum."[35]

The Graduated Single Tax and Exemption Amendment of 1912, was an ingenious adaptation of the pure single tax. Although its proponents emphasized the moderate character of the amendment, it was far more radical than the amendments offered previously.[36] The amendment departed from pure single tax by liberal exemptions to owners of small land holdings. An elaborate scale was devised progressively to increase the tax in nine steps above $10,000 from $2.50 per thousand to $30 per thousand for holdings of over $100,000. The tax applied to land, franchises, and rights of way of public service corporations and, therefore, would make possible lowering present taxes on holdings of less than $10,000. Another provision not emphasized by the drafters of the amendment would "exempt all personal property and improvements" unless changed by a direct vote in the county. The campaign strategy of the single taxers was to proclaim the virtues of the graduated tax in order to render the personal property and improvement exemption more agreeable.[37]

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[35]Pamphlet, Second Annual Singletax Conference, 1911.

[36]Gilbert, "Single Tax Movement in Oregon," Political Science Quarterly, XXXI (March, 1916), 37.

[37]Ibid., 38; Young, Single Tax Movement in the United States, 175; Portland Oregonian, June 10, 1912, p. 8.

sion a measure that benefits the people's needs--until you get the initiative and referendum.[35]

The graduated single tax and Referendum Amendment of 1912, was an legislative adaptation of the pure single tax. Although its proponents emphasized the moderate character of the measure, it was far more radical than the measures offered previously.[36] The measure exempted improvements from ad valorem taxation so areas of mostly land speculation by liberal exemptions so areas of mostly land speculation. An alternate scale was devised progressively to increase the tax on sites above $10,000 from 5% to 50 percent to 100 per thousand for holdings of over $100,000. The tax applied to land, franchises, and rights of way of public service corporations and, therefore, would make profitable holding property taxes on holdings of less than $10,000. Another provision not emphasized by the drafters of the amendment would "exempt all personal property and improvements" unless changed by a direct vote in the county. The campaign strategy of the single taxers was to proclaim the virtues of the graduated tax in order to realize the personal property and improvement exemption many approaches.[37]

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[35] Pendleton, Second Annual Minister Certificate, 1911.

[36] Wilbur, "Single Tax Movement in Oregon," Political Science Quarterly, XXXI (March, 1916), 37.

[37] Ibid., 38; Young, Single Tax Movement in the United States, 173; Portland Oregonian, June 10, 1912, p. 6.

page 122 on next p.

statement that he was "not convinced the single tax is best."[39] But Jagger's plight was also the people's, because they, too, were not convinced, but often did not know why. Eggleston, Cridge, and U'Ren challenged many to debate, but few accepted. An editor observed "people shy away from a single tax debate like a kid from prayer meeting."[40]

A vigorous campaign against the amendment was made by several groups. Among the opponents were the State Grange, the Portland Oregonian, the State Tax Commission, the Rational Tax Reform Association, and the Equal Taxation League. The Grange refused to accept the single tax for fear the farmer would be the only one paying taxes. To them it appeared to be a plot by predatory business interests to shift their tax burden to the farmers.[41]

By far the most formidable opponent of the single-tax movement was the Portland Oregonian. Its attack was centered on U'Ren, the "tinkerer" and "experimenter," whose "freak" ideas abused the initiative and referendum until those devices were no longer desirable. If all reforms could be classed "U'Renic" or single tax, guilt by asso-

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[39]Oregon City Courier, March 15, 1912, p. 1; April 4, 1912, p. 10.

[40]Ibid., October 1, 1912, p. 1.

[41]Gilbert, "Single Tax Movement in Oregon," Political Science Quarterly, XXXI (March, 1916), 46.

statement that he was most convinced the single tax is best.[39] But Jaeger's pitch was also the people's, because they, too, were not convinced, but often did not know why. Legislators, Gladys, and Tom challenged many to debate, but few accepted. An editor observed "people day many from a single tax debate like a kid from prayer meeting."[40]

A vigorous campaign against the measure was made by several groups. Among the opponents were the State Grange, the Portland Commercial Club, the State Tax Association, the Liberal Tax Reform Association, and the Equal Suffrage League. The Grange refused to accept the single tax for fear the farmer would be the only one paying taxes. So then it appeared to be a plot by predatory business interests to shift their tax burden to the farmers.[41]

By far the most formidable opponents of the single-tax movement was the Portland Commercial Club. The attack was centered on Tom, the "idiotarian" and "apostatypsy," whose "fresh" ideas caused the initiative and referendum until these devices were no longer desirable. If all reforms could be charged "idiotic" or single tax, built by auto-

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[39]Oregon City Courier, March 15, 1912, p. 1; April 1, 1912, p. 10.

[40]Ibid., October 1, 1912, p. 1.

[41]Gibbons, "Single Tax Movement in Oregon," Political Science Quarterly, XXXI (March, 1916), 82.

Early in 1912 the U'Rens spent several weeks in San Francisco on behalf of direct government. In an address to the California League for Home Rule in Taxation, U'Ren pleaded the cause of Henry George. He spoke of the time when Carnegie and Rockefeller had a part in running the government and became wealthy; but if the people would run the government, they, too, could share the wealth. He declared, "It's your government and you may run it if you wish to do so, or you may let others run it and rake off the profit. . . ." He talked of labor reform, the eight hour day, the employer's liabiability law, and the work of the Grange and the People's Power League of Oregon to gain control of the legislature. All of this, he said, was accomplished by use of the initiative and referendum.[38]

Upon their return to Oregon, U'Ren undertook a debating campaign. Wherever he went, large numbers of people came to listen and learn as well as to enjoy the spectical of a U'Ren debate. In a debate with Frank Jagger, U'Ren explained the graduated tax with "facts and figures." Jagger spoke of his boyhood, the woods, the swimming hole and playing marbles. U'Ren's rebuttal was to give more "facts and figures." Jagger briefly refuted U'Ren's arguments with a

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[38]Wells Dury, "News Domestic," Single Tax Review (New York), XII (May-June, 1912), 47, 48.

Early in 1912 the O'Neils spent several weeks in San Francisco on behalf of direct government. In an address to the California League for Home Rule in Taxation, O'Neil pleaded the cause of Henry George. He spoke of the time when Georgists and Nonpartisans had a part in running the government and became wealthy; but if the people would run the government, they, too, could share the wealth. He declared, "It's your government and you may run it if you wish to do so, or you may let others run it and take off the profit. . . ." He talked of labor reform, the eight hour day, the employer's liability law, and the work of the Grange and the Farmer's Union League of Oregon to gain control of the legislature. All of this, he said, was accomplished by use of the initiative and referendum.[36]

Upon their return to Oregon, O'Neil undertook a debating campaign. Wherever he went, large numbers of people came to listen and learn as well as to enjoy the spectacle of a O'Neil debate. In a debate with Frank Tanner, O'Neil explained the graduated tax with "facts and figures." Tanner spoke of his boyhood, the woods, the swimming hole and playing marbles. O'Neil's rebuttal was to give more "facts and figures." Tanner actually refused O'Neil's arguments with a

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[36]Willis Duff, "Home Economics," Single Tax Review (New York), XIX (July-June, 1912), 17, 18.

ciation would be sufficient to defeat them.[42]

It hurt the cause of the single tax to have money from outside of the state come in to secure its adoption. U'Ren admitted that he was on the payroll of the Commission and received $2500 a year.[43] The idea of "foreign" aid was enough to arouse the farmers to unite against it. Also, the idea was readily accepted that Fels wanted to buy cheap land in Oregon to build soap factories as well as for speculative purposes. After he had secured the land the agitators would have the single tax repealed, and he would realize great profits.[44]

Charles H. Shields, a Seattle lawyer and editor, was hired by the Equal Taxation League, styled the "fake organization of the plutocrats" by Cridge, to make a prodigious pamphlet campaign and speech-making tour against the graduated tax and repeal of the county option amendment.[45]

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[42]Portland Oregonian, August 23, 1911, p. 8; February 8, 1912, p. 10; May 5, 1912, p. 6; May 14, 1912, p. 10; October 7, 1912, p. 6; March 1, 1912, p. 10.

[43]Young, Single Tax Movement in the United States, 178; Gilbert, "Single Tax Movement in Oregon," Political Science Quarterly, XXXI (March, 1916), 46; Portland Oregonian, March 1, 1912, p. 10; October 20, 1912, p. 10.

[44]Young, Single Tax Movement in the United States, 178.

[45]Ibid., 179, 190; Gilbert, "Single Tax Movement in Oregon," Political Science Quarterly, XXXI (March, 1916), 39; Cridge, "Oregon," Single Tax Review, XII (July-August, 1912), 51.

olation could be antithetical to defeat them.[42]

It was the course of the single tax to have money from outside of the state come in to secure the adoption. Tilden admitted that he was on the payroll of the Georgists and received $2500 a year.[43] The idea of "foreign" aid was enough to arouse the Oregonian to unite against it. Also, the idea was readily accepted that Vola wanted to buy cheap land in Oregon to build some factories as well as for speculative purposes. Effort by land amassed the land the speculators would have the single tax repealed, and he would realize great profits.[44]

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[42] Portland Oregonian, August 23, 1912, p. 6; February 6, 1912, p. 10; May 2, 1912, p. 6; May 16, 1912, p. 10; October 7, 1912, p. 6; March 1, 1912, p. 10.

[43] Young, Single Tax Movement in the United States, 176; Gilbert, "Single Tax Movement in Oregon," Yale Law School Quarterly, XXXX (March, 1912), 6; Portland Oregonian, March 1, 1912, p. 10; October 20, 1912, p. 10.

[44] Young, Single Tax Movement in the United States, 176.

[45] Ibid., 177, 178; Gilbert, "Single Tax Movement in Oregon," Yale Law School Quarterly, XXXX (March, 1912), 7; Ovalgo, [illegible], Single Tax Review, XII (July-August, 1912), 7.

U'Ren asked to be allowed to discuss the issues with him along his itinerary. After considerable delay and excuse making, Shields finally consented. "Shields will be able to speak to larger crowds now," quipped U'Ren, as he pointed out that only sixty-five had heard him speak in Oregon City.[46] By November every interested voter had heard the pro and con of the single tax issue, and for the measures they didn't understand they were told repeatedly to vote "no."[47] Both sides used money freely throughout the campaign. The single taxers spent more than $40,000, and the opposition was estimated to have spent about $100,000.[48]

The election was a devastating rejection of the single tax. The counties that previously had responded more favorably to the tax sent county option measures to ignominious defeat.[49] The graduated single tax was defeated eight to three, and to add insult to injury the county option

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[46]Oregon City Courier, October 4, 1912, p. 1; October 18, 1912, p. 1.

[47]Portland Oregonian, March 29, 1912, p. 10; October 7, 1912, p. 6. The advice to vote "no" on issues was often given after 1902.

[48]U'Ren (ed.), "Single Tax," The Annals, LVIII (March, 1915), 254; Portland Oregonian, June 10, 1912, p. 8; October 20, 1912, p. 10.

[49]Clackamas, Multnomah and Coos counties. Thus the strategy of the county options amendment failed.

amendment of 1910 was repealed.[50]

The election returns from Missouri and California were equally as disappointing to the movement. Fels was ready to quit financing the Fels Fund.[51] While he spent $40,000 in Oregon, only $76 had been contributed. No state had contributed as much as $300, Fels complained, and "there are many single taxers in the United States able to put up $100,000, but they don't."[52] He issued an ultimatum that the "'Let George do it' policy" had ended and that he would "henceforth confine himself to matching dollars as far as giving money is concerned."[53]

In Oregon the movement was rife with dissension and recriminations. Dissenters wrote a letter to the third Annual Conference of criticizing U'Ren, Cridge, and Eggleston for failing to discuss the single-tax principle. U'Ren arose before the conference to deny the charge. He believed defeat resulted from lack of understanding of Henry George

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[50]Gilbert, "Single Tax Movement in Oregon," Political Science Quarterly, XXXI (March, 1916), 47; U'Ren, "Oregon," Single Tax Year Book, 43.

[51]Ella Winter and Granville Hicks (eds.), The Letters of Lincoln Steffens (New York, 1938), I, 312.

[52]Report of "Fels Fund Conference," Single Tax Review XII (November-December, 1912), 53.

[53]Joseph Fels Fund Bulletin, January, 1913, p. 1; Portland Oregonian, January 23, 1913, p. 8.

movement of 1910 was repeated.[70] The election returns from Missouri were indicative of the direction taken by the Progressive party. Roosevelt was disappointing to the movement. Pole was ready to quit financing the Pole Bund.[71] While he spent $40,000 in Congress, only 4,000 had been contributed. The state had contributed as much as $100. Pole complained, and "there are many single towns in the United States able to put up $100,000, but they don't."[72] He claimed an attitude that the "let George do it" policy had worked and that he would "accordingly confine himself to modesting dollars as far as giving money is concerned."[73]

In Oregon the movement was relatively dormant and fragmentated. Blasmeyer wrote a letter to the United American Conference of initiating U'Ren, Dodge, and Applegarth for failing to discuss the single-tax principle. U'Ren had spoke before the conference on duty free charge. He believed defeat resulted from lack of understanding of Henry George

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[70]Gilbert, "Single Tax Movement in Oregon," Political Science Quarterly, XXVI (March, 1911), 47; Allen, "George, Henry," Dictionary of American Biography, 10.

[71]Mia Auber and Granville Ulcom (eds.), The Jubilee of Lincoln Duplicate (New York, 1913), 2, 312.

[72]Report of "Pole Bund Conference," Single Tax Review XII (November-December, 1912), 23.

[73]Joseph Pole Bund Bulletin, January, 1913, p. 11 Portland Oregonian, January 23, 1912, p. 8.

and from the "cry of wolf." "Our mistake," he said, "was in thinking that we could make single taxers too soon. . . . We tried to do it in Oregon, in a two years campaign. But we will do it yet." The people would not be frightened a third time "without producing the wolf."[54] The conference adopted a resolution to continue to support U'Ren with funds to promote "measures for the increase of people's power in government, especially the initiative and referendum." To single taxers this statement must have appeared less than an invitation to duplicate the 1912 expenditures, but to their opponents it meant that Oregon had yet to be saved "from Fels, U'Ren, and the single tax . . . while Fels' money lasts."[55]

Immediately following the election U'Ren announced his intention to run for governor in 1914. He believed that being a candidate would help him reach more people and gain support for the single tax. His first intention was to prepare a pure Henry George tax, but he soon discarded this plan in favor of another gradualist approach to the single

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[54]Report of "Fels Fund Conference," Single Tax Review, XII (November-December, 1912), 53

[55]Portland Oregonian, December 7, 1912, p. 8.

tax.[56]

The history of the single-tax movement reached a climax in 1912. Thereafter less attention was given to Oregon and U'Ren in the Single Tax Review, edited by Joseph Dana Miller and the Joseph Fels Fund Bulletin, edited by S. Danzigiger. The charge of "foreign money" resulted in a call for a type of corrupt practice law to prevent a non-resident from financing campaigns.[57] The idea of the state not being able to determine and settle its own issues caused the single taxer to refuse further aid from Fels.[58]

Two neo-single-tax measures were prepared for the 1914 election. H. D. Wagnon proposed a graduated single tax, which received little attention. U'Ren framed a $1500 exemption amendment, which was more favorably accepted by single taxers. The amendment proposed to exempt each taxpayer $1500, or double if property was jointly owned by a man and his wife, of the assessed value of live stock, houses, fences, and other improvements.[59] The amendment was purposely

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[56]Oregon City Courier, November 8, 1912, p. 4; November 22, 1912, p. 4; Oregon City Enterprise, November 15, 1912, p. 1; Joseph Fels Fund Bulletin, January, 1913, p. 2.

[57]Portland Oregonian, December 3, 1912, p. 8.

[58]Joseph Fels Fund Bulletin, March, 1915, p. 1; Portland Oregonian, January 21, 1914, p. 4.

[59]Gilbert, "Single Tax Movement in Oregon," Political Science Quarterly, XXXI (March, 1916), 49; U'Ren, "Oregon," Single Tax Year Book, 43.

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The history of the single-tax movement reached a climax in 1912. Thereafter less attention was given to Oregon and U'Ren in the Single Tax Review, edited by Joseph Dana Miller and the Joseph Dana Miller Bulletin, edited by E. Benedict. The charge of "foreign money" resulted in a call for a type of corrupt practice law to prevent a non-resident from financing campaigns.[51] The idea of the state not being able to determine and settle its own issues caused the single tax to return further and from Dole.[52]

Two non-single-tax measures were proposed for the 1912 elections. E. B. Bagnon proposed a graduated single tax, which received little attention. U'Ren issued a $1500 exemption measure, which was more favorably accepted by single taxers. The measure proposed to exempt each taxpayer $1500, or double if property was jointly owned by a man and his wife, of the assessed value of live stock, homes, farmers, and other improvements.[53] The measure was purposely

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[50]Oregon City Enterprise, November 8, 1912, p. 1; Portland Daily Journal, November 13, 1912, p. 1; Oregon City Enterprise, November 15, 1912, p. 1; Oregon Daily Journal, January 1, 1913, p. 2.

[51]Portland Oregonian, December 3, 1912, p. 8.

[52]Joseph Dana Miller Bulletin, March, 1913, p. 1; Portland Oregonian, January 21, 1913, p. 4.

[53]Gilbert, "Single Tax Movement in Oregon," Political Science Quarterly, XXXI (March, 1916), 59; U'Ren, "Oregon Single Tax Law Book," 13.

designed to "make evident the hypocrisy of the opposition who claimed, in the campaign of 1912, to have only the interest of the farmer and small homeowner at heart."[60] The amendment was made public early in June, 1913, when U'Ren secured the approval for a petition from the Secretary of State.[61] Although U'Ren spoke in favor of the measure wherever he went, the chief burden of campaign for it was carried by others, while he concentrated on other progressive planks in his platform.

Apart from the Oregonian, the most effective opposition came from the Tax Liberator, the official organ of the Oregon Rational Tax Reform Association. In its pages U'Ren got full treatment both in the printed word and in pictorial caricatures. The strategy was to brand "U'Ren's pet measure," the $1500 exemption, as single tax.[62]

Again the voters rejected the tax proposals by a vote of two to one in 1914. Farming areas voted overwhelmingly against it, some as much as four to one. The Oregonian edi-

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[60] Portland Oregonian, January 24, 1914, p. 2. The Oregonian quoted Daniel Kiefer, chairman of the Fels Commission.

[61] Portland Oregonian, June 5, 1913, p. 2.

[62] Gilbert, "Single Tax Movement in Oregon," Political Science Quarterly, XXXI (March, 1916), 51; Single Tax Liberator, August, 1914, p. 1; September, 1914, p. 1; November, 1914, p. 1.

tor pronounced the benediction when he said of the vote, "It is Oregon's message to the world that the disastrous U'Ren epoch has passed."[63]

The remnants of the lost cause, defeated, discouraged, and divided, took what little consolation they could in the fact that no real single-tax proposition had been offered. Many pointed out that victory would have been assured if a pure Henry George tax had been sought. Although U'Ren earlier had been of that opinion himself, he had accepted the will of the majority, and now he shouldered the full responsibility for their defeat.[64]

In the future he would work for the George principle openly. He recalled that i t took ten years before the initiative and referendum was acceptable to a majority of the people; in like manner they were now approaching a place where "most of them . . . will listen to a single-taxer without thinking of him as a traitor to American institutions."[65] In speaking to a mass meeting during the 1915 San

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[63] Portland Oregonian, November 5, 1914, p. 10.

[64] U'Ren, "Oregon," Single Tax Year Book (New York, 1917), 44. Joseph Fels, Daniel Kiefer, Bolton Hall, C. E. S. Wood, and H. W. Stone were consistently opposed to the exemption method.

[65] U'Ren, "Single Tax," The Annals, LVII (March, 1915), 226.

Francisco Fels Fund Conference, he said that Oregon single taxers would settle for nothing less than a ground rent law.[66]

Although indorsement was given by the Oregon State Federation of Labor and the Central Labor Council, a single-tax measure that called for 90 per cent of the annual rent value failed in 1916.[67] In 1917, U'Ren's reign as secretary of the Oregon Single Tax League ended.[68] Although the movement continued to survive until World War II, 1917 was the end of an era for single taxers. Eggleston moved back to California, the Fels Commission gave way to a new national organization, and new leaders took the place of the old. World War I divided the ranks, as stalwart Georgians, committed to their conviction of pacifism, refused to concede the righteousness of the war. Daniel Kiefer, Lincoln Steffens, and Leo Tolstoy no longer lent respectability to the movement--so they were discarded. Henry George, once believed to have taught a doctrine of pacifism, was now re-

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[66]Stanley Bowmar, "The San Francisco Conference," Single Tax Review (New York), XV (November-December, 1915), 259.

[67]Culbertson, "History of the Initiative and Referendum in Oregon," 181; U'Ren, "Oregon," Single Tax Review, XVI (November-December, 1916), 374; Joseph Fels Fund Bulletin, February, 1916, p. 1.

[68]Who's Who In America (Chicago), XV (1928), 2102.

read with a view to justify the war. Then, too, Henry George had referred to wars of imperialistic nations for more land. He did not know about the terrible "Hun" whose scourge had to be removed to make the single tax possible. Finally Joseph Dana Miller settled the question by declaring that single taxers were indeed pacifists and that they had to fight this war to end all wars and thus serve the cause of passivism.[69]

Only single-tax dogmatists remained in Oregon politics. The experimenters and faddists faded from protest and reform movements. The leadership of the official organization passed to J. R. Herman, who came to Oregon in 1918. U'Ren continued to work for tax reform and support single-tax measures, which persisted on the ballot; but he served inconspicuously in the ranks as he represented something of a legend from the past rather than a hope for the future.

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[69]Joseph Dana Miller (ed.), Single Tax Review (New York), XVIII (July-August, 1918), 123.

CHAPTER VII

THE PROGRESSIVE

Although the single-tax movement had preceded the progressive era, and continued after the period nominally ended, Georgism reached the zenith of popular appeal simultaneously with the progressive era. With the aid of the Fels Fund, single taxers were able to fight independently for the initiative, referendum, direct election of senators, and tax reforms, under their own banner; thus in a measure the single-tax movement became a part of the progressive movement. But they were bound by dogma to oppose tariffs, imperialism, and government-controlled land conservation, whereas many progressives felt that some degree of tariff protection was necessary, that imperialism brought progress to backward peoples, and that conservation of natural resources was more important than for the people to use the land.[1] Neither were the single taxers noticeably of the "mugwump" type, who represented an elite leadership of the past, interested in good government for its own sake, and victims of economic and social upheaval by an arriviste

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[1]Charles Albro Barker, Henry George (New York, 1955), 622, 627.

class.[2] On the contrary, single taxers were either from families of little reputation or fortune, represented by Henry George, Joseph Dana Miller, Daniel Kiefer, and U'Ren; or from families of wealth, political power, or family prestige, such as Joseph Fels, Charles Ingersoll, Tom Johnson, and Leo Tolstoy, to whom fame and wealth were neither gained nor preserved by the single tax.

The single taxers turned indifferently from arguments about whether industrial trusts should be "busted" or regulated. The twin scourges of poverty and corruption could not be cured by treating the symptoms, they reasoned, but only by restoring man to his birthright, the land. A belief in land ownership, plus a faith in the people's ability to govern themselves was a type of Jeffersonian philosophy held by the single taxers. Momentarily the progressive movement held largely to the same Jeffersonian ideal, until Roosevelt's New Nationalism, inspired by the anti-Jeffersonian, Herbert Croly, helped to return the Republicans to their traditional conservatism.[3] Except for a few Republican insurgents, Jeffersonianism was nominally restored to

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[2]Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform (New York, 1955), 135, 139, 262.

[3]Eric F. Goldman, Rendezvous With Destiny (New York, 1953), 188-207.

the Democratic party. Henry George's faith in land and democracy had not stemmed from political traditions but rather from a reaction to conditions he had observed. In like manner single taxers of the progressive era did not predicate reform upon affiliation with a particular party, but sought to work within the party of their choice or birth. When parties tended to become reactionary, the single taxers denounced the tendency but did not renounce their party affiliation. Although the progressive movement succeeded by achieving reform legislation and the single-tax movement failed completely, the progressive era created a favorable climate for the single-tax movement to flourish in.

William U'Ren, not unlike other single taxers, was an avowed progressive; he worked with the progressives and they accepted him.[4] U'Ren was not much different from the typical California progressive, who, according to George Mowry, was about forty; he was born in the Middle west; he had a north-European name; he was an attorney, journalist, or businessman; he had a New England religion; and he was a Republican. U'Ren did not fit the California mold, however,

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[4]Louis Filler, Crusaders for American Liberalism (New York, 1939), 47; Norman Hapgood, The Changing Years (New York, 1930), 237; Fred E. Haynes, Third Party Movements Since the Civil War (Iowa City, 1916), 415; Belle C. La Follette and Fola La Follette, Robert La Follette (New York, 1953), I, 398.

by being "well fixed," pro-McKinley Republican, and "violently opposed to the nineteenth century agrarian radicalism of William Jennings Bryan and the Populists."[5] Being anti-Populist and anti-Bryan was characteristic not only of California progressives but also of most progressives.[6] It should be remembered, however, that U'Ren joined the Populists to secure direct legislation primarily and not the whole Omaha platform.

In October, 1909, U'Ren was elected vice-president of the Short Ballot Association. He shared the office with the novelist Winston Churchill, and served under Woodrow Wilson, the association's first president.[7] A year and one month later, while attending the first Annual Single Tax Conference in New York City, U'Ren paid Wilson a visit. Wilson had just successfully completed his campaign for governor of New Jersey, and had returned to Princeton in time to encourage U'Ren to come to see him.[8]

If the short ballot was to be the subject of discussion, it was soon forgotten when U'Ren found Wilson interested

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[5]George E. Mowry, The California Progressives (Berkeley, 1951), ix, 87, 89.

[6]Hofstadter, Age of Reform, 132.

[7]Arthur S. Link, Wilson: The Road To The White House (Princeton, 1947), 124.

[8]James Kerney, The Political Education of Woodrow Wilson (New York, 1926), 102.

by being "well fixed," pro-Roosevelt Republican, and pro-Democratic opposed to the nineteenth century economic institutions of William Jennings Bryan and the Populists.[5] Young anti-Populists and anti-Bryan was characteristic not only of California progressives but also of most progressives.[6] It should be remembered, however, that Wm Joined the Progressives to secure direct legislation primarily and not the whole Crusade platform.

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[5]George H. Tinkham, The California Progressives (Stockton, 1909), pp. 87, 89.

[6]Hofstadter, Age of Reform, 172.

[7]Arthur S. Link, Wilson: The Road to the White House (Princeton, 1947), 192.

[8]Jordan Kerney, The Political Education of Woodrow Wilson (New York, 1950), 102.

in how the initiative, referendum, and direct primary worked in Oregon. For years Wilson had confidently told his students that direct legislation could not work. In a volume published some years before, he wrote about the use of the initiative in Switzerland and found that "it [the initiative] has not promised either progress or enlightenment, leading rather to doubtful experiments and to reactionary displays of prejudice than to really useful legislation." As for the referendum in Switzerland, "It has dulled the sense of responsibility among legislators without in fact quickening the people to the excercise of any real control in affairs."[9]

Wilson, the unbeliever and critic, became the student, as U'Ren retold the story of "people's power" in Oregon. He recounted how the people had fought to get the initiative and referendum; and then broke the Republican machine with the direct primary law and Statement Number One, which made possible the election of Bourne and Chamberlain to the United States Senate. U'Ren's reputation for persuasiveness, logic, and debate was not diminished as a result of his visit with the eminent scholar of government and history. The governor-elect conceded that Oregon's example added validity to U'Ren's arguments, but he concluded that the

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[9]Woodrow Wilson, The State (Boston, 1898), 313.

initiative and referendum would have to be restricted "tools for an emergency."[10]

Wilson had nearly two months to think over what U'Ren had said before his inauguration. In the meantime he was in the midst of the historic fight to prevent Democratic Boss James Smith, Jr. from being elected to the Senate. The Smith machine had labored for Wilson's election and in return anticipated Wilson's blessing on Smith for the Senate seat. Wilson, however, would not be controlled by Smith; indeed he insisted that the legislature should elect James E. Martine, who had been the choice of the Democratic voters in the primary. Wilson's victory over the New Jersey machine is a tale often told, but U'Ren's visit during the crucial and formative moments of Wilson's preparation to enter the governor's chair, could well have given him moral encouragement for the battle he faced.

On the day preceding his inauguration, Wilson held a meeting at the Martinique Hotel in New York with the leading members of the New Jersey legislature and several newspaper editors. He insisted that he expected nothing less than the whole progressive platform from the legislature. Although

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[10] Ray Stannard Baker, Woodrow Wilson: Life and Letters (London, 1932), III, 130-131; Kerney, The Political Education of Woodrow Wilson, 102, 103.

initiative and referendum would have to be restricted "tools for an oligarchy."[10]

Nixon had nearly two months to think over what Dillon had said before his inauguration. In the meantime he was in the midst of the bitterness flight to prevent Democratic Senator Dwight Griswold, from being elected to the Senate. The Nixon machine had labored for Nixon's election and in-numerous antiplanted Nixon's placing on tickets for the Senate seat. Nixon, however, would not be convinced by Dillon; indeed he insisted that the legislature should elect Thomas E. Dewey, who had been the choice of the Democratic voters in the primary. Nixon's victory over the Dewey machine was a hair-raising ordeal, but Nixon's visit during the crucial and tumultuous months of Nixon's preparation to enter the governor's chair, would well have given him moral encouragement for the battle he faced.

On the day preceding his inauguration, Nixon held a meeting of the Republican Hotel in New York with the leading members of the New Jersey legislature and several newspaper editors. He insisted that he expected nothing less than the whole progressive platform from the legislature. Although

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[10] Mr. Harrison Salem, Governor Nixon: Life and Letters (London, 1960), 111, 130-131; Harvey, The Political Morality of Goodness Nixon, 105.

his program did not include the initiative and referendum, he talked about how they had worked in Oregon and how U'Ren had convinced him of their practical possibilities.[11]

In the inaugural address, Wilson promised to do all he could to carry out his campaign promises. He expressed faith in people's ability to govern themselves if they were properly enlightened, which he considered his responsibility. The message was concluded with words that echoed across the United States, and were heard with delight by some in Oregon, as he said that the laws of Oregon "seem to me . . . to point the direction which we must also take before we have completed our regeneration of a government which has suffered so seriously and so long . . . from private management and organized selfishness."[12]

Wilson hardly was comfortably seated in the governor's chair when presidential possibilities were presented to him. The success of the progressive program in the legislature added to the Governor's stature as a national figure. In May, 1911, Wilson began a trek into the West that eventually took him to Oregon. The further west he went

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[11] Ibid.

[12] W. S. U'Ren, "How Oregon Secured Pure Elections," La Follette's Weekly Magazine (Madison, Wis.), III (January, 28, 1911), 8.

toward Oregon the more he praised the initiative and referendum.[13]

U'Ren was not sure that Wilson might not be the only man that the progressives could support in 1912. If so, U'Ren would want to be in a position to lead the Oregon Progressives into the Wilson camp.[14] As Wilson started north from Berkeley, U'Ren "made a gum shoe exit over the line" to meet Wilson at Ashland and to ride into Portland with him. "Mr. U'Ren doesn't get a brass band nor a press agent when he plays the game," a newspaper editor quipped. "He just gets there."[15]

Wilson and U'Ren were greeted in Portland by reporters, to whom Wilson commented: "In the East I am counted intensely progressive. In Oregon I am not so sure. But I am a great admirer of the Oregon system." However, in answer to a question Wilson expressed his opposition to the recall of judges. "You hire a man to tell you what is the law. He does tell you and the information doesn't sit well on your stomach. Should you then discharge the man? Better make

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[13]Kerney, The Political Education of Woodrow Wilson, 135.

[14]U'Ren to Jonathan Bourne, Jr., June 21, 1911, Bourne Papers.

[15]Oregon City Courier, May 19, 1911, p. 1; Baker, Woodrow Wilson: Life and Letters, III, 224.

the law right. . . ."[16]

Wilson spoke during the evening to a Democratic gathering at the Commercial Club. After praising the Oregon System for having destroyed "the machine," he spoke warmly of U'Ren. He had read that Oregon had two legislatures, one at the capital and "one under W. S. U'Ren's hat." He concluded it was better to have one under U'Ren's hat where it could be found and held responsible than the one at the capitol, which could not be found. Wilson did not mean, however, that direct legislation should replace the legislature. "I do not think the legislature should be considered a necessary evil," he declared. The next afternoon Wilson ended his visit in Oregon at a luncheon in the Y. M. C. A. building. U'Ren was toastmaster and introduced Wilson before he spoke.[17]

After Wilson's visit, U'Ren's Republicanism was substantially shaken. Although he was a staunch supporter of Robert La Follette, whom he considered the strongest and most desirable Republican,[18] he feared that no progressive

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[16]Portland Oregon Journal, May 18, 1911, p. 1.

[17]Oregon City Courier, May 19, 1911, p. 5; Portland Oregon Journal, May 18, 1911, p. 1; Portland Oregonian, May 20, 1911, p. 10.

[18]U'Ren to Henry Krumrey, State chairman in Wisconsin, June 9, 1911, Bourne Papers.

could prevent a regular convention from nominating Taft. He revelled in the prospect of both parties nominating progressives, but added that the party that nominated a tory would be beaten. As for himself, he told Senator Bourne "the party collar does not bind me any closer than it does you, and if necessary to strengthen the People's Power I shall vote and talk for a Democrat. . . ." But, he added, "The Democratic Party cannot be as progressive as the . . . Republicans until the negro question is settled."[19]

At the American Political Science Association meeting in Buffalo, on December, 1911, Herbert Croly read a paper in which he attacked the Oregon System. U'Ren, who was a member of the Association and was present at the meeting, presented some "remarks" in rebuttal.[20] Croly first attacked direct legislation in general by saying it would have "a period of efflorescence, like Know Nothingism, Grangeism, and Populism, and then gradually . . . sink into utter and deserved oblivion." While admitting that state legislatures were not truly representative and often were corrupt, he insisted that reforms could be made by strong leadership held

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[19]U'Ren to Bourne, June 21, 1911, Bourne Papers.

[20]Herbert Croly, "State Political Reorganization," Proceedings of the American Political Science Association (Concord, N. H., 1912), VIII, 122-135; W. S. U'Ren. "Remarks on Mr. Herbert Croly's Paper on 'State Political Reorganization,'" ibid., 135-139.

responsible to the people in both the legislative and executive branches of government. He inferred that direct legislation made Oregon's legislature a "rump" in which no "self-respecting man or useful public servant" would want to be a member. Furthermore, the initiative and referendum accomplished no reform but what could have been accomplished equally well by some other means.[21]

In response to Croly's views, U'Ren asked if it would not be better to be a member of Oregon's legislature than a member of a legislature tainted with bribery such as New York or Illinois. In Oregon the legislator will not be bribed to vote for a senator, nor invited to live in a "House of Mirth," nor offered railroad passes, since the state had the initiative and referendum. U'Ren did not believe that there had ever been representative government in the United States. Representatives were often elected by pluralities, and third parties were seldom elected to Congress. He did not advocate the initiative and referendum as "the principal and ordinary method of making laws," but "it seems to be the best means available." He agreed with Croly that other means might be better, but "the fact is that no such results were obtained in any American state by other

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[21] Ibid., 130, 131, 134.

responsible to the people in both the legislative and executive branches of government. He intended that direct legislation made Oregon's legislature a "sounding" in which to "self-respecting men or neutral public servants" would want to be a member. Furthermore, the initiative and referendum accomplished no reform but what could have been accomplished equally well by some other means.[21]

In response to Croly's views, Ulman asked if it would not be better to be a member of Oregon's legislature than a member of a legislature saddled with Delaney, such as New York or Illinois. In Oregon the legislature will not be bribed to vote for a measure, nor invited to live in a "House of Mirth," nor offered railroad passes, since the state has the initiative and referendum. "Perhaps not believe that there had ever been representative governments in the United States. Representatives were often elected by pluralities, and which senator was making kowtow to Congress. He did not advocate the initiative and referendum as "the principal and ordinary method of making laws." "but rather as to be the best means available." He agreed with Croly that other means might be better, but "the fact is that so much reading were offered of in my opinion acts by a ma-

[21] Ibid., 120, 121, 122.

methods until the way had been staked out by use of the Initiative."[22]

In addition to the all important single tax in 1912, U'Ren promoted several amendments through the People's Power League, campaigned for Bourne's re-election, and did what he could to help the cause of La Follette. The amount of work involved in so many activities forced him to refuse the additional task of managing La Follette's campaign in Oregon.[23] U'Ren's faithfulness to La Follette persisted until Roosevelt received the nomination from the Progressive party, and he then supported Roosevelt in the election.[24]

Bourne chose to run for re-election without making an active personal campaign. He depended on his reputation in representing the state so ably that the people would not hesitate to re-elect him. U'Ren considered that the "People's Power" had too great a stake in Bourne's re-election to make such an experiment. Bourne had also issued his statement for the official campaign book without consulting anyone in Oregon, as far as U'Ren knew. "I have tried to explain to you before this," wrote the indignant U'Ren, "the

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[22]U'Ren, "Remarks on Mr. Herbert Croly's Paper," Proceedings of the American Political Science Association, VIII, 138.

[23]Bourne to U'Ren, October 26, 1911, Bourne Papers.

[24]Bourne to U'Ren, March 9, 1912, Bourne Papers; U'Ren to Bourne, March 1, 1912, ibid.; Oregon City Courier August 28, 1913, p. 4.

wisdom of getting other men's opinions before making a decision. Evidently I did not succeed. For that reason I am trying again and speaking as plainly as I can." Bourne calmly accepted U'Ren's criticism but insisted on making his own campaign. "If I can be renominated and re-elected without going to Oregon and making a campaign," wrote Bourne, "the demonstration thus made will revolutionize American politics." To U'Ren, Bourne's idea was "magnificent" but not "practical politics."[25]

Bourne was opposed by Ben Selling for the Republican nomination. It was Selling who received the support of non-progressive Republicans, and more important, he was indorsed by the Oregonian. Although Selling had been president of the People's Power League, he repudiated the League's program before the end of the summer. U'Ren had misjudged Selling, for which he apologized to Bourne.[26] U'Ren was convinced that Selling had violated the Corrupt Practice Act by not reporting the money he spent before he announced himself as a candidate. Bourne paid U'Ren five hundred dollars to hire detectives and to do whatever was necessary to prose-

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[25]U'Ren to Bourne, February 29, 1912, March 1, 1912, Bourne Papers; Bourne to U'Ren, March 9, 1912, Bourne Papers.

[26]George M. Orton, and U'Ren, Political Pamphlets, April 10, 1912; U'Ren to Bourne, August 30, 1912, Bourne Papers.

cute Selling. Although no formal charge was made, it was hoped that the publicity would cost Selling votes.[27] Just before the primary election La Follette spoke in Portland and Salem in support of Bourne.[28] In spite of the efforts of his progressive friends to nominate him, Bourne lost to Selling by a substantial vote. It was generally conceded that Bourne's refusal to campaign in Oregon cost him the nomination.[29] Some, however, held that Bourne's relationship with U'Ren had hurt him politically. Indeed, early in the campaign Brownell broached the delicate subject to Bourne by suggesting that any connection with the single tax would hurt the Senator's chances. As for U'Ren, Brownell wrote, "There are thousands of people in this state who are getting tired of his method and his measures."[30]

During the next few months many of Bourne's friends urged him to run as an independent. Bourne had been willing to support Selling in November. After much urging

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[27]Bourne to U'Ren, March 9, 1912, Bourne Papers, also telegrams exchanged on the same day; E. O. Sawyer to Bourne, April 20, 1912, Bourne Papers.

[28]Bourne to E. Hofer, April 13, 1912, Bourne Papers; W. S. Houser to Bourne, April 16, 1912, Bourne Papers.

[29]Charles B. Merrick to A. W. Prescott, May 25, 1912, Bourne Papers; George Brownell to Bourne, May 21, 1912, Bourne Papers.

[30]Brownell to Bourne, January 31, 1912; Merrick to Prescott, May 25, 1912, Bourne Papers.

Bourne relented to the point of agreeing to allow petitions to be circulated for his candidacy if he could be convinced that Selling had violated the Corrupt Practice Act.

U'Ren was not among the first who called for Bourne to run as an independent. He would support Bourne only if the Senator came to Oregon to campaign. By the first of August Bourne was not only a willing candidate but U'Ren had practically taken charge of his campaign.[31] After U'Ren started circulating the petitions to add Bourne's name to the ballot, A. A. Muck became the leader of the movement to re-elect Bourne. U'Ren urged Bourne to announce publicly his support of Roosevelt as a counter-move to Selling's endorsement of Taft. Bourne agreed to support Roosevelt but not to join the Bull Moose party. He would be enrolled on the ballot as an Independent Progressive.[32]

Two features of the People's Power League measures that U'Ren was especially interested in were to abolish the state Senate and to give the governor complete control over introducing appropriation bills. The election returns

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[31]Brownell to Bourne, July 23, 1912; William Swope to Bourne, July 25, 1912; U'Ren to Bourne, August 2, 1912; Merrick to Bourne, August 13, 1912, Bourne Papers.

[32]U'Ren to Bourne, August 2, 1912, Bourne Papers; telegram--U'Ren & A. A. Muck to Bourne, August 21, 1912; U'Ren to Bourne, August 30, 1912; Bourne to U'Ren, September 3, 1912.

spelled defeat for U'Ren on three fronts. The People's Power League measures, the single tax, and Bourne all went down in defeat. As in the presidential election, the Independent Progressives and the Republicans split a segment of votes, giving a plurality to the Democratic candidate to the Senate. The day after the election U'Ren announced that he was a candidate for governor in 1914. His platform included the single tax, abolishment of the Senate, minimum wage scale, short ballot, more people's power, and proportional representation. The bewildered editor of the Oregon City Courier concluded that at least one had to give U'Ren "credit for being a fighter."[33]

U'Ren campaigned steadily from November, 1912 to November, 1914, to educate the people. He was certain that if the people understood the $1500 amendment and the abolishment of the Senate, the measures would pass. He believed that his candidacy for governor would give impetus to his legislative program. In 1913, the question remained whether he would run as a Republican. Although he insisted he was a Republican, the Oregonian wanted to know what kind. U'Ren answered by declaring that he had always been a Republican

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[33]Paul Thomas Culbertson, "A History of the Initiative and Referendum in Oregon" (Ph. D. thesis, Department of History, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, 1941), 132; Oregon City Courier, November 8, 1912, p. 1.

except from 1892 to 1898, when he was a Populist. Furthermore, he voted for all major Republican candidates since 1898 with the exception of Taft and Selling in 1912. He estimated that he spent more than $13,000 of his own money in advocating good Republican legislation including the recall, corrupt practice law, Statement Number One, and the initiative and referendum.[34] The editor of the Courier wondered why the Oregonian refused to give U'Ren credit for his accomplishments. The editor suggested that "should Mr. U'Ren jump into the river to save a drowning man, the Oregonian would say it was because the man had a signed referendum petition in his pocket."[35]

As the campaign in 1914 got under way, U'Ren added two more planks to his platform. Prohibition was one; the second was to build roads and pay for them from an inheritance tax on estates of fifty thousand dollars or more. Any person unemployed would be offered a job, which would solve the problems of poor roads and unemployment.[36] The Oregonian considered the amendment "U'Renic," "socialistic,"

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[34]Oregon City Courier, August 28, 1913; Portland Oregonian, September 1, 1913, p. 10.

[35]Oregon City Courier, September 28, 1913, p. 4.

[36]Ibid., February 12, 1914.

and "the last word in communism."[37] U'Ren had long been noted for his stand opposing the liquor traffic. He introduced Billy Sunday to an Oregon City audience back in 1910 when the evangelist spoke on the subject, "Booze or Get On the Water Wagon."[38] U'Ren considered the "saloon interest" to be one of the most formidable opponents of People's Power legislation in Oregon.[39] After finding little enthusiasm in the Republican party for his gubernatorial desires, he decided to run as an independent. When the Prohibition party held their convention, U'Ren was unanimously nominated as their choice for governor, and he accepted.[40] Nearly two months later, Secretary of State Ben Olcott decided that a candidate could be the nominee of only one party. U'Ren believed that his proposed legislation would fare better if he remained an independent candidate and therefore drew from the Prohibition ticket. U'Ren expressed regret but stated that he "had made it clear from the platform that my candidacy as an Independent was to precede the Prohibition party designation on the official ballot." The affair divided the Pro-

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[37]Portland Oregonian, February 25, 1914, p. 8.

[38]Oregon City Courier, August 19, 1910, p. 1.

[39]Ibid., April 2, 1914, p. 4.

[40]Ibid., May 7, 1914, p. 1; May 21, 1914, p. 4.

Prohibition party between those who would endorse U'Ren and those who considered he dealt unfairly with them.[41]

During the last few weeks of the campaign U'Ren made a vast number of speeches and debates. But except for Cridge and the Oregon City Courier, U'Ren was alone. The Republican newspapers, led by the influential Oregonian, supported James Withycombe, and the Oregon Journal upheld the Democratic nominee, C. J. Smith.[42] When the votes were counted, U'Ren was a poor third. The winning Republican, Withycombe, received 118,050 to U'Ren's 10,507.[43] Yet a tribute to the badly defeated U'Ren was the fact that an overwhelming Republican state chose to re-elect a very popular Democratic senator, George Chamberlain, an example of people's power ruling.

To some, the victory over U'Renism was an occasion for rejoicing.[44] But to him who had again tasted the bitter dregs of defeat, the occasion was an opportunity to survey glorious past victories--the initiative, the referendum, direct primaries, Statement Number One, and recall; and to say

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[41] Ibid., July 30, 1914, p. 1.

[42] Ibid., October 29, 1914, p. 4.

[43] Ibid., November 5, 1914, p. 1.

[44] Portland Oregonian, November 10, 1914, p. 6.

Prohibition party between them the votes of Morse Dixon and those who generally he dealt unfairly with them.[41]

During the last few weeks of the campaign, Dixon made a vast number of speeches and debates. Not except for Geiger and the Oregon City Courier, Dixon was alone. The Republican newspapers, led by the influential Oregonian, supported Hess wholeheartedly, and the Oregon Journal upheld the Democratic nominee, G. J. Smith.[42] When the votes were counted, Dixon was a poor third. The winning Republican, Hitchcock, received 112,020 to Dixon's 10,207.[43] Not a bitterness to the badly defeated Dixon was the fact that no overwhelming Republican state chose to re-elect a very popular Democratic governor, George Chamberlain, an example of people's power voting.

To sum, the victory over Dixon was an occasion for rejoicing.[44] But to Dix who had again tested the bitter dregs of defeat, the occasion was an opportunity to survey glorious past victories--the initiative, the referendum, direct primaries, statement number one, and recall and to say

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[41] Ibid., July 30, 1910, p. 1.

[42] Ibid., October 30, 1910, p. 1.

[43] Ibid., November 5, 1910, p. 1.

[44] Portland Oregonian, November 10, 1910, p. 6.

of the future:

> 'Again to the battle, Achaeons,
> Our hearts bid the tyrant defiance!'[45]

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[45]Oregon City Courier, November 6, 1914, p. 1.

CHAPTER VIII

THE DECLINING YEARS

As the United States became involved in the World War, national and international issues became the dominating factors in politics. Interests in reforms and progressive legislation began to decline; and fewer measures were promoted by use of the initiative and referendum. Indeed, a period of reaction against governmental experimentation began.

In Oregon the initiative, referendum, and direct primary were attacked for having destroyed the republican principle of government, but yet having not succeeded in eliminating graft. U'Ren answered the critics of the Oregon System by reminding them of the days before direct legislation and the secret ballot when votes were bought for two dollars and a half, and "bus loads of repeaters were driven from polling place to polling place in Portland." He recalled "the days when Judge Carey and Senator Simon fought with their fists on the convention stage to decide who should be the chairman." He remembered the times when senators were elected in legislative sessions that were "forty days and forty nights" of debauchery. These conditions no longer existed in Oregon as a result of direct government, he

contended.

But U'Ren did not consider the job completed. He believed that newspapers had taken the place of political bosses, and that candidates not supported by a major newspaper had little chance of being elected. He recommended changes in the executive branch that would combine many of the offices under one responsible official, and require the governor to appoint all state officers, except judges. A few general reforms that he considered necessary were to abolish the Senate, shorten the ballot, and substitute proportional representation for election by pluralities.[1]

Following the election of 1914, the U'Rens moved from Oregon City to Portland. For nearly fifteen years U'Ren and Chris Schuebel had labored together in law, politics, and reform. There had developed a strong bond of friendship between the reformers that continued until Schuebel's death in 1949. U'Ren's decision to leave Oregon City resulted partly from Mary U'Ren's attraction to Portland, and to a lesser extent, from a desire to gain a more lucrative law practice in the larger city.[2]

After 1915, U'Ren was less active in directing the

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[1]W. S. U'Ren, "Strength and Weakness of the Oregon System as Developed by Ten Years of Operation," Oregon Voter (Portland), III (January 15, 1916), 5-12.

[2]Oregon City Enterprise, November 20, 1914, p. 3; interview with Sheba Hargreaves, May 16, 1956.

course of state politics. He maintained a vital interest in state government, however, and readily lent his influence to reform measures that he considered beneficial. During the early 1920's he continued to serve as vice president of the National Short Ballot Organization and of the American Proportional Representation League; and he was on the executive committee of the National Single Tax League.[3]

In 1920, U'Ren wrote a constitutional amendment that was sponsored by the People's Power League and endorsed by the Central Labor Council of Portland. Although the amendment failed to reach the petition stage for lack of financial backing, it did serve to culminate U'Ren's political radicalism in a single document. His affinity for parliamentary form of government was manifested by subordinating the executive to the legislative branch as done by the British House of Commons. U'Ren had long contended that the American form of government never represented a majority of the people. He stated that the first purpose would be to "abolish the Lawyer's Soviet government of Oregon." By this he meant that the members of the legislature were predomin-

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[3]S. Danziger, editor, Bulletin of the National Single Tax League (Wilmington, Deleware), V (October-November, 1921), 1; The Short Ballot Bulletin (New York), VII (April, 1920), 4; C. G. Hoag, editor, Proportional Representation Review (Philadelphia), LVII (January, 1921), 2.

ately lawyers who too often represented the interests of corporations. Under the proposed amendment there would be one house, of one hundred members, elected from different occupational classifications by voters registered as members of the occupation, and none could vote for a legislator from another classification. Other features of the so-called "U'Ren Manifesto" would increase the legislator's pay, allow voting by mail, and make the legislative term seven years. Failing to excite public interest, the amendment was soon forgotten.[4]

After 1920, U'Ren's chief concern was to represent the interests of labor by proposing pro-labor initiative measures and by lobbying in Salem. In 1924 he drafted a workmen's compensation bill, which lost at the polls.[5]

The depression years led to popular distrust of a political and economic system that allowed people to suffer. It was a new era of protest resulting in a demand for a new deal. U'Ren believed he could solve some of the problems in government and declared his candidacy to the state legislature in 1932. The seventy-three year old reformer promised

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[4]Oregon Voter, XXI, June 5, 1920, pp. 25-40; June 12, 1920, p. 7.

[5]Harvey Elmer Tobie, "Oregon Labor Disputes, 1919-23: III; Local Controversies," Oregon Historical Quarterly (Portland), XLVIII (December, 1947), 315.

that if elected he would lower taxes, promote a better workmen's compensation law and amend the primary law to provide for majority rule. His defeat by only two thousand votes, in spite of the general Democratic landslide, encouraged him to run again in 1934. For the second time in two years Multnomah County voters refused to elect him to the state legislature, thus demonstrating, perhaps, that they preferred to leave the Oregon System inviolate. In each election the Oregon Voter supported U'Ren because his services were "needed to help reform some of his own prior reforming."[6]

On May 9, 1934, the University of Oregon Score Club, composed of student "liberals," honored U'Ren at a banquet. After the president of the Club, William J. Bruce, introduced him, Richard L. Neuberger presented him with a scroll signed by the members of the Club. Tributes were read from Arthur Garfield Hays, Oswald Garrison Villard, of the Nation, and Paul R. Kelly, editor of the Oregonian, who called him "one of Oregon's most useful citizens."

In a "rambling" talk, U'Ren said that direct legislation had brought political reform but not economic reform. Fear that the United States would become communistic or

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[6] Oregon Voter, LXIX, April 30, 1932, pp. 20-22; Vol. LXXI, November 5, 1932, p. 25; Vol. LXXVII, April 28, 1934, p. 16.

fascist he considered unjustifiable. He credited the direct primary law with breaking up political machines and bringing about direct election of senators; however, he was disappointed at its failure to produce a strong opposition party and a higher caliber of statesmen.[7]

The failure of the Republican party to stem the tide of the depression had shaken U'Ren's confidence in the party. Although he was a Republican candidate for the state legislature, it was consistent with his philosophy of government to cross party lines and vote for Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932. He soon regretted his apostasy from the national ticket, however, and became one of the New Deal's most bitter critics.

In a radio speech, Roosevelt had said that any one who criticized the government without offering a solution to the problem was unpatriotic. To this U'Ren declared, "The President is mistaken. . . .Any public officer or private citizen who discourages criticism of his acts, plans, or policies is likely to miss a valuable warning." He considered it the duty of a citizen to critize government policies that he does not agree with, though he may not know a better plan. Only a dictatorship would prohibit a citizen from criti-

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[7]Portland Oregonian, May 10, 1934, p. 6; May 13, 1934, p. 7; Eugene Guard, May 10, 1934, p. 1.

cizing its actions.[8]

U'Ren objected to governments handouts and doles without the recipient giving something in return. He pictured Roosevelt as an autocratic father who was benevolently pouring out the wealth of the land upon his children. U'Ren argued that the people must be able to support the government and themselves, and that "political freedom is impossible without economic independence."

To solve the problem of economic deprivation, U'Ren proposed a plan whereby every person willing to work could "own a job" and the government would no longer have to dole out money to banks, industries, farmers, and soup houses. But the government would establish colonies of voluntary workers who would share the profits from the farms and industries according to the work they performed. The workers would be paid in "time credits" that could only be spent in the colonies' stores. The worker would be entirely free to resign at any time. U'Ren was optimistic that his proposal would eventually be accepted. In a letter to the editor of the Kingwood Review he wrote, "The reaction thus far has been far more favorable than any other measure with which I have been associated. Two of my socialist friends condemned

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[8]Portland Oregonian, March 11, 1934, p. 10; interview with Sheba Hargreaves, May 16, 1956.

it because they said it would work and thereby prolong the life of the price and profit system."[9] For several years U'Ren sought approval for the unemployment colony measure, but not unlike other U'Renic ideas, this, too, was not accepted.

Again a world war ended an era of protest. And U'Ren, now past eighty, remained a man of radical ideas, but with few opportunities to present them. The post-war period found America growing more conservative as she faced what appeared to be a mortal enemy in Communistic Russia. To a large degree what was occurring in European and Asiatic governments became more important than what was happening in Washington, D. C. or in Salem, Oregon.

On June 16, 1946, the University of Oregon conferred the honorary degree, Master of Arts in Public Service, on U'Ren: "In recognition of his pioneering contributions in the field of government, his long record of devoted sponsorship of measures designed to improve public administration, and his indefatigable defense of democratic processes."[10]

U'Ren continued a limited law practice until he gave

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[9]Portland Oregonian, May 12, 1935, p. 7; R. A. Harris (ed.), Kingwood Review (Salem, Ore.), II (June, 1935), 21-26.

[10]Sixty-ninth Annual Commencement of the University of Oregon, June 16, 1946.

up his office in the Oregonian building when it was dismantled in 1947. He removed his desk and books to the small apartment where he and Mary U'Ren lived.[11] In December, 1948, State Senator Neuberger visited at the U'Ren home. The Senator listened to U'Ren discuss some of the current topics of the day as the old gentleman sat in his straight-back armchair. He talked about "the growing influence of the military"; and why big business should be "shackled." But he was more concerned about a 1935 law that prohibited payment for collecting signatures on petitions. He considered the law unconstitutional and thought he would take the case to the Supreme Court. Neuberger observed that U'Ren now walked with a cane and that his sight was failing.[12]

As he approached his ninetieth birthday, U'Ren told a reporter he expected to live ten more years. When asked about the past, he recalled discussing direct election of senators with Wilson: "It was no easy task convincing President Wilson than an amendment to the constitution should be introduced electing the United States senators directly by the people. Once he was sold on the idea, it got smooth sailing." As for the present, U'Ren told the reporter he hoped to see "a job for everybody and a proprietary interest

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[11]Interview with O. L. Price, October 21, 1955.

[12]Portland Oregonian, December 13, 1948, p. 8.

up his office in the Cooperman building where he was dis-
missed in 1917. He removed his desk and books to the small
apartment where he and Mary Wilson lived.[11] In December,
1920, Marie Dorothy Hodgkiss visited at the Wilson home. She
became listened to Wilson discuss some of the surrent topics
of the day as the old gentleman sat in his straight-back
rocker. He talked about "the growing influence of the
military" and why big business should be "nationalized." He
he was cross concerned about a 1920 law that prohibited pro-
mark for soldiering signaturing on publications. He emphasized
the law unconstitutional and through no publicity to case
to the Supreme Court. Suddenly he observed that "the case
ended with a case and that his right was failing."[12]

As he approached his eighth birthday, Wilson held a
reporter he accepted to live two more years. Wilson spoke
about the past, he recalled discussing direct election of
senators with Taft. "It was the only task requiring pro-
ability that an amendment to the constitution should
be introduced electing the United States senators directly
by the people. Once he was sold on the idea, it got moving
quickly." As for the present, Wilson told the reporter he
hoped to see "a lot from everybody and a very latent interest

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[11]Interview with C.H. Ayres, October 21, 1955.

[12]Portland Oregonian, November 13, 1924, p. 8.

in the job." Although he praised the accomplishment of labor unions in the past, he contended that "now labor leaders are drunk with power. They are not dependable and are responsible for a great deal of the turmoil that is plaguing the country." He considered jurisdictional disputes disgraceful. The "only thing involved in most of them is which union collects the dues and which business agent gets to keep his job," he said.[13]

The legislature invited U'Ren to be the guest of the state during the 1949 session, but U'Ren had become ill with pneumonia and was in critical condition in a hospital. He died on March 8, 1949, and two months later, Mary U'Ren, too, was dead.[14]

On the day following U'Ren's death, the legislature suspended rules and unanimously adopted a resolution drafted by Richard Neuberger commending U'Ren for his contributions to Oregon and the nation.[15] But America never really became aware of U'Ren. Although his name occasionally appears in a history book or a book on government, he remains "one of the

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[13]Portland Oregon Journal, January 9, 1949, p. 3.

[14]Ibid., March 15, 1949, p. 6; Portland Oregonian, January 9, 1949, p. 1; May 4, 1949, p. 19.

[15]Salem Capital Journal, March 9, 1949, p. 6.

in the job." Although he praised the accomplishment of labor unions in the past, he concluded that "our labor leaders are drunk with power. They are not dependable and are responsible for a great deal of the turmoil that is plaguing the country." He considered jurisdictional disputes ridiculous. The "only thing involved is most of time is which union collects the dues and which business agent gets to keep his job," he said.[12]

The legislature invited Dimm to be the guest of the state during the 1949 session, but Dimm had become ill with pneumonia and was in critical condition in a hospital. He died on March 6, 1949, and two months later, Harry Dimm, too, was dead.[13]

On the day following Dimm's death, the legislature suspended rules and unanimously adopted a resolution drafted by Richard Neuberger commending Dimm for his contributions to Oregon and the nation.[14] Dan Lewis never really became aware of Dimm. Although his name occasionally appears in a history book or a book on government, he remains "one of the

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[12]Portland Oregon Journal, January 7, 1949, p. 3.

[13]Ibid., March 12, 1949, p. 6; Portland Oregonian, January 9, 1949, p. 1; May 4, 1949, p. 12.

[14]Salem Capital Journal, March 9, 1949, p. 6.

wholly unknown historical figures who had tremendous influence on his time."[16]

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[16]Stewart H, Holbrook, Lost Men of American History (New York; 1946), 319.

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