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RYKOWSKI, THOMAS JON

PRESERVING THE GARDEN: PROGRESSIVISM IN OREGON

The University of Oklahoma PH.D. 1981

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THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

PRESERVING THE GARDEN: PROGRESSIVISM IN OREGON

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

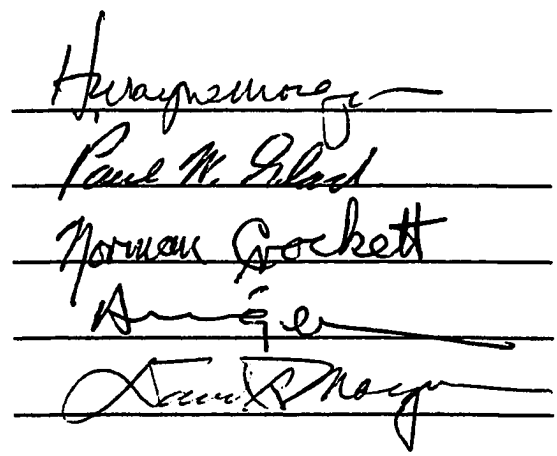
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Norman, Oklahoma

1981

PRESERVING THE GARDEN: PROGRESSIVISM IN OREGON

APPROVED BY



DISSERTATION COMMITTEE

PREFACE

The Progressive era has long been an area of keen historical interest and debate. The most famous participants such as Theodore Roosevelt, Upton Sinclair, Ida Tarbell, Robert LaFollette, William J. Bryan, and Woodrow Wilson were colorful and effective. The reforms such as the initiative and referendum, direct election of senators, presidential primary, women's suffrage, prohibition, and the struggles against political and business corruption were of great importance to preserving democracy. The motivation and direction of Progressivism had always interested me but when I began to look at Oregon, the conclusions and perceptions I had developed had to be discarded. I embarked on an ambitious approach to view Oregon from another perspective.

The major problem which confronted me was why such a conservative state without the problems faced by other states would become the leader in implementing Progressive reforms. What I found was a movement motivated by the importance of personal independence, reverence for land

and nature, and a desire to maintain a way of life. Thus the Oregonians' efforts which were labeled as progressive or forward looking were actually preservationist. The legislation passed was an attempt to protect and thus perpetuate the established society. The first Americans in Oregon came mostly from the Midwest where their ancestors had settled after leaving New England. Oregon represented a place where people could live surrounded by a pleasant bountiful setting which was protected by great distance from the problems facing Eastern society resulting from industrialization, ethnic and racial diversity, and urbanization. Oregon was viewed as a place of refuge from problems and Oregonians protected their special place then and now. Progressivism, like the Know-Nothings, American Protective Association, and later the Ku Klux Klan attempted to keep Oregon white, Protestant, independent, and free from the complexities of modern, industrial society. Progressivism was an preservationist attempt to preserve the status-quo. Its lasting success is obvious when one visits Oregon today.

As always, my debts are great. I acknowledge the aid and assistance of many people and institutions: to the History Department at the University of Oklahoma for a Graduate Assistantship; to the staff of Bizzell Memorial Library at the University of Oklahoma for office

space, inter-library loan and generous assistance at all times. I also wish to thank the following libraries and staffs at the following institutions and libraries: the Oregon collection at the University of Oregon; the Oregon State Historical Society; Oregon State University; and San Diego State University.

On a more personal level, I owe a deep sense of gratitude to several people. Dr. H. Wayne Morgan has directed my dissertation with skill and his patience and insistence on academic excellence were instrumental in the completion of this study. I also offer my appreciation to my parents Thomas A. and Alice Rykowski for their encouragement and assistance over the years. Lastly, I thank my wife Susan for her faith in me as a historian and for her ever present support.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface iii

Chapter

I. The Beginning 1

II. Pre-Progressive Movements 30

III. Progressivism 55

IV. Progressive Politics: 1900-1910 74

V. The Oregon System, 1909-1912 99

VI. The Progressive Party in Oregon 124

VII. Epilogue: Progressivism Leaves its Legacy . . 150

Footnotes 173

Appendix

1. Progressive Profile: Results 191

Bibliography 195

PRESERVING THE GARDEN: PROGRESSIVISM IN OREGON

CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNING

The most ancient inhabitants in the Northwest lived along the shores of vast lakes in the interior. The early Indian groups found there conditions suitable to best sustain life; a steady supply of water, animal life, and shelter in the caves around the water's edge. Ten thousand years ago people lived in this area,[1] and were skilled in weaving the bark of sagebrush into shoes, baskets and weaving mats from cattail leaves. They had stone awls, flakers and polishers and became adept in the use of bows and arrows. They used nuts, berries, and roots but they failed to develop horticulture. The presence of chipped obsidian arrowheads found with the small bones of birds and larger bones of bison and deer reveal they were also hunters.[2] These people probably differed little from one another whether they occupied the land that became Washington or Oregon.[3]

Then about two thousand years ago the cultures of

the area began to develop more individuality. An early center of cultural development grew along the lower Fraser River in British Columbia which influenced the whole northwest coast with stone carvings of animal and human figures demonstrating that the people had developed a body of ritualistic and symbolic lore.[4] The artistic styles influenced the Tsimshian, Tlingit, Nootlas, Bella Coolas, Kwakiutl and Haidas tribes which occupied the islands and the coast to the Strait of Juan de Fuca. These more northern Indian groupings of the Pacific Northwest placed strong values on personal prestige. Their society was materialistic and competitive with personal prestige determined by an individual's ability to give away and destroy wealth such as canoes, blankets, and oil. The potlatch was a feast and a competition in which a chieftain of one clan challenged another to equal or exceed him in the destruction of goods. These traits were less important farther south one traveled and the Indians of Southern Oregon had more in common with the cultural patterns of Northern California.[5] While cultural similarities prevailed, there were many differences. Language diversity posed a severe problem for communication among most of the tribes. In western Washington, the predominant language was Coast Salish, but from the mouth of the Columbia south to Tillamook and east through the Cascades, Chinookan language was

spoken. There were so many different languages and dialects that neighboring tribes could not communicate with one another.[6]

The coastal tribes were politically atomistic. The governmental unit was an autonomous village which was sometimes a single large household. There was no tribal concept and leadership was inherited in a ruling class but reinforced by possession of wealth. Each village was independent and had its own lands for berry gathering, hunting and fishing and the residents would move en masse from winter to summer habitations. There was little competition for possession of these locations. Warfare was also rare and thus enmities between villages were rare.[7] The Chinooks obtained their slaves, a cause of many conflicts, by trade rather than war. The coastal or Indian groups West to the Cascades had the advantage of a rich environment with consumable goods easily accessible to them with a minimum of labor.[8] Wood and water were the sources and the means of their livelihood and of these there was no limit. Famine and poverty were virtually unknown among them.

The forests of the Northwest extended from Alaska to Northern California where straight grained, easily split cedar was accessible to village sites; housing, utensils and clothing were made from it. The waters of the coastal areas were the larder for the Indian,

and a hunter armed with bow and arrow had his choice of geese, swans, and duck which twice a year migrated through the region. While roots, berries and game meat were important to the various Indian groups, whale, clams, crabs, and mussels were the staples of their diet.[9] The waters were also the principal highway since the density of forests prohibited easy land travel. By comparison, the natives living east of the Cascades, the Plateau Indians were more itinerant. To this group had come the horse in the eighteenth century, something the coastal Indians lacked. While they were influenced somewhat by the coastal tribes, their culture was relatively simple.[10]

On the eve of the white intrusion into the area there was an estimated 180,000 Indians grouped into about 125 tribes scattered throughout the Pacific Northwest. The varied climate and physical terrain conditioned the character and habits of these aborigines. The coastal Indians were most numerous and had the richest culture. They were sedentary and fixed in their living habits, and maintained an aristocratic society supported in part by slavery and a money economy.[11] Whether settled or shifting, whatever their culture patterns, the Indians were the first traders, trappers, hunters, and travelers of the Pacific Northwest. Each tribe had its own economy but it was interrelated with other tribes and some

trading and traveling were a part of everyday life. Barter among neighboring tribes was a daily affair but the exchange of goods between the natives of one region with those of another was usually done during specified seasons and at designated places. The autumn was a favorite time for many tribes to come together and choice places along the Columbia River for such rendezvous were the Cascades, the Dalles, and Kettle Falls.[12] Lewis and Clark observed large numbers of friendly natives from the upper Columbia coming to Celio Falls and to the Dalles annually. By the time of the arrival of the white man, the Indian was a shrewd trader who was eager to trade and establish a relationship with the new arrivals.[13]

After three centuries of European activity in the New World little was known about the Oregon country. To the average man of the 1790s this territory bordering on the North Pacific was simply part of the great mysterious western wilderness. To explorers and geographers Oregon was an area between Russian America and Spanish Alta California. The absence of accurate knowledge about Oregon country did not mean lack of contact with the region. During the early years of Pacific Ocean navigation 16th century Spanish galleons were blown ashore on the Oregon coast. The survivors found the coast rugged with few good harbors between Alta California and Russian America.[14] In 1603 Martin de Aguilar, the

Spanish pilot of the Vizcaino expedition passed and noted Cape Blanco on the forty-third parallel north latitude. By the 1770s interest in the North Pacific had widened and ships of many nationalities visited this part of the world to explore the area's economic potential. Spaniards Juan Perez and Bruno Heceta, Englishmen James Cook, John Meares, George Vancouver, and others made many discoveries and gave names to numerous places along the coast. The Americans were not without representation as Robert Gray discovered the Columbia River in 1792.[15]

The data collected during these years was considerable, yet by 1792, the maps purporting to represent the coastline of present-day Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia were amazingly inaccurate. Some of these showed the nonexistent Strait of Anian, or the Northwest Passage; others pictured inlets such as "Mere de l'Ouest," and "Entrance de Martin d'Aguilar" which were imaginary; while others revealed the course of the yet unentered Columbia River.[16] The vast interior of the Oregon country had also been ignored. The Spanish stopped their settlement at San Francisco Bay and failed to plant their flag in the Oregon Country.[17] Before 1792, the Russians pushing across Siberia and into North America failed to reach Oregon.[18] Only in 1793 did Alexander Mackenzie, a Scot under British authority,

make his way across the continent and reach the mouth of the Bella Coola River in present British Columbia.[19] While Mackenzie made the first crossing, the Columbia and Fraser River valleys were not explored until 1800-1811 by Simon Fraser and David Thompson.[20] The United States also contributed to lifting the veil of mystery during 1803 to 1806 when Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark crossed the Continental Divide via the headwaters of the Missouri River and Clark's Fork and went down the Snake and Columbia rivers to the Pacific shore. They spent a winter at what is now Seaside, Oregon and then returned to St. Louis. Successful as the Lewis and Clark expedition was, it remained for the fur traders whom the two American Captains did much to encourage, to find what became the most practical and popular of all the routes to the West, the Oregon Trail.[21]

No amount of overland exploration could minimize the fact that the Oregon country was isolated from the settled portions of North America and the rest of the world. Reaching the Oregon country by land or sea from any point of settlement involved a dangerous and tedious voyage or journey, from three to six months. The overland trails were also dangerous. They led across the dry plains and deserts and over treacherous mountain passes that rose from three to eight thousand feet above sea level.[22]

The earliest result of the Lewis and Clark expedition was to interest American businessmen in the beaver trade of the Trans-Mississippi West. Manuel Lisa, a St. Louis businessman, led a party up the Missouri in 1807, the year after Lewis and Clark returned. His success in the fur trade caused further exploration in the search of beaver and other resources. John Jacob Astor was the first American to express a business interest in Oregon. In 1808, Astor, who had founded the first great United States corporation, the American Fur Company, dominated the fur business with his connections in Canada and Europe. In 1810 Astor formed a plan to build a fur empire that would stretch from coast to coast. While this venture proved unsuccessful, it did signal the first American economic interest. Concern for the spiritual welfare of Indians of the area soon followed the economic interest.

This interest of the churches in the souls of the Indian originated at the beginnings of the conquest of the New World, whether it was Spanish, French, or American. The American effort started in western New York and spread across the United States. Protestant ministers began to place a new emphasis in the "unsaved."[23] This "Great Revival" was spurned in the 1820s and 1830s and Congress financed the missionary activity which included agricultural and educational as well as religion.[24] It

was a Christian's duty to proselytize and could not be content to be a saved Christian through the certainty of individualized salvation. The Christian had to reform the social environment as to make it as congenial as possible to the practice of the Christian faith particularly the cultivation of pious habits. The powerful conviction underlay the general reform movement of the day: the causes of prison reform, abolition of slavery, teaching of the deaf and dumb and the christianizing of the American Indian.[25]

Christianity already had some roots in Oregon country. There were chaplains aboard government exploring vessels. Some of the trappers and traders, both Indian and white, were Christians. Divine services were conducted at Fort Vancouver by the Hudsons Bay Company on the Columbia River from time to time. This contact, coupled with the visits to St. Louis of four Nez Perce' Indians in search of further knowledge of the Christian faith in 1831, was interpreted as a further desire by Native Americans for the missionary presence in the Oregon Country.[26]

Jason and Daniel Lee and three laymen were in Nathaniel Wyeth's caravan on the way to Oregon in 1834. Lee was a preacher who for ten years had pursued his task with courage and tenacity. Although he abandoned his original plan to work among the Nez Perce' because he regarded them as too fierce. He established his

headquarters in the Willamette Valley thirteen miles north of the present city of Salem.[27] In the next few years he sent other missionaries to the Indian settlements at Salem, The Dalles, Clapsop Plains, Nisqually, and Oregon City. Three times between 1837 and 1840 the mission was expanded and the mission group became the most influential Americans in Oregon. Although in 1844 the Methodist Mission board in New York abandoned its Oregon Indian mission. The Methodist missionary experience underscored the pervasive influences of traditional ideals and structures. Protestantism demanded literacy, morality demanded clothing, and contemporary political economy required that farming and trades be taught since those who labored in the fields were closer to nature and to nature's God than either the hunter or the industrial worker. The teachings of Christ required feeding the hungry and healing the sick. Most of the Indians had felt the effects of the white man's diseases and economy and were in need of the missionaries help. This coupled with the inadequate financial support from the East forced the missionary to spend a great deal of time producing their own food, shelter and clothing. The missionary thus became a school teacher, agricultural agent, doctor and manual arts instructor.

One aspect of the influence of the East which

affected the Methodist missionaries was the virulent and pervasive dislike of the Roman Catholics. Protestants pictured Catholics as willing tools of the pope in both government and politics. They were identified with the immigrants from areas which were thought to be undesirable. Published stories of nuns fleeing lecherous priests abounded in books, pamphlets, and Catholics were synonymous with foreign foes such as Spain and Mexico.[28] The missionaries labored under criticism of their secular activities from the Eastern mission board in Boston. The influence of this board was considerable since it provided most of the operating funds. Local support of the missionary activity was not possible until 1849, thus the missionaries labored long and hard in the field and mill in the production of food. The practice of self-support, a necessity in Oregon, seemed an un-Christian worldliness to the Eastern establishment who saw this behavior as competing with the teaching of the word of God. When George Gary replaced Jason Lee, after arriving in the Willamette Valley in 1844, he quickly closed down the economic facets of the mission. This change in direction was also the result of an increased number of white pioneers who migrated to Oregon in the early 1840s. The presence of these settlers became an increasing concern of the missionaries as they realized that future depended upon their success with the emigrant rather

than the Indian whose numbers were rapidly declining. Thus the growing numbers of white settlers forced the Methodists to develop institutional responses to their needs.[29]

These traditional patterns had worked well on other frontiers beginning with the circuit riders to the eventual establishment of local congregations. The organization and style of worship at Sunday services, prayer meetings, and camp meetings were identical to those of eastern Methodism. In essence, the local congregation had been assembled into Sunday schools, temperance societies and missionary societies as they were in the East.[30]

The aspirations, challenges and failures of the Methodist missionaries often resembled those of other demoninations. The opportunities of the Oregon Country that drew the Lee party in 1834 brought other clergy including Dr. Marcus Whitman, Presbyterian. He labored among the Cayuse, Walla Walla, Nez Perce and allied tribes in the attempt to evangelize and civilize the Indian and to lead them to abandon the annual migrations required of hunting, fishing and gathering cultures, and transform them into a sedentary people. Initially receptive to the gospel, the Indians became disillusioned when the missionaries failed to improve their lifestyle. The missionaries came to represent American goals of

colonization instead of helping the Indian. The Whitman Massacre in 1847 was the tragic culmination of the accumulating Indian outrage. The facts were that an epidemic of measles had broken out among the tribes that Dr. Whitman served and which he could not control. The Indians nursed their own illness and recalled ancient practices where the unsuccessful medicine man was killed. At the same time rumors circulated that Dr. Whitman was poisoning his charges to make way for white settlement. A part-Indian named Joe Lewis became the leader of an enraged group of Cayuse which attacked the main mission station on November 29, 1847. Of the seventy-five people present the Indians killed fourteen, including Marcus and Narcissa Whitman and three children later died in captivity.[31] The rage was short lived as disease depleted the tribes. In the end the missionary efforts failed to help the Indian but their efforts drew white migrants to the rich agricultural land which some saw as God's plan to reward a superior race.[32]

Popular interest in the Oregon country followed discovery and exploration and it was intensified as information on the region's resources and climate became more widely circulated. What had been a moderate inquisitiveness immediately following the Lewis and Clark exploration became a feverlike excitement during the 1840s. Among the first publications to stir interest

in Oregon was Patrick Gass' A Journal of the Voyages and Travels of a Corps of Discovery (1807) which was followed by the publication of the official records of the Lewis and Clark expedition seven years later. Protestant missionary circles heard of the region through the columns of their newspapers: Boston's Missionary Herald and Zion's Herald and New York's Christian Advocate and Journal.[33]

Starting about 1830 the general literate public had access to an ever increasing number of published narratives. One of the first to receive wide notice was Hall J. Kelley's A Geographical Sketch of the Part of North America called Oregon. In this 1830 sketch for the Oregon Colonization Society, Kelley described Oregon as a country where the mountains are peculiarly "conspicuous and sublime," where the climate is "salubrious," and where the country was better furnished with natural facilities for the applications of labor."[34] He pointed out how much more valuable for settlement the Oregon country was than say the Floridas, New Orleans and much of Texas. Kelley urged people to go to Oregon and stressed the point that "the settlement of the Oregon country would conduce to a freer intercourse and a more extensive and lucrative trade with the West Indies."[35] He stated that commerce would break away from its present narrow and prescribed limits and spread into new

and broader channels, embracing China, Korea, the Philippines and Japan and its provinces. Kelley stressed that settlers going to Oregon would find an American republic ready to protect and cherish them. This would enlarge the sphere of human friendship and extend the civil policy, Christian religion of the United States to destitute nations.[36]

The pioneer advocate of Oregon in the Congress of the United States was Dr. John Floyd, representative from a western Virginia district. He entered the House in 1817 and three years later introduced a resolution in that body which called attention to the rights of the American government in the valley of the Columbia River. Discounting the failure of John Jacob Astor, he called attention to great profits to be made from the fur trade. He also reminded his listeners of Oregon's rich timber resources. Years before Portland was a town, he prophesied that a city would emerge at or near the mouth of the Columbia which would some day become a world mart. Dr. Floyd failed at this early date to stir Congress to action which only took place twenty five years later. But the credit for arousing Washington's interest in the Oregon country and for being the first to propose actual occupation of the Columbia River Basin belonged to Dr. John Floyd.[37]

In 1836 Washington Irving produced the popular two

volume work Astoria and such publications as Alphonso Wemore's Gazetteer (1837), Samuel Parker's Journal of an Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains (1838) and Zenas Leonard's Narrative (1839) provided the American people additional information about Oregon. It was, however, John C. Fremont in the 1840s who perpetuated interest in Oregon and the West. Fremont's writings, though not of unquestioned accuracy and purpose, were very popular. Newspapers and magazines in both England and America also carried sensational copy on Oregon. With the great annual migration over the Oregon Trail, beginning in 1841, the name Oregon became familiar to nearly every American man, woman and child in the United States.[38] Most Americans believed the area was manifestly destined to become a possession of the United States. "Their ploughs turn its sods, their axes level its timber," wrote Hunt's Merchants Magazine in 1846 about those who had gone to the Willamette Valley and "no powers on earth, nor all the powers of the earth, can check the swelling tide of the American population . . . ."[39]

By the 1840s Oregon was an area with well understood dimensions, character and spirit. To interested nations the Oregon country was definitely that region west of the Continental Divide, north of the forty second degree parallel and south of the now historic

Fifty-four-forty. Expressed in political terms this region embraced present day Oregon, Washington, Idaho, part of British Columbia and the western portion of Montana and Wyoming. Comprising one-fifth the present continental United States, it was recognized as a land and water mass amazingly varied and rich in its geological formations, topography, climate and resouces, and isolated by towering mountains and the sea. Its five hundred thousand square miles of rugged, low lying ranges most significantly of which are the Cascades that stretch unbroken except for the Columbia River Gorge from California into British Columbia. West of this range are majestic snowcapped volcanic peaks. The ocean winds brought abundant moisture to the Willamette-Puget Sound area and the Umpqua, Rogue and other river valleys were hidden among the deep green mountains. The eastern portion of the Oregon country contrasts with that of the western. It is a region of arid and semi-arid plateaus broken by numerous mountain ranges. Linking together the entire area is the Columbia River upon which the entire area's livelihood had come to depend.

Oregon in the 1840s was in transition. The maritime explorer, the scientist, the missionary, the fur trader, and even the Indian had provided colorful and valuable services but they had no place in the envisioned future. The future belonged to the agricultural settler

who left his home and chose the valley of the Willamette in preference to unsettled areas of California, Texas or the Middle West. A traditional way of life and the quest for a new frontier to solve problems they had encountered in the valleys of the Ohio, Mississippi and Missouri rivers united most of these people.

Most of the pioneers interested in the Oregon country were products of earlier frontiers. Into the Middle West, particularly in the southern third of Ohio, Indiana and Missouri had come representatives whose ancestors had originated primarily in England, Ireland and Scotland.[40] These people were generally poor and traditional. The traditional label fits well as they were evangelical Protestants, supporters of the circuit rider and camp meeting. They were Jacksonian Democrats, haters of slavery and free blacks, and they championed democracy and equality for whites.[41] The society of the Oregon pioneers was immortalized in Edward Eggleston's Hoosier Schoolmaster (1871). This society contrasted with that of the Yankee culture in the northern part of the Middle West which was wealthier, better educated, more favorable to the Whig party. But the southern and New England elements co-existed in tension for both groups shared the underlying similarities of a common Protestant religion and the problems of a family owned farm. This group represented truly fine prospective

settlers for the Oregon country with their pride in the United States and their independent nature.[42]

The destiny of the 1830s was one of confusion. The economic depression which hung over the valleys of the Middle West was discouraging to all the residents. As the Middle West suffered through its worst economic setback, business failures were commonplace. Local governments were on the verge of bankruptcy and prices of agricultural products declined with the prices for land. The economic depression also magnified personal difficulties such as health and marital problems. Thus the residents of the Middle West began moving once again. Moving on had become a traditional response to problems throughout America for over two hundred years. Oregon's attraction was that it offered people the prospect for success without changing their method of cultivation or general way of life. Thus tradition, rather than innovation or the desire to change their way of life, was required. More than a score of reporters had long commented on the fertility of the Willamette Valley, its ample rainfall and temperate climate, its waterway communication and forests. Oregon represented not a totally new life but a better old one.

Oregon's pioneers were not all materialistic in their motivation. The move from the midwest to the Oregon country represented for some an act of patriotism,

a chance to participate in saving the area from absorption by Great Britain and the Hudson's Bay company. For English institutions such as the established Anglican church and the monarchy represented to the American a society the antithesis of the democracy emphasized during the Jacksonian time.

The pioneers of the 1840s were thus a traditional and nationalistic people. They migrated largely as families, unlike the predominantly single males who went to California looking for quick riches in the gold fields in the 1840s. Most of the settlers had some money to pay for the equipment, food and supplies along the trail. Farming in the new country also required capital until the first crops found a market. The pioneer was conservative but had some sense of adventure. The less adventuresome remained in the Middle West. He was conservative because he intended to duplicate the familiar system of farming, life-style, and family life in a more perfect setting.

Most settlers in the new land were mature, stable people who desired to protect their lives and property. They established written codes to govern behavior on the overland march both through and toward regions without American government. To command and guide the party the settlers chose leaders from captain to council members who were expected to maintain democratic

principles even on the trail to Oregon.[44] The guidebooks which proliferated at the time helped the settlers organize and equip for their 2000 mile, four to six month journey to the Willamette. The most feared danger along the route, was the Indian, but the Indian was in many cases a welcome sight for the pioneers for they provided food and served in some cases as guides. Most of the problems involved accidents, boredom, personal conflicts, and diseases such as smallpox and cholera.[45] The pioneers suffered more from the loss of their daily routines than from real dangers along the way. In the end, the journey proved cohesive rather than divisive. The trip was relatively free from murders, assaults, or other serious crimes.[46] Most clashes were controlled by the rules the pioneers created and enforced.

The people who arrived in Oregon were primarily native born white citizens of the United States; this group constituted 87.2 per-cent of the population by 1850.[47] The settlers came primarily from ten states: Iowa, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia. Some 86.9 per-cent came from these states, though only 62.9 percent of the white population of the United States excluding Oregon lived in these states.[48] The states of Ohio, New York, and Pennsylvania were less represented

in Oregon's population.

The single state of Missouri, although it had only 3 per-cent of the population of the United States accounted for 24.7 per-cent of the persons in Oregon but 75.9 per-cent of these were dependents.[49] Since children comprised only 46.7 per-cent of Oregon's population, a large proportion of Missouri's representation nearly eightfold were children. The importance of this distinction can be demonstrated by comparing the number of persons born in Missouri with those from New York. Of the 2,291 persons from Missouri, 1,173 were dependents, leaving only 552 adults.[50] Of the 635 born in New York only 69 were children, leaving 566 adults.[51] Thus although there were more than three times as many persons from Missouri than New York, there were actually more adults from New York than from Missouri. Nevertheless, 11.1 per-cent of the adult population of Oregon was from Missouri while 11.4 was from New York. Iowa, Illinois, and Missouri accounted for 41.1 per-cent of Oregon's population, although these states accounted for only 8.4 per-cent of the United States population.[52] The number of dependents from the states of Iowa consisted of 69.4 per-cent while there were only 16.6 per-cent of the adults. At the other end of the scale were New York and Pennsylvania. In these two states having 32.3 per-cent of the United States, were born 10.5 per-cent

of the total population in Oregon but only 2.3 per-cent of the dependents. The point is that the future population of Oregon was from the Mid-West.[53]

There was little difference in representation between North and South. The slave states had 31.8 per-cent of the white population of the United States and were the places of birth of 47.5 per-cent of the immigrants to Oregon, 48.4 per-cent of the dependents and 46.7 per-cent of the adults. The free states other than California with 67.3 per-cent of the population of the United States sent 51.9 per-cent of Oregon's population, 50.1 per-cent of the adults.[54] New England with 13.9 per-cent of the population of the United States was the place of birth of 6 per-cent of Oregon's population, but 92.3 per-cent of these were adults. Thus 10.3 per-cent of Oregon's adult population was from New Enland. In the slave states on the Atlantic coast, which had almost the same white population as New England, 9 per-cent of Oregon's population and 14.8 per-cent of the adults. Taken as a whole, the Atlantic states with 57.9 per-cent of the population of the United States, furnished 26.4 per-cent of Oregon's population. But 89.2 per-cent of the immigrants from the Atlantic states were adults which meant the 43.9 per-cent of the adults in Oregon were born in these states.[55] The ratio of adults to dependents from the Atlantic states was seven

to one; it was one to one from the Appalachian-Mississippi region; and one to four from the trans-Mississippi West. The Middle West was most important in the structuring of the society of Oregon but the Atlantic coast states with their older settlers made an important contribution to the culture of the area. Thus Oregon's population with its high percentage of children born on the frontier shows that most of the adults had migrated from the older to the new sections of the country at a relatively early age. The number of children born in the Atlantic area indicated that a small proportion of families migrated directly from these sections. Most of the family relationships among the early immigrants were established in the Middle West where the parents had adapted to the frontier conditions.

While most of the settlers who came to Oregon were white, there were several non-caucasian groups present in early Oregon. By 1850 the census revealed 207 Blacks out of a population of 13,294.[56]

The presence of substantial numbers of Hawaiians presents an excellent example of the feeling of the white settler toward different cultures and ideas. Beginning in 1810 when King Kamahameha claimed the throne he decided to cushion the impact of foreign economics and Christianity by sending out young men to learn western techniques and values through practical

experience. One place they migrated to was the Oregon country where Hawaiians had served on the crews of merchant vessels as early as 1788. The North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company found the Kanakas valuable as laborers, canoe men, sailors, herders and servants. The missionaries preferred them to their Indian charges. Unlike the Indians the Hawaiians were hard-working and quick to learn about agriculture. Their motives in seeking Christianity were not questioned as were those of the Indians.[57] The missionaries welcomed the Kanakas and Jason Lee even considered recruiting them to be trained as missionaries to serve in Hawaii.

If the eagerness to adopt American culture was a guarantee of equal treatment, the Hawaiians were secure in their new home. But racial prejudice came in the baggage of the white agricultural settlers who had feared blacks in the Middle West because of economic competition, miscegenation and the migration of idle free blacks from the South. When the Oregon provisional government was organized in the early 1840s the racism of the pioneers was quickly institutionalized. Anti-black and anti-Asian laws limited land ownership to free males who could vote and gave the right to vote only to white males.[58] Employers of Hawaiian labor were taxed three dollars for those islanders already residents and five dollars for those who were to be

introduced in the future.[59] After the Organic Act of 1848 created the Territory of Oregon, Kanakas applied for citizenship on several occasions, only to be refused. The final blow came with the passage of the Oregon Donation Land Act of 1850. It gave immigrants 160 to 320 acres of free land which depended upon the date of their arrival but excluded blacks and Hawaiians.[60] It was defeated in the Territorial assembly when officials especially Territorial delegate Samuel R. Thurston argued that allowing these groups to settle would result in unification with the Indians into a racial combination against the dominant ethnic group. After this, the Kanakas returned to Hawaii.[61] Thus in spite of an effort to take on new ways and ideas, the Kanakas were rebuffed simply because they were not white.

Blacks received similar treatment. Although they were among the first visitors to the Pacific Northwest as servants of the early explorers. The most notable exception was George Washington Bush, a free man of means who waged a remarkable fight against legal and social prejudice. Bush had fought against the British under Andrew Jackson at the Battle of New Orleans. Although free Blacks were not permitted to live in his home state of Missouri Bush was so popular that a special act of the state legislature was passed to allow him to remain. In 1844 he moved to Oregon where he hoped to

settle at the Dalles but racial prejudice drove him to Olympia, Washington where he lived as a well respected citizen. Bush's situation was an exception in the Oregon Territory as it was in Missouri, as the people who settled the region imposed legal and social hostility toward the black.

The Oregon provisional government in 1843 had prohibited slavery and in 1844 the legislature passed two statues regarding Blacks. One prohibited slavery in Oregon and the other forbade the residence of free Blacks. These were passed at the behest of Peter Burnett, the leader of the overland migration in 1843 and a future governor of California.[62] Burnett feared for the safety of the white community. Although the residence law was never officially enforced and slaves remained in Oregon, the anti-Black legislation reappeared under the territorial government and under the state constitution until abrogated by the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments of the United States Constitution after the Civil War.

By 1861 there were few non-white pioneers in Oregon. Most of the Hawaiians had returned to the islands and the remaining few Blacks, Chinese, and Japanese immigrants faced enduring prejudice.

Regardless of race, the Oregon migrants of the early years faced a period of economic frustration. With uncertain supplies and an undependable Hudson Bay

Company market, life in the Oregon country seemed more like a struggle for subsistence than a means to an abundant life. The California gold rush changed these primitive economic conditions enabling Oregon to overcome the pressing economic problems of the 1840s by providing flour, wheat, lumber and other products to the miners. The gold rush temporarily drew labor from Oregon but many farmers who had left their fields quickly returned when it became clear that there was more money to be made supplying the needs of the miners. The gold rush merely reemphasized the point that the wealth of the fields of Oregon was more valuable than gold.

The people who came to Oregon beginning in the 1830s were primarily a Protestant, white, democratically oriented, anti-slavery, Black-hating group who believed they could find a better life in Oregon that replicated the one they left behind. They relocated from the midwest and expected to establish a new life in Oregon where they would not be disturbed. For the next eighty years the citizens of Oregon worked to protect their way of life.

The effects of Oregonian's protectionist efforts can be seen today. As one travels around the state it becomes apparent that the basic fiber has remained the same. It is still a rural, basically agriculturally

based state with a small minority population. Most of the population is based in the Willamette Valley in the cities of Portland, Salem, and Eugene conveniently spaced fifty miles apart. In this valley fruit trees of every description are grown. The land is productive and crops of every description can be grown there. The coast is dominated by small fishing centers which provide less food than in the past as tourism takes hold. Yet it is remarkably absent of the commercialism one usually associates with tourist areas. The major difference in the state's terrain is found across the Cascade Mountains which cut the state in half. The eastern portion is essentially plains with extensive ranching and wheat farming. The state's basic industries and values which have largely remained the same, before, during, and after the Progressive movement sustained the Oregonian's continuity of life.

CHAPTER II

PRE-PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENTS

Throughout Oregon's history one thread of continuity remained firm: The belief that Oregon was a special place where Middle America moved its society and protected it. The desire to keep Oregon white, Protestant, democratic, and free from the problems of eastern America fueled the state's politics between 1850 and 1900.

Nativism came in the cultural baggage of the pioneer. It has been defined as "intense opposition to an internal minority on the ground of its foreign (i.e. 'un-american') connections."[1] This definition thus implies that negative reactions to minority groups either personally or culturally, are not in themselves nativist, but only become so when combined with a malevolent and irrational nationalism. The combination or nationalism, racial and religious prejudice and economic protectionism had been present in American nativist movements since the colonial period. Religious antagonism transferred from Europe were the important factors in colonial nativism and they resulted in limitations upon the political

activities of religious minority groups. During the early years of the United States, the political influence of alien groups was circumscribed by voting qualifications and the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798. The Know-Nothing era of the 1830s and 1840s saw the consolidation of these ideas and prejudices into a unified pattern of economic, political and religious restrictions. The beginnings of nativism in Oregon closely paralleled the westward movement. The time lag between the rise of Know-Nothingism and the American Protective Association in Oregon and the rest of the United States was not long. Whether the impetus of these early nativist movements came from pioneer migration, newspaper reports, correspondence or active solicitation cannot be easily determined but the migrations of 1840 to 1850 and from 1890 to 1910 must have played a major role in bringing nativist sentiment to Oregon.

Oregonians grew up in an atmosphere of hostility between Roman Catholics and Protestants. The roots of this enmity were in the religious beginnings of Oregon where the Protestant missionaries were products of a militant and expansive era in American history in which anti-British and anti-Roman Catholic feelings were ingrained.[2] Thus anti-Roman Catholic sentiments were present even before the arrival of the first Roman Catholic priest in 1838.[3] However, Know-Nothingism

did not appear on any scale in Oregon politics until the June elections in 1854.[4] During the following months several "wigwams" or local chapters were established. While the Oregon Know-Nothings made little mention of Roman Catholicism in their rituals, they condemned foreigners and their beliefs. In Oregon, as in the East, the Know-Nothing movement was composed largely of Whigs and some splinter Democrats.[5] The main support for the movement was centered in the Willamette Valley where the people wished to preserve their ethnic homogeneity, and politicians exploited this desire as a means to acquire power. The movement came into a political power struggle with the Democratic Party in Oregon. Asahel Bush, the Democratic spokesman and editor of the Statesman exposed the Know-Nothings in a series of articles and the end effect was the demise of the Know-Nothings in 1855.[6] While the party itself was rather short-lived, Oregonians' attempts to prevent foreign influence remained strong. Religious nativism was not a factor until the 1890s because so few Catholics had migrated to Oregon.

Religious nativism had long dominated the Oregonian's mind, but the status of the black had also brought to the surface many incidents of prejudice. The percentage of blacks in Oregon had always been small in proportion to the rest of the population. There were only 207

listed in the 1850 census. There was opposition to slavery in Oregon but there was also opposition to the settlement of free blacks in the area. Section 34 of the Oregon Bill of Rights specifically prohibited the immigration of free blacks into the state.[7] The people of Oregon were more anti-black than antislave. This hositilty and lack of opportunity kept the number of black residents to only 1,105 in 1900.[8]

Racial problems and nativism in Oregon were not limited to Catholics and blacks. There were few Chinese in Oregon until the 1860s and 1870s. The completion of the Central Pacific Railroad in 1869 and the decline of mining in Nevada and California led many Chinese to seek employment in the Pacific Northwest. Historically, economic and political crises intensified nativism. The financial panic of 1873 heightened the hostility of white laborers. While the passage of the Exclusion Act of 1882 temporarily lessened the hostilities the presence of a small Chinese population caused outbursts of prejudice in 1885 and 1886 around Portland. By 1900 the anti-Chinese bias subsided, partly because the Chinese like the black moved into occupations which the white population did not want. Since minority groups seem to settle in the urban areas of the state, principally Portland, there was little agitation in the rural areas. Many Chinese also entered the United

States only to work temporarily and then returned to China.

The years following the Civil War were uncertain and depressed for the farmer. The prices of farm products continued to slide as more acreage came under cultivation and machinery was being used more widely. The fluctuation of the currency and the high tariffs worked a special hardship on farmers who sold their staples such as wheat, barley, and fruit abroad in competition with European products and who had to buy manufactured goods in a protected market. In the years between 1865 to 1890 as the export prices of wheat dropped sharply, freight charges to transport a bushel 300 miles nearly equaled what the farmer received for raising it. The decline in income coupled to the problem of increased farmer indebtedness constituted a heavy burden beginning in the 1880s and by the early 1890s the published list of delinquencies filled several columns of every local newspaper. Oregonians believed that protective tariffs and commercial profits were taking the consumer's dollar. In an effort to improvise their situation, the farmers of Oregon began to organize. While farmer's clubs and the Grange had formed earlier, on September 24, 1873, thirty seven Granges in Oregon joined with four in Washington Territory to form the Oregon State Grange. Although

membership fluctuated, Oregon had a greater number of Granges in proportion to population than any other member of the Western Division which included most states beyond the Mississippi River. The Grange was a power in the Oregon legislature between 1880-1890. It obtained laws to control railroad and lock rates, and worked for the direct election of United States Senators, the Australian ballot and an income tax.

The grievances of the Oregon farmer were linked to transportation costs that resulted from isolated frontier conditions. The nature of the Columbia River and the Cascade barrier made the creation of a monopoly an easy thing. By 1860, the Oregon Steam Navigation Company had gained a monopoly of water transportation and by the 1870s Ben Holladay had gained control of the Oregon and California Railroad. The resulting freight rates and high warehouse charges brought the farmer to the brink of disaster. Oregon was connected to California by the Oregon and California Railroad and to the East by the Great Northern Railroad. Both railroads while controlling their respective areas had the problem of operating over great distances through sparsely populated lands. Coupled to but quite distinct from the economic problems was political corruption. Logging companies had trespassed on the public lands and had been penalized lightly by the courts. Millions of

acres were being set aside in railroad land grants, a good part of which could not be taxed or settled. These giant corporations built their political allegiance with great care by the careful distribution of campaign funds and were able to place their supporters into high office. The citizens of Oregon did not oppose the settlement or the timber industry. Each additional resident brought a new market for the farmers crops and the timber industry provided additional work for the farmer during his slack periods. But the settlers of Oregon did oppose any attempts to impose a corrupt government on them regardless of their financial interest.

John H. Mitchell, Republican United States Senator from Oregon for twenty years was legal counselor for both the Oregon and California Railroad and for the Northern Pacific Railorad. He was reported to have remarked "Ben Holladay's politics and what Ben Holladay want I want."[11] Another senator, Joseph N. Dolph, became Vice President of the Oregon and Transcontinental Company, a corporation which was closely linked with every important railroad in Oregon. Judge Henry McGinn later recalled that the Northern Pacific did not hesitate to spend thirty thousand dollars to elect a senator.[12] Railroad sympathizers were vigilant in every matter touching the interests of their constituents. By one means or another they warded off every public scrutiny

of freight rates and defeated every effort to establish a regulatory commission.

There was a growing feeling among Oregon's citizens that safeguards of public interests had not been successful and that speculators were becoming very influential. Oregon had suffered a succession of unfortunate experiences with land speculators and purchasable officials which all but destroyed confidence in the state government. Governor George L. Woods certified to the completed construction of the Dalles Military Road when actually it was quite worthless, described as an oxcart road. In this instance the road company secured through a swindle half a million acres of land situated in the John Day Valley.[13] Lands in southern and eastern Oregon were surveyed and sold as swamp when the nearest water was 30 feet under the surface. Later it was revealed that the governor, treasurer and the secretary of state were allied with the speculators, practicing gross deception and mismanaging of funds.[14] Governor William Thayer, himself an applicant for 100,000 acres of swamp land, ignored or nullified provisions of law and allowed Henry C. Owens to acquire large acreages for which he had paid little or nothing. Owens contracted to sell more than a million acres to which he had no claim beyond the act of filing.[15]

The farmers in Baker county were forced to organize

a Protective Association to prevent speculators from dispossessing them entirely through manipulation and intrigue. The school lands in Oregon were likewise the source of much complaint. State officials had shown an amazing negligence in making surveys and locating sections 16 and 36 to which the schools were entitled. As a result, much of this land, protected by law was in the possession of private purchasers or claimants.[16] Land was in great demand as speculators tried to lure settlers and there was great money to be made. Large corporations had the money and power to question title and look for trivial loopholes to gain an advantage. In later years, the state took a great interest in not selling the land so cheaply.[17]

In 1887 the legislature adopted a law that encouraged speculation authorizing the sale of the best timber lands at a price of $1.25 per acre. In cases where school lands in a particular section had already been taken, a purchaser might buy other land from the best in the public domain. Since the identification could only be made by a person who had access to the land office records, the law of 1887 produced a situation where a few favored people were able to form a land ring and levy tribute systematically from all who would buy. The resulting land scandals reached a climax after 1900.[18] The activities of men such as E. P.

McCormack and Napoleon Davis, clerks of the Land Board, led to many complaints and eventually to Davis' removal from office. Even the Cascade Mountains were attacked by speculators.[19]

Under these conditions Oregon was a fertile ground for reform and the agrarian organizers by the 1890s. The Patrons of Husbandry had organized their Granges in Oregon earlier and 86 of them were active in 1891 with 3,140 members.[20] Though the national organization had begun to decline, these Granges plus the newly organized ones in Washington and Idaho were lively centers of agitation and political activity. During the same period, the Farmers Alliance came into the region as well and gained membership especially in the Inland Empire. The Northwestern Alliance attracted thousands of supporters. The Southern Alliance also sent lecturers and organizers into the region and pressed their activities aggressively and Oregon became the 37th state to join the national organization of the Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union. These reformers spoke their minds with much vigor. They were not fighting against impersonal conditions or geography and economic competition but against business organizations and people who controlled the government through illegal measures. As the Oregon agrarians saw it, the power of the trusts and corporations had become

intolerable. They drew up statements and objectives at Salem in September 1889, representing the Grangers, Knights of Labor, and Prohibitionists. This group called on the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors, and a national monetary system by which a circulating medium in necessary quantity shall issue direct to the people without the intervention of banks. They believed that transportation corporations should be regulated to prevent unjust exactions and discriminations against persons, places, and products, and that a government land system should restore to the public domain all unearned land grants, restrict settlers to the possession of 160 acres and corporations to no more land than necessary for the conduct of their business. The population should be protected by a residence requirement and a test of knowledge of American institutions of naturalization and suffrage for foreigners. Trusts and combinations for maintaining artificial prices to be held as a conspiracy against the common welfare and punished accordingly; and prohibition of the issuance of nontaxable bonds.[21] These demands changed from time to time. In 1891 the farmers' organizations throughout the United States including a vocal Oregon contingent spoke out for the abolition of national banks and for the free coinage of silver, an income tax, the nationalization of

railroads, telephone and telegraph line and the direct election of all officers.[22]

The Grangers and the Farmer's Alliance did not at first consider the organization of their own political party. For some years they sought to win concessions or perhaps control of one or both of the major political parties. The farmers feared the problems created by the East. While the railroad and other industry proved a problem, the main fear was the corruption and industrialization. These groups were not against progress but wished to control its destiny. If the major parties would not help they would look elsewhere. At one of these club meetings William U'Ren, who became famous as an Oregon Progressive leader, got his start. At election time, the Grangers voted for either Republican or Democrat depending on how the candidates had demonstrated support of the Grange. At the Salem Convention in 1889 a new third party was formed, the Union Party.[23] Both political parties paid attention to it and Sylvester Pennoyer, Democratic candidate for governor, showed some sympathy for reform principles. He declared his opposition to tax free bonds, support of the Australian ballot and promised to look into the administration of the Land Board. The Union Party endorsed him and gave him 5,000 votes.[24] They ran their own candidate for Congress and for the office of Secretary of State.

In 1891 Alliance leaders in Washington disputed the idea of forming a party. G. D. Sutton, president of the

Washington Northwestern Alliance strongly opposed the idea since he believed the Alliance would dissolve in political discord and fanaticism if it was forced to contend with all the elements pushing for a third party movement. However, E. B. Williams, vice president voiced the opposite view. He saw little hope in getting reforms adopted through the old parties which he saw as continuing to help the Alliance's enemies. While the local leaders were divided, delegates from the Northern and Southern Alliances held a national convention at Cincinnati in May 1891 and decided to nominate candidates of their own for the 1892 election.[25] Local Alliance leaders in Oregon and throughout the Northwest fell into line.[26] While there were misgivings and Sutton was removed, the leaders of the Alliance continued to stress the nonpartisan character of the Alliance organization, whose purpose was to "ameliorate the condition of the farmers and not to boom the political aspirations of any set of men."[27]

The idea of a third party continued and by the spring of 1892 an independent ticket was advocated by Alliance leaders. The People's Party was thus organized in early 1892 and found a waiting constituency in Oregon and the rest of the Pacific Northwest. General James B. Weaver, the Populist candidate for president, toured the Northwest addressing at Baker, Oregon a crowd of 1,500 people.[28] Even the famous populist speaker Mary Ellen Lease of Kansas was received by a friendly introduction by Abigail Scott Duniway, the

feminist in the region. Though the dominant voice of the press continued to be Republican, many newspapers supported the Populist cause and became involved in the election process. The result was a surprisingly strong Populist showing in 1892 with Weaver receiving about 30 per-cent of the vote of 56,640 votes in the three Northwestern states.[29] Only four Populists were elected to the Oregon legislature in 1893 and ten in 1895.[30] Most of these representatives came from the rural counties of the southwest corner of the state which traditionally had been a Democratic stronghold. The party drew from the Republicans in Multnomah and other counties that were normally Republican and from Democrats from Linn and Jackson Counties. They ran ahead of the Democrats but did not come close to challenging the Republican control. The stage was thus set for an alliance or fusion with the Democrats. This decision did not come easily as there were many different opinions among the Populists about the founding of a third party. It was argued that fusion would bring about political bargains and the following of the "middle of the road," and thus the Populist movement would lose its independence and integrity.[31] The other opinion, which became dominant, was that without fusion there was no chance of winning any reform.

Fusion also depended somewhat on the strength of

the parties in the state and which people supported Populist ideas. In Oregon, the Democrats were reform oriented and were torn by the difficulty of supporting Cleveland and Pennoyer at the same time in 1894. The Democratic platform included declarations in favor of free silver, direct government, an income tax and banking reform which were Populist planks. The saying became current: "Scratch a Western Democrat and you find a Populist,"[32] since the defection of the Democrats toward the Populist movement was significant. The idea of the "Popocrat" influenced the election of 1896.

The goals of the Populists shaped the campaign. Those who thought of Populist goals as a comprehensive program, a philosophy, preferred an independent course and a distinct party, the integrity of which should never be sacrificed. Those who were intent upon specific reforms were willing to achieve them using any combination of elements from different parties. William U'Ren advocated fusion with the Democrats almost from the start in order to secure the adoption of the initiative and referendum. Free silver men from all three parties joined hands in a common endeavor. Some Populists were skeptical of such an alliance since some Oregon Populists feared that the debate over silver would completely overwhelm the desire to bring about real reform. Still the free silver combination promised

votes and the Populists were in no position to be aloof. There was a touch of irony in the fact that a restless demand on the part of the rank and file of Alliance men to accomplish something politically brought about the founding of the Populist party. Their characteristic non-partisan attitude led them naturally into the entanglements of fusion which soon destroyed the organization they had made.

William U'Ren was active in the Populist party from its inception. He became secretary of the state committee in 1892 and was also secretary of the Joint Committee on Direct Legislation. He pushed for reform throughout his association. He noted that "not a populist or democrat candidate has refused to pledge himself to the initiative and referendum."[33] 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. 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 1896 to modify the Omaha Platform, it was becoming quite apparent that cheap money was going to be the dominant issue. Thus 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 where the Populist party consisted of protest factions that were sometimes unrelated and conflicting. They banded together to attempt to defeat the traditional political parties, but 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 divisions within their ranks, the party held high hopes for success at the polls.

On December 30, 1895, state leaders met in Multnomah County to organize. U'Ren made a speech in the afternoon in which he stressed the importance of Multnomah County in the coming election and approval of the initiative and referendum. "No state law," 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."[34] U'Ren's stance placed him in a most unpopular position among several Populist leaders who insisted upon the acceptance of the entire Omaha Platform. The Oregon Populist state convention on March 26 and 27 accepted the Omaha Platform and the campaign for 1896 was on.[35] For the next two months U'Ren continued to push for adoption of initiative and referendum when all other

Populists both in the state and nationally talked only of silver and fusion. U'Ren wanted to free Oregon from corruption and since he was an able organizer of political power was able to get the bills included in the platform.

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.[36] Mitchell had been consistently a silver man in Washington and at the moment had the support of many Populists and silver Republicans. Chairman Young was convinced that Mitchell would declare himself in favor of the Populists.[37] The Portland Republicans were largely gold standard Republicans led by Joseph Simon, H. W. Corbett and 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 session. Bourne, an avowed advocate of the unlimited coinage of silver, admitted an interest of a million and a half dollars in silver mines.[38]

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 threw his support to Bryan. At this time U'Ren called on Senator Mitchell to make a deal with him. U'Ren was prepared to pledge the Populist members of the state legislature in support of Mitchell's re-election if Mitchell would help secure the initiative and referendum. Mitchell indicated that he would because he believed he had enough votes to be re-elected. However by November he was openly opposed to reform legislation.[39]

The election of 1896 brought the issue of fusion to a climax. Oregon had many different philosophies on the idea of silver and party alignment. The Populist party of the Northwest showed some cohesion. These states had many similar problems and goals. Bryan's vote in the Northwest was closely linked to fusion. He carried Washington and Idaho where statewide fusion had been achieved and narrowly lost in Oregon where fusion came naturally and had the appearance of being improvised for the presidential campaign. Looking at the other Northwestern states, silver was probably the main reason why Idaho voters in every county returned comfortable majorities for Bryan. In Washington,

fusionists carried all the eastern part of the state except Kilckitat, and every county between the Puget Sound and the Cascade Mountains from Olympia to the Canadian border. The distribution of the Bryan-McKinley vote followed a different pattern which suggested a more sectional alignment of counties and at the same time showed very plainly the importance of the urban vote in Portland. The election resulted in a net switch of 12 counties from the Republican to the Democratic column.[40] However, McKinley carried 15 other counties which lay in a broad band along the northern seacoast and the Columbia River and in the lower valleys of the Willamette, the Deschutes and the John Day Rivers. This section, the wealthiest and most productive part of the state, remained safely Republican despite defections resulting from the appeals of free silver and agrarian reform. Yet more important was the fact that the Republican organization maintained a wide lead in Multnomah County. McKinley led in the state as a whole by 2,117 votes but he led in Multnomah county by 5,371.[41] Thus the Pacific Northwest as in other sections of the country, the Republicans owed much to their effective control of the population centers. In Portland, corrupt officials were blamed for stuffing ballot boxes, and losing votes. These charges were not proved but were believed by a large number of citizens. Jonathan

Bourne protested that Bryan actually carried Oregon but was denied victory when the ballot boxes were stuffed. The traffic in ballots helped elect McKinley but it produced a popular resentment which hastened remedial legislation afterward.

The aftermath of 1896 was as significant as the election itself as far as national politics were concerned. McKinley had been elected president and received a working majority in both houses of Congress. The gold standard became law in 1900 and beyond the adoption of such minor measures as a postal savings system, the issues of reform were dropped. Returning to prosperity and the excitement of the Spanish American War seemed to quiet the old complaints and turn popular attention to other matters. However in Oregon the election of Pennoyer as mayor of Portland showed the strength of reform opinion and many Republicans were ready to admit that corruption had gone far enough. Even though reform was not the prerogative of any particular group or party, the Populists accepted the fact that they were a minority and their organization was in eclipse. They continued to seek support for individual measures without laboring the fine points of party and principle. After 1896 many members returned to the Democratic or Republican folds but demanded basic reforms as the price of their support.

As one unnamed Republican leader put it, "I have a lot of Pops in my district and I have to do something to keep them happy."[42] Moderates and liberals in both the major parties felt obliged to prevent the recurrence of scandal. Furthermore the struggle of different factions to control the Republican party machinery even made the stalwarts more conciliatory than they were ordinarily. All this did not mean that change came easily. On the contrary, it was achieved through political crisis in the legislature, referred to as the "hold-up" legislature, and from a complex contest among individuals and factions to win public office. Nevertheless, the cause of government was advanced.

In Oregon's "hold-up" legislature of 1897, the Populists' reform strategy led them into an alignment with one Republican faction against another. This offended the men of principle but exploited dissension among the enemy to their own advantage. Jonathan Bourne, who had been recently elected to the legislature, was a candidate for the position of speaker. Bourne had been a silver Republican and opposed Mitchell unless Mitchell should use his influence among the regular Republicans to elect Bourne. This Mitchell refused to do. Mitchell believed that he would lose votes if he supported Bourne, and besides it would have been 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. Now Bourne had to work equally as hard to defeat Mitchell.

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 had the Populists and, of course, the three democrats in each house were not averse to causing him discomfort. Bourne managed a boycott of the Republican caucus and engineered a coalition of Populists, Democrats, silverites and even a few Dolph Simon Republicans which by withholding a quorum effectively prevented the house from organizing any business. It was a strange and awkward alliance which held together only for purposes of obstruction. In order to hold U'Ren and his Populists in line Bourne promised to support the Populist program which at the time consisted of a registration bill, a measure to regulate the selection and activities of judges and clerks of election and a constitutional amendment providing for the initiative and referendum. As an effort to secure the speakership

for Bourne the coalition failed. But it did bring additional support for the measures in question and they were subsequently enacted.[43]

The problem of maintaining the secrecy of the ballot had been recognized earlier in Oregon. A law of 1891 provided for the Australian ballot and had established certain procedures for voting. Yet experience since that time plainly showed the law's inadequacies. In the primary elections in 1896 many a voter had been challenged and pulled out of line and some imported a substitute put in his place to vote for the machine. The remedy for this kind of corruption depended upon ascertaining the qualifications of voters and providing for an accurate counting of the votes. The registration law passed in 1898 made the qualifications and residence of individual citizens a matter of public record. The Holt bill which was put on the statute books in 1898 allowed all fullfledged parties to be represented on local election boards and stipulated procedures that greatly improved the administration of the balloting.[44] These laws materially lessened the evils of political manipulation and made a repetition of the events of 1896 improbable. Machine politics by no means disappeared but there was more acknowledgment of common conscience and a greater reliance upon the judgment and good sense of the rank and file of voters.

The Oregonians' desire to preserve their heritage made them comfortable with the improved election laws and direct government. One protected the individual and the other gave the citizen the responsibility to make his own decisions. This reform legislation was just the beginning. In the next 15 years Oregon became a laboratory of political democracy. The progressive era was just beginning and Oregon would become a center of reform acknowledged throughout the United States. The policy of extending the rights of its citizens was a co-operative movement of divergent views to preserve the status quo in Oregon. Unlike other states, the agrarian movements such as Populism were different. The desire was to preserve and not change the state. The leadership and support was based upon protecting the land from speculators who were outsiders. They were interested in protecting the land, and were willing to use the most convenient vehicle. Thus, reform was seen as the means to keep Oregon white, free, and rural.

CHAPTER III

PROGRESSIVISM

The period between 1900 and 1920 is identified as the Progressive era, and of its variety of reform agitation as the Progressive movement. In these designations, scholars have followed the example of many of the leading figures of this period who liked the ring of the word "Progressive" as applied to themselves. The men and women of the period were proudly aware, even as they were fighting their battles, that there was something distinctive about the political and social life of their time which seemed different from the preceding era which centered on the rebuilding of America's economic and social life.

From the end of the Civil War to the close of the nineteenth century, the energies of the American people had been mobilized for a burst of material development. It was as though the controversy over slavery, the Civil War and the difficulties and failures of Reconstruction had exhausted the moral and political abilities of the population. The energy of the people turned

toward the rewarding task of material achievement. During this period American settlers and entrepreneurs had filled up a vast area between the Mississippi River and California and had bridged the country with a railroad network of more than a quarter of a million miles.[1] The number of farms, as well as the number of acres under cultivation, doubled between 1870 and 1900 and the production of wheat, cotton and corn increased two and one-half times.[2] Even more impressive was the growth of the urban and industrial segment of the economy. Between 1870 and 1900 the urban population increased from 9.9 million to 30.1 million and it was now clear that in the near future the rural population would soon be outnumbered and the characteristic problems of the nation would be city problems. The larger cities grew at a pace which was alarming and placed great burdens on the city administrations. For example, Chicago's population doubled between 1880 and 1890, and a growth rate during this decade of 60 to 80 per-cent was not uncommon for the new cities of the Middle West.

It was becoming apparent by the turn of the century that this material growth had been achieved at a great cost in human values and in the waste of natural resources. The land and the people were forced to change quickly. The farmers, whose products had not only fed the expanding national working force but also paid for

American industrialization, had received a small return for their labor. They were at the mercy of the railroads who exploited them. The cities that grew with American industry became concentrations of business, political power, the arts but also of vice and poverty with ever growing slums. At the same time, much industry, after a period of hectic competition, was rapidly becoming concentrated. Big business eliminated many small family concerns. Political power seemed concentrated in a few hands. Stirred by such muckraking works as Upton Sinclair's The Jungle (1900), William Demarst Lloyd's The Shame of the Cities (1904) and Ida Tarbell's Standard Oil Company (1903), the people were beginning to criticize the ruthless methods of some great enterprises and to believe that business competitors and industrial workers had been exploited by big business. Moreover, business, large and small, had given their support of corrupt politics by working with political bosses in city, state and national races. Business provided financial support and received favors such as the access to cheap labor which the bosses controlled. This domination by political bosses and business organizations was seen as a threat to democracy itself in the consolidation of political and economic power. What had happened was that while the nation developed material progress, it had not developed the means of meeting

individual human needs or controlling the imbalances which accompany any such rapid change. The Progressive movement may then be viewed as an attempt to develop the moral will, the intellectual insight, and the political and administrative agencies to remedy the accumulated negligences of a period of industrial growth. Since the Progressives were not revolutionists, it was also an attempt to work out a strategy for orderly social change.

Not everyone saw the evils that burdened society from the same perspective. Yet those who wanted change were anxious to be called progressive. Perhaps the most remarkable thing about the Progressive movement was that it became so pervasive, that so many people could at some time and on some issue be called "Progressive." In the election of 1912, the two most popular candidates, Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt, both ran on Progressive platforms and made Progressive sounding speeches and between them received almost 70 per-cent of the popular votes. Even the third candidate, President Taft, who had offended the Progressives of the Republican Party had been identified with some Progressive issues. Significantly, the Republican Party thought it wise to declare in their platform that they were "prepared to go forward with the solution of those new questions, which social,

economic and political development had brought to the forefront of the nation's interest."[3]

The definition of Progressivism is not one capable of precision. No two people during this era who considered themselves Progressives agreed on all social or political issues. Also, there were great differences within the United States. Thus Progressivism could mean something different in the countryside from what it meant in the city. It also meant that the goals and principles of the Northeast might be opposed in the South or the West. A great variety of issues also elicited a differing Progressive point of view: trusts, and finance capital; bosses and popular control of politics; taxation and tariffs; conservation; railroad rates and rebates; vice and corruption; the conditions of labor and the role of labor unions; women suffrage; the rights of blacks; referendum and recall; city reform; and prohibition. The diversity of these issues and of classes and social interests that were at play in the political system, multiplied the possibilities for disagreement within the Progressive movement. For all its internal difference and countercurrents, there were in Progressivism certain general tendencies and commitments that made it possible to use the term Progressive.

The distinguishing thing about the Progressives

was the belief that problems and social ills could not remedy themselves and that a spirit of activism was needed. They believed that the people of the country should be stimulated to work energetically to bring about social progress, and that government should pass legislation to achieve this end. While there was a basic optimism of the movement, there was a fear that the continued concentration of power in the hands of investment banking or what was called the money trust might undermine American democracy and the spirit of enterprise. But the dominant note was one of confidence in the fact that no problem was too difficult to be overcome by the proper mobilization of energy and intelligence in the people. This mobilization was to be aroused by the spreading of information and the exhortation of the citizenry through the use of the ballot. Walter Lippmann expressed it in the title of one of his books, Drift and Mastery (1914); the nation had finished with a policy of drift and was girding itself for the mastery of its own destiny. It was this that the muckrakers thought gave special value to their exposures of corruption, crime, waste, and brutality in the dark corners of American life. The muckraker hoped that people would not read their stories just for their shock value but that they would be filled with the desire to do something about corrupt bosses,

sweat-shops, civic decay and business trusts. It was hoped that a people sufficiently aroused would rest power away from the city and state party bosses and regain their authority through the city, state and federal government with an informed vote.

Unlike the Populist period, Progressivism flourished during comparative prosperity. Indeed, the Progressive movement was made possible only by a return of the prosperity after the depression of 1893-1897.[4] During that depression the fear of agricultural discontent, and the widespread conviction that the adoption of free coinage of silver would throw the country into economic chaos created a fear among the people but especially the middle class. When prosperity returned in 1897, there was an upturn in prices which took some of the edge off the concerns of farmers, but stimulated the discontents of the urban population. The rising cost of living annoyed the urban dwellers as they became increasingly disturbed by charges that high tariffs, business monopolies, inequitable taxation, civic graft and indeed the activities of labor unions all were eating into their incomes. Thus people felt their position as a consumer were protected by the Progressives since they were concerned with quality of life rather than just profits.

While rising prices of agricultural products

relieved many of the farmers of the economic pressures they had felt between 1869 to 1896, the farmers had not forgotten the old grievances against railroads, trusts, bankers, and political bossism that had stimulated the Populist uprising of the 1890s. They likely would support Progressive political leaders who promised them regulation of railroad rates, tariff relief, farm credits, and other economic favors. In this way, the reform sentiments of the countryside and the reform impulse of the city middle classes which had previously worked independently of each other, now came together in a common demand for certain types of legislation.[5]

While these two streams of thought were merging, a new kind of political leadership was appearing. Progressivism was largely the creation of a new and younger generation who came of age after the problems of Reconstruction had been settled. They grew up during a period which stressed industrial development and whose leaders were both the heroes and villains of society. The Progressive leaders were often from well-established families or professional men who were inspired by the mugwump reformers of the past. Thus Progressive leaders were young. In 1900 Robert M. LaFollette was 45, Woodrow Wilson and Louis D. Brandeis were 44, Theodore Roosevelt was 42, Bryan 40, Hiram Johnson 34, Ida Tarbell was 43, Lincoln Steffens 34, Upton Sinclair 22, and in Oregon,

Willism S. U'Ren was 41 and Jonathan Bourne 45.[6]

When one examines the development of Progressivism throughout the United States, one finds that the Progressive movement began in the cities, then spread to the states and reached the federal level most effectively in its later phases. In fact, Progressivism was well under way in the 1890s in cities such as New York, Chicago, Detroit, Milwaukee, and Cleveland. The law in the cities were creations of the states and efforts to improve municipal government found reformers confronting the power of the allies of local political bosses who sat in the state legislatures. Thus many changes affecting railroad rates, child and woman labor, and election safeguards could only be accomplished on the state level. Around the turn of the century several reform leaders were elected state governors. Among the first was Robert M. LaFollette who was elected governor of Wisconsin in 1900 and who waged a successful battle to regulate the railroads and public utilities of his state and tighten the tax system. Similar battles were fought in California, New York and Oregon. In the Progressives' struggle against railroads, trusts, and political bosses, reformers were convinced that in order to achieve success the people must take control of the state and local government from a few powerful political figures and the systems in power.[7]

To this end, changes of varying effectiveness was proposed and passed. The corrupt practices acts were intended to attack the illicit relation between money and politics. The direct primary was to put the choice of political candidates in the hands of the people rather than the party machines and thus protect democracy. The initiative made it possible for the people to propose legislation while the referendum made it possible for voters to pass on state laws. The recall of public officials was widely adopted as a means of removing corrupt or incompetent officials before the expiration of their terms of office. Finally since many reform measures were being turned down by courts throughout the country, many reformers were calling for the public recall of judges and seven western states actually made provision for this.

The demand to increase the citizen's control over the direction of politics was carried from state government into national affairs. In the House of Representatives younger members, upset about their lack of authority, under the leadership of Champ Clark of Missouri and George W. Norris of Nebraska struck a blow at political bossism when they took away from Joe Cannon, the Speaker of the House, the power to control the working of the important Rules Committee. The Senate itself, which had long been a bastion of reactionary allies of big

business was touched by reform when the seventeenth amendment was passed thus taking the power to choose Senators out of the hands of the legislatures and required direct election by the people.[8]

In the sphere of social as well as political reform, much progress had already been made by state legislatures before 1900. By that year half the states had passed laws to limit child labor. Many states between 1896 and 1908 attempted to limit the work week for women. Often the courts were disposed to regard laws governing the hours of labor as violations of individual freedom safeguarded by the Constitution. But in 1908 a considerable gain for legislation protecting women was won when Louis D. Brandeis presented the Court with an unusual brief which was more devoted to social realism than to legal argument and persuaded the Court to uphold an Oregon law limiting the working day for women to ten hours.[9] In the following decade, 39 states either passed new laws or fortified old laws dealing with the conditions of women's working conditions.

Most problems were too large to be dealt with by state governments so the reform would have to be effected by the federal government. Theodore Roosevelt did not believe that trust busting on a large scale was practical or desirable and was a bit nervous about the discontent created by the muckrakers and reformers.

However, he was opposed to the corruption, civic indifference and materialism and understood the need of the people to be reassured about the ability of their government to cope with bosses, bankers and trusts.[10] Although he did not act on a large scale against trusts, his prosecution of the Northern Securities Company which set the principle that the most powerful men in the country would be held accountable by the federal government. Then Roosevelt settled the anthracite coal strike in 1902. This settlement in the face of arrogance and intransigent conduct by the mine owners confirmed the impression that the country at last had a President strong enough to stand up to industry.

During Roosevelt's administration, Congress set the basis for effective railroad regulation by passing the Hepburn Act and although it failed to satisfy the demands of some like Robert LaFollette it gave the Interstate Commerce Commission enough power to begin the reduction of railroad rates. Congress responded to public pressures aroused by such muckrakers as Upton Sinclair and Samuel Hopkins Adams by enacting a Pure Food and Drug Act in 1906.[11] One reform about which Roosevelt had great enthusiasm was the conservation of natural resources which he believed had been wasted for generations. Roosevelt set aside millions of acres of timber and other lands into government reserves.

Under William Howard Taft, Progressivism seemed to be marking time. It was true that Taft pushed anti-trust activities far more vigorously than Roosevelt, and extended some conservation policies. But he failed to win real tariff reform and accepted a big business-dominated senate. Increasingly, the insurgents within his own party picked up the leadership of federal reform. On a few issues they were successful. Not only did they break the power of "Uncle Joe" Cannon in the House, but they strengthened the power of the I.C.C. with the Mann-Elkins Act and passed a Physical Evaluation Act. LaFollette had long sought this act which placed a more realistic framework for railroad regulation based on the true value of railroad properties rather than on watered stock.[12] Reformers also pushed through much of legislation which was to become the cornerstone of Progressive legislation. They authorized a graduated income tax in 1913, and the Seventeenth Amendment which provided for the direct or popular election of senators also in 1913.

Taft's inability to command the loyalty of progressive minded Republicans led to a split. The insurgency of 1910 led to the formation of a new, though short lived party, the Progressive party, whose 1912 platform seemed to include the consumate social aims of the Progressive movement. The split in the Republican party between the followers of Theodore Roosevelt and

those of Taft provided the Democrats an opportunity to capture the presidency. The forces of Western and Southern agrarianism were still strong in the Democratic Party and the spirit of Progressivism touched the Democratic party as its numbers endorsed a wide variety of reform proposals. They rejected Roosevelt's acceptance of bigness in business and wanted the restoration of a truly competitive business world. Woodrow Wilson's campaign speeches of 1912 were eloquent restatements of this view. He argued that no government would be strong enough to regulate the interests satisfactorily if they were not broken up through anti-trust action and the restoration of competition. In this way, the main argument was between a regulated monopoly and regulated competition.[13]

Wilson's administration, backed by widespread Progressive sentiment, vigorously pursued business and tariff reform. Congress passed the Underwood Tariff, the first satisfactory downward revisions since the Civil War. This was followed by banking and credit reforms. The Federal Reserve System was established in 1913 to create a sound central banking system with governmental direction. To meet the demand for anti-trust legislation, Wilson secured the passage of two laws in 1914. The first, the Federal Trade Commission Act was intended to prevent unfair trade practices by

creating a commission empowered to investigate corporations and to issue cease and desist orders when it was found that such practices prevailed. The second law, the Clayton Act was intended to expand the legal foundation for anti-trust action laid in the Sherman Act of 1890.[14] A notable provision, urged by Samuel Gompers, seemed to exempt labor unions from prosecution as conspiracies in restraint of trade but later decisions by the Supreme Court nullified its force.

The Progressive movement was dependent upon the civic alertness and the combative mood of the public. It was remarkable that this mood could be sustained as long as it was. Even the first World War was conducted with Progressive fervor and under the cover of Progressive thinking. The war was fought to make the world safe for democracy and was a crusade against an autocracy. The most durable aspect of Progressivism seems to have been its social legislation. The men and women of the Progressive movement must be considered to be pioneers of the welfare state. This was not because they sought to foster big business for its own sake. But they were determined to remedy the most pressing and dangerous social ills of industrial society.

While the struggle to correct the social problems was the main aspect of the Progressive movement in other states, this was not the case in Oregon. The

problem confronting Oregon leaders and its citizens was how to preserve their society. The citizens of Oregon wished to retain the special qualities they thought marked their society. They insisted that their political and social order was distinctively moral, its character shaped by the new start made by the settlers in a wilderness and its virtues confirmed by the democratic institutions of the founding fathers of the United States. Oregonians were unwilling to reject the rewards of modernization. They wished to profit from the growth of industry, from the efficiencies of cities, and from their relationships to the outer world but they wished to retain the specialness of the rugged ideal of the yoeman farmer. Thus Progressivism was essentially preservationist, even reactionary in Oregon. The people wanted to retain their society, using an active government to protect it, not change it. This period while important was not unique in Oregon's history. Oregonians have long seen their home as special and reform, protest, or nativist movement including the Know-Nothings, Grange, Populists, Progressives, Ku Klux Klan, and the present ecologists have fought to protect their idyllic setting.

Since the motivation of Oregon's progressives seemed different from those in other states, it seemed appropriate to look more carefully at the people who

were the progressive movement. The profile which resulted is by no means conclusive but does point out some interesting statistics. People were included in this survey if they supported provisions of progressive legislation such as the direct election of senators, initiative and referendum, women's suffrage, political reform, conservation, and issues of morality such as prohibition and vice control. All those on the list supported at least two of the issues mentioned. Some 500 names were collected and identified as supporters. Then a search through Oregon biography books, newspapers, personal collections and bibliographic files yielded sufficient data on 229 persons. The profile revealed that 59 per-cent of the Oregon Progressives were between the ages of 40 and 80. In fact, only 10 per-cent were under 40. While many occupations were represented, 41 per-cent were lawyers while 16 per-cent were merchants and 9 per-cent were farmers. Ninety-nine per-cent of those whose marital status could be established were married. They were usually members of the established political parties; 54 per-cent were registered Republicans and 14 per-cent were Democrats. While most were born in other states, 17 per-cent were born in Oregon. The midwest was represented by 30 per-cent with 41 per-cent being spread rather evenly among the other areas of the country and 12

per-cent were foreign born. Religious affiliation could not be established in 74 per-cent of the people. Clubs and social groups did not seem to be important with the highest percentage of affiliation being the Masons with 27 per-cent. This was followed by the Odd Fellows with 9 per-cent and the Elks with 8 per-cent. These statistics seemed to indicate the Oregonians spirit of independence and self reliance. It was also difficult to establish ancestry of the sample as only 30 per-cent of the total could be traced but 97 per-cent of those found had roots in Western Europe. Finally, over 50 per-cent of the sample came from the Portland area and 32 per-cent had attended some college.

This profile is not conclusive but it does reinforce the idea that progressivism had unusual quality in Oregon. Unlike Mowry's profile of progressives in California, which has been used to describe the progressive elsewhere, does not fit in Oregon. The progressive minded Oregon citizen was older, usually from established political parties, married, better educated and financially secure. This group was not revolutionary but represented those who wanted to preserve the shape of society by slowing the development and industrialization of the state. The profile with its wide range of age, occupation and background also shows that the movement was broad based. They were brought together not

just in the desire to protect Oregon's lifestyle but to insulate themselves from the problems which they believed were faced in other areas of the United States. The desire to keep Oregon, white, Protestant, free from the domination of big business and its predictable corruption, forged a coalition government responsive to the wishes of the people and motivated by their pressure. Oregon became a leader in returning power to the people but they were protecting their democracy from unwanted changes which could become reality without constitutional protection.

CHAPTER IV

PROGRESSIVE POLITICS: 1900-1910

The Populist party held its first state convention at Oregon City in March 1892. Its basic program consisted of the direct primary, the initiative, the recall, the popular election of United States senators, the Australian ballot, and the registration of voters in their party. The underlying principle of Populism was economic independence. This principle faced a grave crisis in Oregon because of profound social changes resulting from the decline of rural opportunity which Frederick Jackson Turner described, the end of the frontier which had "promoted individualism, economic equality, freedom to rise, democracy."[1] The growth of large industry, rapid urbanization and the pronounced movement toward concentration of ownership brought about the menacing growth of class feelings.

In these years, labor was working to organize and to gain favorable legislation on wages, hours, and working conditions, while battling the courts use of the injunction. The change of financial power from

country to city also brought about a switch of political power as the political bosses of the city, state and nation became subservient to the economic interests of industry. This power switch was brought to the public's attention by the muckraking press. The educated middle classes with a great deal of restless curiosity were eager buyers of such publications as McClures, Everybody's, Munsey's, the Cosmopolitan, and Pearson's. The muckrakers hit the ruthlessness of big business with its dominating power, charging that it caused corruption of government and created social problems such as child labor, crime, family dissention, and those problems associated with urbanization. They demonstrated that "America was not the equalitarian democracy it profess to be . . . ."[2] Their actual constructive work was to bring attention to problems that had been advocated for years by such groups as the Populist, and Grange.

The Oregon Progressives had three main political demands: the removal of special privilege and corrupt influences in national, state, and city government; the change and modification of the machinery of government so that it would be more difficult for the few to control government; and the extension of the functions of government to relieve social and economic distresses. To keep out corrupt influence and to make the government responsive to the demands of the people, modifications

of the government appartus was necessary. These modifications included direct primaries, corrupt practices acts, and the initiative, referendum and recall. To relieve the distress caused by social and economic conditions, the Progressives proposed to regulate the employment of women and children, to impose a maximum number of hours of work for men under certain conditions and to strike at poverty, crime, and disease. Progressivism had foundations in every state during this period but Oregon was conspicuous. It adopted the Australian ballot (1891), a registration law (1899), the initiative and referendum (1902), the direct primary law with the statement Number 1 provision permitting candidates for the state legislature to pledge themselves to vote for the popular choice in electing United States senators (1904), a corrupt practices act (1908), and the recall (1910).[3]

The foundation of the Oregon System was the Australian ballot and the registration law. Using the initiative voters could get a measure put on the ballot by presenting the proper petition to the Oregon secretary of state. The referendum placed measures passed by the legislature on the ballot for a vote by the people. Both Mrs. Seth Lewelling and W. S. U'Ren claimed to have suggested action to bring about the adoption of direct legislation in Oregon. They had

been reading J. D. Sullivan's books on direct legislation in Switzerland at a Farmer's Alliance meeting at the Lewelling home in Milwaukie, Oregon in 1894. It was on U'Ren's motion that the Milwaukie Alliance asked the state executive committee of the Farmer's Alliance to get the State Grange, the Portland Federated Trades, the Oregon Knights of Labor and the Portland Chamber of Commerce to send representatives to a Joint Committee to work for the adoption of direct legislation in Oregon. This Joint Committee carried on the work until 1898 when the Non-Partisan Legislation League took over the active propaganda.[4]

In August 1896, U'Ren had agreed with John Hipple Mitchell to trade Populist support for Mitchell's candidacy to the United States Senate in return for Mitchell's support for direct legislation. Later Mitchell changed his mind. When the legislature met in 1897, the majority of the members were pledged to support Mitchell and his election was inevitable. The group in the Oregon House favoring Mitchell formed a rump assembly but the president of the Oregon Senate did not recognize them because they lacked a quorum.[5] The group opposing Mitchell included nine Simon Republicans, five Silver Republicans and three Democrats led by Jonathan Bourne and thirteen Populists led by U'Ren. These insurgents offered the following terms upon which

they would agree to organize: the election of Jonathan Bourne as speaker of the House; the election of a Simon Republican as United States senator; and the passing by the legislature of the initiative and referendum amendments, the registration law and other reform legislation.[6] This group was not able to get organized but after 1896 the advocates of direct legislation modified their demands to a voluntary initiative and referendum through a constitutional amendment. The legislature of 1899, which had less factional strife than usual on account of the election of Joseph Simon to the United States Senate in 1898, tabled the direct legislation proposal. By 1901, the Non-Partisan League had intensified its educational campaign to such a degree and had organized counties and precincts with such success that the legislature passed a resolution submitting the amendment to the people. On June 2, 1902, the people overwhelmingly adopted the amendment providing for the initiative and referendum.[7]

The constitutionality of the amendment was attacked on the grounds that it had been submitted to the Legislature of 1899 while another amendment was pending and that the procedure was therefore unconstitutional. It was also argued that the amendment was in conflict with Article IV, section 1 of the Constitution of the United States which guaranteed every state a republican form

of government.[8] The case on appeal from the Multnomah Circuit Court of the Oregon Supreme Court which upheld the constitutionality of the amendment, saying:

> the initiative and referendum does not abolish or destroy the republican form of government or substitute another in its place. The republican character of the government still remains. The people have simply reserved to themselves a large share of legislative power, but they had not overthrown the republican form of government or substituted another in its place.[9]

The Direct Primary Law substituted the primary system for the convention method in nominating party candidates and provided that candidates to the state legislature to take a pledge, Statement Number One, to vote for the popular choice for United States senator. An organization of two hundred business and political leaders, many of whom had been leaders in the Direct Legislation Non-Partisan League, backed the measure which was placed on the ballot by the initiative petition.

The passage of the Direct Primary Law was the beginning of significant political change in Oregon. The key fact of Oregon is very simple. Oregon had been and was a backward, relatively isolated, non-industrialized state that had been by-passed by modern America.[10] Yet this backward state was the scene of almost ceaseless constitutional tinkering from 1898 to 1914. While Oregon was the first state whose people tried to gain democratic control of their politics and economics,

the adoption of the initiative and referendum under the leadership of U'Ren served as an example to other states. Some fifteen adopted some form of statewide initiative and referendum in the decade that followed.[11]

Among those to follow Oregon's lead, though nearly a decade after under somewhat more politically explosive circumstances, were her neighobrs to the north and south. In Califonria, the social and political revolution spearheaded by Hiram W. Johnson and his fellow progressives in their struggle with the Southern Pacific Railroad did not culminate in the adoption of these and other so-called radical measures until their submission to the voters in November 1911.[12] Washington, which was more directly assisted in the development of its reform measures by the help of Oregon's United States Senator Jonathan Bourne, Jr., did not adopt the initiative until the general election of 1912.

How much the flow of reform flowed in the other direction is not readily documented. Although the national attention focused on Oregon tended to attract important national leaders to the Oregon stage and generated discussion about this western testing ground of Progressive thought. This attention did not grow altogether out of the advanced political thinking of Oregonians alone but was coupled with the less desirable attention that grew out of the famous land fraud trials.

These trials featured several prominent political figures of the state who conspired with vested economic interests. Lincoln Steffens, in a chapter in The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens entitled "Timber Frauds in Oregon," relates how Francis J. Heney found not only petty thieves and officials involved in the plundering of the nation's forest reserves but big name companies, high ranking officials of federal departments as well as a United States Senator, John H. Mitchell of Oregon and two representatives, J. N. Williamson and Binger Hermann. Even the federal district attorney and the United States Marshall were found to be involved.[13]

As Oswald West, who was appointed state land agent of Oregon in 1903 and later became governor, recalled, the situation was so bad that the Republican President, Theodore Roosevelt, "turned to one of the few Pacific Northwest public officials whom he knew to be free from taint . . . his friend Governor Chamberlain,"[14] even though he was a Democrat. This relationship worked well even though it was operated on an underground basis. The resident gave messages to his Chief Forester, Gifford Pinchot, who in turn relayed them to Malcolm A. Moody, who then conveyed them to West for transfer to Chamberlain. West further related that "no appointments were made, nor policies adopted which concerned Oregon, until Teddy had heard from the Governor.[15]

Thus despite his distrust of the competency of the Democratic party, Roosevelt and the other Republicans in Oregon showed that they could transcend partisanship if it was a matter of principle or served political needs. Chamberlain appreciated Roosevelt's attitude and was convinced that he paid as "little attention to party ties as did Cleveland."[16] He wrote unsolicited letters to the President in behalf of Democrats who sought federal positions. In this association, Chamberlain had everything to gain and little to lose by cooperating with the president. A Democrat operating in a state that had an overwhelming Republican majority, Chamberlain used every opportunity to broaden the base of his own political support, and appealed to the voters in both parties. The basis of his success was predicated on more than mere political sleight of hand for he supported and articulated the apparent desires of the electorate more consistently and effectively from 1900 to 1920 than did any other political figure in the state. While U'Ren gave the organizational impetus to the drive toward enactment of the initiative, referendum, direct primary and other measures designed to restore the power of the electorate, he did not overcome his reluctance to seek political power through elective office until he had created too powerful enemies both within and without the Republican party. His well known effort

to utilize the method of direct legislation to embed the single tax program into the Oregon System made him unacceptable to the majority of Oregon voters.

Chamberlain, on the other hand, with the touch of an accomplished politician, kept in step with the electorate. In his inauguration to the governorship in 1903, Chamberlain said:

> The people have seen fit to adopt an amendment to the constitution, for the initiative and referendum. Official extravagance and a disregard for the best interests of the commonwealth by legislative bodies, originated the demand for the innovation . . . as a means to check the evils . . . sinces of omission and commission . . . the initiative and referendum is to be attempted and there is no question but that the effect will be beneficial.[17]

Chamberlain continued to support the popular measures and became associated with the Initiative and Referendum League of the United States and became the chief spokesman for what Allan H. Eaton called the Oregon System, not only in Oregon but in other states as well.

The political changes that the initiative and referendum made possible did not bring universal acclaim from all quarters. Herbert Croly, the author of The Promise of American Life (1911), was one of its critics. He argued at the American Political Science Association meeting in 1911, that the Oregon System made the state legislature little more than a "rump" in which "no self respecting man or useful servant would want to be

a member."[18] U'Ren who attended the same meeting reminded Croly that there had been no such results in other states until the initiative was used.

Direct legislation demands a level of sophistication and a background urban in character and modern in tone. Although Oregonians relished the past, Oregon's electorate was essentially prepared to meet its democratic obligations. The bulk of the state's population was concentrated in the Willamette Valley and other areas within easy reach of Portland, which was the major urban area. The newspapers of Portland were accessible to the largest part of the state's population. The educational level of the populace was high in comparison with other areas of the nation. The continued extension of the electric railway system made it possible for the public in the adjacent areas to enjoy the advantages of the city itself. The process of urbanization was particularly rapid in the period from 1880 to 1920 when the urban population increased from some fifteen to fifty percent of the state's total population. In the same period Portland's population grew to be about two-thirds of the total urban population.[19] The composition of the electorate, Pomeroy suggests, was not capable of tolerating the political domination of grafters who catered to the newly rich and ignorant poor.[20] The people of Oregon did not waste much time in putting to

use their new tool.

In 1904, in the first use of the initiative, U'Ren led the voters of Oregon to adopt a direct primary nominating amendment by the thumping majority of 56,205 Yes votes to 16,354 No votes.[21] Its principle purpose was to supplant the party conventions which had theretofore selected the candidates for state and local offices. Conventions were usually well-oiled machines in which a small group of party regulars pulled the strings. These leaders recognized that the vital point at which to control the party machinery was in the selection of candidates, thus permitting the electorate to have only a perfunctory choice at the general election. With the advent of the new law, that selection now went to the rank and file of the party. Many of the older party leaders were eclipsed because of their inability to adjust to the changes involved in the new system and thus fell from prominence. Efforts to resuscitate the old system in 1910, under the name "assembly," led to the defeat of the Republican candidate for governor and they were abandoned thereafter.

The most unique feature of the primary law was the provision by which United States Senators were selected on the basis of the will of the voters through the agency of Statement Number One. It was the purpose of this statement to permit the voters to circumvent the

provision of the United States Constitution that the members of the United States Senate should be selected by the legislature of each state. Under Statement Number One each state legislator was asked to sign a pledge to the effect that he would support the electorate's choice for United States senator but he was not required to sign this statement. He had the option of so pledging his vote or of signing Statement Number Two which was in effect no pledge at all except to his own conscience or interest. Some candidates for the legislature declined to sign any pledge at all for which no penalty could be assessed other than the ill will of the electorate.

The first election to be held after the adoption of the primary law was that of 1906. Jonathan Bourne, Jr., an independently wealthy lawyer businessman, who had been an unsuccessful candidate for the senate in earlier elections was once again among the numerous candidates. Comprehending the political possibilities of Statement Number One, Bourne and U'Ren initiated a comprehensive program to educate the electorate that stressed both the voter's opportunity as well as his responsibility. Bourne did not present himself as a candidate in the beginning but discussed the issues that were important to the average voter such as scandals in government, the bosses of the dominant

party, and then an explanation of Statement Number One. Bourne did not rest with a personal appeal to the individual voter. He called upon mining men, with whom he had a common interest. He urged the registration of unregistered voters and even suggested that Democrats and independents should switch their registration in order to vote in his favor in the Republican primary.[22] Bourne pulled out all the stops even attempting to cash in on an arrangement he had made in 1903 with Harvey Scott, editor of the Portland Oregonian. Bourne had supported Scott in his aspirations for the senatorship in 1903 with the promise that the Oregonian would support him in 1906 and provide $25,000 in campaign expenses. Scott declined to honor the arrangement except to support him as the Republican candidate in the general election.[23] Progressive politics were not always grounded in idealism in Oregon.

In a spirited intraparty campaign, Bourne won a slim plurality of four hundred and twenty six votes over H. M. Cake. The early returns had indicated that he had been defeated but when the late returns began to come in from the precincts in outlying counties and the outlying districts of the larger counties including Clackamas county, the home of U'Ren, Bourne's fortunes turned and he soon became a winner. The Democrats chose John M. Gearin, the incumbent chosen

by Governor Chamberlain to succeed the discredited John H. Mitchell upon his death in December, 1905.[24] Bourne with the aid of the Oregonian won rather easily in the general election of June 4, 1906. His margin of victory, some 40,000 votes under Theodore Roosevelt's majority in 1904, indicated the smoldering discontent that permeated the Republican party in Oregon. At the same time, Governor Chamberlain was re-elected over his Republican challenger, James Withycombe by only a slightly smaller majority than Bourne's.

The expression of the voters did not prevent opponents of the direct primary from working to prevent Bourne's election when the legislature met. It was apparent even to the opponents of direct election that the people could not be denied and the legislature chose Jonathan Bourne, Jr. on January 22, 1907. The opponents of this measure made it clear that they would fight the efforts to retain the selection of the people's representatives in the hands of the electorate. The focal point of the fight centered next on the choice of the Republican candidate for United States senator in the coming primary election of 1908. They attempted to replace the implication of compulsion in Statement Number One with the idea that it was only a suggestion to legislators which they could honor at their own discretion. From past experience it was assumed that

the control of the legislature would once again fall to the Republican party, thus the selection of anti-Statement candidates in the party primary. The stand-pat element of the G.O.P. supported the candidacy of the incumbent, Senator Charles W. Fulton, in his bid for renomination and re-election. Having successfully forgotten the wishes of the electorate when they sent him to the Senate in 1903, the big business interest with which he was associated hoped to prevail once again in 1908. They failed to assess the political ability of U'Ren and the temper of the people as they had done in Bourne's election in 1906. H. M. Cake pressed a campaign of strong support for Statement Number One, and emerged the winner in the contest on April 18, 1908.[25]

Although the factional disputes within the Republican party opened avenues of opportunity for the Democrats to exploit, the possibilities of winning a United States senate seat seemed remote. If registration figures were any index to the comparative strength of the two parties, the Republicans could split into two different parties and still defeat the Democrats. The official tally for 1908 showed 80,921 Republicans registered against 28,788 Democrats.[26] This one-sided registration was undoubtedly strongly embedded in the mind of Chamberlain, the most likely Democratic candidate. But Chamberlain knew he had problems to overcome. He

lacked an effective political organization and the Republicans with their huge majority, were almost certain to win a majority in the state legislature. Thus, even if he should win the popular vote it still seemed incredible that a Republican legislature, when put to the acid test, would elect a Democrat United States senator, despite the moral or even quasi-legal requirements of Statement Number One. Yet, the political creature that he was, Chamberlain could not but be tempted by the opportunity. It soon became clear that the single issue of the campaign was to be Statement Number One, and Chamberlain vigorously defended it at every opportunity. Should it be as it now appeared, that Fulton would be the winner in the Republican campaign now that U'Ren decided to enter the contest, Chamberlain's chances of success in drawing a large number of Republicans and Independents to his banner as Bourne had in 1906 improved.

On March 12, W. S. U'Ren withdrew his name from the list of Republican candidates for the senatorial nomination. He would continue to campaign for the measures of reform sponsored by the Peoples' Power League. While his presence in the senatorial race assured Fulton's selection, his withdrawal did not assure Fulton's selection but did not negate it. Chamberlain had to make a decision, and since the probability

existed that no strong Statement Number One candidate would be nominated, Chamberlain agreed to run.

After the returns were in, Chamberlain faced Cake who he considered the weaker candidate but who supported Statement Number One. Chamberlain's most challenging task remained one of marshalling as many of the dissident elements of the Republican party behind his candidacy as possible. Recognizing the possibility that he might withdraw from the race now that the Republicans had selected an avowed proponent of Statement Number One, it was argued that the needs of the state of Oregon would be better served since the national legislative body was dominated by the Republicans. But Chamberlain refused and pointed to his own record of achievement in working with a Republican state legislature. U'Ren refused to surrender to this kind of challenge since Cake had won the Republican nomination. Thus U'Ren wrote an open letter to Chamberlain in which he accused him of using Statement Number One as a springboard to further his own political ambitions rather than supporting it as a matter of principle.[27] U'Ren continued to support Cake throughout the campaign. He based his support on grounds other than just the issue of Statement Number One, a struggle which U'Ren and Cake ultimately lost. U'Ren focused on the selection of delegates to the national convention and it

was here that he, Bourne and other liberals of the Republican Party were unsuccessful. At the same meeting where the State Committee elected Cake's brother, Judge W. N. Cake, chairman, it also passed resolutions endorsing Taft for the presidency and also Senator Fulton as a delegate to the national convention. Despite their denials it appeared that the Cakes had broken with U'Ren and Bourne to secure the chairmanship and to head off the threatened bolt of Fulton's forces. It had been rumored that Fulton's followers intended to support Chamberlain in order to destroy Cake's claim to control of the party machinery after the election in June.[28] On May 14, the Republican state convention met to select a slate of delegates to the national convention. This meeting was a total victory for the anti-Bourne forces. It was inevitable that the quarrel between Bourne's and Fulton's supporters would unfavorably effect Cake's campaign. Just as Chamberlain hoped, Republicans who were dissatisfied with the internecine struggle began to pledge him their support.[29]

There were some Republican spokesmen who had foreseen the support of Chamberlain by elements in the party who wished to destroy Statement Number One. The plan was, so it was reported, to elect Chamberlain in June so that the Republican legislature being forced to select a Democratic Senator would be so great that the

rank and file of the Republican party would demand the repeal of the direct primary and Statement Number One. This proposition, in the light of the public support for all reform measures in the past, seemed to be founded on a frustrated minority rather than on any political reality.

This predicament prompted Lincoln Steffens to write Chamberlain about an earlier conversation. Steffens recalled that the Governor had declared that he was "more interested in establishment of Statement Number One as a custom of the state and of further precedents of the popular election of the State('s) Senators than in own personal ambition."[30] Chamberlain responded that he had no intention of harming the procedure but that he was a firm believer in and an advocate of both the initiative and referendum and the direct primary. By this time, Chamberlain was showing the confidence of a man well schooled in politics by demonstrating that he had learned to assess the mood of the public and the attitudes of professional politicians and partisan newspapers. Chamberlain never allowed the strains of idealism to die completely and assured Steffens that should he lose the popular election, he would urge the legislature to elect Cake. He knew that Cake was almost as unpalatable to the old guard as he was. He confided to Steffens that this would set

a precedent "for purging the Senate of the United States of the representatives of the privileged classes."[31]

The campaign degenerated at times into attacks upon the personal as well as public actions of the candidates. Chamberlain was condemned for having a Japanese house-boy even though he opposed Chinese immigration; for over using the veto, particularly because of his veto of the $125,000 university appropriation bill; and for pardoning too many convicts.[32] Cake did not avoid the attacks either. He was condescendingly referred to as a man of too little experience and intelligence to challenge the veteran campaigner, Chamberlain. Actually the election was decided by fewer than two thousand votes with Chamberlain winning the election by 52,421 votes to 50,899 for Cake.[33]

Equal in importance to the popular vote was the selection of members of the state legislature. True to everyone's prediction, the Republicans had swept everything except the preferential vote for the seat in the Senate. Despite party labels and the closeness of the vote, the intent of the electorate was clear. Fifty two of the ninety member legislature had signed Statement Number One. At the same time, while they did refuse an equal suffrage amendment for the fourth time, the voters did adopt all four of the measures sponsored by the People's Power League. These included

the initiative measure which instructed members of the legislature to vote for the candidate for the United States senate who had the greatest number of votes at the general election. This measure received more votes than any other proposal presented to the electorate: 69, 168 to 21, 162.[34] The other measure of significance to political campaigning was a detailed corrupt practices act restricting the amount a candidate could spend. In an effort to eliminate malpractices that in the past had resulted in election frauds, it also defined corrupt practices and the misuse of influence in elections.[35] However, it failed to restrict expenditures of a candidates friends and thus the full effect and intent of the law were to be nullified in the years ahead.

Other reforms adopted included a change in the date of the state's general election from June to November to correspond to the national elections. This measure probably would have worked to Chamberlain's disadvantage had it been in effect in 1908. These measures indicated that "the people, instead of being tired of the initiative and referendum, are ready to advance still farther along the line of progressive legislation."[36]

Chamberlain's victory was not yet complete for he had to wait six months for the legislature to ratify

the voters' wishes. He was the fourth Democrat elected to Congress since 1880, in a state which was consistently under the Republican banner in presidential elections after 1872. He realized that a majority of seven even though all fifty two legislators had publicly declared that they would redeem their pledges, might not hold up until they elected a senator. Chamberlain was fully aware of the efforts being made by the Republican leadership to prevent the legislature from electing him, but exuded confidence as to the final outcome. He believed that the people of Oregon had made their decision with full knowledge of what they were doing, and that no politician in a democracy, however corrupted the government might have become, could misunderstand the public's mind. There was one last possibility that the election of Chamberlain might fail that possibility in the determination of his qualifications to be seated by the United States Senate itself. Several of the state legislators who had voted for him had declared for the record that they were doing so under protest. Some Republicans hoped that these protests coupled with charges of fraud might overturn the election. Chamberlain was correct as things were well in hand. Bourne resolved most of the concern and Chamberlain continued to serve as governor until the last moment before he had to leave for Washington D.C. During this interval,

he vetoed fifty-six bills passed by the legislature and made a number of last minute appointments. Having placed his resignation in his private secretary's care, he hurried to Washington in time for the inauguration of William Howard Taft. The following day, March 5, 1909, at 12:10 p.m. with Senator Bourne accompanying him, he took the oath before the newly inaugurated Vice President, James S. Sherman.[37]

The election of George Chamberlain conclusively showed that the preponderant political force in Oregon was progressive in nature regardless of the party label a candidate used. It was also clear that Oregon stood in the front of those states in which attempts were being made to cope politically with the environmental changes which industrialism had brought in its wake. As Samuel Hays noted, to cushion the impact of industrialism, the people of the United States have invariably sought assistance from government.[38] In Oregon, the progressive rhetoric abounded with much the same terminology as elsewhere, such as interest, monopolies, moral obligation, corporate political collusion and efficiency. Yet at the turn of the century Oregon could hardly be considered an industrial state. Though its commercial and urban interests were strong, it remained backward in economic development and socially it had a good deal of the country spirit mixed with its urban

interest. In many ways Oregon represented the Populist propositions: "that the government must restrain the selfish tendencies of those who profited at the expense of the poor and needy, and the people, not the plutocrats, must control the government."[39] This is understandable given the continuity between nineteenth and twentieth century reform movements in Oregon as evidenced by the roles which people such as U'Ren, Bourne, John Young, Leonard McMahan, and others played in both the Populist and Progressive eras. Thus Oregon was progressive because it had been populist. For that reason it was farther advanced by 1910 than other states which had not been deeply touched by the doctrines of Populism. Since the efforts in 1904 to breathe new life into the People's party was not working, it became clear that only by working within and through the older established parties could the reforms so desired by the Populists be achieved. This gave impetus to the establishment of the Oregon System, which was essentially Populist in nature, through a bi-partisan effort,

CHAPTER 5

THE OREGON SYSTEM, 1909-1912: PRESERVING THE GAINS

The Oregon System had proved by 1909 to be a viable and effective political experiment. The system was still growing but Oregonians recognized that they had moved a long way toward expanding responsive popular government. Rather than accept the changes which had been adopted conservative political forces in Oregon continued the fight into the campaign of 1910. Some charged that "the transcontinental railroads, the street railways, the gas and electric lighting companies," helped the "old Republican machine," under the leadership of Harvey W. Scott's newspaper, the Oregonian, in its attempt to destroy the Oregon System.[1]

Those opposed to the Oregon System had lost power and prestige. The power for political change was now in the hands of every citizen. Any person could initiate political change through the petition process and this upset many of the state's politicians who saw their role in the legislature as unimportant. Many former political leaders such as Scott, Cake,

and Simon, and leaders of the industrial community who had been able to bully the legislature in the past were determined to reverse the gains. However, those opposed to the system were tampering with a politically explosive issue and were aware of popular reaction to all recent efforts to curb their power. They found it advisable to propose a plan which could be touted as being no direct or real infringement on the people's power. They determined, as a result, to make a direct attack during the 1909 session of the legislature. They proposed that a constitutional convention to revise the constitution, now patchworked with amendments made since the adoption of the initiative and referendum. The Peoples Power League sponsored an amendment in 1906 which referred the proposal to the voters at the next election. The advocates of revision believed the constitution was inadequate to solve the problems of modern government and that changes should proceed under the leadership of the legislature. It was argued that the people's method of voting on every change was too time consuming and the people's representative could perform the task better.

The measure aroused the suspicions of the supporters of the Oregon System concerning the motives of those who proposed it. It was true that there had been an increased number of measures presented to the voters

but many were the work of anti-initiative and referendum forces who wished to create chaos. A spokesman for the Grange wrote that the real purpose of the proposed constitutional revision convention was to "give us a new constitution with direct legislation left out or so arranged as to destroy its effectiveness."[2] Conservative Republicans also proposed a method to handle the selection of party nominees to their own advantage through the assembly process which would allow elected local representatives represent their constituents in a convention to select candidates. It was believed to be a way to circumvent the direct primary. The current procedure left little or nothing for the professional politician to do, since citizens placed names on the ballot after circulating a petition and then made the final selections at the primary elections.

The conservatives also sought to pass a bill in 1909 to permit political parties to hold conventions at which they could nominate three candidates for each office in the primary election. This measure passed one house but failed in the other.[3] Later that year, the Republican Club of Multnomah County called a convention to select candidates for the Portland city primary. Out of the controversy over this election in Portland in which the convention candidates were reasonably successful, the assembly was developed. The

Republican state central committee then requested that statewide assemblies be called in which suggestions about candidates could be made for the benefit of party members. Delegates were chosen from the county assemblies to attend a state assembly in Portland. The technique used to select delegates varied from county to county but in many people's eyes it seemed to be a return to the old machine methods of the past. Many of the politicians of the pre-initiative period were once again in evidence. It appeared to many conservatives that Oregonians could be persuaded to "shake off a large part of their progressive garments."[4]

The conservatives were guilty of poor judgement in the estimation of their opponents. As the editor of the Harney County News stated concerning the assembly idea, "the people just won't have it."[5] As a result, the old guard suffered one more defeat as they made adjustments to the reality of the political life in Oregon. The Republican Party faced a problem of organization which was the result of the primary system. In the view of one Republican, "the law has practically done away with political party organization in the state."[6] This was so in part because Democrats tended to register as Republicans for the primary. Then after selecting the most desirable and in some cases the weakest Republican from their point of view, they voted

for the Democratic candidate in the general election. The registration figures tended to support this position, although they did not support the Republican contention that Democrats worked to nominate weak Republican candidates. The estimated normal Republican majority in general elections was 25,000 to 30,000 but the registration figures did not bear this out. In 1910 the Democrats had 26,298 registered members, the Republicans 82,351. While the Republicans increased by 1,430 between 1908 and 1909, the Democrats actually lost 2,390 registered voters. By 1912 the registered Republicans had increased in numbers by 12,149 over the figure in 1908.[7] It would thus seem logical that the Republican majority should be in the vicinity of 55,000 votes in all elections. This was not the case.

This difference misled many Republicans into more factional controversies than a less imposing majority would have done. Not feeling the need to close ranks in the face of the opposing party, they tended to fight each other on issues that often could be compromised. In this "go-as-you-please plurality primary," the Oregonian fumed, the large number of candidates split tha party into fragments and were not able to unite their party for the election.[8] The Progressive wing of the Republican party, which included followers of Bourne and U'Ren, did not fail to meet

the challenge presented the Republican party through its conservative elements. U'Ren and the People's Power League used funds provided to propagate the single tax plan by Joseph Fels to defend and extend the Oregon System. They planned to maintain the momentum of attack rather than withdraw into a defensive position. A representative of the Fels Commission, Dr. W. G. Eggleston of California, went to Oregon in February 1910 to aid in public relations work. The Fels Fund and Eggleston's work preserved the system in Oregon, but the importance of this aid should not discount U'Ren's role in the struggle.[9]

Senator Bourne also was strongly opposed to the measures which the conservatives proposed. Using his time honored technique of the personal printed message to his Oregon constituents, he assailed the assembly and the proposed constitutional convention at every opportunity. He held that Oregonians must protect their measures of popular government not only for themselves but also for the country as a whole. While President Taft was on a visit to Portland in the fall of 1909, Bourne carefully steered him away from those who advocated the assembly plan.[10] Bourne knew from a previous Taft visit that the president could be led into lending the prestige of his office to undesirable elements. In the fall of 1907, when Taft was secretary of war and

a potential candidate for the presidency, he had visited Portland. Bank presidents, railroad representatives, lumber barons, industry leaders, and a few public officials had converged upon him. Prominent among them was Senator Fulton, an opponent of much of Roosevelt's program. These men kept the unsuspecting Taft from contact with leaders of reform, including Bourne's representatives in Oregon. This situation caused one of Roosevelt's supporters to proclaim, "and that is the way Taft started in Oregon! Tied hand and foot by every trust man of importance." He then added a prophetic warning: "How long would he stand out for the people against the trust? Not a minute after he should get in."[11]

During the primary election, Bourne declined to aid specific candidates and gave blanket support to those who had not been the choice of assemblies. It was Bourne's position that the assembly candidates needed to be defeated to protect the intent of the direct primary law. The Progressive group, including Bourne, was unsuccessful in defeating all of the undesirable candidates where they opposed assembly candidates. This allowed Oswald West to defeat the Republican candidate for governor, Jay Bowerman.[12] The vast majority of other assembly candidates for other offices were also defeated. This action of Bourne's

added another dimension to the factional strife. His victory over the assembly forces proved costly to Bourne as many Republicans turned away from him and he was defeated in his re-election bid in 1912.

At the general election in November the proposal for a constitutional convention failed. One amendment to the constitution and one initiative measure which the People's Power League proposed was accepted while two others were defeated. Altogether in this election, the electorate approved nine proposals and rejected twenty-three others, including the proposal for equal suffrage.[13] The significant political change was the adoption of the measure provided for the popular nomination of presidential electors and the election of delegates to national party conventions as well as for the presidential and vice presidential preference feature. This meant that the presidential or vice presidential candidate who received a plurality of his party's vote in the state at large won the support of the state delegation to the national convention. In order to assure this, each delegate had to take an oath to carry out the will of the voters. The measure incorporated a controversial proviso of proportional representation which permitted each voter a vote for only one elector and one delegate. This feature was criticized as a measure to permit every faction of the party to be

represented. It was hoped that a platform reflecting the divergent views of the party would result and this would prevent the alienation of any sector of the party. This provision created a situation different from than was expected. Rather than unifying the party, it caused much of the controversy upon which the party split in 1912.

The measure also authorized payment of $200 to each delegate to the conventions to defray expenses. This was intended to make it financially possible to those who were not independently wealthy or spokesman of an interest group to participate in a national convention. Opponents objected that delegates were not public officials and should not receive money for their public responsibility. Another part of the measure provided for the free publication of four pages of information by the candidates for president and vice president of legally recognized parties in the state campaign book; other candidates were to pay $100 per page. These features, rather than the extension of the primary system, were the reason the measure received the smallest majority of those adopted. But it did give Oregon the distinction of being the first state to provide for the expression of the popular choice for president and vice president.[14]

One of the most interesting measures offered to

the electorate in 1910 was ballot 358. This People's Power League proposal created a board of citizens to watch the government and its operation. It was to be composed of three members, elected every two years, using a method of proportional representation. The board, acting as editors and publishers, was to publish an official state magazine at public expense. It was to be prohibited from exceeding in total cost, including salaries, one dollar per registered voter. Each voter was to receive a copy every two months. The public records of all public officials were to be available so that the board could investigate and watch the public officials.[15] This measure was attacked as unnecessary and costly to the state and was defeated at the polls.

At the same time the League was preparing a proposal for the concentration of power and responsibility for the enforcement of the laws in one public servant.[16] It was proposed that only the governor and the auditor be elected, with all other state officers, local sheriffs and district attorneys be appointed by and subordinate to the governor. This would reduce the costs of government and simplify the ballot. Many felt that the short ballot needed to be coupled with the initiative and the referendum if they were not to become unworkable. The adverse criticism aroused after the proposal was made in 1909 forced the League to withdraw in 1910. While

this measure was brought up once again in 1911 and subsequent years, it was never placed on the ballot.

One other measure of note, since if reflected another aspect of progressivism in Oregon, was an initiative constitutional proposal: Single tax ballot number 326. The Single Tax was the idea of Henry George who published his work Progress and Poverty in 1879. The idea was that all unearned increments in land values would be taxed. The significant feature of George's philosophy was his assertion that men could reconstruct society by collective political action. This amendment was the work of W. S. U'Ren and the Single Tax League. U'Ren had long been an adherent of the Single Tax and had conducted most of his political campaigns in behalf of measures which he hoped would lead to its adoption. The dissension over the issue of whether to take a gradualist approach in a proposed constitutional amendment in 1908 led to U'Ren's refusal to step aside and not support the measure. He wanted a straight-forward approach to the voters on the issue. Predictably, the amendment was soundly defeated and U'Ren returned to the fold of the single-tax group after the election. He continued his program of educating the population of Oregon through speechs, and publications.

The Single Tax League then resorted to a subterfuge to hide the single tax idea. Using the favorable

relationship it enjoyed with organized labor in Oregon, the League presented the amendment so that it appeared to originate with labor rather than the League. When the proposal was introduced, it appeared that it abolished the poll tax, although it had been removed at an earlier date.[17] The principal feature of the proposal was to remove the state's power to regulate taxes and exemptions in the individual counties. Single taxers could then work county by county to establish single tax acceptance. After such a campaign they would then submit their proposal statewide in 1912. Thus it was presented as a county option bill that would appeal to the local voter who resented the power of the state into local affairs. As a result of this campiagn the amendment squeaked by the voters with a margin of 2,044 votes. It was impractical to propose a straight out measure and U'Ren never apologized for the deception but the Oregonian and other members of the press around the state denounced it roundly.[18] This amendment brought condemnation on the single taxers from many sources including supporters of the initiative and referendum such as:

> The people have passed laws against their interests and their convictions. They have been fooled by men who claimed to trust the people, but who, afraid to submit measures honestly, so disguised them that they succeeded in passing.[19]

If there were glaring defects in the system, there

was time to remedy them in the future. One thing was not in doubt: the Oregon system was here to stay. In 1910, the voters had proved their knowledge of both local and state problems. They rejected efforts to restrict their power, and with one exception all single tax amendments or measures which could be considered radical. The most notable extension of the direct democracy of Oregon was the presidential preference primary measure. The people of Oregon engaged for many months during the campaign of 1910 in constant consideration of complex political, educational, financial and self government issues.

To Oregonians, the search was not to prepare for the inevitable drift upward to a better life, but to provide a collection of effective political tools to preserve what they saw as important to having individual power in Oregon. This pragmatic approach generated sufficient support for the measures of popular reform but the reformers never gave their unqualified loyalty or support to any platform or party. At the same time that U'Ren was promoting the direct primary he proclaimed himself a lifelong Republican despite his activities as a populist. "I think if I were disposed to take any vigorous action I would fall in with the Socialists," U'Ren wrote, "that is a growing party and really stands for some live issues . . . ."[20]

Many who had been ardent partisans when the People's party was popular in Oregon learned to temper their idealism with political realism as U'Ren did. Thus it was not out of character for the secretary of a Republican United States senator to confess, "I belong to no party but I affiliate with the Republicans . . . and shall continue to do so until the new birth."[21]

The idea of new birth alluded to a new alignment of political parties in which the Democratic party would become the champion of individualism while the Republican party would be driven to the altruism and concern for the welfare of the polls. The liberals also used the Republican party to achieve their ends primarily because of the traditional allegiance of southerners to the Democratic party. An anonymous westerner who saw the West "as after all the most truly democratic part of the United States," found it difficult to ally himself with Southerners. This was so because "Southern people . . . are not so free and independent as the people of the West . . . indeed, they were generally a little more aristocratic in fact . . . ."[22] At the same time, the people of the Northwest found it convenient to ally themselves and lend support to a transplanted southern Democratic politician, George E. Chamberlain.

At the same time, the voters of Washington, who

copied Oregon in adopting the intitative and referendum, also were relying on a progressive Repbulican of southern origins to reach their political goals. In 1910, Washington Republicans chose Miles Poindexter, a native of Tennessee and like Chamberlain, a graduate of Washington and Lee University, senator in the primary. In the wake of the Ballinger-Pinchot controversy, the election of Poindexter seemed another endorsement of the movement for reform in the state of Washington and the rest of the West.[23] Similarily in California, the progressives were not clearly allied with the Republican party before 1910. In fact, in that year when Hiram Johnson attained prominence as candidate for governor, his opponent was a forward looking Democrat, Theodore Bell. During the decade prior to 1910 the Democrats under the leadership of Bell, Franklin K. Lane and James D. Phelan, had become stronger as well as more reform-minded. Bell could legitimately campaign from a platform and a record that claimed to represent the reform elements of the state in the battle against the Southern Pacific Railroad. Even though Bell's campaign was founded on a much more diversified program than Johnson's and promised fairer treatment of railroad than Johnson, he lost. Johnson won a close contest in spite of Bell's aggressive campaign and the progressive program in California was from then on closely

associated with Johnson's forces.[24]

If party allegiance no longer meant to the generation of 1910 what it had to the generation of post Civil War America it was because political parties had become an additional and one of the most potent checks on the majority.[25] This was true, J. Allen Smith argued because of the division of powers in government which gave parties the opportunity to place blame for their own misdeeds or unfulfilled promise on another branch of government. Therefore, not being held accountable, the parties tended to promise too much with little expectation of fulfilling their commitments. As a result, the rank and file became discouraged and neglected their responsibilities as professional leaders took control. Thus the parties themselves were responsible for both the lack of loyalty among the voters and the efforts by the reformers to remove political decisions from the parties' control. This created a tradition, as one political scientist noted, that voters of Oregon were "more affected by personality and by issues than by party."[26]

Party irregularity was particularly noticeable when tested against the issue of conservation, an issue to which Oregon and the rest of the West were especially sensitive. In 1907 at the Public Lands Convention, whose sponsors intended as a sounding board for those

opposed to the policies of the Roosevelt administration, a delegation of Oregon ranchers were among the foremost supporters of the federal grazing policy which allowed ranchers to use federal land for a nominal fee. Later in 1911, at a meeting of the American National Woolgrowers Association in Portland, the Oregon delegation secured the adoption of favorable resolutions concerning the work of the Forest Service rather than the usual critical resolutions concerning their work.[27] Another demonstration of the party irregularity was the selection of state executives which were Democratic while the rank and file was largely Republican.

During these same years one of the earliest and most bitter opponents of the conservation policies of Roosevelt and Pinchot was Oregon's senior Senator, Charles W. Fulton, a conservative Republican. Even the progressive Senator Bourne did not champion conservation until it became politically expedient. Originally Bourne was proud to be a major sponsor of Taft's new Secretary of Interior, Richard Ballinger, views more closely approximated those of the mining and timber interests than the conservationists. When Ballinger was commissioner of the General Land Office in the Roosevelt Administration, Bourne had called him "the best . . . this country had ever had."[28] Bourne continued to defend Ballinger through the Ballinger-Pinchot

controversy. Still later, 1910-1911, Bourne helped form the National Progressive Republican League and became its president. Thinking that conservation could be an effective issue in his campaign for re-election in 1912, Bourne followed a vacillating path on the issue, while other members of the Republican party cooperated with the Democratic state administration in the implementation and support of the policy of the national government. One of Gifford Pinchot's Democratic confidants in Oregon, Joseph N. Teal, helped convince Governor Chamberlain that it was wise policy for the state to support conservation. In addition to cooperating with the Forest Service, as he had cooperated with the state officials in the investigations of the land fraud cases, Chamberlain created a state conservation commission as one of his last official acts as governor in February 1909. In line with their close political affiliation, the Oregon Journal, continued to support the governor's actions and constantly gave the Forest Service favorable publicity.

Even the Oregonian generally favored the national conservative policies until 1908. However, since it was tied to the Republican Party, it changed its views and supported the policy of Taft and Ballinger.[29] By 1910, the Oregonian was calling for the need of governmental restraints on such things as the construction of

power plants that the West wanted. The change in governmental policy was long over due to most Westerners. They felt that western America's resources had too long been locked away from development. Many in the West believed that a conspiracy of misguided intellectuals who wished to preserve the area as a museum and greedy capitalists who did not want competition for their raw materials in the East, were responsible for keeping the resources of the area out of western hands. Therefore, they considered it entirely unfair and unrealistic to expect westerners to stop exploiting the region's resources in the name of public interest especially when easterners had full access to the resources of their region and only now after having used up their own became conscious of the need to conserve resources. The Oregonian argued: "We want our country developed; we desire the conversion of its natural resources to some use rather than let them run wild . . . we wish the government to part with the lands and let them be utilized . . . ."[30]

The editors found strong support from powerful allies including William Hanley, a large landowner in central and southeastern Oregon. Hanley prided himself on his resemblance in appearance and homespun philosophy to William Jennings Bryan but was tied to the large banking and real estate interests of Portland. He controlled

the William Hanley Company and the Harney Valley Development Company whose goal it was to bring in railroads and settlers to that part of the state and make as much money as possible. It was little wonder that after Hanley visited President Taft early in 1910 he returned to Oregon very satisfied:

> I am going home feeling very much interested in the President and admiring his qualities for the high office he fills, and will certainly as all within my power as a citizen to assist sentiment in his behalf, he wrote, as I feel he is an ideal type for the position and should be better protected.[31]

Hanley's views created support for Taft as Hanley was a prominent progressive in the state.

There had been changes in conservation policies also at the state level. When George Chamberlain resigned the governorship, Frank W. Benson, the Republican Secretary of State, succeeded him. Since Benson was ill with cancer he asked the president of the senate Jay Bowerman to take over as acting governor. Benson was never able to return to his duties. Bowerman was acting chief executive for seven months but was unsuccessful in his bid to be elected to the office as the Republican assembly candidate in 1910.[32] During the summer before the election Bowerman showed his antipathy to Pinchot's concept of conservation by sending to the second National Conservation Congress, at St. Paul, representatives who opposed Pinchot's beliefs.

Then in January 1911, after his defeat at the polls the previous November by a margin of some 6,000 votes, Bowerman attacked the national conservation program of Roosevelt and Pinchot and their efforts to integrate state and national policies. He condemned the activities of the Oregon Conservation Commission, a progressive innovation, as being harmful to the interest of the state. Like Taft, the acting governor thought that by participating in controversies over the use of forests, the commissioners had impaired their usefulness. At his request the Republican legislature repealed the Conservation Commission Act and refused to pass a bill to observe Conservation Day in the state. This last gasp lame duck attack on conservation in Oregon was not allowed to stand. Oswald West, the newly elected Democratic governor, reversed the policy. Having been elected with the aid of progressive Republicans, including a future Republican governor, Ben W. Olcott, who financed much of his campaign, West proved his progressive beliefs in his first message as governor in 1911. He proposed a Northwest interstate water use compact. He called for the creation of a new office of state forester and a new bureau of forestry to carry out his plans for conservation. The State Fish and Game Commission was established during his term of office and he secured legislative support for reconstituting the previously

annulled Oregon Conservation Commission.[33] West's work pleased Pinchot and Roosevelt and T.R. publicly lauded West for his accomplishments.[34]

Thus conservation as a political issue in Oregon did not become clearly associated in the public mind with either of the parties in the decade before 1920. Progressive Republicans thought that the issue of conservation would aid their cause because so much of federal policy directly affected economic conditions in the West. This was not the case as the issue clearly cut across party lines and served the political interest of neither the progressives or the conservatives of either party. Niether side readily understood the complexity of the issue, in its economic and political implications. Many who took a stand on conservation did so because of personal attachments rather than concern for the best interests of the West or the nation as a whole. Since the views of the electorate on conservation were not altogether clear, the progressives were undecided on how strongly to push the issue. This situation essentially undermined the use of conservation as an effective political issue in 1910 and 1912 for the progressives.[35] Oregonians were undecided since they could not decide whether the potential change of their environment was worth the additional jobs. They did not want to be left out of progress but they wished to preserve their

lifestyle.

Oregon's experience was a case in point. In Oregon a progressive Republican senator, Jonathan Bourne, supported a conservative Republican president's policy of opening western resources to development. Two Democratic governors agreed to cooperate with a progressive Republican president in carrying out the conservation measures of his administration and even extended them within the state. This occurred at a time when the voters were growing resentful over the apparent sympathy of the national administration toward the goals of the vested interests and monopolies. The administration's sympathy was demonstrated with the endorsement of the Payne-Aldrich tariff which appeared to contradict the Republican party platform of 1908. Furthermore, the Republican platform proposed a special Commerce Court to hear appeals from rate decisions of the Interstate Commerce Commission and avidly sought to vindicate Ballinger. The resentment which developed against Taft's administration manifested itself most clearly in the political upheaval of 1910 when the Democrats, for the first time in sixteen years, won control of the national House of Representatives and narrowed the margin of Republican control in the Senate to the point where the progressives held the balance of power. While Oregon held no senatorial election in 1910, it

did add to progressive strength when it sent Abraham W. Lafferty, a maverick Republican, to the House from the second Congressional district.

Between 1910 and 1912 political parties came to mean little to the voters of Oregon and even the politicians themselves. Though the names were still in use and because of traditional association, the form was still apparent, but the substance of the party no longer seemed discernible. Party registration clearly was no index, nor were issues which were not drawn along partisan lines. The personality and charisma of the politician were more important to the political success or failure than party loyalty. The Oregon system, achieved through bipartisan and nonpartisan techniques, lent itself to the forces of party disintegration at the same time that it encouraged the voting public to wider participation and greater awareness of political responsibilities. Some of the progressives in Oregon awaited the process of political realignment almost with the same faith that some Christians awaited the second coming of Christ. They saw a hopeful sign of a great tomorrow. The single taxers directed their attentions and energies toward a pure single tax amendment in 1912. For the other progressives the future promised the prospect of a clearer, and purer political life. Through the reform measures they had introduced,

not only would better laws be created, but also corruption, dishonesty and incompetence would be banished from the agencies of political and social control.

The progressive in Oregon "felt confident that he could cure these ills of society through the political method and through preaching and legislating morality."[36] Prohibition was a subject of Progressive concern. Oregonians feared the problems which liquor could create. While the problem was debated in the newspapers for years, the problem was not great enough to create a groundswell movement to ban liquor. The citizens of Oregon had protected its society through the initiative and could have stopped its sale and open consumption if it desired. Thus while a concern, liquor did not pose the problem or issue that it posed elsewhere. The future of old time politics seemed dim. On the defense in Oregon, unable to manipulate the party, with an unpopular national administration to defend, the standpat Republicans had little reason to expect anything but defeat in Oregon in 1912. For in Oregon the first phase of the new order had been established and had withstood its first test of opposition. The future would see attempts to fine tune the new system.

CHAPTER VI

THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY IN OREGON

The election of 1912 found the Republicans badly divided. The Republicans in the West and some areas of the East were in revolt against the entrenched party organization. The dilemma is easily understood when one considers that the nomination of Taft would cause the desertion of liberal support. Roosevelt was opposed by the more conservative party leadership. The primaries revealed that Roosevelt was the choice of the people but the Republican National Committee which had been chosen four years earlier were squarely behind President Taft. This dominance of the preliminary arrangements allowed the convention to award two hundred and thirty five of the two hundred and fifty four contested delegates to Taft, thus assuring Taft the nomination. Roosevelt had a right to at least thirty more delegates and such a swing would have allowed T.R. to block the nomination of Taft on the first ballot.[1]

When the convention opened in Chicago on the eighteenth of June, Oregon's delegation was split on

many issues but most favored the nomination of Roosevelt. When the vote was taken for the temporary chairman of the convention, six members of the Oregon delegation voted for the Roosevelt man, McGovern of Wisconsin while three voted for Root the choice of President Taft's men and one did not vote.[2] Carey, who seconded the nomination of McGovern explained that in order to carry out the instructions from the people Oregon it was necessary for him to vote for the nomination of Roosevelt and to support Roosevelt's programs which included the selection of a temporary chariman. McCusker's refusal to vote was in accordance with the decision of a LaFollette man to support neither Taft nor Roosevelt candidates but to vote for their own candidate or none at all.[3] The next day, the nineteenth, another key vote was taken which indicated the direction of Oregon's delegation. When Benson's resolution relating to the right of contested delegates to vote, five of the Oregon delegation voted with Watson to favor the regular convention procedure and five with Benson which would have given Roosevelt control of the convention.[4] Thus in spite of Roosevelt's personal plea to Oregon's ten delegates to stand by him throughout the fight in the national convention, three deserted him on the vote for temporary chairman and five on the vote for allowing contested delegates to vote.[5]

A. V. Swift represented Oregon on the Credentials Committee. He had been selected on the understanding that he would pass on all the contests. The Oregon delegates had refused to select Henry Waldo Coe who had wanted to be on that committee so he could vote to overturn the action of the National Committee on Washington, Texas and other contests where the Roosevelt men contended they were robbed. Contrary to the understanding on which he had been chosen, Swift went along with Francis J. Heney when he led the bolt from the session of the Credentials Committee on the night of June Nineteenth.[6] Roosevelt's men met at the Congress Hotel and pondered their next move. When the permanent organization of the Convention was completed, it confirmed that Roosevelt had lost the seventy two contested seats. At this time Roosevelt announced his desire that his name should not be presented to the convention. He wrote out a statement, which Henry J. Allen of Kansas read, asking all who had been elected as Roosevelt delegates to refrain from voting on any other matter before the convention after the adoption of the reports of the credentials committee.[7]

On the first ballot for president, eight Oregonians voted for Roosevelt and two did not vote. The Oregon delegates were instructed that under Oregon law all the delegation were bound to support Roosevelt but

two refused to vote. Therefore he called for a roll call. Two leading progressives in Oregon, Ackerson and Coe refused to vote since they felt the deck was stacked against them. When the counting was finished Taft received five hundred sixty one votes; Roosevelt, one hundred and seven; LaFollette, forty one; Cummins, seventeen; and Hughes, two, with three hundred forty four delegates not voting.[8] At the close of the Republican convention, the Roosevelt delegates, alternatives and supporters held a mass meeting in Orchestra Hall. Roosevelt declared that the time had come for all progressives to get together in one party and expressed his willingness to be the candidate of that party or to support any other man it nominated. A provisional committee was appointed to arrange for the new organization. Both Coe and Ackerson, who had bolted the Oregon delegation after the ballot for president attended this meeting.[9]

The Oregonian commented that Taft's renomination under the circumstance "forbade disaster to his candidacy and gravely imperiled the future of the Republican party." Roosevelt, it explained, had won a fair contest for the nomination in the principal Republican states where the party must expect the Republican majorities. However, "no party can afford to merge its identity in the personal fortunes and record of any

one man . . . It is not the least lamentable of recent events that the long and illustrious career of the Republican party should terminate, if it has terminated, in the scenes of uproar, levity, disorder and riot that attended the Chicago convention."[10] Ralph E. William, who had been re-elected Republican National Committeeman, said the regular Republican state central committee would not support any third party movement. He castigated both Coe and Ackerson for their support of a Roosevelt bolt.

After the Democrats nominated Wilson at Baltimore, they started bidding for the progressive vote. Bert Haney, who was chairman of the Oregon Democratic Committee declared that the Democrats were the new party and a new third party was unnecessary. Unnecessary or not, the Progressive Party began to take form with the establishment of the National Bandana Club at the Portland East Side Library, July 1, 1912. The club changed its name to the National Progressive Club of Oregon on the eighteenth, and elected its officers. Dan Kellaher was elected President with Levi W. Myers, first vice president, George Arthur Brown, second vice president, L. M. Lepper, secretary-treasurer and an executive committee of Frederick L. Mulkey, George W. Joseph, J. T. Wilson, Sanfield MacDonald and V. Vincent Jones. MacDonald and Wilson were included since they were

supporters of LaFollette and the party wanted to lure the twenty two thousand LaFollette voters in Oregon.[11]

On July seventeenth, men representing forty states including Henry Coe and L. M. McMahan signed an invitation to attend a national progressive convention in Chicago on August fifth.[12] On July twenty-fifth the National Progressive Party held a state convention. Volunteer delegates from twelve of Oregon's thirty four counties adopted a platform which represented the viewpoint of Roosevelt and named five presidential electors to be placed on the official ballot.[13] The resolution declaring for the nomination of state and country tickets was tabled after a protracted debate. Progressives in each county would select a member of a proposed state committee to meet in Portland at a later date. It would elect a state chairman and executive committee to direct the campaign in Oregon. George F. Rodgers, former mayor of Salem, became temporary chairman of the prospective state committee.[14] The resolution which would provide for a progressive candidate in every election was significant in bringing out the different views of the party. The question of whether to work to establish a basic party organization on the district, county and state level or to concern itself only with the national party leadership dominated this meeting. Bruce Dennis, chairman of the Republican

Central Committee, said: "Oregon has spoken. She is a progressive state. Progressive candidates are named for almost every office in the districts, state and counties. Simply because a conscienceless National Committee packed a convention is no cause for Republicans in Oregon to desert the party. Especially is this true where the great backbone of Republicanism in the nation refused to endorse the National committee's action."[15] Attempts to hold the liberal Republican failed and H. W. Coe and Dan Kellaher maintained that the state Progressive convention gave identity to the new party which included a platform, the election of delegates to Chicago, the nomination of presidential electors and the provision for a state central committee.

On August 5, 1912, the National Progressive Convention met in Chicago and nominated Roosevelt and Hiram Johnson to run on a platform of social justice and political reform. After the national convention, the call went out for the counties to select committeemen to organize a state committee. In the three cornered fight for chairman for the Progressive State Central Committee, George A. Brown, of Portland, won over Levi W. Myers who had Kellaher's backing.[16] The establishment of a new political party brought about much intra-political strife in both the G.O.P. and Democratic parties. After a great deal of bickering a resolution

calling for the party to run candidates in all the races was accepted.

In the contest for senator, the names of A. E. Clark, Jonathan Bourne, and Frederick Mulkey were placed in nomination. Clark received fifty-one votes; Bourne, thirty nine and Mulkey, thirty. Before the second ballot could be taken, J. T. Wilson withdrew Mulkey's name and Bourne's name was also withdrawn. Clark who had been an avowed candidate for the Progressive nomination since July was thus nominated.[17] Soon after Clark's nomination it was rumored that Bourne would run for the Senate as an independent, a decision he soon made. This meant that six candidates were in the field. Three, Bourne, Clark, and Selling claimed the Progressive and Republican Progressive allegiance. The Democrat, Harry Lane was also known as a progressive in his party's ranks. Bourne believed that Selling had induced his friends among the Progressives to back Clark in order to head off Bourne's nomination by splitting the Progressive vote.[18] There was no question that the party was damaged after the convention. Clark's nomination alienated both Bourne's and Mulkey's followers. In addition, Bruce Dennis, who supported Selling in preference to Clark or Bourne, led an attack on Ben Olcott, progressive Republican Secretary of State, because of his reported role in

aiding in the re-election of Ralph E. Williams as national committeeman at the Republican convention. The party was destroying itself with factional fights.

The Progressives in Oregon were a diverse lot with varying ideas and purposes, many of which were in conflict. Men such as Coe favored using the party only to help Roosevelt be elected. Men like Bourne sought to win power for themselves. A small band of idealists such as John McMahan believed that victory alone was not so important as principle. To them, the undesirable elements should be expelled. McMahan demanded that each party nominee support every other one and he warned: "No traitors will be tolerated in the Progressive camp. This is a fight for principles."[19] The party continued the campaign with all three factions within it, each hoping to be able to win control. As it turned out, the struggle was not resolved until after the election. The Progressive foes naturally were delighted to watch this conflict.

While the Progressive Party had its problems it built an organization which seemed to assure a future. In Multnomah county where most of Oregon's voters lived, the Progressives built an organization fully paralleling that of the state structure. Meeting in late September, the 149 delegates named Thomas A. Sweeney as county chairman and L. M. Lepper, the secretary of

the state central committee, as the county group's secretary. The report of the committee on resolutions, of which G. A. Brown and Thomas Neuhausen were members, recommended the adoption of the national platform and endorsement of the actions at the convention at Salem. These proposals carried without difficulty. However, a resolution to run a complete ticket was passed, 92-57 after a long and noisy debate.[20]

The party became a target of those who charged that the so-called party of principle was merely after votes and that it would fall by the wayside as the People's party had done a few years earlier. However, once organized the control of the campaign fell almost entirely into the hands of the state executive committee. The state central committee was too large and cumbersome to discharge its duties properly. Its membership was widely dispersed over the sparsely settled state and thus the management of the campaign fell to the executive composed entirely of Portlanders, with the exception of McMahan. Some of the campaign devices utilized in 1912 were of the older varieties but many were new. This campaign saw the decline of the old-fashioned emotional spellbinder in Oregon. The Oregon voter, now more literate than a generation earlier, relied heavily on the written word to inform him of issues and candidates. His official state voter's

pamphlet gave him, in handy form, the views of all the candidates of the various parties as well as arguments for and against the measures. The day of the stump speaker seemed to be passing. Small meetings in churches, public halls, and theaters as well as street meetings were more important. Bandanas, the official emblem of the Bull Moosers, became a common sight all over Oregon, and red "Teddy" buttons were seen everywhere. Despite much activity there seemed to be little excitement as the campaign was winding down.[21] Perhaps this was the price one had to pay for the new sophistication which brought about cool decisions which the Oregon system instilled in the voters.

No candidate worked harder during the election than did Alfred E. Clark. Bourne had charged that Clark was a mere stalking horse for Ben Selling, and this placed Clark on the defensive. Clark's experience as public speaker was his major asset and he soon launched a no holds barred statewide campaign bolstered with a Roosevelt endorsement. He advocated nationwide extension of the Oregon System, judicial reforms; government aid to farmers; rural free delivery and parcel post; improved food and drug act and a national bureau of health; and the simplification of amending the national constitution.[22] Entering the race late, Clark had to overcome a big lead. Selling had the

full resources of the regular Republican organization and Lane had the support of the Democrats and Senator Chamberlain. The last candidate was Jonathan Bourne. His following exceeded that of many of the others and among his supporters were some of the most experienced politicos in the state including W. S. U'Ren, Dan Kellaher, and Alvin A. Muck. Bourne did an unusual amount of personal campaigning and received the support of other prominent progressive U.S. senators including Cummins, Poindexter and LaFollette who sent letters of support. Bourne came under suspicion of wrong doing because of the Clapp Committee's investigation of the Standard Oil Company's effort to secure a settlement of the anti-trust suit against it in 1908, Roosevelt sent a letter absolving him of all blame. Perhaps the strongest charge leveled against Bourne was that he had betrayed the Oregon System in repudiating the principle of the primary. Clark criticized him severely on this issue.

Clark and the rest of the Progressive candidates in the state knew that their chances were poor unless Roosevelt swept the state and perhaps the nation. At party headquarters the situation was confused as the party fought not only the problems of registering a new political party but petty personal conflicts regarding power and policy. After the convention in

Salem, Progressives started registering as members of a separate party. By the tenth of October only 155 voters had done so. This contrasted with 933 Republican voters, 548 Democrats, 125 Socialists, 160 Independents and 44 prohibitionists in the same span of time.[23] The Oregonian noted with delight that there were six new Republicans for each new member of the Progressive Party. The secretary of state's office reported that Progressive registration accounted for less than two per cent of the statewide registration. The Republican party represented 49.6 per cent of the state voters, the Democrats only slightly over 21 per cent and the Socialists had about nine per cent. The Socialist party had a registration four times that of the Progressives, the Democrats ten times and the Republicans twenty-five times. While the voters showed little enthusiasm for the campaign, they clearly intended to voice their wishes as registration closed on October 19. Over 160,253 voters had registered, more than 30,000 more than before the primaries were held.[24]

The Progressive Party worked harder as the campaign was drawing to an end but it was becoming apparent that they were swaying only a handful of voters. Even the attempted assasination of T.R. on October 14 only brought a small increase in support. When the election was held Wilson carried twenty three counties, Taft

seven and Roosevelt four. Wilson carried Multnomah county by 1,371 votes over Roosevelt, while Taft trailed 3,311 votes behind Roosevelt. Roosevelt carried none of the eastern farming counties nor did he carry the Willamette valley. Wilson ran well in the areas where LaFollette had been strong during the Republican primary. Lane followed the same pattern in almost every county except by a slimmer margin. Bourne's and Clark's total vote were 3,000 less than Lane's, and nearly 1,500 below Sellings. At the state level Democrats won slight gains, though the traditional dominance of the Republican Party continued. The Progressives failed to dent the Republican majority in the state legislature. Every member designated himself either a Republican or Democrat.[25]

Oregon's voters faced a flood of direct legislation in 1912. It required a great deal of discrimination to find one's way through the thirty seven ballot measures which included such items as the single tax, reorganization of the state legislature and women's suffrage. The results of the balloting showed that Oregonians still gave close attention to their responsibilities. They approved five of fourteen proposed constitutional amendments, six of twenty-three measures. The voters were opposed to new public offices. They wanted to limit state expenditures, rejected the single

tax, and passed a limited workman's compensation plan. The voter wanted no part of anything which would weaken the Oregon system. They approved regulation of statewide public utilities; an eight hour day on public work; a freight rates act; tax exemption on household effects and prohibition of private employment of both state and local prisoners.[26] Finally, after four attempts Oregonians adopted women's suffrage 61,265 to 57, 104.[27]

The Oregonian editors held a post-mortem the day before the election as the results were a foregone conclusion. It was difficult for the editors to understand how a party with the social record of the Republicans in Oregon could be challenged. They blamed Roosevelt's audacity for the established order and rules of politics in his attempt to seek a new political order through a new political party. The Republicans soon formulated their official reason for their defeat. The theme became clear. Roosevelt's bolt was the reason for Wilson's victory. In Oregon, loyal Republicans voted for Wilson rather than Taft. After the election, the Republicans concluded that Roosevelt may have had a legitimate reason to bolt the party, but that reason was no longer enough to keep the new party from foundering. Like other third party efforts, the Progressive Party had little hope for survival without an issue to replace

Roosevelt.

The end of the campaign of 1912 was a relief to everyone involved. The emotional tension and disappointment, the bitter campaign of nearly a year had strained the patience of the average man. In general, Oregonians were satisfied with the candidates that the Republicans and Democrats had nominated as they represented the same principles which the Progressive Party held out for voter inspection. In practical terms the internecine struggle within Republicanism proved too much for the old party to absorb. The electorate found the bitter denunciations of Roosevelt and Taft less attractive than the programs of tariff reform, peace and idealism which Wilson promised. The pattern of state politics over the previous decade proved that Oregon's voters were not especially loyal to party, regardless of the registration figures. Each candidate was chosen essentially on his appeal, not on his party's label alone. If the Republicans were going to dominate the state's politics it would because they offered the best candidates and the most attractive programs. The Oregonian's individualism gave the Progressive Party reason to hope for its political future.

November 5, 1912 marked the end of the campaign yet only the beginning for the Progressive Party in Oregon. It had to become a fully orthodox party in

the traditional scheme of politics if it hoped to attain success. Yet this was the very antithesis of what the party had hoped to escape. To them, the success of their political venture would have meant the end of politics. The substitution of principles for promise, of service for patronage, and for centralized power for efficiency. The paradox of this position was rarely visible to those who took it. In Oregon these aspirations were reflected in the idealists demand that the party purge itself of all but the pure and true. This purpose led to the rejection of Jonathan Bourne in 1912 as the obvious Progressive candidate for the seat he then held. It generated the never ending struggle over the issue of whether to propose a complete ticket or to present only candidates to oppose known old guard candidates. In one sense, Progressives who had been most responsible for the creation of the Oregon System rejected the decisions of the rank and file Republicans who had chosen, in most cases, a representative progressive ticket. By so doing, Progressives had allied themselves with opportunists who sought to use the new party as a means of gaining power. As a result of this unlikely combination, which smacked of radicalism on the one hand and mere political opportunism on the other, the moderates tended to be doubtful about the course of the new party and were the first to leave it and

find their way back to one of the older parties.

On December 9, 1912, the Progressives held a conference at Chicago which was attended by fifteen hundred delegates. All the states were represented. They set up a plan of permanent organization with headquarters in New York and Washington, D.C.[28] In Oregon, the Progressive Party through T. B. Neuhausen, chairman of the State Central Committee of Progressives, and B. E. Kenney made a determined effort to establish the party firmly in Oregon through state law. They tried to get three measures into the state legislature: a bill providing for statutory recognition of the Progressive party; the election of National Committeemen of all political parties at the primaries; and the recall of judicial decisions.[29] Senator Carson introduced a bill amending Oregon's definition of a political party which the legislature passed. Under the old law, a political party had to have cast twenty five per-cent of its total vote of its candidates for the House of Representatives. Since the Progressive Party did not have a full congressional ticket in the last election it received less than the needed percentage. The legislature amended the law defining a political party as one that cast twenty per cent of the whole vote in the state for presidential electors. The legislature failed to amend the provision fixing the percentage

for the vote, but it did not matter as the Attorney General Crawford ruled that the Progressive Party was a political party within the measures of the direct primary law.[30]

In the 1914 primaries, the Progressives presented only fourteen of the two hundred fifty two nominating petitions filed.[31] To have a complete ticket, the state and Multnomah County Progressive committee proposed a list of suggested names to write in on the primary ballots. In the general election the Democratic candidate for the senate George E. Chamberlain carried the state with 111,748 votes, the Republican, R. A. Booth was second with 88,297 votes, and the Progressive candidate, William Hanley ran a poor third with 26,820 votes. In the First Congressional District, the Progressive candidate, Fred W. Mears, ran fourth with only 2,731 votes. In the Second Congressional District, the Republican-Progressive, H. J. Sinnott won his race while Arthur Moulton, a Progressive-Prohibitionist ran fourth.[32] This performance was hardly encouraging to the Progressive leadership.

In December 1914 Dr. Henry Waldo Coe represented Oregon at the Progressive Conference in Chicago. Upon his return, he was not certain whether the party was ready to dissolve or whether it would be in the race in 1916. He commented that the conference generally

did not advise putting up city, county, and state tickets. He also did not think Theodore Roosevelt would be a candidate in 1916. T.R. had written him: "The public is tired of hearing of reforms from reformers and especially from me . . . ."[33] Coe also reported that Progressives avoided any reference to Roosevelt and were divided on whether the Progressives should press on or seek to amalgamate with either the Republicans or Democrats.

As Roosevelt withdrew from the reform element, he became more associated with the supporters of the so-called "status quo." His one aim from 1914 to 1916 was to defeat Wilson, and a united Republican party was necessary to do this. In mid-July, 1915, the Progressive Conference in New York had decided that it was best to allow the party in each state to decide about running local tickets or fusing with the Republicans. Throughout 1915, the sentiment for reconciliation between the Progressives and the Republicans continued to grow. Progressive leaders in Oregon favored merging with the Republicans as long as the Republicans would nominate someone the Progressives could approve. Oregon leaders who hoped that Roosevelt might be nominated were not confident.[34] The Republican Party in an effort to bring Republicans and Progressives together started a club movement in January 1915. At the first meeting

on the twentieth of January it was evident that the conservatives and progressives did not trust each other. John F. Logan tried to limit membership to registered Republicans. Sanfield MacDonald, who had left the Progressive Party, pointed out that the Republicans needed the Progressive support and fought to keep membership open to anyone who wanted the Republican party to succeed. Since neither faction was able to control, a temporary chairman, Charles A. Johns and secretary John H. Richardson were named. The desire for power clearly motivated the struggle. If a Republican president were elected, federal patronage would follow.

In February, several former members of the Progressive Party were supposedly registering as Republicans to gain control of the organization and elect men who would support Roosevelt at the National Convention.[35] Rumors continued as T. B. Neuhausen, the state chairman of the Progressive Party in Oregon, was attempting to help the Roosevelt chance of obtaining the Republican nomination by attempting to destroy Charles E. Hughes' credibility.[36] Neuhausen strongly denied this charge.

Oregon was the only state in which Hughes entered the primaries. He had refused to allow his name to be printed on the primary ballot but his supporters instituted "mandamus" proceedings to compel Secretary of State Olcott to put it there. The Supreme Court of

Oregon instructed Olcott to place Hughes' name on the ballot.[37] Neuhausen urged Roosevelt's supporters to support Cummins in the Republican primaries which would ultimately help Roosevelt. Neuhausen also urged the Progressives to write in the names of Roosevelt and Hiram Johnson for president and vice president on the Progressive ballot. The Cummins campaign committee in Oregon aided Neuhausen and Coe by diverting votes from Hughes to Cummins.[38]

The Progressives' effort to control the Republican presidential primaries failed when Hughes won the primary election. The Progressives were not able to field a county ticket anywhere in the state, but did vote for their delegates to the Progressive National Convention and presidential electors for Roosevelt and Johnson.[39] The leadership of the National Progressive Party had decided to hold the Progressive convention simultaneously with the Republican convention. This would facilitate negotiations with the Republicans for naming Roosevelt or the Republican whom Roosevelt approved as nominee and would give the leaders a chance to quell any disturbance in the Progressive convention. State conventions were to be held but the delegates were to be uninstructed. However, wherever the Progressives had a chance to capture the delegation of the Republican convention they were to rejoin the old party immediately.[40]

Dr. Coe, who had earlier attended the Chicago meeting of the Progressive National Committee to set the date and place of the convention, had wanted the convention held prior to the Republican.

The Republican and Progressive conventions opened at the Auditorium Theater and at the Coliseum on the same day. The Oregon Progressive delegates were also seated as alternatives in the Republican Convention. Ralph E. Williams, the Republican National Committeeman for Oregon, believed that this step would help in bringing about harmony between Republicans and Progressives.[41] As the Progressive convention proceded, it became apparent to many that George Perkins and Roosevelt were controlling its activities. They were successful in getting a platform like the Republican except for the universal service proposal.[42] Three groups struggled to control the Progressive convention. Walter Brown of Ohio and William Flinn of Pennsylvania led those who wanted to go back to the Republicans and support the Republican nominee. Several of Roosevelt's close associates supported Perkins' control and wanted to bargain with the Republicans to nominate Roosevelt. Finally, Hiram Johnson, John Parker of Louisiana and Victor Murdock led the element that wanted to preserve the Progressive party with a prompt nomination.[43] Roosevelt intervened and asked the convention to have a committee confer

with a Republican committee concerning a presidential nominee. Three days of heated discussions followed. The Progressives maintained that their convention would refuse to consider Roosevelt. When the meeting broke up, the Progressives did agree to suggest the name of Hughes to their convention.

Perkins reported to the Progressive convention, suggesting that Hughes or T.R.'s last minute choice Henry Cabot Lodge, be the nominee. When Perkins tried to suspend nomination proceeding until the Republicans made their selection, the convention refused. The convention decided to wait until the Republicans started voting. Three minutes after the Republicans had nominated Hughes, the Progressives nominated Roosevelt as their unanimous choice. Roosevelt declined but his refusal arrived just as John Parker had been named for vice president. The convention adjourned "sine die."

The Oregon Progressives and Republicans were able to agree on Hughes. On June fourteenth, A. E. Clark and Thomas B. Neuhausen declared for Hughes, and agreed to join with Charles L. McNary, Republican State Chairman, to form a joint campaign committee.[44] A coalition committee of sixteen, eleven Republicans and five Progressives, was named. The Republicans named were S. S. Smith, B. B. Hermann, Walter L. Tooze, Jr., T. J. Mahnaey, Thomas H. Tongue, Jr., A. A. Bailey,

Willard Marks, Clyde Huntly, and Marlon Jack. The Progressives included Alfred E. Clark, Thomas Neuhausen, Arthur Moulton, David L. Povey, and Frank Lewis. McNary was appointed ex-office chairman while Neuhausen was named vice chairman and placed in virtual charge of Hughes state campaign.[45]

As Hughes' campaign developed in Oregon, the closeness of the relationship between Progressives and Republicans became clear. Members of both parties worked to renew their political power base. Immediately after the primaries, Republicans and Progressives met again in Chicago where all the Progressive electors except one resigned insuring Hughes of all the Republican and Progressive electoral votes.

November 8, 1916 was a fine day in Oregon. With women voting for the first time in a national election, the Progressive-Republican coalition carried the state for Hughes, elected three Republican Congressmen, and all their candidates for state offices.[46] Hughes received 126,813 to Wilson's 120,187. This election marked the end of the Progressive Party in Oregon and the nation as a whole. The demise was due to several factors. Wilson had forced the Democratic Party to enact a program of progressive legislation. There was little patronage to perpetuate the power base or the party, especially in Oregon, and third parties

traditionally had been assimilated by one of the two major parties. In Oregon, the Progressive party never took root. The party originated to support Roosevelt and when he returned to the Republican party, so did most other Progressives. The programs remained part of the mainstream of Oregon politics but the party never was important.

CHAPTER VII

EPILOGUE: PROGRESSIVISM LEAVES ITS LEGACY

The death of the Progressive party also brought the death of Progressivism in Oregon. Its death was not premature as all of the major provisions of the movement were accomplished before the divisive elements of internecine politics split progressives and the attention of the people was diverted by the First World War.

Progressivism in Oregon had several distinct characterisitcs. No one politician or individual dominated its direction as did Hiram Johnson in California. W. S. U'Ren might have taken such a role but he lacked the desire for the political power that characterized Johnson and other leaders throughout the United States. Jonathan Bourne might have been able to create a political machine like the one in California, but like other leaders of Progressivism in Oregon he was more interested in change than in political power. When the Progressive Party was formed in 1912, neither of these experienced leaders joined or pushed the new

organization, and both faded into history. The leadership of the new party was claimed by men with little experience in political life such as Neuhausen, Clark, Povey and Coe. As these men claimed leadership of the new party and the larger Progressive movement in Oregon, Progressivism began a slow but steady decline.

The pattern of progressivism in Oregon was perhaps different since it stemmed from the Populist movement. The roots of reform and the leadership of U'Ren, Bourne, and McMahan passed from the control of the People's party in the 1890s to Progressivism of the 1900s. A new political mobility resulted from the events of the 1890s which made it possible to secure bi-partisan support for popularly desired changes in the political system. It was then that people like U'Ren, McMahan, Bourne and Chamberlain found that on some issues they could reach across party loyalty. Out of the new found cooperation came the measures which constituted the Oregon System. It took more than a decade to create the tools of the system. When the fundamental tools of the system (initiative, referendum, recall, direct primary, direct election of United States senator, and the presidential preference provision) were made a permanent party of the political system, other reforms of a social and economic nature such as workman's compensation and woman's suffrage could be advanced. Without

question, the voters of Oregon made mistakes in the use of their new political responsibilities, but these were minor or insignificant. These errors were easily correctable through the tools of the Oregon System. The Progressive period was in Oregon a time of great political education of the rank and file as well as reform.

In the stress of political change, a strange new alliance was made. While Theodore Roosevelt was president, his own party leaders in Oregon blocked his efforts to carry out his advanced views of conservation. This resulted in his turning to the Democratic governor and his administration for cooperation in protecting Oregon's resources from ruthless exploitation. In return for that cooperation, progressive minded members of the Republican party supported Governor Chamberlain in his bid for re-election and later to the United States Senate. These developments, along with the creation of the Oregon System, aided in loosening the ties of party loyalty among the rank and file. Oregonians came to vote for the man and the issues instead of the party and its platform.

In many respects, the Progressive party was a political anachronism in Oregon. None of the major reforms were made after it sprang to life. More important, Roosevelt's bolt from the Republican party left the reformers badly split. Most progressives

remained Republicans after the election of 1912, a few became Democrats and some became Progressives. Just at the time that progressive elements were reaching for control of the G.O.P., the party schism prevented their obtaining it. In all probability Roosevelt's Progressive party set the cause of Progressivism back as events in the rest of the world diverted the Americans' interests. The end of the Progressive period was merely a resting point from which Oregonians could continue to build a strong independent political system.

With the end of Progressivism in Oregon, the attention of Oregon and the rest of the country centered on a re-examination of the problems and fears to America which had taken second place for the last twenty years but which had been given new importance during the First World War. The war aroused emotionalism which had a great effect upon nativism and hostility toward the foreigner during the postwar years. During the war, hostilities in Euorpe limited immigration. Increased employment and higher prices for farm goods eased America's economic problems. Although patriotic societies intensified the internal struggle toward conformity and "Americanization," this minimized organized nativism. Nevertheless, the literacy test, a favorite of restrictionists, racists, and reformers was passed over President Wilson's veto in 1917. The

bill represented a similarity of issues which found three unsimilar groups on the same side. The restrictionists saw advantage in the lessening of immigrants; the racists saw the continuing subjugation of minorities; and the reformers saw a demonstration of efficiency and the importance of education.

Racial nationalism, social Darwinism and unrestricted immigration had caused problems which the American people were unable to solve. This necessitated a re-examination of the basic tenets of American democracy. The endeavors of D.A.R., the Ku Klux Klan and the progressives to foster Americanization programs, the inability of labor and management to arrive at a solution to the immigrant flood that was weakening labor's power, and the militant Protestantism intensified the conflict. This struggle to "Americanize" society seemed to be based on a social and racial ideal which took for granted the existence of a distinctive American character.

The problems of postwar society greatly intensified emotions that had been aroused to promote the great struggle to make "the world safe for democracy." Wartime fears and passions created a climate of opinion that regarded all things foreign with suspicion. The potentially disruptive and competitive alien appeared to be a threat to the mutual group interests of

laborers, farmers and patricians. Thus the problems confronting the United States came not from American democracy but from the treacheries of foreigners at home and abroad. The United States feared the October 1917 Revolution in Russia, and the involvement in a war where they had everything to lose and nothing to gain. Coupled with the anti-foreign sentiment was the renewed anti-Roman Catholic crusade and the powerful period of the Red Scare which called for a renewed piety for the virtues and law and order of the past. Within the next five years the long extended legislative phase of the restriction battle took on new importance and by 1924 the National Origin Act was a fact. Progressives had long hoped and worked for the preservation of American society without the influx of immigrants and their perceived socially undesirable ways. It was not the Progressives in the 1920s that began protecting the American traditions but the new Ku Klux Klan.

The modern version of the Klan was conceived by William Joseph Simmons, an itinerant preacher and organizer of fraternal orders in the rural areas of the South. The nucleus of the new order was formed in 1915. By 1921 people throughout the nation were jolted out of their complacency with the vision of burning crosses. The Klan absorbed the anti-Roman Catholic tradition as well as the Anglo-Saxon tradition and

the anti-semitism. The Klan like earlier movements such as the Know-Nothing movement aimed its literature toward the peculiar problems of the area.

Within the Klan there developed a spiritual kinship between fundamentalism and hundred per cent Americanism. In a crusading and evangelical spirit combined with a zeal to stop the alleged corrupting of American values by an increasing number of "new" immigrants that the Klan displayed its bid to regulate society's morals. The Klan was usually strong in areas where aliens and Roman Catholics were a minority. Thus the Klan's coercion outside the South generally effected other native white Protestants.[1]

Simmons claimed sole responsibility for bringing the modern Klan into being. As a youth the stories of the original Klan fascinated him. He claimed to have had a vision which gave him the idea of founding the new Klan as a memorial to the original. Simmons declared that the new Klan resembled the old in having the same spiritual purpose; romantic idealism, religious fervor, and a desire to preserve America's W.A.S.P. tradition. Although Simmons claimed official continuity of tradition from the old Klan to the new, the objectives for the organization were not present in the old Klan. Outwardly the modern Ku Klux Klan resembled the original in regalia and titles. But it was based

on a much broader appeal to prejudice with the addition of religious, cultural and social bigotry to the original Klan's ideals of white supremacy and sectional patriotism. There was a continuity of the mystery and secrecy of the old Klan, but in the 1920s the Ku Klux Klan was no longer sectional and secular but a national organization with a semi-religious function and zeal.

The sudden success of the Klan resulted in a shift in the center of its strength from the deep South to the upper Mississippi Valley. Within a few months it was transplanted to the Pacific Coast, the midwest, and New England states as well. Coexistent with the shift of the klan from a sectional to a national organization was a rapid growth of secret fraternal orders. By the mid-1920s the total membership of all the secret societies was estimated to be over ten million though the overall membership rapidly declined after these peak years.[2]

In order to speed the growth of the Klan, Simmons hired the Southern Publicity Association to take over the propagation of the order in 1920. The improved methods of disseminating Klan propaganda was an immediate success. The partners of the promotion were Edward Young Clark and Mrs. Elizabeth Tyler. Between 1920 and October of 1921, when the congressional hearings were held, the Klan grew from a few thousand members in the

South to nearly 100,000 throughout the country.[3] Clark and Mrs. Tyler were well rewarded for their services but their success led the Klan toward internal disintegration and splintering as members expressed more and different ideas of the direction of the Klan.[4] Dissidents within the order continually sought power or promoted new ventures to the detriment of the parent organization. Soon after the congressional hearings Simmons was caught in a struggle for power. Hiram Wesley Evans, a credit dentist from Dallas, Texas, replaced Simmons as Imperial Wizard. Simmons remained as nominal head of the Klan for several months but had little influence.

Evans was an elder in the Disciples Church, a Thirty-second Degree Mason, and a self described embodiment of the average man. With him at its head, the Klan assumed an outward semblance of respectability and moderation for a time and by 1923 the movement had spread throughout the country. Although he continued the Klan's program of intolerance, he emphasized reform. It was difficult to distinguish many of his declared ideals from those of pre-war progressive leaders. Evans appealed to middle class concepts of education, morality and reform and urged his fellow Klansmen to "serve and sacrifice" behind a program of "co-ordination, immigration restriction, education and law enforcement."[5]

Evans emphasized the value of education and declared that the Klan supported a program to establish a federal department of education. Underlying these general policy statements was a desire to place government control over private and parochial schools and thus diminish their power. Further, the Klan wished to establish definite controls over teachers and curriculum. Evans denounced the special interests of imperialism, industrialism and ecclesiasticism since they meant low paying jobs to be filled with non Anglo-Saxon workers from abroad. The continued expansion of American immigration brought changes to America. He appealed to the dissatisfied and fearful elements of the population with his amalgamation of Populist, progressive and nativist thought.

Klan leaders consciously glorified the racial and religious concepts embodied in the terms Anglo-Saxon and Protestant and wove them into the fabric of Klan reform. They saw no contradiction between white supremacy, democracy and militant Protestantism. They agreed with fundamentalists praise for the Klan's contribution to the religious revival that effected many areas of the country. The appeal of such ideas to literate but provincial persons was powerful. To the American of Main Street the Klan's ideals had a basis in history.

Agrarian ideals and intolerant religious concepts

shaped the attitudes of Klan leaders toward the new immigrants. Imperial Wizard Evans declared that the "New and more inferior influx" was "congesting and corrupting" the cities to the detriment of the national welfare.[6] He asserted that the failure of these immigrant groups to turn to agricultural life contributed to the corrupting influence of the cities. To combat the disturbing aspects of the city-ward movement and the potentially disruptive alien, the Klan advocated a program combining immigration restriction with renewed emphasis on Americanization. Roman Catholics and Jews, described as ignorant, superstitious, religious devotees,"[7] became targets for the boosters of the Klan's hundred per cent Americanism.

Although nativists dominated the Klan, there was a definite reform spirit inherent in the beliefs of many Klansmen. They admitted their intolerance yet believed that native white Protestants could reform the political and economic situation. The potentialities of financial reward and personal power obviously motivated Klan leaders, yet whether they consciously advocated reform to gain members or whether some of the leaders actually believed they could achieve reform is impossible to say. The Klan movement was not idealistic in any traditional sense, but had obvious manifestations of idealistic reform as well as irrational nativism. Some

psychological and sociological motivations were common to reformers and nativists. Evans declared that the modern Klan was organized to face a new problem, a modern pluralistic society. The Klan was "against alienism, Roman Catholicism, wet nullification and the boss system."[8] The crusade of the Klan was to be the responsibility of the "American of the West, South, and Middle West." This area was to be the battle gound to reduce the political power of the East and to reassert the ideal of rural America.[9]

Oregon had long been a stronghold of racist and nativist sentiments. By 1900, anti-Chinese violence in the state had subsided partly because the Chinese like the Black had drifted into occupations that white laborers did not desire.[10] Agitation in the rural areas was not great because the Chinese tended to congregate in the cities and towns, principally Portland. Many also entered the United States only to work temporarily and then return to China. From 1900 to 1920 the foreign born Chinese population in the state decreased by nearly 75 per cent. A Tillamook Chamber of Commerce bulletin in 1921 boasted under the heading of what "Tillamook County Has Not," that there were no "Chinese to compete with American labor."[11]

By 1910 hostility toward the Chinese shifted to denunciation of the Japanese. Unlike the Chinese,

they tended to settle permanently in the United States and often in rural areas. Between 1910 and 1920 comparatively large numbers of Japanese picture brides arrived in Oregon. The consequent rise in the Japanese birthrate concerned farmers and nativists. At the request of the governor, Frank Davey made a survey of Japanese in Oregon. He stated in his finding in 1920 that there was "strong antipathy against the Japanese among small farmers, mechanics, laborers and salaried classes in general. A large part of this antipathy is racial and does not depend upon economic facts."[12]

Several factors contributed to the Anti-Japanese concern. In California, the newspapers gave great impetus to the fear of Japanese settlement. The California legislature passed an alien land law in 1913. In 1920 this law was strengthened through initiative amendment and in 1923 a third and even more restrictive law was passed. This fear was so pronounced that the Oregon American Legion began a vociferous and militant propaganda war against the Japanese. The Hood River Post successfully campaigned for a national Legion resolution against them. Thus Oregonians in 1919 demonstrated that they did not need the Klan to be racist.

In September of 1919, the Anti-Alien League, composed largely of farmers and Legionnaires, was

formed in Hood River. Members pledged:

> That America should be protected and preserved for Americans. That no child born in this country should become a citizen unless his parents belong to a race eligible for citizenship; that no one but a natural born or fully naturalized citizen should be allowed to own or lease land. That the immigration of Asiatrics to the United States should be prohibited.[14]

C. C. Chapman, editor of the Oregon Voter, suggested that the real question was not one of land but of Racial incompatibility."[15] The Voter quoted census figures stating that of the total land area of Oregon, 61,188,280 acres, the farm land area was 11,685,000 acres, the Japanese owned or leased only 10,096 acres.[16] Nevertheless, agitators continued to raise issues of land ownership. Finally, Senator Isaac Patterson introduced a senate joint memorial during a special session of the state legislature in 1920 which requested Congress to propose the revision of the Fourteenth Amendment to exclude from citizenship children of Asian descent.[17] The memorial passed unanimously.

In his message to the 1921 legislature, Governor Ben W. Olcott, a former leading exponent of Progressivism, urged that:

> steps should be taken by means of proper legislation to curb the growth of the Japanese colonies in Oregon; to preserve our lands and our resources for the people of our own race and nationality. I believe the ultimatum should be issue that it is the sense of the people of Oregon, speaking through its representatives, that this state is a state

> with a government of Americans, by Americans and for Americans, and that Americanism is the predominat asset of its citizenry.[18]

Yet the Ku Klux Klan attacked Governor Olcott in 1922 because he was un-American. The introduction of the anti-alien bill introduced at the governor's request suffered the fate of previous ones when the state senate tabled it after receiving Senator Charles L. McNary's objections. Despite NcNary's objections and other federal opposition to such a law, the major candidates in both parties included such a recommendation in their platforms in 1922.[19]

During the legislative session of 1923, an anti-alien land law was passed but opposition to Orientals, Japanese in particular, continued. In the summer of 1925 the Pacific Spruce Corporation in Toledo, Oregon hired a number of Japanese workmen. Men from the Lincoln County Protective League forcibly evicted the Japanese from the company houses and escorted them beyond the city limits. The local police took no action to disperse the mob and state and local officials failed to press charges.[20]

The number of foreign born in Oregon was small in proportion to the total population. Despite the shift in immigration trends in the United States by 1890, Oregon continued to draw more heavily from northern than from southern and eastern Europe. The majority

of Oregon immigrants were from Canada, Germany, the Scandinavian countries and England.[21] Even so, the patriotic fervor of the First World War and the postwar Red Scare aroused a nativist antipathy toward all segments of the population speaking a foreign language. During the special session of the legislature in 1920, the forces of patriotism and Americanization successfully lobbied a bill which required all foreign language publications to print translations of their contents in English.[22]

From 1900 to 1916 Oregon passed through a period of comparatively rapid growth in population and industry. Although Oregon manufactured few finished products, there was increased production of raw materials and foodstuffs. While the racial character of the people was quite uniform, the cultural character at this time was one of contrasts. But they were native American contrasts, for the great bulk of the population was native, white and protestant. Nevertheless, a 1916 study of voting preference on initiative and referendum measures showed a striking homogeneity of political thought among some of the most diverse social classes in the state. The study indicated that the social thought of Portland's urban classes was strongly modified in the direction of rural thought. The authors concluded that "the heterogeneity of Oregon Society is not

very great; that the likemindedness is realtively much greater."[23] There was seldom much variation in political ideas between economic and social classes in Oregon in 1916. The tendency toward social and political conformity was strengthened by the First World War.

If conformity characterized the period preceding the war, the postwar years, at least in the minds of many, seemed to be years of diversity. Oregon showed visible signs of unrest following the war. There was the tax situation: some persons favored the single tax, others the graduated income tax, and naturally many wanted no tax at all. The state bureaucracy was attacked, public utilities were suspect and there were signs that the seemingly high unemployment rate would become even more critical. New social problems arose from prohibition, the flapper, the automobile, motion pictures, divorce, and political corruption. The old society and its traditions seemed to be disintegrating. But into the breach stepped the churches, fraternal organizations and other traditionalist influences. It was during this period of flux in Oregon and the United States that the Ku Klux Klan became an important element in social and political life.

The phenomenal growth of the Ku Klux Klan in Oregon from 1921 to 1924 was an anomaly. Seemingly, a state with a large majority of native born citizens;

with only about 8 per cent of the population Roman Catholic; with only 2,000 Blacks, and with the number of Asiatics decreasing in each census had little cause for militant nativist organization.[24] Yet the pattern in Oregon resembled that of other areas outside the South. The Klan seemed to grow most rapidly where there was the least cause for alarm and where opposition to its principles was slightest.[25] Support in Oregon for the Klan reflected the desire to preserve the state's character and not change it. Coincident with this was a definite program to Americanize foreign elements already in the state either by a program of education or the elimination of influences of institutions. The apparent moral disintegration of society, the Russian Revolution, and the I.W.W. led to the Klan's rise.

From the appearance of the first organizers in the summer of 1921, the Ku Klux Klan enjoyed a greater notoriety than any other secret fraternal order within the state. The peak of Klan power in Oregon came during 1922 and 1923 when the Klan's lobbyists and political organization applied pressure on the state legislative and law enforcement officials to introduce laws to limit land rights of aliens especially the Japanese, and to bring about the elimination of all church supported schools. Klan influence was still important during the legislative assemblies of 1925

and 1927.[26] But by then it had lost its hold over the people and even its own members. Whether the Klan's decline was traceable to the rise in prosperity, with a resultant disinterest in things political and social, was unclear, but the dissension within its ranks and general disinterest of the people in its activities all contributed to the decline of the Klan.

Coexistent with bigotry and prejudice, the Oregon Klan had an idealistic if impractical reform element. The Klan had considerable potential coercive power in the legislature because of the political and newspaper support in the rural areas and an influential clique in the Portland metropolitan area. Its peak active membership was uncertain but varied between 15,000 and 45,000 members according to newspaper accounts. The total mambership was not a true indication of the organization's influence. A very high turnover rate attested to the disenchantment of many members but the fact still remains that although they may have differed with the Klan in some specific instances, in most cases they were in total agreement.

Affiliated societies such as the Royal Riders of the Red Robe, later the American Krusaders, and the Good Government League added strength to the Klan. Moral and religious issues had an especial appeal to the newly enfranchised women, some of which later

became members of the Ladies of the Invisible Empire.[27]

The Klan leaders in Oregon were generally associated with the dominant Republican party although more than once they backed Democratic candidates such as Walter M. Pierce when the Republican Governor Olcott opposed Klan policies. Many Protestant clergymen were active participants in Klan functions. Most were members of the more evangelical faiths or in some cases unscrupulous persons who recognized the financial potential of lecturing on the subjects which the Klan stood for and against.

Although the most vocal of the Klan prejudices was that directed against the Roman-Catholic Church, there were strong undercurrents of anti-Jewish and anti-Oriental agitations. The emergence of the Klan coincided closely with a new protest of aroused agrarians. Many rural and small town inhabitants were increasingly disturbed by taxation, bureaucracy and low produce prices, and there was rural disgust at the seeming immorality of the cities. Portland was condemned for bootlegging, Tong wars, prostitution, dope peddling and political corruption. Since much of this was attributed to Orientals and Roman Catholics, the solution was to Americanize the aliens.[28]

The outstanding result of the Americanization program in Oregon was the "Compulsory School Law."

This was an initiative amendment which passed by a slim margin in the general election of 1922. This bill would have eliminated all private and parochial elementary schools, and its advocates stressed a composite set of ideals that appealed to many diverse segments of society. They emphasized the need for an equal, "American" education where rich and poor, would mingle and thereby learn what it was to act, live and look like established Americans. Implicit in this movement was a desire to have closer control over textbooks and teachers who would be asked to emphasize the traditional tenets of American Democracy: the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Founding Fathers.

Thus, in its endeavor to enforce cultural conformity the Ku Klux Klan often precipitated social disintegration within the smaller communities. Klan propaganda, political activities and whispering campaigns as well as the counterclaims of its opponents resulted in the divisions within social organizations and church groups. While the Klan continued to exist until 1938, it was no longer important by 1928.

Oregon's protectionist-preservationist behavior did not end with the demise of the Klan. In the last forty years Oregon has led the United States in attempts to preserve the environment and the extension of citizens rights. In 1967, then Governor Tom McCall invited

people to visit Oregon but not to stay. This statement of preservation is one of the latest examples of the never ending campaign to preserve the original character of Oregon. While many areas have wallowed in waste Oregonians have taken such concrete action as the limitation of building in many communities to curb urban sprawl and encourage the revitalization of older areas. It has fought to keep the land clean with anti-litter bills, including the controversial deposit on all beverage cans and bottles. It has worked to preserve the beauty of its mountains, lakes, forests and rivers from the challenges of modern industrial society. The result is an area which has not changed much in the last fifty years, because of the pride and respect the citizens have for their surroundings.

The belief that the land is special has been unchanged for four hundred years. The Indians who lived in the Northwest recognized their life was especially bountiful and thus lived in peace with their neighbors. When white settlers began moving into the area there was little opposition since there seemed to be plenty for all. Those immigrants who first settled the territory came to re-establish a society nurtured in the Mid-West who wished to escape the trauma of political crisis and industrial life. These settlers were delighted that in this land of plenty they were beyond

the reach of government interference and the ensuing corruption. They could live and work without the complications of eastern society. Thus any attempt to change the Oregonians' life and feeling of freedom were responded to swiftly. The progressive era was no different. Its purpose and ultimate goal was to protect the tradition of individual freedom which seemed threatened. The response was a series of laws. A bi-partisan unity to end corruption and protect citizens rights was the Oregon System. The progressive in Oregon, like other nativists before and after him, saw new and different cultures threatening the fabric of society. Thus the progressives like the Know-Nothings and the Ku Klux Klan, worked hard to preserve their homogeneous society of white, Anglo-Saxon, protestants. The present composition of Oregon's population attests to their success. The Progressives allowed the people to preserve the society of the past by creating tools of a democratic government. Oregon's Progressive era attempted to give greater political power to the people and also to preserve Oregon from change whether political, racial or material.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER I

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[7]Ibid., p. 79.

[8]Cressman, Early Man in Oregon, p. 48.

[9]Oscar Winther, The Great Northwest (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1947), pp. 1-47.

[10]Ibid.

[11]Charles H. Carey, A General History of Oregon (Portland: The Pioneer Historical Publishing Co., 1935), pp. 7-36.

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[25]Robert J. Lowenberg, Equality on the Oregon Frontier: Jason Lee and the Methodist Church, 1834-1843 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1976), pp. 25-120.

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[30]Clifford M. Drury, Marcus and Narcissa Whitman and the Opening of Old Oregon, Vol. II (Glendale, Calif., 1973), pp. 205-260.

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[37]Charles H. Ambler, "The Oregon Country, 1810-1830: A Chapter in Territorial Expansion," The Mississippi Valley Historical Review 30 (June 1943), pp. 7-24.

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[40]Jesse S. Douglas, "Origins of the Population of Oregon in 1850," Pacific Northwest Quarterly 17 (1950), p. 101.

[41]Robert Johannsen, Frontier Politics and the Sectional Conflict (Seattle: University of Washington

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[42]Ibid., pp. 27-29.

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PROGRESSIVE PROFILE: COLLECTED DATA RESULTS

Year of Birth

1820-30:	7
1831-40:	16
1841-50:	23
1851-60:	56
1861-70:	48
1871-80:	40
1881-90:	18
N. Show:	10

State Born: (including Foreign Born)

Oregon	41	Scotland	2
Illinois	15	Ireland	2
New York	15	Georgia	1
Ohio	13	New Jersey	1
Indiana	12	Maine	1
Wisconsin	11	Nebraska	1
Iowa	10	West Virginia	1
Pennsylvania	7	New Hampshire	1
California	7	Delaware	1
Canada	7	Kansas	1
Tennessee	6	South Carolina	1
Massachusetts	5	South Dakota	1
North Carolina	4	Virginia	1
Michigan	4	Utah	1
Minnesota	4	Idaho	1
England	4	Norway	1
Missouri	3	Romania	1
Maryland	3	Saxony	1
Washington	3	Malta	1
Kentucky	3	Cape of Good Hope	1
Germany	3	Australia	1
Mississippi	3	Connecticut	1
Denmark	3	Sweden	1
Rhode Island	2	Not Shown	6

Father's Occupation

Not Shown	107	Rancher	2
Farmer	55	Businessman	2
Merchant	11	Lumberman	1
Manufacturer	10	Nurseryman	1
Doctor	7	Miner	1
Carpenter	6	Brick Layer	1
Teacher	3	Newspaperman	1
Military	3	Minister	1
Lawyer	2	Engineer	1
Mechanic	2	Butcher	1
Blacksmith	2		

Religion

Not Shown	171	Lutheran	2
Methodist	12	Congregational Church	3
Presbyterian	9	Christian	6
Episcopal	6	Catholic	3
Baptist	5	Jew	1

Ancestry

Not Shown	146	Persian	3
English	36	French	2
German	9	Dutch	2
Scotch	8	Norwegian	1
Irish	6	Denmark	1
Welsh	3	Swedish	1

Organizations
(some belong to more than one)

None Shown	114	Y.M.C.A.	3
Mason	61	Knights of Columbus	2
Elk	27	American Legion	1
Odd Fellow	26	Rotary Club	1
Woodsman of World	22	Am. Medical Asso.	1
Knights of Pythias	11	United Order of Workmen	1
Moose	5	Sons of Am. Revolution	1
A.O.U.W.	3		

Marital Status

Married	:	171
Single	:	2
Not Shown	:	45

Political Organization

Republican	:	118
Democratic	:	31
Prohibition Party	:	2
Progressive Party	:	8
Populist	:	2
Not Shown	:	57

Last Occupation

Lawyer	:	94	Teacher	:	4
Merchant	:	39	Railroadman	:	1
Farmer	:	22	Engineer	:	1
Banker	:	13	Manufacturer	:	3
Newspaperman	:	10	Miner	:	2
Physician	:	9	Minister	:	2
Rancher	:	5	Postmaster	:	1
Lumberman	:	5	Sheriff	:	1
Sea Captain	:	3	Not Shown	:	2

County of Residence

Multnomah	:	118	Coos	:	1
Clackamas	:	13	Hood River	:	2
Lane	:	10	Josephine	:	2
Umatilla	:	6	Yamhill	:	2
Jackson	:	8	Union	:	2
Wasco	:	9	Polk	:	2
Washington	:	5	Harney	:	1
Marian	:	6	lincoln	:	2
Linn	:	5	Lake	:	1
Baker	:	6	Clatsop	:	1
Douglas	:	4	Tillamook	:	1
Wallowa	:	3	Not Shown	:	8

Education

General Education	73
University of Oregon	18
Willamette University	14
University of Michigan	8
Harvard	4
Stanford	4
Oregon State Normal School	4
McMinnville College	2
Boston University	3
Cornell University	2
Yale	3
Columbia University	2
Iowa State	2
Notre Dame	2
University of Pennsylvania	2
University of Iowa	1
Philadelphia School of Pharmacy	1
University of Pacific	1
Portland University	2
Spring Garden Institution	1
Oberlin College	2
School of Commerce and Industry in Germany	1
Georgetown University	1
Benton College	1
University of France	1
Ashland College	1
Grinnell College	2
Kansas State	1
Mt. Angle College	1
University of Virginia	1
Detroit College of Law	1
Louisiana State	1
Baker University	1
North Illinois State	1
Denver Business College	1
University of St. Louis	1
West Point	1
Butler College	1
Baltimore College	1
Washington and Lee	1
Missouri State	1
New York University	1
University of Louisville	1
Michigan Law School	1
Portland Business College	1
Northwest Christian College	1
St. Paul Teacher Training School	1
University of Minnesota	1
No education	9
Not Shown	32

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Researching Progressivism in Oregon took my study in many different directions. Previous attempts to report on the movement centered on the development of the Progressive Party and on the mechanics of creating the Oregon System. Since this study has emphasized that leaders of Progressivism were not just interested in reform but in preserving Oregon from outside influences and changes, the bibliography is important. Since I believe it can be of use to other students I have included it in its entirety.

The major sources of information of this study are individual manuscript collections and newspapers. Most of my research was done at the Oregon Collection, University of Oregon Library in Eugene, Oregon. This is the major repository of primary material in the state and contains the papers of many major politicians and business leaders. In fact, many collections which are listed as being at Oregon State University or at the Oregon State Library in Salem are here. The holdings are substantial and well indexed in most cases.

The major collection for this study was that of Jonathan Bourne. While it was useful, it did not provide the startling information I sought on a Progressive motivation. Another disappointment was the realization that the papers of William U'Ren do not exist. Their absence truly deprived me of a rather interesting viewpoint.

The reading of the newspapers of Oregon were to be the key to understanding the pulse of the state. I spent months reading papers from all over the state. While the reading gave me an understanding of the people, I found that they were rather bland and lacked the reform spirit I thought would be present. The Portland Oregonian, the largest paper then and now, reported most international, national, and state news. The local papers were interested in local events only and they were quite lacking of political, or reform sentiment even on the editorial pages. The smaller papers were not interested in events outside their own county and the problems of reform were left to the Oregonian, a paper that was known to be a Republican paper with little flexibility.

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