undoubtedly be submitted as a Constitutional amendment to the people by the next legislature January, 1911.

Nevada—Referendum provision adopted March, 1909. No provision for Initiative.

North Dakota—Both party platforms declare for it, and it will probably come up in next legislature, January, 1911.

Oklahoma—Included in the Constitution of the State on its admission to the Union.

Oregon—Constitutional amendment adopted by the people by vote of 62,024 for, to 5,668 against it, June 2, 1902.

Pennsylvania—In 1907, bill to establish it passed the House, went to the Senate and died there. It is not now an issue, but at the primaries last spring several legislative candidates were nominated with it as one of their planks.

Rhode Island—Bills introduced have all died in committee. Democratic platform declares for it.

South Dakoti—Legislature of 1897 submitted constitutional amendment to people. Adopted at general election November 8, 1898, 23,816 for, to 16,483 against. Next legislature passed act, approved March 3, 1899, carrying into effect the provisions of this Constitutional amendment.

Utah—Constitutional amendment adopted in

Washington—Defeated in the legislature of 1907. May be presented at the next session, January, 1911.

Wisconsin—Passed by Senate at 1909 session of legislature, defeated in House. Will undoubtedly be adopted by next legislature. La Follette's Republican platform promises it.

Wyoming—Considered by legislature 1893; killed in committee. Democratic platform declares for it. Republican platform ignores it. Possibility of action by next legislature.

Arizona—The Democrats have won a majority of delegates to the Constitutional Convention in session now, and they are pledged to put the Initiative and Referendum and Recall into the State Constitution.

New Mexico—Constitutional Convention convened October 3. The Democratic party favored Initiative and Referendum. The Republican party neither favored nor opposed. [Proposed Constitution incorporates a restricted Referendum only.]

In only one State has the question been put before the people and been defeated. That was in Delaware a few years ago. In every other State where the voters have had a direct say-so about it the Initiative and Referendum have won easily.

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I heartily wish that every trophy of victory might crumble away, and that every reminiscence or tradition of a hero, from the beginning of the world to this day, could pass out of all men's memories at once and forever.—"Our Old Home," by Nathaniel Hawthorne.

#### OREGON'S DEMOCRACY INACTION

A Study of the Official Returns of an Election Where People's Power Prevails.

Thirty-two propositions were submitted November 8, 1910, to the electors of the State of Oregon for their decision.

Twenty-three of the propositions were rejected by the voters, and nine received their approval.

The nine measures which were approved were by proclamation of the Governor declared to be in force December 3, they having received a majority of the votes cast thereon.

"The total number of ballots cast" for candidates and propositions "as shown by the poll books was 120.248."

A criticism of the Referendum often made is that fewer persons vote on propositions as compared with those who vote for candidates. The answer is that the uninformed and the indifferent disfranchise themselves by not voting, thus leaving the decision of questions to those best qualified to act.

In the case of Oregon, it was new to me to note that the total vote cast for all the candidates for any one office was not equal to "the total number of ballots cast as shown by the poll books." There were four candidates for the office of Governor, and their combined vote numbered only 117,690 or 97 per cent of the total number of ballots cast, while the average of the totals cast for the four offices of Governor, Secretary of State, State Treasurer, and Attorney General was only 110,895 or 92 per cent of the total number of ballots cast. comparison therefore which should be drawn between the vote on the propositions and the vote for candidates should be with the above average, 110,-895; and this number has been therefore adopted by me in the comparisons which follow.

The average per cent of the 9 enacted measures was 81, and of the 23 rejected propositions 78, while the average for the entire 32 propositions was 79.

Comparative Interest Shown.

The greatest interest at the election was manifested by the voters in the three propositions which concerned the liquor question, the highest votes being (a) in the case of the bill to give State-wide prohibition, which was defeated by a majority of 20,913; (b) in the case of the amendment to authorize State-wide prohibition, which was defeated by a majority of 17,681; and (c) in the case of the amendment to give cities and towns exclusive authority over the sale of intoxicating liquors within the municipality, which was adopted by a majority of 2,542. This shows that Oregon voters are firm believers in home rule. The percentages were respectively 96, 95 and 94.

The least interest, if one may judge by the size of the vote cast, was shown in the proposition for an amendment directing the legislature to "pro-



vide by law a uniform rule of taxation except on property specifically taxed," which was defeated by a majority of 10,063; per cent 69.

The vote on the proposed amendment to give suffrage to women taxpayers was 35,270 yes, 59,065

no; adverse majority 23,795; per cent 86.

A measure on which there was not a very large vote but upon the merits of which the voters were very generally agreed was the bill to pay \$1,000 salary to the judge of the 8th district in addition to the \$3,000 which he now receives annually from the State. The vote was 13,161 yes, 71,503 no; adverse majority, 58,342; per cent, 78. This bill had been passed by the legislature over the veto of the Governor and was referred to the people by petition. The voters evidently agreed with the Governor, and not with the legislature.

There were 8 bills offered for the creation of new counties or for the changing of the boundaries of counties, and one bill for a general law providing for the creation of new counties, all of which were defeated. Total average per cent, 74.

There were three bills for the maintenance of Normal schools at separate points in the State. Two of these bills were rejected and one—to continue the school at Monmouth—was passed, the vote being 50,191 yes, 40,044 no; majority, 10,147; per cent. 83.

A bill to prohibit fishing in Rogue River except with hook and line was passed, 49,712 yes, 33,397 no; majority, 16,315; per cent, 77.

An amendment to permit counties to incur indebtedness beyond \$5,000 for building permanent roads was passed, 51,275 yes, 32,906 no; majority, 18,369; per cent, 78.

A bill extending direct primaries to Presidential candidates and electors and for other purposes was passed, 43,353 yes, 41,624 no; majority, 1,729; per cent, 78.

An amendment providing for a verdict by threequarters of jury in civil cases; directing the Supreme Court to enter judgment in certain cases; fixing terms of that court; providing that judges of all courts be elected for six years; and increasing jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, was passed, 44,538 yes, 39,399 no; majority, 5,139; per cent, 77.

A bill to construct and maintain a branch insane asylum to be called "The Eastern Oregon State Hospital" was passed, 50,134 yes, 41,504 no; majority, 8,630; per cent, 84. The new name "hospital" instead of "insane asylum" has a suggestion of kindness towards the unfortunate.

Employers' Liability.

Two bills were presented relating to employers' liability. One was a bill for the creation of a Board of Commissioners of 9 members to examine the subject of employes' indemnity for injuries, and report a measure to the legislature. This bill was rejected by a majority of 19,495; per cent, 77. The other bill, "requiring protection for persons

engaged in hazardous employment, defining and extending the liability of employers, and providing that contributory negligence shall not be a defense," was passed, 56,258 yes, 33,943 no; majority, 22,315; per cent, 83.

The above bill which is now a law had been presented by the Federation of Labor to the legislature and there defeated through the efforts of the

Employers' Association.

If Direct Legislation is so necessary in a State so largely agricultural as Oregon in order to secure the enactment of such needed progressive legislation as the above law is almost universally acknowledged to be, how much more must the need be for Direct Legislation in the great manufacturing States of the middle West and East.

Taxation.

Besides the amendment regarding taxation already mentioned as having elicited so small a vote and been defeated, there was an amendment providing that "no tax or duty shall be imposed without the consent of the people or their representatives in the Legislative Assembly"; that "taxes shall be levied and collected for public purposes only," and that "the power of taxation shall never be surrendered, suspended, or contracted away," which was defeated by a majority of 2,553; per cent, 72.

A third proposition regarding taxation, that of an amendment proposed by the Federation of Labor allowing the people of the several counties "to regulate taxation and exemptions within their several counties" was passed, 44,171 yes, 42,127 no; majority, 2,044; per cent, 79. This amendment was carried in 18 counties and lost in 16 counties (the remainder of the State). Outside of the most populous county (Multnomah), which was carried by 2,000 majority, the vote on the measure was nearly a tie, the State majority being 44 votes in excess of this county's majority. Any county of Oregon is now at liberty to adopt the single tax, or any other form of taxation which it may desire.

#### Defeated Propositions.

There are five rejected propositions not mentioned above, which completes the total of the 23 that failed of approval:

1. A bill to call a convention to revise the State Constitution was defeated, 23,143 yes, 59,974 no; adverse majority, 36,831; per cent, 77. This bill had been denounced by the People's Power League as being supported by enemies of the Initiative, Referendum and Recall.

2. And amendment to provide a separate district for each State senator and each State representative was defeated, 24,000 yes, 54,252 no; ad-

verse majority, 30,252; per cent, 74.

3. An amendment for the purchase and construction of railroads by the State, counties, and municipalities, was defeated, 32,844 yes, 46,070 no; adverse majority, 13,226; per cent, 73.

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- 4. A bill for an official State magazine to "be mailed every two months to each registered voter at public expense" was defeated, 29,955 yes, 52,-538 no; adverse majority, 22,583; per cent, 16.
- 5. An amendment increasing Initiative, Referendum and Recall powers of the people, and among other things increasing the salaries of the members of the legislature, was defeated, 31,031 yes, 44,366 no; adverse majority, 7,335; per cent, 75.

JAMES P. CADMAN.

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### JOSEPH FELS AND HIS MISSION.

An Interview With Joseph Fels in the Chicago Tribune of January 9, 1910.

A little man with a Big Mission and a big pile of money—it is estimated at \$8,000,000—with which to carry it out, went through Chicago yesterday. He is Joseph Fels of Philadelphia, soap maker and Single Tax apostle. "If you're an honest reporter, I'm glad to meet you," said Mr. Fels as he looked up at his visitor in the La Salle hotel. On being assured that honesty was the chief aim in life of his visitor Mr. Fels displayed a newspaper clipping and said, "Read that." Here is what the headline said:

CONFESSED ROBBER!

Joseph Fels, Millionaire, Tells How

He Got It.

Mr. Fels was assured that the report was shocking. "But it's true," he said. "So are all millionaires. I haven't so much fault to find with the way Rockefeller and Carnegie are giving away their money as I have with the system that permitted them to get it. Swollen fortunes for the few and prohibitive prices for the many are the direct result of special privileges. I am for Single Tax and low tariff. The tariff is about as insidious a crime against the prosperity of a common people as could be conceived by a fathead government, which allows itself to be controlled by Big Business. A box of forty matches is sold in an average grocery store in America for 1 cent. Six boxes of forty matches in a box are sold on the streets of London for a penny. Eggs in England, 28 cents a dozen. The day I landed in New York eggs were 45 cents a dozen there. They were cold storage eggs, too. Cost of living! look at this suit of clothes! What do you suppose I paid for it in London? Just \$20. duplicate it here, it would cost me \$35; and I do not consider that the average wages of the common people in America are much, if any, higher than in Great Britain, cost of living considered."

Asked concerning his interest in politics, Mr. Fels said: "I am not in politics. I am working to push along the economic philosophy of Henry George. That is my purpose in traveling

to the Pacific coast now. We shall have something like single tax in Oregon in 1912."

"I have heard you intend to dispose of your fortune in benefiting humanity," was suggested.

"This will tell you all about the Fels Fund," said he, handing out some printed literature. "Read that carefully."

One of the pamphlets said Mr. Fels is "giving in England \$25,000 a year; in Denmark, \$5,000; in Canada, \$5,000," and so on—altogether, \$100,000 a year. And he is offering to give \$25,000 (or more) a year for five years (or more) in the United States on condition that Americans who see the "land cat" will match him dollar for dollar. The money is to go into a fund which will be spent in taxation movements which seem to be making most directly toward the cures of poverty.

"I want to spend my fortune to make such fortunes as mine impossible," he said. "And that's a serious, worthy, happy occupation for a man of executive ability."

Mr. Fels spoke in Oak Park at noon, addressed Single Taxers in the afternoon, and heard Gifford Pinchot speak in Orchestra hall at night.

# THE GRAY NORNS.

What do you bring in your sacks, Gray Girls? "Sea-sand and sorrow."

What is that mist that behind you whirls? "The souls of to-morrow."

What are those shapes on the windy coasts? "The dead souls going."

And what are those loads on the backs of the ghosts?

"The seed of their sowing!"

-Edwin Markham in Vedanta Magazine.

## **BOOKS**

### A NOVEL OF UNREST.

My Brother's Keeper. By Charles Tenney Jackson. Illustrated by Arthur William Brown. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis.

The echoes of great questions of the day are invading the realm of fiction, and that this causes astonishment shows how far we have come from the days when the poet led thought instead of merely furnishing entertainment for an idle hour. But the fact that even American fiction is waking up to the ideas which are agitating the civilized world, ideas that, particularly in this country, are forming the large background of public affairs into which all lives must be drawn sooner or later—this undeniable fact is a very hopeful sign.

The fact of itself is so new that the majority of literary reviewers have not yet learned to dis-

