SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES. OCTOBER TERM, 1911, NO. 36. PACIFIC STATES TELEPHONE & TELEGRAPH COMPANY, PLAINTIFF IN ERROR, VS. STATE OF OREGON, DEFENDANT IN ERROR

Published @ 2017 Trieste Publishing Pty Ltd

ISBN 9780649417056

Supreme Court of the United States. October term, 1911, No. 36. Pacific States Telephone & Telegraph Company, Plaintiff in Error, vs. State of Oregon, Defendant in Error by Geo. Fred. Williams

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GEO. FRED. WILLIAMS

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES. OCTOBER TERM, 1911, NO. 36. PACIFIC STATES TELEPHONE & TELEGRAPH COMPANY, PLAINTIFF IN ERROR, VS. STATE OF OREGON, DEFENDANT IN ERROR

Trieste

to an compliment of Geo. Fred Williams 15 State St. Bastan

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POINT OF CONTENTION.

Oregon Constitution, Art. IV, SECTION 1.

"The legislative authority of the State shall be vested in a legislative assembly, consisting of a Senate and House of Representatives, but the people reserve to themselves power to propose laws and amendments to the constitution and to enact or reject the same at the polls, independent of the legislative assembly."

Is a tax law invalid under the Constitution of the United States which is thus proposed and thus enacted by the people at the polls?

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The Issue: United States Constitution, Article IV, § 4.

The real issue raised by the assignment of errors is to be found in the eighteenth thereof, claiming an invasion of appellant's rights under U. S. Constitution, Art. IV, § 4, as follows:

"Section 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion: and on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence."

(Exact form as engrossed;-Farrand, Records of the Federal convention, Vol. II, p. 662.)

The other claims under Art. I, §§ 2, 3, 4, 8, 10; Art. IV, § 3; Art. V, relate to the requirements of the U. S. Constitution for legislative action in the States. It may be conceded that these requirements would impose upon the States the duty to maintain legislatures for national purposes, and the short answer to the appellant's claims in this regard is that such a legislature is maintained in Oregon in due form and with full powers to conform to the requirements of the U. S. Constitution.

The claims under the Article of Amendment XIV are not to be considered, because the State of Oregon has promulgated the tax law of which appellants complain, every citizen of Oregon is subject to laws so enacted, and there was due process and equal protection accorded to the appellant pursuant to the Constitution of Oregon. That constitution and

the form of law-making it provides are not subject to revision by this court unless jurisdiction is taken under above Art. IV, § 4.

The Supreme Court of Oregon has determined that there is no infraction of the Constitutions of Oregon and the United States.

"The courts of the U. S. adopt and follow the decisions of the State Courts on questions which concern merely the constitution and laws of the State."

> Luther v. Borden, 7 How. 1. Duncan v. McCall, 139 U. S. 449. Taylor v. Beckham, 178 U. S. 578.

"The people of the States created, the people of the States can only change, its Constitution. Upon this power there is no other limitation but that imposed by the Constitution of the United States; that it must be of the Republican form."

Chisholm v. Georgia, 2 Dall. 448.

I. The Subject-Matter of Contention.

A. THE OREGON SYSTEM.

"The legislative power of the State shall be vested in a legislative assembly—but the people reserve to themselves power to propose laws and amendments to the Constitution and to enact or reject the same at the polls, independent of the legislative assembly, and also reserve power at their own option to approve or reject at the polls any act of the legislative assembly."

"The first power is the initiative" based upon a petition by eight per cent of the legal voters.

"The second power is the referendum" based upon a petition by five per cent of the legal voters.

Such is the plan at issue, adopted by Oregon in 1902.

1. THE PRECEDENT IN SWITZERLAND.

It was not an experiment. Some of the Swiss Cantons had legislated in mass meetings from days of antiquity. After the republic was formed in 1848 by union of the Cantons, all the vices to which free governments are subject rent the politics of the republic. Political bosses, legislative corruption, corporate influences, partisan violence and intrigue were the rule in political life.

In 1874 the referendum was adopted in national affairs, and in 1891 the initiative was added. Experience justified these measures in the Cantons and republic. The evils abated, popular verdicts were found to be considerate and wise, party virulence was allayed, experienced legislators were retained in office, corruption ceased. The system became fixed in the confidence and affections of the people, until it was unshakable: This republic is the best governed country on earth.

Hon. N. Droz, ex-President of Switzerland, said of it: "Under the influence of the referendum a profound change has come over the spirit of Parliament and people. The net result has been a great tranquilizing of public life."

Prof. Charles Borgeaud of the University of Geneva, wrote "The Referendum has won its case. Unquestionably it has proved a boon to Switzerland and has no more enemies of any following in the generation of to-day."

The only Canton in which the political boss and corrupt influences remained dominant was and is Freibourg, where direct legislation did not exist and could not be secured under the tyrannical and venal rule of a political dictator.

South Dakota adopted this system in 1898. Such was the experience which warranted Oregon in adopting this system.

2. DELIBERATION IN ADOPTION.

The passage of the constitutional amendment for direct legislation in Oregon was not the result of caprice. It had