

TO THE PROMISED LAND

TOM MARSH

A History of Government
and Politics in Oregon



To the Promised Land

A HISTORY OF GOVERNMENT
AND POLITICS IN OREGON

Tom Marsh

Oregon State University Press Corvallis

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To the Promised Land is dedicated to
Katherine and Brynn,
Meredith and Megan,
and to Judy, my wife.

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Marsh, Tom, 1939–

To the promised land : a history of government and politics in Oregon / by Tom Marsh.
p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-87071-657-7 (pbk. : alk. paper) – ISBN 978-0-87071-658-4 (e-book)

1. Oregon—Politics and government. I. Title.

JK9016.M36 2012

320.795--dc23

2011052977

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Printed in the United States of America

Oregon State University Press

121 The Valley Library

Corvallis OR 97331-4501

541-737-3166 • fax 541-737-3170

<http://osupress.oregonstate.edu>



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Preface

Politics in the Pursuit and Exercise of Power

“Somebody should write a book.” As it turned out, *I* was that somebody.

For nearly thirty years I taught high school in the Beaverton School District. One challenge I repeatedly faced when preparing curriculum for my Oregon government classes was the dearth of published materials on the subject. It didn't take long to realize that I'd have to do my own research and writing. These experiences reinforced my belief that someone needed to write a general history of government and politics in Oregon appropriate for high school and lower division college students and their teachers, as well as for those Oregonians having an abiding interest in our state's history. *To the Promised Land: A History of Government and Politics in Oregon* is the result.

This book is unique. *To the Promised Land* is a history of the Oregon Legislature, our governors and their administrations, our United States Senators and Representatives, and our political campaigns—over a span of nearly 200 years. In some respects it is a textbook, while in others it is a gigantic drama of people and leaders, played out in a state where issues and large personalities stand out vividly.

Coupled with my teaching background is my personal experience in state government: I served two terms in the Oregon House of Representatives, 1975-79. In addition, I have been a Democratic precinct committeeman and been active in numerous political campaigns over a span of fifty years. In short, I have been an *insider*, a campaigner, an elected officeholder, volunteer, and advisor who has experienced state and local government firsthand.

Why, the reader may ask, did I choose the title *To the Promised Land*? There are two reasons: First is the obvious biblical meaning, the Promised Land being either heaven, the land of Canaan promised to Abraham and his descendants, or simply a place believed to hold final happiness. Second, Americans wanted to come to Oregon because of the promise of free land.

In the late 1820s, New Hampshire-born and college-educated Hall Jackson Kelley embarked on a crusade. Kelley believed that God intended him to organize and lead a movement of Americans across the continent to settle the remote Oregon Country. The New Englander barraged Congress and newspaper editors with letters and petitions pressing for the colonization of Oregon by Americans. In 1829, Kelley organized an association of like-thinkers: the American Society for Encouraging the Settlement of the Oregon Territory.

Historian Malcolm Clark, Jr., put Kelley in perspective when he wrote: “Kelley proposed to bring salvation to the savages, and at a profit. There would be opportunities in the Promised Land for merchants as well as missionaries. A settler might, at his option, work either in the Lord’s vineyard or his own.”¹ Joining Kelley and other enthusiasts for the American settlement of Oregon were two Missouri senators: Thomas Hart Benton and, later, Dr. Lewis Linn.

Hall Kelley made it to Fort Vancouver—the Hudson’s Bay Company’s outpost on the Columbia River—in October 1834, after a perilous two-year crossing that included traversing the length of Baja and Alta California. In March 1835, Kelley sailed to the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands. He never returned to Oregon. Although Kelley realized his dream of going to Oregon, he failed in almost every other aspect of his vision. Suspicious and all too ready to blame others for his failings, he drifted into an unhappy life, overcome by his growing paranoia. Although Kelley lived long enough to witness (from afar) the largest human migration in North American history—the cross-continent journey of 330,000 Americans (including thousands of recent European immigrants) to the Pacific Coast and Far West—he did not achieve his dream of *personally* leading these emigrant crossings or serving as an important American leader in Oregon. Rather, Hall Kelley’s place in Western history is this: he was one of the first champions of the idea that Oregon was a place where Americans should go to live, where the dream of heaven on earth was to be found. Indeed, the Protestant and Catholic missionaries and the capitalists, merchants, tradesmen, and craftsmen, along with the great body of farm-folk who settled here in the mid-19th century did so because most of them believed the ideas that Hall Kelley was selling.

Senator Lewis Linn began introducing bills in Congress in 1838 to bring the Oregon Country, still jointly occupied by Great Britain and the United States, into the exclusive domain of the United States. For five years Linn pushed legislation to establish a permanent American military presence in

the Oregon Country. In 1842, Linn introduced a new (and highly publicized) bill: the granting of a section of land (640 acres) to every white man who emigrated to Oregon. And, said Linn, the land was to be a gift—it would be free. Federal law then in effect normally required a payment of a minimum of \$1.25 an acre in order to acquire public lands.

According to historian Robert C. Clark, the emigrants who moved to Oregon after 1838 had been encouraged by Senator Linn's bills. "None of these bills had ever become, it is true, a law, but they were considered as a promise that each settler would receive a section of land."² In 1843, Oregon's first provisional government enacted a land law based on Lewis Linn's idea, providing 640 acres of land free to each white male settler. This law was in effect at the time the Oregon Boundary Question was settled in 1846 and in 1848, when Oregon officially became a territory of the United States.

In 1850, Congress passed the controversial Oregon Donation Land Law, at the behest of Oregon's delegate in Congress, Samuel Royal Thurston. This Act confirmed the system of land ownership in Oregon that had been in place for seven years, legitimizing Oregonians' land titles. "Backed by the authority of the federal law, settlers would no longer need to rely upon voluntary organizations to protect their lands from claim jumpers. For Oregonians it was a matter of extreme concern whether the Congress would recognize the land laws of its provisional government as the claims of its early settlers."³

The title *To the Promised Land* poses two basic questions: What effect did the Oregon Country, as a Promised Land or even as a land of promise, have on the imaginations of ordinary Americans? And why did the promise of free land lure so many Americans into moving halfway across North America to start their lives over on the raw and remote Oregon frontier?

Acknowledgements

One of my goals when researching and writing this book was as much as possible, to write history from a personal point of view. I've drawn on my knowledge and experiences as a high school history and government teacher, my involvement in state and local government, and, most importantly, my dozens of conversations with Oregonians who were personally involved in "making history." It is this latter group that I want to acknowledge.

Two gentlemen, now deceased, were of particular help to me, each going overboard to assist in any way he could. Cecil Edwards and Monroe Sweetland both participated in and observed state government (especially the legislature) for over sixty years. I was fortunate to have spent a dozen

hours in the early-1990s talking with Cecil Edwards, historian of the Oregon Legislature. Cecil Edwards personally observed every legislature from the early-1930s to the 1990s. He served as a governor's chief-of-staff, as legislative committee staff, legislative historian and several other capacities in and around the Capitol. In short, Cecil Edwards was a walking encyclopedia of Oregon politics and government. Edwards was most helpful when he discussed how the legislature evolved from the Depression-era through World War II and forward into the 1970s—when the Legislative Assembly began to reform itself by opening the doors to the public, welcoming Oregonians to actively participate in the work of their government. His stories and anecdotes were priceless—and I think I have written a better book because Cecil Edwards is so much a part of it.

I am forever indebted to Monroe Mark Sweetland for his friendship, generosity, wit, wisdom, and deep firsthand knowledge of Oregon's political and government institutions. A newspaper publisher, editor, lobbyist, Democratic Party leader and activist, national committeeman, a veteran legislator, and, most important, a longtime friend and advisor to dozens of Oregon politicians, Monroe Sweetland's ninety-seven-year-long life was one of extraordinary accomplishment. Beginning in 1946-47, Sweetland, along with Howard Morgan, was responsible for resurrecting the modern Democratic Party of Oregon.

I was fortunate to have had conversations over a period of months with Sweetland in 1998. Like Cecil Edwards, Monroe Sweetland had a remarkable memory rooted in hundreds of personal relationships over a period of nearly seventy years in Oregon. No Oregonian knew as much about 20th-century politics in Oregon as Monroe Sweetland. His keen observations about such leaders as Maurine and Richard Neuberger, Mark Hatfield, Wayne Morse, Edith Green, Robert Holmes and Tom McCall were invaluable to me.

Several individuals were very helpful in the early stages of my work. I spent an afternoon with Portland historian E. Kimbark MacColl, learning about the history of Portland politics and the graft and corruption associated with Oregon's legislatures of the 1890s. The late Jim Klonoski, professor of political science at the University of Oregon, was an enthusiastic early backer of this project.

I spent an afternoon with the late Travis Cross in July 1994. Cross was a longtime friend and advisor of Mark Hatfield's. As a Republican Party leader, Travis Cross was familiar with GOP politicians in the 1950s, '60s, and '70s. His insights into the personality of Tom McCall were a great help to me.

Veteran lobbyist, Dave Barrows, who has worked in every legislative session beginning in the late-1950s, was another helpful source, particularly when he shared his insights into how the legislature has evolved and how politics in Oregon has changed over the past fifty years.

The late Robert Y. Thornton, former attorney general and justice of the Oregon Court of Appeals, shared with me his experiences as a politician, from his time in the Oregon House to his sixteen years as Attorney General.

The Honorable Victor Atiyeh, a twenty-five-year veteran of the legislature, and governor of Oregon from 1979-87, was most generous with his time and comments. I am indebted to the governor for critiquing two chapters of my book and for allowing me to interview him on several occasions. His friendliness, encouragement, and candor are most appreciated. His personal experiences, freely shared, were of inestimable help to me.

Veteran legislators Grattan Kerans and Clifford Trow were important contributors to my research. I have known both men since the mid-1970s, when we served in the legislature together. They remained in the assembly long after I returned to teaching. Cliff Trow was a state senator for twenty-eight years, 1975-2003. His knowledge and first-hand experiences over that period were offered with special clarity and insight. Senator Trow's observations about the Kitzhaber-era (from Kitzhaber's time as president of the Oregon Senate to his eight years as governor) were important to my understanding of that period.

Grattan Kerans served in both the house and senate; in 1983 Kerans was house speaker. In addition to sharing his experiences and observations with me, Kerans helped me to better understand the personalities and inner-workings of the governorships of Victor Atiyeh, Neil Goldschmidt, Barbara Roberts, and John Kitzhaber. Kerans critiqued a couple of my chapters—for which I am most appreciative.

Early in my efforts I relied heavily on the writing talents and knowledge of several friends and colleagues. All critiqued early chapters and assisted me in developing my writer's voice. Thank you Rod Craig, Dave Robbins, and Joan Johnson. And, to my daughter, Megan Barry, thank you for editing and typing the early chapters of my manuscript. And, to daughter Meredith Marsh thank you for devoting so many hours assisting me in assembling the historical photographs featured in the book.

The library staff at these institutions were very helpful, particularly the staff at the Oregon Historical Society, Reed College, the Oregon State Archives, State Library, and Secretary of State's office in Salem.

To my longtime friend Tom Clark for his generosity and support, a special thank you.

And a final THANK YOU to my wife, Judy, whose patience and encouragement have supported me over the years it has taken me to write *To the Promised Land: A History of Government and Politics in Oregon*.

Adair Law's assistance in revising my original manuscript is very much appreciated, as are the suggestions and critique offered by one of my oldest and wisest friends, Professor Kenneth Lockridge.

Tom Marsh
Salem, Oregon

Introduction

Oregon has been shaped by hundreds of forces over the span of its history. No factor, however, has had as much impact on Oregon as this one: most Oregonians live within a two-hour drive of one another in the Willamette Valley. Two-thirds of Oregon's land area lies east of the Cascade mountain range. Yet only a fraction of the population live there. Today four out of ten Oregonians live in just three counties: Multnomah, Washington, and Clackamas. In fact, the 2.5 million people who reside in Oregon's six most populous counties is more than the population of Oregon's remaining thirty counties by a ratio of two to one. This lopsided population distribution continues to shape all aspects of life in Oregon: the economy, social trends, educational opportunities, and politics. A mere eight of Oregon's sixty state representatives are from districts east of the Cascades. District 60, for example, which includes Harney, Malheur, and Baker counties, and part of Grant county, is so vast (23,200 square miles) that it is larger in land area than nine U.S. states and nearly as large as Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire *combined*. Thus, the vastness of eastern Oregon belies the fact that this part of the state has to work doubly hard to have its economic and political interests considered by the "westerners" who typically dominate the state legislature and the governor's mansion.

Historically, eastern Oregonians, as well as those living along the state's long coastline, and those in far southern Oregon, have often felt like step-children, who, like Cinderella, are assigned menial tasks, sleep in a gloomy room, and eat left-over food. This feeling has, throughout state history, led those who live outside the Willamette Valley to resent Portland and her affluent suburbs. Modern politics in Oregon—her statewide ballot measure campaigns, presidential, and gubernatorial elections, as well as the state's clout in Congress—is dominated by how Multnomah, Washington, and Clackamas counties vote. Over the decades, then, Oregon's political leaders have had to balance the interests of a more urbanized and economically diversified metropolitan Portland with the interests of Oregon's other regions.

The history of state government and politics in Oregon is far more complex, controversial, and colorful than the typical citizen realizes. Historically, Oregonians have displayed a willingness to take great political risks (the Oregon System, Bottle Bill, and doctor-assisted suicide) while maintaining a basic conservatism when it comes to spending money or taxing themselves.

For most of her history Oregon has been a modified one-party state. Between 1880 and 1934 the Oregon House of Representatives was controlled by Republicans, as was the state Senate from 1880 to 1956. Not until 1950 did Democratic voter registration, for the first time in the 20th century, exceed Republican. Yet Democrats, despite their surge in popularity, continued to have trouble getting their candidates elected to high public office. Only five Democrats were elected to the United States Senate between 1950 and 2008 (Wayne Morse, Richard and Maurine Neuberger, Ron Wyden, and Jeff Merkley), and only one Democrat was elected governor between 1938 and 1973 (Robert Holmes). When it comes to voting for president, Oregonians voted for a Democrat only six times between 1860 and 1984. But between 1988 and 2008 Oregon favored the Democratic nominee for president every time.

Until 1952, when reapportionment of the Oregon Legislature occurred, the rural minority elected a majority of members in both houses and non-Portland legislators were elected as speakers of the House and presidents of the Senate. There is an unwritten rule in the legislature that its leaders should represent the state's more rural areas. Only twice in the 20th century (1913 and 1935) were both the Senate president and House speaker from Portland.

Throughout their history, Oregon's Republican and Democratic parties have suffered from internal ideological differences so divisive that the opposition was able to elect their candidates. This disunity has been particularly true of the Republican Party (in the period 1876-1920, the 1930s, and the 1980s and '90s). Beginning in 1902 voters took matters into their own hands: they adopted the Oregon System. By introducing the initiative, referendum, and recall, and the direct election of U.S. senators, Oregonians gave themselves the power to pass laws, refer laws passed by the Legislature, and the power to recall or vote an elected official out of office. Adoption of the initiative, referendum and recall was a turning point in Oregon's political history. What may have made little sense to people and politicians in other states made perfect sense to Oregonians. For a generation Oregonians had lived with widespread political corruption and unresponsive politicians. By 1902, Oregonians had had enough. The tide of change was here and there was little politicians could do to stop it.

William U'Ren, Oregon's leading political reformer, and his legions of dedicated followers, had pushed politicians (and their monied friends) into a corner: either you get aboard and support the Oregon System or voters will see you as part of the problem. The movement to adopt the initiative and referendum in Oregon was one of those moments when the people came together to answer this fundamental question: what do we want state politics and government to be like?

Voters have utilized the initiative hundreds of times over the past century. This habit has engendered a political activism unknown in many states and it has led to an important political tradition in Oregon. Besides the three branches of state government established in the Constitution of 1858 (executive, legislative, and judicial), there is a fourth branch: the people. Time and again, Oregonians have gone around their elected leaders, using the initiative and referendum to pass laws popular with voters.

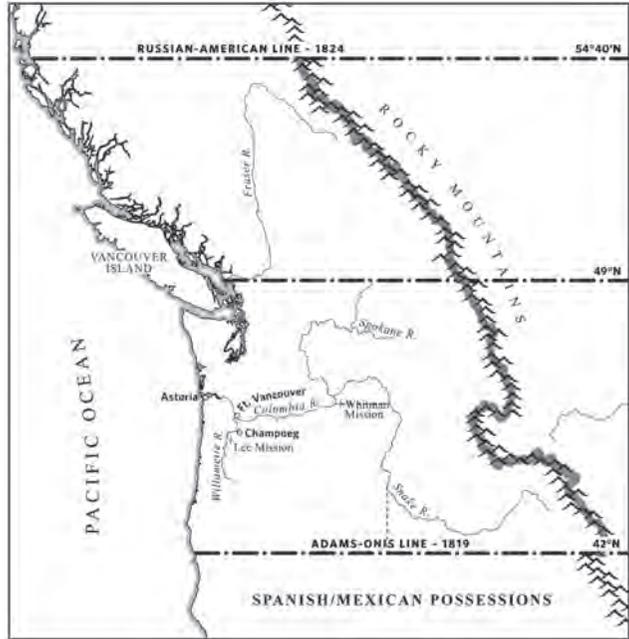
Many Oregonians have traditionally voted in a non-partisan way, for the individual candidate, not for the party label she or he represents. Several successful Oregon politicians have downplayed their party affiliations to campaign on their character and political beliefs. For example, governors Sylvester Pennoyer, George Chamberlain, Oswald West, Walter Pierce, Charles Sprague, Tom McCall, Bob Straub, and Victor Atiyeh all appealed to voters not so much as Republicans or Democrats but as men who had lots of ideas and took positions on issues important to Oregonians.

Before Statehood

Many of Oregon's most cherished political values and traditions are rooted in the frontier period. Starting in 1818, the United States and Great Britain jointly occupied a vast region (285,000 square miles) known as the Oregon Country. Today we call this area the Pacific Northwest. From 1825 to 1846 the Oregon Country was also part of a huge trading empire based in British Canada, the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC). Between 1824 and 1845, Dr. John McLoughlin, Chief Factor of the HBC, was the most powerful man in the Oregon Country. Locally, the HBC was headquartered at the newly rebuilt Fort Vancouver, within walking distance from the north shore of the Columbia River, across from modern-day Portland. Prior to 1840 only a couple of wagonloads of Americans lived in the Oregon Country, almost all of them south of the Columbia River. In 1841, 1843, and 1845, the American settlers established provisional governments, but it was not until 1846 that President Polk and the Senate agreed to a British proposal to divide the Oregon Country with all lands below 49 degrees

The Oregon Country, 1818-1846

Between 1818 and 1846 the United States and Great Britain jointly “owned” and occupied a vast area of 285,000 square miles known as the Oregon Country. Present-day Oregon is shown in the lower left corner. The boundaries of the Oregon Country extended from the Pacific Ocean on the west to the crest of the Rocky Mountains on the east, south to 42 degrees and north to the 54th parallel. Future American states of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, western Montana and a portion of Wyoming as well as the British-Canadian provinces of British Columbia and part of Alberta comprised the Oregon Country.



SECOND STORY MEDIA

north becoming part of the United States. In 1849, the first Oregon Territorial Legislature convened. In 1853, Congress divided the U.S. portion of the Oregon Country into two regions: the area north of the Columbia River and basically east of the Snake River was to be the Washington Territory, with the area south of the Columbia to remain as the Oregon Territory. By the time Oregon joined the Union as a state in 1859, over 52,000 Americans were residing here. Most of the emigrants had walked here via the Oregon Trail from in and around Missouri. Why had they come? Why were they willing to leave their more established, settled lives to risk a 2,000-mile walk to a place so far away from their reality that they could only dream about it?

Oregon was a popular topic among eastern writers and promoters throughout the 1820s, '30s, and '40s. Dozens of articles, letters, pamphlets, and books were written about Oregon and the Pacific Northwest. Beginning with the published journals of William Clark and Meriwether Lewis, a body of work evolved which, over time, created a mystical Oregon, a place so idyllic that some writers characterized Oregon as a paradise on earth. Thus was a vision born: Oregon took on the mystique “of a land biblical in scale; this was not just the next unclaimed territory, but a Promised Land, or even an Eden.”¹ Indeed, Oregon was, in a sense, a mythical vision before there were any Oregonians at all.

Throughout the early 19th century, Americans believed their young nation was destined for greatness. Many Americans believed their culture should be spread across the North American continent. In a span of forty-five years (1803-48) the land area of the United States quadrupled. In 1844, John Quincy Adams, then a congressman, made an eloquent plea on behalf of Oregon. America claimed Oregon for a noble purpose: "To make the wilderness blossom as the rose, to establish laws, to increase, multiply, and subdue the earth, which we are commanded to do by the first behest of God Almighty."² In the mid-1840s this idea that God had a plan for the United States was given a name: Manifest Destiny. The idea of Manifest Destiny remained a potent political force in America for the rest of the century. And it was an idea that explains why so many Americans and their political leaders were so eager to create a new society in a place called Oregon, a Promised Land, an Eden. Eden or not, it became Oregon.

The emigrants who flooded into Oregon between 1843 and 1854 had a lot in common. Most of them were repeating a life-cycle familiar to the young American nation; these people, in traveling to Oregon, were merely doing something that they fervently believed in and had done before, over and over. These emigrants (who some called "movers") were in the habit of leaving their homes, farms, or trades, packing their possessions, and moving to a new place farther west.

For millions of Americans the frontier was a mystical place. The frontier represented opportunity, an environment where a person could renew him or herself, a place to start over. Life in 19th-century America was hard. Most Americans were farmers, as were their fathers and grandfathers. Life was short, cut down by disease, famine, back-breaking labor, natural disasters, debt, loneliness, and poverty. Few farmers knew anything about crop-rotation or the practice of leaving parts of one's land fallow for a year or two. Because of these practices many farmers found that, no matter how hard they worked, their harvests got smaller and smaller. For many Americans, then, farming where they were had led them down a dead-end road. So, when the opportunity presented itself, many Americans simply pulled up roots and headed west where new territories were opening up. And what was best about this frontier was that much of this land was free (though it can be argued that the lands had been stolen from the Native Americans, who had lived on them for generations).

Historian Malcolm Clark, Jr., said it best in his book, *Eden Seekers*, when he wrote: "On the frontier, however, there was nothing to prevent a man from walking away from failure, or from successive failures, drawn along by the conviction that something better would turn up farther on. In this way the Westerners pushed back the West, going at it in stages, the whole process of a continental

crossing taking years and even generations. They were not called pioneer, but movers. Restlessness was their dominant trait. The gene of it was passed from father to son as a part of the act of procreation. The frontier was constantly reproducing itself." Oregon, like other frontiers, attracted many people who had been unsuccessful where they were. Although a majority of emigrants who came to Oregon after 1844 were family people, there was also a rowdy minority of single men here, as well. "A substantial number of emigrants were social misfits—the rebels, the restless, the adventurous, the unruly—and more than one was a social outcast. That they were crass and coarse-fibered does not mean they were ineffectual. Nor were they simple," wrote Malcolm Clark.³

The Panic of 1837, the worst economic depression in 19th-century America, caused widespread hardship. The depression lasted for several years. Particularly hard hit were farmers in the Mississippi River basin. Faced with higher shipping costs, a shortage of currency, and mounting debts, thousands of Midwestern farmers saw Oregon as an opportunity to, once again, start over.

But for many emigrants, the lure of Oregon was different. The myth of Oregon as an Eden was really part of the American Dream. For many emigrants, Oregon was a vision. Oregon, with its fertile Willamette Valley and temperate climate, long growing season, giant trees, and fair winds, represented hope. Oregon, like other frontiers, attracted people who wanted to improve their lives and the future of their children.

Thus it was that early Oregon, even with its share of misfits, eccentrics, and dreamers, evolved in its own unique way, with its own sense of values, of time and place and experience. Cut off by their isolation, Oregon's pioneers, on their own, reconstructed a civil society on this raw Pacific frontier. Over the next five generations it would become apparent that their descendants had a conservative and, at times, an eclectic and astonishingly innovative view of what state government might do for them.

Keep it in mind

Because this is a history book it will be helpful to remember these facts as you begin to read.

- Until 1912, politics was a man's business in Oregon. Women could not vote nor hold office except in local school elections. Nationally, women were not granted the vote until ratification of the 19th Amendment in 1920. Oregon men, however, beat Congress to it, giving Oregon women the vote in 1912.

- Between 1789 and 1913, United States senators were elected by their state legislatures—not by popular vote. It was not until the 17th Amendment was ratified in 1913 that the direct election of senators began. Again, Oregon led the way; as early as 1906, Oregonians had, by initiative petition, passed a law which was intended to bind the Oregon Legislature to elect the U.S. Senate candidate who had been voted the “people’s choice” in the previous election.
- Oregon’s early history was shaped by its extreme isolation. Oregon was among the last places in North America to come under the influence of outsiders. Situated halfway between the Equator and North Pole, Oregon was “on the edge of nowhere.” Separated from Asia by the Pacific Ocean, and from western Europe by the North American landmass and the Atlantic Ocean, Oregon in her first century was dominated by this one fact: her acute isolation. Until the early 1880s, the fastest overland route to Oregon from the east took up to six months to traverse. The first transcontinental railroad did not reach Oregon until 1883, when track was completed through the Columbia Gorge. Until then, Oregonians were linked by rail to the trans-Mississippi east only if they first went south to California.
- Oregon’s early isolation was compounded by the fact that communication, as well as transportation, was so slow. Until late in the Civil War, news typically reached Oregon by going through California first. The impact of this was that (prior to 1870) Oregonians were among the last Americans to know what was going on in the rest of the nation and world.
- Another important impact of Oregon’s isolation was the effect it had on the values and psychological makeup of early settlers: a take-charge, make-do, self-reliant independence took hold in Oregon early.

“I am especially pleased to know that Tom Marsh has done painstaking research to bind our history in this tome; perhaps we will learn from our past and forge ahead with positive results for generations to come.”

—GERRY FRANK

The first comprehensive political history of Oregon, *To the Promised Land* also examines the social and economic changes the state has pioneered during its almost two hundred years. Highlighting major political figures, campaigns, ballot measures, and the history of legislative sessions, Tom Marsh traces the evolution of Oregon from incorporated territory to a state at the forefront of national environmental and social movements.

From Jason Lee’s first letter urging Congress to take possession of the Oregon Country to John Kitzhaber’s precedent-setting third term as governor, from the land frauds of the early 20th century to the state’s land-use planning goals, from the Beach Bill to the Bottle Bill, this book tells Oregon’s story.

Featuring interesting trivia, historical photographs, and biographical sketches of key politicians, *To the Promised Land* is an essential volume for readers interested in Oregon’s history.



TOM MARSH taught high school history in Oregon for twenty-eight years. He represented eastern Washington County in the state legislature from 1975 to 1979, and has participated in numerous political campaigns over a span of nearly fifty years. He lives in Salem, Oregon.

Oregon State University Press

Cover design by David Drummond

ISBN 978-0-87071-657-7



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