*9:15 A. M

*7:00 P. M.

18:25 A. M.

EARLY PARTY ORGANIZATION

THE OREGONIAN'S HOME STUDY CIRCLE DIRECTED BY PROF. SEYMOUR EATON

III-EARLY LOCAL AND STATE PARTY ORGANIZATION.

BY JESSE MACY, LL. D. Just as the Government of the United Btates is the outgrowth of the two inde pendent and sometimes conflicting ideas of localism and centralization, so is American party machinery a development from two independent sources and along two corresponding independent lines. The history of National nominations has been traced in previous chapters, till the uncertain and irregular party methods of earlier years have been seen to give way to the great Federal nominating body, with its self-perpetuating organization. But there is also the intricate local and state party apparatus correlated to the Federal party machinery and essentia to its harmonious working. This latter is of far older origin, far more diverse in form, and has a more varied and obscure

Nominations in the Colonies.

The local organizations for formulating and expressing political opinion which ex-isted in the colonies before the adoption of the National Constitution had comdown from the early days of popular government in England-with such modifica tion and adaptation as our practical fore fathers were accustomed to make in their familiar institutions under changed con-ditions. Two methods of placing candi-dates for office before the voters had been familiar to the first English colonists in their ancestral home. They had been accustomed to see aspirants for public posi-tions stand forth before assemblies of vot-ers and discourse upon their own qualifications for the office sought, and they had also seen candidates announced by cote-ries of the local landowners receive the suffrages of the limited number of voters So in the colonies candidacies were fre-quently self-announced, especially in the South, where, as well as in the Southwestern states, that method largely pre-valled down to the Civil War. But in the Northern colonies it was more common for cliques of the leading men in a com-munity to agree together in private conference respecting those for whom the people should be asked to vote in an ap-proaching election. This sort of influence controlled the New England town meet-ing to a great extent, and the "parlor caucuses," as they came later to be called, were a really worthy and acceptable po-litical agent. They fairly represented the litical agent. They fairly represented the limited number of legal voters, and they led in general to the choice of suitable

Some sort of official nomination also grew up in certain colonies by which mer designated for the purpose in each county chose candidates, while in Connecticut a complex system arose by which the free-men of the colony were accustomed to yote for their Governor and magistrates from a list of candidates nominated by deputies of each town and the central "court of election," and votes could be cast for those only who had been previously nominated. There seems to have been an imperceptible change, at least in the Northern colonies by Northern colonies, by which nomination by private conference of leading citizens and men of substance became nomination members of the legislature. Perhaps was because these men of means and fluence had become legislators and could act in that capacity as well as in that of

Professor Howard, author of "Local Constitutional History of the United States," finds in the colonial records of Massachusetts evidence of the gradual dewhich are the beginning of both the cau-cus or primary, and the convention, run-ning back to the year 1640. Nominations for magistrates were made by the free-men in town meeting, and the General Court acting as a canvassing board re-turned back to the several towns the names of those having the largest number tes as the accepted candidates to be voted for at the general election. Two years later a change in procedure required years later a change in procedure required each town to select one or two freemen, who should all meet and agree upon the required number "of the most able and fit men" to be nominated for magistrates; while only those so nominated should be eligible. By this law the delegates chosen by the "primaries" met in "state convention" to make the nominations.

Rise of the Caucus.

The word caucus did not come into use until about the year 1724, when, hisuntil about the year 1724, when, his-torians tell us, a group of some 29 men in the town of Boston, of whom the father of the patriotic orator. Samuel Adams, was one, were accustomed to meet to consider practical questions in local politics and to "lay their plans for introducing certain persons into places of trust and power." Then, having agreed as to the persons, each member of the as to the persons, each memoer of the group used his influence with others to accomplish what they wished. And they provided "ballots, including the names of the parties fixed upon, which they dis tributed upon the days of election." S successful were their methods that "they generally carried the elections to their own mind. In like manner it was that Mr. Samuel Adams first became a Representative for Boston." (Gordon's "History of the American Baseline") tory of the American Revolution.") Because these meetings were attended

by certain mechanics, called "caulkers," from the shipbuilding yards at the north from the shipbuilding yards at the north end of Boston, they came to be called "Calkers' Clubs," which was corrupted into "Caucus Clubs" or "caucuses." Though writers differ, this is the de-rivation given by Colonial authors of the word which fills so large a place in American political history. Like many Capather institution unknown to the least caucus has played a far more influen-tial part in politics than have multitudes

of Governmental devices having all legal sanctions. The caucus of pre-Revolu-tionary times was identical in its func-tions with the caucus or primary of to-

Closely allied to the caucus clubs in composition and purpose were the nu-merous patriotic societies and commit-tees of safety which sprung up through-out the land before and during the Revo-lution—such as the Sons of Liberty, with its many branches. Wherever despotic government presses upon a people intel-ligent enough to work together to accomplish an end, such organizations al-ways arise. The people inevitably combine to resist oppression. To some ex-tent the American societies were mod-eled after the French Jacobin societies, they acted also as nominating bodles. When one of these societies or cau-cuses appointed a committee of confer-ence to meet with other committees from other clubs to consider in respect to can-didates for elective office they instituted what was really, in effect, a delegate con-

When the Government had become free, the caucus—which by that time was gen-oral, at least throughout the Northern states—gradually ceased to be held in se-cret, and in those localities where the town meeting prevailed differed little from town meeting of the party voters. Such it still remains in many places, chiefly in New England, outside of the large cities and in states settled by New England people. That is, the caucus is a gathering for conference, for discussion of the merits of candidates and the exchange of views. in some of the states, and esp in the cities, the caucus, or primary, has grown too large to afford opportunity for discussion, and is simply a meeting for the election of delegates to the nominating conventions and of party members of the various committees. This, of course, forces the real selection of candidates fur-ther back into the clubs or committees or

AMERICAN POLITICAL PARTIES "parlor caucuses," whose work is more or less secret and irresponsible.

The First Conventions.

Under the Constitution, the old ways of local nomination continued to prevail un-til, with the increase of population, some necessary modifications appeared. Can-didates for office-national, state or local —who were elected by districts were still self-announced or were selected by mass meetings of the party voters in the clean meetings of the party voters in the elec-tion area. These mass meetings, growing too large and unwieldy for their purpose gradually became gatherings of delegates self-selected at first, to act for their par-ty, but after a time regularly appointed members of a nominating convention. The state convention seems to have been the method first employed for the nomination of state elective officers. State conven-tions had been the medium for framing the state constitutions and the ratification of the Federal Constitution, and were fa-miliar to the citizens. The early state nominating conventions for selecting candidntes for Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, though often irregularly constituted, were in some instances regularly called and were made up of delegates chosen by the party voters in the counties. In others they were composed of a small number of party leaders from different parts of the state. The first state convention which can be called "regular" seems to have been that held in Harrisburg, Pa.

The Legislative Caucus.

But the difficulties and expense of travel were, perhaps, the chief cause of a gradual change in the management of both state and National party politics. This was the substitution of the legislative caucus for the state convention, and the adop-tion of the Congressional caucus for mak-ing Presidential nominations. It was both ing Presidential nominations. It was both convenient and economical to leave to the legislators already assembled at the capitals the business of making nominations along with their other political duties. By the beginning of the century the practice of nominating the state elective officers through the joint caucus of party members of the two branches of the state Legislature had become general and was the pre-valling system until the year 1824—the last year of the National Congressional caucus-while it did not finally yield to the convention system until 1835. Even as late as 1842, according to Niles Register, a legislative nominating caucus was held in

The system was all the time subject to severe criticism and strong opposition as aristocratic, unfair, contrary to the Demo-cratic tendencies of the age. Those dis-tricts in the state which sent Federalist representatives to the assembly were wholly unrepresented in the Republican caucus as were Receibless districts in caucus, as were Republican districts in the Federal caucus, until, to meet that objection, the caucus membership was in some cases expanded to include delegates especially sent up from unrepresented por-tions of the state. The legislators were naturally disposed to cling tenniciously to the power which had fallen into their hands, but the popular discontent was widesprend and continued to gather force, while the idea of the nominating convention grew in favor, and was adopted in

many states for the selection of candidates for the state elective offices before it was accepted for Presidential nominations. The state legislative caucus did not al-ways confine itself to the nomination of state officers; it occasionally, even in the early years of the Republic, recommended candidates for the Presidency, and from the year 1824 that practice prevalled quite widely throughout the stage of transition from the Congressional caucus to the Na-tional nominating convention. In some cases these nominations were made by the state Legislature in its official capacity. In 1807 many of the catteriors 1807 many of the states thus put forward the name of Jefferson for a second term.

Development of the Nominating Convention. The progressive consolidation of party

machinery, resulting in the complete as-cendency of the convention system, took place more rapidly in some states than in others. Permanent party organization with regular, published calls for the various county and state conventions, seems to have been achieved in Pennsylvania very early in the present century. Irregularities there were at first, but the parties (or, at least, the Democratic party) soon adopted definite, orderly arrangements for delegate definite, orderly arrangements for delegate conventions in the several election areas. Massachusetts, previously the leader in political development, followed more slow-ly than Pennsylvania the path of party organization, but Congressional and county conventions had begun to be held there as early as 1802, and in 1808 the call for a convention definitely stated the number of delegates to which each town was entitled. District conventions for nominating candidates for the state senate, to which delegates were chosen by primaries. ing candidates for the state senate, to which delegates were chosen by primarles in the cities and towns of the district, began to be held in New York about 1811, and the first state nominating convention was that of 1817, while the last state legislative caucus in that state was as late as 1824. This year marks the final yielding by the Democratic members of the New York state Legislature of the power to nominate the party candidate for Governor. In other states a similar adjustment of party organization to the convention system was effected in course of periods of varying length, and the year 1835 may be said to mark the dom-

hation of the system.

The first "calls" for conventions were often anonymous, but they were later signed by officers of district or town committees. It also soon became usual to publish the proceedings of the conven-tion with the signatures of the chairman and secretary. In general, it may be said that the procedure which had been adopted in district and state conventions by 1835 was substantially that which pre-

Although the state co. vention as a nomnating body for state officers entirely sup-planted the Legislative caucus more than half a century ago, the caucus nevertheess survives as an agent for other necessary party business. It still nominates candidates for the United States Senate and for the offices of the two houses of the state Legislature, and it is also an important means for crystallizing the sen-

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Purchases of wheat made in March in-variably show a good pront during Apri and May, as the following table, compiled from the official records, will prove:

State of the last	Tow II	High	
Year.	March	Ap'l-May	. Adv.
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1881	9514	1 1964	141
1882	1 24%	1 40	151
1883	1 (5	1 13%	A472
1884		944	700
1885		916	100
1886		1217	407
1887		200	1014
1888		\$974	101
1889		1 0514	1019
1820		1 00	27
1891		1 14	10.70
1892		4 10	10%
1893		60	127
1854		951/	104
1895		60%	
1896		20.79	- 04
1897		11	1176
1898 (Leiter)		3176	あた
		1 80	85
Take adams		1374	13%
rane nuvar	tage of an	exceptions	n ob-
portunity to	increase you	ir income.	We
have the faci	mues and so	ment your	Dust-

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IMPORTS OF RAW MATERIALS Great Activity Among

Manufacturers.

WASHINGTON, March 31 .- The manu facturers of the United States are the most active among our importers at the present time. In the month of February, the details of whose commerce have just been presented by the Treasury Bureau of Statistics, manufacturers' of Statistics, manufacturers' materia's amounted to almost one-half of the total importations, if we include under this term the importations classified by the Bureau of Statistics as "articles wholly or partially manufacturer for use in th manufactures and mechanic arts." The ruary were \$68,774,150. Of this amount, \$25,506,601, or \$7.71 per cent, was classified by the Bureau of Statistics as "articles in a crude condition which enter into the various processes of domestic industry," which, of course, entitles all of these to be classified as "manufacturers' materials." classified as "manufacturers' materials."

Following this comes another group of \$5,722,437, which the Bureau classifies as "articles wholly or partially manufactured for use in the manufactures and mechanic arts," which it seems to be proper to also classify as a manufacturer of materials. This stress are manufacturers and materials. manufacturers' materials. This gives a total, therefore, of manufacturers' ma-terials amounting to \$32,699,693, or 474 per cent of the total importations. Thus it may properly be said that practically one-half of the foreign productions coming into the United States at the present tim are for use in the factories of the United States. To his may be added another statement that another quarter practi-cally, of the importations coming into the United States are articles of food, most of which cannot be produced in the United States in sufficient quantities for the use of its population, the February importations of "articles of food and live animals" having amounted to \$16,254,153, or 23.63 per cent of the imports for that

Taking the eight months ending with February, it is found that articles of food formed 25.15 per cent of the total imports; manufacturers' materials, including the two classes above named—articles in a condition and articles wholly or partially

manufactured for use in the mechanic arts—amounted to 45.52 per cent. Thus, while importations have materially increased, it may be said of them that practically one-half are materials for use in the factory, one-fourth for food. and the other quarter manufactures and

luxuries.

The following table shows the importa tions in principal articles of manufactu-rers' materials, foodstuffs and manufactured articles during the eight months ending with February, 1900, compared with those of the corresponding eight months of the preceding fiscal year. It will be seen that the largest growth is in manufacturers' materials, the increase in the importations of raw silk, rubber, hides and chemicals being more than \$10,000,000 in each case, and the average for the group over 45 per cent, while in manu-factures the increase is but 30 per cent. and in foodstuffs 23 per cent.

Manufacturers		
materials-	1899.	1900
Ildes	\$24,086,290	\$38,728,132
hemicals	25,985,473	34,353,484
ilk, raw	21 175 257	31,843,002
ndia rubber		21,368,130
Ther	11 009 450	14,349,606
Wood	7.570 000	10,919,989
'in	£ 417 159	
Tobacco		11,884,997
Tobacco	*** 0,905,309	8,285,412
Wool	4,360,615	10,604,181
Foodstuffs-		
ugar	49,617,253	60,420,142
offee	32,724,607	33,368,291
ruits and nuts	10,978,235	13.261.228
'èa	7,619,586	8,935,003
Aquors	6,769,719	8,150,468
Manufactured goo	ds-	-
ottons	16,685,814	21,263,603
tiks	16 930 952	20,974,149
lbers		19,802,091
ron and Steel	7 245 505	13,945,002
Vooleng	10 207 930	11.194.897
lass and china	7 097 500	
rines and Cillia	*** *,****,352	9,245,672

It Is Monstrous.

Cleveland Leader (Rep.)
Such facts as the Governor of Puerto
Rico sends the War Department about the
condition of the island are what stir the
American people to strenuous opposition

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to any tariff obstruction to the business development of Puerto Rico. It is mon-strous that an island which was comparatively comfortable and progressive under Spanish rule should become a prey to famine and pauperism under the Amer-

Bryan at the Door. What's this tremendous bustling. Why look their eyes so glassy, And roll about so "snasy

Like Republicans had better keep away? Their old clothes they've been brushing, "Prinking" themselves quite crushing A-leaning and a-shining of their bo Their shirts have had a-biling. They how and lock real smiling.

On street, cavorting in their Sunday suits. In collars, cuffs and neckfrills, They wait to hear the band begin to play— And sure! There's something coming! There's shouting now and drumming! The Marshal is a-heading up this way!

I'll gently break it to you, Lest it o'ercome and crush you, Great Bryan is a coming here today! The orator: and prophet!

Will speak his piece and have his little eay He felt it was his duty,

The simple, modest heauty, To stretch his mouth along this Western The said he has a notion That Aguinaldo, he may hear him roar!

This prophet of disaster, This silver-singing master, Four years ago forefold his country's fall! Should he not be elected.

Why, really be expectd Comfort would flee away for good and all! And now, with fact'ries booming.

And ocean commerce looming.

He's telling o'er the same stale tale.

'Twould really be confusing. If 'twere not so amusing.

This plethora of words without avail.

Well! Well! do now your shouting. Full soon you'll be a-pouting— The etandard we have fixed beyond recall,

The people saw your blunder, and sent free coinage under, And there they'll send the anti-men this fall. It's previous, this campaigning, But then, there's no restraining Ambition which is vaulting and o'erleaps.

Spring bushes you are shaking.
There's no fruit for your taking.
The God that guards our Nation never sleeps. Meanwhile one does get weary, Of all this drivel dreary, This playing for position, nothing more;

This building up of mountains, With molehills as their fountains, This dismal din of Bryan at the Do Portland, March 31, 1960. G.

A Floral Miracle.

New York Commercial, "The most magnificent floral effect I ever aw in my life," said Robert N. Wilson, of the Morgan Line, "was in Texas. They have a flower there called the rainflower. the botanical name of which is the coop-eria. It usually blooms three or four days after a rain. I was through the country to look after some land for a friend, and the thing that struck me in that particu-lar locality was the utter barrenness of the whole landscape. There was a low piece of land of 10 acres or more that was covered with low, black vines that were this piece of land, and it was absolutely covered with what seemed to be the pret-tiest flowers I had ever seen. It was one

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enormous bouquet, and the fragrance from it was almost intoxicating.
"I could scarcely believe the evidences of my own eyes, but there it was, what seemed to be an unsightly waste trans-formed as if by magic into a bower of

"I made inquiry of the natives, and learned that once in a long time the rainflower bloomed in a few hours after a rain, though ordinarily the biossoms d'd not appear for three or four days, and then usually came in the night."

Only One Way.

Philadelphia Telegraph (Rep.) That the Republican leaders in Congress relation to Puerto Rico under these circumstances is an unpardonable outrage, and all the more so because it is prompted for the main purpose of saving them from the personal effects of their own blundering stupidity. There is only one way in which they can rehabilitate them-selves, and that is by doing their "plain duty," as pointed out by the President in his message of last December.

Inexcusable Vacillation. Boston Traveller.

Nothing of which the President has been guilty during his term of office has so injured his reputation as his backsliding in this Puerto Rico matter. He cannot ex-cuse his vaciliation. To use a homely phrase, he has gone back on himself, and the people will not forget it.

A Fundamental Fact.

Huntington Herald. Some people think prosperity means a shower of silver and greenbacks. Pros-perity always had to be worked for since Adam and Eve were driven from Eden.

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OCEAN AND RIVER SCHEDULE.

OCEAN DIVISION—Steamships sail from Airsworth dock at 8:00 P. M. Leave Portland—Columbia sails Saturday, March 3; Tuesday, March 18; Friday, March 22; Monday, April 2: Thursday, April 12. State of California sails Thursday, March 8; Sunday, March 18; Wednesday, March 8; Saturday, April 7.

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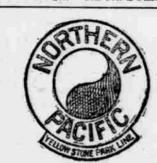
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