AMERICAN POLITICAL PARTIES

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

AMERICAN POLITICAL PARTIES

IV. THE ERA OF GOOD FEELING.

(Continued.)

BY JESSE MACY, LL. D.

The Tariff.

The very first Congress of the United States, which met in 1789, brought forward bills for the taxation of imports in order to create a National revenue. The discussion which preceded the passage of a tariff act showed a difference of opinion among the legislators in respect to the wisdom of imposing duties for the purpose of protecting home industries, but neither then nor till years after was the question raised of the Constitutional right of the Federal Government to impose protective duties. It was the universal practice of the nations thus to protect their own producers. Our first tariff act, though a revenue and not a protective tariff, recognized the principle of protection in its preamble. Hamilton and Jefferson held similar views. There was no party division upon the subject. The industries of the new state aside from shipbuilding and transportation were almost wholly agricultural or crudely mechanic, and the products of the soil paid for the manufactured goods which were imported. With the war of 1812 new conditions arose. The various restrictive acts put in force led to the ruin of American commerce. Manufactures were established to supply the goods which could no longer be readily imported from foreign countries. The duties upon imports were doubled and under the stimulus thus afforded manufactures sprang up with great rapidity. The close of the war and the removal of restrictions upon trade threatened the new enterprises with serious loss or ruin, and the tariff act of 1816, providing for an increase of duties, was in a measure a concession to their needs, though it was more particularly designed to provide for the heavy expenses of the war. After the financial crisis of 1819 a definite movement arose in favor of Federal aid to manufactures, which would promote a desirable diversification of industries, the revival of business throughout the states, and a rise in the price of land and its products. Under the pressure of popular clamor Congress passed the tariff bill of 1824, which marks the adoption of a positive protective policy. The duties upon textile fabrics were raised, as desired by New England manufacturers, and upon iron, lead, wool and other articles produced chiefly in the Middle and Western states. The leading statesmen, irrespective of party affiliations, favored the measure. Party lines were drawn, as parties began to rise out of the chaos of the period, without reference to tariff questions.

Favorable results seemed to follow almost immediately upon the legislation of 1824. Trade revived and a tide of prosperity appeared to set in. If protection had thus been proved good, would not more protection be better? Manufacturers of woolen goods had not received their fair share of the increase of duty in 1824 and they demanded higher rates. It began to appear that sectional interests were deeply involved in the details of tariff legislation. Strong opposition to protection grew up in the South and selfish greed everywhere besieged Congress for action favorable to its own business and its own locality. Great pressure was brought to bear upon public men, and as the Presidential campaign of 1828 drew on it became apparent that the tariff was to enter prominently into party politics.

Origin of the Spoils System.

That political theory which maintains the right of a successful party or faction to use its power of appointment to and removal from office to further selfish individual or party interests, while the public welfare and the qualifications of candidates become subordinate, has come to be tersely named "the spoils system."

A President naturally gathers round him as counselors and aids in carrying out his official policy those who sympathize with that policy. He selects his cabinet members and appoints the ministers who will represent his Administration before foreign powers from those holding political views similar to his own. But there are many thousands of inferior officers in the civil service who have to do with the details of the executive work of the great business of the National Government. They carry out, under instructions from their superiors, the measures determined upon by the responsible persons in the government, but are not in the slightest degree concerned with the administrative policy itself. It is of no consequence whatever what may be the political opinions of the thousands of Custom-House officers, Lighthouse-Keepers, Postmasters, etc., with their innumerable subordinates, so long as they are competent to perform the duties of their positions. They represent no one and have no political responsibility for their acts. There is no valid reason for removing a Democratic Postmaster or clerk in the Treasury, for instance, to make room for a Republican Postmaster or clerk when a Republican President is sworn in. On the contrary, it is extremely probable that the experienced official is better qualified for his place than is any raw hand. The rewarding of political party services by appointment to lucrative office and the holding out the hope of such reward as an inducement to partisan effort have brought into American politics such a train of evils as to threaten the survival of our free institutions.

For 40 years no President was guilty of basely prostituting his appointive power to party purposes. Jefferson was accused of having made partisan removals, but the charge is not sustained. But throughout Jackson's two terms of office the civil service was openly made a party engine under his avowed principle—"To the victors belong the spoils."

The way had been prepared by the passage in 1820 of a bill drawn by Crawford, then Secretary of the Treasury, and a candidate for the Presidency, limiting the term of a large number of inferior officials to four years. Before this the term had not been fixed, and the object of the new law clearly was to increase the patronage to be disposed of, while its immediate purpose was to gain votes for Crawford. The officers mentioned in the bill were also to be "removable at pleasure." The principle of "rotation in office" was thus introduced into Federal politics. The evil tendency of the bill was unperceived by most, but to Jefferson and Madison and Calhoun it was clear. The latter declared it "one of the most dangerous ever passed" and destined to work a revolution. How the new methods quickly deadened the moral sensibilities and undermined the political integrity of large numbers of the people we have since learned at bitter cost.

The Slavery Question.

When the Constitution was adopted there was no sectional division of opinion regarding slavery. Every Southern member of Congress voted for the ordinance of 1787, which forever forbade slavery in the Northwest Territory. Efforts to abolish the iniquitous foreign slave trade were not confined to the North; before its final prohibition in 1808 nearly every state had passed laws against it. Abolition societies were found during the early years of the century in states as far south as Virginia. The American Colonization Society, organized in 1816, was composed of Southern slaveholders, along with Northern abolitionists. There was always, even down to the Civil War, a large Southern white population which neither owned slaves nor favored slavery. The institution was found unprofitable in the North, and gradually disappeared. Many believed that, left to itself, it would follow the same course in the South when the ocean traffic in slaves should have been suppressed. There was a disposition to regard the evil as temporary and to treat it with leniency. As new states entered the Union the spirit of mutual concession which had created the Constitution led to a tacit understanding that the existing "balance" between slave and free territory should be recognized and regarded. Vermont and Kentucky, Indiana and Mississippi, came in together.

But when Missouri in 1819 asked to be admitted, bringing slavery with her, it was at once clear that the country was sharply divided in respect to further extension of the institution, and especially in respect to its recognition in the new Federal territory of the Louisiana purchase. It had in the meantime become strongly intrenched in the cotton states, as necessary to the culture of that important crop, and the planters were reaching out after more land. Any interference with their internal affairs they regarded as a violation of the Constitutional rights of the states. An acrid and angry debate took place in Congress. A House amendment prohibiting slavery in the new state was voted down in the Senate. The bill was lost, only to come up again in the next Congress. Much bitter feeling was roused by the hot discussion which spread through many states. Harsh charges and mutual recriminations were made. The South was overbearing and insolent. The North was bigoted and intolerant. It seemed at the time most fortunate that a compromise measure, warmly supported by the great influence of Henry Clay, averted the serious strife which threatened. Maine was now ready for statehood. She was admitted as a free state. Missouri came in with slavery, but the bill included a prohibition of slavery in the remainder of the Louisiana purchase north of the southern boundary of Missouri, latitude 36 degrees 30 minutes.

The Missouri compromise postponed for a generation the great struggle with slavery, but wise men knew that it was a postponement only, and that the act divided the country into opposing sections ruled by conflicting and irreconcilable principles. Jefferson wrote April 22, 1820:

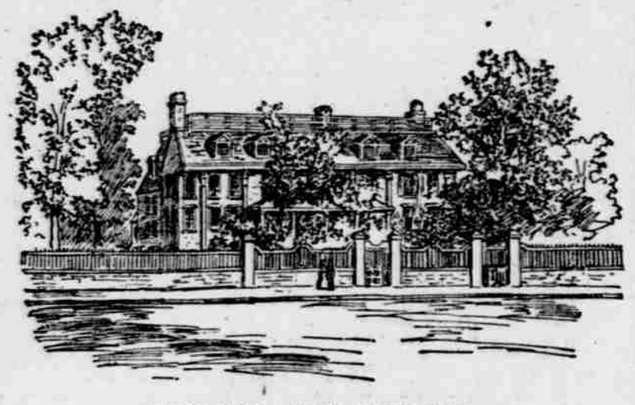
"This momentous question, like a fire bell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it at once as the knell of the Union. It is hushed, indeed, for the moment, but this is a reprieve only, not a final sentence. A geographical line, coinciding with a marked principle, moral and political, once conceived and held up to the angry passion of men, will never be obliterated, and every new irritation will mark it deeper and deeper."

The Election of 1824.

The campaign of 1824 has been called by a discriminating writer one of the most interesting in our history. It is certainly a matter of great interest to know how men will act when, without party organizations for focalizing political sentiment, in the absence of great questions upon which persons must inevitably differ, and under a Constitution such as ours, they are called upon to choose a responsible head for a powerful state.

During the years of good feeling men had congratulated themselves upon the passing away of party strife and the gathering of all in peace and harmony within the Republican fold. But there was never real harmony among the political leaders who sought place and power. Party lines being effaced and political principles not in dispute, men ranged themselves under the personal leadership of favorites and were known by their names—"Adams men," "Clay men," "Jackson men." Politics became a contest between persons, not principles. As we have previously seen, the old nominating machinery—the Congressional caucus—was just expiring, making in its last throes a spasmodic effort in favor of Crawford. Nothing had been accepted in its place, and Presidential candidates for this campaign were announced in various irregular ways, here and there, for some two years before the election took place. Niles' Register tells us that in 1822 there were 16 or 17 candidates. Only four, however—Clay, Crawford, Adams and Jackson—finally received electoral votes, and no one obtained a majority, though Jackson received a plurality of the popular and electoral vote, while Calhoun, by an overwhelming majority, was elected Vice-President. The House of Representatives was a second time called upon to choose a President, Clay, being fourth on the list, could not, according to the Constitution, be voted for, and his electoral votes were given to John Quincy Adams, who thus became the sixth President of the United States.

The peaceful period of Monroe's incumbency was now followed by an administration full of troubled and stormy experiences. There was no longer a lack of questions for which it was worth while to enter into party struggles. It soon appeared that the quiet era had brought forth a plentiful crop and that new political sortings and adjustments were fast gatherings the National forces into opposing parties.



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THE COMMISSION FARCE.

It Has Been Overworked and Has Become Stale and Unprofitable.

WASHINGTON, April 9.—The "commission" farce has now reached a stage where it is exciting almost universal criticism, and the press of the country has at last taken hold of the subject and criticised the matter rather severely in some instances. The fact that one commission is created after another and that the results of all are unsatisfactory gives ample room for this unfavorable criticism that is spreading so rapidly. The Washington Post, which has all along stood by the Administration, save on the Puerto Rican question, published an editorial on the commissions which is very interesting and hits the nail on the head. The Post says:

"We understand—let us put it pleasantly—that another 'commission' is in process of formation. We have had many of these sidelights on the drama. There was the War Investigating Commission, which sat for many months, and the information of which has never yet reached the public. We have had a Philippine Commission, which sat in Manila for almost a year, and the report of which was so enlightening that another commission had to be created immediately in order to tell us what the first one had accomplished. We have had a commission to visit Puerto Rico and throw light upon conditions there, and the result is a Puerto Rican tariff bill which the inhabitants deplore. We have commissioners of all sorts in Cuba, drawing $5000 per annum each, and contributing no intelligence worth 5 cents. Now it is proposed to give us a new commission—a purely commercial body, this time—who will make a royal progress in Japan and China, and, some time in the sweet by and by, tell us about trade, etc., with those burning lands.

"We feel about these commissions very much as we feel about the Grand High Plenipotentiary Special Commissioner of the State Department, whose business it is to modify, qualify and, if necessary, obliterate tariff legislation by Congress. In a word, they strike us as being almost absurdly superfluous. We shall not waste time discussing the others, but in this case of the proposed commercial commission to China and Japan we feel moved to say that if squelched it never would be missed. As the story comes to us, the idea is to populate the body with statesmen, diplomats and orators, and to send them abroad upon a perfectly beautiful and luxurious junket, to collate a set of facts which our Consuls, if they have been chosen with the smallest reference to fitness, should have in their possession now. We have always had the impression that our Consular Service is excellent in every way. It has been asserted that this service is equipped with the highest order of talent. If that be true, the State Department should now have at its disposal all material necessary to the formulation of a thoroughly intelligent commercial policy with the Orient. If it be not true and if the creation of a commission to cover the ground be indispensable, that body should be composed exclusively of experienced business men, leaders in mercantile pursuits and experts in the theory and detail of legitimate commerce. We cannot see where diplomacy and statesmanship are called for unless we propose to eliminate Congress and the State Department. If these have done their duty in the past and are capable of doing it in the future, we do not need a commission of any sort—and in no event do we need a sumptuous picnic for the benefit of amateurs and favorites.

"This 'commission' business has been overworked. It has become flat, stale and unprofitable. The people are weary of it, and Congress, if it be wise, will consider the people's opinions in the premises."

This Might Be Clearer.

PORTLAND, April 14.—(To the Editor.)—The Reupblicans of Oregon in their state platform "reaffirm their belief in and loyalty to the gold standard." That is innocent and harmless enough so long as they do not demand a gold basis. So long as we remain as we are now, on a bimetallic basis at the lawful ratio of 16 pounds of silver to one pound of gold, it makes no difference whatever whether the gold dollar of 25.8 grains nine-tenths fine, or the silver dollar of 371¼ grains pure silver is the standard. The gold law, so-called, which recently passed Congress, not only recognizes a bimetallic basis, but it also recognizes that most notorious ratio of 16 to 1, and therefore all this crowing over getting down, not to a gold basis, for that would have been a most ruinous policy, but to the immaterial gold standard, is pure buncombe, as the change is a most vacuous nonessential. The Republican party of the United States is to be congratulated on maintaining a bimetallic basis, as it does by section 2 of the gold law, as well as the ratio between gold and silver at 16 to 1. The vice of that law is in its favoritism to bankers and to bondholders, and its virtue is in its recognizing, except in payment, of greenbacks and bonds, the silver dollar of 16 to 1 as legal-tender money. X.

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Mr. D'Arcy Is Ready.

SALEM, Or., April 14.—(To the Editor.)—In your issue of this date the following editorial note was observed by me:

"The Boers have sent out an urgent call for assistance. Will not Judge O'Day and Mr. D'Arcy kindly enlist at once?"

Permit me to say in answer to the above that if my enlisting would aid in any way the Boers in their gallant struggle for liberty and would bring about their independence, I would gladly enlist at once. I would make any personal sacrifice to secure freedom for these brave people. P. H. D'ARCY.

Not Dewey But Gorman.

New York Commercial Advertiser.

Ex-Senator Gorman's determination to remain away from the National Democratic Convention confirms a theory of his conduct that is hinted at in our Washington correspondent's letter. He is unostentatiously "putting up a lightning rod" in order to be in a state of preparedness in case Bryan should be set aside at the last moment. It is very clear now that a large amount of subterranean work is in progress against Bryan, and the director of this is undoubtedly Gorman. Arthur Pue Gorman, as he is invariably called when he is subsoiling for a presidential nomination. His great issue is anti-imperialism, and we beg leave to state that he will be as alluring a candidate on that platform as his party could find. He might make enough noise over that to turn public attention away from his record as a spoils politician and corruptor of politics, and in this way he might induce the professional anti-imperialists, who are also civil service reformers, to support him, but if he did it would constitute the most wonderful spectacle ever seen in our politics. As a political manipulator he is the "smoothest" expert the party has. He is suspected of pushing Dewey into the field now in the pitiable way he adopted simply to show that if the Democrats turn away from Bryan it will be necessary to take up somebody less impulsive than the Admiral, somebody of experience and sagacity, who can be counted upon not to talk too freely.

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SNAKE RIVER ROUTE.

RIPARIA, WASH., AND LEWISTON, IDAHO.

Steamer Spokane or steamer Lewiston leaves Riparia daily at 1:20 A. M., arriving at Lewiston at 12 o'clock noon. Returning, the Spokane or Lewiston leaves Lewiston daily at 8:30 A. M., arriving at Riparia same evening.

W. H. HURLBURT, General Passenger Agent.
V. A. SCHILLING, City Ticket Agent.
Telephone Main 712.

New Steamship Line to the Orient

CHINA AND JAPAN, FROM PORTLAND.

In connection with THE OREGON RAILROAD & NAVIGATION CO. Schedule, 1900 (subject to change):

Steamer.	Due to Leave Portland.
"ABERDEEN"	March 28
"MONMOUTHSHIRE"	April 11
"BRAEMAR"	May 2

For rates, accommodations, etc., apply to DODWELL & COMPANY, Limited, General Agents, Portland, Or. To principal points in Japan and China.

THE FASTEST AND MOST DIRECT LINE TO THE EAST AND SOUTHEAST

IS THE

UNION PACIFIC THE OVERLAND ROUTE WORLD'S PICTORIAL LINE.

The Direct Line to Denver, Omaha, Kansas City and St. Louis.

Only 3½ Days to Chicago, Only 4½ Days to New York and other Principal Eastern cities

Through Pullman Palace Sleepers
Tourist Sleepers
Dining Cars (meals a la carte), and
Free Reclining Chair Cars
Operated Daily on Fast Mail Trains

Through tickets, baggage checks and sleeping-car accommodations can be arranged at

CITY TICKET OFFICE

135 Third Street, Portland, Oregon

J. H. LOTHROP, Gen'l Agent. GEORGE LANG, City Pass. & Tkt. Agt.

FOR CAPE NOME

The Magnificent Trans-Pacific Passenger Steamship

TACOMA

Registered tonnage, 2311 tons; capacity, 4000 tons; passenger accommodations, 200 first class, 900 second class. This steamship has just been released from the government service as a troopship, and has every modern comfort and convenience and is the largest steamship in the Cape Nome trade.

Will sail from Tacoma and Seattle on or about the 25th of May.

For rates and full information apply to DODWELL & CO., LTD.
Telephone, Main, 96. 252 Oak Street.

Astoria & Columbia River Railroad Co.

LEAVES UNION DEPOT.	For Maygers, Rainier, Clatskanie, Westport, Clifton, Astoria, Warrenton, Flavel, Hammond, Fort Stevens, Gearhart Park, Seaside.	ARRIVES UNION DEPOT.
8:00 A. M.	Astoria and Seashore Express, Daily.	11:15 A. M.
7:00 P. M.	Astoria Express, Daily.	9:40 P. M.

Ticket office, 255 Morrison st. and Union depot. J. C. MAYO, Gen. Pass. Agt., Astoria, Or.

WHITE COLLAR LINE

COLUMBIA RIVER & PUGET SOUND NAVIGATION CO.

PORTLAND AND ASTORIA.

BAILEY GATZERT (Alder-street dock)

Leaves Portland daily every morning at 7 o'clock, except Sunday. Returning, leaves Astoria every night at 7 o'clock, except Sunday. Oregon 'phone Main 351. Columbia 'phone 351. U. B. SCOTT, President.

CAPE NOME VIA DAWSON

Alaska Steamship Company

NEXT SAILING, ROSALIE, APRIL 18.

The only company having through traffic arrangements to Atlin and the Klondike. Weekly sailings from Tacoma. For full information apply to J. L. HARTMAN, Agent, Portland, Or., 3 Chamber of Commerce.

TRAVELERS' GUIDE.

EAST VIA SOUTH

SOUTHERN PACIFIC COMPANY — SUNSET OGDEN & SHASTA ROUTES

Leave	Depot Fifth and I Streets	Arrive
*8:30 P. M.	OVERLAND EXPRESS TRAINS for Salem, Roseburg, Ashland, Sacramento, Ogden, San Francisco, Mojave, Los Angeles, El Paso, New Orleans and the East	*7:45 A.M.
*8:30 A. M.		*8:30 P. M.
	At Woodburn (daily except Sunday), morning train connects with train for Mt. Angel, Silverton, Brownsville, Springfield and Natron, and evening train for Mt. Angel and Silverton.	
*4:00 P. M.	Albany passenger	*10:10A.M.
17:30 A. M.	Corvallis passenger	15:50 P. M.
14:50 P. M.	Sheridan passenger	18:25 A. M.

*Daily. ‡Daily except Sunday.

Rebate tickets on sale between Portland, Sacramento and San Francisco. Net rates $17 first class and $11 second class, including sleeper.

Rates and tickets to Eastern points and Europe. Also JAPAN, CHINA, HONOLULU and AUSTRALIA. Can be obtained from J. B. KIRKLAND, Ticket Agent, 140 Third st.

YAMHILL DIVISION.

Passenger Depot, foot of Jefferson Street.

Leave for Oswego daily at 7:20, *9:40 A. M.; 12:30, 1:53, 3:25, 4:40, 6:25, 8:30, 11:30 P. M.; and 5:00 A. M. on Sundays only. Arrive at Portland daily at *8:35, 8:30, *10:50 A. M.; 1:35, 3:10, 4:30, 6:15, 7:40, 10:00 P. M.; 12:40 A. M. daily, except Monday, 8:30 and 10:05 A. M. on Sundays only.

Leave for Dallas daily, except Sunday, at 5:05 P. M. Arrive at Portland at 9:30 A. M.

Passenger train leaves Dallas for Airlie Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays at 2:45 P. M. Returns Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. *Except Sunday.

R. KOEHLER, Manager. C. H. MARKHAM, Gen. Frt. & Pass. Agt.

NORTHERN PACIFIC — YELLOW STONE PARK LINE

THE DINING CAR ROUTE FROM PORTLAND TO THE EAST.

THE ONLY DIRECT LINE TO THE YELLOWSTONE PARK.

Leave	Union Depot, Fifth and I Sts	Arrive
No. 2.	Fast mail for Tacoma, Seattle, Olympia, Gray's Harbor and South Bend points, Spokane, Rossland, B. C., Pullman, Moscow, Lewiston, Buffalo Hump mining country, Helena, Minneapolis, St. Paul, Omaha, Kansas City, St. Louis, Chicago and all points east and southeast.	No. 1.
11:15 A. M.		5:50 P. M.
No. 4.	Puget Sound Express for Tacoma and Seattle and intermediate points	No. 3.
11:30 P. M.		7:00 A. M.

Pullman first-class and tourist sleepers to Minneapolis, St. Paul and Missouri river points without change.

Vestibuled trains. Union depot connections to all principal cities.

Baggage checked to destination of tickets.

For handsomely illustrated descriptive matter, tickets, sleeping-car reservations, etc., call on or write

A. D. CHARLTON
Assistant General Passenger Agent,
255 Morrison St., Cor. Third,
Portland, Oregon.

CANADIAN PACIFIC RY

SOO PACIFIC LINE

Offers the LOWEST RATES and BEST SERVICE to and from all Eastern points and Europe. Through tourist cars from coast to St. Paul, Toronto, Montreal and Boston WITHOUT CHANGE.

Direct Route to Kootenay Mining District British Columbia

Canadian Pacific royal mail steamship lines to Japan and Australia.

For rates and information, apply to H. H. ABBOTT, Agent, 146 Third street, city.
E. J. COYLE, A. G. P. A., Vancouver, B. C.

THE GREAT NORTHERN

Ticket Office: 122 Third St. 'Phone 680

LEAVE.		ARRIVE.
No. 4	The Flyer, daily to and from St. Paul, Minneapolis, Duluth, Chicago and all points East.	No. 8.
3:45 P. M.		8:00 A. M.

Through Palace and Tourist Sleepers, Dining and Buffet Smoking-Library Cars.

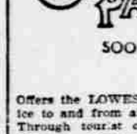
JAPAN - AMERICAN LINE

STEAMSHIP RIOJUN MARU

For Japan, China and all Asiatic points will leave Seattle

About April 25th.

Pacific Coast Steamship Co.



FOR ALASKA

THE COMPANY'S elegant steamers, Cottage City, City of Topeka and Al-Ki leave TACOMA 11 A. M., SEATTLE 9 P. M., April 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, 30; May 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, 30; June 4, and every fifth day thereafter. For further information obtain company's folder.

The company reserves the right to change steamers, sailing dates and hours of sailing, without previous notice.

AGENTS—N. POSTON, 249 Washington st., Portland, Or.; F. W. CARLETON, N. P. R. R. dock, Tacoma; J. F. TROWBRIDGE, Puget Sound Supt., Ocean dock, Seattle.
GOODALL, PERKINS & CO., Gen. Agts., S. F.

EMPIRE LINE

SEATTLE

CAPE NOME

Yukon River Points

S. S. "OHIO," 2500 tons, after two years' service as U. S. transport, has been released, and will sail from Seattle for Cape Nome about May 24. Rates — First class, $100 and $125; second class, $75. For berths, etc., apply to any railroad agent, or agent of the International Navigation Co., or to

EMPIR