### AMERICAN POLITICAL PARTIES

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

The New Territory.

The final settlement with Mexico at the close of the war gave to the United States another enormous addition of territory, which included California, Texas, Nevade, Utah, New Mexico, Arizona and parts of Wyoming and Colorado. Shortly before this, in 1886, a treaty with Great Britain adjusted our northwestern boundary and secured an undisputed title to the States of Oregon and Washington. This with the Gadeden purchase from Mexico in 1833 of a strip lying south of Arizona and New Mexico, fixed the boundaries of the United States as they still remain.

While the ratification of the Mexican

While the ratification of the Mexican treaty was still pending occurred the d's-covery of gold in California, which led covery of gold in California, which led amid great excitement to the pouring in of a flood of adventurous population heterogeneous in character, but much of it rough and lawlees, and all moved by the overmastering greed of gold. The whole of the territory acquired from Mexico (Texas excepted) was inhabited by Mexicans, Spaniards and Indians, none of them capable without long training of appreciating and accepting the principles of free government as understood by Anglo-Saxons.

Here, were conditions to tax the strength, the wiedom and the vital assimilating force of the most powerful, the most experienced and the most united of states. But the United States was weak-ened by sectional divisions; every prob-lem of statesmanship which arose was now complicated by the inevitable sinvery question, and its discussion embittered by the personal feeling which every al-lusion to sinvery aroused. Thoughtful patriots looked anxiously into the future. Should the new possessions be dedicated to freedom or to slavery? Could North Should the new particles of the freedom or to slavery? Could North and South agree upon a division? Texas was conceded to slavery; what should be done with the rest?

The Wilmot Proviso.

At the very outbreak of the Mexican far it was foreseen that the result would was it was foreseen that the result would be an addition to the possessions of the United States and that such accessions would unavoidably involve divided opinions respecting the extension of slavery to the new soil. A bill was before the House in 1846 to appropriate money for the purchase of territory from Mexico, when David Wilmot, a Democratic member from Peoposylvania and a warm friend ber from Pennsylvania and a warm friend of the Administration, moved to attach to the bill a provise forever excluding sinvery from any territory so gained. Von Shavery from any territory so gained. Von Hoist likens the proposal of such a measure to "the springing of a mine which shook both the Union and slavery to their very foundations." The amendment passed the House, but, though repeatedly brought up, it never passed the Senate. Still the bare suggestion was sufficient greatly to inflame the South, while the principle embodied in it was at first eagerly adopted in the North by men of all partices.

ll parties.

The settlement of the status of the pur-The settlement of the status of the purchased territory in respect to slavery was seen by North and South to be imperative, and Southern Democratic leaders determined to oppose the principle of the Wilmot proviso. Many Northern Whig newspapers declared for it, and, while seeking to avoid "the untempered zeal and fanaticiem of the Liberal party," strove to commit the Whig to its support. Antislavery Whigs hoped by supporting the Wilmot proviso in the election of 1865 to draw all the anti-slavery forces to a union draw all the anti-slavery forces to a union within the Whig party. But, as we have seen, the Whigs were again too timid to promulgate definite party principles, and once more shirked the real lowur, hoping to appear as the opponents of shavery ex-tension while placing at the head of their ticket the name of a Louisiana sugar planter and slaveowner who should attract Southern votes.

tract Southern votes.

The panacea for the National disordet proposed by the Democratic nomines was the principle of "requester sovereignty," which would leave the people of each territory to decide for themselves the question of freedom or slavery. The Whigs gained the election through the of the anti-slavery Democrats of New York, but nothing was settled thereby, and both the Abolitionists and the slavery faction grew only the more

Meantime anti-slavery sentiment had been growing erronger in the Democratic party, as well as among the Whigs. Va-rious Democratic county conventions held in the North during the campaign of '48 passed resolutions demanding the support of the Wilmot provise. The revolt of the New York "barn-burners" or free-goli Democrats was followed by a similar party defection in Illinois and Wisconsin, while several other Northern States were rep esented by Democratic delegates in the lew York State Convention at Utica and in the National convention at Buffalo which both nominated Van Buren as the free-soil candidate for the Presidency Throughout the campaign the anti-sian ery Democrats protested loudly against the opinion announced by Cass that Con-gress had no Constitutional power to proallit alavery. There were Whig anti-slavery "bolters"

also, though in many states the party maintained a gloomy and anxious silence. At the same time certain newspaper sup-At the same time certain newspaper sup-porters of Taylor ceased not to procisin that "the Whig party north is the true anti-slavery party of the Republic," and that the Wilmot proviso "is now and ever has been the doctrine of the Whigs of the free states." Other Northern news-papers made frequent allusions to "the Whig principles of the Wilmot proviso." A large number of the members of the marty solemule neighed themselves in vote party solemnly pledged themselves to vote for no man who was not a declared op-ponent to the introduction of slavery into ponent to the introduction of slavery into the territories. True to this pledge, the Whigs of the western reserve in Ohlo formally repudiated the party nomince and averred that the Whig party had been "basely betrayed—aye, sold to the Southern slaveholder." But they were displeased likewise with the nomince of the free-soll party. Many felt that they were tricked and insulted by the effort to force them to yote for a life-long to force them to vote for a life-long Democrat and a man of Martin Van Bu-

Wilmot proviso had dealt a blow to National politics which was ultimately to rupture the Democratic party perma-nently, to kill the Whig party outright and to create (in 1855) a new Republican party. But all this could not have been accom-plished without the lamentable failure of the Whigs in party wisdom, as well as in true state-cannship, after their second rise to power in 1848.

The Situation in 1850. California presented herself for state-hood in December, 1849. She had a pop-ulation in excess of the requirement. Most of it was from the Northern States; some came from Europe; much from the South-ern States. The conditions were such as imperatively demanded a settled government. President Taylor, the leading hero of the war, was thoroughly conversant with the situation, and urged on the movement for entering the Union. Slavery was excited, by Mexican law, from the whole of the newly-purchased territory, and the constitution adopted by the California convention expressly prohibited it.

ifornia convention expressly prohibited it. The South, under a Democratic Admin-istration, had brought on the war for the sake of maintaining and extending Southern power through the extension of elave territory. The outcome had been the acquisition of a domain far exceeding its hopes. But now it appeared that freedom might gain more than slavery, after all, and California, the richest province of the whole, threatened to elip at once from Southern grasp. Pro-slavery Whigs united with the Democrats in opposing the admission of California unless the Government would give assurances of protection to the interests of slavery in the power through the extension of elave

BY JESSE MACY, LL. D.

The New Territory.

The New Territory.

California bill. The starn old warrior and con-California bill. The stern old warrior answered that he would sign any Constitutional law passed by Congress, and led his questioners to infer that he favored the application of the Wilmot provise to the territories. To threats by Southern Congressmen that they would dissolve the Union, he replied by declaring himself ready to take the field in person to enforce his country's laws and to hang without mercy the very statesmen to whom he spoke should they be taken in rebellion. He was to be no tool of the slave power, it was clear. Indeed, his chief counselor was now the young

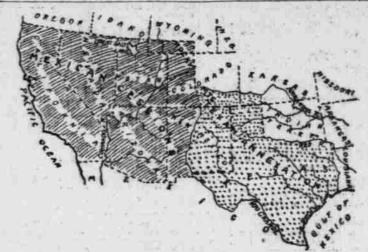
the greater part of his army across the River Vid. Advancing along the Sophia road, he charged the Russan intrenchments with such energy that the Siberian Regiment stationed at that point was almost annihilated. A desperate fight went on for four hours, with the Russians coming up hattalion after battalion. Some time after noon all firing ceased, and later the Turks sent up a white flag. Cheer after cheer swelled over the dreary plain. Osman had surrendered.

The siege had lasted 1st days. The Russians had lost 40,000 men. The Turks had lost 50,000 men.

The advance on Constantinople had been checked. Bkobeleft said: "Osman the Victorious he will remain, in spite of his surrender."

WOMAN AND THE BALLOT.

to whom he spoke should they be taken in rabellion. He was to be no tool of the slave power, it was clear. Indeed, his chief counselor was now the young and ardent William H. Seward, of New Tork, whose far-sighted aim it was to paper in the past week which I desire



MAP SHOWING TERRITORY ACQUIRED FROM MEXICO.

make the Whig party the great exponent | to answer. The points made were as fol and agent of the opposition to slavery ex-tension. This sentiment had always ex-isted in all the states North and South; it had always been strong in the Whig party and was gaining ground in the Dem-ocratic party. Northern Abolitionists (with the exception of the extreme Garrisonian wing, which was always numeri-cally small) would have been won by a sincere and straightforward course on the part of the Whigs to a hearty allegiance to that party. Had Taylor lived and had the other Whig leaders been able to see that now as never before there lay before them an opportunity to make their party a truly National party—a compact, fully organized political force based upon an issue in the broadest sense popular and National; had they but held calmly and firmly to the principles already associated with the party name, the principles of non-interference with the affairs of the liddividual states and unflinching resistance to slavery in the territories—then, indeed, would the aftercourse of our history have been different. The times were ripe as never before for the final triumph of Nationalism over the threatened sectional disruption, and the great parties were the bonds, the only bonds, which might have been made strong enough to hold the Union intact.

But once more Henry Clay came for-ward to smooth the troubled surface of the political waters with the oil of compromise. He trusted to be able to heal all wounds, adjust all differences, save the Union and unite in brotherly harmony the distructful factions by the mutual concessions which he demanded from North and South. The gist of the eight, resolutions which were to affect all this was, as stated by himself, forbearance by the North to insist upon the application of the Wilmot proviso to Utah and New Mexico; forbearance by the South to in-sist upon the express introduction of clavery into those territories. The parelavery into those territories. The par-ticular points were "only the feathers to



fly the arrow." California was to be adny the arrow. California was to be ad-mitted as a free state; the slave trade should be abolished in the District of Columbia, but slavery should remain; a stringent fugitive-slave law, which the slaveholders had long demanded, should be enacted; the claim of Texas to a large part of New Mexico should be quieted by part of New Mexico should be quieted by a large money indemnity. No interference with the Missouri compromise was suggested, and no application of the doctrine of popular sovereignty was to be made to the new territories.

After long debate and various changes in form the measures were finally passed. The doom of the Whig party was now scaled, and the years travely of our

scaled, and the great tragedy of our

Jease Many

Stephen Crane in The New Lippincott. On the cold, cloudy morning of December II. 1877, when snow lay thickly on all the country, a sudden great booming of guns was heard, and the news flew swiftly that Osman had come out of Pievna at last and was trying to break through the cordon his foes had spread about him. During the night be abandoned all his defenses, and by daybreak he had taken

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Woman suffrage has made no prog ress,
2. Everything that suffragists have

worked for has been gained, but suffrage.

2. Women do not need the ballot to right any ctvic or legal wrong.

4. The family is the unit of society and the basis of suffrage. 5. No class whose exercise of the fran chise is neither beneficial nor necessary has any right to the ballot. 6. Property is not the basis of suffrage,

and the taxation argument is a fallacy.
7. The ballot is an artificial right.
8. The ballot will desex woman.
At the beginning of this century women had no political, social or individual rights. Today full suffrage prevails in Wyoming, Utah, Colorado and Idaho; mu-nicipal suffrage in Kamass, Province of Quebec, Ontario, New Erunswick and Ire-

land; the right to vote on laxpaying ques-tions in Montana, Leuisiana and lowa; school suffrage in 28 states in the Union, and full suffrage in the Isle of Man, New Zealand, South Australia and West Aus-

cause has had to battle against the prejudice and the ignorance of the past ages, are strong evidence that the cause has made progress.

Becond—Every property, educational, social and individual right that has been gained for women has been accured through the hard work of the advocates of equal suffrage. The masses opposed higher education for women, said it would destroy her womanliness; in fact, the equal suffragists have been the main ones who have brought about the very condi-tions that makes it possible for the antisuffragists to get in any of their work.

The right to vote, affecting the fundamental or organic life of the Nation, is a broader and more comprehensive ques-tion than educational or social rights; hence it will take a longer time to get cure the ballot for women than other rights. Again, the educational right paves the way for the recognition of the value

and necessity of the political right. Third—A right conferred upon another party is only secure so long as the party granting it is agreed to it. The ballot is needed by women to protect their rights; from a Governmental standpoint, the right

from a Governmental standpoint, the right to the ballot is the right of rights.

Fourth—Every man at the age of Zi, unless otherwise disqualified, is granted the ballot, whether he be at the head of a family or not. No woman, left a widow, with a family to support and care for, is given the ballot because she represents the family. If household suffrage is the basis of voting in a country, then the family with a large number of sons have greater power than the one with a large number of daughters. In short, household suffrage does not prevail in this country. Fifth—The great rank and file of women are interested in the betterment of mankind, and by so much as the home and kind, and by so much as the home and the state are related, by just so much will woman's vote be of value and serv-ice to the state. Sixth—Standard authorities on political

Sixth—Standard authorities on political economy agree on the proposition that governments are founded on the rights of private property and the vested interests in the same. This proposition beling true, it forms a basic argument for the principle that taxation and representation go hand in hand. However, it is not altogether a question of the protection, but the question as to how the taxes cointended. the question as to how the taxes collected from either man's or woman's property shall be expended. So long as a woman owns property, pays taxes on that property, she, by virtue of this fact, is entitled to the ballot.

fact, is entitled to the ballot.

Seventh—The ballot is an artificial right. Then how does The Oregonian reconcilo its other proposition that the ballot is based on manhood? Is manhood an artificial thing? Governments that have their basis in the rights of private property confer upon their subjects only an artificial right to the ballot, and every reason claimed by man for the use of this artificial right can be justly claimed by woman. When the time comes that governments are founded wholly upon the natural and human rights of the people, then both men and women will be possessed of their inherent right to be the real rulers of themselves.

sensed of their inherent right to be the real rulers of themselves.

Eighth—The ballot will desex woman. Sex is determined by the Creator, and if by act of human legislation woman becomes desexed, then it is possible for the creature to destroy the work of the Creator. Such an argument is thoroughly athelastic in its tenor. The ballot is not a masculine right, for it it were it could not be taken from man by legislative power. The man who is committed to the penitentiary is deprived of the ballot, but is still a human being, vested with all the rights of manhood. If the right to the ballot was a distinctly masculine right, women could not exercise it; but they do note. Hence the argument is a fallacious one.

In Wyoming the school census increased more in the past 10 years than in any pre-vious 20 years, which is a conclusive evi-dence that the women of the sinte where dence that the women of the state where equal suffrage has prevailed for 30 years have not forsaken the high and holy calling of motherhood. Under natural normal conditions woman gladly welcomes motherhood, and liberty for woman will mean better mothers, and better mothers will mean better sons and daughters. Will the men of Oregon lead in this onward march of progress? We believe they will.

M. LENA MORROW.

Dodging Shells. National Review.

Bombproof shelters were, of course, built or excavated in Ladysmith, but these were naturally not conspicuous. There were many of them in the river bank, where they were easily constructed. At the Cordon's camp an Indian was permanently on the watch, with eye glued to

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a telescope. Long Tom was fired with cargoes will be shipped direct, without the black powder, and when the watchman appears trans-shipment and delay now saw the puff of smoke, which showed that occasioned at the ports above mentioned the gun had been discharged, he called saw the pun of amone, which showed that the gun had been discharged, he called out in a high drawling spice: "Bulwn-a-ana La-ang T-a-a-m." Twenty-three seconds elapsed between the firing, of the shot and the arrival of the shell, and shis gave plenty of time for every one within hearing to reach shelter. The Indian, with the composure of his race, ast unmoved at his lookout, and was never hit. Elsewhere a bugle call was the danger signal. Af one cavalry camp, I was fold, the horses got to know this bugle quite well, and when the dail, sent the men running do shelfer the horses, would show their uneasiness by stampling on the ground and tossing their heads. As a rule, both horses and curtif were very little hearmed by shell fire. Herds of oxen and troops of horses and miles used to be sent to graze wherever grass could be found within the circuit of our defenses. The Boers often, shelled, them, without within the circuit of our defenses. Boers often, shelled, them, without effect. If a shell burst near the horses, they would trot 20 yards with talls and ears up, sails the sir for a moment, and then go on grazing. The oxen on the other hand, took no notice whatever.

#### OUR TRADE WITH-CHINA.

The Empire Takes More of Ours, but Sends Us Less of Her Wares.

and the exports to Great Britain decreased, over 2,000,000 taels (\$1.285,000).

"As will be seen, there has been an important export of wool to the United States during the year. The native holders have pluckily carried their stocks, hoping for better prices, but the American buyers were not at all disposed to consider hustness expent with conversions. sider business except with concessions, which they generally got by waiting, and in the latter part of the year a failing exchange has helped matters by giving gold change has helped mafters by giving gold a greater purchasing power as silver decilined. One of the things that has affected the price of low-grade wool very adversely for some time past is the low, price of cross-bred wool from South America, New Zealand and Australia. This description of sheep has increased at a rapid rate of late years not for the sakes of the wool, but for the mutton. This lower grade of wool is now used largely by the manufacturers of carpets, and consequently comes in sharp competition with-Mongolian wools.

sequently comes in marp competition wanMongolian wools.

"The importation of lumber from the
United States this year has doubled that
of 1895, owing largely to the improvements
at New Chwang. Port Arthur and othernew ports. The demand for 1890 will be
unprecedented. The Russian railways will
read creation bridges timber, etc. The unprecedented. The Russian railways will need crossites, bridge timber, etc. The wharves, tramwaya breakwater, godowns, stations and other improvements to be made at Chinwang-to, the new treaty port just opened near Shanhalkuan, alone, will need many cargoes. This port is located about 200 miles in a northeast direction from Tien-tsin, and within four or five miles from the railreade. When or five miles from the millroad... When the breakwater and tramway are completed, the largest vessels will be able to land and discharge cargoes—without lightering, it is claimed, at all seasons of the year. It will then be possible for our merchants to charter ships direct from foreign countries and save the Ab. from foreign countries, and save the as-noyance, the delay, and netty grisvance, so often experienced at Shanghat, where cargoes are shifted from large to small

"Notwithstanding the peculiar situation of Tien-tsin, the bad harbor, and the fact that for three months in the year navigation is prevented by ice, the number of steamers that arrive and depart average more than 500 each year, to say nothing of the sailing vessels and junks that come in and go out, numbering up in the thou-

"All merchandise destined for the United. States or Europe or intended for consumption in Northern China must be transshipped. The ports of trans-shipment for Europe or America are Shanghal, Hong Kong or Yokohama. The opening of the

#### WAS A BIG SUCCESS. Over 4000 People on the Conductors'

The conductors' excursion to The Dalles The conductors' excursion to The Dalles yesterdays was a decided success. Three trains pulled out of the Unian depot about 8 A. M., each consisting of 20 coaches. The coaches were large ones, holding between 60 and 40 people, while altogether there were about 4000 people on board. The band was on the first section, but lively crowds, on the others made up for the absence of music. A number of people arrived in Portland from the Valley towns to see on the excursion, but obsanged their minds on reaching here, and spent

the day in the city.

The weather was fine all day, in contrast to the rainy day in Portland, and in The Dalles the sun was almost uncomfortably warm. The first two sections arrived in Fartiand on the return trip between 8 and 8:30, but the last section did not come in until 1 o'clock this morning. The cause of the delay was an accident to the engine hear Cascade Locks.

"Accident to Engine."

WASHINGTON, May 22.—Consul-General James W. Ragedale, stationed at Then-tsin, China, in a report to the State Department, on the commercial forbilities and possibilities of that country, has the following to say:

"Comparing the aggregate imports for all of China for the year 187, with three of 1888, we find much of interest. The imports from the United States increased some 5,000,000 taels (\$2,470,000), while the exports to the United States degreesed by a similar amount, making the balance of trade in our favor nearly 10,000,000 taels (\$2,470,000). The imports from Great British decreased over 5,000,000 taels (\$2,470,000), while the exports to the United States degreesed by a similar amount, making the balance of trade in our favor nearly 10,000,000 taels (\$2,470,000). The imports from Great British decreased over 5,000,000 taels (\$2,470,000), while the exports to the United States degreesed of trade in our favor nearly 10,000,000 taels (\$2,470,000), while the exports to the United States degreesed to a standard to Engine.

The DALLES May The third section of The Dalles, excursion train was delayed tonish three miles east of Cascade Locks, on the return trip to Portal and Later In the engine drawing the train was broken, totally disabiling the locomotive. The train came to a standard the Engine excursion train was delayed tonish three miles excursion train was delayed tonish three turn trip to Portal Land, about 7,000. The architecture in the land about 7,00 THE DALLES, May 27.- The third sec-

22d inst. Messra Barnett and Cattanieh were both bachelors at the time of their pomination, and both have since married

TRAVELERS' GUIDE.



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16: Processes Francisco—State of California
Processes Research May 18: Wednesday. June 6.

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OVERLAND EX-PHESS TRAINS for Salem, Rose-burg Ashland, Sac-ramenta, O g d e n. San Francisco, Mo-jave, Los Angeles, El Paso, New Or-leans and the East \*7:45 A.M. \*6:30 P. M At Woodburn idally except Sundary, mentiling raid of the Mark Street of the Mark Street of the Mark Street on House Street on Marcon, and evening Irain for Mt Angel and Sirveton Mt Angel and Sirveton Mt Angel and Sirveton.

Albany passenger Corvaille passenger 13.50 P. M. Sheridan passenger 18.25 A. M. 17:30 A. V. 14:50 P. M.

"Daily. " !Daily except Bunday.

\*8:30 P. M.

Rebute tickets on sale between Portland, Sec-ramento and San Francisco. Net ritre \$17 first class and \$11 second class, including sleeper. Hates and ticket to Enstern points and Eu-rope. Also JAPAN, CHINA, HONOLULU and AUSTRALIA. Can be obtained from J. B. KIRKLAND, Ticket Agent, 140 Taird at.

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Leave for Oswego daily at 7:20, \*9:40 A. M. 2:30, 1:55, 2:25, 4:40, 6:25, 8:30, 11:30 P. M. A. M. on Sundays enty, Arriv daily at "5.25 8:20, 10:50 A. 0, 4:20, 6:15, 7:40, 10:00 P. M., tilly, except Monday, 8:20 and 19:0 A. M. daily except Moneary, 8:300 and 10:00 A.
M. dt Sundays only.
Leave for Dallas Gally, except Striday, at
6:05 P. M. Arrive at Pertinns at 9:30 A. M.
Passenger train leaves Dallas for Arribs Moneany.
Wednesdays and Fridays at 2:45 P. M.
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