THE FULLY ORGANIZED PARTY MACHINE

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

AMERICAN POLITICAL PARTIES

BY HON. JESSE MACY.

Our historical study of party organization has been directed chiefly to its nominating function, which is its most striking and apparently its most important purpose. But to nominate candidates is the business of only one section of the party machinery—a section of only temporary duration, and called into being for that specific purpose.

Party Committees.

The other branch of party organization consists of permanent committees annually appointed by the several primaries, caucuses or conventions for the various election areas. There is no uniform system. Some states have a party committee for every election area—one for each township, each city ward or precinct, each city, county, district, and for the state. Others have committees for the larger areas only. Every state has its state committee for each party and its members of the National party committee. Within the state or the National committee a small executive committee really holds most of the power and does most of the work.

These committees have charge of all party business except the nomination of candidates. They raise and pay out money for party purposes, organize public meetings, employ speakers, print and circulate political tracts and articles, look after the registration of voters and naturalization and enrollment of immigrants, arrange for each election the plan of campaign, call together at the proper times the nominating bodies, conduct the canvass, provide and distribute the tickets at the polls. Often the regular committees are assisted at election time by others called campaign committees, appointed for the purpose.

Lists of the legal voters in any locality are prepared in all the states by public officials, and persons whose names are not found on those lists may be denied voting privileges. Announcements are published before elections stating places and hours for registration.

Local Party Organization.

Outside of New England the party committee of each village and town calls the party primary, or caucus, or primary election (which are different names for the same thing), to make nominations for the local offices and to choose delegates to the conventions to be held in the larger areas. All party voters who reside within the ward or town for which the primary acts are entitled to membership in the primary.

Except in the large cities, party questions often do not enter into elections of local officers, but the citizens divide upon matters of purely local interest, such as the building of a schoolhouse or a street-car line. The candidates nominated by the party first holding a primary or caucus may be accepted by the opposing party, and voted against only by those individuals opposed to the local policy which they represent.

In New England and in other parts of the country having the New England type of town government, the annual town meeting fills the place of the primary and nominates candidates for local offices and delegates to the party conventions. This is often done without any previous understanding, but sometimes there are self-announcements, and sometimes the private "parlor caucus" decides upon the names to be proposed to the voters.

Any party voter may propose names to be voted upon, but the local committee sometimes brings forward a list of candidates. This is regarded as rather an abuse of the committee's powers.

In the cities party lines are more closely drawn and usually reach to the minutest ramifications of the public service. The election unit is the ward or precinct, each usually having its committee for each party, by whom the primary is called. The ward primaries elect the officers of the ward and delegates to district conventions in the city (if such there are), and to the city convention, which nominates the officers elected by the whole city.

Conduct of the Primaries.

The chairman of the local committee usually calls the meeting to order and reads the committee's call. A chairman and a secretary having then been elected—usually viva voce—the caucus proceeds to the nominations of candidates for the various places to be filled. Names of a number of citizens may be brought forward and their comparative merits discussed before the meeting. If choice is to be by ballot a committee is appointed to receive and count the ballots and the official voting lists are referred to to determine whose votes may be accepted. Almost invariably, in order to avoid waste of time in securing a majority, those who receive the largest number of votes on the first ballot are declared nominated. Frequently, when party rules or legal enactments do not require a ballot, choice is made by acclamation. Each delegate receives a statement of his election, signed by the chairman and the secretary of the caucus. This is called his "credential" and entitles him to sit in the convention to which he is delegated.

A caucus may "instruct" its delegates to vote for the state candidate and may require candidates nominated for the state Legislature to pledge themselves to vote, if elected, for a certain person for United States Senator.

In many of the states the primaries are actually elections merely, no opportunity being given for the discussion of men or measures. The decision as to candidates then takes place in the committee or other private gathering of local politicians before the voters assemble in the primary. A primary or caucus may elect delegates to as many as six or more annual conventions, and in those years when a Presidential election occurs the number is larger still.

The Crawford County Caucus.

An exceptional form of the primary originated in Crawford County, Pennsylvania, and is called by the county name. It does away with nominating conventions of delegates and permits the voters of the party to vote by ballot at the polls for their party candidates. This first election is conducted like a regular legal election, but the voters are those of a single party only. The system is used in some of the counties and districts in a dozen or more of the states.

The County Convention.

The county committee for each party calls a county convention and specifies the number of delegates to which each election, but the voters are those of a ten chairman calls the meeting to order and reads the "call." A temporary chairman and secretary are then chosen and a committee on credentials appointed. These last examine the credentials of the delegates, and in case there are two sets of delegates from the same town or city claiming seats in the convention they report upon the contest to the convention, which usually adopts the report as a matter of course.

Generally the temporary organization is made permanent and the convention, having appointed a committee to count the ballots, next proceeds to nominate candidates for county offices. Candidates are announced in "nominating speeches" setting forth their qualifications. Nominations are sometimes made by acclamation, as there is often no contest in a county convention and the ballot may be dispensed with.

When not otherwise chosen, a county committee for the ensuing year is elected by the convention. The nominations having been made and routine business attended to, the convention adjourns sine die.

District Conventions.

Candidates for the lower house of the State Legislature are in some cases nominated by primaries, in others by county conventions and in others by representative district conventions. In some cities Aldermen are nominated by Aldermanic district conventions. Candidates for the State Senate are nominated by Senatorial district conventions. Still other districts nominate candidates for Congress. Their conventions meet each alternate year, and every fourth year it is as a rule the same area which chooses a candidate for Presidential Elector and nominates delegates to the National Presidential convention. The procedure of the various district conventions is similar to that of the county convention.

Names of candidates for the two houses of the State Legislature do not appear on the "state ticket," which includes only the names of those officers voted for by the people of the whole state.

In a few of the older states we find certain state officials, called Executive Councilors (a relic of Colonial days), elected annually and nominated by delegates to Councilor conventions.

The State Convention.

The "state ticket" is nominated by the state convention, which is called by the state central committee of the party. The call states time and place of meeting and the number of delegates to which each area to be represented is entitled. The strength of the party in the local areas determines, to some extent, at least, the number of delegates sent.

The opening of a state convention is much like that of a county convention, but there is usually no formal temporary organization, the chairman and secretary of the central committee acting until a permanent organization is effected. The chairman is empowered, by vote of the delegates, to appoint committees on credentials, on permanent organization and on resolutions. The last committee is really in general selected and holds a meeting before the convention meets. The permanent officers are president, secretary and assistants, with a large number of honorary vice-presidents and secretaries appointed solely in official recognition of party services.

The president having been conducted to the chair is found to have come equipped with a carefully prepared address upon the issues of the campaign. When this has been delivered the report of the committee on credentials is made and questions of contested seats decided. Then comes the report of the committee on resolutions, which is the party "platform" of the state. This report is usually prepared by leading members of the party, and is a matter of much interest. Generally it deals with subjects of National import and indorses or criticises the existing National Administration.

After the adoption of the platform, the chair appoints a committee to attend to the balloting (a committee whose membership has been agreed upon long before by the central committee). In formal "nominating speeches" candidates for the office of Governor are then brought before the convention. If there be more than one candidate, ballots are cast, and the successful aspirant usually receives a majority of all the votes cast. It is customary for the friends of defeated aspirants to move that the election be made "unanimous." In a similar manner the remaining candidates are selected.

The two Presidential Electors-at-large in each state every fourth year are nominated by the regular state convention; or (if no state officers are to be nominated that year) by a convention called for the purpose. Sometimes all the electors are nominated by the state convention.

It is customary for the successful candidates for Governor and Lieutenant-Governor to be escorted to the platform before the convention closes that they may be introduced to the assembly and may declare in brief speeches their acceptance of the honors thrust upon them.

Necessarily the routine work of the state convention is "cut and dried" beforehand by the central committee. The permanent presiding officer, having been selected some time before the assembling of the convention, is able to prepare a suitable address, which may be of real importance, and the committee upon resolutions is also given time to indite a document which shall adequately represent the attitude of the party upon questions of National consequence. But too often the committee carries its action beyond the necessary or desirable limit and unduly influences the choice of candidates, so that the "state machine" becomes not the servant, but the despotic master of the party. This has been sadly exemplified in recent years in New York and Pennsylvania, not to mention less striking instances.

State conventions held in "off years"—that is, years in which no Governor or Lieutenant-Governor, but only the minor state officers are chosen—excite far less interest and accomplish their duties with less formality. In some cases nominations of state officers on off years are left entirely to the state central committee or are referred by the convention to a committee which reports names to be voted upon by the convention. Sometimes one of these methods is followed even when a full state ticket is to be elected. Massachusetts and Rhode Island elect a Governor annually.

Minor State Officers.

The officials of the State Legislature—the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate (in some instances the Lieutenant-Governor is ex-officio president of the Senate) with the various clerks and other minor officers—are elected by the members of the houses themselves, and are nominated for each chamber by a caucus of the party members of that chamber. The caucuses of the party having a majority in the State Legislature often excite great interest and develop sharp competition among the friends of the several candidates. Especially is this true of the contest for the speakership of the House, as that position carries with it the appointment of all the committees. The President of the Senate has in some of the states corresponding power.

The Legislative caucus appoints, also, a caucus committee to have charge of party interests within the chamber. Occasionally the caucus is called to meet for the purpose of considering the policy of the party respecting questions before the Legislature.

JESSE MACY.

Iowa College.

African Railways.

Engineering Magazine.

In 20 years' time, it is safe to prophesy, railway development in Africa will have made enormous strides—and the many important branch lines to connect with the Cape-Cairo trunk will have been constructed or be near completion. In the south, the line from Johannesburg will have joined that at Bulawayo; Bulawayo, again, will be connected with a line running right across country to Walfisch Bay, in German West Africa. In Central Africa the trunk line will connect with German and British lines running to the east coast; and it is only reasonable to suppose that by that time a line or lines through Belgian territory will connect or be in close touch with the Cape-to-Cairo route. And that the trunk line will be a paying concern there is no reason to doubt.

In the Rhodesian section already built the returns have advanced by leaps and bounds. The engineering difficulties of the Cape-to-Cairo line are considerable, but not insuperable; so that, with Mr. Rhodes at the head to "push the thing along," there is every prospect of the scheme, vast as it is, being successfully accomplished.

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Windsor Castle Inspector.

Chicago News.

Leonard Collman, the inspector of the palace at Windsor Castle, is a man of singularly equable temperament; indeed, he could hardly be otherwise, when the nature of his duties is taken into consideration. His colleague, Mr. Taylor, at Buckingham Palace, has a comparatively easy berth, because Queen Victoria rarely entertains guests in London. Mr. Collman, on the other hand, has to keep a register of the likes and dislikes of the many illustrious personages who are bidden to Windsor, and extremely particular most of them are as to the equipment of their apartments.

For instance, one distinguished visitor requires certain pictures to be in evidence, while another dislikes them; one royal princess strongly objects to the morning sun, shine it ever so faintly; and a great potentate prefers a camp bed to lie upon. These are matters which Mr. Collman has constantly to bear in mind, but they are trifles compared with the anxiety imposed on him by the Queen's visit to the Viceregal lodge, Dublin.

It may not be generally known that Her Majesty must always be provided with chairs rising a certain height from the ground, and that a discrepancy of even half an inch either way causes the Queen the greatest discomfort, for she is not of lofty stature, and once, when visiting a Scottish Duke, she was given a splendid armchair, which, as she herself remarked, must have been made for the King of the Belgians. Of course, Her Majesty made no complaint at the time, but ever since then she has taken her own chair with her. And as with chairs, so with beds, sofas and settees. Mr. Collman's position is no sinecure, and the change from Bordighera to Phoenix Park has not lightened his labors.

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HOW IT WAS DONE.

Why Republicans Lost Many Votes in Clatsop County.

ASTORIA, Or., June 16.—(To the Editor.)—The smoke of political battle in Clatsop has cleared away. The casualties may now be counted. The forecast of November for McKinley, expansion and the gold standard may be accurately estimated. Moody's plurality of 634 over Smith and majority of 650 over all will be increased in the Presidential election when our 500 registered, stay-at-home votes will come out. Two-thirds of these were loyal, but over-confident, Republicans.

Nothing contrary to this forecast can be argued from the loss of the Republican Legislative ticket in this county. That loss came largely through the fishermen's votes. Representative Young, renominated on the Republican ticket, was loaded down with the fish-license law, which was very distasteful to the gillnetters. "We elected him," said they, "and he charged us $3 50 for the right to fish. If we elect him again, he may raise it to $5." Young's colleague, Frank Stokes, suffered heavily from the same hostility which was charged up to party policy. So, too, Young's elk law was gall to the Nehalem farmers, and the whole Legislative ticket suffered. Frank Stokes, too, one of our most popular and successful merchants, was handicapped with one element of weakness. The entire saloon element was against him. Other local causes, not affecting the National or state ticket, contributed to reduce the vote of the Republican Legislative nominees. There were the malcontents; all those who had not received political rewards to which they aspired; those who are always at outs with the local management when a party is in power in the Nation as well as in the state, county and city. Then there was C. J. Curtis, whose conduct in the Legislature prevented his renomination. The party ignored his overtures. The majority was so great it caused over-confidence. He took the rounds with the "Citizens" candidates, declaring the party, locally, must be very corrupt, indeed, when he couldn't stand it. Another defection, a serious one, too, lost the bulk of the Finnish vote to the Legislative ticket. A Finnish Constable aspired to the nomination for Sheriff against the Republican incumbent, who was entitled to renomination under settled party rules. The Constable had no special claim to the nomination. Yet he had set his heart upon it. It was refused to him, and he swore vengeance against the Legislative ticket, under the manipulations of certain Republicans who co-operated with him to mass the Finnish voters for the "Citizens" Legislative ticket. The Russian foreman of a leading cannery, a Republican, peddled tickets all day for the "Citizens" Legislative ticket. It is well understood he never could have been induced to do this if his master, a Republican, who pretended loyalty, had not winked assent. The fishermen and the Finns were the conjoint chief causes of defeat for the Republican ticket. "Over-confidence" was the ultimate cause of that loss. Senator Fulton's absence, too, campaigning in other parts of the state, was unfortunate. His friends all say that if he had devoted his brilliant campaigning to Clatsop the petty factors that caused defeat of the Legislative ticket could have been easily broken up and scattered. It was, indeed, over-confidence that caused this result. But in November the county will be almost solidly Republican. There will be at least 800 majority for President McKinley and for the gold standard and expansion.

VERITAS.

England's Reward of Honor.

London Daily Mail.

The Victoria Cross is only awarded to officers and men who have performed some signal act of valor or devotion to their country in the presence of the enemy. It carries with it a special pension of £10 a year, and should the holder do some deed which if he had not already won the Cross would have gained it, another bar is attached to the ribbon by which the cross is suspended. The bar carries an additional £5 a year pension.

Ether Drinking in Prussia.

Chicago Journal.

To the evils of alcohol are now added the evils of ether drinking, which has spread alarmingly in Eastern Prussia, where ether is sold in the saloons like any liquor, four or five grammes to the glass. In the town of Memel alone, it is stated, the amount thus sold last year was about 8580 quarts, and in reality twice this amount was consumed, the rest brought in by smugglers. The effect is said to be four times more powerful than an equal amount of alcohol.

White House Umbrella Cans.

At the White House umbrella cans are placed around the halls and corridors on a rainy day. They are huge cans, with handles on, and are shaped like garbage pails, their only distinguishing feature being a coat of green paint. After business hours a janitor comes along, dumps the water out of them and carries away what pails will not be needed.

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Pacific Coast Steamship Co.

For the Cape Nome Gold Fields

THE NEW PALATIAL STEEL STEAMSHIP

"Senator" will sail from Seattle direct June 21, July 21 and August 20.

The "Senator" has a capacity of 2500 tons. Her second cabin and steerage accommodations are superior to the first-class accommodations of most of the steamers advertised for Nome.

The Pacific Coast Steamship Co. has been running its steamers to Alaska—winter and summer—for 25 years, and is the pioneer Pacific Coast Line. Seattle freight and passenger rates apply from Portland. For further information inquire of GOODALL, PERKINS & CO., General Agents, 10 Market, San Francisco, or N. POSTON, Agent, 249 Washington st., Portland, Or.

TRAVELERS' GUIDE.

O.R.&N.

Union Depot, Sixth and J Streets.

THREE TRAINS DAILY FOR ALL POINTS EAST

"CHICAGO-PORTLAND SPECIAL."

Leaves for the East, via Huntington, at 9:15 A. M.; arrives, 4 P. M.

SPOKANE FLYER.

For Spokane, Eastern Washington, and Great Northern points, leaves at 6 P. M.; arrives at 7 A. M.

ATLANTIC EXPRESS.

Leaves for the East, via Huntington, at 9 P. M.; arrives at 8:40 A. M.

THROUGH PULLMAN AND TOURIST SLEEPERS.

Water lines schedule, subject to change without notice:

OCEAN AND RIVER SCHEDULE.

OCEAN DIVISION — Steamships sail from Ainsworth dock at 8 P. M. Leave Portland—Columbia, Friday, June 1; Monday, June 11; Thursday, June 21; Sunday, July 1; Wednesday, July 11. State of California, Wednesday, June 6; Saturday, June 16; Tuesday, June 26; Friday, July 6.

From San Francisco—Leaving Spear-St. Pier No. 24, San Francisco, at 11 A. M., as follows: State of California, Saturday, June 2; Tuesday, June 12; Friday, June 22; Monday, July 2; Thursday, July 12. Columbia, Thursday, June 7; Sunday, June 17; Wednesday, June 27; Saturday, July 7.

COLUMBIA RIVER DIVISION.

PORTLAND AND ASTORIA.

Steamer Hassalo leaves Portland daily, except Sunday, at 8:00 P. M.; on Saturday at 10:00 P. M. Returning, leaves Astoria daily, except Sunday, at 7:00 A. M.

WILLAMETTE RIVER DIVISION.

PORTLAND AND SALEM, OR.

Steamer Modoc, for Salem and way points, leaves Portland Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays at 6:00 A. M. Returning, leaves Salem Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays at 6:00 A. M.

YAMHILL RIVER ROUTE.

PORTLAND AND DAYTON, OR.

Steamer Elmore, for Dayton and way points, leaves Portland Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays at 7 A. M. Returning, leaves Dayton for Portland and way points Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays at 6 A. M.

SNAKE RIVER ROUTE.

RIPARIA, WASH., AND LEWISTON, IDAHO.

Steamer Spokane or steamer Lewiston leaves Riparia daily at 3:30 A. M., arriving at Lewiston at 3 P. M. Returning, the Spokane or Lewiston leaves Lewiston daily at 9 A. M., arriving at Riparia same evening.

W. H. HURLBURT, General Passenger Agent.

V. A. SCHILLING, City Ticket Agent. Telephone Main 712. 80 Third street, cor. Oak.

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.
"MONMOUTHSHIRE"	June 24
"SHAEMAR"	July 15
"ARGYLL"	Aug. 5

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, St. Louis Chicago and Other Eastern Points

TWO DAILY SOLID VESTIBULED TRAINS.

Portland to Chicago Less Than Three Days.

Only Four Days to New York and Boston.

Through Palace and Tourist Sleepers, Buffet Library Cars (Barber Shop) Dining Cars, (Meals a la carte) Free Reclining Chair Cars.

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.

CANADIAN PACIFIC "Imperial Limited"

Is A GREAT TRAIN in equipment, in speed, and in its variety of Through Service.

A Through FIRST-CLASS SLEEPING-CAR from Vancouver to Toronto, Montreal and St. Paul daily.

A Through TOURIST SLEEPING-CAR to St. Paul, Daily, and TOURIST SLEEPING-CAR to Toronto and Boston three Days every week.

The "Imperial Limited" time is arranged to pass the grandest scenic features of the Canadian Pacific Line during daylight.

Pamphlets furnished free.

B. H. ABBOTT, Agent, 146 Third street, city.

E. J. COYLE, A. G. P. A., Vancouver, B. C.

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.
6:55 P. M.	Astoria Express, Daily.	9:40 P. M.

Ticket office, 253 Morrison st. and Union depot.

J. C. MAYO, Gen. Pass. Agt., Astoria, Or.

Pacific Coast Steamship Co.

FOR ALASKA.

THE COMPANY'S elegant steamers, Queen, Cottage City, City of Topeka and Al-Ki leave TACOMA 11 A. M., SEATTLE 1 P. M., June 4, 9, 14, 16, 19, 24, 29; July 1, 4, 9, 14, 16, 19, 24, 29, 31; Aug. 3, 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; H. H. LLOYD, Puget Sound Supt.; C. W. MILLER, Asst. Supt., Ocean Dock, Seattle.

GOODALL, PERKINS & CO., Gen. Agts., S. F.

TRAVELERS' GUIDE.

EAST VIA SOUTH

SOUTHERN PACIFIC COMPANY. SUNSET OCEAN & SHASTA ROUTES

Leave	Depot Fifth and I Streets	Arrive
	OVERLAND EXPRESS TRAINS for Salem, Roseburg, Ashland, Sacramento, Ogden, San Francisco, Mojave, Los Angeles, El Paso, New Orleans and the East	
*8:30 P. M.		*7:45 A. M.
*8:30 A. M.		*6:30 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	*10:10 A. M.
17:20 A. M.	Corvallis passenger	15:30 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. H. KIRKLAND, Ticket Agent, 140 Third st.

YAMHILL DIVISION.

Passenger Depot, foot of Jefferson Street.

Leave for Oswego daily at 7:30, *9:40 A. M.; 12:30, 1:55, 3:25, 4:40, 6:25, 8:30, 11:30 P. M.; and 9:00 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. Pct