THE BEGINNING OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

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

AMERICAN POLITICAL PARTIES

BY HON. JESSE MACY.

XIII.

The Political Situation in 1854.

The election of 1852 had shown the utter incapacity of the Whig party to deal with the political problems of the time. So complete was the party demoralization that few believed it could ever again cope with its formidable antagonist. The weak, half-hearted manner of its treatment of slavery had alienated alike its anti-slavery adherents in the North and the strong Southern element which opposed the Democratic policy. The lack of genuine political and moral convictions, coupled with a deficiency of political wisdom and statesmanlike foresight, was the disease of which the Whig party died; or, to change the figures, these were the rocks upon which the party was split into fragments, the larger portion of which drifted into the stream of Know-nothingism, which was rapidly spreading over the country, especially in the Eastern States. The free-soil party, which called itself after 1851 the Free Democracy, also gained accessions and reached by 1851 the height of its influence. Its greatest strength was in the Northwest, and its more sanguine members hoped that Whiggery was to succeed Free Democracy.

Meantime the Democrats felt themselves to be upon the crest of the wave. Their following, too, was swelled by Whig dissensions and failures. The new Democratic President, suave and popular, and using, after the accepted Democratic fashion, all the resources of his office for the party advantage, seemed destined to cement more closely the party of experience and prestige and to carry it on to greater triumphs. Southern slaveholders read Pierce's inaugural with complacency, and in the selection of his Cabinet Southern prejudices were thoughtfully regarded. The elections of 1853 confirmed the party leaders in the expectation of a long lease of practically uncontested power. The Democratic majority in each house of Congress was large, and no effective opposition appeared from any quarter.

The Kansas-Nebraska Bill.

Out of the clear sky came the thunderbolt. The question of slavery was deemed by politicians of all parties to have been definitely settled and removed from the list of political problems by the compromises of 1820 and 1850, by which the whole of United States territory was parceled out as open either to freedom or to slavery. Anti-slavery sentiment did, indeed, continue to spread and deepen, but there seemed no opening for effective action. Triumphant Democracy held the reins of the chariot of state and saw no pitfalls in the smooth course which the future unrolled before it.

A bill had passed the House in 1853 for giving a territorial organization to Nebraska, which then included what remained of the Louisiana purchase—a vast tract stretching from the Indian Territory to Oregon. That bill, drawn in the ordinary form, said nothing about slavery. The Missouri Compromise was understood to have made free soil forever of all that region. Pro-slavery members naturally opposed the bill and were able to prevent its passage through the upper house. When the same bill came up in the next Congress it was referred by the Senate to the committee on territories, of which Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, was chairman. His report, made in January, 1854, was a startling one. It opened anew the great dispute and gave a new and unforeseen turn to the old contest. This report presented the original bill with amendments which incorporated a new and far-reaching discovery of the brilliant Senator. The compromises of 1850, by which the Territories of Utah and New Mexico were admitted to organization, left the question of slavery to be decided by the people of those territories. That action was now declared by Senator Douglas to be the adoption of a principle universal in its application to the territories of the United States. "Henceforth," said he, "all questions pertaining to slavery in the territories and in the new states to be formed therefrom are to be left to the people residing therein." Thus an act of

Stephen A. Douglas.

Congress, passed for a specific purpose, was pronounced a great Constitutional rule applicable to the whole country, and restricting the action of all subsequent Congresses. This novel interpretation of the legislation of 1850 wholly removed the subject of slavery from Congressional control and placed it with the settlers of the territories. It established, as its author set forth in his powerful final speech upon the bill, the just and logical principle of true democracy, "popular sovereignty," and the noninterference of Congress with the institution of slavery. The Missouri compromise was practically annulled, and slavery in the territories of the Louisiana purchase became once more an open question. Dixon of Kentucky moved an amendment definitely repealing that part of the Missouria compromise relating to slavery, and this Douglas incorporated into a new draft of his bill, and in its final form the bill divided the Nebraska tract into the two territories, Kansas and Nebraska, declared the fugitive slave law to apply to both and the Missouri compromise, so far as it concerned slavery, to be inoperative and void as inconsistent with the principle of nonintervention by Congress with slavery in the states and territories, as recognized by the legislation of 1850.

The Northern press was quick to see the tricked and betrayed. Petitions and remonstrances flooded the truckling Congress. Press, platform and pulpit united in efforts to avert the disaster. The bill passed May 25, by a small majority in the House, and a large one in the Senate. Long before plans had been set afoot for saving the new territory for freedom in the only way which would still be possible, should the bill become law. If the inhabitants of Kansas were to determine its status as free or slave soil, then those inhabitants must be anti-slavery men from the Northern States As yet but a handful of whites were to be found in the whole great tract under discussion, but as soon as the Indian titles which barred the way should be extinguished settlers would pour in by thousands, at least into the southern portion, which was deemed the more fertile and the more attractive.

The New England Emigrant Aid Society, chartered with a capital of millions of dollars before the Nebraska bill had passed, gave a practical and effective expression to Northern agitation. Before the Summer of 1854 had closed some 500 anti-slavery emigrants had begun the long journey from the seaboard to the debatable land. All the way they received accessions to their number doubling and even quadrupling them.

Movements for a New Party.

A variety of efforts to collect into a new political body the scattered forces

John Charles Fremont

opposed to the Democratic party followed the Whig defeat of 1852. None of them proved effective until the Nebraska bill of 1854 supplied the needed element for precipitating the moral and political earnestness and purpose held in solution in the seething caldron of Northern sentiment. Political action in several of the Northwestern States crystallized about the bill. Free-soilers, Free Democrats, Anti-Slavery Democrats and Abolitionists all became "anti-Nebraska men." Local organizations began to fuse their differences in the white heat of indignation against the Douglas bill. Ere long in all the Northwestern States a new party appeared, and plans for National action were discussed. On the 24th of May, the day before the final passage of the Nebraska bill, the powerful New York Tribune of Horace Greeley called for a "union of all the elements of the opposition" to the nefarious action of Congress. The Autumn elections of 1854 strengthened in the lower house the opposition to the Administration.

The situation in Kansas continued to absorb attention. The President issued in December a special message, which declared his intensely partisan attitude against the free-soil movement. Acrid debates in Congress, the assault upon Charles Sumner by a Southern "fire-eater," the march of events in the distant territory where the deadly struggle drew daily nearer to the fatal plunge into bloody civil war—all this continually widened the sectional breach. The outlook was gloomy in the extreme.

The Republican Party.

At this dark hour the Republican party was born. The name was one which had been associated with American politics almost from the beginning of our National history. It had never quite disappeared from party nomenclature. Even yet the Democrats claimed it as a part of their official designation. It could not be absent from the thought of any who contemplated a new party organization, and it had been assumed in some of the Northwestern States for the new state party. For the new National party it was adopted, as Greeley says, "almost spontaneously."

In February, 1856, a delegate convention met in Pittsburg, and organized the Republican party. A long and able exposition of its principles and purposes was set forth and a nominating convention was called to meet in Philadelphia in June. All who deprecated the repeal of the Missouri compromise and favored Congressional control of the territories were invited, but only Delaware, Maryland and Kentucky of the slave states sent delegates. Into the Republican party went the body of the Free-Soilers, among whose leaders were Sumner, Chase, Julian, Hale, Frank P. Blair and C. F. Adams; the Anti-Slavery Whigs, among whom were Greeley, Thaddeus Stevens, Lincoln, Seward and Fessenden; many of the Knownothings, like Banks, Colfax and Henry Winter Davis, won as time passed by the anti-slavery feature of the party policy; some of the original Abolitionists, Lovejoy, Giddings, Garrison and Wendell Phillips, though these were nominally of the party, and only acted with it to spur it on to new aggressions against slavery. Others came directly from the Democratic party, and did much to win popularity for the new organization. Leading men among these were Gideon Welles, of Connecticut; Cameron, Hamlin, Trumbull, Montgomery Blair and William C. Bryant. Only earnestness of conviction and true devotion to principle could have united in one effective organization elements so diverse.

The platform of the Philadelphia convention declared the party opposed to the repeal of the Missouri compromise, to slavery extension and to the rejection of the appeal of Kansas for admission as a free state; while it favored internal improvements, ignored the tariff and called upon Congress to exercise its sovereign power over National territory by prohibiting in the territories "those twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery." John C. Fremont and William L. Dayton were nominated and the party cry for the campaign was: "Free soil, free speech, free men and Fremont!"

Isaac Mayo

Iowa College.

A GLANCE AT CHINA.

Sketch of Chinese History, With Probabilities for the Future.

Assuming the news from China to be authentic, the Middle Kingdom is likely to suffer severance in advance of any action by other powers. The story is that Prince Tuan has seized the government, put the Emperor to death and has likewise poisoned the Dowager Empress, who is dying.

If this is correct, the 19 provinces or states of China will probably become practically independencies under their Viceroys, who will sit as petty Kings, suzerain to the central authority, which, however, will very soon expire. Woo Wang, an early Emperor of China, tried the system of separate principalities, dividing China into 72 states, with the result that the central power was destroyed for any effectiveness, and a few centuries served to place the Tartars in control, who had been invited over to assist in quelling a rebellion, but that over, refused to retire and later sat up the Manchoo dynasty.

Prince Tuan, of course, has not contemplated any independent states in the empire, but it is wholly unlikely that he can hold them, the 19 now existing provinces, nor the dependencies of Manchuria, Mongolia, Thibet, Jungaria and Eastern Turkestan, while the suzerainty that Corea has acknowledged will be extinguished utterly.

All the states or provinces south of the Yangtse are inhabited by people who have never had any love for the Manchus. For centuries they have been ready to have that dynasty overthrown. They have been held by the Tartar power under fear and at no time have they been patriotically dutiful to the imperial throne.

The present opportunity, therefore, will prove theirs, and the complete breaking up of the great Middle Kingdom is certainly at hand, irrespective of any action of the European and Asiatic powers.

China is seven times the size of France, and embraces one-thirteenth of the landed area of the globe. It has a population variously estimated at from 383,000,000 to 400,000,000. Back of 2207 B. C. the history of China is traditional and vague. The myths of the empire name Fuh Hi as the founder, who was succeeded by Shing Nung, who is credited with a reign of 140 years, a thing altogether improbable. Then came Hwang Ti, who invented weapons and introduced coins and weights, followed by Ti Ku, who established schools. In 2257 B. C. his son, Yau, came to the throne, and with him the historic record begins. In his reign came the event correspondent with the story of the flood. He organized the political system and built up commerce. His son Shun followed the same methods.

Following him came the dynasty of Hia, 2205-1767, founded by Yu the Great, who united ecclesiastical and temporal authority. His grandson was dethroned by a revolution and was succeeded by his brother, Chung Kang, followed by Shan Kang after a long war, and he by Ti Chu, who reigned well and mildly. The dynasty decayed through come generations and was overthrown by revolution and succeeded by the dynasty of Shang or Yin, under which, between 1766 and 1122 B. C., there were 28 rulers, mostly vicious. Wu Wang, a General, succeeded, and as a military man founded the dynasty of Chow, which endured for 873 years and was a period of constant wars and revolutions, and of conflicts with the trespassing Tartars on the north.

The reign of Li Wang, expounder of the Confucian doctrine, was from 571 to 548. In the dynasty of Tsin which succeeded, the unity of the empire was restored, the vassal states subdued anew, and the independence which many of them had gained was crushed. Ching Wang, 246-210, erected the great wall to keep out the Tartar hordes, and assumed the title of Emperor. This man is the greatest of the national heroes of China and his memory is celebrated as such today. Under him all previous political writings were burned, including the works of Confucius and Mencius. The dynasty of Han (206 B. C. to A. D. 220) gave China several Emperors, one of whom restored ancient literature. Another subjected the Tartar country as far as the Caspian Sea and under another Buddhism was introduced.

Ho Ti, A. D. 89-106, introduced the culture of the grape, and A. D. 100 Rome sent an embassy to China, believed to be the first. From that date for 40 years the empire was divided into three kingdoms, but there was a union under Wu Ti, founder of the second dynasty of the Tsin (260 to 420). The Tartars now gained a foothold in the north and established an independent kingdom (266).

Four dynasties ruled Southern China to 500, a period full of wars, domestic broils and religious persecutions. In that year Prince Sui subjected the Tartars, conquered the southern provinces and reunited the kingdom. Under the dynasty of Tang Christianity was preached in China by Olopen. Kow Tsung pushed Chinese conquests to the borders of Persia. His son was the Charlemange of China, but the latter's successors became the tools and creatures of the eunuchs, the empire was torn by civil war, the Tartars regained much power and the Mongolians overran the empire.

Genghis Khan assailed Pekin in 1215 and Kublai Khan (She Tzu) established the first Mongol dynasty in China, with Pekin as the capital (1279-1368). The last emperor of the Sung dynasty committed suicide and the conquerors were in full swing. Under Kublai Khan, Cochin China and Tonquin were conquered and Marco Polo began to make his famous tours in China.

In 1294 the first Catholic missionaries entered Pekin. In 1368 Chu Yuen Chang, a Buddhist monk, overthrew the dynasty of the Mongols and became emperor. The Ming dynasty was thus established and lasted 276 years, that is to 1644. In the middle of the fifteenth century the Tartars invaded but were repelled from China. Under Shi Tsung, the Manchus or Mantchoos, began their invasion, Portugal opened trade with China, and the Dutch, after repeated repulses, managed at last to establish trading posts.

In 1615 the Manchus began hostilities because of the assassination of their king by order of the Chinese Emperor, and again from 1635 to 1644 the nation was drenched with blood. Finally the Mantchoos entered Pekin and set up the son of their King as Emperor, who thus became the founder of the present Mantchoo dynasty, which to this date has held the empire in its grip.

During their rule revolutions, insurrections and persecution of Christians have been frequent. The first Protestant missionary went in 1807 and translated the Bible into Chinese. By the end of the seventeenth century the English had gained a foothold in China. In 1840-1842 came the opium war between England and China, as a result of which, among other concessions, the British secured the transfer of Hong Kong to them.

In 1844 we sent Caleb Cushing to China and negotiated a satisfactory treaty with the Imperial Government. There have since then been frequent brushes between China and the European States, and in 1858 we were one of the allies advancing against China's strongholds to enforce recognition of international rights for our citizens in China. The history of China since that time is familiar to readers.

It now looks as if the story of the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty is to be repeated, that China will cease to be a great empire, will be split up into petty kingdoms with no small part parcelled out between the European powers, while the suzerainty over Corea will be broken, and that peninsula will become a Japanese dependency.

Finis.

Pall Mall Budget.

Writ on a ruined palace in Kashmir:
"The end is nothing, and the end is near."

Where are the voices kings were glad to hear?
Where now the feast, the song, the bayadere?
The end is nothing, and the end is near.

And yonder lovely rose; alas! my dear!
See the November garden, rank and drear;
The end is nothing, and the end is near.

See! how the raindrop mingles with the mere.
Mark! how the age devours each passing year!
The end is nothing, and the end is near.

Forms rise and grow and wane and disappear,
The life allotted thee is now and here;
The end is nothing, and the end is near.

The death shroud waits thee, and the dark-palled bier,
Alas! sweet eyes and bosom tender, dear;
The tolling bell, the dropping earth I hear;
The end is nothing, and the end is near.

Then vex thyself no more with thought austere;
Take what thou canst while thou abidest here.
Seek finer pleasures each returning year;
The end is nothing, and the end is near.

Blind not thyself too much to earthly gear,
But eat the bread of life and take good cheer,
And drink the wine of life and have no fear;
The end is vision, and the end is near.

Joy is the Lord, and Love his charioteer;
Be tranquil and rejoicing; oh, my dear!
Shun the wild seas, far from the breakers steer;
The end is vision, and the end is near.

Ah! banish hope and doubt, regret and fear,
Check the gay laugh, but dry the idle tear.
Search! is the light within thee burning clear?
The end is vision, and the end is near.

List to the wisdom learned of saint and seer!
The living Lord is joy, and peace His sphere;
Rebel no more! throw down thy shield and spear,
Surrender all thyself; true life is here;
The end is vision, and the end is near.

Forget not this, forget not that, my dear!
'Tis all and nothing, and the end is near.

The Automobile.

Harper's Weekly.

A vehicle that goes 20 miles an hour on the highway is, of course, a pretty serious proposition to everything else that uses the road. The greater centers of wealth, and particularly the Summer centers of wealth, like Newport, are pretty sure to be embarrassed by the automobile craze, so long as it is a craze. We are told that the machines have pretty much driven out of Paris all other kinds of public locomotion. Still, the automobile, as a means of sport, is a craze, and will pass, and the horse is not a craze, and is pretty sure to last.

JOHN ELIOT'S BIBLE.

One of the Books in a Collection of Sacred Literature on Exhibition.

Boston, Mass.—Great interest is manifested in the free exhibition of a collection of Bibles and sacred literature at the Bible room of the Congregational house on Beacon street. The greater part of the collection consists of what are known as "workers'" Bibles, and are from the library of S. Brainard Pratt, of Boston. It is probably the finest collection of Bibles to be found in the United States, and the existence of a better one in the world is not known.

One of the books which is attracting rather more attention than any of the others is the illuminated Bible, long used by the late Dwight L. Moody, and containing many notes in his own handwriting. Mr. Moody once said in Boston: "Bible marking, with the insertion of side notes, marginal references, etc., converts the margins of one's Bible into a notebook at hand at any moment," and he evinced his faith in the statement by making copious notes in his own Bible.

Another Bible which is of general interest is the one used for more than 30 years by the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher. In the 30 years in which he had this Bible in service he wore out the binding, and then he had the book cut down and rebound. For 20 years after that, or until his death, he used the Bible at funerals.

Almost equaling the Beecher Bible in interest is the John Knox Bible, with oak covers, made from wood from the John Knox house, Netherbost, Edinburgh, Scotland. Knox was a Roman Catholic priest in 1530, a Protestant reformer in 1543, and for two years a galley slave. It was said of him that Mary, Queen of Scots, was more afraid of him than she would have been of a regiment of soldiers.

Another remarkable Bible is one used on the march and in three prisons during the Civil War by the Rev. Dr. Henry Clay Trumbull, a chaplain in the Federal Army. He preached from this Bible while confined in Libby prison, and used the marginal leaves for a sort of diary. There is also in the collection an ancient Bible owned by Philip Melancthon, professor of Greek in the University of Wittenberg in the sixteenth century, and between whom and Luther there was the most touching friendship. This Bible is accompanied by Luther's translation of the Psalms, published in Leipzig in 1541. There is a Geneva Bible of 1577, which is said to have once been owned by Queen Elizabeth.

One of the rarest books in the collection is that used by the Apostle John Eliot in preaching to the Indians. There is said to be no person alive who can read this Bible, but Mr. Pratt has been offered $1000 for it. He is a collector, however, and never sells a book.

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*4:00 P. M.	Albany passenger	*10:10 A. M.
7:30 A. M.	Corvallis passenger	‡5:50 P. M.
14:50 P. M.	Sheridan passenger	‡8:25 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 7:20, *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 *6:35, 8:30, *10:50 A. M., 1:35, 3:10, 4:30, 6:15, 7:45, 10:00 P. M., 12:40 A. M. daily, except Monday, 8:30 and 10:00 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.

"NORTH COAST LIMITED" NORTHERN PACIFIC

DOUBLE DAILY TRAIN SERVICE.

The Pioneer Dining and Observation Car Route.

Leave	Union Depot, 6th and J Sts	Arrive
No. 2— 2 P. M.	North Coast Limited, for Tacoma, Seattle, North Yakima, Spokane, Pullman, Moscow, Lewiston, Rossland, B. C., Butte, Helena, St. Paul, Minneapolis, Chicago, Boston, New York, Omaha, Kansas City, Council Bluffs, St. Louis, and all points East and southeast.	No. 1— 7 A. M.
No. 4— 11:30 P. M.	Twin City Express, for Tacoma, Seattle, Spokane, Helena, Butte, St. Paul, Chicago, Boston, New York, Omaha, Kansas City, Council Bluffs, St. Louis, and all points east and southeast.	No. 3— 8 P. M.
8:00 A. M.	Astoria and Seashore Express, Daily.	11:10 A. M
*6:55 P. M.	Astoria Express, Daily.	8:40 P. M.
2:30 P. M.	Seashore Express, Saturday only.	9:40 P. M.

*Except Saturday.

Through train service via Northern Pacific and Burlington line from Portland to Omaha, Kansas City, St. Louis. Quick time and unequaled accommodations.

Take North Coast Limited Train No. 2 for South Bend, Olympia and Gray's Harbor points.

See the North Coast Limited, Elegant Upholstered Tourist Sleeping Cars, Pullman Standard Sleepers, Dining Car and Observation Car, all electric lighted. Solid vestibuled trains.

Tickets sold to all points in the United States and Canada, and baggage checked to destination of tickets.

For information, tickets, sleeping-car reservations, etc., call on or write

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As Good as Can Be Had.

The St. Louis special is a first-class train for first and second-class passengers.

It carries sleeping, tourist and reclining chair cars, and a dining-car.

In the dining-cars are served as good meals as can be had at ANY hotel on the Continent. So good are they that if the St. Louis special were the very slowest instead of, as it is, the very fastest train from Portland to Kansas City, and St. Louis, it would still be the part of wisdom to take it.

Ticket Office,
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R. W. FOSTER, Ticket Agent.
GEO. S. TAYLOR, City Passenger Agent.

THE GREAT NORTHERN

Ticket Office, 253 Morrison Street, 'Phone 530

LEAVE.	The Flyer, daily to and from St. Paul, Minneapolis, Duluth, Chicago and all points East.	ARRIVE.
No. 4 6:00 P. M.		No. 3. 7:00 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 July 18th.

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.	11:10 A. M
*6:55 P. M.	Astoria Express, Daily.	8:40 P. M.
2:30 P. M.	Seashore Express, Saturday only.	9:40 P. M.

*Except Saturday.

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