REORGANIZATION AFTER THE WAR

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

AMERICAN POLITICAL PARTIES struction which should retain the South

BY HON, JESSE MACT. XVIII.

Reconstruction Views of Lincoln and Johnson. President Lincoln set forth in his first innugural his belief that the Union could not be broken by any so-called ordinance of secession in one or many states. The illegal and rebellious acts were regarded as those of assemblages of individuals, and not of the corporate states as such. This was the view commonly adopted in the North This was the view commonly adopted in the North at the time. But to Lincoln's practical mind it seemed, when concrete questions of restoration were to be definitely decided, that this theoretic position respecting the status of the disloyal states was "a merely pernicious abstract on." which he "purposely refrained from discussing." Still the steps which he had taken before his death toward the reinstancement of the dispraying states of statement of the disorganized states of Arkansas and Louisiana were in apparent my with the prevailing theory of the early years of the discussion

It is stated that Andrew Johnson held similar views as to the indestructfullity of the Union, but he reached his conclusions by a different line of reasoning and supported them in so intemperate and overbearing a manner and with such ex-aggrated deference for Southern staterights principles that he was soon embroiled in an unseemly quarrel with the party which had adopted him. As a life-long strict-construction Democrat, he mintuined that the corporate relations of the states to the Central Government had not been interrupted by the war, and re-mained intert when hostilities ceased; that the United States had no authority to coerce a state; since the rebellious conduct of individuals had deprived the Decople of certain states of all civil gavcrument, it had become necessary to enforce the obligations of the United States to the people of those states 'in securing them in the enjoyment of a republican

When Johnson assumed the reins of overnment he was eager to hasten on he work of reconstruction which Lincoln had becom. As Congress would not meet until December, the Executive had for eight months a free hand. By mid-summer he had appointed provisional Sovernors in all the remutaing states of the disturbed section, defining their du-ties and powers much as Linceln had de-fined those of Johnson himself on ap-pointing him Military Gevernor of Ten-December state governments had been erected under the Fre-id-nt's proclamatheasters and Representatives from all the states lately in rebellion, except Texas and Florida, were ready to semand seats in the National Legislature. The political powers and privileges in the several states were confined to those who should take the oath of amnesty, but the number of loyal citizens was swelled by the granting of special pardons to many who were excluded from a share in the restoration offered by the general amnustry. The conditions imposed by the President for the recognition of the new state government were ratification by the first state legislature of the 18th amend-ment, which made slavery forever lilegal in the United States, nullfication of the secession orillances, and repudition of the war debt.

Status of Slavery and the Freedmen The emancipation proclamation of 1883 was a purely military act. It destroyed effavory only within the districts controlled by the army, and did not affect it in the loyal states. Only as commander of the military forces of the Nation had the Postsider. manner of the military forces of the Na-tion had the President any power over the institutions of the states, and that power was strictly limited to the regions where the army was actually in posses-sion. Some of the slave states not affected by the proclamation soon com-menced a legal process of emantipation, but not until the adoption of the 13th amenament was any legal standing given to the freedmen. Congress submitted the to the freedmen. Congress submitted the amendment in February, 1865, for the action of the state, and by December of the same year it had received ratification by W states, Il being slave states and eight of them those recently in rebel-

Now, at last, slavery was dead, but in divide and embroit the estranged sections, and to delay the restoration of brother-ly relations—which is, indeed, hardly yet complete. A helpless herde of contrabunds and freedmen began early in the war to embarrase the army and to gather along the Confederate border. Private charity under military protection did much to relieve their more pressing needs, and Northern philanthropy at once entered upon the task of educating and civilizing them, but it was relit that they divide and embroll the estranged section



Andrew Johnson.

ment which had given them freedom for some permanent provision for their fu-ture. By the establishment, in March, 180, of the Preedman's Bureau under the War Department, the Pederal Govern-War Department, the Pecerai Govern-ment recognized its responsibility toward the dependent blacks. The bureau was given control of all matters relating to refugees and freedmen and abandoned lands from or within the territory held by the army. The act was to remain in force for only one year from the close of the war. As based solely upon the war powers of the Government, it would necessarily excipte with the return of war powers of the Government, it would necessarily expire with the return of peace. So vague were the terms of the bill that, while it availed to relieve the himediate destitution of the negroes and to inaugurate some measures for settling them upon abandoned or confiscated lands in the South, it did nothing toward establishing their rights before the law or determining their political standing.

The Southern States adopted constitutions problibiting slavery and accepted

The Southern States adopted constitu-tions prohibiting slavery and accepted the 18th amendment. But, to the eyes of the watchful Northern friends of the emandipated slaves, the legislation which immediately followed in several of the states seemed to impose inconvenient and oppressive restrictions upon the col-ored population which tended to keep them in a degraded and practically en-slaved condition. The Southerners de-nied any intention to do more than to provide for the absolutely ancessary reprovide for the absolutely necessary restraints upon a "laboring, landless, homeless class," wholly untrained in freedem. They showed that the vagrancy laws, which were bitterly assuiled as intolerant and crue, were couched in almost exactly the same terms as those in force in some of the Northern States, and were certainly no more severe. But the temper of the Republican Congress was such that suspicion of Southern purposes respecting their former shaves could not be allayed, and a radical policy of reconprovide for the absolutely necessary re allayed, and a radical policy of reconin a condition of subjection to the Con-gressional will until that body should be satisfied as to the safety of the freed-men, gained favor.

Reconstruction Views of Congress. The Thirty-ninth Congress assembled December 4, 1865, in no happy frame of mind, and not disposed to accept the President's comfortable assurance that the country was pacified, the self-government of the states re-established, and the disposed applications of the states are setablished. divisive subject of slavery on the point of permanent elimination from National questions. Nor were they prepared to re-spond premptly to his request that they should permit the states whose powers had been so long in abeyance to resume their places in the National Legislature, "and thereby complete the work of res-toration." Not only was Congress dissat-lated with the acts of the new Southern Legislatures, but with certain proclama-tions of the President also, which gave tions of the President also, which gave to delegate conventions or Legislatures in the reorganized states power to prescribe the qualifications of electors and office-boiders. This was contradictory to a doctrine held by the more radical members of the Republican party—that the enfranchisement of the negroes followed necessarily upon emancipation. Assuming that by secession a state destroyed all its Constitutional rights as a member of the Union, they declared the whole matthe Union, they declared the whole mat-ter of the civil and political rights of the inhabitants of the rebeilous states to be in the hands of the Federal Gov-ernment, and that the Government was ound to guarantee to the freedmen equal rights with the whites. The seceding



Edwin M. Stanton.

states, having destroyed their statehood but territories, to be readmitted into the Union upon such terms as Congress might choose to impose. Upon these issues the legislative and executive departments of the Government joined battle. The Fres-ident was iraselble and violent, Congress was suspicious and unyielding, and the breach was continually widened.

Impenchment of the President. Congress was determined to carry through its own policy of reconstruction, and used its legislative power to prevent the success of that which the President had inaugurated. Admission of members from the reorganized states was delayed while bill after bill was passed whose purpose was to secure what the radicals deemed the rights of the freedmen. These bills were one after one returned with the President's veto.

Excitement ran high over the elections of 1866 by which a new House of Representatives was to be chosen. The issue was that between the Executive and the Legislature. The body of the Republican party railled to the support of Congress. party railled to the support of Congress, while the Democrats and a faction of the Republicans stood by the President, though not a few who inclined to his views of the Constitutional points involved in the quarrel were driven by his lil-tempered and violent speeches into the ranks of the radicals. The new House was overwhelmingly Republican, and Congress continued to pursue its own way regardless of the President's wishes, it passed over the veto the bills that were deemed necessary to control the conduct of the Southern State governments. It also turned its attention to measures for restricting the scope of Presidential authority. Congress was to meet henceforth on the 4th of March inmeet henceforth on the 4th of March instead of in December, so that it could constantly exercise restraint over the President. The President's power of removal from office was made subject to the approval of the Senate, and he was practically deposed from his command of the Army and Navy. The 18th amend-ment, designed to secure the right at suffrage to the negroes, was passed and ratified, though several states rejected it; and in March, 1857, the great reconstrucand in March, 1857, the great reconstruc-tion bill was carried through, which di-vided the South into military districts un-der officers of the Army, and gave en-tire control of the condition of the South-ern States to Congress, which body pledged itself to admit to the Union any state which, under prescribed conditions, should form a state government and rati-fy the 18th amendment.

All this only exasperated and enraged

All this only exasperated and enraged the President, and his irritation manifested itself in his conduct toward individuals. He had taken a particular aver-sion to Secretary Stanton and asked for his resignation, which was refused. Then, added to what had gone before, his re-peated efforts to remove the Secretary in defiance of law led the House to a reso-lution that the President should be im-peached before the Senate for high crimes and misdemeahors. The trial was begun in March, 1868, but after more than two months it appeared that there was not a two-thirds majority for con-viction, and a verdict for acquittal was rendered.

The Election of 1868. In the midst of the tension of public feeling over the impeachment trial the Republican convention met in Chicago. The Congressional plan of reconstruction was approved, and General Grant was nominated for President. The Demonominated for President. The Demo-cratic convention demanded immediate and unconditional representation in Con-gress for all the states, with the power of self-government, and the regulation

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of suffrage by each state for itself. Ho-ratio Seymour, of New York, was the candidate. Grant received II4 electoral votes, Seymour 89, but several of the Southern States had not been readmitted and were not allowed to vote. The di-vision between the parties was drawn by the question of reconstruction alone Professor Johnston says: "As the issue between the parties was distinctly made, the result of the election would seem to settle the rule that any state which formally casts off allegiance to the Federal Government and is compelled to submit must be readmitted by Congress in much

the same manner as a territory applying for admission as a state." Jease Many

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A. B CROASMAN, P. M. Northwest Pensions. WASHINGTON, Aug. 18.-The following Northwestern pensions have been grant-

Oregon—Renewal and increase, Ezra Hutson, Oregon City, \$12. Increase, Ed-ward M. Carson, Peninsular, \$10. Reissue, Nathantel Wiggins, Soldiers' Home, Rose-Nathantel Wiggins, burg. 512.

Washington—John T. Taylor, Orting, 510.

War with Spain, original, William T. Philips, New Whatcom, 572.

Idaho—Increase, Charles M. Bradish,

Porto Rican Indignation. WASHINGTON, Aug. 14.—The people of Porto Rico, if not highly educated as a class, are a proud race, and quite resent.
ful of insults, as is evidenced by their,
burst of indignation upon hearing of Senator Teller's alleged statement that the
Porto Ricans were unfit for citizenship. which they characterize as "the grossest insult ever flung in the face of any people." A letter written from Porto Rico shortly after this incident says that Senator Teller can at least claim to have stirred the Porto Rican heart as it had rarely been stirred, and to have been for a time the most talked of man in the time the most-talked-of man in the

island. But this grievance is gradually

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dving off, and the people are turning dying off, and the people are turning their attention to other matters.

Just at the present time there seems to be a wave of patriotism spreading over the island, which induces all classes to offer to serve as sepresentatives of their island in the National Congress. In fact, most of the men of the island, those that speak English and those who are not familiar with that tongue, seem to think it is their patriotic duty to leave home, friends and all, and give up their time to the cause of the island, making many tyrs of themselves, for \$5000.a year. tyrs of themselves, for \$5000 a year.

BUTLER'S ODD SITUATION.

Rejected by the Democrats, but Still

Working for Bryan. WASHINGTON, Aug. 14.—About the most absurd proposition in National poli-tics is Marion Butler, Senator from North Carolina. Butler was originally elected to the Senate by a fusion of Populist and Republican votes in North Carolina, where an effort had been made to break down the old Democratic regime and turn the state over to the Silverites. In that deal the Republicans got a Republican Senator for two years. He was elected by Populist votes two years later, so in all the Republicans got eight years of a Sen-atorship from North Carolina, with two more years to run. Senator Pritchard was originally a silver men, and voted and acted with the silver men up to the time of his second, election, and since that time, like the Republicans from the siltime, has the Republicans from the sirver states, he stayed with the Republican party and voted and acted with the party on currency matters. As a matter of fact, Pritchard was not an out-and-out silver man, but he was one of the many shifty men of six years ago who thought that silver was the proper thing and believed the Parublican party.

the Republican party was going to be committed to it.

Butler has been manipulated by Petti-grew for a number of years past. He has taken his one from that erratic individual, who was originally a strong Republican, and was at one time as strong a monopolist as ever existed, and who shifted to the silver cause when the silver sentiment was uppermost in South Daketa. His vehement abuse of Republican prin licples ever since has made him accept any old party that was against Republican ideas. Butler, in following the lead of Pettigrew, joined in the movement which made Charlie Towne the nominee for Vice-President on the Populist ticket. He was also with the unanimous Populist party which named Bryan for President. During his career in the Senate, Butler has acted almost exclusively with the Democratic party. For a little while in the beginning he was considered one of the independent men of the Senate, and treated as such by both parties. He took his seat on the Republican side as evi-dence of the fact that he had leanings toward Republican rather than Demo-cratic ideas. In the last few years, how-ever, he has changed his seat, and there has scarcely been a vote recorded that Butler has not voted with the Democrats. His committee assignments have been given him by Democrats, and he has been a Democrat in everything but name for at least three or four years. More than that, he has acted with the Bryan De-mocracy, and has been one of the most persistent advocates of Bryanism. He presided over the Populist convention in

1886, and stirred the nomination of Bryan at that eventful time when many Popu-lists delegated from the Southern States were very much opposed to the nomination of a Democrat, because they wanted to fight the Democracy in those states.

Butler was made chairman of the Populist National Committee after a very hard fight, and in four years he has practically destroyed the Populist party in the South, although aiding in its upbullding in the East. He has acted with the Democrats and worked to the end of amalgamating the forces of Populism and Democracy on the Bryan lines. This has been outside of his own state. In his own state the Democrats would not amalgamate with Butler. The Democrat, as shown by the recent election, hated Butler and Populism worse than the Republicans have hated it in any state in the Union, and they took measures to reof a Democrat, because they wanted to the Union, and they took measures to repudiate it and down Butler in a manner too well known. It is true that Democratic principles were sacrificed, that consent of the governed was not considered, free speech was denied and Butler was ocspeech was defined and Butler was de-nounced and hooted at in nearly every part of the state. More than that, it is said that had the Democrats of North Carolina known when Butler was going to return to the state he would have been met at the state line and turned back. Such is the feeling the Democrats of North Carolina have for the man who is a second time chairman of the Populist

committee. committee.

Butler is supporting Bryan. He is supporting a man whom the Populists claim as theirs, aithough he himself claims to be a Democrat. Bryan is a good thing for the Populists of Nebraska. By his control over the remnant of the Democratic name that is left by force the populists. cratic party that is left he forces them to sacrifice all the offices to the Popu-lists for the sake of getting the Populist vote for himself.

The absurdity of Butler's position, however, is that as chairman of the Populist committee he has been denounced, derided and defeated in his own state by Democrats, and yet he is working that Populist committee to elect a Democratic candidate for President and Vice-President. Butler must join the class of which Charlie Towne has become such an eminent member. He must look forward with the hope that, in case Bryan should with the hope that, in case Bryan should be elected, he will be given a Cabinet po-sition or something else where he can have an opportunity to draw a salary. His career in North Carolina is at an end, but he will still hold a position as chairman of the Populist party for four years more. In that time it is probable that there will turn up an amaigamation of the Populists and the Bryan Democ-racy, or the Populists will become a thing of the past. If Bryan should be de-feated by any considerable number of thing of the past. If Bryan should be de-feated by any considerable number of votes, the old Democracy would organize on the Cleveland lines and the Bryan Democracy would go over to Populism. If Bryan should be elected or come any-where near being elected or hold the vote which he had four years ago, the probabilities are that Populism will be-

come amalgamated with the Bryan Democracy, and in either event Butler would disappear from the public view and go into oblivion.

THE FILIPINO HOPE.

If Bryan Is Defeated the Rebellion Will Soon Crumble.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 14.—A promi-nent physician from one of the Pacific Coast towns, who for the past six years has been practicing in Manila, when in Washington recently, took occasion to drop a few opinions regarding the outlook in the Philippine Islands. "If Bryan is defeated at the polls," he said, "the Philipino rebellion will crumble away like a house of cards. It is only kept alive by the hope that the Democrats will be successful in the November elections. The Filipino people are sick and tired of fighting, and Aguinaldo would gladly quit if he could, but his associates are holding him off in the hope of getting terms from the Americans. It is money they want, and they would sell out the revolution just as they sold out the previous one to Spain. A million dollars divided among these leaders would bring peace in 48 hours, and they have in some way got the notion that the money would be forthcoming in the event of Bryan's eleca house of cards, . It is only kept alive forthcoming in the event of Bryan's elec-

"Aguinaldo is a greatly overrated man. He is, in fact, the cheapest kind of a Tagal native, treacherous and dishonest, as all Tagals are. It is only a few years ago that he was a house servant. He was so unreliable that the police took his credentials from him and he became a credentials from him and he became a fish monger. The priests taught him to read and write, and this accomplishment gave him standing as a great man among his ignorant associates. He is naturally bright and cruity, and in the rebellion against Spanish rule he soon became a leader. The money he got for selling out his cause made him rich, and placed him at the head of the present revolu-tionary, forces.

tionary, forces. "The Filipinos are no more capable o self-government than the American In-dians are capable of conducting the Gov-ernment of the United States. The Tagals are the only tribe that make any pretense at education, and only a very small portion of them can read and write "In point of numbers they are one of the weakest tribes in the Philippines, and as they are hated by the other tribes, there would be constant war should the Tagala attempt to govern the islands. The desire for self-government is confined to a few unscrupulous leaders, who would rob the country and then escape to live in luxury in Paris or some other European capital, while the powers of the Old World gobbled up the islands. No one familiar with the Philippines has the faintest idea that a Filipine govern-ment is even remotely possible."

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Strange Rents in England.

Indianapolis News, The annual payment of a rose by a

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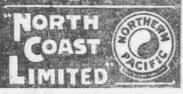
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Leave for Dailas daily, except Sidulay, at 8:30 P. M. Arrive at Pertland at 9:30 A. M. Passenger train leaves Dailas for Airle Mondays, Weinesdays and Fridays at 2:45 P. M. Returns Thesdays, Thursdaye and Saturdays.

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