

RETURN OF DEMOCRATIC PARTY TO POWER

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AMERICAN POLITICAL PARTIES

BY HON. JESSE MACY.

Growing Division in the Republican Party.

Immediately upon the close of the war tendencies appeared for certain sections of the Republican party to act at times with the Democrats. Strict loyalty to party ties did not prevail. So strong had this integrating tendency become by 1872 that in the Presidential campaign of 1872 that we have seen the National Democratic party adopting the candidates nominated by the disaffected Republicans.

The formation and consolidation of a distinct reform element in the party took place later, as a result of the exposure of a series of outrageous scandals involving in some cases persons of high official rank and of long and honorable political careers. Mention has already been made of the most famous of these—the Credit Mobilier transaction—the Credit Mobilier, the salary grab, the star route frauds. For these and other delinquencies the party in power was held responsible and was severely arraigned, but by its political opponents only, not by many of its own adherents.

During and after the war there grew up a new system of party organization and management, designated as the "boss system" or "machine" politics. The party gradually ceased to be the organized representative of all its members, and became the representative of only a distinct inner circle of party members, who were in possession of the official patronage and with financial interests which depended upon political action. This inner circle, called "the machine," controlled to a large extent the whole organization and the party affairs for the benefit of the members of the machine, in selfish conspiracy against the interests of the body of the party and the general public. Opposition within the party therefore took the form of criticism of specific abuses and a demand for reform of the civil service. It was this opposition which came near electing the Democratic candidate in 1876, which elected the third term of Grant in 1880 and elected Cleveland in 1884.

Party dissensions persisted throughout Arthur's term of office. Events strengthened the reform element and enabled it to triumph through the tariff and civil service reform bill. Tariff reform was also brought forward for discussion. The war tariff was for the most part still in force. With the return of prosperity after Reconstruction, the great increase of National revenue from customs poured in over \$30,000,000 per annum. The situation compelled the attention of the nation to the question of the tariff. A tariff commission was appointed in 1882 to recommend legislation, and the following year an act inaugurating very moderate tariff reform was passed. This was a tariff measure did not, however, involve the arraying of one party against the other, nor the triumph of one faction in the Republican party over another. Party distinctions were greatly obscured. In each party existed a strong independent element not subservient to the party whip, and at the same time a multitude of intelligent voters who viewed themselves as members of either party.

The Personal Campaign of 1884. The issues growing out of the war had passed from the field of practical politics, and parties had not yet divided sharply upon new and clearly defined issues. Hence it happened that the personal campaign of 1884 was guided by the personal considerations rather than by opposing views on great public questions. Grover Cleveland, the Democratic candidate, had first achieved political prominence as a reforming Sheriff of Buffalo, N. Y., and in 1882 had been made Governor of New York. The Democratic candidate, had first achieved political prominence as a reforming Sheriff of Buffalo, N. Y., and in 1882 had been made Governor of New York.

James G. Blaine. The name of James G. Blaine had made use of the great popularity of James G. Blaine in 1876 and again in 1880 to break the force of the "steward" faction. He was defeated for the candidacy of Grant. But devoted to the candidacy of Grant, Blaine came for the third time before a Republican convention as a candidate for the Presidential nomination. He had strenuously defended the policy of independent Republicans all that was corrupt and dangerous in American politics. In spite of their opposition Blaine received the nomination, and his candidacy was immediately repudiated by a large proportion of the Republican press and by many prominent individuals. The Republican defection greatly influenced the action of the Democrats, whose convention met two days later. It may be said that their nomination was practically dictated by the Republican bolters. Cleveland was their choice and also the choice of a large majority of the New York delegation, although he had strong opposition from Tammany Hall.

As party issues were not made prominent and party lines were not drawn with precision, the election turned largely upon the personal records of the candidates. The final result was for some days in doubt. The South was still solidly Democratic; all the Northern States except Connecticut, Indiana, New Jersey and New York were Republican, and New York was claimed by both parties. Upon the count in that state the decision turned and the corrected final returns gave to the country once more a Democratic President.

For 31 years the Democrats had been excluded from power, and their reinstatement was due to the action of a disaffected section in the opposing party. A change of 800,000 votes in the State of New York from Cleveland to Blaine would have given the Presidency to Blaine and kept the Republicans in office for another term. And many thousands had been created, which taxed domestic producers heavily, and by way of

compensation the duties on imported goods were made correspondingly high. After the close of the war the taxes were removed from one after another of the domestic products, while the customs duties remained. Added to this, many specific duties on imported goods were specific—many cents a yard or a pound. As prices declined upon the return to specie payments specific duties became proportionately higher. Had it not been for the many other pressing questions the Democrats would undoubtedly have promptly made a serious attack upon the war tariff of the Republican party. But the reconstruction of the Southern States, negro suffrage, military rule in the South, the refunding of Government bonds, the return to specie payments, the scandals of official dishonesty—all these problems left little time for either Republicans or Democrats to devote to the details of a tariff system.

Even as late as 1880 Democrats had not arrived at a clear apprehension of the duties as a party in respect to criticism of the tariff from the standpoint of the taxpayer. The party platform of that year did in deed contain the traditional words favoring "a tariff for revenue only," but there is no evidence that they were meant

to set forth a serious party conviction. The campaign was proceeding upon other issues. Democrats were arraigning Republicans for accumulated party sins and Republicans were depending chiefly upon a sentimental presentation of the "bloody shirt" issue when the state election in Maine occurred with a defeat for the Democrats. Democrats were arraigning Republicans for accumulated party sins and Republicans were depending chiefly upon a sentimental presentation of the "bloody shirt" issue when the state election in Maine occurred with a defeat for the Democrats.

The Democrats were wholly unprepared for such a change in front on the part of their enemy. There was hesitation, divided councils, and their candidate, General Hancock, added to the confusion by eulogistic remarks which set the country laughing. Out of this unprecedented defeat the founding of the Democrats. It appeared that the Republicans made gains. Nevertheless, as has been mentioned, they came during Arthur's Administration to recognize and admit the need of reforming the tariff.

When Cleveland entered upon his Administrative duties the taxes upon imports were still furnishing a considerable amount of revenue. The President's policy was to secure the necessary reduction of duties. To the country at large the subject was presented as a party issue. Opposition there was to the President's policy. The Democratic members of Congress, but the party as a whole endorsed it. It was attacked by Republican politicians, who strenuously defended the policy of protection against the alleged destructive designs of the Anglicized free-traders.

Though the Democrats failed to secure legislation of any kind upon the tariff during Cleveland's first term, they did succeed in making the tariff question for the time the leading political issue, and very distinctly a party issue. The element of opposition within the party to the reforming policy of Cleveland grew weaker as the discussion was continued. The President's message of 1887 was wholly devoted to a consideration of tariff questions, and during the session of Congress which followed two elaborate bills for reform were brought forward. The supported by the Senate was drawn by Republicans, and proposed alterations in its protective features. The House bill, on the other hand, was a Democratic measure, and was passed in the House by a strictly party vote, only four Democratic votes were in excess of the bill.

These two bills exactly defined the positions of the two parties, and they were made the basis of the first term of the Presidential campaign of 1888, and upon the two opposing policies respecting the tariff that battle was fought.

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COLLIERSON & CO. Board of Trade and Stock Exchange Brokers. GRAIN PROVISIONS STOCKS and COTTON. Bought and sold for cash or carried on margins. Chamber of Commerce Portland, Oregon.

nection with the drowning. When the frantic mother rushed to the scene of her son's disappearance a man was still fishing off the dock. He admitted having seen the boy fall in, but made no effort to give an alarm or assist the drowning lad. "He never came up after he went down," this individual told Mrs. Stoddard, and the man still continued to fish. Arrangements have been made to have the remains interred at Oregon City.

COMING TENNIS GAMES. Complete Schedule of Approaching Contests.

The frequent showers of the past few days have interfered with many tennis matches scheduled on the Multnomah courts, but the players are taking advantage of the sunshine between storms and several interesting matches were finished. La Fayette and Stoddard, in two sets, 7-5, 4-4. Brandt Wickersham beat Van Ruter comparatively easy, 6-3, 6-0. He then went through La Farge, 6-1, 6-0, thereby becoming winner of the fourth class.

Monday. 9:30 A. M., court No. 2—Mrs. Baldwin (scratch) vs. Mrs. Cook (scratch). 12:30 P. M., court No. 2—Letter (scratch) vs. Cheal (scratch).

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Wednesday. 4 P. M., court No. 1—Winner class 3 (receiving 3-6) vs. McCracken (receiving 3-6). 4:30 P. M., court No. 2—Letter and Miss Goss (receiving 3-6) vs. Mr. and Mrs. Cook (receiving 3-6).

Thursday. 4 P. M., court No. 2—Goss and Lewis vs. winner Graham and Lumsaig-Gifford (receiving 3-6). 5 P. M., court No. 3—Goss and partner vs. winner Andrews and Mrs. Baldwin-McAlpin and Senders match.

Friday. 5:30 P. M., court No. 1—Thelsson vs. winner class 3-6-Cook and Thelsson.

Eastern Multnomah. GRESHAM, Or., Sept. 15.—The prune crop in this neighborhood and throughout Clackamas County south of here is considerably heavier than it gave promise of being two months ago. All the growers report an average yield of Italians, while in French and peaches there is an unusually heavy crop. At least 10 dry-wood, large and small, are known to be in operation, and their products are all turning out remarkably bright and of good size, which fact is accounted for by the excellent condition in which the fruit has been gathered during the good weather of the past few weeks. It is also remarkably clear of blemishes, and has matured more perfectly than in many former seasons. It is estimated that the various dryhouses in this section are turning out about 100,000 bushels each day, the drying season lasting about two weeks.

Extension of Barr Road. A petition is being prepared and will be circulated in a few days asking for an extension of Barr road from present eastern terminus to the town of Fairview, a distance of four miles. The Barr road leads from North Mount Tabor eastward, and is graded to the corner of Judge Beneca Smith's farm, where it stops abruptly. Openings have been given to many farmers who now have to go two or three miles to get to Fairview. If its being opened there would be a roadway on every section line leading eastward in Multnomah County, as the Barr road, which connects with the way between the Base Line and Sandy roads, which are two miles apart.

Downing, Hopkins & Co. Chicago Board of Trade New York Stock Exchange Room 4, Ground Floor Chamber of Commerce BOTH TELEPHONES

FOR CHARITY'S SAKE. Children of Chapman School Raise Money for Baby Home.

At the entertainment and literary social given at Artisan's Hall, Twenty-second and Saver streets, last Friday evening, under the auspices of the children of the Chapman School, the sum of \$15 was raised for the benefit of the Baby Home. The attendance was good, and after the following programme had been rendered in excellent style, refreshments were served, and the remainder of the evening was pleasantly spent.

AT THE HOTELS. THE PORTLAND. C. T. Springer, Denver; J. W. Jacobs, U. S. A. H. P. Brown and wife; C. H. Hasomer, S. F.

THE IMPERIAL. A. F. Nye, city; Dr. A. Leonard; J. Woodbury, city; C. Young, Vancouver; W. Low, city; J. D. Dexter, Spokane; Dr. J. M. Chalmers; Geo. A. Cruz, city; J. F. Pennoel, Astoria; W. Carlisle, Astoria; J. L. Metcalf, Washington; R. E. Newland, M. D.; H. Paris, France; H. A. Clark, Kalama; O. S. Schaefer, S. F.; J. Mitchell, Baker City; C. W. Burdick, Astoria; B. S. Isaacs, Wash.

THE ST. CHARLES. A. Standell, Bufilea; O. S. Satterfield; J. H. Haggard; J. McLeod, Chemawa; J. H. Haggard; E. W. Hahn, Dallas; E. W. Thuraker, Jefferson; A. D. Burnett, Eagle Creek; A. Cook, city; M. Kama, city; W. H. Kelo, Kelo; J. W. Johnson, Chintook; H. Chapman, Trout; J. L. Vancouver, do; J. Knight, Chicago; J. F. Haggard, do; W. M. Searey, do; N. A. Clark, Kalama; J. A. Clark, Kalama; Mrs. Clark, Kalama; C. W. Baldwin, Hood River; May Meador, do; W. Anderson, Deer; C. J. Ehrman, Junction; F. W. Masterson, Independence; Palmer, Marshland; H. Lincoln, do; H. F. Johnson, Chintook; J. H. Clear, Olympia; N. H. Finney, Winlock; G. Robinson, Vancouver; J. F. Minner, Chintook; C. R. Haines, Courtney; O. Graves, Courtney; C. S. Berry, Sauvie; E. W. Wagon, do; W. B. Yoon, Cathlamet; J. R. Robertson, Pullman; C. Warner, do; W. Love, Seattle; J. H. Green, city; J. F. Foster, Hoquiam; M. J. Hines, Hoquiam; J. H. McQueen, Perry; C. B. Dillingham, Everett; E. C. Howard, Stella; J. H. Hughes, Or.; J. H. Hughes, Or.; J. H. Hughes, Or.; J. H. Hughes, Or.

Hotel Brunswick, Seattle. European; first class, Rates, 75c and up. One block from depot. Restaurant next door.

Tacoma Hotel, Tacoma. American plan. Rates, \$3 and up.

Manhood Restored. This great Vegetable Vitalizer, the prescription of a famous French physician, will quickly cure you of all nervous or diseases of the generative organs, such as Loss of Power, Impotency, Premature Ejaculation, Nervous Debility, Pimples, Unfitness to Marry, Exhausting Debility, Faintness, Headaches, Constipation. It stops all these troubles. Prevents quickness of the nerves, which if unchecked leads to spermatorrhea and all the horrors of impotency. CUPIDENE cleanses the liver, the kidneys and the stomach, and cures all humors and restores strength and vigor.

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TRAVELERS' GUIDE. POSSIBLY YOU ARE NOT AWARE OF THE FAST TIME AND SUPERB SERVICE NOW OFFERED BY THE UNION PACIFIC OVERLAND DIVISION. WE HAVE 2 DAILY FAST TRAINS TO THE EAST.

CHICAGO-PORTLAND SPECIAL. Leaves for the East, via Huntington, at 9:00 A. M.; arrives at 4:30 P. M. SPOKANE PALMER. Leaves for Spokane, Eastern Washington, and Great Northern points, leaves at 6 P. M.; arrives at 1 A. M.

WILLAMETTE RIVER DIVISION. PORTLAND AND SALEM OR. Owing to the low water in the Willamette River, the regular service is suspended from the mouth of the Yamhill. For schedule see below.

CHINA AND JAPAN, FROM PORTLAND. IN CONNECTION WITH THE OREGON RAILROAD AND THE PACIFIC COAST STEAMSHIP LINE. (Subject to change.)

EAST VIA SOUTH. Leave Depot Fifth and Streets Arrive. 7:30 P. M. 7:45 A. M. 8:20 A. M. 8:30 P. M.

YAMHILL DIVISION. Passenger Depot, foot of Jefferson Street. Leave for Oswego daily at 7:30, 9:40 A. M.; 12:30, 1:30, 2:30, 4:40, 5:40, 8:30, 11:30 P. M.; Portland daily at 9:30, 10:30, 11:30 A. M.; 1:30, 3:10, 4:30, 6:15, 7:40, 9:30 P. M.; 12:30, 1:30, 2:30, 4:30, 5:30, 8:30, 11:30 P. M. on Saturdays only.

NORTH COAST LIMITED. DOUBLE DAILY TRAIN SERVICE. The Pioneer Dining and Observation Car Route.

Pacific Coast Steamship Co. FOR ALASKA. THE COMPANY'S elegant fleet of steamships, built in Seattle, City of Seattle, and Alki leave TACOMA at 11 A. M., Seattle at 12:30 P. M., and return to Seattle at 11:30 P. M., every 5th day thereafter. Further information obtain company's circulars.

Astoria & Columbia River Railroad Co. LEAVES UNION DEPOT. For Mayaguez, Rainier, Clifton, Astoria, Warrenton, Tillamook, Fort Stevens, Gearhart, Park, Seattle, Astoria and Seaside. 8:00 A. M. 11:30 A. M. 6:50 P. M. 8:40 P. M.