

# BIRTH OF GREAT PARTY IS DULY COMEMORATED

## Secretary of State Hay Delivers Address at Jackson, Michigan, Telling the History of Republicanism.

Jackson, Mich., July 6.—Five thousand people assembled at Loomis park here today to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the birth of the republican party, "under the Oaks," this city, July 6, 1854. It was here on that date that the first state convention, acting under the name "republican," was held. The state ticket nominated on that day went through a heated campaign to election-day success.

Secretary of State John Hay, who was private secretary to Abraham Lincoln, the first republican president, was the orator of the day. Other distinguished guests present were Speaker Cannon of the national house of representatives, Senator Fairbanks of Indiana, republican candidate for vice president, and Senators Alger and Burrows of Michigan.

Secretary Hay's address was in part as follows:

A century is but a moment of history; it has often happened that several of them have passed away, since men began to record their deeds, with little change in the physical aspect or the moral progress of the world. But at other times—of intense action and spiritual awakening—a single generation may form an epoch; and few periods of equal duration in political annals have been so crowded with great events as the 50 years we celebrate today. Under the oaks of Jackson on the 6th of July, 1854, a party was brought into being and baptized which ever since has answered the purposes of its existence with fewer follies and failures and more magnificent achievements than ordinarily fall to the lot of any institution of mortal origin. And even the beginning of the end is not yet. This historic party is only now in the full maturity of its power and its capacity for good. We look back upon a past of unparalleled usefulness and glory with emotions of thankfulness and pride; we confront the future and its exacting problems with a confidence born of the experience of difficulties surmounted and triumphs achieved in paths more thorny and ways more arduous than any that are likely to challenge the courage and the conscience of the generation which is to follow us. It is meet that at this stage of our journey we should review the past and read its lessons, and in its light take heart for what lies beyond.

### Origin of the Party.

The republican party had a noble origin. It sprang directly from an aroused and indignant national conscience. Questions of finance, of political economy, of orderly administration, passed out of sight for the moment, to be taken up and dealt with later on. But in 1854 the question that whether there should be a limit to the aggressions of slavery; and in 1861 that solemn inquiry turned to one still more portentous. Should the nation live or die? The humblest old republican in America has the right to be proud that in the days of his youth in the presence of these momentous questions he judged right; and if he is sleeping in his honored grave his children may justly be glad of his decision.

It was not so easy 50 years ago to take sides against the slave power as it may seem today. Respect for the vested rights of the southern people was one of our most sacred traditions. It was founded on the compromises of the constitution, and upon a long line of legal and legislative precedents. The men of the revolution made no defense of slavery in itself; Washington, Adams, Jefferson and Franklin deplored its existence, but recognized the necessity of compromise until the public mind might rest in the hope of its ultimate extinction. But after they had passed away, improvements in the culture and manufacture of cotton made this uneconomic form of labor for the time profitable, and what had been merely tolerated as a temporary necessity began to be upheld as a permanent system. Slavery entrenched itself in every department of our public life. Its advocates dominated congress and the state legislatures; they even invaded the pulpit and grotesquely wrested a few texts of scripture to their purpose. They gave the tone to society; even the southern accent was imitated in our schools and colleges.

### The Effort for Slavery.

If the slaveholders had been content with their unquestioned predominance, they might for many years have controlled our political and social world. It was natural for the conservative people of the north to say: "We deplore the existence of slavery, but we are all to blame for it; we should not east upon our brethren in the south the burdens and perils of its abolition. We must bear with the unfortunate condition of things and take our share of its inconveniences." But the slaveholding party could not rest content. The ancients said that madness was the fate of those judged by the gods. Continual aggression is a necessity of a false position. They felt instinctively that if their system were permanently to endure it must be extended and to attain this object they were ready to risk everything. They rent in twain the compromises which had protected them so long. They tore down the bulwarks which had at once restricted and defended them;

and confiding in their strength and our patience they boldly announced and inaugurated the policy of the indefinite extension of their "peculiar institution."

Once embarked upon this fatal enterprise they left nothing undone which could contribute to the catastrophe upon which they were rushing. The whig party had gone to ruin in 1852 on account of the impossibility of combining the scattered elements of opposition to the party of pro-slavery aggression; but they themselves furnished the weapon which was to defeat them. In May, 1854, after several months of passionate debate, to which the country listened with feverish interest, congress passed the bill organizing the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, omitting the restrictions of the Missouri compromise which excluded slavery from them. This action at once precipitated the floating anti-slavery sentiment of the country. A mighty cry of resolute indignation arose from one end of the land to the other. The hallow truce, founded upon the legitimate compromises which had been observed in good faith by one side and ruthlessly violated by the other, was at an end. Men began to search their consciences instead of the arguments of political expediency. A discussion of the right and wrong of slavery became general; the light was let in, fatal to darkness. A system which degraded men, dishonored women, deprived little children of the sacred solace of home, was doomed from the hour it passed into the arena of free debate. And even if we shut our eyes to the moral aspects of that heartless system, and confined ourselves to the examination of its economic merits, it was found to be wasteful and inefficient. The Americans are at once the most sentimental and the most practical of peoples—and when they see that an institution is morally revolting, and, besides, does not pay, its fate is sealed.

### The Lincoln-Douglas Contest.

I have no right to detain you at this hour in recounting the history of those memorable days. Two incidents of the long battle will never be forgotten. One was the physical and political contest for the possession of Kansas, carried on with desperate courage and recklessness of consequences by the pro-slavery party on the one side, and, on the other, by the New England farmers whose weapons of aggression were Bible texts and the words of Jefferson, and whose arms of defense were Sharpe's rifles. With words that ring even now when we read them, like the clashing of swords, the slave state men claimed Kansas as their right and the free state men replied in the words of the prophet before Herod. It is unlawful for you to have her. And when the talking sharpened to the physical clinch, the praying men fought with the same ferocity as the men who cursed. In the field of political discussion the most dramatic incident of the fight was the debate between Lincoln and Douglas. Not many of you saw that battle of the strong, where each of the gladiators had an adversary worthy of his steel, where the audiences were equally divided, where the combatants were fairly matched in debating skill and address, and where the superiority of Lincoln was not so much personal as it was in the overwhelming strength of his position. He was fighting for freedom and could say so; Douglas was fighting for slavery and could not avow it. The result of the contest is now seen to have been inevitable. Douglas was reelected to the senate, but had gained also the resentful suspicion of the south, which two years later disowned him and defeated his lifelong ambition. Lincoln became at once the foremost republican of the west and a little later the greatest political figure of the century.

### Tribute to Lincoln.

If there is one thing more than another in which we republicans are entitled to a legitimate pride it is that Lincoln was our first president; that we believed in him, loyally supported him while he lived, and that we have never lost the right to call ourselves his followers. There is not a principle avowed by the republican party today which is out of harmony with his teachings or inconsistent with his character. We do not object to our opponents quoting him, praising him—even claiming him as their own. If it is not sincere, it is still a laudable tribute to acknowledged excellence. If it is genuine, it is still better, for even a Nebraska populist who reads his Lincoln is in the way of salvation. But only those who believe in human rights and are willing to make sacrifices to defend them; who believe in the nation and its beneficent power; who believe in the American system of protection championed by a long line of our greatest and best, running back from McKinley to Washington, and, as Senator Dooliver so truthfully said, "to the original sources of American common sense;" only those who believe in equal justice to labor and to capital; in honest money and the right to earn it, have any title to name themselves by the name of Lincoln, or to claim a moral kinship with that august and venerated spirit. I admit it would be little less than sacrilege to try to trade upon that benignant renown, whose light "folds in this orb of the earth." But we who have always tried to walk in the road he pointed out can not be deprived of the tender pride of calling ourselves his disciples and of doing in his name the work allotted to us by providence.

And I hope I am violating neither the confidence of a friend nor the proprieties of an occasion like this when I refer to the ardent and able young statesman who is now, and is to be our president to let you know that in times of doubt and difficulty the thought oftenest in his heart is, "What, in such a case, would Lincoln have done?"

### What the Party Has Done.

Let me hurriedly enumerate a few of the events in the long and fruitful career of the republican party which seem to us to entitle it to the confidence of the country and the final approval of history. After the war was ended and peace reestablished with no damage to the structure of the government, but, on the contrary, with added strength and with increased guaranties of its perpetuity, it remained to be shown whether the power and success of the republican party were to be permanent, or whether, born of a crisis, it was fitted to cope with the problems of daily national life. It had destroyed slavery, or, perhaps we might better say, it had created the conditions by which slavery had committed suicide. In the absence of this great adversary, could the party hold together against the thousand lesser evils that beset the public life of modern peoples—the evils of ignorance, corruption, avarice, and lawlessness, the prejudices of race and of class, the voices of demagogues, the cunning of dishonest craft, the brutal tyranny of the boss, the venality of the mean? I think it is not too much to say that the last 40 years have given an answer, full of glory and honor, to that question. The republican party, in the mass and in detail has shown its capacity to govern. By the homestead law, with equal generosity and wisdom, it distributed the immense national domain among the citizens who were willing to cultivate it and who have converted wide wide stretches of wilderness into smiling homes. It built the Pacific railroad, which has bound the union together from east to west by bands of steel and made the states beyond the mountains among our most loyal and prosperous commonwealths. It re-deemed our paper currency and made all our forms of money of exactly equal value and our credit the best in the world. By persistent honesty in our finances—in the face of obstacles which might have daunted the hardest statesmen—it has reduced our interest charges so that in any mart on earth we can borrow money cheaper than any other people. In the financial revolutions to which all communities are subject, we are able, thanks to our laws and our administrative system, to meet and pass the most violent crisis without lasting damage to our prosperity. We have, by the patient labor of years, so succeeded in reforming and regulating our civil service that patronage has almost ceased to cast its deadly blight upon the work of our public servants. Human nature is weak and offenses happen; but they are almost always found out and are punished without mercy when detected. By persistent adherence to the policy of protection, we have given to our industries a development which the fathers of the republic never dreamed of; which, besides supplying our home market, has carried our manufactures to the uttermost ends of the earth.

### Republican Prosperity.

History affords no parallel to the vast and increasing prosperity which this country has enjoyed under republican rule. I hasten to say we do not claim to have invented seed-time and harvest, and industry and thrift. We are a great people and success is our right; God is good to those who behave themselves. But we may justly claim that the republican party has been in power during these years of marvelous growth, and we can at least bring proof that we have not prevented it—and this is no slight honor for a party to claim. I will not at this moment speak of the important acquisitions of territory we have made, which render us in many ways the predominant power in the Pacific. But out of the territory we already possessed, 14 new states have entered the union. The census of 1850 gave us 23,000,000 of population—the last one, 75,000,000. The number of our farms—the total of our cultivated acreage—has increased fourfold. Our corn crop is five times what it was; our wheat crop, six times. The capital invested in manufacturing has grown from five hundred millions to ten billions; where it employed less than a million artisans, it now employs more than five millions; and while the number of workmen has increased five times, their wages have increased tenfold. The value of manufactured property is 13 times what it was when the republicans of Michigan met under the oaks. The real and personal wealth of the country has grown in this amazing half century from seven thousand millions to ninety-four thousand millions. Our railroads have grown from a mileage of 16,000 to one of 290,000. Our imports and exports have gone up by leaps and bounds to the same monstrous proportions. And finally let us hasten to say, as the other side will say it for us, instead of the \$47,000,000 which supplied our modest needs in 1850 we now collect and spend some \$700,000,000 annually. I can only add what Speaker Reed replied to a democratic statesman who complained of a billion-dollar congress: "Well! this is a billion-dollar country."

### The Party of Patriots.

Our opponents sometimes say we have no right to claim the credit of the great deeds of the last half century—that we could not have accomplished them without the aid of democrats. Nothing truer was ever said; and it one of the chief glories of our annals, and it forms the surest foundation of our hopes for the future. The principles upon which our party is built are so sound, they have so irresistible an attraction to patriotic and fair-minded men, that whenever a time of crisis comes, when the national welfare is clearly at stake, when

voters must decide whether they shall follow their prejudices or their consciences, we draw from other parties their bright men by thousands. Bright among the brightest of those who founded our party shine the names of democrats; and when the war came on, the picked men of that party rallied to the colors. Douglas, shortly before he died, declared his unflinching support of Lincoln. The sun would go down before I could name the democrats who fought like heroes for the country. Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Dix, Sickles, Logan—in short an innumerable host, democrats all rushed into the field and thereafter fought and worked with the republicans while life lasted. And that vast majority of Lincoln's in 1864 would have been impossible had not myriads of democrats, casting their life-long associations to the winds, listened to the inward monitor which said "Choose you this day whom ye will serve." As it was then, so it has been in after years. When the attempt was made to repudiate, in whole or in part the national debt; or to abolish the system of protection to American industries, founded by Washington and Hamilton, and approved by the ex-

(Continued on Page 6.)

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...SCALP WARNING. Itching of the scalp is not so much a punishment for past neglect as it is a warning for the future. It shows, almost conclusively, that the vine-like, microbic growth that causes dandruff, itching scalp and falling hair has entered the Sebaceous glands and unless this growth is stopped and kept out of the scalp, baldness will follow.

...IT IS CONTAGIOUS. It was Prof. Unna (ask your doctor about him), who first pointed out that the true cause of hair loss is a germ or microbe that lodges in the scalp where it causes dandruff. Being of microbic origin the disease is necessarily contagious but Dr. Sabouraud has recently called attention to the highly contagious nature of dandruff, and the necessity of constant watchfulness to avoid it. Kill the dandruff germ with Herpicide.

UNSTERILIZED PUBLIC HAIR-BRUSHES, says Dr. A. Cartaz, are to blame for most of the baldness that is prevalent today. He further states that, "baldness begins in the young." By this he means that the germ that causes the disease is planted in the scalp of young men and that sometimes years elapse before the destruction is complete.

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WILL NOT GROW HAIR. Newbro's Herpicide is a "Hair-Saver;" It will not grow hair—nature does this—but by destroying the enemies of hair health, it enables the hair to grow as nature intended—except in chronic baldness. Save your hair with Herpicide. Wonderful results follow its use.

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