

# ELEVATION OF OLD ABE

### Candidate of Expediency and the Shame of Party Leaders—Democracy Rent in Twain—Freakish Electoral College Arithmetic.

By FREDERIC J. HASKIN.

(Copyright, 1908, by Frederic J. Haskin.) Washington, Sept. 9.—Much of the practical politics of the presidential campaign of 1860 has been buried beneath the glory of the Lincoln administration and the horrors of the Civil war. The political result of that campaign was the promotion of the newly born Republican party to power, the second political revolution of American history. For the first 12 years of government under the constitution the Federalists were in power. With the election of Thomas Jefferson an actual revolution was accomplished, and the power of government was given to the Democratic party. The Democrats ruled for 60 years. Twice during that time the Whigs elected a president, but these were a practical interruption of Democratic ascendancy. With the election of Lincoln, the Republican party assumed the reins of power. It has held them ever since, 48 years. The two Cleveland administrations checked, but did not stay, the Republican march.

The first Lincoln campaign was marked by practical politics. Lincoln did not make an active campaign. The Republicans contented themselves with continued denunciations of "border ruffianism." Many of them were somewhat ashamed of their candidate, and none of them, outside of Illinois, brought the personal question into the discussion.

### Democracy's Disruption.

The fight raged in its greatest bitterness between the two Democratic candidates, Stephen A. Douglas and John C. Breckinridge. John Bell led the constitutional union forces as the representative of extreme conservatism, but, like Lincoln, he took no individual part in the campaign.

Douglas, the "little giant of Democracy," stumped the country from New England to Louisiana. Wonderful orator he was, earnest as he was in his efforts to accomplish the salvation of the union, believing that the only way to save it was his way, the country never knew Douglas. His campaign will know again, such a masterly campaign. But it was all in vain. He had broken with the country and his chairman, and not logic nor reason nor oratory had power to heal wounds so deep.

Douglas was indirectly responsible for the nomination of Lincoln. Two years before, in 1858, Lincoln had opposed Douglas for reelection to the senate. Their joint debates in that year still live in the memories of men, and will live on the pages of history for all time. The people of Freeport, Ill., last month celebrated the 50th anniversary of the first of Douglas's debates with Lincoln. Douglas was the better speaker, and he won the election for senator. But Lincoln had planned close and kept the eyes of the whole country upon him.

### Douglas' Fateful "Yes."

It was against the advice of every friend he had in the country that he replied to Douglas. He asked him a series of questions involving slavery in the territories. One question was: "Do you believe in the extension of slavery if it sees fit?" If Douglas had answered that question in the negative, Lincoln would have been elected senator in 1858 and might never have been president. But Douglas said "Yes," and that reply carried him back into the United States senate, caused Horace Greeley to seriously propose Douglas for the Republican nomination for president in 1860, and elected Lincoln president.

Slavery in the territories was the whole issue, as it had been more or less for a half century. It was Thomas Jefferson, 20 years before Douglas, who wrote into the northwest territory bill the provision that that territory should be forever free of slavery. The question was compromised in 1820 and in 1850 by Henry Clay. The Wilmot proviso, using the exact language of Thomas Jefferson, kept slavery off the Pacific coast. In 1854, by the act of Stephen A. Douglas himself, assisted by Franklin Pierce, the Missouri compromise of 1820 was repealed and the whole question of slavery extension was reopened.

The south held that the territories were federal and belonged as much to the slave states as to the free, and that until they became states the federal constitution was their only law. The constitution permitted slavery by its silence and the theory would make them slave territory. The north held that congress could legislate slavery out of a territory, but could not legislate it in—that the territories must be free. Douglas took the middle ground, a position which the southern states never have supported, and declared in favor of "popular sovereignty," that is, of permitting the people of the territory to decide the slavery question for themselves.

### Two Democratic Conventions.

The Democratic nomination convention met at Charleston that year. The fight on the platform was long and bitter, and when it was seen that Douglas controlled the convention and the Democratic platform would be adopted, the majority of the southern state delegations withdrew from the convention. The regular convention then adjourned to meet at Baltimore. The bolters adjourned to meet at Richmond. The Richmond convention met on time, but immediately adjourned to another day to await the action of the Baltimore meeting.

The "regular" convention assembled at Baltimore and the old fight broke out afresh. Carlo Cushing of Massachusetts, who was president of the convention, finally became so disgusted with the Douglas followers that he resigned his chair and led another bolt from the convention. The remnant of the "regular" convention adjourned to nominate Stephen A. Douglas for president and Benjamin F. Fitzpatrick of Alabama for vice-president. Fitzpatrick declined, and the second place was given to Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia. The Carlo Cushing bolters at Baltimore nominated John Breckinridge, then vice-president of the United States, for president and Joseph L. Orr of Oregon for vice-president. The "regular" convention adjourned at Richmond and adjourned to meet at Chicago, Ill., on Sept. 17, 1860.

### How Lincoln Was Nominated.

Lincoln was nominated at Chicago by a group of shrewd politicians who deliberately overruled the majority of the party as a sacrifice to expediency. William H. Seward was the leader of these politicians, and when the delegates met at Chicago, and when they were for Seward. But Seward's government of New York had been too closely associated with the Rome railroads in politics. The Know-Nothing vote was still large and had to be reckoned with. In Pennsylvania and Indiana, Andrew G. Curtis and Henry R. Lane, Republican nominees in 1858, respectively put up the scheme to defeat Seward. They knew his Catholic affiliation would defeat him and their votes would probably defeat Seward.

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was marching, the Lincoln managers packed the Wigwag galleries with his sole folks who were instructed to yell for "Abe." They yelled, all right, and by this cheap political method of organizing a crowd the Abraham Lincoln was nominated for president.

### East Walk of the Whig Ghost.

The Constitutional Union party was the last attempt made to gather the "old line Whigs" into a political organization. As its candidate, John Bell of Tennessee, and Edward Everett of Massachusetts received more than three times as many electoral votes as the Douglas ticket and more than half as many as the Breckinridge ticket; it was of considerable importance in the campaign.

It is a remarkable fact that the man who organized that political party is still living. He is General James D. Porter, chancellor of the University of Nashville. He had been governor of Tennessee, minister to Chile, and first assistant secretary of state since the war. In 1858 he was one of the five members of the Tennessee legislature who had been elected as Whigs, although the national organization had long since perished. He was very young but he believed he saw a great opportunity for meeting the question of the next national campaign.

### Electoral Arithmetic.

Lincoln received a great majority of electoral votes over all his opponents, but he was elected by the minority in the popular vote. The possibilities of the electoral system of choosing a president were keenly illustrated in the result. Lincoln received 180 electoral votes and 1,858,352 popular votes. Douglas was next in the popular vote with 1,417, but he got only 13 electoral votes. Lincoln received an electoral vote for every 18,986 popular votes, while Douglas had more than 140,000 popular votes for each electoral vote. Breckinridge had 847,514 popular votes, but he received 72 electoral votes, six times as many as Douglas. Bell, with less than half of Douglas's popular vote, received 39 electoral votes to Douglas' 12. Douglas, running next to Lincoln, carried one state, Missouri, although he received three of the seven votes of New Jersey and three of the thirty votes of Pennsylvania.

The election of Lincoln had been expected early in the campaign on account of the Democratic split, and threats of secession were born in every wind from the north, and retaliatory threats of war were waited back on every northern breeze. The great crisis was at hand and Lincoln was the man to meet it.

### Comfort—Safety—Speed.

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### KAISER'S SUBJECTS LOVE HIM LITTLE

San Francisco, Sept. 9.—Judge Karl Von Lewinski, president of the imperial court at Berlin, is today wondering what surprise he will receive at the hands of his countrymen. The German judge was a guest in the court of secessionists here on every wind from the north, and retaliatory threats of war were waited back on every northern breeze. The great crisis was at hand and Lincoln was the man to meet it.

### Health—how many would give fortunes to enjoy the greatest of nature's gifts and to be able to give

## A Smile All the While

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# GUARANTY PLAN GOOD

### Popular Approval Stamped Upon This Democratic Plank—Hearst's Plan to Take From Bryan to Give to Taft Not Working.

By John E. Lathrop.

Chicago, Sept. 9.—Beyond widest expectations, the proposal to guarantee bank deposits has attained a popularity which seems to show it to be the strongest drawing card the Democrats have in this campaign. Discussion has reached the stage of passion, it being true that on other issues up to this time the people appear not to have been aroused to personal interest. So far, an unprecedented degree, the masses seem to jog along without paying much heed to the presidential struggle. Good crowds go to hear the two chief attractions, Bryan and Taft, but aside from the guarantee issue, apathy marks the situation throughout the entire nation.

Of course, this operates to the advantage of the Democrats, as it has been universally true in the past that in presidential years when the voters have been apathetic it has redounded to the benefit of the minority party.

It is easy to find arguments in support of the guarantee plan. Valid arguments against it are difficult to construct. The burden which the proposed guarantee would place on the banks, to which some opponents have referred, is shown to be inconsiderable, when the figures are presented. In the worst year of the panic in 1893 the losses were no greater than one third of 1 per cent of the total deposits in national banks. Any rate of assessment for the guarantee fund sufficient to cover losses for that period would be much too high for normal periods. The average losses for the whole period of 42 years since the national banking law was passed were only one twentieth of 1 per cent.

Altogether there have been 475 failures among the national banks, or 1 per cent of the total number. Of these 387 were wound up. The greatest number of failures occurred in the western states; the smallest in the New England states. The greatest number of failures in any one year was 61 banks in 1892, and the total liabilities were \$18,415,031. The depositors lost \$4,475,528, or 24.30 per cent of the amount owed by the failed banks.

In 1897 there were 85 failures of national banks, but out of \$25,535,553 of liabilities of the failed banks, the depositors lost only \$1,241,145, or 4.87 per cent. The smallest loss was in 1902, when two national banks failed and the loss to depositors was \$1,113, or 0.29 per cent of the total amount.

On the other hand, it is probable that the guarantee of deposits would bring from its hiding place immense sums which now are not in circulation. Every one knows that always many persons keep their surplus funds in safety deposit vaults, where they perform no function and lessen the available medium for the transaction of business. Immediately upon the enactment of the law these hidden sums would come

from hiding and the increase of the aggregate volume of circulating medium would cause the establishment of lower rates of interest for the borrower. The merchant, the manufacturer, the farmer and the laboring man would thus receive direct benefits without injury to any interest.

It is not proposed to make the government itself guarantee the depositors. The plan has been referred to commonly as "the government guarantee of depositors," but this is a misnomer, according to those who have been most active in developing the movement. The idea is that the government shall serve merely as the custodian of the guarantee fund, a small tax being levied on the banks to establish it.

Frankly, not much attention is paid by the campaign managers of either party to the independence league in this fight. A few months ago, leaders were secretly working the possibilities of the league polling disturbing numbers of ballots. And it might naturally have been expected that, with the limited resources of the Hearst papers in San Francisco, Chicago, Boston and New York, and the wealth Hearst is able to throw into the campaign, the league vote shows that the league polled 1,200 out of a total of about 84,000, or about 2 per cent. It is impossible to ascertain the accuracy of the figures, but the Democratic or Republican strength. Probably some came from the Socialist party, and something less than one half from each of the principal parties. In other words, only a fraction of 1 per cent, in all likelihood not more than one half of one percent, came from the Democratic party in excess of that which came from the Republican. On that basis, in Oregon the Hearst vote would take from the Democratic strength in excess of its taking from Republican strength not more than from 250 to 500. However, few Hearst papers went into Oregon, while many of his Boston papers go into Vermont.

Several months ago I was told by a very important man in the Hearst system of newspapers that the instructions were to "smash the Democratic party." He said the Hearst writers were expected to look for opportunities to injure the standing of the Democratic party; and at this time it is noticeable that the headline writers on his papers have been given the hint that the unfavorable phases of the Bryan campaign must be "played up."

It goes without saying, that the independence league does not expect to elect Mr. Hearst, who, by the way, is a most excellent man. This fact, taken in connection with the policy of the Hearst papers of looking for things to embarrass the Bryan manager, seems to be proof evident that it is the intention of the Hearst party to elect Mr. Taft, if possible, for it is well known that the Hearst people believe they will take more votes from the Democrats than from the Republicans.

I am not seeking to convey the impression that Mr. Hearst wishes to perpetuate the abuses which have arisen under Republican rule. He has fought those abuses, often effectively, and has performed at times valiant service for the cause of the common people. However, his wish this time is to oppose the Democratic party and to help the Republican, and the mathematical possibilities of his propaganda, based on the Vermont result, apparently are small.

One thing stands forth as patent to all who observe the activities of the independence league here and in other eastern cities—it has an abundance of money with which to make its fight. Expenses are daily incurred which would seem to be large that they would stagger the Democratic committee were they required of the latter body.

How politicians tell me here and elsewhere that they have decided that not much worry need be had over the magnitude of the Hearst following on the national ticket. Thousands have applauded him for efforts in the past to correct glaring abuses; but those who stand for progressivism apparently may find in Mr. Bryan that which will meet their demands, and apparently most of them will support the Nebraska.

A Philadelphia foundry makes a specialty of breaking up old steel cannon and remelting the metal for more than half a hundred purposes.

# FOUND HONEY BEES IN HOUSE WALL

(Special Dispatch to The Journal.) Los Angeles, Sept. 8.—For a year the family of J. Moriarty, a tea and coffee merchant on West Tenth street, has been disturbed by strange sounds about their home at night. Many hours were spent in trying to ferret out the cause of a constant buzz. Not being superstitious, yet failing to solve the mysterious noise satisfactorily, Mr. Moriarty sent for a carpenter and gave instructions to discover and remove the disturbers if it were necessary to raze the building. After tearing away the siding for

about 10 feet near the chimney, the carpenter uncovered a mass of honey bees which would have filled half a dozen hives. From the opening thus made, and stored snugly away between the siding and the lath, was taken a washtub full of honey.

The opening at which the bees entered was no larger than the space of an inch, where the siding joins the chimney, and, according to neighbors, the bees have been accumulating there for the past four years.

### New British Consul at Frisco.

San Francisco, Sept. 9.—Wellesley Moore is today on his way to San Francisco from England to assume the position of consul, for which he has been named by the British government. Moore has been vice-consul for some

time and has been connected with the British consulate for 25 years. Major Halford Gerrard, acting vice-consul, will succeed Moore as vice-consul.

### Bench Warrant for Dan Hanna.

Cleveland, Ohio, Sept. 8.—A bench warrant was issued today for the arrest of Daniel R. Hanna, son of the late Senator Mark Hanna, on the charge of assaulting Claude M. Loran, an automobile merchant. The same case was first called two months ago and postponed. When Hanna was called today he did not appear, and his attorney explained that his wife was ill. This was not satisfactory to the court.

Tomorrow, Thursday, positively last day for discount on west side gas bills. Don't fail to read gas tips.

# WHAT'S YOUR AIM?

### Rent Paying?

A man's carrying a big handicap who has to pay rent for nothing more than a shelter. Rent at \$30 per month amounts to \$360 per year. To start a home involves a payment of \$10 down and \$3 per week, or \$166 per year. Money paid for rent is lost when the rental expires; money invested in a home gives you an ownership that cannot be taken away except by due process of law.

### Boarding?

Ever stop to think what boarding costs? For a man, \$40 is a fair price—\$480 a year. Should there be two to support, at the above rate \$960 per year would be the cost. Compare this with \$166, the first year's payments on a home—\$960 absolutely gone without a thing to show for it, or \$166 invested that can never be lost, and practically \$800 saved. This is a proposition that can be figured out to the dollar.

### Hotel Life?

Take the average hotel for example. The cost is fully \$75 for one, while for two the amount expended in three months would pay outright the cost of a homesite. It's getting right down to the mathematical facts that makes the present-day methods of securing a home appeal to those who are spending their money for the privilege of living.

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HYDE PARK NO. 2 offers to investors all the advantages and improvements that one could desire or expect. The public improvements will be on a par with those in BELLE CREST, our first famous success. The immense increase in homebuilding in this section of the city insures a quick settling up of this community. The original HYDE PARK tract was completely sold in less than four weeks—even before the formal opening of the subdivision.

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