

NATIONAL MONTHLY

NORMAN E. MACK, Editor and Publisher

RAILROAD EDITION,
PRICE 15 CENTS.

BUFFALO, N. Y., MARCH, 1910.

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Pilgrimages to Democratic Shrines

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS—By John Sayles



OME great men have been elected President of the United States.

Some great men have been defeated in their Presidential aspirations.

Whether those who were elected, great and small just as they ran, will live as long in history as those who failed is a conundrum.

Aaron Burr, Dewitt Clinton, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, Stephen A. Douglas, not to mention more recent names, were men of large parts in their age and generation. Barring the names of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson and Abraham Lincoln, one will have to search long to find names of Presidents which will rank in history with those five unexcelled seekers after the White House chair.

The American people dearly love a talker.

The man who has ideas and can express them is the man who catches the popular imagination. Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois was every inch an orator. More than that, he could stand upon his feet and have it out with tongue and brain. It is one thing to talk and talk well when the speaker has it all his own way and nobody can talk back. But to stand up man fashion and give and take; to feel the crowd this minute coming with you while you are talking, only to see the same crowd headed the other way a moment later when your adversary begins to speak—that is the time that tries a human soul.

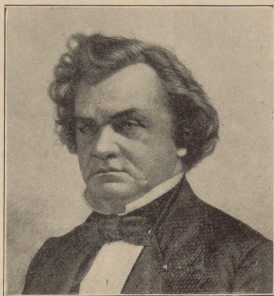
The art of debate is a fine art. It takes magnetism, wit, sarcasm, good-nature, staying power, and above all, adequate knowledge to hold the situation down. The man who is sensitive and tender-skinned; the man whose mind is sluggish and sometimes affected by paralysis and fright, who feels his mental machinery clanking, would better keep out of the arena of public discussion. Only the man whose brain is used to absolute control as the sportsman's body is qualified for oratorical sparring and fencing.

The public debate must possess every power of the athlete. He must know how to make his tongue participate with his brain. The two must move together simultaneously, even as do the boxer's brain and feet. Mental hesitation and delay are fatal to the public speaker. Many a man, defeated in a verbal encounter, would have come off victorious if his forehead had equaled his hindsight. The day after tomorrow, or even the same night while lying retrospectively under the sheets, will not do. It is now or never in oratory and debate. The ancient fable of the hare and tortoise has little application to the speaker's platform. The race is always to the swift and the battle to the strong, when one is on his feet churning out ideas and addressing the crowd.

That Stephen A. Douglas was a consummate politician history easily demonstrates. Endowed with a genius for public speech, and a fondness for public life, he naturally gravitated into politics. From the outset he was a Democrat. Born in Vermont, where Democrats are scarce and where political integrity is maintained by constant battle, it was easy for him to hold fast to the faith.

As a Democratic politician and orator Douglas came to his own in the State of Illinois. Settling in the Prairie State while young man he actively engaged in the concerns of his adopted Commonwealth. State Attorney-General, Member of the Legislature and Representative to Congress in turn, he rose step by step until he was elected to the United States Senate.

In 1852 the name of Douglas appeared before the Democratic National Convention and



was warmly supported. In 1856 it again figured largely in the balloting at the Democratic National Convention. In both of these campaigns he was a conspicuous advocate of Democratic measures and candidates, and for his efficient service became generally known as the "Little Giant."

The commanding years of Douglas' life were those from 1852 to 1856. Though others received higher honors from the Democracy than Douglas, there were none who so engaged the attention and possessed the hearts of his party comrades as the eloquent Democratic champion from Illinois.

There were other giants in those days. Some were passing and others appearing. Clay, Calhoun and Webster crossed swords with Douglas in debate, but these three in 1856 were feeble and were presently to pass on. Seward, Chase and Greeley were soon to fill large places in public life. But speaking of the period of 1852-1858, it cannot be fairly said that they had in the largest sense arrived. In 1858 Douglas was at his best. His term as United States Senator from Illinois was ending and his campaign for re-election was on.

To get a correct understanding of the magnitude of the task before him, the reader must bear

in mind that Douglas had two kinds of adversaries, those in front of him styled Republicans, and those in the rear, the Buchanan or Administration Democrats.

In studying the cause of this clash between President Buchanan and Senator Douglas it appears that the President had offended Douglas by his attitude on the proposed admission of Kansas as a State. The Administration Democrats, headed by Buchanan, favored what is known as the Leecompton Constitution, a measure which, while leaving it to the people of Kansas to decide whether the State should come in as Slave or Free, gave an unfair advantage to those who favored its entrance as a Slave State.

Douglas resented the attitude of the Administration in loading the dice in favor of the Slave adherents. His position on the slavery question was that each State or Territory should decide for itself whether it would have Slavery or not. Let the people decide for themselves, was Douglas' principle, and let the choice be absolutely fair and above board. Once the majority had spoken, the minority was morally and patriotically bound to accept the situation and abide by the result, so argued Senator Douglas.

With Douglas slavery was not a moral issue. He accepted the status of the Slave controversy as the Fathers of the Republic had left it. He stood on Constitutional ground. To him Slavery was what was known as a domestic institution, one that each State must manage for itself. Whether Slavery was voted up or down in any particular State or Territory, was a question that gave Douglas little concern. All that he demanded was that the determination of the question should be fair to all parties. Because Buchanan had arranged otherwise in his Leecompton Constitutional measure Douglas broke with him. As a general proposition Douglas believed that "this is a white man's government" and that the negro was doomed to forever occupy an inferior place in human society.

The campaign of 1858 opened with vigor. The Buchanan Democrats, particularly the slave-holding element, opened a back fire on Douglas. In front of him and all along the line appeared the giant personage of Abraham Lincoln, the Republican candidate for Senatorial honors.

Douglas and Lincoln had been rivals for years. In early manhood both of them turned up in Illinois, the former from Vermont and Western New York, the latter from Kentucky and Indiana. Hardly before the two men were aware of it, they were crossing their verbal swords and making the sparks fly.

These two young men, by some strange caprice of fate, were always colliding against each other.

In public debates, in courting the same girl, in working out their political destinies, the big giant and the little were always in strenuous combat.

To compare the two champions is natural. Both were born leaders of men. Both loved the activity and humanity of politics. The one a Democrat, the other a Whig, each in his own peculiar way was safely lodged in the hearts of his associates.

Lincoln was tall and homely, Douglas was short and attractive. Lincoln lacked the graces of polite society. Douglas was polished and popular in social circles. Lincoln was a blending of humor and melancholy. Douglas was a daring, aggressive, forceful, bright. Lincoln was a reasonable, Douglas a declaimer. Lincoln had been unsuccessful in almost every undertaking. Douglas had been fagged by the good god, Bulliken, all along the way.

Viewing this great-



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FAVORITE RENDEZVOUS OF STEPHEN DOUGLAS, AT JACKSONVILLE, ILL.

est of American political battles in the perspective of a half century, it is only fair to say that Lincoln struck the prophetic note. His sentiment—"A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided; it will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward, till it shall become all law in all the States, old as well as new—North as well as South"—was a masterly expression of the ethical passion which existed in the Northern, Eastern and Western portions of the new republic.

Though Lincoln analyzed the situation in the words just referred to, still he was cautious in his statement of the position of the Republican party on the Slavery question. He knew that it was a debatable question whether Republicans generally shared his extreme feelings on the subject so far as the morals of slavery were concerned. He by no means was an Abolitionist in any ultra or absolute sense. He was often on record to the effect that he had "no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists," and, moreover, he maintained he had "no lawful right to do so and no inclination to do so." His doctrine was largely a geographical matter referring, he said, "to any new country which is not already cursed with the actual presence of the evil—Slavery."

The result of these unique and spectacular debates is set down in history. Douglas was re-elected Senator over Lincoln by a small majority though the Republican State ticket was generally successful. But with the holdover Representatives and the newly elected Representatives from gerrymandered districts, Lincoln went down to defeat.

Going deeper than the question of temporary success or failure each of these men, paradoxical as it may seem, won a signal triumph. For Douglas to defeat Lincoln at all, forced as he was to fight the Republican party with his right hand and the Buchanan Democrats with his left, was a remarkable achievement. On the other hand, for Lincoln to drive Douglas to take ground on the Slavery question which, while losing him a Senate in 1858, gained him a Presidency over the same rival in 1860, was equally a remarkable achievement. Surely the impartial student of history must say that honors were even between these two mastery men.

In 1860 Senator Douglas, in the forty-seventh year of his age, was nominated by the Democratic party for President of the United States. For years he had patiently labored and waited for this great honor. Strangely enough the good fortune, which had accompanied him all his life thus far,

seemed to forsake him now that his supreme hour had struck. To analyze carefully and adequately the political situation as it existed in 1860 is impossible in a brief sketch like this. But certain great currents of politics and philosophy can be hinted at.

As Douglas had been unacceptable to the Buchanan Democrats in his fight for the Senatorial re-election in 1858, so his nomination for President in 1860, was unacceptable and unaccepted by the Democrats of the South, who were bent on perpetrating the institution of Slavery.

The Southern Democrats refused to follow the banner of Douglas. They went so far as to split the party wide open and nominate a second ticket and call it Democratic. Lincoln, who was nominated over Seward in the Republican convention, was the standard-bearer of the Republican hosts. With a united Republican party at his back and a divided Democracy in front of him, it was no insupportable thing to be elected to the White House. The homely, honest, practical Lincoln, expressing in a modified way the desire of the American people to check the spread of slavery, aroused enthusiasm all over the Union outside of the Southland. The Wide-Awakes with their emblems of the Rail-splitter bearing aloft the idea that Lincoln was the exponent of freedom and liberty were irresistible. The whole campaign, so far as the Republicans were concerned, was in the nature of a moral crusade. Try as hard as the Democrats could to get together on fusion tickets in the Northern States the efforts ended in failure. Douglas had scarcely any votes at all in the Electoral College, though he polled within half a million as many as Lincoln on the popular vote.

Denied the nomination, when the nomination of an election, and given the nomination by a divided party when the nomination split defeat, is the melancholy record of Douglas' Presidential aspirations. Had the nomination come to him when he deserved it (but was passed by for obscure and so-called available candidates) he would doubtless have been elected President of the United States.

Douglas was certainly a great little man. There have been few like him in American politics. The Democratic party has never known a greater or a better exponent of its principles. He was a prince of Democrats and he was a king amongst Americans. Loyal to his country, when the South went over to disunion and secession, Douglas was on hand at the inauguration of President Lincoln to demonstrate his patriotism and his loyalty. It is written of him that as Lincoln was about to commence his inaugural address, and looking for a place to rest his high silk hat, Douglas, seeing the situation in a glance, hastily arose and with kindly good nature observed, "If I cannot be the President of the United States, I, at least, can hold his hat."

NEW DOUGLAS BOOK

A. C. McCLURG & Co., have recently brought out a new book on Stephen A. Douglas by Clark E. Carr, LL.D. It is a welcome addition to any library. It contains a splendid review of the life of this great Democrat, his public services, patriotism and his speeches. It is a record of "a life only less memorable than Lincoln's," as one reviewer expressed it, and it is retold by Mr. Carr in a fully descriptive and most entertaining way. It is a book that should surely be in every library.

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"You're a great orator, Mr. Douglas," said a Celt one day as he shook hands with Stephen A. Douglas.

"You're very kind," said Mr. Douglas as he tendered his admirer a cigar.

"I don't smoke here," said the Celt.

"And I hope you won't in the hereafter," said Mr. Douglas.

Pension for Mrs. Cleveland

THAT the custom of the United States in providing for the widows of Presidents may be continued, a bill has been introduced in Congress, giving \$5,000 to Mrs. Grover Cleveland. It provides that Mrs. Cleveland shall be placed permanently upon the pension rolls, and it is likely to pass. Mrs. Cleveland is now abroad.

Mrs. Lincoln was the first widow of a President to receive a pension. In July, 1876, which at first was \$2,000, and was increased in 1882 to \$5,000. Mrs. Garfield, Mrs. Polk and Mrs. Tyler were pensioned at \$5,000, and Mrs. McKinley, the last to be pensioned, obtained that assistance on April 17, 1902. The franking privilege for mail matter has already been extended to Mrs. Cleveland.

A New Book By Clark E. Carr

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS

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By CLARK E. CARR, LL.D.

Author of "The Illini," "My Day and Generation," "Lincoln at Gettysburg," etc.

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"Let those who doubt the greatness of Douglas read this book, written by a Republican whose fealty to his party has never been questioned. For they will find the record of a life only less memorable than Lincoln's, one of the most profound achievement, of the highest patriotism. Like Lincoln, Douglas laid down his life for the Union, and deserves the best approval of every true American heart."—Chicago Daily News.

"If one were to choose a writer on Douglas he could not select one better fitted for the task than our Galesburg author."—Galesburg Republican-Register.

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AT ALL BOOKSTORES

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Governor George W. Donaghey of Arkansas

By J. B. PARKER



In publishing this sketch of Governor George W. Donaghey of Arkansas, the *National Monthly* must review the conditions which arose in that State and which resulted in his appointment before the people as a candidate for the office of Governor. His early boyhood is reminiscent with the struggle between the North and South, for his father was a soldier in the Confederate Army. Left at an early age to care for his mother and brothers and sisters, his boy life revealed those manly and aggressive characteristics which in later years made him a force to be reckoned with whenever his personality became an element in an undertaking.

Governor Donaghey has never sought a public office, but throughout his mature years he has always been prominent in affairs pertaining to his home town, his State, and the nation, in building up churches and educational institutions. His successful career as a contractor has made him a familiar figure not only in Arkansas, but in the large cities of Missouri, New York, Illinois, and other States.

A decade ago the State of Arkansas decided to erect a new State capitol building at Little Rock, which should be commensurate with the dignity of the State. The Legislature made the first appropriation, architects' plans were accepted, the contract was awarded, and then the work of building was begun.

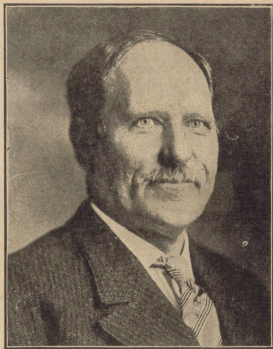
Unfortunately, Arkansas like several other States, experienced trouble in carrying forward the erection of the new capitol. Politics were responsible for strife, and soon charges of boodling and improper methods of executing the work became rife. The Legislature began an investigation with the result that the bitterness between the factions increased, until the scandal became a State issue.

Necessary appropriations to continue the work were withheld and the partially constructed building was permitted to remain idle, while the fire of animosity spread. Realizing the truth of the allegations which had now become court records, the people of Arkansas finally became aroused to the proper degree and demanded a new deal at the capital city.

George W. Donaghey, because of his eminence as a contractor and his thorough knowledge of the proper manner in which to erect public buildings, his careful investigation of the work already done upon the building and his cogent presentation of his knowledge of the facts, the people forced him into the fight in their behalf to protect the interests of the taxpayers against the manipulations of the elements which were bent upon sacrificing the State's interests.

From his championship of the people's rights, Mr. Donaghey was called upon by them to stand for the office of Governor of Arkansas, and to take control of this public building along with the administration of the State government! His entrance into the gubernatorial race was the signal for the combined opposition to attack him on every conceivable base. Never in the history of the State was a citizen so recklessly and shamelessly assailed, and never before was a candidate so well equipped with physical and mental powers to meet and accept the challenge. The fight was conducted in almost every county and it waged for months. Mr. Donaghey appeared before the people almost daily, addressing large audiences in several towns day and night. The fight for good government and a "square deal" for the people brought out the full strength of the Democratic party. The battle ended in a glorious victory for the people, and the complete overthrow of the men who sought to profane both State and party to encompass his defeat.

George W. Donaghey became Governor of Arkansas, and he was inaugurated in January, 1909. The Legislature convened a few days later, and then was renewed the same despicable war that had been carried on throughout the State during the contest for the nomination.



HON. GEORGE W. DONAGHEY,
Governor of Arkansas.

Governor Donaghey kept his counsel, and permitted his message to the Senate and the House to advise the lawmakers of his recommendations for legislation that would enable him to carry out the will of the people and thereby keep his pledges. The contractors were to be dismissed, the capitol commission was to be removed, and appropriations made to enable the new capitol commission to resume the work of completing the building.

All the influence that the contractors, the friends of the old capitol commission, and the political antagonists of Governor Donaghey had, was massed at Little Rock, where a new line of assault was mapped out. Newspapers controlled by the enemy were used daily to harass the administration

and if possible prevent legislative action necessary to enable the Governor to proceed with the prompt and proper administration of the affairs of State. Law suits were frequent, and the courts were resorted to to further interfere with the execution of the commands of the people. While all these moves were being made, Governor Donaghey was quietly and silently discharging his duties and using his best means to win the support of a majority of the legislators.

After four months of this vicious opposition, right triumphed—the old contractors were deposed, the old capitol commission dismissed, and appropriations made to enable Governor Donaghey to proceed with his plans for completing the new building.

A year has since passed, and today the commands of the people are being consummated as they should be and Governor Donaghey is again facing another assault upon his official life. A second term has always been accorded to a Governor in Arkansas, but Governor Donaghey would be deprived of the honor were the wishes of the enemy to prevail. They acknowledge his eligibility and fitness, but he must be retired solely to give them another opportunity to control the expenditure of public moneys. However, the people are still with Governor Donaghey and he will triumph at the State primary on March 30th next, and win another grand victory for the people and good government.

The great work in Governor Donaghey's hands is the completion of the new State capitol economically and free from scandal. Already he has progressed far enough with the constructive work to show to the voters from 75 counties, which comprise Arkansas, that he is making good. The Governor now has an office in the new building, where he personally supervises the work of the contractors, and he pledges the completion of the structure sufficient to permit the Legislature to convene there in January, 1911.

When Governor Donaghey assumed the executive office the State was at war with the railroads over freight rates, and it is due to his efforts that these rates are now 35 per cent. less than they were when he entered the office.

Governor Donaghey recommended legislation to equalize taxation and to insure fair and honest assessments. Arkansas had been impoverished by dishonest assessments, but through his plan a tax commission has been created and it is working out the results desired so well that at an early period a reduction in the tax rate can be made.

He has fought the convict-leasing system, and while he has not yet been able to abolish it entirely he has instituted the most humane and has eradicated the brutal method of employing these unfortunate State charges. He has also administered the management of the State penitentiary that it is no longer a burden upon the State, but is being conducted profitably.

Extravagance in all departments has been checked, and the people's money is now being expended as it should be.

Tuberculosis is to be controlled in a hospital erected especially for the treatment of the "white plague."

Arkansas will soon have four agricultural colleges, wherein farming will be taught along practical lines and students educated at the expense of the State.

Under Governor Donaghey's administration the educational institutions are broader and more effective work is being done.

When he assumed the office of Governor, Mr. Donaghey found the State's credit in danger of impairment, but through his conservative and business methods he has removed this possibility.

While the political conflict raged, the people had confidence in Governor Donaghey and there has not been the slightest disturbance in the business conditions.



NEW STATE CAPITOL OF ARKANSAS, NOW IN COURSE OF CONSTRUCTION.