

Abraham Lincoln

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leging that in order to meet his opponent he would have to pass through the enemy's country—as he called the northern states—and in the then excited state of public feeling he was unwilling to expose himself to popular violence.

The repeal of the Missouri Compromise bill, in 1854, and the enactment of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, had brought the slavery question sharply before the people of the North. While Senator Douglas was not avowedly in favor of slavery, he threw himself on the side of popular or squatter sovereignty. This was to give the people of a territory, when it applied for admission into the Union, the privilege of deciding for themselves, by vote, whether slavery should exist in the state or not. Lincoln had already placed himself on record, in his great speech before the Republican convention in Chicago, in June, 1858, when he discussed the principle of Squatter Sovereignty. He gave the keynote of the discussion with the following almost prophetic opening. He said:

"If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do and how to do it. We are now far into the fifth year since a policy was inaugurated with the avowed object, and confident promise, of putting an end to slavery agitation. (Mr. Lincoln here alluded to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the enactment of the Kansas-Nebraska bill.) But under the operation of that policy the agitation has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed."

It had been agreed between the Democratic and the Republican State Central Committees of Illinois that Lincoln and Douglas should be opposing candidates for the United States Senate, and a series of discussions at seven different

points in the state were arranged. In that memorable discussion Squatter Sovereignty as implied in the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and the Dred Scott decision by the United States Supreme Court, were the chief points. Of course, as we look on it now, Lincoln had the best of the argument. But at that time the people were not prepared for it, and there was great diversity of opinion. The Democrats, almost to a man, believed in Squatter Sovereignty. But Lincoln quoted from Scripture, "A house divided against itself cannot stand." In the course of his argument he said that he believed that this government could not endure permanently half slave and half free; that he did not expect the Union to be dissolved; that he did not expect the house to fall, but that he did expect that it would cease to be divided. He said it would become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery would arrest the spread of it, and place it where the public mind should rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates would push it forward till it should become lawful alike in all the states, old as well as new, North as well as South.

It was during this discussion that Lincoln forced Douglas to make declarations as to his position on the slavery question which rendered the disruption of the Democratic party inevitable, and robbed Douglas of the Democratic nomination for President in 1860. The specific question he forced Douglas to answer was: "Can the people of a United States territory, in any lawful way, against the wisdom of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a State Constitution?" Douglas replied: It matters not what way the Supreme Court may hereafter decide as to the abstract question whether slavery may or may not go into a territory under the Constitution, but the people have the lawful means to introduce it or exclude

it as they please for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere unless it is supported by local police regulations. These police regulations can only be established by the local legislature, and if the people are opposed to slavery they will elect representatives to that body who will, by unfriendly legislation, effectually prevent the introduction of it into their midst." This illogical answer of Douglas proved his own political death-warrant. It enabled Lincoln to say that "Judge Douglas claims that a thing may be lawfully driven from where it has a lawful right to be." While it won to Douglas in the Senatorial fight the votes of Democrats opposed to slavery, in other states "police regulation" and "unfriendly legislation" became catch phrases which were used to defeat him.

It was my good fortune to be present at one of these discussions between Lincoln and Douglas at Freeport, Illinois, in 1858. The railroad accommodations at that time were poor compared with those of the present, but the people gathered by thousands from all parts of the country within a radius of fifty miles.

Meetings were held in advance by each party at every hamlet and cross-roads in order to awaken adherents to the importance of being present to encourage and support its champions. Great delegations were organized which rallied at convenient points, and formed into processions of men and women on horse-back and in wagons and carriages, with few of the latter, however, as they were not as common in those days as they are now. They usually started the night before, and headed by bands of music with flags and banners, and with hats and handkerchiefs waving, proceeded to the place of meeting. Many of these processions were more than a mile in length. As they marched the air was rent with cheers—in the Republican procession for "Honest Old Abe" and in the Democratic for the "Little Giant." The sentiments painted

RE-ELECT CRUMPACKER

"THE OREGONIAN" of April 29th says editorially:

"In the third district Mr. Crumpacker has shown in his first term a marked adaptability to the work of representative and has been active and successful in the promotion and the protection of the interests of his district. The Oregonian sees no reason why he should not be re-nominated and re-elected."

"THE PORTLAND NEWS" of April 27th says editorially:

"You see, Crumpacker works, even when he is playing. He has introduced 26 bills and seven of them have passed. Five more will likely pass this session. Seven have received unfavorable reports from departments and will not pass."

"COLLIER'S WEEKLY" says of him:

"It usually takes four or five years for anyone to know that a new congressman has arrived in Washington. "Stub" Crumpacker arrived in Washington the first Monday in December and is already the boon companion of the men who run the house."

Mr. Crumpacker is a member of the important Rivers and Harbors Committee where he can and will protect Portland's interests in the Longview bridge controversy.

Service men know that in him they have a friend in Washington who can and will work for their interests. Mr. Crumpacker's was the most potent influence in getting a veterans hospital for Portland. He was the co-author of the Oregon soldier's bonus law.

CRUMPACKER IS GIVING GOOD SERVICE.

KEEP HIM IN CONGRESS

Vote 21 X Crumpacker Republican for Congress

Paid Adv.