

Slavery Was The Big Issue In 1860 Election Campaign

By BRUCE CATTON
Written For The Associated Press

It is sometimes said that the Civil War came because the machinery of democracy had broken down. That is not quite true. It came because the machinery of democracy was not used.

To see how this happened, go back one century to the presidential election of 1860.

An enormous issue disturbed America's democracy in that year. Like most issues human beings have to handle it was extremely complicated and its deeper implications were not always clear, but in the main it had to do with the existence in America of the institution of chattel slavery. There were of course other issues in that year, but in one way or another they all seemed to revolve around this question of slavery.

There was no unanimity of feeling, because the institution itself affected different people in such different ways.

In the cotton states of the Deep South slavery in 1860 was a going concern, immensely profitable to a small but powerful group, buttressed by all sorts of prejudices and habits of mind; an institution, furthermore, that was so deeply imbedded in the social and economic framework of the cotton South that no one could see how to get rid of it without causing a shattering convulsion.

In the more northerly tier of southern states slavery was slowly but visibly withering on the vine. It was still something everyone was adjusted to, and people tended to approach it with their emotions rather than with their minds, but it was not quite the same here as in the Deep South.

North of the Mason and Dixon line slavery had been discarded altogether, and more and more people were coming to feel that it ought to be abolished everywhere as speedily as possible. Sentiment was by no means united, however; there were many people in the North who disliked slavery but were perfectly willing to go along with it on the ground that it was really a problem for the Southerners.

For a long time this slavery problem had seemed too hot to handle, and consequently it had not been handled. Yet there was not necessarily anything to it, in the spring of 1860, that would force the different states of the Union to go to war with one another — nothing that would compel 600,000 young men to die before the nation could come to a final decision about it.

As a matter of fact, this issue was peripheral even in 1860. The big argument centered on the question of slavery in the territories. Not even the Republicans argued that the federal govern-

ment had any authority to limit or abolish the institution in the separate states.

The whole problem revolved around the territorial issue — and it was already becoming obvious that slavery was not going to put down lasting roots in the territories no matter what the federal government might do. Never did the American people get so worked up over a problem as remote as this.

We can easily see that slavery could not have been uprooted overnight from the states where it was central to the social and political organization — not without an upset too fundamental for society to bear. We can see just as clearly that in the very nature of things slavery was a doomed institution. It could not endure very much longer in the developing 19th century.

Furthermore, in April of 1860 all of the machinery of the democracy was at hand, ready to be used. The Democratic party was about to hold its presidential nominating convention; a little later, the Republican party was going to do the same. After the nominations there would be the campaign itself, in which nominees, party workers and newspaper pundits could examine the issue in detail. Then there would be an election and the people themselves would render some sort of verdict. Then there would be a new president and a new Congress; presumably, they would be able to provide some sort of solution.

The opportunity and the means to get the nation out of its tragic fix existed. Unfortunately, they were not used. In this one instance, democracy failed to meet

Finch, Miss Tregoff Back In Court Today

LOS ANGELES (AP) — Dr. R. Bernard Finch and his onetime mistress, Miss Tregoff, came before the court today for their third trial on charges of murdering the doctor's estranged wife Barbara Jean in July 1959.

The jury deadlocked in two previous trials.

The scheduled appearance today of Finch, 42, and Miss Tregoff, 24, centers around the physician's plea of double jeopardy. Last Dec. 12 the court held that this plea must be argued with the main issue, in the third trial. Superior Judge David Coleman, on that ground, denied Finch a separate trial.

Mrs. Finch, 36, was shot to death at her suburban West Covina home. The state contends that she was slain in an effort to avoid an expensive divorce settlement.

the test. Instead of working for a settlement it worked for a showdown — which, within a year, it got, at a staggering price. The reasons for its failure are extremely complex, but one of the principal ones seems to have been, quite simply, that it was just too much trouble for the ordinary American in 1860 to sit down and think things through.

It was easier just to feel — to respond to inspiring slogans, to turn emotions loose, to let anger and fear and suspicion have their way, to settle down in a fixed position and wait for the other fellow to back down. Politics lost its flexibility. The willingness to debate, to negotiate and at last to find some good middle ground disappeared.

Wednesday: Compromise Spurned

Brucker Asks Use Of Nike Missile

FAIRBANKS, Alaska (AP) — The secretary of the Army told a dedication gathering Monday that the Nike Zeus anti-missile missile should be added to the nation's defenses as soon as possible.

Secy. Wilber Brucker, who leaves office Jan. 20, spoke at the dedication of Ft. Jonathan M. Wainwright near Fairbanks. Then he flew back to Washington, D.C.

The installation was Ladd Air Force Base. It was given to the Army and named for Gen. Wainwright, who commanded troops in the Philippines until they were overwhelmed by the Japanese early in World War II.

The Zeus is meant eventually to be able to knock out enemy intercontinental ballistic missiles while they are far out in space. Brucker said development of the Zeus is almost at the stage of final tests. They are to be fired for practice at a Hercules missile and then at an Atlas ICBM in the central Pacific.

"As the threat of possible attack by intercontinental ballistic missiles looms larger and larger with the growth of the Soviet stockpile," Brucker said, "it is urgent that we perfect this defensive weapon of transcendent value and get it into our operational arsenal as soon as possible."

TV SHIFT ASKED

WASHINGTON (AP) — California Oregon Television, Inc., Friday asked the Communications Commission for authority to assign its licenses for television stations KOTI-TV, Klamath Falls, and KRES-TV, Medford, to Southern Oregon Broadcasting Co., the parent company.

Lake, Stream Pollution Cuts Angling Activity

GLENVIEW, Ill. (AP) — The Izaak Walton League says lake and stream pollution is costing the nation's sportsmen millions of fishing trips every year.

Results of a survey made public Saturday by the national outdoor organization showed fishermen in 41 of its local chapters considered recreation waters near their homes inadequate. Thirty-nine termed their lakes and streams adequate, 20 per cent rated them excellent.

Executive Director Frank said they would take 13 additional local fishing trips annually if waters were "cleaned up." Applying the figure to the nation's 20 million anglers, he said, means pollution is depriving fishermen of 260 million outings a year.

New Year's Holidays Claim 15 Oregon Lives

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

The long New Year's weekend brought violent death to 15 persons in Oregon.

Two died in highway accidents, four in a plane crash and one in a fall from a haymow.

The new year opened with six traffic deaths on Jan. 1 and another on Jan. 2. This was a sharp rise from only three that were killed in the entire first week.

John H. Rathman, 60, Hillsboro, in an intersection collision near Hillsboro Sunday.

Francis Walter Hinkley, 24, of Milwaukie, struck by a car as he helped another motorist remove tire chains on the Mt. Hood Highway near Government Camp Monday.

Shelby Anderson, Gary Pierson and Gary Dean Spangler, all of Roseburg, who crashed down a 60-foot embankment on the North Umpqua Highway Sunday.

Lance Dean Frasier, 9 months, son of Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence Clyde Frasier, Portland, near Meacham in the Blue Mountains Sunday.

Mrs. Marion Thomas, near Vernonia Sunday.

Those killed in Saturday road accidents: Mrs. Leota Barbara Lewis at Portland; Edmond Charles Yarbough, Cave Junction; J. B. Payne, Yachats.

The four killed in the plane crash had taken off from Troutdale Saturday for an outing at Reno. They crashed near Estacada.

They were Mr. and Mrs. David Lee Engler, Troutdale, and Mr. and Mrs. Everett Wayne Boyd, Portland.

Killed in the fall from a haymow at Tigard was Lloyd Donald Gunderson.

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Pillow cases 42 by 38 1/2 inches 2 for 2.39

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Pillow cases 42 by 36 inches 2 for 1.69	Pillow cases 42 by 36 inches 2 for 1.29	Full 81 by 108 3.39 cases 2 for 1.88	Pillow cases 42 by 38 1/2 2 for 1.79

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