

THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES

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AMERICAN POLITICAL PARTIES

BY HON. JESSE MACI, XV.

The period of the Kansas controversy gave rise to events full of serious portent for the Democratic party and, therefore, for the Union. One by one the bonds between the slave and the free sections had snapped under the increasing strain. The ties of race and language and kindred, the common interest in church organizations and business enterprises, and the common love of country were gone, and political attachments, too, were giving way. There was no longer an American party or a White party uniting North and South; the new Republican party was inevitably a strictly sectional party, and the South regarded it with pronounced enmity. Only the Democratic party remained, and Democrats who loved the Union saw with foreboding threatening signs of disruption there.

real manliness and courage and honesty by boldly opposing the plot. The administration wing of the party was enraged at the defection of their ablest leader. All the power of government patronage was enlisted against him, but as time passed it appeared that in spite of all Douglas was gathering to himself the real strength of the party, both North and South. His popular-sovereignty doctrine was truly popular and drew to his side many Republicans even. A stormy Congressional debate lasting for two months finally resulted in the passage of the Lecompton measure, but the bill contained provisions which required another popular vote in Kansas, and the vote was again overwhelmingly against it.

The Lincoln-Douglas Debates. It was Illinois politics which determined the course of National politics at this critical juncture. The Legislature elected there in 1858 would choose a United States Senator. The Democratic convention renominated Douglas, whose course upon the Lecompton matter was enthusiastically approved and had made him more than ever the idol of his party in his own state. Some of the Republican

already at the Nation's lips. "It presses on the irrepressible conflict," wrote Greeley. The resolutions of Jefferson Davis, the approaching Presidential election was now the absorbing topic of thought throughout the country. The danger of a dissolution of the Union was seen to be imminent. A feeling of alarm pervaded the land. Commercial interests took alarm. The North, and especially the West, had suffered severely in the panic of 1857, whose effects had hardly reached their base when the war between the sections was to follow, or even the loss of the Southern trade, ruin to vast numbers was inevitable. "Union-saving" meetings were held in many Northern cities, which decided the position of the President. The people called upon their leaders, and particularly upon those known to be aspirants for the Presidency, to state their positions. Stephen A. Douglas and Jefferson Davis responded. The Republican chiefs maintained the lofty ground of moral principle which they had previously taken, and the people of the North were gathered by their side with a growing solemnity and earnestness of purpose rare in political controversy. But the pregnant, significant fact was that made clear by the utterances of the Democratic leaders. The great party was hopelessly divided; the last strand of nationality was parting; disunion was inevitable. Douglas delivered a speech in the Senate January 12, 1858, in which he avowed himself determined to yield no jot of principle or position, to make no concessions for the sake of the nomination which he did not seek, though willing to receive it.

Jefferson Davis of Mississippi was the ablest of the pro-slavery leaders, and to him all eyes turned. Would the Southern Democrats take any further step? On February 21 Davis brought forward in the Senate a series of resolutions setting forth the claims of that wing of the party which he represented. They were in effect the ultimatum of the Southern Democrats to the nominating convention soon to meet. The fourth of these resolutions was a significant one. It averred that no constitutional power belonged to Congress to take any territory, and that the right to hold slaves in the territories, and that the Federal Government was in duty bound to afford to slaves in Federal territories the same protection as that afforded to slaves in the States. Thus the two factions of the Democratic party defied each other. The Davis resolutions were debated for three months and then passed.

chances for his recovery are good, regardless of the fact that he is 63 years old and has three bullets in his brain, two of which are in the head. The wounds are healing, and Overmeyer is taking nourishment regularly. Monthly Settlement Under Unusual Conditions—Good Crop Reports. BERLIN, July 28.—Last week's bourse was extremely inactive, but values showed a firm tendency. The small volume of business is quite without precedent. The reaction is chiefly due to the fact that the Cologne banks are taking refuge in the bourse law in order to refuse to settle marginal losses. The market for coal and iron shares has somewhat improved upon the better American and domestic reports. The monthly settlement finished yesterday under unusual money conditions. Most values showing a decline as compared with the June settlement. The gold had lost 1/2 point, but gained slightly during the week. Private discount declined to 3 1/2 per cent yesterday. Nevertheless, the week's rise in foreign exchange was in demand, and the rate in money will not last. London exchange rose sharply, reaching a point where gold exports were possible, but it declines 1/2 p. c. yesterday. The sugar market continued strong, refuting the report of 20 p. c. decline during the week, but being more quiet at the end. The rise was influenced by the exhaustion of stocks suitable for the United States. Two Hamburg firms failed through short sale of sugar. The July crop reports show a further improvement upon June in wheat and rye.

The London Stock Market. LONDON, July 28.—The stock exchange was in some respects unsatisfactory, but on the whole the market closed with a brighter outlook. The renewed advance of Lord Roberts was regarded as an encouraging sign. The anxiety regarding the Chinese uprising and the prospect of dearer money still cloud the financial horizon. American railway shares prevented the firmest market, but there was lifting done in the afternoon. The increases were St. Paul, Louisville & Nashville, Union Pacific, each 1/2; Southern preferred, 1/4, while Reading preferred fell 1/2. Mines were firmer, Rand rising 1/2. Money was in good demand, and three months' bills rose from 3 1/2 to 4 per cent.

ALPHA WILL SURRENDER. Finds It Impracticable to Avoid Seizure by Americans. SEATTLE, Wash., July 28.—It is reported here on good authority that the owners of the British steamer Alpha, which defied the order of the Treasury Department and landed cargo and passengers from Vancouver, B. C., at Nome, last month, are to surrender her to the United States government, for whatever fine may be imposed and seek for her an American register. In case the register is obtained she will enter the coal and lumber trade between this port and San Francisco. At present she is in the fishing trade in British Columbia waters, fearing to venture out to sea where she might be seized by United States revenue cutters on the lookout for her.

Domestic and Foreign Ports. ASTORIA, Or., July 28.—Arrived—At 1 P. M., and left at 2:40 P. M., steamer Columbia, from San Francisco; arrived at 2 P. M., tug Tatonah, from Seattle; arrived July 28, barkentine Addendum, from San Francisco, for Knappton, Sailed—W. H. cruiser Tillamook; 3:30 P. M. H. S. cruiser Philadelphia. San Francisco, July 28.—Arrived—Steamer State of California, from Portland; steamer Mackinnon, from Seattle. Sailed, July 28, steamer Coquille River, from Gray's Harbor. Arrived, July 28, steamer Trent, from Gray's Harbor. New York, July 28.—Arrived—California, from Mareilles; Maasdam, from Rotterdam and Boulogne. July 28.—Passed Ems, New York, for Gibraltar, Naples and Genoa. Merville, July 28.—Arrived—Parisian, from Montreal, for Liverpool. Queenstown, July 28.—Arrived—Servia, from New York, for Liverpool, and proceeded. Merville, July 28.—Sailed—Anchovia, from Glasgow, for New York. Hong Kong, July 28.—Arrived previous

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FROM A "SCIENTIST." Admission That an Acoucheur is Desirable at Childbirth. LA PAYERTE, Or., July 28.—(To the Editor.)—In The Oregonian of yesterday, an article under the head of "Christian Science" essays to give a practical example of this teaching's application to obstetrics by reference to a sensational story in the New York Times, the truth of which story your correspondent states he has no means of testing, but that it serves his purpose in illustration in that he asserts it is "what might reasonably be expected at the hands of a Christian Science healer."

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PRESIDENT ABRAHAM LINCOLN

advocates of slavery upon the Democratic party, and the Dred Scott decision completed the triumph of that faction. There had been under Pierce a growing ascendency of pro-slavery leaders, while Buchanan's weak will and yielding character were soon entirely dominated by them. The political importance of the Dred Scott decision lay, as we have seen, in the extra-judicial announcement of Chief Justice Taney and the majority of the Supreme Court that the Missouri compromise was void because Congress had no constitutional power to legislate against the interests of the owners of slaves any more than against those of owners of other forms of property. Slave owners, therefore, had the right to carry their slaves wherever they chose upon Federal territory without jeopardy to their ownership. Douglas stood jealously by the decision. To other minds the argument of the Chief Justice seemed to knock the foundations from under his popular sovereignty doctrine; but he strove with skill and pluck to harmonize the opposing views and carried with him the Northern Democrats. These found themselves, like the Democrats of the South, first repudiating the apologizing for slavery; then condoning, and finally admiring and advocating it as a boon and a blessing to the African race, and the ideal condition of the negro. So the great party stood committed, temporarily, as a matter of partisan policy to the support of slavery; and by the decision of the court the political issue between the parties was clearly defined. The Democrats henceforth upheld the view that the territories were the common possession of the whole nation, purchased at the cost of Southern and Northern sacrifices, and that all property rights were equally sacred there. From this vantage ground Southerners were able ere long, as we shall see, to take one short step further

leaders also urged that no opposition should be made to his return to the Senate. This was Greeley's view. But Douglas could not command the full confidence of the Republicans; he had been too lately an aggressive enemy. Had Greeley's advice been followed, had the Illinois Republican rallied heartily to the support of Douglas, he would no doubt have become President in 1860, and it is an interesting speculation just how that would have altered the sequence of events. Abraham Lincoln became the Republican candidate to contest Senatorial honors with Douglas, and then occurred the great debate up and down the state which made the campaign forever memorable. Local questions played no part in the contest. It was the mighty question which was splitting the Nation in two which was debated in all its aspects by the rival statesmen, while their audience was the whole people. Lincoln placed the issue before the people upon high moral grounds. He told them that a house divided against itself could not stand; that the Nation could not continue to exist half slave and half free. He exposed the sophistry in the popular-sovereignty theory of Douglas, while he also ridiculed the argument of the Dred Scott decision. Douglas was the successful candidate. But Lincoln, as he said, "after larger game." What was the election of '58 to that of '60? Lincoln's eye was upon the larger field of battle. The Democrats knew to the whole country, greatly strengthened the Republican party and clarified the views of the various elements composing it. They were vast in importance in party history.

The John Brown Raid. John Brown was a religious fanatic who had solemnly dedicated his life to the destruction of slavery. He had fought in Kansas for free soil, had undertaken by force to free the Missouri slaves, and came in 1859 with a few followers to Harper's Ferry, Va., to carry out a long-cherished plan for liberating the slaves of Virginia. But the plot failed, the negro did not rise at his bidding, Brown and all of his associates were tried and executed as criminals. Coming, as this event did, in the midst of the already extreme tension of feeling respecting slavery, it roused a perfect frenzy of indignation and resentment in the South, and a most profound regret in the North, coupled with a measure of sympathy for the misguided hater of slavery and admiration for the heroism with which they met their tragic fate. But the occurrence probably did not alter the course of history. The Republican majorities in the Autumn elections were perhaps, slightly less; but they were still majorities. The bitterness of sectional feeling was for the time intensified, but no drop of gall was needed in the cup of the wine of wrath which was



Roger B. Taney

and declare slavery established in the territories with the United States as its guardian. Against this position the Republicans maintained that the rights of slavery were and had always been only local and statutory and not to be recognized beyond the limited sovereignty of the states which created them. Douglas and the Lecompton Constitution. In 1857 Kansas renewed her application for statehood, and the pro-slavery legislature presented the Lecompton constitution. This, it will be remembered, was never adopted by the people of the territory. The pro-slavery convention which framed the pro-slavery document permitted the voters to pronounce upon one section only, and not until by a new Legislature the whole constitution was submitted to the people in January, 1858, would the free-state settlers take part in an election upon the question. Then a majority of over 10,000 was given against it, pro-slavery settlers declining to vote. The discussion respecting the Lecompton constitution was now transferred to the chambers of Congress, and became a matter of National interest. The Administration was determined to force the obnoxious instrument upon the unwillingly large free-state population, but it was soon found that a strong Northern element in the party would resist the nefarious scheme. Douglas proved his

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