

The Lincoln-Douglas Debates 1858

Alton, Illinois Oct. 15, 1858

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

From the files of the Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection

Last Great Discussion.

Let all take notice, that on Friday next, Hon. S. A. Douolas and Hon. A. Lincoln, will hold that

HON. A. LINCOLN, will hold the seventh and closing joint debate of the canvass at this place. We hope the country will turn out, to a man, to hear these gentlemen.

The following programme for the discussion has been decided upon by the Joint Committee appointed by the People's Party Club and the Democratic Club for that purpose. that purpose.

Arrangaments for the 18th test.
The two Committees—one from each party-heretofore appointed to make arrangements for the public speaking on the 18th inst, met la joint Committee, and the following programme of proceedings was adopted, vis:

adopted, vis:

1st. The phase for said speaking shall be on
the sast side of Gity Hali.

2d. The time shall be 14 o'glock, P. M. on
asid day.

3d. That Messes. C. Stioterer and W. T.
Mitter he a Committee to errect a platform; slap, east to accommodate ladies.

4th. That Messes. B. P. Baser and William
Port superintend music and salues.

5th. Messes. H. G. McPien and W. C. Quioter he a committee having charge of the
platform, and reception of ladies, and
here power to appoint assistants.

-fth. That the reception of Messes. Doccuse
and Lincoln shall be a quiet one, and no
public display.

7th. That no hanner or motto, except na-

public display.

7th. That no hanner or motto, except national colors, shall be allowed on the speakers' stand.

On motion, a chamittee, corressing of Mesers. W. C. Quotar and it. G. McPles. he appointed to publish the programme of proceedings.

W. O. QUIGLEY,

H. G. MoPles.

auras, Oct. 18, 1854.

To the above is abould be added that the O. A. & St. Lonis Railroad, will, on Friday, carry presenters to and from this city at half its usual raise. Persons can come in on the 10-40 a. m. train. and go out at 6-20 in the avoning

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CLIPPING FROM THE ALTON DAILY WHIG

Illinois -- Alton City Hall

ALTON ILL. CITY HALL

FANY historic associations were to hear timely political questions dis-Alton, Ill., which was destroyed by fire recently. Alton had been discussing with some fervor whether or not the City Hall should be renovated and made flreproof, in order to lusure its preservation as a place of national interest. When the matter came to a head it was found that the plans would require \$50,000 more than had been expected, and a eertain group recommended that the building be torn down and the site used for a public square. With discussion at its height and oplnion much divided, the old structure went up in flames, and it is possible that an incendiary was responsible.

Alton is a town near the Mississippi River and just a few miles northeast of St. Louis. The place is of interest because it was there in the Clty Hall that the last of the debates between Lincoln and Douglas took place, in 1858. There, too, in the years just after the Clvil War came President Johnson, together with Seward and Grant. Those were the day's when the other side of the river had comparatively few towns and when Illinois settlers represented the oplnion and thought of that section of the Middle West. When the Presldentlal visit was made there was much ceremony; a fleet of twenty-eight river steamers conveyed the party from Aiton to St. Louis, their great stern wheels churning the shallow waters of the Misslsslppi. That was the type of boat that Mark Twain said could "run on a heavy dew." With bands playing on the forward deck and whistles blowing, the fleet of river craft made it a great day for the towns along the shore.

But 1858, the year that Lincoln and Douglas took the platform and spoke throughout the State of Illinois, was the banner year for Alton City Hall. Douglas, popularly known as "the Little Giant," was a man of established position. He was widely respected and feared for his ability in a contest of words. Historians say his technique lay in his faculty for clouding the point at issue with some of its minor attributes and ripping these irrelevancies so to tatters that the bewildered listener concluded that he had won the main point, when as a matter of fact he had not argued squarely at all. Another reason why he often won in debate was that he indulged in personalities to such a degree that his opponents often lost command of themselves and their addresses and floundered hopelessly.

In striking contrast to these doubtful methods were Lincoln's clear logic, straight thinking and polse. The tall, awkward young lawyer never lost control of the situation. Each man had the interest of the countryside, and people many times flocked to the debates

gathered around the City Hall of cussed. Two such important figures in the events of the day and two such contrasting personalities were worth going miles to hear.

On the night of the memorable debate at Alton the little town was filled with people who had come from far and near. Feeling ran high because the questions discussed were those on which the whole nation was divided, namely, States' rights and the slavery issue. Bonfires were lighted, every store and house held its group of men who felt keenly about the debate, and there was great excitement

Stephen A. Douglas, short and sturdy, with his handsome head held high, was the favorite. He took the stand that the States of the Union should be allowed to control their own policles apart from national interference-and he wished that belief to be applied to the slavery question. Kansas, then a territory, was applying for admission to the Union, and there was much discussion as to whether it should enter as a slave State or free State. Douglas .contended that the statement of the Declaration of Independence that "all men are free and equal" did not apply to the negro. Regarding the question whether slavery was right. morally, he declared he was completely Indlfferent. In maintaining his indifference on that point he lost the backing of persons who held convictions on the subject. Douglas put Lincoln in an uncomfortable light by declaring that Lincoln wished to place the negre en a plane of social equality with the white man, which was the rankest heresy in those days, and was not Lincoln's attitude at all. Douglas spoke with great heat and his address was not well constructed, inasmuch as he had to conelude hls remarks very hurrledly as the hour drew to a close.

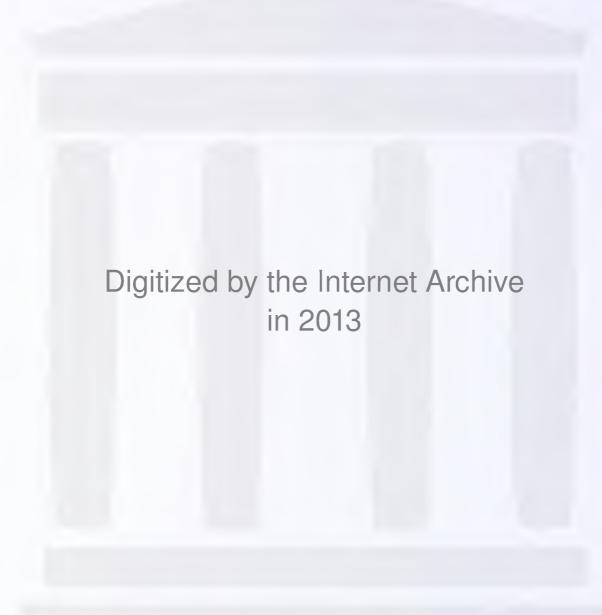
Lineoin's place in Illinois politics was not nearly so assured as that of Judge Douglas. But his speech that night was recognized as the speech of a thinker, of a man of conscience and courage, and his refutation of points made by his opponent brought applause several times. He sifted the wheat from the chaff and eentred the attention of hls audience on the real subject of the debate. His belief was that the States would have to agree to what was best for the nation, and if necessary give up some of their rights. He maintained that only in union would there be lasting strength. And in applying this principle he wanted the nation to face the problem of the moral wrong of slavery as against the accepted theories.

When Lincoln had been a young boy he was present at a slave auction near the place of his birth in Kentucky. more from a love of sportsmanship than What he saw there had made him yow

that if and when he got a chance he of God's thinking creatures was wrong slavery came to an end.
and should not be continued. Quoting During President Johnson's Administhe Bible, the Declaration, the Constitu- tration the City Hall again sheltered tion, and even going so far as to say men who made history. The President that in the Dred Scott decision the and Mr. Seward made short speeches seives in the grave matter of slavery. much applause.

Lincoln was not adjudged the winner was going to hit at slavery with all his of the debate, but events since that might. The chance had come to him, night reversed the decision of the judges. and with an eloquence which amazed all Three years later, when President Linhe declared in this debate that for one coln continued to state these principles, human being to own absolutely another the war between the States began and

United States Supreme Court had taken there. General Grant, who was in the the wrong stand, Lincoln caused all who party, maintained his usual slience, but heard him to think and decide for them- he was the popular visitor and received



http://archive.org/details/lincolndouglasdealtlinc

St. Louis Veteran, 97 Years Old, Newspaper Editor During Stormy Period Preceding American Civil War, Recalls Meeting of These Two Oratorical Stalwarts on Stump in Contests That Stirred the Nation

MONG those who attended the Lincoln-Douglas debate in Alton, Ill., just 70 years ago was a young newspaper man, there for the purpose of reporting it for his paper, the St. Louis Evening News, of which he was then editor. That same newspaper man, Daniel II. Grissom, now 97, and still a resident of St. Louis, recalis vividly this great debate—the last of the famous series of Lincoln-Douglas debates, destined to go down as one of the most important events in American history.

"It was a beautiful day in October," said the nonagenarian, his small, dark eyes, which have never yet known glasses, twinkling as he recalled the events of that memorable day. "I remember it as if it were yesterday. A party of us from St. Louis went to Alton that morning by steamboat for the occasion, for at that time, 1858, there was no railroad from Alton to St. Louis.

"It was about an hour's ride up the river, and a delightful trip, for in those days Mississippi River boats were well furnished and splendid meals were served." There was manifestly much interest among the various groups on the boat in this closing debate, in which all expected a sort of climax following the preceding arguments, which had been widely discussed throughout the Nation.

Were Isaac Sturgeon, a political leader who had been United States subtreasurer in St. Louis; David Armstrong, postmaster of St. Louis, and Claiborne Jackson, who was later to be Missouri's governor during the Civil War and who, after the capture of Camp Jackson, which he had established near St. Louis, was driven out of the State capital into Arkansas. There were many others.

"The seriousness of the theme of the debates and the spectacular manner of their staging a series of out-of-doors arguments at seven different points in the State of Iilinois, beginning at Ottawa, near Chicago, and continuing at Freeport, Jonesboro, Charleston, Quincy, Galesburg and Alton, was sufficient to warrant their being given considerable attention by the public and the press. At that time few dreamed of the far-reaching results that this challenge, issued by Abraham Lincoln July 24, 1858, and accepted by Stephen A. Dougias, would eventually bring.

"Douglas' life, as it were, was at stake, threatened by the young lawyer from Springfield who had scarcely been heard of. The whole country knew of Douglas. He was a Democratic senator with a large following in his own State, Illinois, and elsewhere. A commanding figure in politics, his eminence and ability in Congress was recognized to such an extent that Horace Greely and many other distinguished Republicans wanted to have him returned for a third term, which he was then asking. In fact, Douglas had so controlled Illinois that it annoyed him that Lincoln, or any other man, so far as that was concerned, should come between him and his State.

"From newspaper and other accounts of the preceding debates, we were all convinced that Dougias was the great speaker, and it was to hear him in particular that I was interested in going to Alton that day. The opening debate in Ottawa, where Douglas had framed for Lincoln a series of questions to be answered and which was attended by 12,000, seventeen carloads of whom were from Chicago, had brought out such headlines as 'Lincoln's Heart Fails,' 'Lincoln's Legs Fail,' 'Lincoln Fails Entirely.'

"Douglas was champion of the people. There was a torchlight procession for him at Freeport, the next debate town, where thousands stood in a drizzling rain to hear the debates and particularly Lincoln's answers to Douglas' proposed questions at Ottawa.

"I'll never forget the crowds that poured into Alton that October 15—some 6,000, 1 believe—to hear that final debate. It was a picturesque audience that greeted the debaters there, as in the other debate towns. Prairies were lighted up by the campfires of the hundreds that poured into the little villages from 40 and 50 miles around. County

folk from a distance came the night before in wagons, by horseback and afoot, many carrying bedding and cooking utensils with them. A gay cavalcade it was en route, but a sobered audience when assembled because of the import of the theme of discussion.

"On the street corners and throughout the little villages there was hubbub and confusion—much the same as a public out-of-doors event of today occasions. There were fakers of all kinds selling pain-killers, and venders of watermelons and lemonade. It was before the day of pennants and gay-colored balloons.

as it had been in the other debate towns, was a ceremonious occasion. It was a sort of triumphal procession, for he traveled in great state in the private car of George B. McClellan, a high official of the Illinois Central Railroad. He carried with him a band of musicians and a flat car in the rear with a cannon to proclaim his coming. His wife, a brilliant and beautiful woman, was along. Lincoln's arrival was not so spectacular. He had to content himself on this journey through the State with a half seat in a common car, and was thankful for that.

"At the Alton debate, Douglas opened the argument with a one-hour speech. Lincoln followed with an hour and a half. Then Douglas followed with a half hour. They had followed this plan throughout, taking turns in the opening.

"The audience which greeted the debaters was hardly more picturesque than the debaters themselves. It would have been difficult

to have found a greater contrast in personal appearance between two men. Douglas, styled the "Little Giant," was a small man, scarcely 5 feet 4 inches, with broad shoulders and a stalwart neck. His head was massive and majestic-looking and his voice could deepen into a roar. He was well groomed and prosperouslooking and strode the stage as one at ease. At all times he seemed sure of himself.

"Lincoln's clothes hung loosely on his 6-foot-4-inch frame. His small, twinkling gray eyes shone from beneath shaggy brows. His face was thin and furrowed and his coarse black hair tumbled in reckless abandon. He clasped his hands at the back of his stooping figure somewhat awkwardly. Some-

times he seemed all legs and feet and again all hands and neck. He had no stage manners, no studied art. His speech was full of short, homely words. There was an earnestness about it one couldn't forget. His very homeliness, modest bearing, air of mingled sadness and sincerity excited sympathy and won the hearts of the plain, quiet people.

"It was in that closing argument at Alton, standing on freesoil Illinois, looking across the Mississippi into slave-sold Missouri and before there had been any thought of civil war, that Lincoln spoke those lines: 'Is slavery coming? That is the real issue. That is the issue that will continue in this country when these poor tongues of Judge Douglas and myself shall be silent. It is the eternal struggle between two principles-right and wrong-throughout the world.' Lincoln and Douglas ere the best of friends iroughout the debates.

"My paper—the St. Louis Evening News—had at that time ceased to be a Whig paper and had not yet become a party paper. It was a sort of free paper—anti-Democratic without being Republican. It went out of publication during the Civil War.

"I wrote up the day's proceedings but not the speeches in full. The Missouri Republican—forerunner of the St. Louis Republic, now the Globe-Democrat—reported the speeches in full.

"When the November election came Douglas was reelected. However, his election later proved his undoing. It is said that Lincoln, as he walked home in the gloom of the rainy election night after hearing the reports of election, lost his footing in the muddy street. Recovering his balance, he said, 'It's a slip not a fall."

There is many another event Mr. Grissom vividly recalls in

the Middle West, then the "Far West." Many are the events associated in his mind with the old Planters House and the Old Southern Hotel in St. Louis, where he dined upon different occasions with Grant, Jackson, Gen. Sherman and Gen. A. P. Stewart, second in command in Robert E. Lee's army and who had previously been his tutor when he was a student at Cumberland University, Tennessee.

In spite of his 97 years, Mr. Grissom seems as much interested in life and events today as he was 76 years ago when he landed in St. Louis as a young man from Davis County, and started in on his newspaper career, first on the old Evening News, and later on the St. Louis Republican

POST. WASHINGTON:

FEBRUARY 12. 1928.

Lincoln-Douglas Marker Ordered

on Lincoln-Douglas square, and dedicated October 15, has been ordered, W. D. Armstrong, president of the Madison County Historical Society, which is fostering the movement to have the marker placed here, announced today.

The dop on which the marker will be dedicated here is the anniversary of the debate in which Lincoln and Douglas argued the South and the North into a Civil war, and Lincoln into the position of the president of

the United States.

Plans have been made, Armstrong said, to have Governor Louis L. Emmerson as the main speaker at the dedication ceremony. There will be other speakers in addition to Governor Emmerson.

A parade of school children will be part of the day's program. The bands of the city will participate in this

event.

President Armstrong said in his statement today that the work and plans for the dedication as well as the placing of the marker on the square are proceeding rapidly toward completion.

The officers of the historical society who are instrumental in work going on now are, besides president Armstrong, Gaius Paddock, vice president; Miss Lauro Gonterman, treasurer; and M. E. Gillespie, secretary.

ALTON ILL TELEGRAPH TUESDAY, JULY 16, 1929.

Marker Set For Debate Observance

Seventy First Anniversary Of Lincoln-Douglas Tilt Oct. 15

Expect Emmerson

Exercises Will Be Held In Afternoon To Avoid Traffic

With the Lincoln-Douglas debate marker in place and tentative assurance in hand that Governor Emmerson will be present to accept the memorial on behalf of the state, details are being arranged for the dedicatory program on the afternoon of Tuesday, Oct. 15, the seventy-first anniversary of the historic event.

The red granite marker, bearing the bronze tablet originally set up on the old City Hall in 1908 on occasion of the semi-centennial of the Lincoln Douglass debate, was set in place Monday on the concrete footing which had been prepared on the north side of Lincoln.

Get Pre-View

Those who passed the former city square yesterday afternoon had a pre-view of the finished marker, an interval being allowed for the cement to set before the memorial was veiled to await the exercises two weeks from today.

President W. D. Armstrong of the Madison County Historical Society. which has been instrumental in having the marker established, said to day that with exception of one speaker, major details of the dedica tory program have been decided on

The program has been set for 2:15 p, m, and will be preceded by a 45 minute program by the Alton Municipal Band. It is planned to confine the program to an hour during which time traffic movement through the square is to be held to an absolute minimum. School children from schools within a reasonable radius of the square will attend in parade formation.

Opening the exercises, the audience will sing "America" and the invocation will be delivered by the Rev. H. M. Chittenden.

Gaius Paddock, one of the oldest members of the County Historical Society will deliver the address of welcome. President Armstrong will tender the memorial to the City of Alton. It will be received for the citizens by Mayor Butler who in turn will make formal presentation to the

Emmerson to Accept

Governor Emmerson is slated to give a brief address accepting the monument on behalf of the people of Singing of the Illinois. Spangled Banner" will close the exe:

Active cooperation in promotion of the dedicatory event has been ten dered the Historical Society by the Alton Retail Merchants Association, which has undertaken to give the proch gram wide advertising.

atom Erich ! " " act. 1,1424

FOR OBSERVANCE OF ANNIVERSARY

Officers of Historical Society
Met in Edwardsville Today to
Discuss Fete to Be Held at
Alton Oct. 15.

OLD TABLET BEING SET IN NEW MARKER

Teachers and Others of Madison County Invited to Inspect Exhibition at Headquarters On September 5-6.

Officers of the Madison County Historical Society were in conference at the Court House today on call of President W. D. Armstrong of Alton to discuss arrangements for observance of the seventy-first anniversary of the Lincoln-Douglas Debate at Alton and dedication of a new marker at the site where the two famous orators stood. The program has been set for October 15.

The new granite marker is now being carved in St. Louis and will be in place early next month. It will be erected in Lincoln-Douglas square, former location of the old city hall at Alton before it was destroyed by fire while efforts were being made to erect a new one.

After the fire the bronze table which formerly marked the place was stored away in the basement of an Alton newspaper. President Armstrong recently became interested in providing an identification for the spot and raised \$400 for lt.

The red granite marker will be about five feet high, five feet wide and two feet thick. It will be mounted on a six-foot concrete base.

It was during the campaign of 1858 that Lincoln and Douglas figured in seven spirited debates. The one at Alton was attended by thousands of persons.

Besides consideration of the Alton program the officers took up other matters today. Arrangements are being made to have headquarters open on September 5 and 6 in connection with the Madison County Teachers' Institute. The teachers and public in general will be invited to visit the headquarters on those days.

More than the usual amount of work has been done by the society this year New cabinets have been installed for manuscripts and all of the exhibits have been rearranged. A collection of pictures and a few other articles have been added to the collection.

Plans for the annual December meeting of the society were also discovered at the conference today.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 24, 1949,

The Lincoln Douglas Marker

The historical society plan for marking with a nodest memorial the spot where Lincoln and Douglas neld their debate October 15, 1858, at Alton, will meet with much greater approval than a plan that called for an expensive monument. The marker which was originally on the old Alton city hall is to be placed on a granite block, instead of on a great monument which

would cost an immense sum. There is bettter use for the money such a monument would cost.

> ALTON ILL TELEGRAPH FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1929,

"TAKE THE PROFIT OUT OF WAR."

Benator George W. Norrls of Nebraska gets to the meat usually. "If there were no profit in preparing for war," he said in an address at Freeport, Illinois, August 27, "the universal international armament race would be unknown." The Lincoln-Douglas debates began at Freeport and the Nebraskan, now probably the foremost radical in present-day public life, was a principal speaker at the unveiling of a statue, "Lincoln, The Debater." Among other things, he said:

A great nation ought to set an example to the world, and, in order to make it possible to make such an example effective, it ought to announce that even in the preparation for war there shall be no private profit, gain or enrichment; that the weapons of human destruction, if they must be made, will be prepared by the Government; that naval vessels will be built in Government navy yards; and that private corporations and private monopoly shall have no opportunity to be enriched by the expenditure of these vast sums of money. If our nation took this stand, the universal propaganda for a larger army and a bigger navy would disappear. If the civilized world once knew that America was taking such a step, this universal race for military supremacy would vanish.

This Norris speech amounted to a summation of radical purposes today. Yet among such undertakings as abolishment of the Electoral College, elimination of injunctions in labor disputes and life terms of United States judges, a progressive inheritance tax and public ownership of water power sites, his "take the profit out of war" stands out as far the most tremendous and useful platform for the statesmanship of the age. As a challenge it rises above even Abraham Lincoln's challenge of the institution of slavery.

DETROIT MICH NEWS SATURDAY, AUGUST 31, 1929.

Lincoln-Douglas Debate Memorial Will be Unveiled

Program In Honor Of Historic Event To Start at 2:30

On the spot where, 71 years ago, Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas debated the Kansas-Nebraska act and state's rights, with the question of slavery a cloudy background that was to burst into the storm of war two years later, a marker erected by the Madison County Historical Society will be unveiled and presented to the State of Illinois, Tuesday afternoon,

The marker, a granite block on a encrete base, stands on Lincoln-Jouglas Square, within 20 feet of the cot where the Emancipator and the Little Giant" stood on Oct. 15, 858, for the last of their seven disussions of the issues then gripping

ie American people.

Pupils To Parade
Pupils of schools conveniently cated will gather on Henry reet between Third and Fifth treets, and at 2:15 will begin a parade downtown, over Henry to Broadway, west on Broadway to the square and, if time permits, north on Piasa to Third, west on Third to State, south on State to Broadway, east on Broadway to the square. The high school band and the recreation boys' band will be in the parade.

The program at the marker will begin at 2:30. Invocation by Rev. H. M. Chittendent, the address of welcome by Gaius Paddock, Moro, and W. D. Armstrong, president of Madison County Historical Social, will present the marker to the City of Alton

and the State of Illinois.

Mayor Butler will accept for the city and State Senator Flagg for the state. Singing of "Star Spangled Banner" will conclude the program.

Miss Georgia Osborne, sccretary of the State Historical Society, will be present. Spencer Wyckoff formerly of Jerseyville, who attended the debate in 1858, and who has been residing in California, is expected to attend Tuesday's program. Efforts have been made by the Historical Society to have present all from this vicinity who, as children, heard the debate 71 years ago.

In case of rain, the dedication program will be held in the Auditorium

of City Hall.

ALTON ILL TELEGRAPH MONDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1929, On An Anniversary

Today, the 71st anniversary of the debate at A. ton between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Dougla, a tablet originally unveiled on the 50th anniversary was

re-dedicated with appropriate ceremonies.

The meaning of the Lincoln-Douglas series of de bates may be vague to modern day youths, yet that series was an important turning point in American history. It was a debate in which the line of action of great pofirical parties on the question of human slavery was largely determined. Abraham Lincoln committed his party unequivocally to the abolishing of slavery. Mr. Douglas was not to remain a slavery advocate, for later he supported Mr. Lincoln, as against secession, and he drew to the following of Lincoln a great number of Douglas Democrats. Douglas was not completely backed by his own party in his speeches, as he was not deemed radical enough. The files of the Telegraph tell that on the day of the debate at Alton Dr. T. M. Hope, whose son was later to become a political figure in Alton, heckled Douglas as he was making his speech, because Douglas was of another wing of the Democracy, but was speedily disposed of by Douglas. Just 50 years to the day the son of Dr. Hope, Alex W. Hope, was beckled likewise in a speech and it was a bad day for Judge Hope when an unanswerable argument was presented to embarrass him.

> ALTON ILL TELEGIAPH TUESDAL OCTOBERS 1929

Pioneers Attend **Unveiling Rites**

In the number of those who attended the ceremonies at the rededication of the Lincoln-Douglas tablet on Lincoln-Donglas square in Alton yesterday were William Challacombe, Gaius Paddock, Spencer Wyckoff, Mrs. Mary Wissore Pierce, Mrs. Julia Daniels and Mrs. Joseph Rain, who attended the debate in 1858.

The one of the group who took part in the program was Gaius Paddock, who lives in retirement on his place in Moro township. Dressed in a full dress suit that was all the style 35 years ago, Mr. Paddock was a conspicuous figure. He explained to some of his friends that the coat and year he was received he had beaught. vest he was wearing he had bought for dress occasions 35 years ago, but they could easily have passed for something of much more modern date of origin. Mr. Paddock, who is 93, was the oldest person at the program, yet he refused to consider being seated, even during the hour preceding the opening of the program, and spent his time mingling with the crowd, conversing with friends.

Mrs. Laura Gonterman of Edwardsville, who is 92, was also among those present. She remained seated in an automobile while the program was going on, contenting herself with

merely being present.

Another who attended was Miss Mabel Clement, now of Lindenwood College St. Charles, Mo. Miss Clement was a close relative on her mother's side of Stephen A. Douglas.

ALTON ILL TELEGRAPH WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1929,

ALTON MARKS SITE OF LINCOLLN AND I DOUGLAS DEBATES

A bronze tablet marking the site of the Lincoln-Douglas debates was unveiled at Alton Tuesday. The tablet commemorates the 60th anniversary of the debate. A tablet was originally placed on the city hall at the semicentennial exercises October 15, 1903. After the city hall burned in April, 1924, the tablet was placed in a vault for safe keeping. Through a movement of the Madison County Historical Society made possible through the generosity of a number of Alton citizens a suitable granite base was pro-

The tablet was received in behalf of the state by State Senator Norman G. Flagg in the absence of Governor L. L. Emmerson, who could not at-

tend.

The Rev. Henry M. Chittenden, formerly of Greenville, gave the invocation. Hundreds of people, including school children, attended the services.

GREENVILLE HIL ADVO (* wkly) THURSDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1929.

Emmerson to Accept

Governor Emmerson is slated to give a brief address accepting the monument on behalf of the people of Illinois. Singing of the "Star Spangled Banner" will close the execises.

Active cooperation in promotion of the dedicatory event has been ten dered the Historical Society by the Alton Retail Merchants Association, which has undertaken to give the program wide advertising.

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The red granite marker, bearing the bronze tablet originally set up on the old City Hall in 1908 on occasion of the semi-centennial of the Lincoln Douglass debate, was set in place Monday on the concrete footing which had been prepared on the north side

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Bulletin of the Lincoln National Life Foundation - - - - - Dr. Louis A. Warren, Editor. Published each week by The Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, of Fort Wayne, Indiana. Bulletin of the Lincoln National Life Foundation

No. 236

FORT WAYNE, INDIANA

October 16, 1933

SEVENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES

ALTON, OCTOBER 15, 1858

The last of the series of debates at Alton hardly can be considered a climax in any form except in its chronological order. The crowd was much smaller than at any other place except Jonesboro. The arguments of both candidates did not reach the high points of interest attained in some of the other discussion and much of what was said could not be heard because of poor speaking conditions. Judge Douglas made his headquarters at the Alton House while Lincoln stopped at the Franklin House.

The stand for the speakers was constructed by the side of the new city hall which made the public square available as a place for the people to

congregate.

Speech of Douglas

Introduction

Confined myself in my speeches before Ottawa debate to controverting these three propositions of Lincoln (Paragraphs 1-5).

1. That the union could not exist

as our fathers made it, divided into

Free and Slave States.

2. That there should be a crusade against the Supreme Court of the United States because of the Dred

Scott Decision.
3. That the Declaration of Independence included and meant the Negroes as well as the white men when it declared all men to be created qual.

A. House Divided Question.

Our Government can endure forever divided into Free and Slave states as our fathers made it (6).

The Union was established on the right of each state to do as it pleased on the slavery question (7).

If Lincoln's abolition doctrine had prevailed when the Government was made, it would have established slavery in all the states (8, 9).
B. The Extension of Slavery.

Would Lincoln vote for any more slave states even if people wanted them (10-12)?

He will not answer questions put to him about admitting any of the territories now in existence (13-15).

C. Review of Douglas's Public Rec-

Fought the Lecompton Constitution to its death (16, 17).

Refused to support the English

Bill (18-21).
A Democratic administration has made war on me (Douglas) because I would not surrender my convictions of duty (22, 23).

No time in history when all Democrats should stand together as they should today (24, 25).

The Washington Union, claiming

to be the organ of the Democratic

administration, tried to read me out of party (26, 27).

Supported the guarantee of the Kansas Nebraska Bill (28-30).

D. Racial Equality.

The signers of the Declaration of Independence had no reference to Negroes, Indians, Fiji-Islanders, nor any other barbarous race when they declared all men to be created equal (31).

Inferior races should be extended all rights and privileges consistent with public safety (32).
Should not allow sectional party

to convert North and South into enemies (33).

Speech of Lincoln

A. The Democratic Schism.

Douglas has vastly improved in his attack upon the Democratic administration (Paragraphs 1-2).

B. Dred Scott Decision.

Never have complained especially of Dred Scott Decision because it held Negro could not be a citizen (3)

Mentioned Negro citizenship only in connection with the introduction of Nebraska Bill (4, 5).

C. Racial Equality.

Douglas has garbled extracts from my speeches to make it appear as if I were in favor of perfect social equality between Negroes and Whites (6-9).

The first man to state "all men" in the Declaration of Independence did not include Negro was Taney,

the next one Douglas (10-15).

The theory that the Negro is not included in Declaration of Independence should be combatted as it has a tendency to dehumanize the Negro (16-22).
Mr. Clay stated that in laying the

foundations of societies in our territories where it does not exist he would be opposed to the introduction of slavery (23-25).

D. The House Divided Question.

The Nebraska Bill was brought forward for the avowed purpose of putting an end to the slavery agitation (26-31).

When slavery is mentioned in Constitution covert language is

used (32-37)

Fathers did not make Government half slave and half free; they found the institution among us and left it as they found it. Why could not Judge Douglas have left it alone (38-39)?

Unrest not due to quarrel over natural domestic institutions but over the spread of the institution of slavery (40-43).
Slavery the question which has

caused the unrest in politics, in religion, in literature, in morals, in all the manifold relations of life (44, 45).

We insist that new territories shall be kept free from slavery while in the territorial condition (46-48).

E. The Moral Issue in Slavery.

The Republican party insists that slavery should be treated as a wrong and provisions should be made that it shall grow no larger (49-52).

The Democratic sentiment treats slavery as not being a wrong (53).

The two principles which will ever be opposed are the common right of humanity on one hand and the "divine right of kings" on the other (54-56).

Judge Douglas has been the most prominent instrument in putting slavery on the cotton-gin basis where he openly confesses he has no desire that there will be an end of it (57).

F. The Constitutional Right to Hold a Slave.

Before the Dred Scott Decision, Douglas claimed the constitutional right to hold a slave was a question for the Supreme Court; after the discussion he claimed it was a question for the people to settle (58). No man can deny his obligation

to give the necessary legislation to support slavery in a territory who believes it is a constitutional right to have it there (59-61).

Nullifying the alleged constitutional right of a citizen to hold slaves in a territory by unfriendly legislation is on a par with nulli-fying the Fugitive Slave Law (62).

The Douglas Rejoinder

Lincoln's hopes for success depend on war in Democratic ranks (Paragraphs 1-3).

Lincoln's Mexican War record reviewed and claim made that Lincoln took sides with the enemy against his own country (4-5).

Lincoln was disloyal to Henry Clay

and helped defeat him (6, 7).

Other factors, nullification and tarriff, have disturbed the Union as well as slavery (8).

Let us recognize the right of each state to keep slavery as long as its people determine or to abolish it when they please (9, 10).

How does Mr. Lincoln expect to put

slavery in course of ultimate extinction without interfering with it in states where it exists (11)?

Lincoln proposes to govern terri-tories without giving them represen-

tation (12).

If the people want slavery let them have it, if they do not want it allow them to refuse to encourage it (13).

Stand by the Constitution as our fathers made it, obey the laws as they are passed, and sustain the decisions of the Supreme Court and constitutional authority (14).

Dr. Hope Heckled Douglas;

Son Was Heckled 50 Years Later

History repeated itself and produced what might well be the most embarrassing moment of his life for the Democratic speaker at the 50th anniversary celebration of the Lincoln-Douglas debate here, Oct. 15, 1908.

It was in the old Airdome (across Alton street from the Mineral Springs Hotel.) A great celebration of the 50th anniversary of the debate at Alton had been planned. Both the great political parties cooperated in the planning.

The two parties were to select orators of national fame to conduct a debate on the political issues of the day - that being an election year.

The Republican party's national committee had sent here two eminent speakers. Hon. Seth Low, who had been mayor of the city of New York and was afterward head of Columbia University, in New York; and Gov. Willson of Kentucky, a noted speaker.

The local Democrats had been given the same opportunity to be represented, but had adopted a policy of concealment as the the identity of their choice for speaker.

No one was able to worm out of the Democratic party management who was to be here. They professed not to be able to give the information.

The secret remained carefully guarded by Democratic management

A Packed House

Alton had turned out a huge crowd for that celebration and the Airdome was packed.

The Republicans presented their speaker first. Gov. Willson of Kentucky made the opening address.) Seth Low was to address a meeting that night from the platform on City Hall Square.)

Gov. Willson's speech was filled with humorous jests at the Democrats, all in fun. He even apologized to them for being so

hard on them by saying that it was his Irish blood that made him do it. All was in good humor.

When Gov. Willson had Iinished his speech and had taken his seat, it was the turn of the Democrais to present their speaker. Anthony W. Young, who had been mayor of Alton and the Democratic spokesman, stepped foward to announce that he was presenting as the Democratic choice for that party's speaker a man who was a native and lifelong resident of Alton, who had practiced law in the city and county and was active in Democatic party politics-Hon. Alexander W. Hope, judge of the Alton City Court.

This unveiling of the Demoeratic choice for the platform was a great surprise to the Democrats as well as the Republicans.

Ali had hoped to have a person of national fame to espouse the Democratic side.

The Hope Invective

In sharp contrast with the speech of Gov, Willson, his predecessor on the platform, Judge Hope launched into an address filled with invective. He abused the Republican party and its prominent men, and at one point he launched a tirade against the then President, William Howard Tatt.

His point of attack was President Tatt's record of injunctions when he was a federal judge.

"Thar's injunction Bill Taft; he won't give the workin' man the right he gives the thief and murderer - trial by jury; send 'em to jail for contempt of court!"

Judge Hope had hardly finished speaking this sentence when a voice far back in the audience asked.

"Judge Hope, may I ask you a question"

"Ask all the questions you want," Hope replied.

Then the voice took up the questioning again:

"When you were judge of the City Court of Alton, didn't you fine Jim McInerney" (the Alton Sentinel-Democrat editor) for contempt of court? And didn't you send him to jail? And did you give him any trial by jury?"

Judge Hope was plainly embarrassed more than he had ever

been in his life. But he replied without yielding an inch:

"Ya-a-as.' I did. And I'd do it again! That was different!"

After the incident, there was a good deal of confusion in the audience and Hope's speech didn't last much longer.

He had plainly felt the impact of the cross-examination.

The Telegraph reporter present at the meeting sought out the man who interrupted Hope and asked him his name.

He replied: "James Francis Murphy is my name."

Then the reporter asked him how he came to question Judge Hope.

He said in explanation that Hope, in a Labor Day picnic address at Rock Spring Park had attacked the Socialist party of which Murphy was an active member.

Murphy said he had resolved then that if he ever had an opportunity to embarrass Judge Hope, he would do so.

Murphy Got Revenge

The Lincoln-Douglas debate anniversary was his time and place for revenge.

At the night meeting Seth Low addressed on City Hall square the Telegraph reporter asked Mr. Low what his reaction was to the incident of the afternoon when Murphy had queried Jude Hope.

Mr. Low, who was no amateur in public life, said that it was a complete disaster to Judge Hope when Mr. Murphy asked his questions. He said: "I have never in my life known a public speaker to be so taken aback as was Judge Hope before that big audience."

(Murphy lived in Detroit for a long time after this incident, having gone there to work in an industrial plant. He announced himself as the candidate for President of the United States and was a candidate in two or three presidential elections, never getting more than a few votes.

(Later Murphy moved to California, where he lived the rest of his life on a state pension.)

Some time before his death, while visiting here, he visited the then editor of the Telegraph, who, with a reporter, had interviewed him on the day he interrupted Judge Hope, and he discussed the incident with gusto, well satisfied with himself.

By that time Murphy was a changed man. He had become more philosophical. He had abandoned his plan of making public speeches, but said he would sit in the park at Los Angeles and smile with amusement as he listened to other speakers doing as he used to do thinking perhaps in the language of Shakespeare's Puck:

"What fools these mortals be."
(No more speechmaking for Mr.
Murphy.)

The Heckling in 1858

This incident recalled one of a like character on Oct. 15, 1858, at the original Lincoln-Douglas debate in which Judge Hope's father, a former mayor, Dr. Thomas Hope, heckled Stephen A. Douglas. Dr. Hope was a member of the Breckenridge wing of the Democratic party and Douglas was an opponent.

Dr. Hope interrupted this speech by Stephen A. Douglas with some sarcastic questions and Douglas, according to the files of the Telegraph of those days, gave a sharp retort to Dr. Hope somewhat similar to Murphy's reply to Dr. Hope's son 50 years later, except that it was the renowned Stephen A. Douglas who came off victor.

The son, Judge Hope, was never the same, his old friends said. He subsequently moved away from Alton—to St. Louis. He always kept his voting residence here, but no more was he the power he had been.

He died in St. Louis, but by his own request was brought back here for burial in the Alton Cemetery family lot, where lay his father and other members of his family.

Only a small number of people attended his funeral. The people of Alton had apparently forgotten him, though he had been for years an invulnerable political power here.

How Reporter Recreated Scene of Historic Debate

From copies of newspapers of the day, from histories, a Telegraph reporter sought to recreate the scene of the Lincoln-Douglas debate a century ago.

In a special edition, in 1928, the Telegraph staff man wrote:

The crowds gathered early; at 10:30 the Chicago, Alton & St. Louis Railroad train, eight full. cars, steamed slowly into the tion, bearing its hundreds from Springfield, Auburn, Girard, Carlinville, Brighton and other towns. At noon, the steamer White Cloud, from St. Louis, landed its quota of Missourians on the levee. At 11 o'clock, the Baltimore had preceded it with a cargo of eager humanity. Those on horseback, in buggies, in wagonss, weary walkers from nearby towns and from the fields a milling, talking, excited, arguing mass.

That was on Oct. 15, 1858, A city of less than 3,000 suddenly grown to one of nearly 10,000. The eyes of the nation turned to Alton. Two giants in a political battle which grew more ominous daily, which clutched at the throats and hearts of men, which to consider its consequences, made one to pause, to shudder; even to grow sick at heart; brought the thought of suffering of bloodshed, of death - the awful thought of war. And Alton was to hear the last forensic struggle between Stephen A. douglas, the "Little Giant" come back to seek vindication of his party for the Kansas-Nebraska act; yes, for breaking with his own chief, President Buchanan; and Abraham Lincoln, tall, angular, slow ponderous, to expound another doctrine, a doctrine which did not leave to the state the determination of its policy on the question which engulfed a nation - slavery. The Springfield lawyer, who had served one term in Congress, was leading the fight of the minority party, seeking to be the first United States senator from Illinois from the Republican party. All senators from Ninian Edwards in 1818 down to Stephan A. Douglas, now seeking re-election - had been Democrats.

There would be an election next month of senators and representatives to the Assembly and the Assembly would elect the United States senator. The seventh debate — and the last — was to be held this day.

Criticism of Stump Speaking

Eastern journals — and some, too, in the west, even in Illinois, had criticised both Lincoln and Douglas for going to the people before the legislative election. "Time enough," said a Cincinnati paper, "to start campaigning after the legislature has met."

".... Neither has anyone of them (members of the Assembly) the shadow of a moral right by any form of pledge or promise to anticipate the action of the deliberative body to which he belongs, or to restrain his own free agency as a member of the same."

But this but added fuel to the fire, and made greater Alton's day of days. By noon the streets were brimmed with a milling mass. The streets about the new city hall - the beautiful new bulding, with its proud columns facing the Mississippi were jammed. Market even as far as the Episcopal Church at the northeast corner of Market and Third. Eating houses and grog shops did a land-office business. And the debate was not to begin until 112 o'clock, the banners announced. But the crowd was getting ready for the three hours of speaking. Judge Douglas to occupy and hour in opening, Mr. Lincoln to follow for an hour and a half and Mr. Douglas to close with a speech of half an hour.

With the earliest arrivals, the rooms of Lincoln and Douglas were crowded, as would be the case today, no doubt. The senator and his opponent had reached the city before daylight, having come down the river from Quincy, where they had debated two days before. Mr. Lincoln "received" at the Franklin House (now the Lincolr Hotel on State street) and Mr. Douglas at the Alton House (located at what is now Front and Alby streets).

The Sprgfield cadets, a "fine military company," paraded through the streets — when the crowds permitted, accompanied by Merrit's cornet band, discoursing, one reporter wrote, sweet music. Later the band of Edwardsville also "gave us a display of its power to 'charm the sense and drive dull care away."

The Milling Crowd

The day was not the best, it is recorded, the morning cloudy with indications of rain. But this did not dampen the enthusiasm of the crowd. By noon "the great American people", one newspaper writer observed, had taken possession of the people. In the Alton Courier he continued: It (the crowd) went up and down the streets - it hurrahed for Lincoln and hurrahed for Douglasit crowded the auction roomsit thronged the stores of our merchants - it gathered on the street corners and discussed politics - it shook its fists and talked loudly - it mounted boxes and cried the virtues of Pain Killer - it mustered to eating saloons and did not forget the drinking saloons - it was here, there and everywhere, asserting its privileges and maintaining its rights. Immediately thereafter couples and triplets and singles of its 6,000 component parts betook themselves to the neighborhood of the stand prepared for the speaking.

Journalism in 1858

The hour of two having arrived, this writer continued, the great American people having gathered all its parts, or so many of them as would consent to be gathered, to the first floor of the City Hall building and the ground between that and the Church, Messrs. Lincoln and Douglas made their appearance upon the stand.

While the Courier emphatically favored Lincoln and did not hesitate to use disparaging language about Senator Douglas, the latter was not without his newspaper supports, one of which declared "Douglas concluded and did skin poor Abe most unmercifully" and "he was followed by long Abe, with a kind of half and half mourners' bench exhortation, to the faithful to come to the rescue." This newspaper was the St. Louis Morning Herald.

Series Of 7 Debates Ended Here

(Related Stories on Page 13.)

One hundred years ago today, Alton was in the national spotlight. Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas held the last of their seven debates.

They were candidates for United States senator from Illinois. In those days, senators were elected by state legislatures. Lincoln and Douglas were campaigning for the election of state senators and state representatives who would vote for them, the following winter, for United States senator.

Herewith, the Telegraph publishes a photo-engraving of the account of the debate in the Weekly Courier—which was pro-Lincoln.

The debate was held on a platform east of the then new City Hall.

Lincoln was introduced by Friend S. Ruthertord (grandfather of P. B. Cousley and of Dr. W. S. (McGinnis) and Judge Douglas was presented by Joseph Sloss, brother-in-law and law partner of Rutherford.

In the subsequent Civil War. Rutherford was a Union officer in the 97th Illinois Regiment; Sloss was in the Confederate Army, and later served as congressman from Alabama. Thus, Mrs. Rutherford's husband fought on one side, her brother on the other.

At the election a few weeks later in 1858 a Democratic General Assembly was named. That General Assembly sent Judge Douglas back to the United States Senate.

But the debates, and the growing questions of slavery and state's rights, sprang Lincoln into even greater national prominance. Two years later, in 1860, he was elected President over Douglas, the Democratic nominee, and John C. Breckenridge, a third candidate, a Democrat, who split the Democratic vote, and John Bell, Constitutional Union party.

After Lincoln's election as President in 1860, the secession movement grew in the South. Following his inauguration, March 4, 1861, the Confederates on April 12-13 bombarded Fort Sumter, torced its evacuation by Union Federal troops and the Civil War was on.

Weekly Courier.

ALTON, ILL

THURSDAY MORNING, OCT'R, 21.

LAST JOINT DEBATE BETWEEN LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS.

6.000 PEOPLE PRESENT.

LINCOLN TRIUMPHANT!

Republicanism in the Ascendant!!

Douglas Vanquished.

The seventh and closing debate between Mesers. Douglas and Lincoln came off at this city yesterday afternoon. The day was not the best-the morning being somewhat cloudy, with indications of rain. At an carly hour the country began to arrive. It came on foot-on horse-back-by carriage -by lumber-wagon, and ty all other conveyances possible. The steamer Baltimore from St. Louis, brought up its load of those desirous to hear the great debate. At half past ten o'clock the train on the Chicago, Alton & St. Louis Railroad, freighted with its . gatherings from Springfield, Auburn, Girard, Carlinville, Brighton, Mnticelle, and we know not how many other towns, steamed slowly into the city with its burden of eight fuil cars. The other passenger trains of the forenoon and early part of the afternoon demonstrated, too, that the names of Lincoln and Douglas have a hold upon the country. About noon the extra steamer, White Cloud, landed upon the levee its quota of the denizens of St. Louis. With the earliest arrival, the rooms of Messrs. Douglas and Lincoln, who reached the city before daylight-coming down the river from Quincy, became the centres of attraction A. Mr. LINCOLN received at the Franklin House, and Mr. Douglas at the Alton. The train of the Chicago, Alton & St. Louis Railroad, brought down the Springfield Cadets, a fine military company, who paraded through our streets, accompanied by Mer-BITT'S Coronet Band, discoursing sweet mnsic. At a later hour, the band of the Edwardsville delegation also gave us a display of its power "to charm the sense and soothe dull care away."

By the hour of 12, the great American People had taken possession of the city. It went up and down the streets-it hurrahed for Lincoln and hurraned for Douglas-it crowded to the auction rooms-it thronged the stores of our merchants-it gathered on the street corners and discussed politics-it shook its fists and talked loudly-it mounted boxes and cried the virtues of Pain Kill-

er-it mustered to the eating saloons, and Ttured upon one of the most important, and did not forget the drinking salcons-it was here and there and everywhere, asserting its privileges and maintaining its rights. Immediately thereafter, couples and tripletand singles of its 6,000 component parts betook themselves to the neighborhood of the stand prepared for the speaking.

Over this, which was located on the eastern side of the City Hall and Market building, the Stars and Stripes floated out upon the breeze. Mr. HENRY LEA displayed several banners and flags. One was inscribed "Illinois born under the Ordinance of '87--she will maintain its provisions;" another " Lincoln not yet trotted out;" and a third,

. Free Territories and Free Men. Free Pulpits and Free Preachers. Free Press and a Free Pen. Free schools and Free Teachers."

Mr. E. H. Goulding notified everybody in this style, "Squat Row for 'Old Abe' and Free Labor." A cord stretched from the store of Mr. I. SCARRITT to that occupied by DE Bow & BARR, sustained a large flag bearing the mottoes, "Old Madison for Lincoln," and "Too late for the milking." The national colors floated proudly from the flag staff of the Courier Office. The Douglas men concentrated their whole energies in one grand, magnificent, superb, right-royal banner, which was suspended over Third street, between the store of Mr. HENRY LEE and the Bank building. The words "Popular Sovereignty "-- "National Union"-"S. A. Douglas, the People's choice," were surmounted by a very buzzardlike bird, ready possed to swoop down upon his prey, and surrounded by five stars, intended, as we suppose, to represent the four States of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and lows, which have already put their knives to the throat of Mr. Douglas, and Illinois, which will do so'in November, after which he will be ready, politically, for the buzzard.

The hour of two having nearly arrived, the great American Propte having gathered all its parts, or so many of them as would consent to be gathered, to the first floor of the City Hall building and the ground between that and the Presbyterian church, Messrs. Lincoln and Douglas made their appearance upon the stand.

As previously agreed, Judge Douglas opened the debate in a speech of an hour. Although appearing very well, his voice was completely shattered, and his articulation so very much impeded that very few of the large crowd he addressed, could unders and an entire sentence. Nearly all his speech was a repetition of his previous charges of amalgamation, negro-equality &c., against the Republican party; and he labored and twisted them, and rolled them as sweet morsels, under his tongue, till his own friends were disgusted with his pertenacity and falsehood. Having nearly exhausted himself and his hour also on this terrible bug-bear, the Judge then vonto him, the most fearful not of his life. He actually attacked Euchanan and his administration, and berated them to his heart's content. His friends here were not prepared for this bold step on the part of

their leader, and opened wide their eyes in astonishment. What-had their Little Giant -their terrible leader stood so long calmy and meekly by when the heads of his friends, one after another in rapid succession, rolled before him in the dust, and not a word of rebuke or condemnation! and now, at the very heels of an election, more important to him than any other of his life, he plucks up courage and denounces the President in terms admitting of no mistake as to his feelings. With this exception his speech was not different from his previous efforts. It was flat and unsatisfactory, unredeemed by a single sparkle of wit or patriotic elevation.

The hour and a half reply of Mr. LINCOLN was an effort of which his friends had every reason to be proud. One by one he took up the oft-exploded charges of Douglas against the Republican party and scattered them to the winds, and charged back upon him his own army of sins of omission and commission, with terrible effect. Not a single point was left unanswered of all the charges Douglas made, and so convincing was the array of testimony he produced, so clear and logical every deduction drawn from them, and so honest and candid was he in all his assertions, the Douglasites themselves were forced to admit that they had not only underraced the native strength of the man, but that he was greatly misrepresented in their papers. His reply was, in fact, a com plete vindication of himself and the Republican party, from the foul slanders sought to be heaped upon them, and, as a vindication, could not be successfully an-

Douglas' half-hour rejoinder was both in better spirit and better taste than his opening. It was not in fact a rejoinder at all. It was principally a series of charges against Mr. Lincoln about his Mexican war votes, which he then introduced so that Mr. Lincoln could have no opportunity of replying. Brave Little Giant! Cunning Little Giant! Magnanimous Little Giant!

As we intend to publish the speeches in full in a few days, we shall not further speak of them now. The discussion has been longed for by the Republicans of this city and vicinity, and their expectations have been more than realized. As the Democracy of the States of Iowa, Ohio, Indiana and Pennsylvania has been thrashed out, so was Mr. Douglas thrashed out by Mr. Lincoln yesterday.

100 YEARS AGO

from the Tribune and other sources For Your Historical Scrapbook

Oct. 18, 1858: THE TRIBUNE supplements its verbatim report of the Lincoln-Douglas debate at Alton with an editorial: "The fact that Douglas has only one speech hardly needed the evidence given at Alton. With the exception of his attack on Buchanan, his remarks were an almost verbatim copy of his previous utterances. Mr. Lincoln's speech was an able and comprehensive summing up of the law and the evidence before the jury of the people. Mr. Douglas' prudence in limiting this discussion to seven meetings has prevented our candidate from driving him further into the ditch. The defeat he has sustained on the stump will be equaled only by the overthrow which awaits him at the polls."

ONE OF LINCOLN'S DAYS.

air .

It was October 15th, 1858, and at Alton. Alton stands on a high bank of the Mississippi, and from their homes on the hills the residents look down the river at the appalling cloud of smoke which overhangs St. Louis. There was a time when the city had a poor reputation. A mob had killed one of its newspaper men, Lovejoy, for expressing his opinions against slavery. But these things, like drift on the river, have now gone down the stream of history, and are to be remembered no more for a good while.

Alton is now a nice town, seasoned with the salt of a Congregational church, whose members read the Advance, and live righteously, and do good. On the day mentioned Lincoin and Douglas came to the city to hold their last joint debate. It was a great day for Alton; it would have been greater if anybody had then known how everlastingly great Lincoln was destined to become. But Illinois was not dreaming of it. Of the two men Douglas was then considered the greater. He was the "Little Giant," had been in the United States Senate for years, had just missed a nomination for president and was the idol of the northern Democracy.

In the debate Douglas had the opening speech of an hour, Lincoln an hour and a half, and Douglas a closing rejoinder of half an hour. The two mighty men pounded one another for three mortal hours, and the crowd stood out in the October sun and whooped them up, cach man's whoop being determined by his political prejudices. The eity and surrounding country being Democratic, Douglas probably had the best of the whoop.

Having met six times already, both men were on a beaten path, and Douglas sailed right into Father Abraham with the charge that his three propositions were, first, that the country could not stand half slave and half free, and second, "a crusade against the Supreme Court of the United States because of the Dred Scott decision," and third, that the Declaration of Independence included all men.

On this last point Judge Douglas said: "I hold that the signers of the Declaration of Independence had no reference to negroes at all when they declared all men to be created free and equal. They did not mean negroes, nor Indians, nor the Feegee Islanders, nor any other barbarous race. They were speaking of white nicn. They alluded to men of Europeau birth and European descent, and to none others."

In answering his great opponent's speech Lincoln said: "When I spoke of the Dred Scott decision in my Springfield speech I was endeavoring to prove that the Dred Scott decision was a portion of a system or scheme to make slavery national in this country." And again, "I mentioned all these things to prove a combination or conspiracy to make the institution of slavery national. In that way I mentioned the decision."

This sounds very much like an attack on the Supreme Court. At least one might infer that the charge of conspiracy on the part of the Court rather bordered on an attack. I do not remember to have heard so severe language in these more modern days.

Regarding the Declaration of Independence, Mr. Lincoln said: "I whink the authors of that notable instrument intended to include all men. They meant to set up a standard maxim for free society which should be familiar to all; constantly looked to, constantly labored for, and though never perfectly attained, constantly approximated, and thereby constantly spreading and deepening its influence and augmenting the happiness of the human race and value of life to all peoples, of all colors, everywhere."

This is a gem. It would be hard to find anything in the Declaration of Iudependence which equals it.

But one stops stock still when he comes to these words in the speech; "Now I have upon all occasions declared as strongly as Judge Douglas against the disposition to interfere with the existing institution of slavery." John Brown! Wendell Phillips! Lloyd Garrison! Where are you?

Less than four years from that day Abraham Lincoln issued his emancipation proclamation.

But between the two days were earthquakes, fire and blood, and wave upon wave of tribulation. Douglas was dead; thousands and tens of thousands of fathers and sons were dead, and mothers and wives were weeping!

I tremble and I rejoice when I read history; and sometimes I think it is the only philosophy.

In his closing speech Douglas said: "Mr. Lincoln has expressed the hope that the war which the Administration is waging against me will be prosecuted with vigor. He wants it prosecuted with vigor. It is the first war I ever knew him to be in favor of prosecuting. It is the first war I ever knew him to believe to be just or constitutional. When the Mexican war was being waged, and the American army was surrounded by the enemy in Mexico, he thought that war unnecessary, unconstitutional and unjust. And he voted for the resolution offered by George Ashmun, of Massachusetts, in the House of Representatives, which declared the war unjust."

Summed up, the great debate of that famous day sets forth these facts: That Douglas wanted to limit the Declaration of Independence to the white man, but Lincoln wanted to extend it to men of all colors, black or brown; That Lincoln attacked the Supreme Court of the United States; and Douglas did not very heartily defend it, for it was the Dred Scot decision which wrecked his political hopes; That Lincoln voted for a resolution which declared a war which the government was waging unconstitutional and unjust.

THE ADVANCE

Alton feud silences Abe's 'Great Debate'

By Jean Davidson

"A HOUSE DIVIDED against itself cannot stand," proclaimed Abraham Lincoln in 1858, and neither, say some residents of Downstate Alton, can a city.

Lincoln's remarks, which launched his unsuccessful bid for the U.S. Senate and a series of seven debates against opponent Stephen A. Douglas, have special meaning to the residents of this Mississippi River town.

The city council blocked a scheduled re-enactment Saturday of Alton's own Lincoln-Douglas debate 125 years ago, with Police Chief Rudy Sowders threatening to jail any participants in the "illegal street show." Only about 10 citizens showed up Saturday

at the city's Lincoln-Douglas Square, the site of the Oct. 15, 1858, debate.

"I THINK THE Great Emancipator would be very much appalled," said Alton Ald. Jane O'Neill, whose motion to suspend city rules to allow the event on short notice was defeated 7-5 Wednesday. "Lincoln was a man who felt very deeply about safeguarding the community good. They were denied the community good assemble." the very right to speak and assemble."

The council's roadblock stems from a grudge that grew from a very real road-

block, some resident claim.

O'Neill said the city's refusal is the result of some city officials' "ill will" toward the Alton Area Landmark Association, which put together the re-enactment plans two weeks ago after the local newspaper, the Alton Telegraph, reminded the historians of the upcoming anniversary.

The historical organization angered Mayor Paul Lenz and other top officials about 10 years ago when the group intervened in a condemnation action, forcing the abandonment of plans to extend Ill. Hwy. 3 through the city's Riverside Park and along the banks of the Mississippi. Had the highway been built, the site of the Great Debate would now be just another patch of blacktop, O'Neill said.

Chicago Tribune, Oct. 16, 1983



