WASHINGTON, D. C., January 14, 1892. When Mr Lincoln, of Springfield, challenged Senator Douglas, of Illinois, to a series of joint debates, there was derision among the Democrats. The challenge was treated as a bluff. The friends of the Little Giant professed to believe that Mr. Lincoln was not in earnest. And when the Senator accepted the challenge it was common Democratic sentiment that the challenger would look around for some hole by which to crawl out. Senator Douglas' organ, the Chicago Times, said:

"If the Republican 'champion' does not effect a timely retreat there will be music at the times and places designated in Senator Douglas' reply to Mr. Lincoln. But will Mr. Lincoln meet our Senator? we should like to know. It is evident from the tone of the Republican papers that he and his friends have determined that he shall not acquiesce in the very fair arrangement proposed. It is even evident, we think, to all men cognizant of the facts that had Mr. Lincoln or any of his friends had any idea that his challenge would be accepted, it never would have been sent. They waited until it seemed impossible for Senator Douglas to accept their proffer before opening correspondence with him, and now that he had signified his willingness to meet Mr. Lincoln in debate before the people at one central point in each

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congressional district, the Republicans and their candidate are fearing and trembling and soon will be begging. Lincoln will not meet Douglas; this is what we think will come of the challenge."

This sounds queerly. In 1892 they are spoken of as the great debates of Lincoln and Douglas. In 1858 they were the debates of Douglas and Lincoln. Douglas was the man of established national reputation. Lincoln was the ambitious local leader. Douglas had been United States Senator for twelve years. Lincoln had been indorsed by his party, the minority party, as its candidate for the Senate in the event of the Legislature being carried by the Republicans. Douglas had not only been a Senator two terms, but he had become a national leader. He was at the head of a strong element of his party in the Senate. He was the representative of the majority of the Democratic party of the whole country, as subsequent events showed. And he was an acknowledged candidate for the Presidency. Lincoln had had some service in the Legislature; ten years afterward one term in Congress, which, from the Democratic point of view, had been disastrous to him; and then twelve years of obscurity. Under such conditions the two men came before the people of Illinois for the joint debates.

The coloring which has been given in late years to these debates has been that which takes into account Lincoln's subsequently achieved greatness. It has been a coloring which dwarfs Douglas and magnifies Lincoln as regards the public estimates of them when they met

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in these debates. It reverses the relations in which the two men stood before the people of Illinois and of the country at that time. These accounts of the debate, written long afterward, are very different from what they might have been had Lincoln been defeated and Douglas elected to the Presidency in 1860.

Lincoln, to be sure, felt strong in the soundness of his convictions. He believed he had both logic and justice on his side. But this did not blind him to the different relations in which Douglas and he stood before the public. About the time Lincoln entered upon these joint debates he wrote the following, which was made public many years afterward:

"Twenty-two years ago Judge Douglas and I first became acquainted. We were both young men then--he a trifle younger than I. Even then we were both ambitious--I perhaps quite as much so as he. With me the race of ambition has been a failure--a flat failure; with him, it has been one of splendid success. His name fills the nation and is not unknown even in foreign lands. I affect no contempt for the high eminence he has reached--so reached that the oppressed of my species might have shared with me in the elevation; I would rather stand on that eminence than wear the richest crown that ever pressed a monarch's brow."

Douglas, careful as he was to save every point favorable to him, and shrewd as he was in all his manner, could not but patronize Lincoln a little in his speeches. He felt his superior success and popularity.

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He probably meant to be magnamous, and in trying to be so he said some things which seem in this day ridiculously condescending toward his antagonist. At the Ottawa debate in the course of his opening speech, Mr. Douglas said of Lincoln:

"I mean nothing personally disrespectful or unkind to that gentleman. I have known him for nearly twenty-five years. There were many points of sympathy between us when we first got acquainted. We were both comparatively boys and both struggling with poverty in a strange land. I was a school teacher in the town of Winchester and he a flourishing grocery-keeper in the town of Salem.(applause and laughter). He was more successful in his occupation than I was in mine, and hence more fortunate in this worlds goods. Lincoln is one of those peculiar men who perform with admirable skill every thing which they undertake. I made as good a school teacher as I could, and when a cabinet-maker I made a good bedstead and table, although my old boss said I succeeded better with bureaus and secretaries than any thing else (cheers); but I believe that Lincoln was always more successful in business than I, for his business enabled him to get in the Legislature. I met him there, however, and had a sympathy with him because of the up-hill struggle we both had in life. He was then just as good at telling an anecdote as now. He could beat any of the boys wrestling or running a foot race, in pitching quoits or tossing a copper; could ruin more liquor than all the boys in town together (uproarious laughter), and the dignity and impartiality with which he presided at a horse race or fist fight excited the admiration and won the praise of everybody that was present and participated. I sympathized with him because he was struggling with difficulties and so was I. Mr. Lincoln served with me in the legislature in 1836, when we both retired, and he subsided or became submerged, and he was lost sight of as a public man for some years. In 1846, when Wilmot introduced his celebrated proviso, and the abolition tornado swept over the country, Lincoln again turned up as a member of Congress from the Sangamon District. I was then in the Senate of the United States , and was glad to welcome my old friend and companion. Whilst in Congress he distinguished himself by his opposition to the Mexican war, taking the side of the common enemy

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against his own country (thats true), and when he returned home he found that the indignation of the people followed him everywhere, and he was again submerged or obliged to return into private life, forgotten by his former friends (and will be again). He came up again in 1854, just in time to make this Abolition or Black Republican platform in company with Giddings, Lovejoy, Chase and Fred Douglass for the Republican party to stand upon." (Laughter."Hit him again," etc.)

Lincoln, when his turn came, made but brief reference to this biographical sketch of himself by his antagonist. He contented himself with saying:

"The Judge is wofully at fault again about his early friend being a grocery keeper. I dont know that it would be a great sin if I had, but he is mistaken. Lincoln never kept a grocery in his life. It is true that Lincoln did work the latter part of one winter at a little still house up at the head of the hollow."

But at another time Lincoln turned the disparity in their public positions to good account in the following:

Senator Douglas is of world wide renown. All of the anxious politicians of his party, or who have been of his party for years past, have been looking upon him as certainly, at no distant day, to be the President of the United States. They have seen, in his jolly, fruitful face, post offices, land offices, marshalships and cabinet appointments, chargeships and foreign missions, bursting and sprouting forth in wonderful exuberance, ready to be laid hold of by their greedy hands. On the contrary, nobody has ever expected me to be President. In my poor, lean, lank face nobody has ever seen that--any cabbages were sprouting out."

The comparison is not overdrawn. Douglas had had a run of luck almost without parallel in politics. "Twenty five years ago," he said in his speech at Winchester during this very campaign, "I entered this town on foot with my coat over my arm." At the age of 21 he had walked to Illinois with a trade and a head full of brains. Yet in the twenty five years that had elapsed he had been the States Attorney for the Morgan circuit, in 1835; a member of the lower branch of the Illinois General Assembly, in 1836; Register of the Land Office by appointment, in 1837; Secretary of State of Illinois, by appointment; Judge on the

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Supreme Bench of Illinois, by election; a representative, elected to the Twenty-eighth, Twenty-ninth and Thirtieth Congresses; twelve years a United States Senator. With that record behind him he was, at the age of 45, before the people of Illinois for a third term in the United States Senate and before the people of the whole country for the Presidency in 1860. But one time in the twenty five years of residence in Illinois had Douglas been defeated in any of his political aspirations. He had run for Congress in 1840, when he had been in the State only seven years, and had been defeated by the close vote of 18,405 to 18,337. Is there anything in American politics that surpasses this almost unbroken chain of successes? with such prestige Douglas entered upon the joint debates.

Lincoln's public career began with a short service in the Legislature. Then occurred a long hiatus. He applied for the land commissionership and was refused. He had one term in Congress and failed of reelection, and here he was the indorsed senatorial candidate of a party of rather incongruous elements, which hardly knew just what it believed.

Immediately after the first debate at Ottawa there broke out a fierce newspaper controversy. The issue was the integrity of the stenographic report of Lincolns speech in the Douglas organ. Two papers printed what purported to be verbatim reports of the debate. They were the Press and Tribune, of Chicago and the Chicago Times. But between the two reports, so far as Lincoln was concerned, there was very great difference. Mr. Lincolns Ottawa speech, as it appeared in the Chicago Times, was a horrible mess. It abounded in ungrammatical expressions. Sentences were run together in such a way as to make no sense. Punctuation marks were either entirely omitted or misplaced. The friends of Mr Lincoln immediately charged the Democrats with the despicable trick of misrepresenting him. They even went so far as to suggest that Douglas himself had access to the manuscript of the stenographer, and that he distorted Lincolns speech so as to make his antagonist appear ridiculous. To this charge the Democrats replied that Lincoln had been reported exactly as he spoke, and that his

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speech had been printed as delivered. They made the countercharge that Lincolns speech was taken by a self-appointed committee of Republicans and fixed up previous to publication. An extract from a venerable scrap-book is peculiarly interesting. The Chicago Times, in conducting its side of the controversy said:

"Any person who heard at Ottawa the speech of Abraham, alias Old Abe, alias Abe, alias 'Spot' Lincoln, must have been astonished at the report of that speech as it appeared in the Press and Tribune of this city. Our version of it was literal. No man who heard it delivered could fail to recognize and acknowledge the fidelity of our reporters. We did not attempt, much, to 'fix up' the bungling effort; that was not our business. Lincoln should have learned before this to 'rake after' himself. Or , rather, to supersede the necessity of 'raking after,' by taking heed to his own thoughts and experiences. If he ever gets into the United States Senate, of which there is no earthly probability, he will have to do that. In the congressional arena the words of debaters are snatched from their lips, as it were, and immediately enter into and become a part of the literature of the country. But it seems from the difference between the two versions of Lincolns speech, that the Republicans have a candidate for the Senate of whose bad rhetoric and horrible jargon they are ashamed, upon which, before they would publish it, they called a council of 'literary' men, to discuss, reconstruct and rewrite; they dare not allow Lincoln to go in print in his own dress; and abuse us, the Times , for reporting him literally."

This controversy over the Democratic reports of Lincolns speeches was waged with great bitterness until long after the seven debates were finished. Republicans were very sore about it. They held Douglas in a large degree responsible for the unjust treatment. There was something in it which created great sympathy for Lincoln. The American sense of fair play was outraged. Minor matters which appeal to sentiment often go a long way in politics. There is scarcely any doubt that this misrepresentation of Lincoln cost Douglas many votes, both in the Senatorial campaign and in the presidential campaign which followed two years later. Republicans did not forgive and forget the apparently

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shabby treatment of their candidate until the war came on, and Douglas, with all his might, espoused the Union cause, and came to the support of President Lincoln. That was the atonement.

Both sides were probably wrong to some extent in this controversy. It is doubtful if Douglas personally had anything to do in the first place with the misreporting of Lincoln. On the other hand, there is no doubt that the organ of Douglas treated Lincoln in a way of which no self respecting newspaper would be guilty at this day. The accident of circumstances combined with the purpose of partisanship to make Lincoln ridiculous. Some facts, which have not hitherto been printed, may be told about the newspaper work on these debates.

Short-hand men who could follow political speakers of all kinds were not numerous in those days. Douglas brought with him to Illinois for that campaign a Philadelphia phonographer--a Mr. Sheridan. The reports of Douglas' speeches which appeared in the Times were the work of Mr. Sheridan. Mr. Sheridan did not report Mr. Lincoln for the Times. There was the greatest possible difference in the two Speakers. "There is no orator in America more correct in rhetoric, more clear in ideas, more direct in purpose, in all his public address than Stephen A. Douglas," his organ said in the course of the controversy. This was but slightly exaggerated truth. People of this generation who read the beautifully rounded periods and clean-cut sentences of Douglas may imagine the words pouring forth in a rapid, unbroken stream. But Douglas was one of the most measured of American orators. If he was in public life to-day he would be the delight of beginners in stenography. He was strongly regular; he was distinct; he paused between sentences; he used short sentences; he rarely exceeded 120 words a minute. Every one at all versed in short-hand work will appreciate what that is. It means a speed which the ordinary stenographic secretary of to-day can easily follow. It was no trouble to report Doulas. "The Little Giant" as he was usually called by his admirers, had a deep bass voice. No bass voice can go fast. His sonorous tones filled out the time so that he did not seem to be speaking slowly. Even paced is probably a better expression than

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deliberate to describe his manner. That Doulas uttered not nearly so many words as Lincoln in a given period is apparent in the reports of the debates. Each had the same time. But Lincolns speeches occupy more space than Douglas'.

Lincoln was altogether different. His voice was clear, almost shrill. Every syllable was distinct. But his delivery was puzzling to stenographers. He would speak several words with great rapidity, come to the word or phrase he wished to emphasize and let his voice linger and bear hard on that; and then he would rush to the end of the sentence like lightning. To impress the idea on the minds of his hearers was his aim; not to charm the ear with smooth, flowing words. It was very easy to understand Lincoln; he spoke with great clearness. But his delivery was very irregular. He would devote as much time to the word or two which he wished to emphasize as he did to half a dozen less important words following it. This peculiarity of Lincolns delivery helped the Democrats in carrying out a plan to belittle him. The Democratic organ, the Chicago Times, called Linolns speech, "weak, faltering, childish twaddle," and endeavored to make it appear so. At Ottawa, on the ocasion of the opening debate, Douglas spoke an hour. Lincoln followed with an hour and a half. Douglas closed in a half hour. The reporting of Lincoln for the Democratic paper was done by an English stenographer, who had the old style. His notes were almost unintelligible to the American phonographers. But there was no doubt about the Englishmans ability to follow Lincoln. The notes were written out, and the editor of the Times, Mr. Sheehan afterwards boasted editorially, "Lincolns speech was printed verbatim, just as it came from the reporter." A single sentence taken from the scrap book copy of the Times report will serve to show how Lincoln was treated.

"I will remind him also of a piece of Illinois of the time, when the respected party to which the Judge belongs was displeased with a decision of the Supreme Court of Illinois, because they had decided that the Governor could not remove a Secretary of State, and he will not deny that he went in for overslaughing that court, by appointing five new judges, and it ended in his getting the name of

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Judge in that very way, thus breaking down the Supreme Court, and when he tells me about how a man who shall be appointed on such a principle by being questioned, I say Judge, you know you have tried it, and when he seeks that the court will be prostituted below Contempt.

This was very small business. The newspaper which would instruct its telegraph editor and proof reader to follow an unrevised shorthand report with that kind of fidelity in this day and generation would hurt itself more than the orator it aimed to disgrace. But this was the way Lincoln was reported at Ottawa, and the Douglas organ glorified in the showing. The Times continued to print full reports, and continued to claim that it printed them just as they came from the reporter. It is noticeable, however, that the report of Lincolns speech at Freeport, the second debate, was somewhat better. This may be accounted for by the discovery on the part of the Douglas organ that it had made a mistake in its treatment of his antagonist. After the Freeport report the Times, acknowledging the improvement in the reading of the Lincoln speech, said:

"The debate at Freeport was remarkable, first for the immense ability displayed by Douglas, second for the weakness of Lincoln. We grant that he (Lincoln) spoke with rather more conspicuous fluency than is usual for him; but he failed utterly of coming up to the mark."

It is an interesting fact that while the Republicans, from one end of the State to the other, denounced the Times report of Lincolns speeches, Senator Douglas took occasion to seek out the phonographer for the Press and Tribune and to thank him for the faithful accurracy with which he had been reported in the Republican newspaper. The young man who reported the debates for the Republicans was the present Congressman Robert R. Hitt, representing the Freeport district. Mr. Hitt was then a law reporter, having a short time previously completed his education at Asbury University. In the light of this explanation, and the foregoing statement of the controversy over the newspaper treatment of Lincoln, the following, with which the Chicago Times report of the Freeport debate opened, will be found entertaining:

Mr. Lincoln. Fellow-Citizens, Ladies and Gentlemen--

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Deacon Bross. Hold on, Lincoln, you cant speak yet. Hitt aint here, and there is no use of your speaking unless the Press and Tribune had a report.

Mr. Lincoln. Aint Hitt here? where is he?

A Voice. Perhaps he is in the crowd.

Deacon Bross, after adjusting the green shawl around his classic shoulders after the manner of McVicker in Brutus, advanced to the front of the stand and spoke: If Hitt is in the crowd he will please to come forward. Is Hitt in the crowd? if he is, tell him Mr. Bross, of the Chicago Press and Tribune, wants him to come up here on the stand to make a verbatim report for the only paper in the Northwest that has enterprise enough to publish speeches in full.

Joe Medill. Thats the talk.

Herr Kriesman here wiped his spectacles and looked into the crowd to see if he could distinguish Hitt.

A Voice. If Hitt is not here, I know a young man from our town that can make nearly a verbatim report, I guess. Shall I call him?

Deacon Bross. Is he here?

A Voice. Yes, I see him; his name is Hitch.

Loud cries for "Hitch" were made and messengers ran wildly about inquiring "where is Hitch? where is Hitch?"

After a delay the moderators decided that the speaking must go on.

Deacon Bross. Well, wait (bringing a chair); Ill report the speech. Lincoln, you can now go on; Ill report you.

The idea of Deacon Bross making a verbatim report of Lincolns speech was calculated to inspire hilarity. The Deacon had a bluff, hearty manner. He talked loudly and often, but unlike some other men of such characteristics Deacon Bross had great ability and real nobility. He had unbounded faith in the future of Chicago. He never tired of glorifying the city, the Tribunes enterprise and the Republican partys principles. A quill was the Deacons idea of the best pen. Sitting in the editorial room of the Tribune, conversing with a room full of politicians the Deacon would call out: "hold on. Give me pen. Ill make a paragraph of that."

He would whirl around to the table, grasp the quill and scratch away, making a spluttering noise that could be heard above the

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hum of conversation. Then he would whirl back, hold up the paper and read aloud for comments, starting off like this:

"The Republican party--whats that next word? oh, yes--, "etc.

About the time of the Freeport meeting the Times had a grievance against the Deacon. At some gathering, so the story went, the Deacon had neglected to see that Matteson, of the Times, had a chair. For weeks and months afterwards the Times printed in its reports of various occurrences this single line:

"And Deacon Bross spoke".

Sandwiched between paragraphs of Lincolns speech at Freeport; injected into proceedings of the School Board of Chicago; so when broadcast over the local page was the inevitable line: "and Deacon Bross spoke"

In its account of the closing of the Freeport meeting, the Times said:

"During the delivery of Douglas speech Mr. Lincoln was very uneasy; he could not sit still nor would his limbs sustain him while standing. He was shivering, quaking, trembling, and his agony during the last fifteen minutes of Judge Douglas speech was positively painful to the crowd who witnessed his behavior."

Then followed more and worse of this kind of abuse until the newspaper went beyond the border of decency. Injected into the Times report of the Freeport debate was this:

The reporter can not let this opportunity pass without returning his thanks to Parson Lovejoy for his very gentlemanly conduct in leaning over him during the latter part of Senator Douglas speech and commanding, in a loud voice, Mr. Turner to announce to the people that he would address them after the adjournment of the meeting.

When the debate was over Lovejoy who had been thoroughly aroused by Douglas' reference to "The nigger"--Douglas said "nigger' not negro" as the Times reported him on that occasion--gathered the crowd in front of the Brewster House and made such an impassioned appeal as those who listened to it have never forgotten, Lovejoy was an artist who could paint word pictures, and a musician who could touch the human chords. He was a master at showing the emotions. He stood before that immense crowd that day and held up slavery in its worst possible

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light. He told the story of the slave girls flight from her pursuers, and his hearers breathed so hard you could hear them, while their dilated eyes gleamed with passion. Republicans with the spell on them went from the Lovejoy meeting and said to the phonographer:

"Print Lovejoys speech instead of Lincolns."

Herr Kriesman, who is referred to in the opening of the Freeport meeting was a local politician of note in those days. He was afterwards made Secretary of Legation at Berlin, and still later Consul General. He is to-day living in Berlin, wealthy and respected.

Douglas and Lincoln did not travel together during the campaign. They saw very little of each other until they met upon the platforms at the appointed places. The first debate, at Ottawa, was on the 21st of August. The seventh was at Alton, on the 15th of October. The others were scattered along between these dates. The candidates had other engagements which kept them apart. They were moving nearly all of the time. Lincoln made over sixty speeches and Douglas made even more. The newspapers were well satisfied to give the verbatim reports of the joint debates. That was enterprise enough for those days. The newspapers did not attempt to give full reports of more than two or three of the other speeches.

The way in which the Reporting and the publishing of the debates was done was very different from the methods of to-day. Two phonographers did the actual reporting--Mr. Hitt for the Republicans and Mr Sheridan for the Democrats, Mr Lincoln being taken for the Times by the Englishman. The wires were not used. An attempt to telegraph one of these joint debates would have paralyzed the telegraph company of that period and would have bankrupted the newspaper. As soon as a debate was finished the reporters took the first train they could get and traveled to Chicago. Enroute, and after their arrival, they wrote out the speeches, which were published the second day after the debate took place. The reports appeared simultaneously. Each paper seemed to be satisfied not to be behind the other. No heroic effort was made by one to beat the other. But to accomplish publication by the second day after the debate was a feat which strained the resources of the two offices. On more than one of the seven occasions the newspapers

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contained apologies to their readers for being late in the morning because of the extra effort to get in the Lincoln and Douglas speeches in full.

One particularly smart thing was done in connection with the Quincy debate. A train for Chicago departed while the speaking was in progress. The assistant of Mr. Hitt, a bright young man, picked up the note book containing the report up to a few minutes before train time, ran to the train and started for Chicago. Mr. Hitt followed with the remainder of the notes on the next train after the debate closed. When he reached Chicago he found that his assistant had transcribed the greater part of the earlier portion of the debate and the matter was already in type. It several times happened that Mr. Hitt did not see considerable portions of his notes after taking them until the matter appeared in the paper; the transcribing was done by the assistant and the copy was rushed to the printers. The charge made by the Democrats was that "Mr. Judd, Judge Logan, Judge Davis, or some one else of great and conceded abilities" went over Lincolns speeches and fixed them up before publication. It is answered by the story of the way in which the reporting and publishing was done. So also is answered the Republican accusation that Douglas had access to the transcribed notes of Lincolns speeches, and mutilated them before they appeared in the Democratic papers. There was no time for revision or for putting up jobs with the manuscript by the principals in the debates. The misrepresentation of Lincoln in the Times was in accordance with the purpose to make him appear ignorant and uncouth in language beside Douglas. Among the reporters it was well understood that the report of Lincoln for the Times was to be done in a slovenly manner, to carry out the Democratic estimate of Lincoln. Sheridan who reported Douglas for the Times did not take Lincoln. He was above lending himself to such a dishonorable practice. He frequently talked privately about this treatment of Lincoln, but did not go further than to express his confidential opinion of it. With never failing nerve the Times insisted to the end that its reports of Lincoln were verbatim and that the speeches were printed just as delivered. In American political history there is no other controversy quite like this. After the sixth debate--the one at Quincy--the Times, still carrying on the

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the discussion, said:

"No man can be expert enough to caricature a speaker while speaking, or if that could be done once it would be impossible to repeat the operation and not expose the caricaturist. This we think must strike all judgments as it does ours. Again, we have urged the high characters for truth of our reporters of these debates, whose reputations are worth [redacted] more to them than any wages for present services, in defense of ourselves from the slanderous charges of the zealots who alter Lincolns speeches and then attempt to cast the guilt upon us."

The Times, with magnificent bluff, challenged the Press and Tribune to publish an affidavit from its phonographer, Mr. Hitt; that Lincolns speeches were not "fixed up" before they were published. It alleged at one time that Mr. Ray of the Press and Tribune, revised the copy of Lincolns speeches before publication, and at other times it charged this work upon other prominent Republicans.

One of the tricks of the Democratic report of Lincoln was to insert a note at the end of his part of the debate to the effect that Lincoln "having run down, did not occupy all of his allotted time" by so many minutes. The fact was that both debaters took all of their time. On one occasion Lincoln stopped sixty seconds ahead of his limit and said: "I find I have just one minute left, and I will give that to Judge Douglas to see if he cant make a better answer to my question."

The whole three hours debate ran between six and eight columns--long, closely printed columns--of the four page sheets of those days. There was another striking difference between the two orators, and it was a difference which impressed itself upon the reporters. Douglas had one great finished speech. He made it seven times. Of course he varied somewhat in his introductions and in his specific replies to Lincolns points. But his argument, in defense of his general position on the slavery question, was much the same each time. There were whole paragraphs which he repeated each time. Lincoln made seven speeches, like so many chapters in a book, or distinct divisions of an argument. He did not repeat himself. Douglas speech was carefully prepared effort. He ignored interruptions. Lincoln spoke extemporaneously, having only the outline of his argument in mind, answering suggestions

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from the audience and replying to every new point advanced by Douglas.

The phonographers soon discovered that the Senator was repeating himself largely. Mr. Hitt carried with him copies of previous speeches, and when he came to these repetitions he cut them out and pasted them in his report, thereby saving himself so much work of transcribing. Sheridan, looking on at this saving of labor by means of a convenient bottle of mucilage, had his joke on more than one occasion. "Hitt", he was wont to say, "mucilates Douglas for the Press and Tribune, while --" (mentioning the name of the English stenographer) "mutilates Lincoln for the Times."

The debate which seemed to afford Douglas the most satisfaction was the first--the one at Ottawa. There Douglas had the opening hour and the closing half hour. He put to Lincoln seven questions, and insisted on seven direct answers.

"He goes for uniformity in our domestic institutions," Douglas said, "for a war of sections until one or the other shall have been subdued. I go for the great principle of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, the right of the people to decide for themselves."

The seven questions were artfully framed. They were aimed to put Lincoln in the position of the most radical of the Republicans or to make him adopt the conservative side of the slavery question in such a way as to cause division and dissatisfaction in the newly organized Republican party. The Democrats were in high glee over the Omaha meeting. Their organ, the Chicago Times head lined the debate in this way:

LINCOLN BREAKS DOWN

LINCOLNS HEART FAILS HIM

LINCOLN'S LEGS FAIL HIM

LINCOLNS TONGUE FAILS HIM

LINCOLN'S ARMS FAIL HIM

LINCOLN FAILS ALL OVER

THE PEOPLE REFUSE TO SUPPORT HIM

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THE PEOPLE LAUGH AT HIM

It was at Ottawa that Douglas undertook to hold ~~him~~ Lincoln and his party responsible for a series of anti slavery resolutions which he said had been adopted by the Illinois Republicans four years previously. For the most part both debaters preserved their tempers, but on this occasion Lincoln was not a little indignant. It turned out afterward that Lincoln had good reason for his anger. After referring to the Republican State convention held in 1854, Senator Douglas said: "I have the resolutions of their State convention then held, which was the first mass Convention ever held in Illinois by the black Republican party; and I now hold them in my hands, and will read a part of them and cause the others of them to be printed."

Douglas then read from a little memorandum book, which he took from his pocket, some very radical declarations on the slavery question. When Lincoln rose to reply he accepted the resolutions as genuine, but denied that he was present or had any part in the adoption of such resolutions. When Douglas came forward for the closing half hour he reverted at once to the alleged platform and proceeded to "rub it in". He said:

"The fact that it was the platform of the Republican party is not denied, but Mr. Lincoln now says that although his name was on the committee which reported it, he does not think he was there, but thinks he was in Tazewell holding court."

Douglas pressed the advantage which he had gained. He tried to make it appear that Lincoln was present at the adoption of the platform. As he proceeded there was great excitement and much interruption. The Democratic version of what occurred is as follows:

Mr. Douglas. The point I am going to remind Mr. Lincoln of is this. That after I had made my speech in 1854, during the fair, he gave me notice that he was going to reply to me the next day. I was sick at the time, but I staid over in Springfield to hear his reply and to reply to him. On that day this very convention which adopted the resolutions I have read was to meet in the Senate Chamber. He spoke in the hall of the House, and when he got through his speech

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my recollection is distinct and I shall not forget it--Mr. Codding walked in as I took the stand to reply and gave notice that the Republican State convention would meet instantly in the Senate chamber, called upon the Republicans to retire there and go into this convention instead of remaining and listening to me (three cheers for Douglas).

Mr. Lincoln (interrupting excitedly and angrily) Judge, and that I went along with them, (this interruption was made in a fitful, mean, sneaking way, as Lincoln floundered around the stand).

Mr. Douglas. Gentlemen, Mr. Lincoln tells me to add that he went along with them to the Senate chamber. I will not add that because I do not know whether he did or not.

Mr. Lincoln (again interrupting). I know he did not. (one of the Republican committee here seized Mr Lincoln and by a sudden jerk caused him to disappear from the front of the stand, one of them saying quite audibly: "What are you making such a fuss for? Douglas did not interrupt you and cant you see that the people dont like it?"

The temporary advantage was with Douglas, but it was only temporary. Two or three days later the whole State was agog with the exposure. How the discovery of the fraud came about is an interesting story. There is also in it a triumph for the science of phonography. The debate had been in progress nearly an hour when Douglas produced what he claimed was the first platform of the Republican party in Illinois, adopted four years before. Hearing Douglas refer to the platform and announce his intention of reading it, phonographer Hitt dropped his pen for a moments rest, thinking that he could easily get the platform after the debate and insert it. He looked up and saw that Douglas was reading from his memorandum book. It instantly occurred to him that he might have difficulty in getting the book to copy from. Picking up his pen he took down the rest of the resolutions as Douglas read them. At the time no question of the accuracy of the resolutions entered the mind of Mr. Lincoln. Nor did any one in the crowd detect fraud. Mr. Hitt as soon as the debate was over, took a train to Chicago, and hurried into the Press and Tribune office. Then began the great and unusual work of turning out the "copy" of the debate. To facilitate the work two or three of the Press and Tribune

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men undertook to help. Coming to the reading of the alleged platform, in order to supply the few words he had missed, Hitt called to one of the Press and Tribune men:

"Hunt up the resolutions adopted by our State convention at Springfield in 1854."

The fight was brought out and the resolutions were found, Mr. Scripps, one of the editorial writers began to read the platform.

"Hold on " exclaimed Hitt. "Thats not it at all."

A little further reading showed that Douglas had put off on the Ottawa meeting an entirely different series of resolutions from that which had been adopted at Springfield. Then followed a long search of the files to discover the origin of the bogus platform. The resolutions had a familiar sound, but nobody could at once place them. At length they were found. They had been adopted at a meeting of radical anti slavery men at Aurora. Scripps, who was a pungent writer, sat down and composed a stinging editorial on the trick. He headed it the "Little Dodger Cornered and Caught." This discovery was a terrible blow to Douglas, coming as it did in the very first debate. But his art helped him out. He at once owned up that he had made a mistake; he laid the blunder on the newspaper from which he had clipped the supposed platform. Nobody ever knew whether it was an honest error.

The debate which gave Lincoln the most satisfaction was the second--the one at Freeport. There he took up the seven questions Douglas had propounded at Ottawa, and answered them one by one. When he had done so he said he would now put certain questions to Senator Douglas. To make the questions more impressive he drew from his pocket a single slip of paper and read the four questions slowly. The purpose of Lincolns questions was to make Douglas follow his great and fascinating doctrine of popular sovereignty to its logical conclusion or else confess himself a demagogue. Three of the questions led up to the one which was the ~~critical~~ crucial test, in this form: "Can the people of a territory of the United States in any lawful way against the wishes of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a State constitution?"

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If Douglas said "yes" to this, he parted company with the South, which was insisting on the right, according to the Dred Scott decision, to take slaves into the territories prior to the formation of a constitution. If Douglas said, "no" he confessed that the great political dogma on which he had a personal patent--popular sovereignty, alias Squatter sovereignty--was a delusion.

Douglas, when his turn came to speak, took up the slip of paper, Lincoln having laid it down before him where he could not but take notice of it. He took it up, read the questions one by one and answered them. When he came to the all-important question he read it and threw down the slip of paper as if he was disposing of a most trifling matter. He was a great actor. He could simulate passion; he could assume wild rage and defiance. He would shake his head with its mass of hair like a wild bull, and his admirers would cheer and cheer. But it was all acting. Douglass was a veteran of debate. On this occasion, when he readm the question on which everything turned, he treated it as trifling, and after casting it aside he said: "I answer, emphatically, as Mr Lincoln has heard me answer a hundred times, from every stump in Illinois, that in my opinion the people of a territory can, by lawful means, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a State constitution."

And a little further on he assumed to explain that the people of a territory could control slavery, "because it can not exist unless supported by police regulations. Those regulations can only be established by the local legislature, and if the people are opposed to slavery they will elect representatives to that body who will by unfriendly legislation, effectually prevent the introduction of it into their midst."

The full realization of what Douglas had done did not come to most of those who listened to him until afterwards. His manner was well calculated to deceive. He answered this question on which his future turned as if it was of the slightest consequence. Lincoln undoubtedly knew what he was about, but the stories which have been circulated in later years concerning the four questions are for the most part

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apocryphal. Lincoln prepared the questions. He based them on a report of a speech Douglas had made a few days before at Bloomington. A copy of the Bloomington speech was before him, and after examining it carefully he wrote the questions, believing that Douglas must answer just as he did. The questions were no surprise to Douglas. They simply forced him to emphasize what he had said to his followers at Bloomington. They drew him out, however, very clearly on an occasion when all he said was sure to get into print, under the fierce light of the debates, and to reach the whole country. The New York Tribune, and other eastern papers were reprinting the debates in full or nearly so. Some of Lincolns friends claim to have advised him strongly not to present the questions, telling him that Douglas was sure to stick to his popular sovereignty idea and that, if he did, he would certainly be elected Senator. But Lincoln went ahead. Years afterwards, in the light of events which followed, some of these friends concluded that Lincoln had the gift of foreknowledge, and in 1858, was building for 1860 and the presidency. A story which fits in here may be told. The evening after the debate closed the two champions were accompanied by their respective friends to the depot to take the train. It was not long after the railroad had reached Freeport. Douglas was surrounded by a throng of enthusiastic and noisy admirers. Lincoln, as was usually the case, had with him a smaller and quieter escort. Lincoln had little to say. While waiting for the train he walked to the end of the platform and stood looking seriously towards the West where the sun had just set. Some one asked him: " Mr. Lincoln, how are you satisfied with the debate so far?"

"Douglas may have beaten me to-day for the Senate", was the reply, "but I have stopped him from being President."

This story may be true. The fact is, however, it did not begin to have circulation until four years after the Freeport meeting, when Lincoln was in the White House and the popular demand for Lincoln stories had developed. At the third debate, held at Jonesboro, a strongly Democratic locality, where only about two thousand people were present, Lincoln pressed Douglas hard on the answer to the Freeport question. He insisted that Douglas must explain how in the

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light of the Dred Scott decision the people of a territory could control the introduction of slavery. Douglas reply was ingenious, but it was not satisfactory. It turned the South against him. Six weeks afterwards Douglas was burned in effigy at Norfolk, Va., and when Congress reassembled, Senator Benjamin, of Louisiana, arraigned the Little Giant upon the floor of the Senate for the Freeport and Jonesboro speeches, declaring that Mr. Douglas had dodged the real issue and that his views were unsatisfactory to the South.

The joint debates were very serious--intense both as to the speakers and to the listening crowds. Douglas was most of the time very earnest. Lincoln, with all his humor, was never more solemnly urgent in his appeals to deep passions and lofty principles; especially so at Alton. The discussion was on a high plane. It was devoted mainly to the abstract, the legal, the constitutional phases of the slavery question. The orators talked about the Dred Scott decision and the Lecompton constitution and other judicial and legislative issues. On two occasions, however, they got right down to the homely question: "Is a nigger as good as a white man?".

The Senator made the first crack of this kind, and appealed to prejudice in a most remarkable passage at Freeport, in the second of the debates. He had just finished answering Mr. Lincoln's four questions, when he said :¶"I trust now that Mr. Lincoln will deem himself answered on his four points. He racked his brains so much in devising these four questions that he exhausted himself and had not strength enough to invent the others. (laughter). As soon as he is able to hold a council with his advisers, Lovejoy, Farnsworth and Fred Douglass, he will frame and propound others. ("Good! good!" etc. Renewed laughter, in which Mr. Lincoln feebly joined, saying he hoped with their aid to get seven questions, the number asked him by Judge Douglas and so make conclusions even). You black Republicans who say 'good' have no doubt that they are good men. ("white," "white"). I have reason to recollect that some people in this country think Fred Douglass is a very good man. The last time I was here to make a speech, while talking from the stand to you, people of Freeport, as

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I am doing to-day, I saw a carriage, and a magnificent one it was, draw up and take a position on the outside of the crowd; a beautiful young lady was sitting on the box seat, whilst Fred Douglass and her mother reclined inside and the owner of the carriage acted as driver. (Laughter, cheers, cries of Right!" "What have you to say against it?" etc). I saw this in your own town. (What of it?) All I have to say of it is this, that if you black Republicans think that a negro ought to be on a social equality with your wives and daughters, and ride in a carriage with your wife while you drive the team, you have a perfect right to do so. ("Good!" "Good!" and cheers mingled with howling and cries of "White!" "White!") I am told that one of Fred Douglass' kinsmen, another rich black negro, is now traveling in this part of the State making speeches for his friend Lincoln, the champion of black men. ("White men.'" "White men !" "What have you got to say against it?". "That's right,etc"). All I have to say on that subject is that those of you who believe that the negro is your equal and ought to be on an equality with you socially and politically and legally have a right x to entertain those opinions, and of course will vote for Mr.Lincoln. ("Down with the negro! No! No.!").

Senator Douglas said " Nigger". His organ printed it "Negro"".

The crowd at Freeport was overwhelmingly Republican. Lincoln let the impression Douglas had by this appeal to race prejudice pass without reply. But when he got down to Charleston, in Coles County, a Democratic stronghold, for the fourth debate,he too, got at the race question from a very concrete point of view. He met the great Democrat argument, "How would you like to have your sister marry a negro?" At the very beginning of his Charleston speech . Mr Lincoln said, according to the Democratic report of his speech:

"While I was up at the hotel to-day an elderly gentleman called upon me to know whether I was really in favor of producing a perfect equality between the negroes and the white people. "While I had not proposed to myself upon this occasion to say much upon that subject,as that

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question was asked me, I thought I would occupy perhaps five minutes in saying something in regard to it.

"I will say then that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races; that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters of the negroes or jurors or qualifying them to hold office, or having them marry white people. I will say in addition that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which, I suppose, will forever forbid the two races living together upon terms of social and political equality, and inasmuch as they can not so live, that while they do remain together, there must be the position of superior and inferior; that I as much as any other man am in favor of the superior position being assigned to the white man. I say, in this connection, that I do not perceive, however, that because the white man is to have the superior position, that it requires that the negro should be denied everything. I do not perceive because I do not want a negro woman for a slave that I must necessarily want her for a wife. my understanding is that I can just leave her alone. I am now in my 50th year, and certainly never had a black woman, either as a slave or as a wife, so that it seems to me it is quite possible for us to get along without making either slaves or wives of negroes.

I will add that I have never seen, to my knowledge, a man, woman or child that was in favor of producing a perfect equality, socially and politically, between the negro and white people, and I recollect of but one distinguished instance that I have heard of a great deal, so as to be entirely confident of it, and that is the case of my friend Douglas' old friend, Col. Richard M. Johnston". (Laughter and cries of "Hurrah for Lincoln," and "Hurrah for Douglas").

Douglas did not let the opportunity slip. When his time came he insisted there was one point Mr. Lincoln had not made clear, that was whether he was in favor of negro citizenship. Lincoln had the closing half hour and in it he further defined his position to this effect.

"Judge Douglas has said to you, I believe that he has not been able

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to get from me an answer to the question as to whether I am in favor of negro citizenship. So far as I know, the Judge never asked me that question before, and he will have no occasion to ever ask it again, for I tell him very frankly that I am in favor of it x x x Now, my opinion is that the different states have the power to make a negro a citizen under the Constitution of the United States if they choose. The Dred Scott decision decides that they have not. If the State of Illinois had that power I should be against the exercise of it, that is all there is of that. That is the whole thing".

These Charleston declarations of Lincoln made a great rumpus in the Republican ranks. The Abolitionists were loud in their denunciations. The Congregational Herald, a Church paper, edited by Rev. W.A. Nichols, Rev. Wm A. Pattin, Rev.S.C.Bartlett and Rev. J.E.Roy, came out with the most severe comments. It said:

"Mr. Lincoln deliberately and with repetition declared himself to be opposed to placing colored men on a political equality with white men. He made color and race the ground of political proscription. He forsook principle and planted himself on low prejudice".

For these declarations at Charleston Wendell Phillips, in Boston, bestowed upon Lincoln the name of " The Slave hound of Illinois".

There was not much of unpleasant personality in the debates. But Lincoln had one grievance of this kind. He did not succeed in getting much satisfaction for it. The story is interesting, because it illustrates the ingenuity of Douglas in turning small matters to his own account. At the close of the first debate at Ottawa the partisans of each orator gathered around and made much of him. Some of the overzealous friends of Lincoln picked him up and carried him off on their shoulders to the place where he was stopping. In the Democratic report of the Ottawa debate this version of the carrying scene was given.

"During Douglas' last speech Lincoln had suffered severely, alternately burning with fever and then suddenly chilled with shame; his respiratory organs had become obstructed, his limbs got cold, and he was unable to walk. In this extremity the Republican Marshal called

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half a dozen men, who, lifting Lincoln in their arms, carried him along. By some mismanagement, the men selected for the office happened to be very short in stature, and the consequence was that, while Lincoln's head and shoulders towered above theirs, his feet dragged on the ground. Such an exhibition as the toting of Lincoln, from the Square to his lodgings, was never seen at the Ottawa before. It was one of the richest farces we have ever witnessed, and provoked the laughter of all Democrats and Republicans who happened to see it".

If Douglas did not suggest this version of the carrying, he promptly made it his own. A few days later at Joliet, he described Lincoln as having trembled and as having been so overcome at Ottawa that he had to be carried from the platform. He also charged that Lincoln had been unable to answer the seven questions which he put to him at the first debate, and also that Lincoln had taken seven days to think over the answers, because the specific replies were not made until the second debate at Freeport.

At the third debate- that held at Jonesboro- Lincoln denounced this story of the Ottawa affair as false, and said that Douglas must be crazy to make such a statement. Then the following occurred:

A Voice. Did they not carry you?

Mr. Lincoln. Yes, sir. Now that shows the character of this man Douglas. He smiles now, and says, "Did they not carry you?" You have said that I had to be carried. He sought to teach this country that I was broken down-that I could not get away,and now he seeks to dodge it. Why did you not tell the truth?

The above is, of course, the Democratic report, as is the following from Douglas:

Mr Douglas. I will commence where Mr. Lincoln left off,and make a remark upon this serious complaint of his about my speech at Joliet. I did say there, in a playful manner,that when I put these questions to Mr Lincoln at Ottawa he failed to answer, and that he trembled and had to be carried off the stand, and required seven days to get up his reply. (Laughter). That he did not walk off from that stand he will not deny. That when the crowd went away from the stand with me a few persons carried him home on their shoulders and laid him down,he will

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admit. (Shouts of laughter). I wish to say to you that when ever I degrade my friends and myself by allowing them to carry me on their backs along the public streets when I am able to walk, I am willing to be deemed crazy. ("All right, Douglas." Laughter and applause: Lincoln chewing his nails in a rage in a back corner).

The seven meetings were scattered. By the terms of the challenge and acceptance, one meeting was held in each Congressional district. The series began at Ottawa, and was continued at Freeport. At both of these meetings the Republicans were in the large majority. But the third meeting was "down in Egypt", at Jonesboro. The Republicans were not numerous, and when somebody called out, upon the appearance of the Republican champion, " Three cheers for Lincoln", the latter said: "I hope you won't make fun of the few friends I have here. That is all I ask".

The meetings were managed by joint committees. Banners and transparencies which might provoke friction were not allowed. There was no limitation on cheering. But interruptions of Douglas by Republicans or of Lincoln by Democrats were forbidden. There were occasional infractions of the rule. At Galesburg, on the occasion of the fifth debate, it was necessary to appeal to Republicans to give Douglas a fair hearing. At Quincy, enthusiastic Democrats interrupted Douglas with such encouragement as "Hit him on the woolly side."

At Alton the last debate, the opening on Mr. Lincoln's part was a

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follows, according to the Times:

Mr. Lincoln. Ladies and Gentlemen-

A voice. There are no ladies here.

Mr. Lincoln. You are mistaken about that. There is a fine chance of them back here.

The Alton debate was characterisized by two incidents. Lincoln was accused of violating the rules of debate. The accusation as set forth in the Democratic account of the meeting was this:

"Lincoln's conduct at the last debate was most improper and ungentlemanly. After he concluded his hour-and -a-half speech and Senator Douglas was to reply he seated himself where his motions could not be observed by the Senator, and,whenever a point was made against him, would shake his head at the crowd,intimating that it was not true and that they should put no reliance on what was said. This course was in direct violation of the rules of the debate, and was a mean trick beneath the dignity of a man of honor".

The other incident was occasioned by the attempt of one Dr. Hoke to make a little speech. Dr. Hoke was "a Danite".

"The Danites" in that great campaign of 1858 were the Buchanan Democrats,who were chiefly the Federal office-holders of Illinois. Douglas had broken with Buchanan. He was the Dred Scott decision, but he was against the Lecompton Constitution. The whole power of

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every Federal office holder in his state was supposed to be knifing him. Many of these office-holders worked openly, fighting Douglas in every way. Early in the fight they were given the name of "Danites", and Douglas, in every one of his hundred speeches, denounced this action of Buchanan's administration. Lincoln rarely referred to the course of the federal office-holders further than to insist that Mr. Douglas' quarrel with the Democratic administration was something that did not concern the Republican party. The fact was, as stated by one who went through the campaign, the Republicans lost rather than gained by the "Danites". "For every Federal office-holder who fought him, Douglas gained at least five votes", is the way he puts it. The possession of patronage was an element of party weakness rather than of strength even in those days. Douglas was wont to express himself to this effect: "Whenever you recognize the right of a President to say to a member of Congress, vote as I tell you or I will bring a power to bear against you at home that will crush you. You destroy the independence of the Representative and convert him into a tool of executive power. I resisted this invasion of the Constitutional rights of a Senator, and I intend to resist as long as I have a voice to speak or a vote to give. Yet MrBuchanan can not provoke me tom abandon one iota of Democratic principles out of revenge or hostility to his course".

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Again he said: "The Legislative department is independent of the President. in matters of legislation the President has a veto on the Senate. He has no more right to tell me howx I shall vote on his appointees than I have to tell him whether he shall veto or approve a bill that the Senate has passed. Whenever you recognize the right of the Executive to say to a Senator, ' Do this, or I will take off the head of your friends', you convert this government from a Republic into a despotism".

Lincoln's Alton speech was the greatest of the seven. In that he reviewd the whole argument. two short passages are the most notable. They contain the summary of the review. Lincoln uttered them with great impressiveness. He said:

"The real issue of this controversy,I think, springs from a sentiment in the mind, and that sentiment is this: On the one part it looks upon the institution of slavery as being wrong,and on the part of another clas it does not look upon it as wrong. The sentiment that contemplates the institution of the Rebulican party. It is the sentiment around which all their actions and all their arguments circle, from which all their propositions radiate".

And a little further on he said.

"That is the real cause - an issue that will continue in this country when these poor tongues of Douglas and mine shall be silent. These are the two principles that make the eternal struggle between

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right and wrong; they are the two principles that have stood face to face, one of them asserting the divine right of kings; the same principle that says you work, you toil,you earn bread, and I will eat it. It is the same old sentiment, whether it comes from the mouth of a king who seeks to bestride the people of his nation and to live upon the fat of his neighbor, or whether it comes from one race of men as an apology for the enslaving of another race of men".

W.B.S.

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