



INSIDE THE VAULT

The Lincoln-Douglas Debates

with Dr. Allen Guelzo

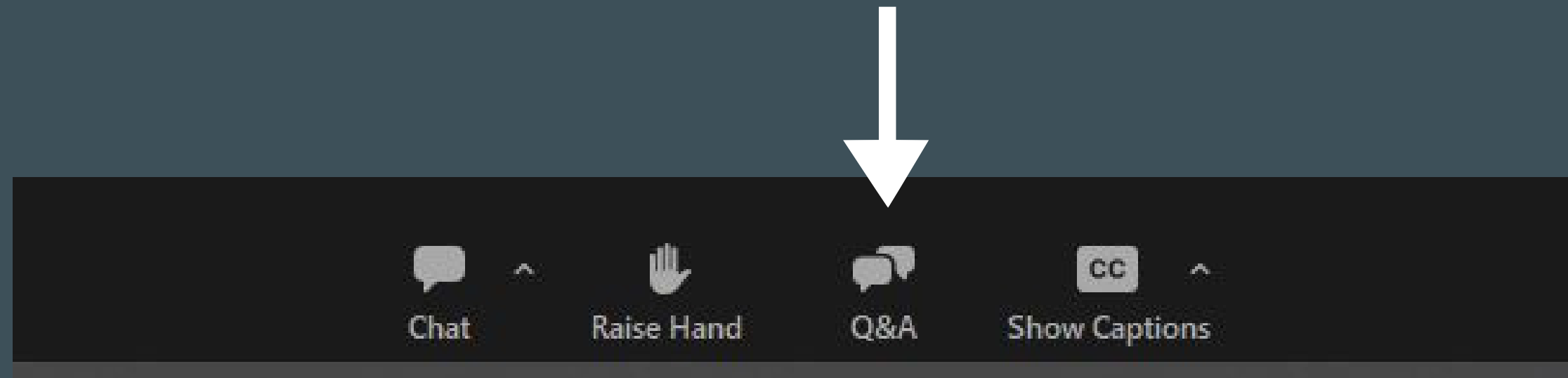
THURSDAY, AUGUST 1, 2024

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THE
GILDER LEHRMAN
INSTITUTE
of
AMERICAN HISTORY

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How to Participate



- If you would like to ask a question, you can use the Q&A feature.
- We will be answering audience questions throughout the session.
- The views expressed here are those of the historian.

For Security and Privacy

- Your microphone is automatically muted.
- Your camera is automatically turned off.

Today's Documents



Private
Springfield, Ill. Dec. 19, 1859
Hon. Saml Galloway,
This will introduce my friend, Mr George
Nicoley, who will deliver to you the copies of debates you
desire. As they cost a good deal of trouble to get them
together, some of us had concluded to send them by him
at our own expense, rather than risk their loss, by any
public conveyance. He is a printer I believe, certainly, has
conducted a news paper, and can give something of my
views, a little more in detail than I could write them,
and also some mechanical assistance in getting the thing
started. He will remain a few days, at our expense, for that
purpose. You perceive the copies, in one of the shapes
sent, are in a scrap book. As they stand there, in pre-
paring the shape I would prefer the publication to be
made in; but as that includes, with the joint debates,
six personal, made speeches, and the correspondence which
led to the joint debate, it may make a larger job than
you wish to undertake. These six speeches however, and so
frequently referred to in the joint debate, as to make them
a very proper, if not indispensable, accompaniment. If,
however, you publish the joint debate only, then it is my wish
to preserve the scrap book whole; and for that contain

Nicolay will furnish you another double set
of debates, so that Douglas's speeches can be taken from
one set to him, and yours from the former to me.
I wish the whole to be accurately copied; but
let there be no color of complaint that
in Nicolay's letter, in Douglas's speeches, has been changed
to add that I esteem the compliment
of the matter, as the very highest I have ever
received, and to assure you and the other kind friends
that it would be unbecoming in me to complain
of the correspondence. You can do that if you
wish.
Yours very truly,
Abraham Lincoln
I forgot to say on the paper placed that the copies
of Lincoln's & Douglass's speeches, which I send, are
by myself. A.L.

Mr Nicolay is a good Republican, and
a good man; and worthy of any confidence
which may be bestowed upon him.

POLITICAL DEBATES
BETWEEN
HON. ABRAHAM LINCOLN
AND
HON. STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS,
In the Celebrated Campaign of 1858, in Illinois;
INCLUDING THE PRECEDING SPEECHES OF EACH, AT CHI-
CAGO, SPRINGFIELD, ETC.; ALSO, THE TWO GREAT
SPEECHES OF MR. LINCOLN IN OHIO, IN 1859.
AS
CAREFULLY PREPARED BY THE REPORTERS OF EACH PARTY, AND PUBLISHED
AT THE TIMES OF THEIR DELIVERY.
COLUMBUS:
FOLLETT, FOSTER AND COMPANY.
1860.

Abraham Lincoln to Samuel Galloway, December 19, 1859.
(The Gilder Lehrman Institute, GLC00365)

Political debates between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas, 1860.
(The Gilder Lehrman Institute, GLC01301)

Dr. Allen C. Guelzo

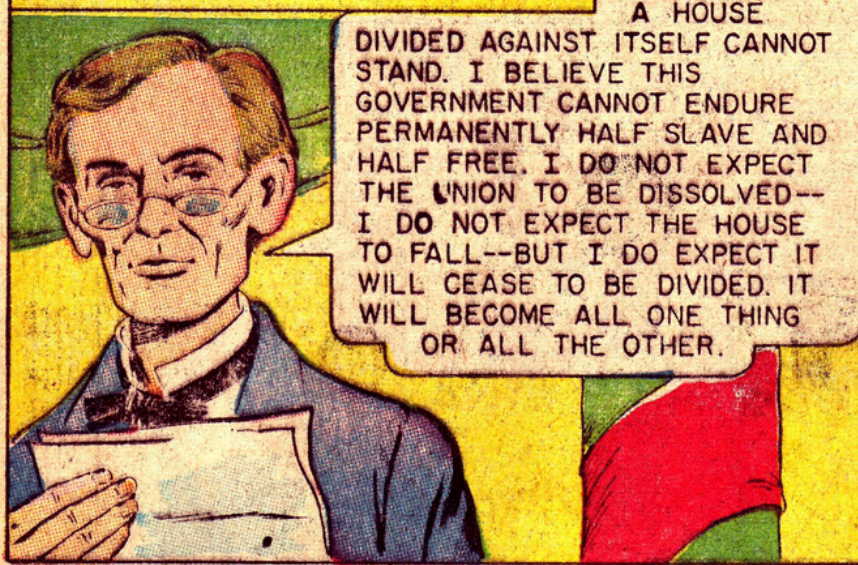


Dr. Allen C. Guelzo is the Thomas W. Smith Distinguished Research Scholar in the James Madison Program at Princeton University. He is the author of *Abraham Lincoln: Redeemer President*, *Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation*, and *Lincoln and Douglas*. His book *Gettysburg: The Last Invasion* was a *New York Times* bestseller in 2013. His newest book on Lincoln, *Our Ancient Faith: Lincoln, Democracy and the American Experiment*, was released by Knopf in February 2024, followed by *Voices from Gettysburg: Letters, Papers, and Memoirs from the Greatest Battle of the Civil War*, released by Kensington Press in May 2024.

His website is www.allenguelzo.com.

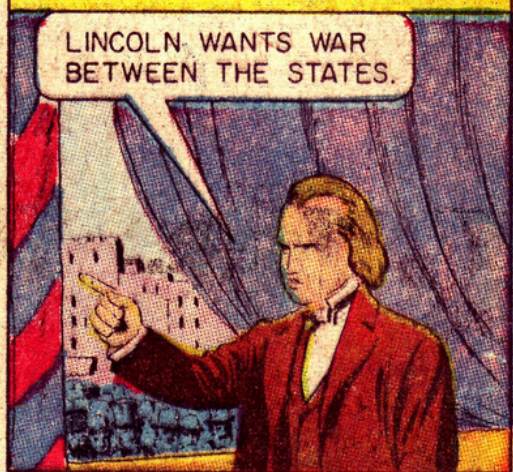


IN JUNE, 1858, LINCOLN AGAIN RAN FOR SENATOR FROM ILLINOIS. HE SPOKE ON THE SLAVERY ISSUE, WHICH WAS RAPIDLY SPLITTING THE NATION.



A HOUSE DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF CANNOT STAND. I BELIEVE THIS GOVERNMENT CANNOT ENDURE PERMANENTLY HALF SLAVE AND HALF FREE. I DO NOT EXPECT THE UNION TO BE DISSOLVED-- I DO NOT EXPECT THE HOUSE TO FALL--BUT I DO EXPECT IT WILL CEASE TO BE DIVIDED. IT WILL BECOME ALL ONE THING OR ALL THE OTHER.

LINCOLN CHALLENGED HIS OPPONENT, STEPHEN DOUGLAS, TO A SERIES OF SEVEN DEBATES ON SLAVERY. DOUGLAS TRIED TO TURN LINCOLN'S "HOUSE DIVIDED" SPEECH AGAINST HIM.

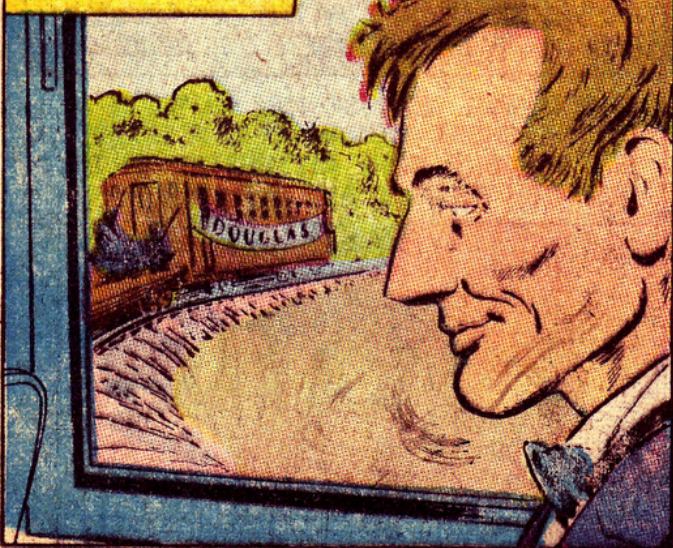


LINCOLN WANTS WAR BETWEEN THE STATES.



LINCOLN DENIED THIS. NO ONE WANTS WAR LESS THAN I. BUT THE UNION IS FAST APPROACHING A CRISIS. IT MUST DECIDE WHICH WAY TO GO ON SLAVERY.

DOUGLAS TRAVELED TO THE DEBATES IN HIS PRIVATE RAILROAD CAR. LINCOLN WAS OFTEN A PASSENGER ON THE SAME TRAIN.



THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES MADE LINCOLN A NATIONAL FIGURE, EVEN THOUGH HE LOST THE ELECTION.



HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT LOSING?

I RECKON I LOOK ON IT AS ONLY A SLIP AND NOT A FALL, BILLY

“Abraham Lincoln,” *Classics Illustrated* #142 (1958)
(Courtesy of Allen Guelzo)



Publishing the Lincoln-Douglas Debates



Private

Springfield, Ill. Dec. 19. 1859

Now: Saml Galloway.

This will introduce my friend, Mr George Nicolay, who will deliver to you the copies of debates you desire. As they cost a good deal of trouble to get them together, some of us had concluded to send them by him, at our own expense, rather than risk their loss, by any public conveyance. He is a printer I believe - certainly, has conducted a newspaper - and can give something of my view, a little more in detail than I could write them; and also some mechanical assistance in getting the thing started. He will remain a few days, at our expense, for that purpose. You perceive the copies, in one of the shapes sent, are in a scrap-book. As they stand there, is precisely the shape I would prefer the publication to be made in; but as that includes, with the joint debates, six previously made speeches, and the correspondence which led to the joint debates, it may make a larger job than you wish to undertake. These six speeches however, are so frequently referred to in the joint debates, as to make them a very proper, if not indispensable, accompaniment. If however, you publish the joint debates only, then it is my wish to preserve the scrap-book unbroken; and for that contin-

gency, Mr Nicolay will furnish you another double set of the joint debates, so that Douglas's speeches can be taken from the paper friendly to him, and drawn from the friendly to him.

Of course I wish the whole to be accurately copied; but especially let there be no color of complaint, that a word, or letter, in Douglas's speeches, has been changed.

Allow me to add that I esteem the compliment ^{paid} ~~you~~ ^{me} in this matter, as the very highest I have ever received; and to assure you, and the other kind friends, that ^{it} ~~it~~ shall ever be held in grateful remembrance.

Still, I think it would be unbecoming in me to cause a publication of the correspondence. You can do that if you choose.

Yours very truly,

Abraham Lincoln

P.S. I forgot to say in the proper place, that the copies of the Columbus & Lomenan speeches, which I send, are in connection by myself. A.L.

P.S. Mr Nicolay is a good Republican, and a good man; and worthy of any confidence which may be bestowed upon him.

Abraham Lincoln to Samuel Galloway, December 19, 1859.

(The Gilder Lehrman Institute, GLC00365)



Sam Galloway

Engraving of Samuel Galloway printed in the *History of the Republican Party in Ohio*, 1898. (University of Michigan Libraries)

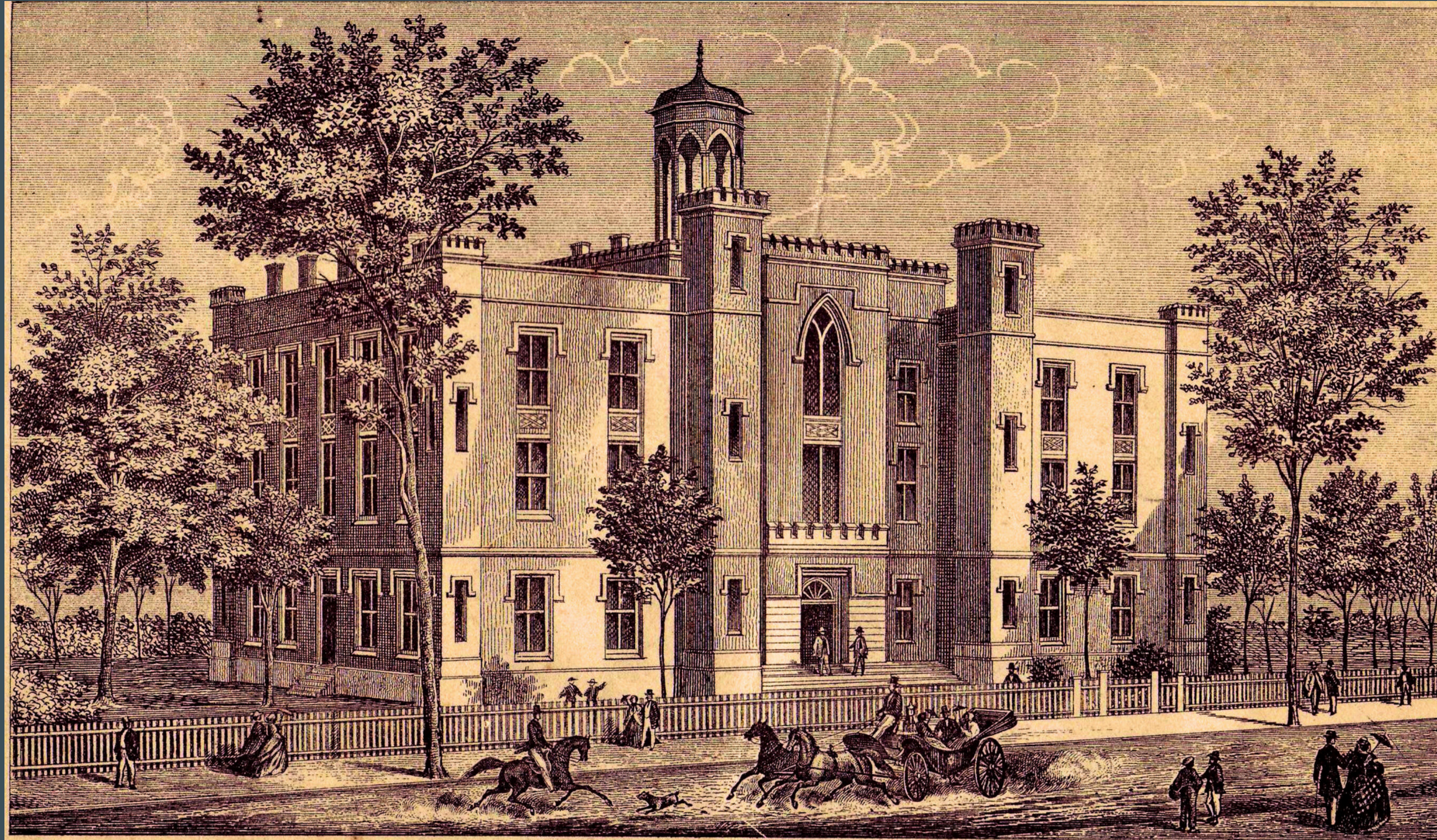


Lincoln and His Secretaries, 1863 (printed ca. 1884).
(The Gilder Lehrman Institute, GLC08565)



Daguerreotype of Nicolay with staff at Pittsfield, Illinois, ca. 1854-1856.
(The Gilder Lehrman Institute, GLC05133.02)

Knox College

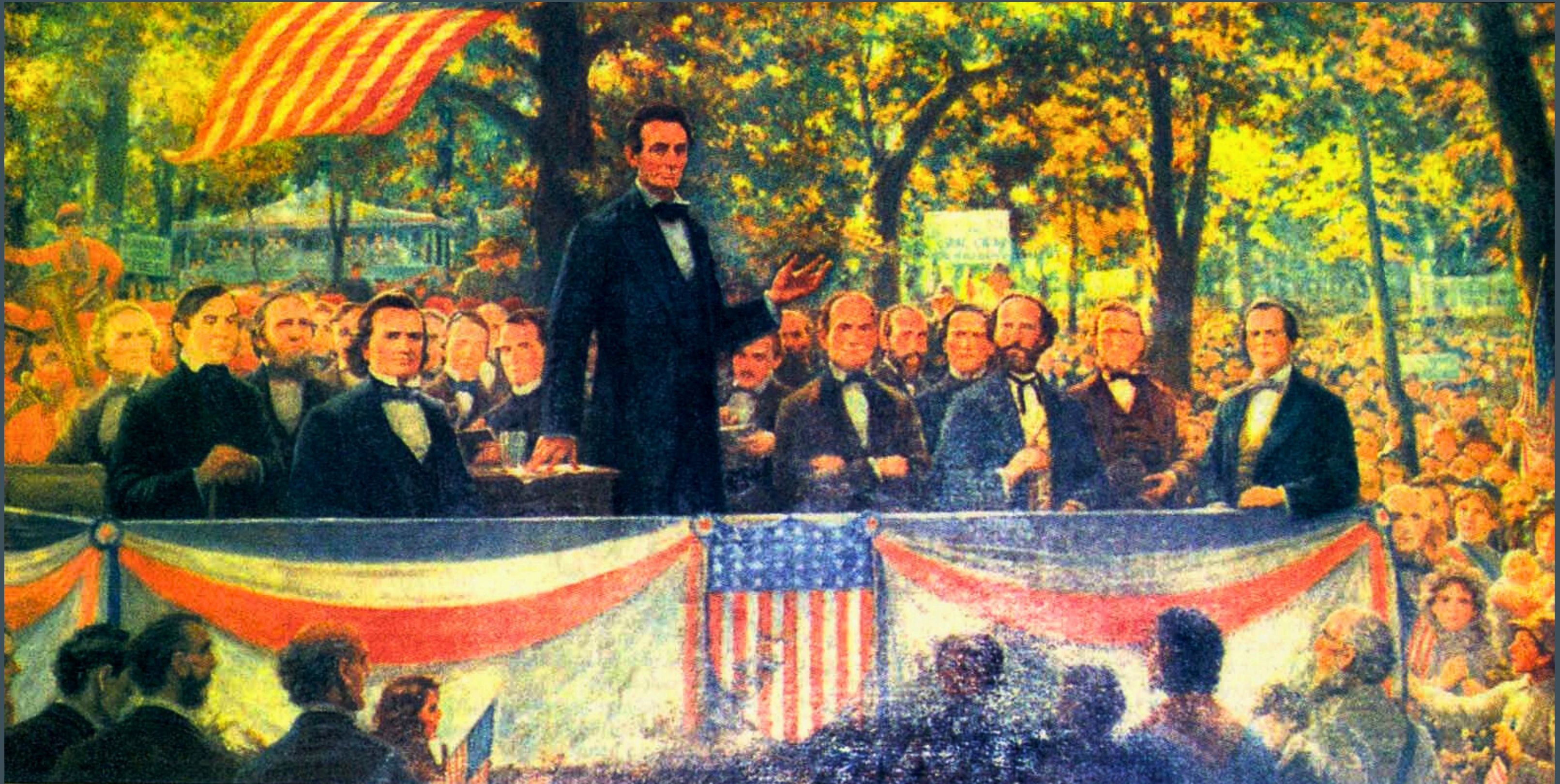


Lithograph of Knox College
published by Edward Mendel,
Chicago, Il., n.d.
(Courtesy of Allen Guelzo)

KNOX COLLEGE.
GALESBURG, ILL.

162 Lake St. Chicago

4th Debate at Charleston, Illinois

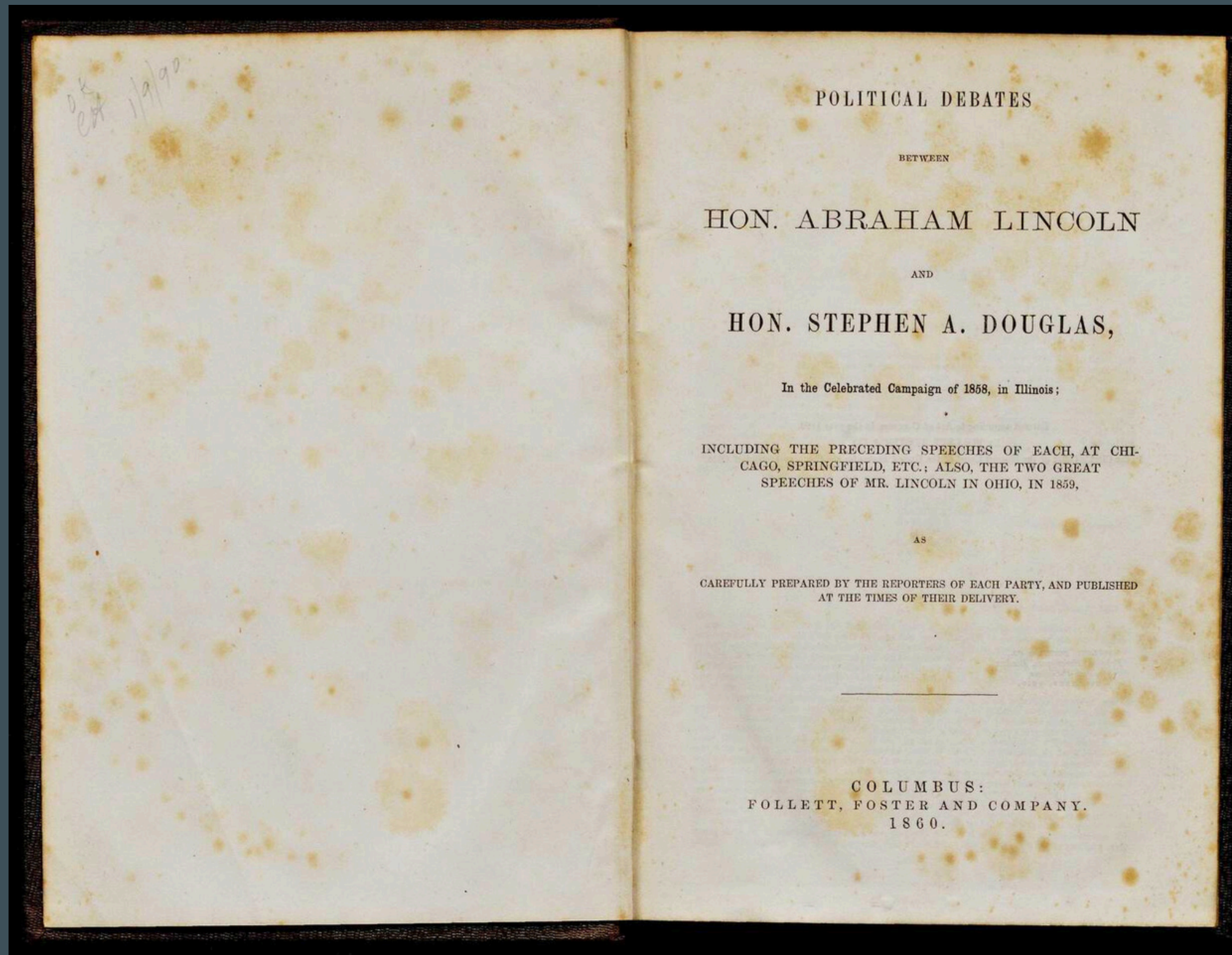
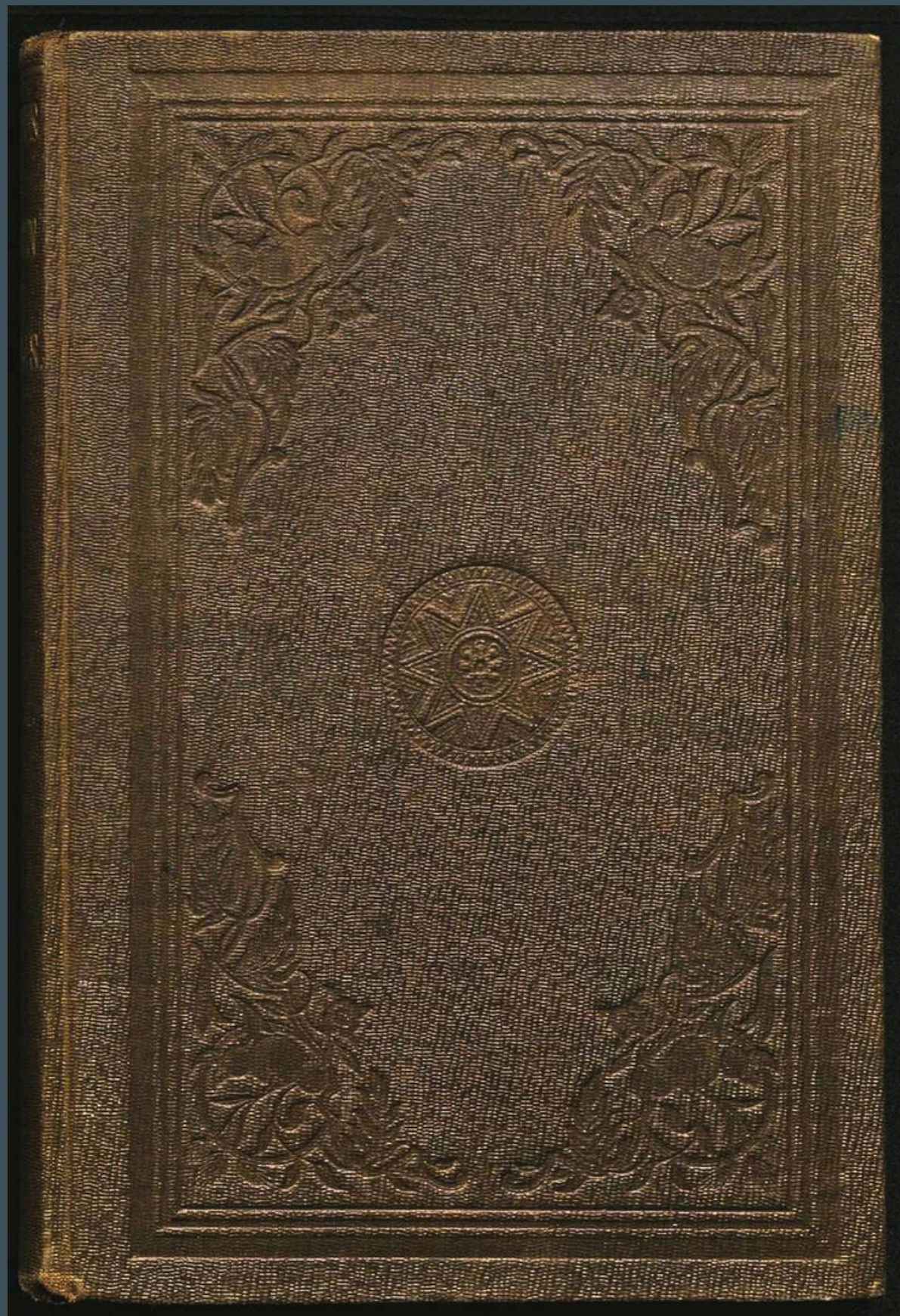


Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas Debating at Charleston, Illinois on September 18th, 1858 painted by Robert Marshall Root, 1918.

(Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library)



Mural of the Lincoln-Douglas Debate at Galesburg, Illinois, by Ralph Fletcher Seymour, 1858. (Knox College)



Political Debates between Hon. Abraham Lincoln and Hon. Stephen A. Douglas, Columbus, 1860.

(The Gilder Lehrman Institute, GLC01301)

“I hold that he is as much entitled to these as the white man. I agree with Judge Douglas he is not my equal in many respects—certainly not in color, perhaps not in moral or intellectual endowment. But in the right to eat the bread, without leave of anybody else, which his own hand earns, he is my equal and the equal of Judge Douglas, and the equal of every living man.”

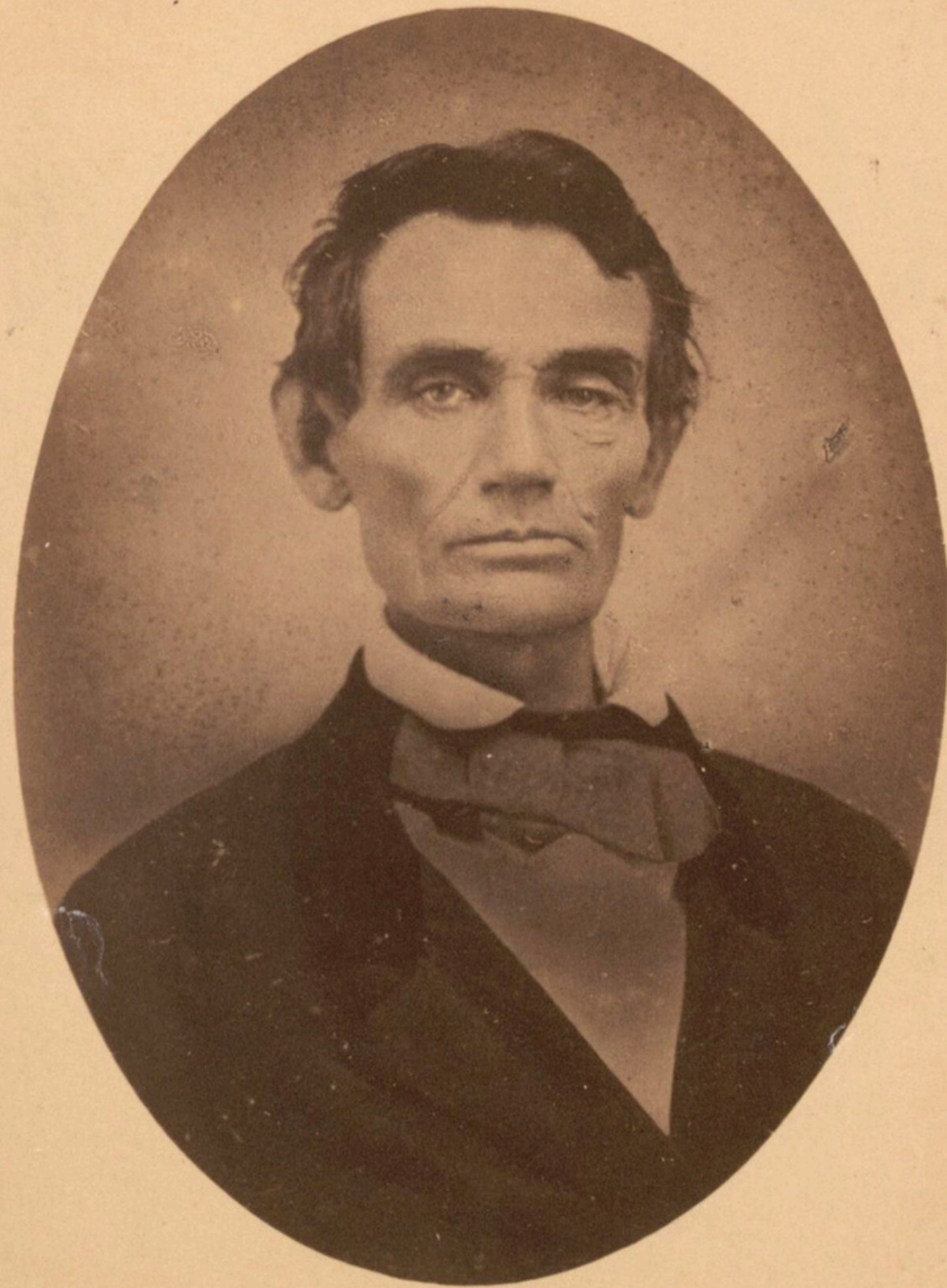
(First Debate in Ottawa, Illinois, August 21, 1858)

“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...I say upon this occasion I do not perceive that because the white man is supposed to have the superior position the negro should be denied everything.”

(Fourth Debate in Charleston, Illinois, September 18, 1858)

Cabinet Card of Abraham Lincoln, 1858.

(The Gilder Lehrman Institute, GLC07094.03)



339 W. MADISON STREET,
CHICAGO, ILL.

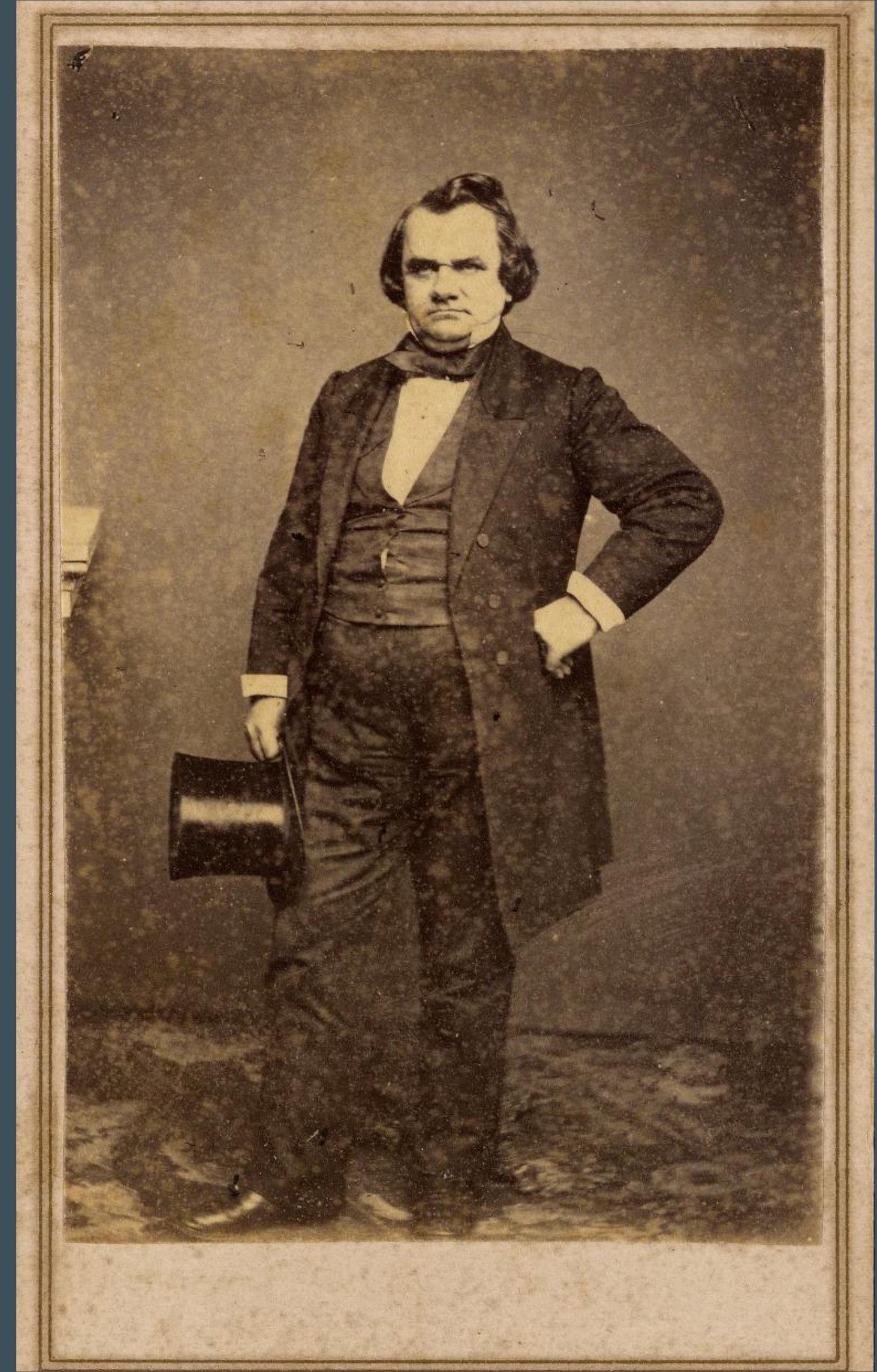
Rider

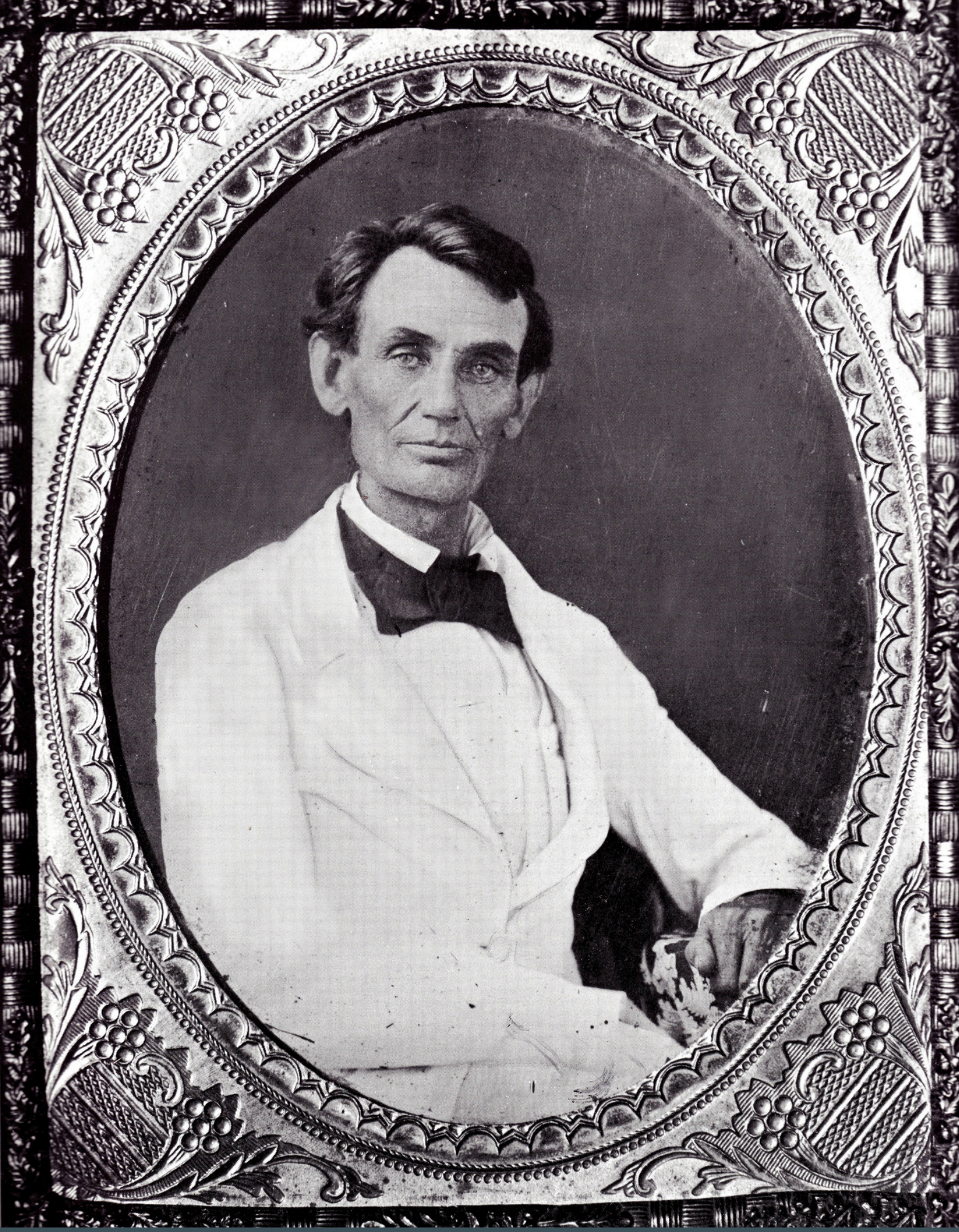


“I want to know whether he is for or against negro citizenship?...I have been trying to get an answer from him on that point, but have never yet obtained one, and I will show you why. In every speech he made in the north he quoted the Declaration of Independence to prove that all men were created equal, and insisted that the phrase ‘all men,’ included the negro as well as the white man, and that the equality rested upon Divine law.”

(Fourth Debate in Charleston, Illinois, September 18, 1858)

Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, 1861.
(The Library of Congress)





“Can the people of a United States Territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a State Constitution?”

(Second Debate in Freeport, Illinois, August 27, 1858)

Abraham Byers, *Portrait of Abraham Lincoln*, 1858.
(Lloyd Ostendorf Collection)

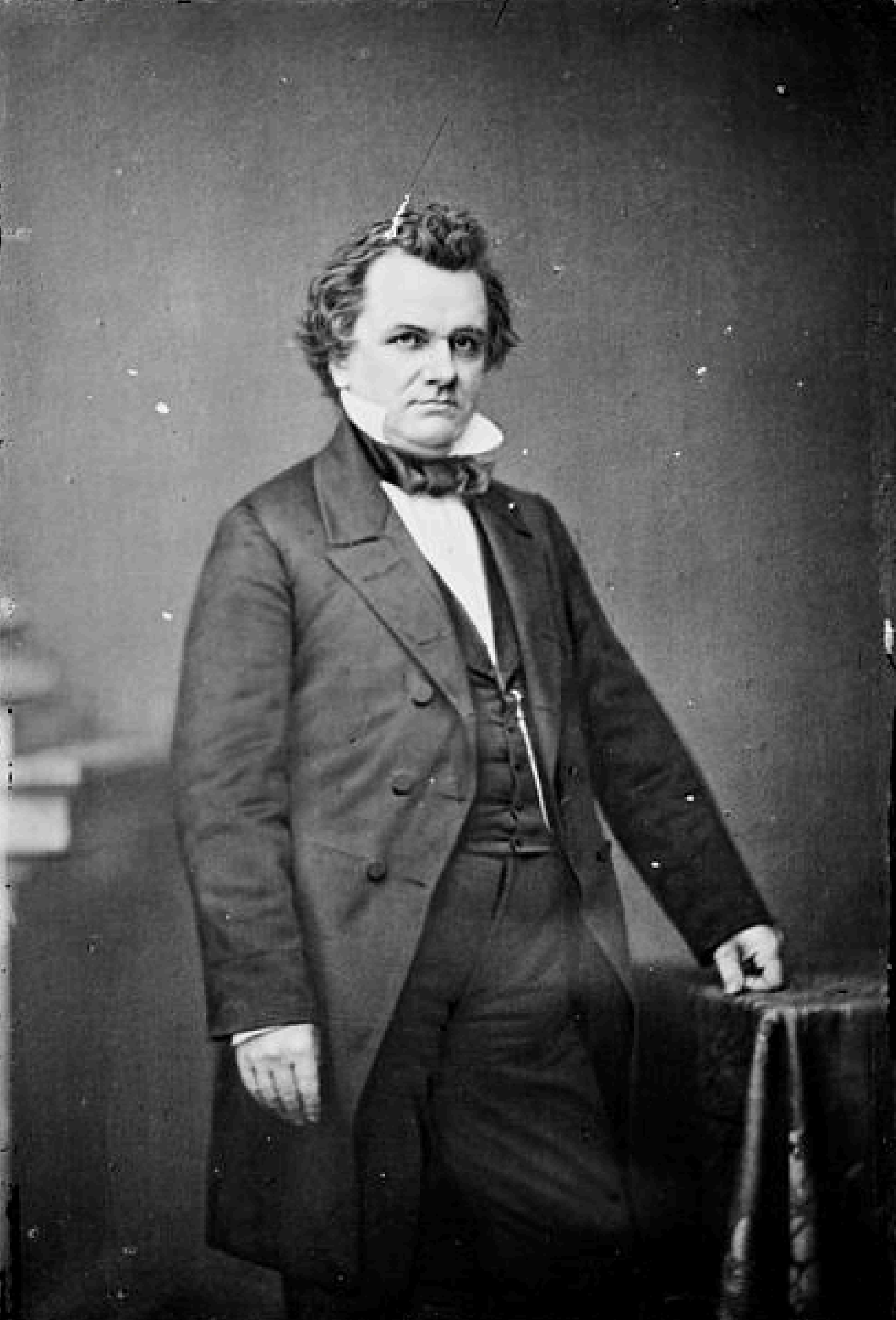


“The next question propounded to me by Mr. Lincoln is, Can the people of a Territory in any lawful way, against the wishes of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a State constitution? I answer emphatically, as Mr. Lincoln has heard me answer a 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.”

(Second Debate in Freeport, Illinois, August 27, 1858)

E. Anthony, *Senator Stephen A. Douglas*, 1860.
(The Library of Congress)





“He says that it has existed for about seventy years thus divided, and yet he tells you that it cannot endure permanently on the same principles and in the same relative condition in which our fathers made it. Why can it not exist divided into free and slave States? Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Madison, Hamilton, Jay, and the great men of that day, made this Government divided into free States and slave States, and left each State perfectly free to do as it pleased on the subject of slavery. Why can it not exist on the same principles on which our fathers made it?”
(First Debate in Ottawa, Illinois, August 21, 1858)

Stephen A. Douglas, Between 1855 and 1865.
(The Library of Congress)

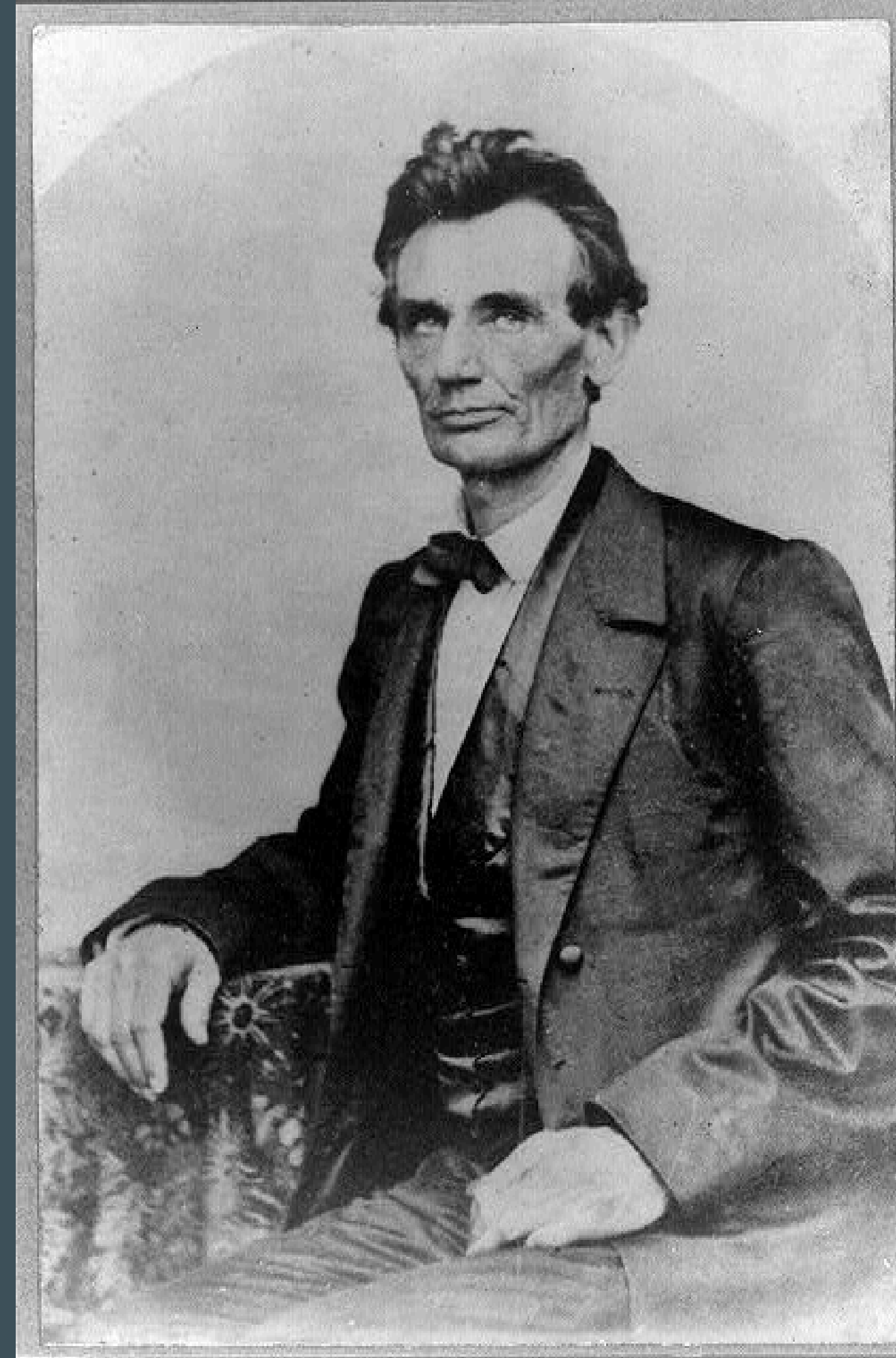


“That is the real issue. . . . It is the eternal struggle between these two principles-right and wrong-throughout the world. They are the two principles that have stood face to face from the beginning of time; and will ever continue to struggle. The one is the common right of humanity and the other the divine right of kings. It is the same principle in whatever shape it develops itself. It is the same spirit that says, ‘You work and toil and earn bread, and I’ll eat it.’ No matter in what shape it comes, whether from the mouth of a king who seeks to bestride the people of his own nation and live by the fruit of their labor, or from one race of men as an apology for enslaving another race, it is the same tyrannical principle.”

(Seventh Debate in Alton, Illinois, October 15, 1858)

William Marsh, *Candidate for U.S. President Abraham Lincoln*, 1860.

(The Library of Congress)



Upcoming Free Programs

INSIDE THE VAULT: September 5 at 2 p.m. ET (11 a.m. PT)

- We will explore the Army-Navy Servicemen's World Series of 1944 with Dr. Michael Neiberg.

BOOK BREAKS: August 4 at 2 p.m. ET (11 a.m. PT)

- Alex Kershaw will discuss his book *Patton's Prayer: A True Story of Courage, Faith, and Victory in World War II*.