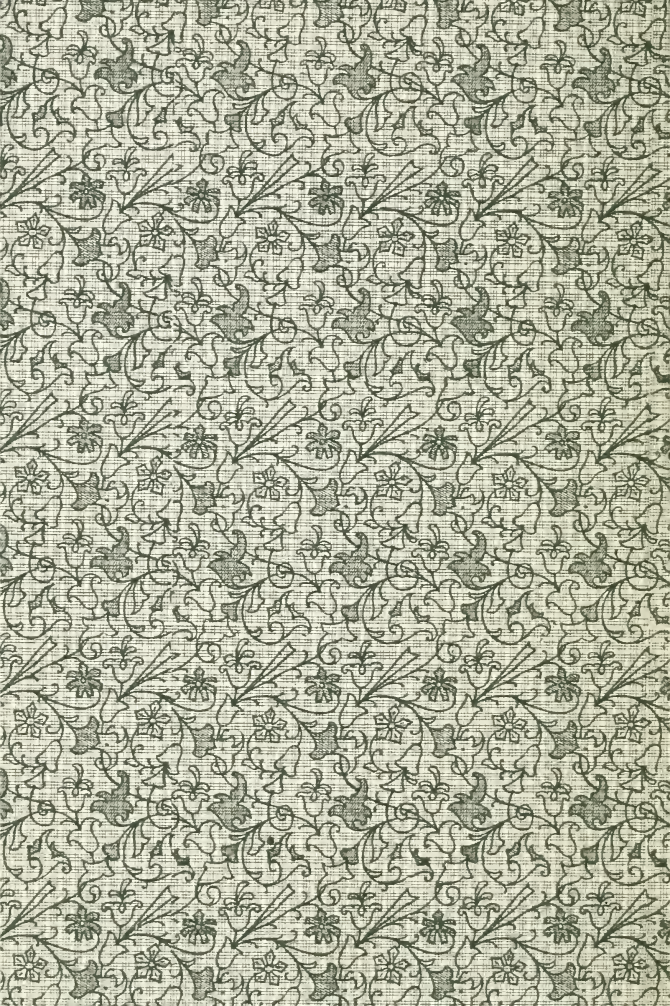
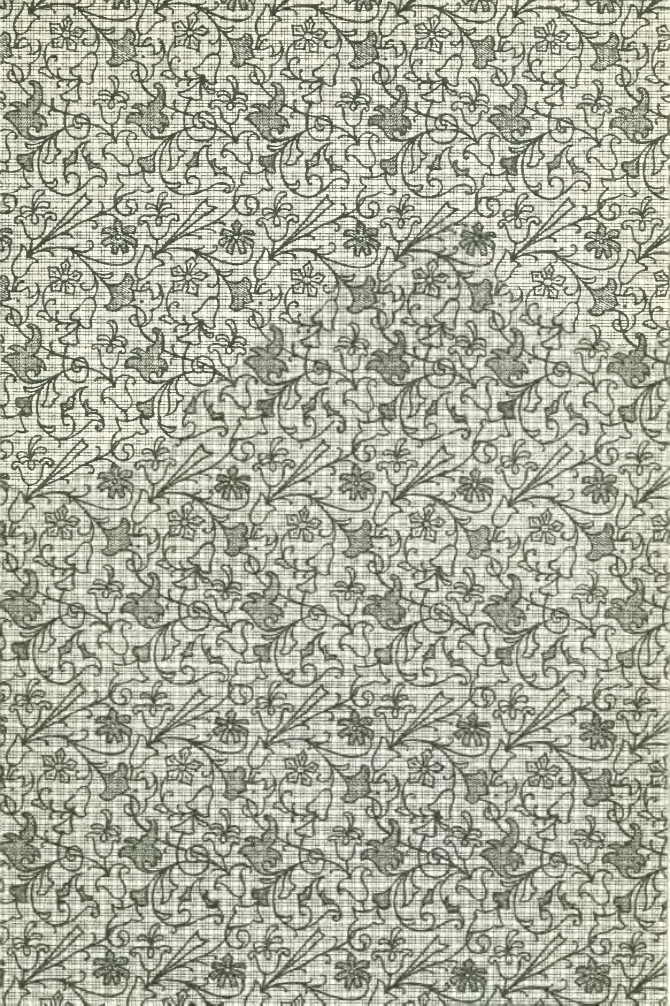



Abraham Lincoln







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ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

AMERICA; *lingk'ūn*, A.D. 1809-1865.

Sixteenth President of the United States: 1809, February, 12—1865, April 15; born Hardin county, Kentucky. His ancestors came from England about 1638, settling in Massachusetts. His grandparents moved from Virginia to Kentucky, 1782, where his grandfather was killed by an Indian two years afterward, leaving a widow with three sons and two daughters, Thomas Lincoln, father of Abraham, being then but six years old. Thomas Lincoln married Nancy Hanks, of Virginia, 1806, and settled in what is now Larue county, Kentucky, where Abraham was born, and where he began going to school, when, 1816, the family removed to Indiana. Here in their rude log-cabin his mother died, 1818—a bright, intelligent, industrious and devout woman, of whom her son could truly say what he used to say of his step-mother, "All that I am, or hope to be, I owe to my angel mother." A year and a month later his father married again; the family lived a poor, laborious life; the son receiving only about a year of the rudest school education, but showing great taste for reading, perusing over and over again the few books he could get, as *Aesop's Fables*, *Pilgrim's Progress*, *Robinson Crusoe*, a *History of the United States*, *Life of Washington*, etc. In 1825, he managed a ferry across the Ohio; 1828, he took a flat-boat with produce to New Orleans; 1830, the family removed to Illinois, clearing and fencing 15 acres of land about 10 miles west of Decatur. This year Abraham became of age. He was 6 ft. 4 in. tall, of gigantic strength and great agility, and by his studious use of every opportunity had gained a fair mastery of the English language, of American history, and of elementary mathematics, besides having developed a very practical and shrewd turn of mind, unusual narrative and rhetorical powers, with great humor and sterling integrity of character. About this time

he made his first public speech, on the navigation of the Sangamon River, in reply to one by a candidate for the Legislature. In 1831 he took another flat-boat to New Orleans, for Denton Offutt; and on his return attended to the latter's store in New Salem, Menard county, where he employed his abundant leisure in studying surveying and the principles of law. Next year came the Black Hawk Indian war. Lincoln at once enlisted, and was made captain, but served in that capacity only about a month, when his company was mustered out of service. He immediately joined another company, however, as private; and served without any notable experiences, until finally mustered out a few weeks later, 1832, June 16. Returning home, he entered on a late and hasty canvass for the Legislature, announcing his platform thus: "I presume you all known who I am; I am humble Abraham Lincoln. I have been solicited by my many friends to become a candidate for the Legislature. My politics are short and sweet, like the old woman's dance. I am in favor of a national bank; I am in favor of internal improvements, and a high protective tariff. These are my sentiments and political principles. If elected, I shall be thankful; if not, it will be all the same." He was defeated, though his own neighborhood voted for him almost unanimously. Thereupon he entered into partnership with another man in the grocery and dry goods business in New Salem. His partner was worthless, and the firm failed, Lincoln being left with the indebtedness of the concern resting upon him. By frugality and hard work he paid it off entirely in a few years. He next took to studying law, and then to surveying. In 1833 he was appointed postmaster of New Salem, with a beggarly salary but plenty of time for reading and study. He held the office for three years, being at the same time also deputy for the county surveyor. In 1834 he was again candidate for the Legislature, and this time was elected by a large majority, afterward being re-elected three times, 1836-38-40, until he re-

fused to serve again. In 1835 he became engaged to Ann Rutledge, a daughter in the family with whom he was boarding at New Salem. But before they could be married this young lady died, leaving her lover despondent.

His service in the Legislature was such as to make him a recognized leader of the whig party, and a proficient lawyer. He was instrumental in having the state capital removed from Vandalia to Springfield, where he settled, 1837. In the Legislature, too, he had his first encounter with Stephen A. Douglas, whose political and oratorical opponent he continued to be from this time until 1860, when Douglas was finally defeated and Lincoln elected to the Presidency. In 1840 Lincoln entered with fervor into the campaign for Harrison, being an elector on the Harrison ticket; and the same year also met and engaged himself to marry Mary, daughter of the Hon. Robert S. Todd, who had just come from Lexington, Ky. For some reason connected with this engagement, Lincoln fell into a deep melancholy and was in danger of becoming insane. He recovered, however, and married Miss Todd, 1842, November 4.

Always an admirer of Henry Clay, he was made an elector on the Clay ticket, 1844; and two years afterward was elected to Congress by an unusually large majority, over the Rev. Peter Cartwright. Now began his anti-slavery record in his proposing a scheme for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, which, however, characteristically moderate as it was, Congress refused to consider. He served only one term in Congress, after which for several years he was not specially active in politics, until the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, 1854, a fact which he regarded as a gross breach of faith, and which involved him in a series of debates with Douglas in the years following, which attracted national attention, and greatly enhanced the reputation of Lincoln as a debater and orator. In 1858 he appeared before the state convention with a view

to securing the nomination for U. S. Senator. In his speech he uttered these prophetic words, soon after to be fully realized: "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. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward, till it shall become alike lawful in all the states, old as well as new—North as well as South." These words were deemed highly impolitic by his partisans; and, indeed, they did not secure him the Senatorship, Douglas being re-elected, much to Lincoln's disappointment. But they did enhance his fame as a man above political trickery and time-serving, as a statesman capable and courageous enough to treat political questions from the ethical side, and as involving fundamental principles of right and truth.

It was largely owing to the attention that his six years' contest with Douglas aroused, and to his manifest superiority over the "little giant," culminating in his famous Cooper Institute address in New York, 1860, February 27, that he began more and more to be talked of in connection with the republican nomination for the Presidency. When the republican national convention met at Chicago, 1860, May 16, William H. Seward was the leading candidate, though Lincoln was the popular man outside the convention. On the third day balloting began, and Lincoln was nominated on the third ballot, his chief competitors besides Seward being Cameron, Chase, Dayton, McLean, Collamer, and Bates. Next day he was officially notified of his nomination. at Springfield; and accepted in a brief speech. Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, was nominated for the vice-presidency. Many republicans, however, were

not satisfied, and nominated Bell as the candidate of the "constitutional union" party; but their defection was more than offset by the split in the democratic party, the more conservative element nominating Douglas, while the extreme slavery men utterly repudiated him and nominated Breckenridge. The canvass was an exciting one, it being felt that the gravest national questions depended for solution on the result. Lincoln received of the popular vote, 1,866,46; Douglas, 1,375,157; Breckenridge, 847,953; Bell, 590,631. None of them had a majority. But when, December 5, the electoral college met, the vote of the electors stood as follows: Lincoln, 180; Douglas, 12; Breckenridge, 72; Bell, 39; giving Lincoln a clear majority of 57.

Even before the election certain extremists in the South had been preparing for secession; and November 10, four days after it, the Legislature of South Carolina ordered the state convention to consider the question of secession, and, December 20, that state formally seceded from the union, and by 1861, February 18, the "Confederate States of America" were organized, and Jefferson Davis was made their president. Troops were being massed in the South, arms and ammunition accumulated, and fortifications strengthened. In this ominous state of affairs the President-elect was preparing for his inauguration. Fearing assassination, his friends prevailed on him to travel to Washington in comparative secrecy, where he was inaugurated, 1861, March 4. His inaugural was temperate yet firm in tone, denying the right of any state to secede, and declaring his resolve to maintain the union at all hazards. The Confederates, however, had already in January virtually begun the civil war by besieging Fort Sumpter, in Charleston harbor, which was held by a handful of Federal troops under Major Robert Anderson. April 13 this fort was obliged to surrender after 34 hours' bombardment by the Confederates under General Beauregard. Two days afterward Lincoln issued a proclamation calling for 75,000 militia to

serve three months, and May 4 ordered the enlistment of 64,748 soldiers and 18,000 seamen for three years' service, and May 19 instituted a blockade of the Southern ports. The first blood was shed when, in response to this call, the 6th Massachusetts regiment was attacked by a mob while marching through Baltimore. Other minor engagements followed; and, 1861, July 1, the first important battle was fought, at Bull Run, the Federal forces being routed, and the national capital endangered. The North speedily recovered from this shock, and volunteers poured into Washington without waiting to be called. In October General Scott retired, and McClellan was given command of the Federal troops. He set himself with great skill thoroughly to organizing the army.

Meanwhile the slavery question came more and more into the foreground. In 1861, August, Congress passed an act confiscating the rights of slaveholders in active rebellion to their slaves. Extreme abolitionists urged more radical measures. General Fremont declared martial law in Missouri, and the freedom of all slaves owned by active rebels. Lincoln believing such a measure premature and unauthorized, countermanded it. Sentiment was divided in the North; but the great mass of the people sustained the conservative counsels of the President. March 6, 1862, he sent a message to Congress recommending a gradual abolition and offering pecuniary compensation to slave owners. Congress passed an act in conformity with this, but no result followed. In April it passed an act, which Lincoln approved, emancipating all slaves in the District of Columbia, with compensation to the owners. When General Hunter, however, 1862, May 9, presumed to declare all slaves in Georgia, Florida and South Carolina free, Lincoln at once issued a proclamation declaring this order void and unauthorized, at the same time repeating the offer to compensate all who should voluntarily free their slaves. In the North the anti-slavery sentiment was

steadily growing; and in June Congress prohibited slavery in all the territories. July 12 Lincoln again specially urged upon the border slave states his proposal of a gradual emancipation with compensation, saying: "If the war continues long, as it must if the object be not sooner attained, the institution in your states will be extinguished by mere friction and abrasion—by the mere incidents of the war. It will be gone, and you will have nothing valuable in lieu of it." But his words seemed to have no effect. It was then, 1862, July, that he reached the conclusion that a general and final abolition of slavery must soon be brought about, and that apparently nothing was left him to do than to issue a proclamation of emancipation and so accomplish the great end at one blow. He soon wrote such a proclamation and submitted it to members of his cabinet. But the course of military affairs constrained him not to consummate the matter just at this time. "My paramount object is to save the union," he said, "and not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the union without freeing any slave, I would do it; if I could save it by freeing any slave, I would do it."

Meanwhile the outcome of the war at this period seemed doubtful. Early in 1862 the Federal forces had had successes at Forts Donelson and Henry and at Shiloh. Roanoke Island on the North Carolina coast had been taken. The Monitor had subdued the Merrimac. New Orleans had been taken, and the Mississippi in the main was in the control of the Federal government. But events were less favorable during the second quarter of the year, McClellan had moved "on to Richmond," but had finally been forced to retreat and abandon the campaign. Pope had been driven back upon Washington. At Antietam, indeed, Lee's advance northward had been stopped, but he was not fatally crippled. Fredricksburg and Chancellorsville both had been disastrous Federal defeats. All this, however, was but ripening popular sentiment, and mak-

ing clear the necessity of emancipation, if only as a war measure, a means of self-preservation. Accordingly, 1862, September 22, Lincoln issued his preliminary proclamation, declaring that on and after 1863, January 1, all persons held as slaves in states or parts of states then in rebellion should be free. Then, after another attempt, December 1, to bring about the gradual abolition, with compensation, he made the final proclamation declaring Arkansas, Texas, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina and certain parts of Louisiana and Virginia to be in rebellion against the United States; and that as a necessary war measure he did "order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated states and parts of states, are and henceforth shall be free." As he said two years afterward, this proclamation was "the central act of my administration, and the great event of the nineteenth century." Its legal validity was indeed questioned by some, but never had a verdict passed upon it by the national courts; circumstances and the course of events fully justified it. Moreover, in 1864, December, Lincoln urged Congress to adopt a thirteenth amendment to the constitution making slavery illegal and unconstitutional. This was done, 1865, January, 31, and before the close of the year twenty-seven of the thirty-six states of the union had ratified the amendment, which therefore was officially declared adopted, 1865, December 18.

After the reverse at Chancellorsville the tide of success turned steadily and strongly in favor of the Federal armies, whose number, including negro troops who were now regularly enlisted, reached about a million men. The fall of Vicksburg and Port Hudson opened the Mississippi. Lee's invasion of Pennsylvania resulted in his defeat, after a three days' struggle, at Gettysburg—the greatest battle of the war. It was here that, 1863, November 19, at the dedication of the battle-field at a national soldiers' cemetery, Lincoln delivered, almost *ex tempore*, the matchless oration, which at once took its

place as a classic unsurpassed among addresses of the kind.

The defeat at Gettysburg was fatal to the Confederates. Their resources were failing; men and provisions were becoming scarce. The Federals were stronger than ever. Grant was made commander of their armies, and set himself pertinaciously to the capture of Richmond. Sherman was sweeping like a tornado through the very heart of the Confederacy, from the Mississippi Valley to Savannah, and thence northward to meet Grant. Lee was forced out of Richmond, and surrendered at Appomattox, 1865, April 9. The war was ended. The North was wild with joy. The surrender of Johnston to Sherman a few weeks later, April 26, was only the inevitable consequence of Appomattox.

A glance at some of the president's diplomatic and political acts previous to this culmination is proper here. Several times during the war serious foreign complications were threatened. The arrest by Capt. Wilkes of two Confederate envoys, Mason and Slidell, on their way to England on the British steamer Trent, threatened our peace with Great Britain. Though public sentiment sustained Wilkes, Lincoln saw that his action had been illegal, and ordered the surrender of the prisoners. When Maximilian was set up as emperor of Mexico under the protection of French troops, our government strictly maintained its policy of non-intervention, though declaring the sympathy of its people with a Mexican republic, and that our own safety was dependent on the maintenance of free republican institutions throughout America, at the same time accepting the assurance of France that she did not intend to overthrow or establish local government. When in 1863 France proposed a mediation between the North and South, Lincoln firmly declined to consider the proposal. Certain agents in Canada, 1864, trying to arouse sympathy for the Confederacy, by conveying the impression that the South wished to treat for peace, declared themselves authorized by the Confederacy to enter into peaceful negotiations. Lin-

coin at once promised them safe conduct to Washington and an interview. This forced them to confess that the Confederacy had never authorized them. 1865, Feb. 3, he and Secretary Seward met three Confederate commissioners in an informal conference at Hampton Roads, at which the latter proposed a cessation of hostilities and postponement of its issues until after the expulsion of the French from Mexico by the allied forces of the North and South. Lincoln, however, insisted as the inevitable conditions of any adjustment, first, the restoration of the national authority throughout the states; second, no recession by the national government on the slavery question; and third, no cessation of hostilities until the war should be ended and all Confederate troops disbanded. This closed the conference.

In 1864, November, the regular presidential election was to be held. The Republicans nominated Lincoln; the Democrats McClellan. The election showed 2,216,076 ballots cast for Lincoln, and 1,808,725 for McClellan; while of the electors 212 voted for Lincoln, and only twenty-one for McClellan. The former was inaugurated 1865, March 4.

Little more than a month after, in midst of the national rejoicing over the virtual conclusion of the war by Lee's surrender at Appomattox, a sudden chill struck the heart of the nation by the news flashed over the wires from Washington that the President had been assassinated. He had visited Grant's army, and with it entered Richmond the day after its surrender. He returned to Washington, April 11, and made an address on the question of reconstructing the governments of the states lately in rebellion. On the 14th, being Good Friday, he and his wife, together with Major Rathbone and Miss Harris, were invited to Ford's Theatre. They occupied a private box, and Lincoln was absorbed in the play, when at about 10:30 P. M. a shot rang through the hall. The next instant John Wilkes Booth jumped down from the President's box upon the stage, brandishing a dagger, and shouting, "*Sic semper tyrannis!* The South is avenged!" rushed behind the scenes,

out through the stage door, mounted a horse, and escaped into the night. The President sat motionless. The assassin's ball had pierced his brain and he was unconscious. He was tenderly carried into a house across the street, where he died at 7 o'clock next morning, 1865, April 15. Booth had entered the President's box from the corridor behind, and unseen by any one had discharged his pistol at the back of his victim's head, the ball entering just behind the ear. Major Rathbone, trying to seize the murderer, had been stabbed in the arm by him. Everything was done so quickly, that before the audience knew what had happened, the assassin was gone. On the same night the attempt was made also to murder Secretary Seward at his house, where he was confined to his bed by an accident. Other prominent officials also were to have been made way with had not the plot failed. The discovery of this plot and the news of the assassination occasioned horror throughout the civilized world. The murder had been planned by a gang of irresponsible individuals, without the authority, connivance, or knowledge of those outside of their fanatical circle. Booth, who had broken his leg in jumping from the box upon the stage, was pursued and shot in a barn where he had concealed himself, twelve days after his crime. All his confederates were likewise soon brought to justice.

Next to the name of Washington there is none so deeply and lovingly enshrined in the American heart as that of Abraham Lincoln; and James Russell Lowell in his classic essay on him, stated the simple truth when he wrote:

"A civilian during times of the most captivating military achievement, awkward, with no skill in the lower technicalities of manners, he left behind him a fame beyond that of any conqueror, the memory of a grace higher than that of outward person, and of a gentlemanliness deeper than mere breeding. Never before that startled April morning did such multitudes of men shed tears for the death of one they had never seen, as if with him a friendly presence had been taken away

from their lives, leaving them colder and darker. Never was funeral panegyric so eloquent as the silent look of sympathy which strangers exchanged when they met on that day. Their common manhood had lost a kinsman."

DEBATE WITH DOUGLAS.

Springfield, Illinois, June 17, 1858.

Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Convention—If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do, and how to do it. We are now far into the fifth year since a policy was initiated with the vowed object, and confident promise, of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy that agitation has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion, it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. "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. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South.

Have we no tendency to the latter condition?

Let any one who doubts, carefully contemplate that now almost complete legal combination—piece of machinery, so to speak—compounded by the Nebraska doctrine and the Dred Scott decision. Let him consider how well adapted; but also let him study the history not only what work the machinery is adapted to do, and of its construction, and trace, if he can, or rather fail, if he can, to trace the evidences of design and concert of action among its chief architects from the beginning. The new year of 1854 found slavery excluded from more than half the States by State Constitutions, and

from most of the national territory by Congressional prohibition. Four days later commenced the struggle which ended in repealing that Congressional prohibition. This opened all the national territory to slavery, and was the first point gained.

But so far Congress only had acted; and an indorsement by the people, real or apparent, was indispensable, to save the point already gained and give chance for more.

This necessity had not been overlooked, but had been provided for, as well as might be, in the notable argument of "squatter sovereignty," otherwise called "sacred right of self-government," which latter phrase, though expressive of the only rightful basis of any government, was so perverted in this attempted use of it as to amount to just this: That if any one man choose to enslave another, no third man shall be allowed to object. That argument was incorporated into the Nebraska bill itself, in the language which follows: "It being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any territory or state, nor to exclude it therefrom; but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States." Then opened the roar of loose declamation in favor of "squatter sovereignty," and "sacred right of self-government." "But," said opposition members, "let us amend the bill so as to expressly declare that the people of the territory may exclude slavery." "Not we," said the friends of the measure; and down they voted the amendment.

While the Nebraska bill was passing through Congress a law case, involving the question of a negro's freedom, by reason of his owner having voluntarily taken him first into a free state and then into a territory covered by the Congressional prohibition, and held him as a slave for a long time in each, was passing through the United States Circuit Court for the District of Missouri, and both Nebraska bill and lawsuit were brought to a decision in the same month of May, 1854. The negro's name was "Dred Scott," which name now des-

ignates the decision finally made in the case. Before the then next presidential election, the law case came to, and was argued in the Supreme Court of the United States; but the decision of it was deferred until after the election. Still, before the election, Senator Trumbull, on the floor of the Senate, requested the leading advocate of the Nebraska bill to state his opinion whether the people of a territory can constitutionally exclude slavery from their limits; and the latter answers: "That is a question for the Supreme Court."

The election came. Mr. Buchanan was elected, and the indorsement, such as it was, secured. That was the second point gained. The indorsement, however, fell short of a clear popular majority by nearly four hundred thousand votes, and so, perhaps, was not overwhelmingly reliable and satisfactory. The outgoing President, in his last annual message, as impressively as possible echoed back upon the people the weight and authority of the indorsement. The Supreme Court met again; did not announce their decision, but ordered a reargument. The presidential inauguration came, and still no decision of the court; but the incoming President, in his inaugural address, fervently exhorted the people to abide by the forthcoming decision, whatever it might be. Then, in a few days, came the decision.

The reputed author of the Nebraska bill finds an early occasion to make a speech at this capital, indorsing the Dred Scott decision, and vehemently denouncing all opposition to it. The new President, too, seizes the early occasion of the Silliman letter to indorse and strongly construe that decision and to express his astonishment that any different view had ever been entertained.

At length a squabble springs up between the President and the author of the Nebraska bill, on the mere question of fact, whether the Lecompton Constitution was or was not, in any just sense, made by the people of Kansas; and in that quarrel the latter declares that all he wants is a fair vote for the people, and that he cares not whether slavery be voted down or voted up. I do not understand his declaration that he cares not

whether slavery be voted down or voted up, to be intended by him other than as an apt definition of the policy he would impress upon the public mind—the principle for which he declares he has suffered so much, and is ready to suffer to the end. And well may he cling to that principle. If he has any parental feeling, well may he cling to it. That principle is the only shred left of his original Nebraska doctrine. Under the Dred Scott decision “squatter sovereignty” squatted out of existence, tumbled down, like temporary scaffolding—like the mould at the foundry served through one blast and fell back into loose sand—helped to carry an election, and then was kicked to the winds. His late joint struggle with the Republicans, against the Le-compton Constitution, involves nothing of the original Nebraska doctrine. That struggle was made on a point—the right of a people to make their own constitution—upon which he and the Republicans have never differed.

The several points of the Dred Scott decision, in connection with Senator Douglas’ “care not ” policy, constitute the piece of machinery, in its present state of advancement. This was the third point gained. The working points of that machinery are:—

First. That no negro slave imported as such from Africa, and no descendant of such slave, can ever be a citizen of any state, in the sense of that term as used in the Constitution of the United States. This point is made in order to deprive the negro, in every possible event, of the benefit of that provision of the United States Constitution, which declares that “The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.”

Secondly. That, “subject to the Constitution of the United States,” neither Congress nor a territorial Legislature can exclude slavery from any United States territory. This point is made in order that individual men may fill up the territories with slaves without danger of losing them as property, and thus to enhance the chances of permanency to the institution through all the future.

Thirdly. That whether the holding a negro in actual lavery in a free state makes him free, as against the holder, the United States courts will not decide, but will leave to be decided by the courts of any slave state the negro may be forced into by the master. This point is made, not to be pressed immediately; but, if acquiesced in for awhile, and apparently indorsed by the people at an election, then to sustain the logical conclusion that what Dred Scott's master might lawfully do with Dred Scott, in the free State of Illinois, every other master may lawfully do with any other one, or one thousand, slaves, in Illinois, or in any other free state.

Auxiliary to all this, and working hand in hand with it, the Nebraska doctrine, or what is left of it, is to educate and mould public opinion, at least Northern public opinion, not to care whether slavery is voted down or voted up. This shows exactly where we now are; and partially, also, whither we are tending.

It will throw additional light on the latter, to go back, and run the mind over the string of historical facts, already stated. Several things will now appear less dark and mysterious than they did when they were transpiring. The people were to be left "perfectly free," "subject only to the Constitution." What the Constitution had to do with it, outsiders could not then see. Plainly enough now, it was an exactly fitted niche for the Dred Scott decision to afterward come in, and declare the perfect freedom of the people to be just no freedom at all. Why was the amendment, expressly declaring the right of the people, voted down? Plainly enough now: the adoption of it would have spoiled the niche for the Dred Scott decision. Why was the court decision held up? Why even a Senator's individual opinion withheld till after the presidential election? Plainly enough now; the speaking out then would have damaged the perfectly free argument upon which the election was to be carried. Why the outgoing President's felicitation on the indorsement? Why the delay of a re-argument? Why the incoming President's advance exhortation in favor of the decision?

These things look like the cautious patting and petting of a spirited horse preparatory to mounting him, when it is dreaded that he may give the rider a fall. And why the hasty after-indorsement of the decision by the President and others?

We cannot absolutely know that all these exact adaptations are the result of preconcert. But when we see a lot of framed timbers, different portions of which we know have gotten out at different times and places, and by different workmen—Stephen, Franklin, Roger, and James, for instance—and when we see these timbers joined together, and see they exactly make the frame of a house or a mill, all the tenons and mortices exactly fitting, and all the lengths and proportions of the different pieces exactly adapted to their respective places; and not a piece too many or too few—not omitting even scaffolding—or, if a single piece be lacking, we see the place in the frame exactly fitted and prepared yet to bring such a piece in—in such a case, we find it impossible not to believe that Stephen and Franklin and Roger and James all understood one another from the beginning, and all worked upon a common plan or draft drawn up before the first blow was struck.

It should not be overlooked that, by the Nebraska bill, the people of a state, as well as territory, were to be left “perfectly free,” “subject only to the Constitution.” Why mention a state? They were legislating for territories, and not for or about states. Certainly, the people of a state are and ought to be subject to the Constitution of the United States; but why is mention of this lugged into this merely territorial law? Why are the people of a territory and the people of a state therein lumped together, and their relation to the Constitution therein treated as being precisely the same? While the opinion of the court, by Chief Justice Taney, in the Dred Scott case, and the separate opinions of all the concurring Judges, expressly declare that the Constitution of the United States neither permits Congress nor a territorial Legislature to exclude slavery from any United States territory, they all omit to declare whether or not the same Constitution permits a state,

or the people of a state, to exclude it. Possibly, this is a mere omission; but who can be quite sure, if McLean or Curtis had sought to get into the opinion a declaration of unlimited power in the people of a state to exclude slavery from their limits, just as Chase and Mace sought to get such declaration, in behalf of the people of a territory, into the Nebraska bill;—I ask, who can be quite sure that it would not have been voted down in the one case, as it had been in the other? The nearest approach to the point of declaring the power of a state over slavery, is made by Judge Nelson. He approaches it more than once, using the precise idea, and almost the language, too, of the Nebraska act. On one occasion, his exact language is, “except in cases where the power is restrained by the Constitution of the United States, the law of the state is supreme over the subject of slavery within its jurisdiction.” In what cases the power of the states is so restrained by the United States Constitution, is left an open question, precisely as the same question, as to the restraint on the power of the territories, was left open in the Nebraska act. Put this and that together, and we have another nice little niche, which we may, ere long, see filled with another Supreme Court decision, declaring that the Constitution of the United States does not permit a state to exclude slavery from its limits. And this may especially be expected, if the doctrine of “care not whether slavery be voted down or voted up,” shall gain upon the public mind sufficiently to give promise that such a decision can be maintained when made.

Such a decision is all that slavery now lacks of being alike lawful in all the states. Welcome or unwelcome, such decision is probably coming and will soon be upon us, unless the power of the present political dynasty shall be met and overthrown. We shall lie down pleasantly dreaming that the people of Missouri are on the verge of making their state free, and we shall awake to the reality instead, that the Supreme Court has made Illinois a slave state. To meet and overthrow the power of that dynasty is the work now before all those

who would prevent that consummation. That is what we have to do. How can we best do it?

There are those who denounce us openly to their own friends, and yet whisper us softly, that Senator Douglas is the aptest instrument there is with which to effect that object. They wish us to infer all, from the fact that he now has a little quarrel with the present head of the dynasty, and that he has regularly voted with us on a single point, upon which he and we have never differed. They remind us that he is a great man, and that the largest of us are very small ones. Let this be granted. But "a living dog is better than a dead lion." Judge Douglas, if not a dead lion, for this work, is at least a caged and toothless one. How can he oppose the advances of slavery? He don't care anything about it. His avowed mission is impressing the "public heart" to care nothing about it. A leading Douglas democratic newspaper thinks Douglas' superior talent will be needed to resist the revival of the African slave-trade. Does Douglas believe an effort to revive that trade is approaching? He has not said so. Does he really think so? But if it is, how can he resist it? For years he has labored to prove it a sacred right of white men to take negro slaves into the new territories. Can he possibly show that it is less a sacred right to buy them where they can be bought cheapest? And unquestionably they can be bought cheaper in Africa than in Virginia. He has done all in his power to reduce the whole question of slavery to one of a mere right of property; and as such, how can he oppose the foreign slave trade—how can he refuse that trade in that "property" shall be "perfectly free"—unless he does it as a protection to the home production? And as the home producers will probably not ask the protection, he will be wholly without a ground of opposition.

Senator Douglas holds, we know, that a man may rightfully be wiser to-day than he was yesterday—that he may rightfully change when he finds himself wrong. But can we, for that reason, run ahead, and infer that he will make any particular change, of which

he himself has given no intimation? Can we safely base our action upon any such vague inference? Now, as ever, I wish not to misrepresent Judge Douglas' position, question his motives, or do aught that can be personally offensive to him. Whenever, if ever, he and we can come together on principle, so that our cause may have assistance from his great ability, I hope to have interposed no adventitious obstacle. But, clearly, he is not now with us—he does not pretend to be—he does not promise ever to be.

Our cause, then, must be intrusted to, and conducted by, its own undoubted friends—those whose hands are free, whose hearts are in the work—who do care for the result. Two years ago, the Republicans of the nation mustered over thirteen hundred thousand strong. We did this under the single impulse of resistance to a common danger, with every external circumstance against us. Of strange, discordant, and even hostile elements, we gathered from from the four winds, and formed and fought the battle through, under the constant hot fire of a disciplined, proud and pampered enemy. Did we brave all then to falter now?—now, when that same enemy is wavering, dissevered, and belligerent? The result is not doubtful. We shall not fail—if we stand firm, we shall not fail. Wise councils may accelerate, or mistakes delay it, but, sooner or later, the victory is sure to come.

At Quincy, October 13.

We have in this nation this element of domestic slavery. It is a matter of absolute certainty that it is a disturbing element. It is the opinion of all the great men who have expressed an opinion upon it that it is a dangerous element. We keep up a controversy in regard to it. That controversy necessarily springs from difference of opinion, and if we can learn exactly—can reduce to the lowest elements—what that difference of opinion is, we perhaps shall be better prepared for discussing the different systems of policy that we would propose in regard to that disturbing element. I suggest that the difference of opinion, reduced to

its lowest terms, is no other than the difference between the men who think slavery a wrong and those who do not think it wrong. The Republican party think it a wrong—we think it is a moral, a social, and a political wrong. We think it is a wrong not confining itself merely to the persons or the states where it exists, but that it is a wrong in its tendency, to say the least, that extends itself to the existence of the whole nation. Because we think it wrong, we propose a course of policy that shall deal with it as a wrong. We deal with it as with any other wrong, in so far as we can prevent its growing any larger, and so deal with it that in the run of time there may be some promise of an end to it. We have a due regard to the actual presence of it amongst us, and the difficulties of getting rid of it in any satisfactory way, and all the constitutional obligations thrown about it. I suppose that in reference both to its actual existence in the nation, and to our constitutional obligations, we have no right at all to disturb it in the states where it exists, and we profess that we have no more inclination to disturb it than we have the right to do it. We go further than that; we don't propose to disturb it where, in one instance, we think the Constitution would permit us. We think the Constitution would permit us to disturb it in the District of Columbia. Still we do not propose to do that, unless it should be in terms which I don't suppose the nation is very likely soon to agree to—the terms of making the emancipation gradual, and compensating the unwilling owners. Where we suppose we have the constitutional right, we restrain ourselves in reference to the actual existence of the institution and the difficulties thrown about it. We also oppose it as an evil, so far as it seeks to spread itself. We insist on the policy that shall restrict it to its present limits. We don't suppose that in doing this we violate anything due to the actual presence of the institution, or anything due to the constitutional guarantees thrown around it.

We oppose the Dred Scott decision in a certain way, upon which I ought perhaps to address you a few

words. We do not propose that when Dred Scott has been decided to be a slave by the court. we, as a mob, will decide him to be free. We do not propose that, when any other one, or one thousand, shall be decided by that court to be slaves, we will in any violent way disturb the rights of property thus settled; but we nevertheless do oppose that decision as a political rule, which shall be binding on the voter to vote for nobody who thinks it wrong, which shall be binding on the members of Congress or the President to favor no measure that does not actually concur with the principles of that decision. We do not propose to be bound by it as a political rule in that way, because we think it lays the foundation not merely of enlarging and spreading out what we consider an evil, but it lays the foundation for spreading that evil into the states themselves. We propose so resisting it as to have it reversed if we can, and a new judicial rule established upon this subject.

I will add this, that if there be any man who does not believe that slavery is wrong in the three aspects which I have mentioned, or in any one of them, that man is misplaced, and ought to leave us. While, on the other hand, if there be any man in the Republican party who is impatient over the necessity springing from its actual presence, and is impatient of the constitutional guarantees thrown around it, and would act in disregard of these, he too is misplaced, standing with us. He will find his place somewhere else; for we have a due regard, so far as we are capable of understanding them, for all these things. This gentlemen, as well as I can give it, is a plain statement of our principles in all their enormity.

At Alton, October 15.

I have intimated that I thought the agitation would not cease until a crisis should have been reached and passed. I have stated in what way I thought it would be reached and passed. I have said that it might go one way or the other. We might, by arresting the

further spread of it, and placing it where the fathers originally placed it, put it where the public mind should rest in the belief that it was in the course of ultimate extinction. Thus the agitation may cease. It may be pushed forward until it shall become alike lawful in all the states, old as well as new, North as well as South. I have said, and I repeat, my wish is that the further spread of it may be arrested, and that it may be placed where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction. I have expressed that as my wish. I entertain the opinion, upon evidence sufficient to my mind, that the fathers of this government placed that institution where the public mind did rest in the belief that it was in the course of ultimate extinction. Let me ask why they made provision that the source of slavery—the African slave trade—should be cut off at the end of twenty years? Why did they make provision that in all the new territory we owned at that time slavery should be forever inhibited? Why stop its spread in one direction and cut off its source in another, if they did not look to its being placed in the course of ultimate extinction?

The sentiment that contemplates the institution of slavery in this country as a wrong is the sentiment of the Republican party. It is the sentiment around which all their actions—all their arguments—circle, from which all their propositions radiate. They look upon it as being a moral, social and political wrong; and while they contemplate it as such, they nevertheless have due regard for its actual existence among us, and the difficulties of getting rid of it in any satisfactory way, and to all the constitutional obligations thrown about it. Yet, having a due regard for these, they desire a policy in regard to it that looks to its not creating any more danger. They insist that it should, as far as may be, be treated as a wrong, and one of the methods of treating it as a wrong is to make provision that it shall grow no larger. They also desire a policy that looks to a peaceful end of slavery at some time as being wrong. These are the views

they entertain in regard to it, as I understand them; and all their sentiments—all their arguments and propositions are brought within this range. I have said, and I repeat it here, that if there be a man amongst us who does not think that the institution of slavery is wrong, in any one of the aspects of which I have spoken, he is misplaced, and ought not to be with us. And if there be a man amongst us who is so impatient of it as a wrong as to disregard its actual presence among us, and the difficulty of getting rid of it suddenly in a satisfactory way, and to disregard the constitutional obligations thrown about it, that man is misplaced, if he is on our platform. We disclaim sympathy with him in practical action. He is not placed properly with us.

On this subject of treating it as a wrong, and limiting its spread, let me say a word. Has anything ever threatened the existence of this Union, save and except this very institution of slavery? What is it that we hold most dear amongst us? Our own liberty and prosperity. What has ever threatened our liberty and prosperity, save and except this institution of slavery? If this is true, how do you propose to improve the condition of things by enlarging slavery—by spreading it out and making it bigger? You may have a wen or cancer upon your person and not be able to cut it out lest you bleed to death; but surely it is no way to cure it, to engraft it and spread it over your whole body. That is no proper way of treating what you regard a wrong. You see this peaceful way of dealing with it as a wrong—restricting the spread of it, and not allowing it to go into new countries where it had not already existed. That is the peaceful way, the old-fashioned way, the way in which the fathers themselves set us the example.

On the other hand, I have said there is a sentiment which treats it as not being wrong. That is the democratic sentiment of this day. I do not mean to say that every man who stands within that range positively asserts that it is right. That class will include all who

positively assert that it is right, and all who, like Judge Douglas, treat it as indifferent, and do not say it is either right or wrong. These two classes of men fall within the general class of those who do not look upon it as a wrong. And if there be among you anybody who supposes that he, as a democrat, can consider himself "as much opposed to slavery as anybody," I would like to reason with him. You never treat it as a wrong. What other thing that you consider as a wrong do you deal with as you deal with that? Perhaps you say it is a wrong, but your leader never does, and you quarrel with anybody who says it is wrong. Although you pretend to say so yourself, you can find no fit place to deal with it as a wrong. You must not say anything about it in the free states, because it is not here. You must not say anything about it in the slave states, because it is there. You must not say anything about it in the pulpit, because that is religion, and has nothing to do with it. You must not say anything about it in politics, because that will disturb the security of "my place." There is no place to talk about it as being a wrong, although you say yourself it is wrong. But, finally, you will screw yourself up to the belief that if the people of the slave states should adopt a system of gradual emancipation on the slavery question, you would be in favor of it. You say that is getting it in the right place, and you would be glad to see it succeed. But you are deceiving yourself. You all know that Frank Blair and Gratz Brown, down there in St. Louis, undertook to introduce that system into Missouri. They fought us valiantly as they could for the system of gradual emancipation which you pretend you would be glad to see succeed. Now I will bring you to the test. After a hard fight they were beaten, and when the news came over here you threw up your hats and hurrahed for democracy. More than that; take all the arguments made in favor of the system you have proposed, and it carefully excludes the idea that there is anything wrong in the institution of slavery. The arguments to sustain that policy carefully excluded it. Even here to-day you

heard Judge Douglas quarrel with me because I uttered a wish that it might some time come to an end. Although Henry Clay could say he wished every slave in the United States was in the country of his ancestors, I am denounced by those pretending to respect Henry Clay for uttering a wish that it might some time, in some peaceful way, come to an end. The democratic policy in regard to that institution will not tolerate the merest breath, the slightest hint, of the least degree of wrong about it.

At Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Feb. 21, 1861.

I am filled with deep emotion at finding myself standing here in this place, where were collected together the wisdom, the patriotism, the devotion to principle from which sprang the institutions under which we live. You have kindly suggested to me that in my hands is the task of restoring peace to the present distracted condition of the country. I can say in return, sir, that all the political sentiments I entertain have been drawn, so far as I have been able to draw them, from the sentiments which originated in and were given to the world from this hall. I have never had a feeling, politically, that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence. I have often pondered over the dangers which were incurred by the men who assembled here, and framed and adopted that Declaration of Independence. I have pondered over the toils that were endured by the officers and soldiers of the army who achieved that independence. I have often inquired of myself what great principle of idea it was that kept this confederacy so long together. It was not the mere matter of the separation of the colonies from the mother-land, but that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence which gave liberty, not alone to the people of this country, but, I hope, to the world, for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the weight would be lifted from the shoulders of all men. This is the sentiment embodied in the Declaration of Independence. Now, my friends,

can this country be saved upon that basis. If it can, I will consider myself one of the happiest men in the world if I can help to save it. But if this country cannot be saved without giving up that principle, I was about to say I would rather be assassinated on this spot than surrender it. Now, in my view of the present aspect of affairs, there need be no bloodshed or war. There is no necessity for it. I am not in favor of such a course; and I may say in advance that there will be no bloodshed unless it be forced upon the government, and then it will be compelled to act in self-defence.

My friends, this is an wholly unexpected speech, and I did not expect to be called upon to say a word when I came here. I supposed it was merely to do something towards raising the flag—I may, therefore, have said something indiscreet. I have said nothing but what I am willing to live by, and, if it be the pleasure of Almighty God, die by.

FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

March 4, 1861.

Fellow Citizens of the United States—In compliance with a custom as old as the government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly, and to take in your presence the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States to be taken by the President “before he enters on the execution of his office.”

I do not consider it necessary at present for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement.

Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that by the accession of a republican administration their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the public speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that “I have no pur-

pose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so." Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations, and had never recanted them. And more than this, they placed in the platform for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read:—

"Resolved, That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the states, and especially the right of each state to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to the balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend, and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any state or territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes."

I now reiterate these sentiments; and, in doing so, I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property, peace and security of no section are to be in anywise endangered by the now incoming administration. I add, too, that all the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and the laws, can be given, will be cheerfully given to all the states, when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause—as cheerfully to one section as to another.

There is much controversy about the delivering up of fugitives from service or labor. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution as any other of its provisions:—

"No person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

It is scarcely questioned that this provision was

intended by those who made it for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves; and the intention of the lawgiver is the law. All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution—to this provision as much as any other. To the proposition, then, that slaves, whose cases come within the terms of this clause, “shall be delivered up,” their oaths are unanimous. Now, if they would make the effort in good temper, could they not, with nearly equal unanimity, frame and pass a law by means of which to keep good that unanimous oath?

There is some difference of opinion whether this clause should be enforced by national or by state authority; but surely that difference is not a very material one. If the slave is to be surrendered, it can be of but little consequence to him, or to others, by which authority it is done. And should any one, in any case be content that his oath shall go unkept, on a mere unsubstantial controversy as to how it shall be kept?

Again, in any law upon the subject, ought not all the safeguards of liberty known in civilized and human jurisprudence to be introduced, so that a free man be not, in any case, surrendered as a slave? And might it not be well, at the same time, to provide by law for the enforcement of that clause in the Constitution which guarantees that “the citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states?”

I shall take the official oath to-day with no mental reservation, and with no purpose to construe the Constitution or laws by any hypercritical rule. And while I do not choose now to specify particular acts of Congress as proper to be enforced, I do suggest that it will be much safer for all, both in official and private stations, to conform to and abide by all those acts which stand unrepealed, than to violate any of them, trusting to find impunity in having them held to be unconstitutional.

It is seventy-two years since the first inauguration of a President under our national Constitution. Dur-

ing that period, fifteen different and greatly distinguished citizens have, in succession, administered the executive branch of the government. They have conducted it through many perils, and generally with great success. Yet, with all this scope for precedent, I now enter upon the same task for the brief constitutional term of four years, under great and peculiar difficulty. A disruption of the Federal Union, heretofore only menaced is now formidably attempted.

I hold that, in contemplation of universal law, and of the Constitution, the union of these states is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our national government, and the Union will endure forever—it being impossible to destroy it, except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself.

Again, if the United States be not a government proper, but an association of states in the nature of contract merely, can it, as a contract, be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it? One party to a contract may violate it—break it, so to speak; but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it?

Descending from these general principles, we find the proposition that, in legal contemplation, the Union is perpetual, confirmed by the history of the Union itself. The Union is much older than the Constitution. It was formed, in fact, by the articles of association in 1774. It was matured and continued by the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was further matured, and the faith of all the then thirteen states expressly plighted and engaged that it should be perpetual, by the articles of confederation in 1778. And, finally, in 1787, one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution was “to form a more perfect Union.”

But if destruction of the Union, by one, or by a part only, of the states, be lawfully possible, the Union is less perfect than before, the Constitution having lost the vital element of perpetuity.

It follows, from these views, that no state upon its own mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void; and that acts of violence within any states or states, against the authority of the United States, are insurrectionary, or revolutionary, according to circumstances.

I, therefore, consider that in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken, and to the extent of my ability I shall take, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the states. Doing this I deem to be only a simple duty on my part; and I shall perform it, so far as practicable, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means, or, in some authoritative manner, direct the contrary. I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as the declared purpose of the Union that it will constitutionally defend and maintain itself.

In doing this there need be no bloodshed or violence; and there shall be none, unless it be forced upon the national authority. The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government, and to collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be but necessary for these objects there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere. Where hostility to the United States in any interior locality shall be so great and universal as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding federal offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people for that object. While the strict legal right may exist in the government to enforce the exercise of these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating, and so nearly impracticable withal, I deem it better to forego, for the time, the uses of such offices.

The mails, unless repelled, will continue to be furnished in all parts of the Union. So far as possible, the people everywhere shall have that sense of perfect

security which is most favorable to calm thought and reflection. The course here indicated will be followed, unless current events and experience shall show a modification or change to be proper, and in every case and exigency my best discretion will be exercised, according to circumstances actually existing, and with a view and a hope of a peaceful solution of the national troubles, and the restoration of fraternal sympathies and affections.

That there are persons in one section or another who seek to destroy the Union at all events, and are glad of any pretext to do it, I will neither affirm nor deny; but if there be such, I need address no word to them. To those, however, who really love the Union, may I not speak?

Before entering upon so grave a matter as the destruction of our national fabric, with all its benefits, its memories, and its hopes, would it not be wise to ascertain precisely why we do it? Will you hazard so desperate a step while there is any possibility that any portion of the ills you fly from have no real existence? Will you, while the certain ills you fly to are greater than all the real ones you fly from—will you risk the commission of so fearful a mistake?

All profess to be content in the Union, if all constitutional rights can be maintained. Is it true, then, that any right, plainly written in the Constitution, has been denied? I think not. Happily the human mind is so constituted that no party can reach to the audacity of doing this. Think, if you can, of a single instance in which a plainly written provision of the Constitution has ever been denied. If, by the mere force of numbers, a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written constitutional right, it might, in a moral point of view, justify revolution—certain would if such a right were a vital one. But such is not our case. All the vital rights of minorities and of individuals are so plainly assured to them by affirmation and negations, guarantees and prohibitions in the Constitution, that controversies never arise concerning them. But no organic law can ever be framed with a provision specifically applicable to every question

which may occur in practical administration. No foresight can anticipate, nor any document of reasonable length contain, express provisions for all possible questions. Shall fugitives from labor be surrendered by national or by state authority? The Constitution does not expressly say. May Congress prohibit slavery in the territories? The Constitution does not expressly say.

From questions of this class spring all our constitutional controversies, and we divide upon them into majorities and minorities. If the minority will not acquiesce, the majority must, or the government must cease. There is no other alternative; for continuing the government is acquiescence on one side or the other. If a minority in such case will secede rather than acquiesce, they make a precedent which, in turn, will divide and ruin them; for a minority of their own will secede from them whenever a majority refuses to be controlled by such minority. For instance, why may not any portion of a new confederacy, a year or two hence, arbitrarily secede again, precisely as portions of the present Union now claim to secede from it? All who cherish disunion sentiments are now being educated to the exact temper of doing this.

Is there such perfect identity of interests among the states to compose a new Union, as to produce harmony only, and prevent renewed secession?

Plainly, the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy. A majority held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it, does, of necessity, fly to anarchy or to despotism. Unanimity is impossible; the rule of a minority, as a permanent arrangement, is wholly inadmissible; so that, rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism, in some form, is all that is left.

I do not forget the position assumed by some, that constitutional questions are to be decided by the Supreme Court; nor do I deny that such decisions must be binding, in any case, upon the parties to a suit,

as to the object of that suit, while they are also entitled to very high respect and consideration in all parallel cases, by all other departments of the government. And while it is obviously possible that such decisions may be erroneous in any given case, still, the evil effect following it being limited to that particular case, with the chance that it may be overruled, and never become a precedent for other cases, can better be borne than could the evils of a different practice. At the same time, the candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the government upon vital questions affecting the whole people, is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions, the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned their government into the hands of that eminent tribunal.

Nor is there in this view any assault upon the Court or the Judges. It is a duty from which they may not shrink to decide cases properly brought before them, and it is no fault of theirs if others seek to turn their decisions to political purposes. One section of our country believes slavery is right, and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong, and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute. The fugitive slave clause of the Constitution, and the law for the suppression of the foreign slave-trade, are each as well enforced, perhaps, as any law can ever be in a community where the moral sense of the people abide by the dry legal obligation in both cases, and a few break over in each. This, I think, cannot be perfectly cured; and it would be worse, in both cases, after the separation of the sections than before. The foreign slave trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately revived, without restriction, in one section; while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all by the other.

Physically speaking, we cannot separate. We cannot remove our respective sections from each other nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband

and wife may be divorced, and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other; but the different parts of our country cannot do this. They cannot but remain face to face; and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. It is impossible then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before. Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends? Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old questions, as to terms of intercourse, are again upon you.

This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it. I cannot be ignorant of the fact that many worthy and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the National Constitution amended. While I make no recommendation of amendment, I fully recognize the rightful authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself; and I should, under existing circumstances, favor, rather than oppose, a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it. I will venture to add, that to me the convention mode seems preferable, in that it allows amendments to originate with the people themselves instead of only permitting them to take or reject propositions originated by others, not especially chosen for the purpose, and which might not be precisely such as they would wish to either accept or refuse. I understand a proposed amendment to the Constitution—which amendment, however, I have not seen—has passed Congress, to the effect that the Federal Government shall never interfere with the domestic institutions of the states, including that of persons held to service. To avoid misconstruction of what I have said, I depart from my purpose not to

speak of particular amendments, so far as to say that, holding such a provision now to be implied constitutional law. I have no objections to its being made express and irrevocable.

The chief magistrate derives all his authority from the people, and they have conferred none upon him to fix terms for the separation of the states. The people themselves can do this also if they choose; but the executive, as such, has nothing to do with it. His duty is to administer the present government as it came to his hands, and to transmit it, unimpaired by him, to his successor.

Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world? In our present differences, is either party without faith of being in the right? If the Almighty Ruler of Nations, with his eternal truth and justice, be on your side of the North, or on yours of the South, that truth and that justice will surely prevail, by the judgment of this great tribunal of the American people.

By the frame of the government under which we live, the same people have wisely given their public servants but little power for mischief, and have, with equal wisdom, provided for the return of that little to their own hands at very short intervals. While the people retain their virtue and vigilance, no administration, by any extreme of wickedness or folly, can very seriously injure the government in the short space of four years.

My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and well upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there be an object to hurry any of you in hot haste to a step which you would never take deliberately, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it. Such of you as are now dissatisfied, still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and, on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either. If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dis-

pute, there still is no single good reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still competent to adjust, in the best way, all our present difficulty.

In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issues of civil war. The government will not assail you.

You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government, while I shall have the most solemn one to "preserve, protect, and defend" it.

I am loathe to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection.

The mystic cord of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.

Washington, January 1, 1863.

Whereas, on the 22d day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, to wit:—

That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any states or designated part of a state, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the states and parts of states, if any, in which the people thereof respectively shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any state, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States, by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such state shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such state, and the people thereof, are not then in rebellion against the United States.

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days from the day first above mentioned, order and designate, as the states and parts of states wherein the people thereof respectively are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit:

Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana (except the parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terre Bonne, Lafourche, Ste. Marie, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the City of New Orleans), Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkeley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Anne, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth), and which excepted parts are for the present left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated states and parts of states are, and henceforward shall be, free; and that the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defence; and I recommend to them that, in all cases, when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

And I further declare and make known that such persons, of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States, to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my name, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

By the President:

ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

SPEECH AT GETTYSBURG.

November 19, 1863.

Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final rest-

ing-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

March 4, 1865.

Fellow-Countrymen—At this second appearing to take the oath of the Presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then a statement somewhat in detail of a course to be pursued seemed very fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented.

The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself, and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it, all sought to avoid

it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city, seeking to destroy it with war—seeking to dissolve the Union and divide the effects by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war, but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive, and the other would accept war rather than let it perish, and the war came. One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the union, but localized in the Southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was somehow the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union by war, while the government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it.

Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease, or even before the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding.

Both read the same Bible and pray to the same God, and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces, but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayer of both could not be answered. That of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has his own purposes. Woe unto the world, because of offences, for it must needs be that offences come, but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh. If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of these offences which in the providence of God must needs come, but which having continued through His appointed time He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offence came, shall we discern there any departure from those Divine

attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so, still it must be said, that the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.

With malice towards none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphans, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

Interesting Facts and Plans

concerning a Library of Universal Literature, representing all times and all languages, translated.

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In the years 1884-91 the writer of this, Mr. Alden, edited and published a "Cyclopedia of Universal Literature," in 20 volumes, covering biographies and selections from the writings of about 2,000 of the world's most celebrated authors. In 1891 this work passed from his hands to those of other publishers.

Since 1896 that Cyclopedia has, with trifling changes and some additions, been "masqueraded," first under the name of "Du Puy's," more recently as "Ridpath's" Library of Universal Literature, selling at about five times the former "Alden prices"; and—a serious "joke" on themselves—in their anxiety to get away from the "Alden" name, the publishers foolishly forfeited their legal copyright.

This makes it possible for us to republish the original work, so far as we choose to do so—but we plan to make very great improvements upon it.

The "Cyclopedia of Universal Literature" was the first publication of its class, and served in large measure as a model, and even to a surprising extent as the "source" of later compilations—notably the "Library of the World's Best Literature," with which the name of Charles Dudley Warner is associated; also "Masterpieces of the World's Literature," Harry Thurston Peck, Julian Hawthorne and Frank R. Stockton, editors, which most flatteringly "compliments" the original Alden work by the great amount of matter transferred, bodily, to "Masterpieces."

As to the so-called "Ridpaths," which has enjoyed a popularity so extensive as to require re-setting the type a third time—was it a "compliment" or was it something else, for the publishers to attach the name of Ridpa 'i as "editor-in-chief" to a work which investigation will show is mostly—about 10,000 pages of it—Alden's, as completed by him in 1891?

The original "Cyclopedia of Universal Literature," and its later imitators, all follow the one plan of arranging the authors in one alphabetical order—a good plan for simple reference purposes, but not the most attractive for reading or study.

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