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G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS

NEW YORK AND LONDON

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ABRAHAM LINCOLN

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

From a drawing from life by F. B. Carpenter.

Abraham Lincoln

His Youth and Early Manhood With a Brief Account of His Later Life

By

Noah Brooks

Author of "The Boy Emigrants," "The Fairport Nine," "American Statesmen," etc.

G. P. Putnam's Sons
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O CAPTAIN! MY CAPTAIN!

O Captain! my Captain! our fearful trip is done,
The ship has weather'd every rack, the prize we sought is won,
The port is near, the bells I hear, the people all exulting,
While follow eyes the steady keel, the vessel grim and daring.
But O heart! heart! heart!
O the bleeding drops of red,
Where on the deck my Captain lies,
Fallen cold and dead.

O Captain! my Captain! rise up and hear the bells;
Rise up—for you the flag is flung—for you the bugle trills,
For you bouquets and ribbon'd wreaths—for you the shores a-crowding,
For you they call, the swaying mass, their eager faces turning;
Here Captain! dear father!
This arm beneath your head!
It is some dream that on the deck
You've fallen cold and dead.

My Captain does not answer, his lips are pale and still,
My father does not feel my arm, he has no pulse, no will,
The ship is anchor'd safe and sound, its voyage closed and done,
From fearful trip the victor ship comes in with object won.
Exult O shores, and ring O bells!
But I with mournful tread,
Walk the deck my Captain lies,
Fallen cold and dead.

—WHITMAN.

EDITOR'S PREFACE

MR. BROOKS'S story of the life of Abraham Lincoln is a distinct addition to our knowledge of the man and of the scenes through which he passed in becoming an uplifter of the human race. Mr. Brooks knew Lincoln well in Illinois, as well as later in Washington. He was himself a pioneer during some of the most stirring times on the border, and, in consequence, he has written in unusual sympathy with the difficulties and triumphs of border life.

In the crude surroundings that then were the lot of all, the story of Lincoln's youth and early manhood possesses a peculiar interest. In such a tale we catch gleams of a true nature tucked away in the lank form and homespun, and we watch a character grow clear-outlined through the power of a strong moral nature. The wilderness afforded splendid tests of manly qualities, and kept the weak at bay. The axe, the maul, and the grubbing-hoe answered only to the quick eye and the sinewy frame. Abraham Lincoln, strong-hearted and true, swung, split, and dug in "the land of full-grown men"; and he emerged thence a leader among men.

His experiences were singularly varied and dramatic; yet, in the main, they were typical of unnamed thousands of our fellows who wrote on the broad West the strongest characteristics of our race.

F. L. O.

PINE LODGE,
December 1, 1900.

PREFACE

IN writing this brief biography, I have been moved by a desire to give to the present generation, who will never know aught of Abraham Lincoln but what is traditional, a lifelike picture of the man as many men knew him. To do this, it has been necessary to paint in a background of the history of the times in which he lived, and to place the illustrious subject in his true relation to the events in which he was so large a participant.

It was my good fortune to know Lincoln with some degree of intimacy, our acquaintance beginning with the Fremont campaign of 1856, when I was a resident of Illinois, and continuing through the Lincoln-Douglas canvass, two years later. That relation became more intimate and confidential when, in 1862, I met Lincoln in Washington and saw him almost daily until his tragical death. Many things relating to his early life, herein set down, were derived from his own lips, often during hours of secluded companionship.

The simplest truth is always best; and the simpler and more direct the biographical sketch of Abraham Lincoln, the more deeply will his image be impressed upon the heart of that "common people" whom he loved so well and of whom he was the noblest representative. In this book it has been the author's aim to present a definite and authoritative likeness of the man whose name is now enrolled highest among the types of our National ideals.

NOAH BROOKS.

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IMPORTANT EVENTS

1619—Slavery introduced into Virginia.

1638—*Lincoln's* ancestors come from England and settle in Hingham, Massachusetts.

1778—Birth of *Lincoln's* father, *Thomas Lincoln*, in Virginia.

1782—*Lincoln's* grandfather moves with his family to Kentucky.

THE ORDINANCE OF 1787 forbids forever slavery within the Northwest Territory (afterwards the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin).

1777-1804—New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey free their slaves, or provide for the gradual abolition of slavery within their borders.

1793—The Fugitive Slave Law provides for the capture and return of fugitive slaves.

1806—*Thomas Lincoln* is married to *Nancy Hanks*.

1808—Foreign slave-trade forbidden, and is later (1820) declared to be piracy.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN is born in Larue County, Kentucky, February 12, 1809.

1816—The *Lincoln* family removes to Spencer County, Indiana.

1818—The death of *Lincoln's* mother, *Nancy Hanks Lincoln*.

1819—His father, *Thomas*, marries Mrs. *Sally Johnston*.

1820—THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE;
Missouri admitted as a slave State;
Slavery prohibited north of 36° 30′, west of Missouri.

1826—*Abraham Lincoln* builds a boat and takes farm produce to a neighboring post, and in 1827 makes his first voyage down the Mississippi to New Orleans.

1830—*Lincoln* goes with his father and family to Illinois, near Decatur, where he aids in clearing and fencing a new farm. Then, being of age, he starts out for himself, making a second trip down the Mississippi (1831), and managing a country store on his return.

1832—He studies law, and runs for the Legislature, meantime enlisting for the *Black Hawk War*. Defeated for office, he buys out a local store, forming the firm of *Berry & Lincoln*. But he fails, tries surveying, and more law, and is appointed postmaster of New Salem (May, 1833).

1834—He is elected to the Legislature, serving several terms. *Stone-Lincoln* protest. The *Long Nine* and the removal of the capitol from Vandalia to Springfield.

1837—He removes to Springfield and sets up in the practice of the law in partnership with John T. Stuart.

1840—*Shields-Lincoln* "duel." *Lincoln* becomes engaged to *Mary Todd*, whom he marries, Nov. 4. He is a presidential elector on the Whig ticket, aiding in the election of William Henry Harrison.

1841—*Lincoln* forms a partnership with Stephen T. Logan, and in 1843 with William H. Herndon.

1842—The United States and England unite to suppress the slave-trade, each country maintaining vessels off the coast of Africa.

1844—*Lincoln* deeply grieved at the defeat of Henry Clay for the presidency. He visits Lexington, Kentucky (1846), to hear Clay speak and to meet him.

1846—Defeats *Peter Cartwright* for Congress.

1846-8—The Mexican War, waged principally to open more territory to slavery.

1847—(Dec.) *Lincoln* takes his seat in Congress.

1848—The "SPOT" RESOLUTIONS. He aids in nominating and electing General Zachary Taylor to the presidency.

1849—*Lincoln* is refused an office, and he declines a governorship.

THE COMPROMISE OF 1850.

California to be admitted as a free State.

New Mexico and Utah to be formed into Territories without the Wilmot Proviso.

A new and stringent fugitive slave law to be passed.

The abolition of the slave-trade, but not of slavery, within the District of Columbia.

1852—Franklin Pierce defeats the Whig candidate for the presidency.

UNCLE TOM'S CABIN is published.

1854—THE KANSAS AND NEBRASKA BILL (*Douglas*) directly repeals the Missouri Compromise and opens these two new Territories (Kansas and Nebraska) to slavery. *Squatter Sovereignty*. *Douglas*, refused a hearing in Chicago, speaks at Springfield and Peoria. *Lincoln* replies. *Lincoln* makes way for Trumbull in the senatorial contest.

The struggle for Kansas begins.

"Dave" Atchison, "Ossawattomie" Brown.

1856—The Republican party is formed to oppose the spread of slavery. It nominates as its candidate John C. Fremont. James Buchanan is elected President, securing 174 electoral votes to Fremont's 114.

The Lecompton Constitution.

1857—The SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES DECLARES that Dred Scott is a slave, that slaves are property, and that Congress cannot shut property from the Territories.

1858—THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES in the contest for the seat in the United States Senate.

Douglas wins the election.

1859—John Brown seizes the United States Arsenal at Harper's Ferry.

1859-60—*Lincoln* visits Kansas.

1860—THE COOPER UNION SPEECH.

The Democratic party splits, one faction nominating *John C. Breckinridge*, the other, *Stephen A. Douglas*.

The Republicans (June 18) *choose Abraham Lincoln as their nominee.*

LINCOLN IS ELECTED (Nov).

South Carolina (Nov. 17) *secedes* from the Union, followed by Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas.

1861—Jan. 9, Steamer *Star of the West*, bringing supplies to Fort Sumter, is fired on.

Jan. 29, *Kansas* is admitted as a free State.

Feb. 4, The so-called CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA are organized.

March 4, LINCOLN IS INAUGURATED XVI PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

March 9, The rebel Congress meets.

April 14, Surrender of *Fort Sumter.*

April 15, *President Lincoln* issues a call for troops, and declares (April 19) the Southern ports in a state of blockade.

July 4, Congress meets in special session.

Mason and *Slidell.*

1862—March–July, THE PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN.

Aug. 5, The defeat of the Union forces under Pope in the *Second Battle of Bull Run.*

Sept. 17, *Antietam.*

Sept. 22, The preliminary Emancipation Proclamation.

McClellan is superseded by Burnside, who is defeated at *Fredericksburg*, and is in turn succeeded by Hooker.

1863—Jan. 1, ISSUE OF THE FINAL EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.

May 3, The Army of the Potomac, under Hooker, defeated at *Chancellorsville.*

July 1–3, *Gettysburg.*

July 4, *Vicksburg.*

Nov. 24–25, *Lookout Mountain* and *Missionary Ridge.*

1864—March 9, Grant made Lieutenant-General, and (March 12) Commander-in-Chief of all the Union forces.

May–June, THE WILDERNESS CAMPAIGN.

May 6, Sherman begins operations against Johnston, captures *Atlanta* (Sept. 2), *marches through Georgia*, and takes *Savannah* (Dec. 22).

1865—April 3, The fall of *Richmond; Lincoln* enters the city on foot.

April 9, Lee surrenders at *Appomattox Court-House.*

April 14, LINCOLN IS SHOT, DYING THE NEXT MORNING.

May 4, His body is laid to rest at Springfield, Illinois.

Dec. 18, the XIII Amendment to the Constitution prohibits slavery in the United States.

1866—Civil Rights Bill.

1868—The XIV Amendment secures to the freedman the right of citizenship.

1870—The XV Amendment gives the negro the right to vote.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

CHAPTER I

THE LINCOLN ANCESTRY

THE Lincolns originally came from England, settling in Hingham, Massachusetts, about the year 1638. Thence to Pennsylvania went Mordecai Lincoln, the great-great-grandfather of the President. The later Lincolns, Abraham Lincoln and his sons, Mordecai, Josiah, and Thomas went from Virginia to Mercer County, Kentucky, in the year 1782. At that time Kentucky was a part of the great State of Virginia. It was almost an untrodden wilderness, and the few settlers who were scattered over its vast area were brave, hardy, adventurous, and sometimes terrible men. To the savages who roamed the forests they were, indeed, a terror and a constant threat. The Indians, irritated by the unceasing incoming of the whites, and vainly thinking that they could stem the tide that poured in upon them, were always at war with the intruders, and they omitted no opportunity to pick them off singly, or to drive them out by sudden and deadly attacks on small settlements.

Abraham Lincoln, grandfather of the President,

entered four hundred acres of land on the south side of Licking Creek, under a Government warrant, and he built a log cabin near the site of the present city of Louisville, Kentucky. Here the family began to open their farm, breaking up the virgin soil and planting their first crops. In the second year of their Kentucky settlement, Abraham Lincoln and his son Thomas being at work in the field, a sneaking Indian waylaid the twain, and, firing from the brush, killed the father at his task. Mordecai and Josiah, the elder brothers, were chopping in the forest near at hand, and, while Josiah ran to the fort for help, Mordecai dashed into the cabin and seized the ever-ready rifle. Looking through one of the port-holes cut in the logs, he saw the Indian, who, taking advantage of the flight of the boys, had seized little Tom, then only six years old, and was making off with him to the woods. Levelling his rifle, Mordecai shot and killed the Indian, and, as he dropped to the ground, the boy, liberated by the death of his would-be captor, sprang to his feet and fled to the cabin where he was clasped in his mother's arms. Josiah speedily returned from the fort with a party of settlers who took up the bodies of Abraham Lincoln and his slayer.

This scene, as may be imagined, made a deep impression on the minds of the three boys. It is said that Mordecai, standing over the form of his slain father, on the soil to be known for generations thereafter as "the dark and bloody ground," vowed that the precious life should be richly paid for in Indian blood. Certain it is that, from that time forth, Mordecai Lincoln was the mortal enemy of the red man, and many an Indian fell before his terrible rifle.

By this lamentable death, the widow of Abraham

Lincoln was left alone to care for five children — Mordecai, Josiah, Thomas, Mary, and Nancy. In the hard, rude life of the frontier, in ignorance and poverty Thomas Lincoln, destined to be the father of the President, grew to man's estate. In later years, his son Abraham, asked to tell what he knew of his father's life, said, " My father, at the time of the death of his father, was but six years old, and he grew up literally without education." He was a tall, well-built, and muscular man, quick with his rifle, an expert hunter, good-natured and easy-going, but neither industrious nor enterprising. Unable to read until after his marriage, he invariably put on his lack of education all responsibility for his failures in life ; and these were many. To his credit it should be said that he resolved no child of his should ever be crippled as he had been for lack of knowledge of the commonest rudiments of learning.

While yet a lad, Thomas hired himself to his uncle, Isaac Lincoln, then living on a claim that he had taken on Watauga Creek, a branch of the Holston River. Manual labor filled the years of Tom's young manhood. Felling forests, breaking up the soil, building the rude cabins of the time, and rearing the crops needed for the sustenance of the hardy settlers and their broods— these were the occupations of those years. Thomas Lincoln was a laboring man, working for others, and compelled to take for wages whatever he could get in a region where every man wrought with his own hands and few hired from others.

Thomas Lincoln was married, in 1806, to Nancy Hanks, formerly of Virginia. The young bride was taken by her husband to a rude log cabin that he had built for himself near Nolin Creek, in what is now

Larue County, Kentucky. In this cabin, February 12, 1809, was born Abraham Lincoln, who was to be the sixteenth President of the United States. While he was yet an infant, the family removed to another log cabin not far distant, and in these two homes Abraham Lincoln spent the first seven years of his life. A sister, Sarah, was older than he; and a younger brother, Thomas, died in infancy.

Mrs. Lincoln was described by her son Abraham as of medium stature, dark, with soft and rather mirthful eyes. She was a woman of great force of character and passionately fond of reading. Every book on which she could lay hands was eagerly read, and her son said, years afterwards, that his earliest recollection of his mother was of his sitting at her feet with his sister, drinking in the tales and legends that were read or related to them by the house-mother.

Theirs was a very humble home. The mother was used to the rifle, and not only did she bring down the bear, or deer, and dress its flesh for the family table, but her skilful hand wrought garments and moccasins and head-gear from the skins. The most vivid impression that we have of the mother of Abraham Lincoln is one of sadness, toil, and unremitting anxiety. That was a hard life for a sensitive and slender woman; for the country was very poor in all that makes life easy, and the little family was far from any considerable settlement.

Mrs. Lincoln taught her two children their first lessons in the alphabet and spelling. When Abraham was in his seventh year, Zachariah Riney came into the vicinity and the lad was sent to his school. Later on, Caleb Hazel, a spirited and manly young fellow, succeeded Riney as teacher, and Abraham attended

LINCOLN'S EARLY HOME IN HARDIN COUNTY, KENTUCKY.

His father built this cabin, and moved into it when Abraham was an infant, and resided there until the boy was seven years of age, when he removed to Indiana.

his school three months. So rare were opportunities for going to school in those days, that Lincoln never forgot the lessons he learned of Caleb Hazel and the pleasure that he felt in that great event of his life—going to school.

In those primitive times, preaching was usually had under the trees or in the cabins of those few who were so fortunate as to have a bigger roof than most of their neighbors. Lincoln was a full-grown lad, when he first saw a church; and it was only from the lips of wandering preachers that he heard the words of Christian warning and advice. At long intervals, Parson Elkin, a Baptist preacher, took his way through the region in which the Lincolns lived, and young Abraham, fascinated by hearing long discourses fall from the lips of the speaker, apparently without any preparation, never failed to attend on his simple services. The boy got his first notion of public speaking from this itinerant preacher, and, years afterwards, he referred to the preacher as the most wonderful man known to his boyish experience.

Thomas Lincoln wearied of his Kentucky home. There was great trouble in getting land titles; even Daniel Boone, the pioneer and surveyor of the land, upon whom had been conferred a great grant, was shorn of much of his lawful property, and a cloud was laid on nearly every man's right to his own homestead. But the real cause of his hankering after a new home was probably that he saw something better far ahead. The tales of wonderfully rich soil, abundant game, fine timber, and rich pasturage that came to Kentucky from Indiana were just like the rosy reports of the riches and attractions of Kentucky that had enticed the elder Lincolns from their home in Virginia years before.

So Thomas resolved to "pull up stakes" and move on, still to the westward.

Thomas found a newcomer who was willing to take his partly improved farm and log cabin for ten barrels of whiskey and twenty dollars in cash. This represented three hundred dollars in value, and was the price that he had set upon his homestead. Whiskey made from corn was, in those days, one of the readiest forms of currency in the trading and barter continually going on among the settlers; and, even where drunkenness was almost unknown, the fiery spirit was regarded as a perfectly legitimate article of daily use and a substitute for money in trade.

Thomas Lincoln built a flatboat, which he loaded with his ten barrels of whiskey and the heavier articles of household furniture. Then, pushing off alone, he floated safely down to the Ohio. Here he met with a great disaster. Caught between eddying currents, and entangled in the snags and "sawyers" that beset the stream, his frail craft was upset and much of his stuff was lost. With assistance, he righted the boat, and, with what had been saved from the wreck, he landed at Thompson's Ferry, found an ox-cart to transport his slender stock of valuables into the forest, and finally piled them in an oak-opening in Spencer County, Indiana, about eighteen miles from the river.

Left at home in their dismantled cabin, with a scanty supply of provisions, the mother and little ones made the most of their time. The two children attended Caleb Hazel's school, but Abraham found time to snare game for the family dinner-pot, and, in an emergency, the house-mother could knock over a deer at long range. One bed-ticking filled with dried forest leaves and husks sufficed for their rest at night, and bright

and early in the morning the future President was out in the nipping autumn air, chopping wood for the day's fire. As the time drew near for the father's return, Mrs. Lincoln, leading her living boy, paid her last visit to the grave of the little one whom she had lost in infancy. And his sad mother's prayers and tears by the side of the unmarked mound in the wilderness made an impression on the mind of the lad that time never effaced.

But when Thomas Lincoln returned to his small brood, it was not with any boastfulness. He had met with what was to them a great loss. Much of their meagre stock of household stuff and farming tools was at the bottom of the Ohio River. Leaving the rescued fragments in care of a friendly settler, he had made a bee-line for the old Kentucky home ; and here he was, with a flattering report of the richness of the land to which they were bound.

It was a long journey that was before them. Procuring two horses and loading them with the household stuff and wardrobe of the family, Thomas Lincoln, wife, and two children took up their line of march for the new home in Indiana. At night they slept on the fragrant pine twigs ; and by day they plodded their way toward the Ohio River. They were like true soldiers of fortune, subsisting on the country through which they marched. Here and there, it was needful to clear their way through tangled thickets, and now and again they came to streams that must be forded or swam. By all sorts of expedients, the little family contrived to get on from day to day, occupying a week in this transit from one home to another. The nights were cool but pleasant. No rain fell on them in the way, and after a week of free and easy life in the woods,

they came to the bank of the river. When they looked over into the promised land, they saw nothing but forest, almost trackless forest, stretching far up and down the stream. All was silent save for the ripplings of the water and the occasional note of some wandering bird.

CHAPTER II

THE BOYHOOD OF LINCOLN

PICKING up their property left in charge of one of the scattered settlers by Thomas Lincoln on his first visit, the family pushed on into the wilderness, where on a grassy knoll in the heart of the untrodden forest, they fixed upon the site of their future dwelling-place. A slight hunter's camp was all that could be built to shelter the new settlers during their first winter in the woods of southern Indiana. The open front of this "half-faced camp" was partially screened with "pelts," as the half-dressed skins of wild animals were called. A fireplace of sticks and clay, with a chimney of the same materials, occupied one corner of the hut. Here the Lincolns spent their first winter in the new State of Indiana.

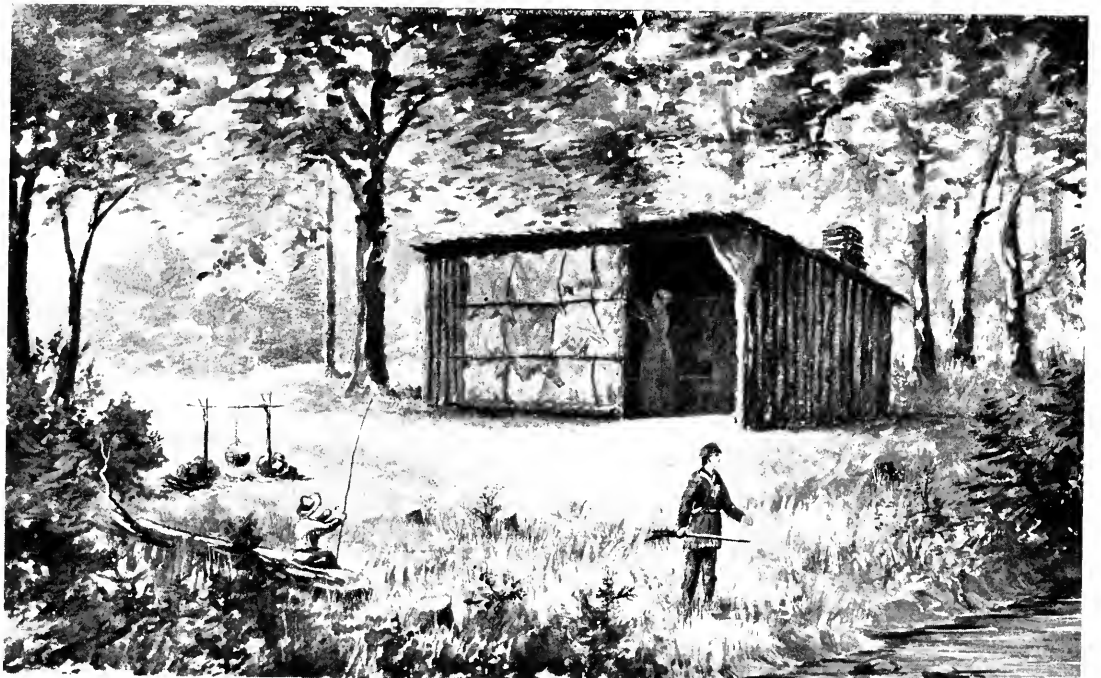
Abraham was now in his eighth year, tall, ungainly, fast-growing, long-legged, and clad in the garb of the frontier. He wore a shirt of linsey-woolsey, a fabric homespun of mixed cotton and wool, and dyed with colors obtained from the roots and barks of the forest. According to his own statement, he never wore stockings until he was "a young man grown." His feet were covered with rough cowhide shoes, but oftener with moccasins fashioned deftly by his mother's hands. Deerskin breeches and a hunting-shirt of the same

material completed his outfit, except for the coon-skin cap that adorned his shaggy head, the tail of the animal hanging down behind, at once an ornament and a convenient handle when occasion required.

But the lad did not take kindly to hunting. Once, as he used to tell of himself, while yet a child, he caught a glimpse of a flock of wild turkeys feeding near the camp, and, venturously taking down his father's rifle from its pegs on the wall, he took aim through a chink in the cabin and killed a noble bird. It was his first shot at a living thing, and he never forgot the mingled pain and pleasure that it brought—pain because he dreaded to take life, and pleasure because he had brought down his game.

The woods swarmed with bears, deer, woodchucks, raccoon, wild turkeys, and other creatures, furry or feathered, useful for the table or for furnishing forth the scanty wardrobe of the settlers. None need starve so long as snares and ammunition were handy for the hunter and trapper. But it was a hard life, hard for children, and hardest of all for women. No neighbor dropped in for a few minutes' friendly gossip, with the small news of the day. Only as a faint echo from out another world came the news of domestic politics, foreign complications, and national affairs. James Madison was President of the United States, and Congress and the country were stirred greatly over the admission of Missouri, the extension of slavery westward of the Mississippi River, and other matters of great moment then and thereafter.

It was in the autumn of 1816 that the Lincolns took up their abode in the wilds of Indiana. In February of the following year, Thomas Lincoln, with the slight assistance of little Abe, felled the logs needed for a



A HALF-FACED CAMP.

Lincoln's home in Indiana during the winter of 1816–17.

substantial cabin. These were cut to the proper lengths, notched near the ends so as to fit into each other when laid up ; and then the neighbors from far and near were summoned to the " raisin'," which was an event in those days for much rude jollity and cordial good-fellowship. A raising was an occasion for merry-making as well as for hard work ; and these opportunities for social gatherings, few as they were, were enjoyed by young and old. The helpful settlers " snaked " the logs out of the woods, fitted the sills in their places, rolled the other logs up by means of various rude contrivances, and before nightfall had in shape the four walls of the log cabin, with the gables fixed in position and poles fastened on with wooden pins to serve as rafters, and even some progress was made in the way of covering the roof.

The floor of this primitive habitation was the solid ground, pounded hard. The cracks between the bark-covered logs were " chinked " with thin strips of wood split from the plentiful timber. Similar labor " rived " or split the " shakes " with which the roof was covered, and from which the swinging door was made. Later on, huge slabs of wood split from oak and hickory logs and known as " puncheons " were laid on floor joists of logs and were loosely pinned in place by long wooden pegs.

In one corner of the cabin, two of its sides formed by the walls thereof, was built the bedstead of the father and mother. Only one leg was needed, and this was driven down into the ground, a forked top giving a chance to fit in the cross-pieces that served for foot and side of this simple bit of furniture. From these to the logs at the side and head of the bedstead were laid split " shakes," and sometimes thongs of deerskin

were laced back and forth after the fashion of bedcording. On this was placed the mattress, filled with dried leaves, corn-husks, or whatever came handy. The children's bed, a smaller contrivance, was sometimes fixed in another corner ; but when the wintry wind whistled around the cabin and the dry snow sifted through the cracks, the little ones stole over to the parental bed for warmth.

In making all these preparations for home-life under their own roof, little Abe took an active part. He early learned the use of the axe, the maul, and the wedge. With the "froe," a tool something like a long wedge with a wooden handle, he was taught to "rive" the shingle from the slab ; and with maul and wedges—a highly prized possession—he mastered the art of splitting rails and billets of wood for building purposes. In labors like these, the lad hardened his sinews, toughened his hands, and imbibed a knowledge of woodcraft and the practical uses of every variety of timber. He knew every tree, bush, and shrub by its foliage and bark, as far as he could see it. The mysterious juices that gave healing to wounds and bruises, the roots that held medicinal virtues in their sap, and the uses to which every sort of woody fibre was best adapted were all familiar to him.

It was impossible that a boy so imaginative and full of fancy, as young Abe certainly was, should grow up in these forests and shades without imbibing some "queer notions" about men and things. Even to the most practical of mankind, there is an awesome solitude in the unexplored forest wilderness ; and the sighing of winds, the roar of night-prowling animals, the hollow murmur of distant streams, and the indescribable hum that goes up continually from the hidden life of

the forest live ever after in the memory of those who have spent much of their childhood in scenes like these. The brooding lad took in many a lesson which could not be expressed in words, and never to the latest day of his life forgot the traditions and the scenery of the wilderness, never lost the lesson of God's greatness and man's insignificance.

It was during their first year in Indiana, and when Abraham was in his tenth year, that a mysterious disease called "the milk-sick" appeared in the region. Exactly what "the milk-sick" was nobody nowadays seems to know. No physician acknowledges any such form of sickness; but there are traditions of it yet extant in the Western States, and Mr. Lincoln, later in life, described it as resembling a quick consumption. Cattle as well as human beings were destroyed by it, and in the far-off wilderness it was not then uncommon to find an entire household prostrated with the disease, while flocks and herds were dying uncared for. It was a sad and gloomy time all through southern Indiana and Kentucky when "the milk-sick" raged.

In the preceding autumn, Mrs. Betsy Sparrow and her husband and her little nephew, Dennis Hanks, had followed the Lincolns into Indiana and were settled not far away in a half-faced camp. Dennis Hanks was Abraham's playmate and distant cousin, for Mrs. Sparrow was Nancy Lincoln's aunt. The Sparrows, man and wife, were taken down with "the milk-sick" and were removed to the Lincoln cabin for better attendance. Soon Abraham's mother was also stricken, and poor Thomas Lincoln had his hands full.

Mr. and Mrs. Sparrow died first, and were buried on a little knoll in the forest within sight of the cabin. On the 5th of October, a few days later, Nancy Lincoln

died ; and she too was buried in the forest, under the shade of a spreading and majestic sycamore. When the wayworn form of the mother was lowered into the grave, enclosed in the rude wood shaped by the hands of Thomas Lincoln, little Abraham Lincoln, sitting alone until the shadows grew deep and dark in the forest and the sound of night-birds began to echo through the dim aisles, wept his first bitter tears. Long after, when the spot where she was buried [1] had been covered by the wreck of the forest and almost hidden, her son was wont to say, with tear-dimmed eyes, " All that I am, or hope to be, I owe to my angel mother."

It was the custom of those days and of that country to have a funeral sermon preached by way of memorial, any time within the year following the death of a person. So, as soon as the good mother was buried, Abraham Lincoln wrote what he used to say was his first letter, and addressed it to Parson Elkin, the Kentucky Baptist preacher who had sometimes tarried with the Lincolns in their humble home in Kentucky. It was a great favor to ask of the good man ; but in due time Abraham received an answer to his letter, and the parson promised to come when his calls of duty led him near the Indiana line.

Early in the following summer, when the trees were greenest, the preacher came on his errand of kindness. It was a bright and sunny Sabbath morning when, due notice having been sent through all the region, men,

[1] A stone has been placed over the site of the grave by Mr. P. E. Studebacker of South Bend, Indiana. The stone bears the following inscription: " Nancy Hanks Lincoln, died October 5th, A.D. 1818, aged 35 years. Erected by a friend of her martyred son, 1879."

women, and children gathered from far and near to hear the funeral sermon of Nancy Lincoln. There were the hardy forest rangers ; there were the farmers and their families, two hundred of them, all told, some on foot and some on horseback and others drawn in ox-carts. All were intent on the great event of the season — the preaching of Nancy Lincoln's funeral sermon.

The waiting congregation was grouped around on "down trees," stumps, and knots of bunch-grass, or on wagon-tongues, waiting for the coming of the little procession. The preacher led the way from the Lincoln cabin, followed by Thomas Lincoln, his son Abraham, his daughter Sarah, and little Dennis Hanks, now a member of the Lincoln household. Tears shone on the sun-browned cheeks of the silent settlers as the good preacher told of the virtues and the patiently borne sufferings and sorrows of the departed mother of Abraham Lincoln. And every head was bowed in reverential solemnity as he lifted up his voice in prayer for the motherless children and the widowed man. To Abraham, listening as he did to the last words that should be said over the grave of his mother, this was a scene never to be forgotten.

We can imagine how unkempt and ragged the three became, left almost wholly to themselves. Sarah, scarcely twelve years old, was the housekeeper. Abe, two years younger, came next, and Dennis Hanks was eighteen months younger than he. The father had a cheerful temper, and he hoped that the good Lord would send them help, somehow and some day, but how and when, he never stopped to think. But he knew better than Sarah did how to mix an ash-cake of corn-meal. So, with milk from the cow and an occasional slab of "side-meat," or smoked side of pork,

the family was never long hungry. It was hard fare; but a boy nourished himself on that and lived to be President.

Boys of the present age, turning over languidly the piles of books at their command, beautiful, entertaining, instructive, and fascinating, gay with binding and pictures, would stand aghast at the slimness of the stock that made Abraham Lincoln's heart glad. The first books he read were the Bible, Æsop's *Fables*, and *The Pilgrim's Progress*. He thought himself the most fortunate boy in the country, and such good use did he make of these standard works that he could repeat from memory whole chapters of the Bible, many of the most striking passages of Bunyan's immortal book, and every one of the fables of Æsop.

He early took to the study of the lives and characters of eminent men, and a life of Henry Clay which his mother had managed to buy for him was one of his choicest treasures. Hearing of a *Life of Washington*, written by Weems, young Lincoln went in pursuit of it, and joyfully carried it home in the bosom of his hunting-shirt. Reading this by the light of a "tallow-dip" until the feeble thing had burned down to its end, Abraham tucked the precious volume into a chink in the log wall of the cabin and went to sleep. A driving storm in the night had soaked the book through and through and ruined it, when the eager boy sought for it in the early morning light. It was a borrowed book, and honest Abe was in despair over its destruction in his hands. With a heavy heart he took it back to its owner, offering to do any thing that Mr. Crawford thought fair and just. A settlement was made, young Abe covenanting to pull "fodder" for three days, by way of settlement.

"And does that pay for the book, or for the damage done to it?" asked the shrewd boy, taking his first lessons in worldly wisdom.

"Wal, I allow," said the kindly owner of the precious book, "that it won't be much account to me or anybody else now, and the bargain is that you pull fodder three days, and the book is yours."

This was the first book that Abraham Lincoln earned and paid for; discolored and blistered though it was, it was to him of value incalculable. And wheresoever the story of Abraham Lincoln's life shall be told, this account of his first precious possession shall be also narrated for a memorial of him.

Years after, standing near the battle-ground of Trenton, and recalling the pages of the book hidden in the crevices of the log cabin in the Indiana wilderness, he said: "I remember all the accounts there given of the battle-fields and the struggles for the liberties of the country, and none fixed themselves so deeply as the struggle here at Trenton, New Jersey. I recollect thinking then, boy even though I was, that there must have been something more than common that those men struggled for."

It is an odd fact that may as well be recorded here, that Lincoln, as boy and man, almost invariably read aloud. When he studied, it helped him, he said, to fix in his mind the matter in hand, if, while it passed before his eyes, he heard his own voice repeating it.

CHAPTER III

YOUNG MANHOOD

IN the autumn of 1819, Thomas Lincoln went off somewhere into Kentucky, leaving the children to take care of themselves. What he went for, and where he went, the youngsters never thought of asking. But in December, early one morning, they heard a loud halloo from the edge of the forest ; and, dashing to the door, they beheld the amazing sight of the returning traveller perched in a four-horse wagon, a pretty-looking woman by his side, and a stranger driving the spanking team. Was it a miracle ? Thomas had returned with a stepmother for his little ones. He had married, in Elizabethtown, Kentucky, Mrs. Sally Johnston, formerly Miss Sally Bush. She had been known to the lad in Kentucky ; and now that she had come to be the new mother to Abe and his sister, they were glad to see her.

The gallant four-horse team was the property of Ralph Krume, who had married Sally Johnston's sister; and in the wagon was stored what seemed to these children of the wilderness a gorgeous array of housekeeping things. There were tables and chairs, a bureau with real drawers that pulled out and disclosed a stock of clothing, crockery, bedding, knives and forks, and numerous things that to people nowadays are thought

to be among the necessaries of life. By what magic Thomas Lincoln had persuaded this thrifty and "forehanded" widow to leave her home in Kentucky and migrate to the comfortless wilderness of Indiana, we can only guess. But Thomas was of a genial and even jovial disposition, and he had allured the good woman to come and save his motherless bairns from utter destitution and neglect.

The new Mrs. Lincoln, if she was disappointed in the home she found in Indiana, never showed her disappointment to her stepchildren. She took hold of the duties and labors of the day with a cheerful readiness that was long and gratefully remembered by her stepson, at least. They were good friends at once. Of him she said, years after, "He never gave me a cross word or look, and never refused, in fact or appearance, to do anything I requested of him." Of her he said, "She was a noble woman, affectionate, good, and kind, rather above the average woman, as I remember women in those days."

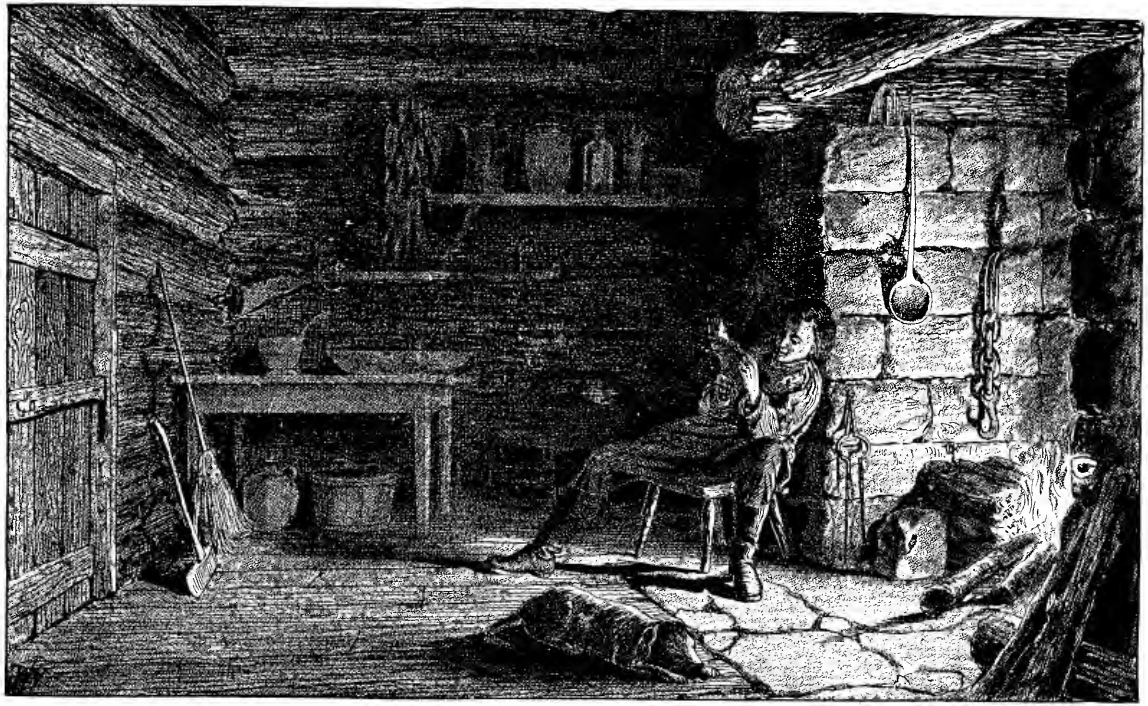
Mrs. Lincoln brought with her three children by her first marriage, John, Sarah, and Matilda Johnston, whose ages were not far from those of the three children found in the Lincoln homestead. The log cabin was full to overflowing. The three boys, Abraham Lincoln, John Johnston, and Dennis Hanks, were sent to the loft over the cabin to sleep. They climbed up a rude ladder built against the inner side of the log house; and their bed, a mere sack of dry corn-husks, was so narrow that when one turned over all three turned. Nevertheless, there was an abundance of covering for the children.

The new mother had at once insisted that the openings in the cabin should be filled with glass and sashes

instead of loosely hung sheets of muslin. The rickety frame that had served as a door, with its clumsy wooden hasp, was taken away, and "a battened door" of matched boards, with a wooden latch of domestic make, replaced it. Mats of deerskin were put down on the puncheon floor, and an aspect of comfort, even luxury, was spread around. It seems to have been an harmonious household. If there were any family jars, history makes no mention of them. And we must remember that that history has come down to us in the reports of two of those who were most interested in the household, Abraham Lincoln and his stepmother.

About this time, young Abe made the acquaintance of a new source of pleasure, James Fenimore Cooper's "Leather-Stocking Tales." Over these he hung with rapturous delight. He had seen something of the fast-receding Indian of the American forests; and he had heard, many a time, of his father's thrilling escape from the red man's clutches, and of his grandfather's cruel death in the Kentucky "clearing"; and when he withdrew his fascinated attention from the vivid pages of Cooper's novels, he almost expected to see the painted savages lurking in the outskirts of the forest so near at hand. Another book, borrowed from one of the few and distant neighbors, was Burns's *Poems*, a thick and chunky volume, as he afterwards described it, bound in leather and printed in very small type. This book he kept long enough to commit to memory almost all its contents. And ever after, to the day of his death, some of the familiar lines of the Scottish poet were as ready on his lips as those of Shakespeare, the only poet who was, in Lincoln's opinion, greater than Robert Burns.

His stepmother said of him: "He read everything



STUDY BY THE FIRESIDE.

he could lay his hands on, and when he came across a passage that struck him, he would write it down on boards, if he had no paper, and keep it by him until he could get paper. Then he would copy it, look at it, commit it to memory, and repeat it." Thus from books that he did not own and could not keep, he collected a great many things of the utmost value to him.

But although young Lincoln devoured books with a hunger that was almost pathetic, and sorely tried his eyes with study by the light of blazing pine-knots on the hearth, he was no milksop, no weakly bookworm. He had learned the use of tools; he could swing the maul, and could chip out "shakes" and shingles, lay open rails, and handle logs as well as most men. Although not a quarrelsome boy, he could throw any of his weight and years in the neighborhood; and far and near "Abe Lincoln" was early known as a capital wrestler and a tough champion at every game of muscular skill.

School and its coveted facilities for getting knowledge was now within reach. Hazel Dorsey was the name of the new schoolmaster on Little Pigeon Creek, a mile and a half from the Lincoln homestead; and thither was sent the brood of young ones belonging to the Lincoln family. These backwoods children had the unusual luxury of going all together to a genuine school. True the schoolhouse was built of logs; but all the youngsters of the school came from log cabins; and even the new meeting-house, which was an imposing affair for those woods, was log-built up to the gables, and thence finished out with the first sawn lumber ever used to any considerable extent in the region.

Young Abraham made the most of his opportunities,

and when he found the days too short for his school studies and his tasks about the farm, he sat up by the fire of "lightwood" late into the night. Following the plough, or whirling the mighty maul, he pondered deeply the lessons that he had learned at school and from the few books at his command. As his mental vision widened, there was nothing so far out of the knowledge of those about him that he could not take it up. Algebra, Euclid, Latin, came later on in life; but even in his early youth, hearing of these, he resolved to master them as soon as he could get the needed books.

Through all the wide neighborhood, Abe Lincoln was known as an honest, laborious, and helpful lad. Coming home one night, when the early winter frosts were sharp and nipping, he and a comrade found by the roadside the horse of one of the settlers who was a notorious drunkard. There had been a house-raising in the vicinity, and the rider, overcome with the strong drink too common on those semi-festive occasions, had probably fallen off and been left by his steed, while passing through the woods. Young Lincoln was for hunting up the missing man. "Oh, come along home," said his companion; "what business is it of yours if he does get lost?"

"But he will freeze to death, if he is left on the trail this cold night."

The kind-hearted young fellow found the man and took him, all unconscious as he was, on his own stalwart back, and actually carried him eighty rods to the nearest house, where, after sending word to his father that he must stay out all night, he sat by the half-frozen man and brought him back to consciousness.

Before he was seventeen years old, he attended court

in Boonville, the county-seat of Warrick, where a man was on trial for murder. It was his first look into what seemed to him the great world outside the wilderness. An accident led him into the vicinity, and, hearing that one of the famous Breckinridges of Kentucky was to speak for the defence, he went on to Boonville, and, open-mouthed with wonder, heard the first great speech of his life. When the arguments were over and the case had gone to the jury, the youth, his face shining with honest enthusiasm, held out his brown hand to the well-dressed lawyer, and told him how much he had enjoyed his wonderful speech. The aristocratic Breckinridge stared with surprise at the intrusive stranger, and haughtily brushed by him. This was not the boy's first lesson in social distinctions, but it was his first lesson in oratory; and he was just as grateful to Breckinridge as he would have been if the great man had been as gracious then as he was years after, when he was reminded by the President, in Washington, of an incident in Boonville which Breckinridge had forgotten but Lincoln could not forget.

From that time, young Lincoln practised speech-making. He took up any topic that happened to be uppermost in the rural neighborhood — a question of roads or trails, the school-tax, a bounty on wolves or bears; or he got up mock trials, arraigned imaginary culprits, and himself acted as prosecuting attorney, counsel for the defendant, judge, and foreman of the jury, making their appropriate addresses in due course. He threw himself into these debates with so much ardor that his father was obliged to interfere and forbid the speeches during hours for work. The old man grumbled, "When Abe begins to speak, all hands flock to hear him."

One notable thing about this young man was that when he began to study anything, he was not satisfied until he had got to the bottom of it. He went to the roots of things. He wrote and re-wrote all that he wanted to commit to memory. He could not give up any difficult problem. He kept at it until he had mastered it; and in a community that was pretty dark in all matters of book-learning he seldom had any help outside of his book. He found time, now and again, of an evening, to lounge with the other young fellows in the country store at the cross-roads, and, beardless youngster though he was, he delighted the rude backwoodsmen and settlers with his homely wit and wisdom. In that benighted region he was accounted as being deeply learned. Great things were prophesied of the lad.

Never neglecting any task on the farm, never shirking any duty however unwelcome, young Lincoln studied almost incessantly. Dennis Hanks said of him, "He was always reading, writing, cyphering, and writing poetry." There is in existence a manuscript book of his, under the title of "Book of Examples in Arithmetic." One of the pages, dated March 1, 1826, is headed "Discount," and is divided as follows: "A Definition of Discount," "Rules for its Computation," and "Proofs and Various Examples," all worked out in neat and correct figures. Following this is "Interest on Money." And all this was carefully kept for ready reference by the boy who was busily studying how to master every thing he attempted. Abraham Lincoln learned to be thorough when he was building his character.

It was about this time, when he was eighteen years old, that he conceived the mighty plan of building a

Discount march 1st 1820

Discount is an allowance made for the payment of a sum of money before it becomes due according to a certain rate per cent agreed on between the parties concerned the preasant worth of any sum or debt due some time hence is such a sum as if put to interest for that time at a certain rate per cent would amount to the sum or debt {See Case 5 Simple interest}

Rule

As the ammount of 100 pounds or dollars at the rate and time given is to 100 pounds or dollars so is the whole debt to the present worth

Proof

Find the amount of the present worth for the time and rate proposed which must equal the sum in debt

Examples

what is the present worth and what the discount of £500 payable in 10 months at 5 per cent per annum

as 12 m — 5 £ — 10
10
12)50(4
48
2
20
12)40(3
36
4

104-3-4 — 100 — 500
20 — 20
2083 — 10000
12 — 12
25000)12000000(480 £ ans
100000
200000
200000
00

Ans {persent £480
Discount 20}

boat and taking down the river to the nearest trading-post some of the products of the home farm. He had had furtive glimpses of the busy life outside the woods of southern Indiana, and he longed for a closer look at it. The little craft was built, chiefly by his own hands, and was loaded with bacon, "garden truck," and such odds and ends as were thought available for market.

Of this short voyage into the world of busy men, the chief incident was the following. Loitering on the river bank, after he had sold his little cargo, Lincoln saw what was to him then an unusual sight, a steamboat coming down the river. At the same time two men came to the river's edge, seeking a boat to take them to the approaching steamer. In answer to their call, he sculled the two passengers to the boat, and, when he had put them on board with their luggage, what was his astonishment to find in his hand, as his fee, two silver half-dollars!

"I could scarcely believe my eyes," he said, when telling this adventure, years afterward, to Secretary Seward. "You may think it a very little thing; but it was the most important incident in my life. I, a poor boy, had earned a dollar in less than a day. The world seemed wider and fairer before me. I was a more hopeful and confident being from that time."

It was one year later, when Lincoln was nineteen years old, that he made his second voyage. Mr. Gentry, the owner of the neighborhood store, looked about him for a trustworthy man to take a flatboat with a cargo of produce to New Orleans. Abraham had not been much away from home, had no familiarity with business or with river navigation, and had never even seen the Lower Mississippi. But the

trader knew his man, and made an offer to Lincoln, placing him in full charge of the venture. Lincoln accepted. His good fortune seemed wonderful. And when he and his companion, young Allen Gentry, cut loose from Gentryville and slowly drifted down Pigeon Creek into the Ohio, on a voyage of eighteen hundred miles, not Columbus sailing forth into unknown seas, nor the master of the first steamship that ploughed the Atlantic, could have been more impressed with the mightiness of the prospect before him than the backwoods boy on his first expedition from the forests of southern Indiana.

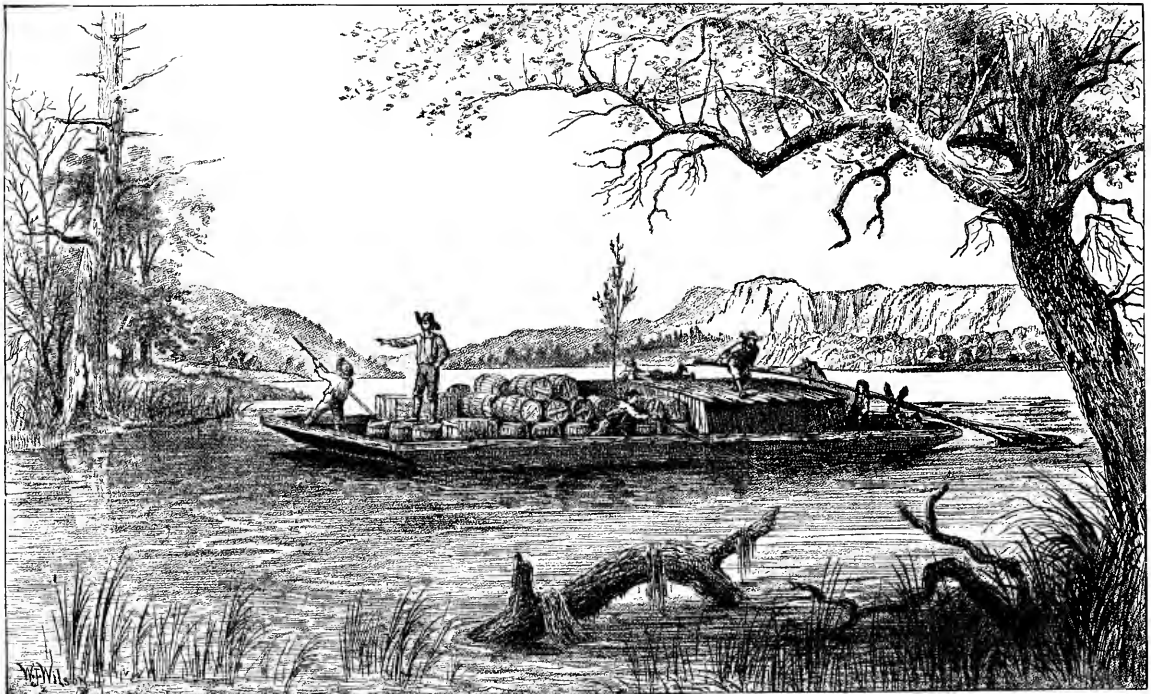
As they descended the mighty Father of Waters, then flowing unvexed to the sea, plantations began to dot the landscape. Here and there friendly or inquisitive settlers came down to the bank to ask them about their "load." Or, when they made fast to the most convenient tree at nightfall, a far-wandering hunter came to share "pot-luck" and the gossip of the region with the youthful adventurers. In this way they picked up a store of information, useful and otherwise, and many a queer tale of frontier life.

Tied up to a bank one night, as was their custom, the twain slept soundly after their day of toil, when they were waked by a scrambling near at hand. Springing to his feet, Abraham shouted, "Who 's there?" There was no reply, and, seizing a handspike, he made ready for an attack. Seven negroes, evidently on an errand of plunder, now appeared. Abe held himself ready to "repel boarders," and the first man that jumped on board was received with a heavy blow that knocked him into the water. A second, a third, and a fourth, essaying the same thing, were similarly received. The other three, seeing they were no match

for the tall backwoodsman and his ally, took to their heels, pursued by Abe and Allen. When they overtook the negroes, a hand-to-hand fight ensued; but the thieves finally fled again, leaving on the future President a scar that he carried to his grave.

The cargo was sold to good advantage before reaching New Orleans. Then, the empty boat being disposed of, for it would not pay to take it home up-stream, the two adventurers, elated with their first notable success, made their way homeward by steamboat. They had seen a bit of the great world. And Abraham Lincoln had seen what he never forgot, his first close view of human slavery; slaves toiling on the plantations, slaves bending beneath their tasks on the levees of the river towns, and, what was more memorable than all, slaves in squads and coffles, torn from old homes and families far away, bound up the river on the steamboats that were now frequent on the busy Mississippi. He who was to be known through all coming time as The Emancipator had made his first study of his fellow-man in hopeless bondage.

Abraham Lincoln, up to this point, was what is called a self-made man in the strictest sense of that word. What he had learned, he had learned of himself. What he knew, he knew with absolute accuracy. Self-taught and self-dependent, he had all his resources, mental, moral, and physical, well in hand. So self-reliant and yet, withal, so modest and diffident a character was probably never known before. Growing up in the almost trackless forest, he had absorbed the influences of the wild-wood. He had been held close to nature, had had as much time for solitary meditation as was wholesome for him; and he had never been for an hour dependent on other people, or on other



A MISSISSIPPI RIVER FLATBOAT

than the humblest means, for intellectual stimulus. Such as he was, it may be said, God had made him. The man that was within him was thoroughly original.

Henceforth he was not to be hidden in the backwoods. The stalwart young pioneer, now six feet four inches tall, could outrun and outwalk any one of his comrades, and, as has been said by those who knew him then, " he could strike the hardest blow with axe or maul, jump higher and farther than any of his fellows, and there was no one, far or near, that could lay him on his back." These accomplishments counted for much in a community where physical endurance and muscular strength were needed for every day's duties. But the kindly youth, strong though he was, had a gentle manner that endeared him to everybody that came in contact with him. He had a wonderful power of narration. He kept his audiences at the country store until midnight, says one of his comrades, listening to his shrewd wisdom, native wit, and vivid recitals.

Unconsciously to himself, this simple-hearted and humble-minded young man was absorbing into his own experience the rude lore of the backwoodsman. He was studying character, filling his mind with facts and experiences ; and, in after years, in other scenes and in a far busier life than this, the fresh and original pictures that he sketched in speech or story, came from the panorama of human action unrolled before him in old Kentucky and southern Indiana.

CHAPTER IV

THE LINCOLNS IN ILLINOIS

ONCE more the Lincoln family "pulled up stakes" and moved westward. This time it was to Illinois, which, in the Indian vernacular, signifies "the land of the full-grown men." Thomas Hanks, one of the most steady and well-balanced of this somewhat wandering group of people, had gone to Macon County, Illinois, in the autumn of 1829. He had been so favorably impressed with what he saw and heard that he had written to Thomas Lincoln to come on and bring the family. It does not appear to have required much persuasion ever to induce Thomas Lincoln to change his place. He had made no progress in Indiana beyond providing for their actual wants. He could do no worse in Illinois, accounts of which as a land literally flowing with milk and honey were already spreading over the older States. So, in the spring of 1830, as soon as the frost was out of the ground, Lincoln, having sold crops, hogs, and farm improvements to Mr. Gentry, packed all his remaining earthly possessions into a wagon and set his face westward.

Two weeks of tiresome travel were consumed in reaching the place selected for them on the public lands near the village of Decatur, Macon County. The entire "outfit," consisting of one wagon drawn by four yoke

of oxen, driven by Abraham Lincoln, came to anchor as it were, on a patch of bottom-land hitherto untouched by the hand of man. Young Lincoln lent a hand in raising the cabin that was to be the home of the family. And when this work was done and the immigrants were securely under cover, he and Thomas Hanks ploughed fifteen acres of virgin soil, cut down and split into rails sundry walnut logs of the adjacent forest, worked out rails, and fenced his father's first Illinois farm.

Now it was time for young Abraham to strike out for himself. He had thought of doing that before, but had been reminded that he was a servant to his father until he was twenty-one years old. He was now in his twenty-second year, able and anxious to make his own living. During the summer of 1830, he worked at odd jobs in the neighborhood, always alert and cheerful, ready to turn his hand to any honest bit of work, and soon growing in favor with the rude and simple pioneers.

"The winter of the deep snow" was that of 1830–1, unto this day a memorable period of time in central Illinois. The snowfall began on Christmas day. It continued until the snow was three feet deep on a level. Then came a drizzling rain that froze as it fell, the thermometer sinking to twelve degrees below zero. The intense cold and the difficulty of getting about made that winter famous forever after in the annals of the country. Herds of deer were easily caught and killed, imprisoned as they were in the icy crust that broke beneath their sharp feet. Game of all kinds was slaughtered by the hungry settlers, as they came out of their scattered villages in search of food, and from that day large game never again was so plenty in the

State. Roads were finally broken from cabin to cabin and from hamlet to hamlet by "wallowing," the entire population, men, women, children, dogs, oxen, and horses, turning out and trampling down and kicking out the snow. Long after ploughing had begun, next spring, the muddy-white foundations of these rural roads remained, unmelted, to stretch across the black soil of the prairies.

During the winter of the deep snow, young Lincoln made the acquaintance of Denton Offutt, a small trader of the region. Hearing that Lincoln and Hanks were "likely young fellows," Offutt proposed that they take a boat-load of provisions to New Orleans for him. The boys were right glad to take such an offer, especially as Offutt agreed to "find" them — that is to say, to furnish their food — and to pay them fifty cents a day, and, if the venture were successful, to give them a further reward of twenty dollars each. This was great prospective riches to the youngsters, neither of whom had ever had so much money at one time. John Johnston, Abraham's foster-brother, was added to the crew, and, having built their flatboat, the party, Offutt, Abraham Lincoln, John Hanks, and John Johnston, embarked on the roaring Sangamon at Springfield.

Although the river was booming with the spring freshets, the frail craft, not far below the point of departure, stuck on a mill-dam, and there it stuck and hung. The population of New Salem came down to the river's margin, commented on the disaster, chaffed and hectored the shipwrecked mariners, and generally made merry over the affair, to the annoyance of the owner. But "the bow oar" rolled up his trousers, waded into the stream, unloaded the barge, whose nose

was well out of water while her stern was well under it, bored holes to let out the flood, and rigged up a contrivance to hoist the boat over the dam. This done, the craft was again loaded, the holes were plugged, and, amidst the cheers of the critical population, the voyagers shot down-stream on their rejoicing way.

Years afterwards, when Lincoln was a practising lawyer, he whittled out a model of his invention for hoisting vessels over shoals and had it patented in Washington. The curious visitor to the Patent Office in the national capitol is shown to-day a little wooden boat and an odd combination of strips and bars by which, as Mr. Lincoln afterwards said, a man might lift himself over a rail fence by the waistband of his breeches.

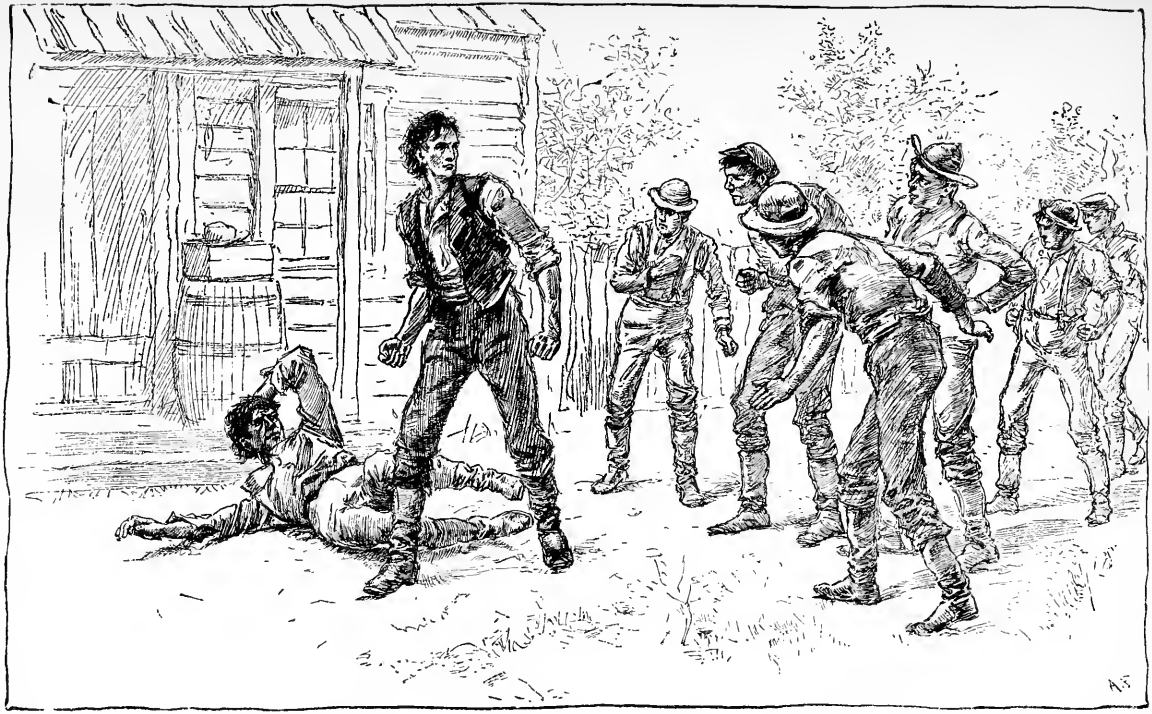
The adventurers had a swift and prosperous voyage down the river to New Orleans. This was Lincoln's second visit to the land of slavery. He saw more of the "peculiar institution" than before. He saw men and women whipped, bought, and sold, families separated, children torn from their parents and wives from their husbands. "Lincoln saw it; his heart bled; said nothing much, was silent, looked bad. I can say it, knowing him, that it was on this trip that he formed his opinions of slavery. It run its iron into him then and there, May, 1831," said John Hanks, in later years.

On his return from New Orleans Lincoln was engaged by Offutt to take charge of a small country store which he had opened at New Salem. So the little community that had witnessed the struggle and triumph on Rutledge's dam now made the acquaintance of the hero of that exploit at closer range. He at once

established himself as a favorite with the people, who, rude and rough though they were, readily appreciated the good qualities of any stranger that came among them.

In managing the country store, as in everything that he undertook for others, Lincoln did his best. On one occasion, finding, late at night, when he counted over his cash, that he had taken a few cents from a customer more than was due, he closed the store and walked a long distance to make good the deficiency. At another time, discovering on the scales in the morning a weight with which he had weighed out a package of tea for a woman, the night before, he saw that he had given her too little for her money; he weighed out what was due and carried it to her, much to the surprise of the woman, who had not known that she was short in the amount of her purchase. We have not space to tell of his efforts to protect women from insult, or children from tyranny; for, in the rude community in which he lived, the rights of the defenceless were not always respected as they should have been.

Not far from New Salem was a group of farms known as Clary's Grove. The "Clary's Grove boys," as the overgrown young men of the settlement were called, were rude, boisterous, swaggering, and tremendous fighters. They cast their eyes on the young stranger at Offutt's store, so well liked by the women, and resolved that they would "take him down a peg." Jack Armstrong, the bully of the band, was to do the deed. The crowd gathered around to see the sport, but the stalwart young Kentuckian soon showed that he was more than a match for the champion of Clary's Grove. Jack Armstrong was slowly sinking under the vigorous wrestling of the long-



LINCOLN'S ENCOUNTER WITH JACK ARMSTRONG AND THE CLARY'S GROVE "BOYS."

limbed Lincoln, when, in his desperation, he resorted to foul play. Lincoln, stung by his meanness, seized the bully by the throat with both hands, and, putting forth all his giant strength, flung him in the air, shaking him as though he were a child, the legs of the champion whirling madly over his head.

At this astounding performance, the gang of Clary's Grove broke into the circle, and Lincoln, backing against the store, calmly waited their onset. But Jack Armstrong, with what breath remained to him warned off his comrades, and, touched by a feeling of chivalry, shook his adversary by the hand, crying: "Boys! Abe Lincoln is the best fellow that ever broke into this settlement! He shall be one of us!" That settled it. Out of the fight that he had tried to avoid, Lincoln emerged as champion. Thenceforth, no truer friend, no more devoted ally, than Jack Armstrong to Abraham Lincoln ever lived. In later days, when Lincoln was out of money, out of work, all that Jack had was his.

Lincoln was no fighter. He was brave, absolutely unafraid of anybody or anything. He never played cards, nor gambled, nor smoked, nor used profane language, nor addicted himself to any of the rude vices of the times. But far and wide he was reckoned a hero, worshipped by the stalwart wrestlers and runners of the region, cordially liked by the women, respected as a rising and brave young fellow by the elders, and earning for himself the title that stuck to him through life, "Honest Abe."

Abe Lincoln became, by general consent, the peacemaker, the arbitrator of all the petty quarrels of the neighborhood. Shunning vulgar brawls himself, he attempted to keep others out of them. An absolutely honest man, he advised exact justice to all who sought

his advice ; and, whenever there was too much violence developed in debate around Offutt's store door, the tall form of the young manager was sure to be seen towering over the conflict ; and when argument failed to quell the disturbance, those long arms invariably brought peace.

In all his activities, however, Lincoln never for one moment knew what it was to " let up " on his reading and studies. Very poor he was, but he skimped himself and went without what many boys would call necessary clothing to subscribe to the *Louisville Courier*, then edited by that famous whig, George D. Prentice, a witty and most brilliant man. This was, as he afterwards, said, his greatest luxury. He read every word, and some of its articles were committed to memory by sheer force of habit. Pondering over the editorial articles of his favorite newspaper, he attempted to discover how they were constructed, and what were the rules by which language was composed and sentences framed.

Application to the village schoolmaster gave him a hint as to grammar, and he was not satisfied until he had hunted down, somewhere in the region, a copy of Kirkham's *Grammar*. This he carried home in great triumph, nor did he pause until he had mastered its contents. He said that he was surprised to find how little there was in a work that was made so much of by the schoolmaster. He had " collared " it in a week, and had returned the book to its owner.

CHAPTER V

A PLUNGE INTO POLITICS

UP to this time, Lincoln had never held any office except that of an occasional clerk of election. But the spring of 1832 found him out of business, out of work. Offutt's store had gone to pieces, that gentleman's numerous irons in the fire having at last proved too many for him. If ever Lincoln was at liberty to try his hand at politics, this was the time. He had been trained, or rather had grown up, in the backwoods, had gradually made the acquaintance of mankind, had meditated and read, and had accustomed himself to speaking extemporaneously. He was a good story-teller, alert, quick-witted, full of apt illustration and anecdote, and was so close a student of human nature that he was always able to adapt himself to his little audience. Above all, by his unvarying good-nature and helpfulness he had made friends of all who ever met him.

At the bottom of a barrel of "trash" that Offutt had taken in exchange for goods, Lincoln found two old law books. On these he fell like a hungry child, and he never left them until he had mastered their contents. In this way, Lincoln had absorbed a great deal of useful knowledge. He was always thirsty for information. If he heard of a new book, and new books were pretty

scarce in those days, he was restless until he had got a sight at it. For this purpose, he walked many a mile, counting no labor, no privation, anything, if it brought him nearer the coveted information of men and things.

Lincoln resolved to become a candidate for Representative to the Legislature, and in a circular, dated March 9, 1832, he appealed to his friends and fellow-citizens to vote for him. He had by this time become a pronounced Whig in politics, following in the footsteps of his great chief and pattern, Henry Clay. But he hoped, and not without reason, to secure many of the votes of those who knew and liked him for his manly and admirable qualities. Before the election came on, however, there was a call for volunteers to repel hostile Indians. The famous chief, Black Hawk, was on the war-path, and at the head of a party of braves had crossed the Mississippi to the northern part of the State and was pursuing his way up-stream in a leisurely manner. The Governor of Illinois called for two thousand volunteers. The country was panic-stricken.

Lincoln was among the first to volunteer. At the head of a party of Sangamon County men, among whom were many of the Clary's Grove boys, Lincoln made his way to the north, where General Atkinson, then in command of the small United States force operating in the region, was encamped. The Clary's Grove boys insisted that nobody but Lincoln should lead them to the war. When the time came for their captain to be chosen, word was given that all in favor of Lincoln should range themselves by his side, as he stood on the village green, and all who favored Kirkpatrick, the rival candidate, should take position near him. When the lines were formed, Lincoln's was three times as long as Kirkpatrick's ; and so he was joyfully declared

to be elected. This unsought honor, the first elective office that he ever held, gave Lincoln much solid satisfaction.

Lincoln's company was mustered into the service of the United States at Dixon's Ferry, Rock River, by Robert Anderson, a lieutenant and assistant inspector-general of the Army. The little force reported to Colonel Zachary Taylor, United States Army. In later years, Robert Anderson commanded at Fort Sumter when the first gun of the Rebellion was fired. As "Rough and Ready," General Taylor was endeared to the hearts of his countrymen, and he was elected to the presidency in 1848. The campaign against Black Hawk was short and decisive.

In this connection two incidents are related of Lincoln. An aged Indian, half-starved and alone, came into camp, one day, bearing a safe-conduct from General Cass. The soldiers, infuriated by some recent atrocities of Black Hawk's men, fell upon him and would have killed him. Lincoln, hearing the tumult, burst excitedly into the group and, throwing up their levelled muskets with his own hands, cried: "Boys! You shall not do this thing! You shall not shoot at this Indian!" For an instant, he stood defiantly before the red refugee, sheltering him from their ready weapons, and it was for a time doubtful if both would not bite the dust. But the men, seeing the courage and manliness of their captain, lowered their guns and turned sullenly away. One of Lincoln's faithful comrades, Bill Green, said of this, "I never saw Lincoln so roused before."

When Lincoln was in the White House, he told this story: The only time he saw blood in this campaign was one morning when, marching up a little valley

to reinforce a squad of outposts, he came, just at sunrise, upon their tent and found the men dead, all lying with their heads towards the rising sun, and the round red spot that marked where they had been scalped gleaming redly in the light of the sun. This was Lincoln's first glimpse of what war might be.

In 1848, while Lincoln was in Congress, General Lewis Cass was a candidate for the presidency, and his friends made much of his military record. To Lincoln's mind, ever disposed to the humorous side of things, this seemed absurd, and, addressing the Chair one day in the course of debate, he said:

"Did you know, Mr. Speaker, I am a military hero? In the days of the Black Hawk War I fought, bled, and came away. I was not at Stillman's defeat, but I was about as near it as General Cass was to Hull's surrender; and, like him, I saw the place very soon afterwards. It is quite certain I did not break my sword, for I had none to break, but I bent my musket pretty badly on one occasion. If General Cass went in advance of me picking whortleberries, I guess I surpassed him in charges on the wild onions. If he saw any live fighting Indians, it was more than I did, but I had a good many bloody struggles with the mosquitoes; and although I never fainted from loss of blood, I can truly say I was often very hungry. Mr. Speaker, if ever I should conclude to doff whatever our Democratic friends may suppose there is of black-cockade Federalism about me, and thereupon they shall take me up as their candidate for the presidency, I protest that they shall not make fun of me, as they have of General Cass, by attempting to write me into a military hero."

When Black Hawk had been hunted out, Lincoln quickly made his way back to Sangamon County.

The election soon came on, and, although he received a majority of the votes of his own precinct, he failed to carry his district. In those primitive days, it was not usual for candidates to expend much money in a canvass, and this fact did not make Lincoln's defeat so great a misfortune to him as it might have been under other circumstances. In the circular before mentioned, he had taken ground as a Whig; and in one of the few speeches of which we have scanty reports, he said : " I am in favor of a national bank ; I am in favor of the internal-improvement system, and of a protective tariff. These are my sentiments and political principles." They were sentiments and principles exactly opposed to the party in power. It cost some effort, perhaps, for a poor and comparatively unknown young man, without family friends to back him, to cast in his lot with the despised minority. But in that path Lincoln followed.

Lincoln's canvass brought him into contact with many of the prominent men of that part of the State. His speeches were argumentative, interspersed with racy anecdotes, full of humor, and more diffuse, perhaps, than those delivered in later years. It was not uncommon for the audience to ask questions of the speaker while he was in full tide of his address. Lincoln always answered these queries, when they were not impertinent, with ready good-humor and generally with what was called " an actual settler of an argument." On one occasion, seeing from his elevation that a friend of his in the crowd before him had been attacked by a ruffianly fellow, and was getting the worst of it, Lincoln descended from his temporary rostrum, seized the assailant by the scruff of the neck, threw him about ten feet, and then, having discharged

his duty as a keeper of the peace, calmly remounted the stump and went on with his speech as if nothing had happened to interrupt it.

Defeated in his race for the Legislature, Lincoln was forced to look around him for some means of livelihood. He had none. He had dabbled in politics and done some campaigning, and these occupations had unfitted him for resuming his place as a day laborer. It happened that the store of a neighboring merchant, one Radford, had become offensive to the Clary's Grove boys, for some unexplained reason, and they promptly wrecked it, staving in the windows and prying out one corner of its foundations. Radford thought it best to move thence, and he sold his stock to a chance passer-by named Greene, the price being two hundred dollars — on paper. Lincoln was called in to make an inventory of the contents of the damaged building, and, being fascinated with the possibilities of the stock, he offered two hundred and fifty dollars for the lot. Greene gladly accepted the proposition, and gave full possession of the establishment to Lincoln, making fifty dollars on his bargain — also on paper. For not a cent of hard money changed hands, the consideration being, as usual, a note of hand.

In this venture, Lincoln had a partner, one Berry, an idle and dissolute fellow, from whom he was soon obliged to separate, and in a very short time the enterprise, begun with so much promise and so many expectations, fell into ruin, and the goods were sold in lots to suit purchasers, to close out the concern. Lincoln was again on the world without occupation, and loaded down with debts incurred in this latest speculation. The store, as he expressed it, had "winked out," and he had no immediate recourse. He had

read law-books in a desultory and unaided way, and now he tackled them with more energy than ever, dimly realizing that here, at least, was a gleam of leading light for him. He borrowed every book on law that he could find, the attorneys of the region round about good-naturedly lending him whatever they had.

He also bought an old book of legal forms, and amused himself and his neighbors with drawing up imaginary deeds, wills, and conveyances in which fictitious property was disposed of at tremendous prices; this by way of practice. But whenever an opportunity occurred the people went to "Abe Lincoln" for advice and assistance in the selling or mortgaging of real estate, and thus he gradually worked his way into something like a business. His fees were generally necessaries of life turned in to the family with whom he happened to board. He also undertook small cases on trial before the justice of the peace, and, to use his own figure of speech, "tried on a dog" his legal eloquence and lore.

About this time, too, that is to say, in 1833, he undertook the study of surveying, and, as in other undertakings, he succeeded so well that he soon became an expert. His instruments were few and simple; contemporaries have said that his first chain was a grape-vine. But maps and plots of land surveyed by Lincoln, still extant, show a neatness and semblance of accuracy that testify to the rigid care that he always exercised in all his work.

In May, 1833, Andrew Jackson being President, Abraham Lincoln was appointed postmaster of New Salem. The office had very small revenues and no political importance. It was given to Lincoln, because all his neighbors wanted him to have it, and because he

was the only man willing to take it and able to make out the necessary returns to the post-office department. The mail was light, and Lincoln, as tradition runs, generally carried the post-office in his hat. He could not keep at home, of course, and when a villager met him and asked if there were letters for him, the postmaster gravely searched through his hat for an answer. But there were newspapers brought to New Salem by this weekly mail, and Lincoln religiously made it his duty to read them all before they could be called for; this, he used to say, made the office worth more to him than many times the amount of the money income.

In course of time, the population of New Salem migrated to other and more promising localities, and the post-office was discontinued. When an agent of the post-office department came to settle the accounts and to collect the small balance due to the Government, Lincoln's friend, Dr. A. G. Henry, happened to be present, and, knowing Lincoln's extreme poverty, offered to lend him the sum required. "Hold on a minute," said Lincoln, "and let 's see how we come out." Going to his sleeping-room, he brought out an old stocking and, untying it, poured on the table the exact amount, just as it had been paid to him in pennies and small silver pieces. Many a time had Lincoln been in bitter want, many a time hard-pressed for money; but the receipts of the little post-office were to him a sacred trust, to be kept until required of him.

The debt incurred by the "winking out" of the store of Berry & Lincoln pressed upon him. So vast did it seem that he was accustomed to speak of it as "the national debt." But, unlike most national debts, it was ultimately paid. In the course of business, the notes that he and Berry had given for the stock-in-

trade fell into the hands of a person who was more than usually impatient; for every man's credit, in those days, was unlimited. The creditor in this case seized Lincoln's horse, saddle, and bridle and sold them under a sheriff's execution. One of Lincoln's steadfast friends, Bolin Greene, attended the sale, from which Lincoln, greatly cast down in his mind, absented himself. Greene bought the outfit, and, to Lincoln's great surprise and relief, gave them to him with the injunction, "Pay for them, Abe, when you get ready, and if you never get ready, it 's all the same to me." Not long after this, Bolin Greene — long be his name remembered! — died, and Lincoln was asked by his townsmen of New Salem to deliver a eulogy at his burial. The rising young lawyer attempted the grateful task, but his voice failed him. The tears ran down his cheeks as he rose to speak, and, overcome with emotion, he sat down without saying a word. More eloquent than words, his tears spoke his affection for the man who had been his friend in need.

CHAPTER VI

THE YOUNG POLITICIAN

IN 1834, Lincoln again became a candidate for the Legislature. This was to be expected. On the previous occasion, he had made what was a very good run, although, as we have seen, he had a very few days in which to finish his canvass after returning from the war. The election took place in August, and, after a sharp fight, Lincoln was elected. Many Democrats, we are told, voted for him from purely personal and friendly reasons, and he was sure of the united support of the Whigs. The four successful candidates, with their votes, were as follows: Lincoln, 1376; Dawson, 1370; Carpenter, 1170; Stuart, 1164; Lincoln thus leading the poll. To say that Lincoln was elated, would faintly express his satisfaction over this great but not unexpected triumph. He was now twenty-five years old, hardy, in perfect health, manly, tolerably self-possessed, and not ashamed to address himself to the discussion of any of the questions of the day, and fully competent to hold his own with the general run of debaters on the stump, or in the Legislature.

He had mastered the elementary law-books, was familiar with legal phrases and forms, knew every rod of the country roundabout the region from which he was a representative, and, above all, knew the people,

their wants, their hopes, fears, aspirations, habits, and manner of life.

But we do not learn that in the Legislature of that year Lincoln was remarkable for anything but his height, then six feet and four inches. If he created any impression otherwise, it was when, the day's session over, he tilted his chair back in some place where the budding statesmen chiefly congregated, and entertained them with stories of which the repute has lasted long. But the tall young backwoodsman, now passing into the era of statesmanship, was keenly alive to all that was going on. He held his place in the legislative debates, but he listened to others. He introduced few bills, but he narrowly observed what other men were doing in this direction ; and, while he said little, he took in everything and thought a great deal. The session of that winter was not lost to him.

Next year, he was again nominated for the Legislature and was again elected, as in 1834. In his appeal to the voters, that year, Lincoln said : " I go for all sharing the privileges of the Government who assist in bearing its burdens. Consequently, I go for admitting all whites to the right of suffrage who pay taxes or bear arms (by no means excluding females)." And again : " Whether elected or not, I go for distributing the proceeds of the sales of the public lands to the several States, to enable our State, in common with other States, to dig canals and construct railroads without borrowing money and paying interest on it." At that time there were two great questions before the people : one was the right of persons not born in the United States to vote ; and the other was the policy of making public improvements, such as those named by Lincoln, at public expense.

During his canvass, Lincoln made additions to his reputation for ready wit and humor. On one occasion he was pitted against George Forquer, who, from being a leading Whig, had become a bitter "whole-hog Jackson man," and had been rewarded for his apostasy with a good office. Forquer was not a candidate in this canvass, but was called in to "boom" the Democratic nominee against Lincoln. Riding into Springfield, where the meeting was to be held, Lincoln's attention was drawn to Forquer's fine house, on which was a lightning-rod, then a great novelty in those parts. Lincoln had been allotted to close the debate, and Forquer, who spoke next before him, devoted himself to "taking down" the young man from New Salem. He ridiculed his dress, manners, and rough personal appearance, and, with much pomposity, derided him as an uncouth youngster.

Lincoln, on rising to reply, stood for a moment with flashing eyes and pale cheeks, betraying his inward but unspoken wrath. He began by answering very briefly this ungenerous attack. He said: "I am not so young in years as I am in the tricks and the trades of a politician; but, live long, or die young, I would rather die now than, like that gentleman, change my politics, and with the change, receive an office worth three thousand dollars a year, and then feel obliged to erect a lightning-rod over my house to protect a guilty conscience from an offended God." The effect upon the simple audience, gathered there in the open air, was electrical. Here was a pompous and vainglorious man, who, as the settlers thought, could not sleep in his fine house, compared with which their rude cabins were poor indeed, without setting up this unusual and heaven-defying instrument. When Forquer rose to

speak, later on in the canvass, people said : " That 's the man who dare not sleep in his own house without a lightning-rod to keep off the vengeance of the Almighty."

At another time, Lincoln met on the stump Colonel Richard Taylor, a self-conceited and dandified man, who wore a gold chain, ruffled shirt, and other adornments to which the men of southern Illinois were quite unaccustomed. It was the business of the Democrats to rate themselves as the hard-working bone and sinew of the land, and to stigmatize the Whigs as aristocrats, ruffled-shirted gentry. So Colonel Taylor spoke with his finery concealed under a long surtout. But when he was making a sweeping gesture he accidentally threw open his surtout, and revealed his gorgeous array of chains, seals, pendants, and ruffles. While he paused in embarrassment, Lincoln seized upon the opportunity, and, standing in full view, with his coarse attire and rough appearance strongly contrasting with the dandified Colonel, cried, laying his hand on his jeans-clad breast : " Here is your aristocrat, one of your silk-stocking gentry, at your service." Then, spreading out his hands, bronzed and gaunt with toil : " Here is your rag-baron with lily-white hands. Yes, I suppose, according to my friend Taylor, I am a bloated aristocrat ! " It was a long time before the amiable Colonel Taylor heard the last of that exposure and humiliation.

In the Legislature to which Lincoln had been elected were not a few men whom we shall meet later on in this strange, eventful history. One of these was Edward D. Baker, a wonderful orator, afterwards Lincoln's associate in the law, and subsequently United States Senator from Oregon, a general in the army, and

killed at Ball's Bluff. Another was Stephen Arnold Douglas; others were John J. Hardin, James Shields, William A. Richardson, John Logan, and John A. McClernand. From Savannah County there were two Senators and seven Representatives, nine in all, and each man very tall, Lincoln being the tallest of the nine, and familiarly known as "the Sangamon chief." The combined height of this tall delegation was fifty-five feet. No wonder that it was popularly known as "the Long Nine." One of the most notable achievements of Sangamon County's "Long Nine" that winter was the removal of the capital of the State from Vandalia, Macon County, to Springfield, Sangamon County, a triumph for which Lincoln received generous credit from his admiring colleagues of the delegation.

At this session, too, Lincoln put himself on record for the first time as opposed to the further extension of the American system of human slavery. The temper of the times, at least in that region, was favorable to slavery. Illinois and Indiana were affected by the pro-slavery influences of their nearest neighbors, Kentucky and Missouri, rivals in trade and commerce. The legislation of these two States was designed to encourage slave-holding in the slave-holding States and discourage all anti-slavery agitation in non-slave-holding States. Certain resolutions on the subject of slavery were passed by the Illinois Legislature during the session of which we are writing; what they were, we cannot tell, for they have vanished into oblivion; but undoubtedly they were intended to convince slave-holding customers and traders that Illinois could be relied upon to stem the rising tide of anti-slavery in the North. As their answer to these

utterances, Abraham Lincoln and Dan Stone drew up and signed the following paper :

"MARCH 3, 1837.

"Resolutions upon the subject of domestic slavery having passed both branches of the General Assembly at its present session, the undersigned hereby protest against the passage of the same.

"They believe that the institution of slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy, but that the promulgation of abolition doctrines tends rather to increase than abate its evils.

"They believe that the Congress of the United States has no power under the Constitution to interfere with the institution of slavery in the different States.

"They believe that the Congress of the United States has the power, under the Constitution, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, but that the power ought not to be exercised, unless at the request of the people of the District.

"The difference between these opinions and those contained in the above resolutions is their reason for entering this protest.

(Signed) "DAN STONE,
"A. LINCOLN,
"Representatives from the county of Sangamon."

This protest was received and ordered to be spread on the journals of the House, much to the regret of some of Lincoln's more timorous friends, who probably did not believe that slavery could pass away from the face of the land during the time of any then living. It was, for those times, a bold and dangerous thing to say that the institution of slavery was founded on injustice and bad policy. Men had been mobbed and treated

with violence for saying no more than this, so intolerant and brutal was the spirit of the slave-owning and slavery-defending class.

On the whole, the doings of Lincoln and the other members of "the Long Nine" were highly acceptable to the people of Sangamon County. The Lincoln-Stone protest was looked upon as a harmless vagary, already overshadowed by the greatness of the feat of moving the State capital to Springfield. The long-limbed group was hailed with great acclaim, and numerous feasts and festivities were given in its honor.

Among the toasts offered in praise of "the Sangamon chief" were these: "Abraham Lincoln: he has fulfilled the expectations of his friends and disappointed the hopes of his enemies." "A. Lincoln: one of nature's noblemen."

In April, 1837, Lincoln went to Springfield, the new capital of the State, where he established himself in the practice of law, and where he remained until his election to the presidency. He had managed, crippled though he was with "the national debt," to earn a scanty livelihood and to keep good his credit. But the new venture was a doubtful one, and he undertook it with many misgivings. He rode into town on a borrowed horse, his earthly possessions packed in a pair of saddle-bags fastened to the crupper of his saddle. Tying the horse to a fence-post, Lincoln sought the store of his friend, Mr. Joshua F. Speed, formerly of Kentucky, and asked for information concerning board and lodging. He proposed to hire a room, furnish it, and, as he expressed it, "browse around" for his sustenance. To his great dismay, the price of the barest necessaries in the way of furniture would cost seventeen dollars.

Lincoln said, sadly: "It is cheap enough, but, cheap as it is, I have not the money to pay for it. But if you will credit me until Christmas, and my experiment here is a success, I will pay you then. If I fail, I will probably never be able to pay you."

Speed replied: "I have a very large double bed which you are perfectly welcome to share with me, if you choose."

"Where is your bed?" asked Lincoln.

"Up-stairs," replied Speed.

Lincoln took his saddle-bags on his arm and went up-stairs, set them on the floor, took a swift survey of the premises, and then came down again, good-humoredly laughing, and said: "Speed, I am moved." And Lincoln was then settled in his new quarters with his steadfast friend, Mr. Speed.

The new capital of Illinois was a large village, its population being about eighteen thousand. It was the county-seat of Sangamon, and the United States Court for that circuit was held there. These, with the annual session of the Legislature, imparted to the embryo metropolis considerable importance. To the shy son of the Kentucky backwoods, doubtless, there was a great deal of "flourishing about" among the people of the capital; but we must make allowance for the fact that Springfield, like Lincoln, was only just emerging from the backwoods.

The court-house was built of logs, and this was true of nearly all the court-houses on the circuit. The judge sat at a cloth-covered table, behind a rail that separated the awful majesty of the bench from the bar and people. The rest of the space was occupied by a promiscuous crowd, and it was a very dull day when the court-house audience did not press hard upon the

accommodations allotted for clerk, bar, and official attendants at the trial. For the court-house afforded, in those days of few amusements, almost the only indoor entertainment of the people. Here they found tragedy, comedy, elocution, contests of wit and logic, and all that material for neighborhood gossip that is needed so keenly in sparsely settled communities.

The lawyers rode horseback from court-house to court-house, trying cases and following the presiding judges in their circuit. Each limb of the law carried with him, in his saddle-bags, a change of raiment, a few law-books, and the articles of use indispensable to the hard-faring traveller. Manners were simple, even rude, but kindly and hospitable. It was on these long jaunts, travelled in company with judges, witnesses, and jurymen, that Lincoln picked up many of his stories of wild Western life and manners.

Once, Lincoln, having assisted the prosecuting attorney in the trial of a man who had taken some of his neighbor's chickens, fell in, next day, jogging along the highway, with the foreman of the jury who had convicted the hen-stealer. The man complimented Lincoln on the zeal and ability of the prosecution, and remarked: "Why, when the country was young and I was stronger than I am now, I did n't mind backing off a sheep now and again. But stealing hens!" The good man could not find words to express his contempt for a man who would steal hens.

On another occasion, while riding the circuit, Lincoln was missed from the party, having loitered, apparently, near a thicket of wild plum trees where the cavalcade had stopped to water their steeds. One of the company, coming up with the others, reported, in answer to questions: "When I saw him last, he had

caught two young birds that the wind had blown out of their nest, and was hunting for the nest to put them back." The men rallied Lincoln on his tender-heartedness, when he caught up with them. But he said: "I could not have slept unless I had restored those little birds to their mother."

Lincoln formed a law partnership with John T. Stuart, of Springfield, in April, 1837, and this relation continued until April, 1841, when Lincoln associated himself in business with Stephen T. Logan. This partnership was dissolved in September, 1843, when the law firm of Abraham Lincoln & William H. Herndon was formed, and this co-partnership was not dissolved until the death of Lincoln, in 1865.

As a lawyer, Lincoln soon proved that the qualities that had won him the title of Honest Abe Lincoln, when he was a store-keeper, still stuck to him. He was an honest lawyer; he never undertook a case of doubtful morality. If it was a criminal whom he was defending, and he became convinced of the guilt of the prisoner, he lost all heart in the case. No fee, no expectation of winning fame for his shrewdness, would induce him to undertake a suit in which it would be necessary to resort to quibbles and nice little tricks to win.

When he was not yet twenty-eight years old, he was asked to deliver a lecture before an association of young men in Springfield. He chose for his theme "The Perpetuation of our Political Institutions," rather an ambitious topic, one might say. But it was not a crude effort. Considering that it was the work of a self-taught man, who had never seen the inside of a college, it was remarkable as a piece of literary composition. It was the address of a thinking man, an

ardent and devoted patriot. Alluding to our Revolutionary ancestors, he said :

" In history, we hope they will be read of, and recounted so long as the Bible shall be read. But even granting that they will, their influence cannot be what it heretofore has been. Even then, they cannot be so universally known nor so vividly felt as they were by the generation just gone to rest. At the close of that struggle, nearly every adult male had been a participator in some of its scenes.

" The consequence was, that of those scenes, in the form of a husband, a father, a son, or a brother, a *living history* was to be found in every family—a history bearing the indubitable testimonies to its own authenticity in the limbs mangled, in the scars of wounds received in the midst of the very scene related ; a history, too, that could be read and understood alike by all, the wise and the ignorant, the learned and the unlearned. But *those* histories are gone. They can be read no more forever. They were a fortress of strength ; but what the invading foeman could *never* do, the silent artillery of that time *has* done—the levelling of its walls. They are gone. They *were* a forest of giant oaks ; but the resistless hurricane has swept over them and left only here and there a lonely trunk despoiled of its verdure, shorn of its foliage ; unshading and unshaded, to murmur in a few more gentle breezes and to combat with its mutilated limbs a few more ruder storms, then to sink and be no more."

A little later, in 1839, there was a remarkable debate in the Illinois Legislature, in which the Democratic disputants were Stephen A. Douglas, John Calhoun, Josiah Lamborn, and Jesse B. Thomas. The Whig speakers were Stephen T. Logan, Edward D. Baker,

Orville H. Browning, and Abraham Lincoln. All of these men were conspicuous figures in Illinois politics, and most of them became celebrated throughout the country in after years. During the debate, one of the speakers taunted the other side with the hopelessness of their cause and the fewness of their numbers. In replying to him, Lincoln said: "Address that argument to cowards and knaves. With the free and the brave it will affect nothing. It may be true; if it must, let it. Many free countries have lost their liberty, and ours may lose hers; but, if she shall, let it be my proudest plume, not that I was the last to desert, but that I never deserted her."

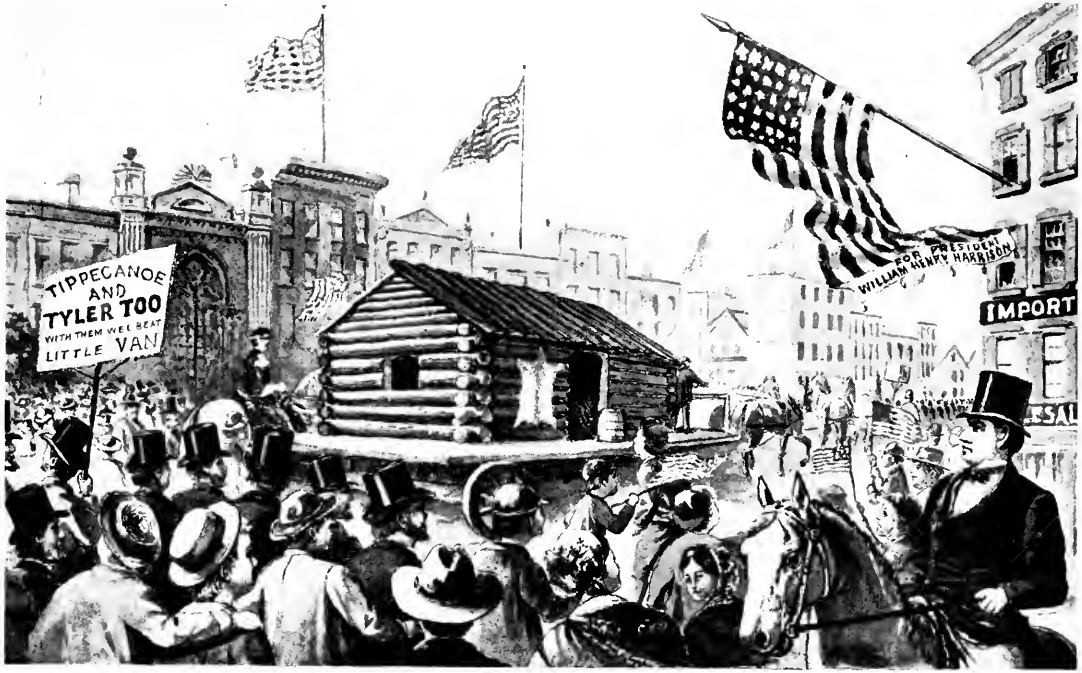
Martin Van Buren was then President, and all who opposed his administration were denounced and persecuted with a virulence unknown in these more liberal days. Alluding to this Lincoln said: "Bow to it I never will. Here, before heaven, and in the face of the world, I swear eternal fidelity to the just cause of the land of my life, my liberty, and my love. . . . The cause approved of by our judgment and our hearts, in disaster, in chains, in death, we never faltered in defending."

In 1840, the country was deeply stirred by the presidential campaign of that year. Martin Van Buren was nominated by the Democrats, and General William H. Harrison by the Whigs. Lincoln was one of the presidential electors on the Harrison ticket, and he took a lively interest in the canvass, making speeches and going on long expeditions for the sake of his candidate. Harrison lived in Ohio, where he had been one of the earlier pioneers. The dwelling of the pioneer, of course, was a log cabin; his favorite drink was supposed to be "hard" or sour, fermented apple-cider.

In a very short time, the Harrison campaign became the "Log-Cabin and Hard-Cider" campaign.

Even in the staid, old-fashioned cities and towns of the Eastern States, log cabins were built for rallying-places. Barrels of hard cider were kept on tap, and, instead of the customary tin cup for drinking purposes, gourds were ostentatiously hung out. Coon-skins were nailed on the outer walls of these symbolic log cabins. In some places, extravagant expedients were resorted to in order to rouse public enthusiasm. In Boston, for example, a huge ball was made by covering a wood framework, some fifty feet in circumference, with painted cloth; and on it was the legend, "This is the ball that is rolling on." The novel device was rolled through the streets of the city, on the occasion of a log-cabin parade, the big ball being guided by ropes hitched to its axis. Campaign songsters, flags, and all sorts of inventions to stir up the people were scattered broadcast all over the country.

At a great meeting in Springfield, Edward Baker, Lincoln's close friend, was speaking in a large room next below the floor on which was Lincoln's office. A trap-door, once used for ventilating purposes, was cut in the ceiling over the spot where the speaker stood. Lincoln raised this slightly and listened to Baker's harangue. Presently, Baker, losing his temper, assailed the Democrats very hotly, and, as some of these were present, they made a rush for the speaker, crying: "Pull him off the platform!" To their intense surprise, the trap-door was lifted, and a pair of large feet, well known by their proportions, appeared; then legs, and finally a body, slid down, and Lincoln stood there defiantly by the side of Baker. Quieting the rising tide by a wave of his hand, Lincoln said: "Gentlemen,



A LOG-CABIN PARADE (CAMPAIGN OF 1840).

In favor of William Henry Harrison for President.

let us not disgrace the age and country in which we live. This is a land where freedom of speech is guaranteed. Baker has a right to speak, and a right to be permitted to do so. I am here to protect him, and no man shall take him from this stand if I can prevent it." Lincoln had sufficient reputation for courage and muscle, as well as for fairness, to warrant that Baker should have no further interruption.

CHAPTER VII

WINNING HIS WAY

WHILE Lincoln was living in New Salem, he became tenderly attached to a young lady of that village, Miss Ann Rutledge. It is not known that the pair were ever engaged to be married, but it is known that a very cordial affection existed between the twain. At that time, Lincoln, who was ever looking on the dark and practical side of life, was in no condition to marry ; he was not only poor, but was burdened with debts, and with a very uncertain future before him. It is hardly likely that he would have engaged himself to marry while his prospects in life were so very dim and discouraging. But Miss Rutledge died suddenly, while yet in the bloom of youth. This sad event impressed Lincoln with the deepest melancholy, and was to him a forcible lesson in the vanity of human expectations.

Lincoln was never what is called " a lady's man." He delighted in the society and conversation of cultivated and sprightly women always, but he was obliged to live laborious days, and sit up far into the night pursuing his studies, his reading, his course of thought. In 1840, however, there came to Springfield from Kentucky his destiny in the person of Miss Mary Todd, a daughter of Robert Todd. It was one of her relatives,

John Todd, who, at the breaking out of the Revolution, was encamped near the site of the present city of Lexington, Kentucky. Hearing from the far East the news of the battle of Lexington, he bestowed on the settlement yet unborn the title it wears to this day.

Mary Todd was courted and flattered by the young men of Springfield, and as the young ladies of those days were much interested in politics, she soon made the acquaintance of Abraham Lincoln, then regarded as a rising man. It will never be known just how a matrimonial engagement between Lincoln and Miss Todd became settled and then unsettled. It may be sufficient for us to know that, after the engagement was fixed, there was a misunderstanding, and Lincoln released the young lady from the engagement, but that she declined to be released. Immediately after, he fell into a state of the most profound melancholy. While he was in this pitiable plight, his friend, Joshua F. Speed, returned to Kentucky, taking Lincoln with him. There, in the restful quiet of the Speed mansion, Lincoln recovered his mental health and vigor, and then returned to Springfield.

At that time a well-known character in the city was James Shields, a brisk and hot-headed young man from the County Tyrone, Ireland. Shields was an active Democrat, who had lately been elected State Auditor, an office of some importance, with a good income attached to it. Lincoln anonymously printed in the *Sangamon Journal* a witty letter purporting to come from "The Lost Townships," in which the writer, a pretended widow with political ideas in her head, bewailed the hard times and the evil results of Democratic rule. In that letter some satirical allusions were made

to the heady young Democratic Auditor, who was a fair mark for ridicule, being of a sensitive and fiery disposition. Shields was frantic with rage. He vapored through the town, threatening death and destruction to the unknown author of the satire.

The shot was followed by another, in which the widow of "The Lost Townships" offered to square matters by marrying Shields. These two letters, which were the talk of the town, so tickled the fancy of Miss Todd and another young lady that they concocted a series of lampoons, verses, and skits, all of which, like the little barbed weapons flung by a bull-fighter, were designed to infuriate the rearing and plunging Shields. In a rage, he went to the editor of the journal, and demanded to know the name of the author of these attacks. The editor, in great distress of mind, applied to Lincoln for advice. Shields would fight. The editor would not fight. Lincoln told him to say that Abraham Lincoln was responsible for the whole business from first to last. Being so informed, Shields challenged Lincoln to mortal combat. Lincoln accepted.

Shields was a famous boaster. He and his friends made great ado about the coming duel, so that the affair was very widely advertised. Lincoln, being the challenged party, had the choice of weapons, and he chose "cavalry broadswords of the largest size." If he had really desired to hew down Shields, he might have done so, for, in his stout hands and with his long arms, he could have mowed down any man of ordinary build before he could have got near Lincoln. But the fight did not come off. At the last moment, Shields was ready to accept from Lincoln the explanation that the letters from "The Lost Townships" were only

intended for political effect and not to reflect on the personal character of Mr. Shields. The quarrel ended without humiliation to Lincoln except so far as he felt humbled by having been drawn into a silly fracas in which nobody could gain any credit. Lincoln had occasion during the Rebellion to reprimand a young officer of the Army who had been brought before a court-martial for a quarrel with a brother officer. Possibly, these words, addressed to the culprit, may have been suggested by his own unwelcome experience:

"The advice of a father to his son, 'Beware of entrance to a quarrel, but being in, bear it that the opposed may beware of thee!' is good, but not the best. Quarrel not at all. No man resolved to make the most of himself can spare time for personal contention. Still less can he afford to take all the consequences, including the vitiating of his temper and the loss of self-control. Yield larger things to which you can show no more than equal right; and yield lesser ones though clearly your own. Better give your path to a dog than be bitten by him in contesting for the right. Even killing the dog would not cure the bite."

But, out of the Shields affair, we may understand, issued the marriage of Lincoln and Miss Todd. The young lady was bright, vivacious, and roguish. Her knight had shown his readiness to fight for her, although, with genuine Kentucky spirit, she had declared her own willingness to cross weapons with the redoubtable young Irishman, if need be. The paper duel took place late in September; the young couple were married November 4, 1840. The newly married pair took lodgings in the Globe Tavern, a well-known and modest boarding-place not far from the State-House. In a letter written to a friend about this time,

Lincoln speaks of his happiness in the married state, and of his comforts. Mrs. Lincoln's good management and thoughtfulness admirably supplemented her husband's unworldly absent-mindedness. They were always what some people call "an old-fashioned couple," content with each other, a devoted husband and wife, to the end of their life together.

The log-cabin campaign having terminated to Lincoln's satisfaction in the election of Harrison, he spent the winter of his first year of marriage very happily, as well as very busily. Yet he found time to write an occasional newspaper article on the growing power of the political South, and, later on, to compose and deliver a very excellent temperance address. About this time, too, he wrote a lecture for a lyceum, designed to show that there was nothing new under the sun, that everything that was claimed as a new invention had existed at some period, possibly very remote, in the history of the world.

Lincoln never, even to the day of his death, could be persuaded to partake of spirits or wine. He set out in life, surrounded by drunkards and moderate tipplers, determined that he would resist the temptation to drink of these insidious beverages. He made no promises, but, after a few years of manhood (as he used to say), when his associates had become accustomed to his abstemious habits, he had neither temptation nor desire to drink. Lincoln's lecture was delivered in the Second Presbyterian Church, Springfield, February 22, 1842. In it he refers to the drinking usages of society in these words :

"Let us see. I have not inquired at what period of time the use of intoxicating liquors commenced ; nor is it important to know. It is sufficient that to all of

us who now inhabit the world, the practice of drinking them is just as old as the world itself—that is, we have seen the one just as long as we have seen the other. When all such of us as have now reached the years of maturity first opened our eyes upon the stage of existence, we found intoxicating liquor recognized by everybody, used by everybody, repudiated by nobody. It commonly entered into the first draught of the infant, and the last draught of the dying man. From the sideboard of the parson down to the ragged pocket of the homeless loafer, it was constantly found. Physicians prescribed it in this, that, and the other disease; Government provided it for soldiers and sailors ; and to have a rolling or raising, a husking or ' hoe-down ' anywhere about without it was *positively insufferable.* So, too, it was everywhere a respectable article of manufacture and merchandise. The making of it was regarded as an honorable livelihood, and he who could make most was the most enterprising and respectable. Large and small manufactories of it were everywhere erected, in which all the earthly goods of their owners were invested. Wagons drew it from town to town ; boats bore it from clime to clime, and the winds wafted it from nation to nation ; and merchants bought and sold it, by wholesale and retail, with precisely the same feelings, on the part of the seller, buyer, and bystander, as are felt at the selling and buying of ploughs, beef, bacon, or any other of the real necessities of life. Universal public opinion not only tolerated, but recognized and adopted its use."

In June, 1842, Lincoln met the much-hated Martin Van Buren, then out of office. He was accustomed to say that it was no wonder that Van Buren's admirers called him " the little magician," for Van Buren's

manners were so affable and delightful that " he could charm the birds off the trees." But, if Lincoln was pleased with Van Buren, the ex-President was no less gratified by his meeting with the young Whig leader of central Illinois. Being weather-bound at a small town not far from Springfield, the ex-President was forced to remain overnight. Some of his Springfield friends, hearing of Mr. Van Buren's plight, made up a party, and taking with them some refreshments, left Springfield for the village aforementioned. Knowing Lincoln's good-nature, as well as his powers of entertaining, they besought his assistance to lighten the weary hours of the ex-President's stay at the wretched inn, where he was detained. Lincoln, always ready to do a good turn, went out with the party, and entertained the wayfarers far into the night with Western anecdotes, funny stories, and graphic descriptions of wild life on the frontier. Van Buren, delighted, said " the only drawback to his enjoyment was that his sides were sore for a week thereafter, from laughing at Lincoln's stories."

Lincoln had long desired to go to Congress ; but it so happened that his dearest friends, also Whigs, were equally anxious to go from the Sangamon district. The district was strongly Whig, and a nomination was almost an election. But Lincoln, always preferring his friend before himself, loyally supported each of his most intimate associates, and thought his to be the better claim. On one occasion, having been a candidate for the nomination to Congress, Lincoln was elected as a delegate to the nominating convention, and was instructed to vote for E. D. Baker. Of this predicament he good-naturedly said: " I shall be fixed a good deal like the fellow who is made groomsman to

the man who cut him out and is marrying his girl." At this time, 1842, John J. Hardin was nominated and elected. He was one of Lincoln's truest friends; he was subsequently killed at the battle of Buena Vista, during the Mexican War.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RISING POLITICIAN

IT was said of Lincoln that he was a born politician and that, as a political prophet, he made few mistakes. But he was deeply and overwhelmingly disappointed, in 1844, when Henry Clay was defeated for the presidency by James K. Polk of Tennessee. The defeat was unexpected, and its very unexpectedness made it harder to bear. Lincoln was accustomed to refer to the defeat of Clay as one of his keenest personal sorrows.

It is very likely, however, that the edge of this grief was made less sharp by Clay's own conduct. In 1846, Lincoln, learning that Clay was to speak in Lexington, Kentucky, made a pilgrimage to that place in order to hear the voice, grasp the hand, and look in the magnetic eyes of his adored leader. Clay's speech was on the subject of colonizing Africa with emancipated American slaves, an expedient then attracting much attention as a possible solution of the problem of American slavery. Clay's speech, on this occasion, was written out and was read in a cold manner. Lincoln, who had come so far to hear what was a very commonplace address, was disappointed. Nevertheless, when the meeting was dissolved, he sought the much-wished-for introduction to Clay, and was invited

to Ashland, the seat of the Clay family. But more disillusion was in store for him. Clay was proud, distant, and haughty in his manner, and he evidently regarded Lincoln as a clodhopper, a rude backwoodsman, whose personal affection for "the great Whig chief" must be rewarded by a few curt words of welcome. He was conceited in himself, impatient of suggestions or advice from others, self-sufficient. Lincoln was humble, conscious of his own shortcomings, and his invariable habit was to defer to others. Clay accepted the deference offered him as his due, while Lincoln felt that his hero-worship was an egregious blunder. He went back to Springfield, as he afterwards expressed it, "with the enthusiasm all oozed out of him." The man who was to be President had learned a lesson from him who never could be President.

In 1846, Lincoln was nominated for Congress, and one object of his ambition was within reach. His competitor on the Democratic ticket was Peter Cartwright, a backwoods preacher and exhorter, famous in his time for the vigor with which he pursued every topic to which he addressed himself. It was thought that Cartwright would poll a very much larger vote than that usually given to a Democratic candidate in the district, and possibly might be elected. But Lincoln astonished his opponents by the fulness of his vote. His majority over Cartwright was sixteen hundred and eleven, considerably more than any other Whig candidate had a right to expect.

When Lincoln took the "stump" for himself in the canvass, he had a plenty of material for his addresses to the people. During the preceding winter, the new State of Texas had been admitted to the Union, a measure to which Lincoln, and other Whigs were bitterly

opposed. Texas had first seceded from Mexico, and, after a sharp war, had gained something that was akin to independence. At least, the war was temporarily suspended, according to Mexican notions of the position of affairs, and the new State proposed to join the family of the United States. After various expedients had been tried without success, the Democratic administration finally did secure the annexation of Texas. This was done in order that a new slave State might be added to the Union. The increase of population in the North, so much more rapid than it was in the South, made it necessary that something should be done to maintain the political strength of the slave States.

The work of achieving the independence of Texas was accomplished largely by Americans, and with no other purpose than to bring the young republic into the Union. The resulting war and a reduction of the tariff, for which the Democrats were responsible, gave the Whigs ammunition for their campaign ; and Lincoln used it vigorously in his canvass.

The Congress to which Lincoln was elected was the Thirtieth, and Lincoln took his seat in it December 6, 1847. He was very much at home there, for he had then been repeatedly a member of the State Legislature, had "stumped" Illinois from one end to the other, had made a great many public speeches, had met all the leading men of that region, and had been accustomed to hold his own in debate. He was familiar with all the great questions, had debated them before the people, and had so studied the history of his country that he knew all that had happened to lead up to the crisis in which the republic then found itself—with a foreign war on its hands and a new State in the Union —the admission of which a great many public men, in

and out of Congress, regarded as a misfortune to the republic.

James K. Polk was President of the United States. Disappointed that the Mexican question had not been disposed of before he took office, he shaped his messages to Congress so as to show that the war with Mexico was a just one, and that he had been right in all that he had done to make that war inevitable. Lincoln saw the inconsistency of the President's position, and, as soon as he had fairly become used to his seat, he introduced a series of resolutions asking the President for information. These resolutions were prefaced by a clear statement of the situation, as it appeared to him, together with sundry extracts from the President's messages of that year and the year next preceding. The aim of these resolutions will be seen by quoting the first three, as follows :

" That the President of the United States be respectfully requested to inform this house :

" *First.* Whether the spot on which the blood of our citizens was shed, as in his messages declared, was or was not within the territory of Spain, at least after the treaty of 1819, until the Mexican revolution.

" *Second.* Whether this spot is or is not within the territory which was wrested from Spain by the revolutionary government of Mexico.

" *Third.* Whether that spot is or is not within a settlement of people, which settlement has existed ever since long before the Texas revolution and until its inhabitants fled before the approach of the United States army."

It was seen that if the President's friends should undertake to reply, and admit the real facts, the position taken by Mr. Polk, and those who defended the

war, would be surrendered. So, not being able to make answer to the only Whig representative from Illinois, the tall backwoods lawyer, they contented themselves with giving him a nickname. As he had used the word "spot" several times in the resolutions and in his speech, he was known for a time, at least, as "Spot Lincoln." The speech was a masterly one, reviewing the causes of the Mexican War and severely arraigning the administration for persisting in the annexation of Texas, and thus involving the country in a bloody and causeless fight with Mexico.

It is well to bear in mind that there were many eminent men in Congress in those days. In the Senate were Daniel Webster, Lewis Cass, John A. Dix, Thomas H. Benton, John C. Calhoun, Jefferson Davis, Stephen Arnold Douglas, and other well-known statesmen. In the House of Representatives were such men as ex-President John Quincy Adams, Caleb B. Smith, afterwards a member of Lincoln's Cabinet, John G. Palfrey, Robert C. Winthrop, Andrew Johnson, elected Vice-President of the United States when Lincoln was chosen for his second term; Alexander H. Stephens, afterwards Vice-President of the Southern Confederacy; Robert Toombs, the Southern slave-holder who promised to have his slaves mustered to roll-call on Bunker Hill; Howell Cobb, afterwards a general in the rebel army, and many others famous in the stormy times then making ready in the distance. In this illustrious company of legislators, Lincoln was recognized as a man of marked ability. Speaking of him, Alexander H. Stephens said:

"He always attracted and riveted the attention of the House when he spoke. His manner of speech, as well as thought, was original. He had no model. He

was a man of strong convictions and what Carlyle would have called an earnest man. He abounded in anecdote. He illustrated every thing he was talking about with an anecdote, always exceedingly apt and pointed ; and socially he always kept his company in a roar of laughter."

Lincoln took part in the debates of the House rather more frequently than most new members do. Some of his speeches, to be found in the printed record of Congress, show characteristic touches of humor. Speaking of the attempt to make a military hero of General Lewis Cass, who was to be the next Democratic candidate for President, and who was said to have been an important figure in a small fight on the Canadian border, Lincoln said, with rough sarcasm : " He *in*vaded Canada without resistance, and he *out*vaded without pursuit. . . . He was volunteer aid to General Harrison on the day of the battle of the Thames, and as you said in 1840, that Harrison was picking whortleberries, two miles off, while the battle was fought, I suppose it is a just conclusion with you to say that Cass was aiding Harrison to pick whortleberries."

It is to be noticed that Lincoln, while he disapproved of the Mexican War, always voted to reward the bravery of the soldiers who fought the battles and who were not in any way responsible for the war. Later, when he and Douglas were holding a political discussion, Douglas reproached Lincoln with being an enemy of his country during the Mexican War. Lincoln replied: " I was an old Whig, and when the Democratic party tried to get me to vote that the war had been righteously begun by the President, I would not do it. But when they asked for money, or land warrants, or any thing to pay the soldiers, I gave the same vote that Douglas did."

If this was true of the Whigs, the Democratic President was also in great perplexity. Speaking of the President's struggles to set himself right when he knew that he was wrong Lincoln said: "He knows not where he is. . . . All this shows that the President is by no means satisfied with his positions. First, he takes up one, and, in attempting to argue us *into* it, he argues himself *out* of it. Then he seizes another, and goes through the same process; and then, confused at being able to think of nothing new, he snatches up the old one again, which he has some time before cast off. His mind, tasked beyond its powers, is running hither and thither, like some tortured thing on a burning surface, finding no position on which it can settle down and be at ease."

This speech was made in the House of Representatives after Taylor had been nominated at Philadelphia by the Whigs in 1848. Clay had been supported in that convention as a candidate more fit than Taylor; but Taylor had won fame on the field of Buena Vista, during the Mexican War, and he had not been in favor of carrying that war forward to the banks of the Rio Grande, the disputed boundary between Texas and Mexico. He was urged in the convention as the most available man for the nomination, and the word "availability" was repeated with much scorn by Mr. Clay's friends afterwards. Lincoln was a delegate to the convention, and he was enthusiastically in favor of "The Hero of Buena Vista," as General Taylor was styled by his admirers.

General Taylor's manners were very blunt, and won for him the title of "Rough and Ready," the battle-cry of the campaign. Indeed, the Whigs resorted to all the tricks and devices that had made the "Log-

Cabin and Hard-Cider" campaign of Harrison and Tyler so successful. Lincoln, in a letter to a friend, written a few days after the Philadelphia Convention, said that the Whigs would have "a most overwhelming and glorious triumph," and he added: "One unmistakable sign is that all the odds and ends are with us—Barn-Burners, Native Americans, Tyler men, disappointed office-seeking Loco-Focos, and the Lord knows what. This is important, if in nothing else, in showing which way the wind blows."

This queer list of party factions shows how parties were then beginning to break up. The Barn-Burners were the anti-slavery seceders from the Democratic party in New York. The Tyler men were those who adhered to the fortunes and alleged principles of John Tyler, who, having been elected Vice-President with General Harrison by the Whigs, afterwards became President by the death of Harrison, and then went over to the Democratic party, taking with him a fraction of his own party. In August of that year, 1848, the New York anti-slavery Democrats assembled at Buffalo, New York, and organized the Free-Soil party. It was pledged, not to the abolition of slavery, but to its restriction to the territory it already occupied.

This new party was determined that the soil of the Territories then in existence, and thereafter to be acquired, should be free; that there should be no more slave labor outside of the States in which slavery existed, and that every citizen of the United States should have full liberty to speak his sentiments concerning any topic before the people, even concerning slavery. The battle-cry of the Free Soilers in that canvass was "Free Soil, Free Labor, and Free Speech." They nominated Martin Van Buren for President and Charles Francis

Adams for Vice-President. The Free Soilers of that day included Salmon P. Chase, afterwards Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States; Charles Sumner; Henry Wilson, afterwards Senator from Massachusetts, and Vice-President during Grant's second administration; William Cullen Bryant; John P. Hale, then and afterwards a Senator from New Hampshire; and many others who became better known as Republicans, when they had ceased to be Free Soilers.

The Democrats, meantime, had nominated for President Lewis Cass, a gentleman who had had a slight taste of war in the skirmish known as the battle of the Thames. As the Whig candidate was hurrahed for as a military hero, the Democrats attempted very unsuccessfully to give Cass a military reputation. The slavery question, on the other hand, could no longer be kept down, although it had been judiciously omitted from the platforms of the Whigs and the Democrats. The Free Soilers were sufficiently outspoken in their platform, and the speakers of the other two parties, after all, were obliged to say something about the great but much-dreaded question. William H. Seward, afterwards Senator and Secretary of State, said, in a speech supporting Taylor's candidacy: "Freedom and slavery are two antagonistic elements of society in America. . . . The party of freedom seeks complete and universal emancipation." Daniel Webster, who also supported Taylor, insisted that the Whigs were the real Free Soilers. Lincoln avowed himself to be "a Northern man, or, rather, a Western Free-State man, with a constituency I believe to be, and with personal feelings I know to be, against the extension of slavery."

The congressional recess began in August, and Lincoln went immediately to New England, where he took the stump for Taylor. His speeches were characterized by their keenness of analysis, wit, humor, and unanswerable logic. He was in close communication with the Whig leaders in Illinois, and continually wrote them, giving them advice, counsel, and hints for the conduct of the campaign. To his partner, W. H. Herndon, he says: "Let every one play the part he can play best. Some can speak, some can sing, and all can halloo." When he had filled his engagements in New England and New York, he returned at once to Illinois, where he threw himself into the canvass with great fervor, speaking day and night until the election, which occurred in November, 1848.

When the votes were counted, it was found that General Taylor was elected, having 163 electors, while Cass had 137. Van Buren, not having carried any one State, had no electors. There was general satisfaction all over the North, for it was felt that the election of Taylor would, somehow, prevent the further extension of slavery. In fact, although probably very few saw it, the triumph of the Whigs, assisted by the Free-Soil party, was making ready for the formation of a new party that was to bring to pass what none then thought possible — the abolition of slavery. It should be borne in mind that the votes cast for Van Buren would have elected Cass, had they all been given to him; and the bulk of those votes had come out of the Democratic party.

When Congress reassembled in December of that year, the aspect of things was materially changed. The Whigs were no longer in a hopeless minority in the country, and the Northern Democrats, who

believed that they had been sacrificed in the interest of Southern slavery, were angry and sullen. One of these, Mr. Root, of Ohio, very soon caused a great uproar by introducing a resolution in favor of organizing the new Territories, California and New Mexico, with constitutions that should exclude slavery. The Territories in question had been acquired by the treaty with Mexico ; and it had been hoped and expected by the South that slavery would be extended there, as it had been in Texas. The resolution, however, got no farther than the Senate, where it was killed by the slavery majority.

In this, as in all measures designed to cripple the institution of slavery, Lincoln voted with the friends of freedom, although he did not take an active part in the debate. Later in the session, he introduced a bill to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. He thought it a shame and a disgrace that traffic in slaves should be carried on right under the shadow of the Capitol. His heart was stirred with indignation to see gangs of slaves, handcuffed and linked in chains, passing through the streets of Washington on the way to the South.

His bill provided that no person from without the District should be held to slavery in it ; and that no person hereafter born in the District should be held in slavery anywhere. It also provided for the gradual emancipation of the slaves then in the District, the owners of the same being paid for them by the Government of the United States. But the bill was framed so that it might, if possible, pass Congress, not as an expression of what Lincoln thought was just and right to the slave and the slave-holder. But, temperate though the bill was, it excited a storm of

opposition. The Southern members were determined that no bill that was calculated to weaken slavery in any way, or to imply that slavery was not everything that was lovely and of good report, should ever pass Congress, if they could help it. Lincoln's bill to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia never came to a vote. Soon after, Congress adjourned and Lincoln, his term of office being out, went home to Illinois.

Lincoln was not a candidate for re-election. As his was the only Whig district in the State, and was full of ambitious and able men who were Whigs, it had become the custom of the party to give the office of Congress to no man twice in succession. Edward D. Baker, Lincoln's intimate friend, had just returned from the Mexican War, covered with the honors he had gained on the battle-field of Cerro Gordo. He was nominated and elected to succeed Lincoln.

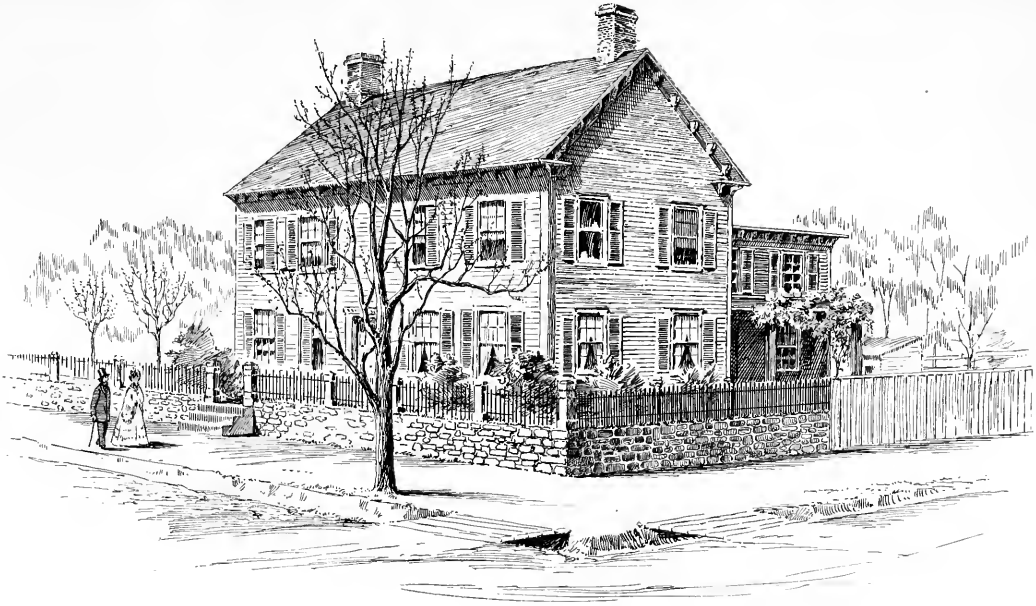
For the first and last time in his life, Lincoln became an applicant for an appointive office. Taylor was now President, and, according to the custom of the time, all the Democrats were to be turned out of office and their places given to Whigs who had done service in the campaign. Lincoln, with a plenty of ideas concerning public improvements and with some experience as a surveyor of lands, thought he would like to be the Commissioner of the General Land Office, a place in which he would have charge of the sale and distribution of the lands belonging to the United States Government. To the surprise of his friends and to his own great disappointment, Lincoln was refused the office he sought, but was offered that of Governor of the Territory of Oregon. This place, however, he declined. It was not to his taste, and, moreover, Mrs. Lincoln was decidedly opposed to going to the Pacific

coast. The bait held out to Lincoln at that time was that Oregon would soon come into the Union as a State and that he could probably return as a United States Senator. This glittering prospect made him pause until his wife's opposition determined him. It is a curious coincidence that, when Lincoln was President, Edward D. Baker went to Oregon and was elected United States Senator from that State.

When Lincoln returned to Springfield from Congress, he found his law practice fallen away so that, to use his own expression, he had to begin all over again. But he had gained reputation during his congressional term, and he rebuilt his practice with ready skill and untiring industry. He had bought a house and lot in Springfield, and there established himself and his family under a roof of his own, which he was never to leave until he went to take up his residence in the White House at Washington.

His was a pleasant and sunny home, where love and order reigned. In the society of his children Lincoln took great delight. It cannot be said that his was a stern rule. It was well-nigh impossible for him to exercise any right of government with his children. They were passionately fond of their father; but it must be admitted that censorious visitors sometimes went away wondering why he so "indulged" his boys.

His eldest son, Robert Todd, had been born in 1843, Edward Baker in 1846, William Wallace in 1850, and Thomas, April 4, 1853. Of these Edward died in infancy; William died while his father was President; and Thomas survived his father, dying at the age of nineteen. The eldest, Robert, Secretary of War under Garfield and under Arthur, is the sole survivor of the family.



LINCOLN'S HOME IN SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS.

As we have seen, Mr. Lincoln's father, Thomas Lincoln, was settled near Decatur, Macon County, Illinois, where his son Abraham, assisted by Thomas Hanks, had fenced in, with rails of their own splitting, a small section of a new farm. After Abraham went out to seek his own fortune, his father moved several times, never long satisfied to remain in one place. He finally settled in "Goose Nest Prairie," a small farming community in Coles County, Illinois, where he remained until his death, in 1851, at the age of seventy-three. Whatever he had thought of the abilities of his son, who had bothered him with his youthful habit of speech-making and his proclivity to "talking politics," Thomas Lincoln lived to see him one of the best-known men and leading lawyers of the State. As soon as he could spare anything from his own earnings, after his load of debt was lifted, Lincoln helped his parents continually. He bought lands for them, sent them good gifts, and in many ways showed his filial affection to the end of their stay on earth.

There were other members of the Lincoln family not holding so strong a claim on Abraham's generosity that were helped by the warm-hearted man. John Johnston, Abraham's stepbrother, appears to have been an unthrifty and easy-going person who needed a lift, and got it, now and again, from the frugal and not over-rich Springfield lawyer. In a letter to John, written about the time when he returned from Congress, Lincoln said:

"At the various times when I have helped you a little, you have said to me, 'We can get along very well now,' but in a short time I find you in the same difficulty again."

In the most friendly and affectionate way he went on

to show how the difficulty was in his unwillingness to work for small pay, work for small things, work for what could be got then, rather than wait for something better to turn up. Later, in November, 1851, Lincoln wrote to John as follows :

" DEAR BROTHER : When I came into Charleston, day before yesterday, I learned that you are anxious to sell the land where you live and move to Missouri. I have been thinking of this ever since, and cannot but think such a notion is utterly foolish. What can you do in Missouri better than here ? Is the land any richer ? Can you there, any more than here, raise corn and wheat and oats without work ? Will anybody there, any more than here, do your work for you ? If you intend to go to work, there is no better place than right where you are ; if you do not intend to go to work, you cannot get along anywhere. Squirming and crawling about from place to place can do no good. You have raised no crop this year, and what you really want is to sell the land, get the money, and spend it. Part with the land you have, and, my life upon it, you will never after own a spot big enough to bury you in. Half you will get for the land you will spend in moving to Missouri, and the other half you will eat and drink and wear out, and no foot of land will be bought. Now, I feel it is my duty to have no hand in such a piece of foolery. I feel that it is so even on your own account, and particularly on mother's account. The eastern forty acres I intend to keep for mother while she lives. If you will not cultivate it, it will rent for enough to support her ; at least it will rent for something. Her dower in the other two forties she can let you have, and no thanks to me. Now, do not misunderstand this letter. I do not write it in any

unkindness. I write it in order, if possible, to get you to face the truth, which truth is, you are destitute because you have idled away all your time. Your thousand pretences deceive nobody but yourself. Go to work, is the only cure for your case."

This letter to his stepbrother shows Lincoln to have been independent, self-reliant, and disposed to make his own way in the world. Lincoln had repeatedly assisted this same stepbrother; and this letter gives touching evidence of his care and anxiety for his stepmother. They were a charge upon his generosity and affection, just as though they were of the same blood. Brought up in a hard school, Lincoln was early taught many practical lessons in frugality and economy, and the only possession he ever had that was not gained by sheer hard work was a tract of wild land in Iowa, given to him by the United States Government (as it was to each volunteer), for his services in the Black Hawk War.

CHAPTER IX

LINCOLN THE LAWYER

NO man other than Lincoln ever made so many concessions to his opponents in a discussion and yet succeeded in convincing his hearers, whether a jury in a law-case or an audience of the people in a political canvass. Sometimes, those who were with him but did not, perhaps, understand his methods, were dismayed as they heard him give away point after point in the case that he presented. Their surprise, therefore, was very great when he began to sum up and, by the force of his reasoning, won his suit. This was because he knew his case thoroughly ; he did not wait until its weak points were disclosed by the speaker on the other side. It was the natural habit of his mind to look at the objections that might be found against any given course. He considered difficulties in order that he might be prepared for failure and disappointment. He never forgot the advice of Captain Davy Crockett : " Be sure you are right, then go ahead."

Honest himself, he was intolerant of dishonesty in others. A good instance of this was shown in the suit brought by an old man named Case against " the Snow boys " to recover the amount of a note given by them for three yoke of oxen and a " breaking plough."

They had bought the team and had given their note for the amount of the purchase-money, and, being unable to pay when the note became due, they were sued for the money. Their counsel appeared in court and set up the plea that the defendants were not of age when the note was given, and were, therefore, in law, incompetent to make a contract, and that the note was void.

As counsel for Case, Lincoln produced in court the note signed by the Snow boys. It was admitted that the note was given in payment for the plough and oxen. Then the defendants' counsel offered to prove that they were under age when they signed the note.

"Yes," said Lincoln, "I guess we will admit that."

"Is there a count in the declaration for oxen and plough sold and delivered?" asked the justice.

"Yes," said Lincoln; "and I have only one or two questions to ask of the witness who has been called by the defendants' counsel to prove the age of his clients."

"Where is that prairie team now?" asked Lincoln.

"On the farm of the Snow boys."

"Have you seen any one breaking prairie with it lately?"

"Yes," said the witness, "the boys were breaking up with it yesterday."

"How old are the boys now?"

"One is a little over twenty-one, and the other is near twenty-three."

"That is all," said Lincoln.

"Gentlemen," said Lincoln to the jury; "these boys never would have tried to cheat old Farmer Case out of these oxen and that plough but for the advice of counsel. It was bad advice, bad in morals, bad in law. The law never sanctions cheating, and a lawyer

must be very smart indeed to twist it so that it will seem to do so. The judge will tell you, what your own sense of justice has already told you, that these Snow boys, if they were mean enough to plead the baby act, when they came to be men would have taken the plough and oxen back. They cannot go back on their contract and also keep what the note was given for."

Without leaving their seats, the jury gave a verdict for old Farmer Case.

A more celebrated case was that which Lincoln tried in 1841, and was known as that of Bailey *vs.* Cromwell. A negro girl named Nancy had been sold, as a slave, by Cromwell to Bailey, and a promissory note taken in payment. The note was not paid when it became due, and suit was brought in the Tazewell County Court, Illinois, to recover the amount. The case was then taken to the Supreme Court of the State, and Lincoln appeared for the maker of the note, Bailey. He argued that the girl could not be held in slavery, since, under what was known as the Ordinance of 1787, slavery was prohibited in the Northwest Territory, of which Illinois was a part, as well as by the constitution of that State, which expressly prohibited slavery. He insisted that, as the consideration for which the note was given was a human being, and, under the laws of Illinois, a human being could not be bought and sold, the note was void. The court reversed the decision of the lower court, and the note was thus declared void, as Lincoln had alleged that it was.

Another slave case in which Lincoln was concerned was that of an old slave woman living near Springfield. She had been born in slavery in Kentucky, and, with her children, had passed into the possession of a man

named Hinkle. Hinkle had moved into Illinois, bringing his slaves with him; but, as he could not hold them there, he had given them their freedom. In course of time, a son of the woman had hired himself as a cabin waiter on a steamboat and had voyaged down the Mississippi. At New Orleans the boy had gone ashore, forgetting, or not knowing, that he was liable to arrest. In accordance with the custom of the times, he was seized by the police and locked up, the rules of the city requiring that any colored person found at large, after nightfall, without a written pass from his owner, should be confined in the "calaboose." Meanwhile the steamboat had left, and the boy was liable to be sold into slavery to pay his fine.

Word was sent to the boy's mother, in Illinois. In her distress she appealed to Lincoln, and roused his interest. The Governor, when applied to, regretted that there was no legal remedy provided for such a state of facts. He could do nothing. Lincoln rose to his feet, in great excitement, and said: "By the Almighty! I 'll have that negro back soon, or I 'll have a twenty-years' excitement in Illinois until the Governor does have a legal and constitutional right to do something in the premises!" The twenty-years' excitement came in due time, but, meanwhile, Lincoln and his partner, Herndon, sent money of their own to New Orleans to pay the fine and other expenses of the boy, and brought him home to his grateful mother.

It is related of Edward D. Baker, Lincoln's friend and comrade, that being once asked to undertake a suit in which the rights of a fugitive slave were involved, he said that, as a public man and a politician, he did not dare to take it. An anti-slavery friend of the man who was in trouble was next applied to for advice, and

he said : " Go to Lincoln. He 's not afraid of an unpopular case. When I go for a lawyer to defend an arrested fugitive slave, other lawyers will refuse me, but if Lincoln is at home he will always take my case."

The reader will remember that the leader of " the Clary's Grove boys," Jack Armstrong, became Lincoln's steadfast friend and ally, after the tussle between him and young Lincoln, in Salem. When Jack Armstrong was married, and had become a steady-going householder, his home was always open to the welcome visits of his old friend. Here, when lack of employment cast him down, Lincoln found a harbor of rest and refuge. It was in Mrs. Jack Armstrong's house that a chance visitor first saw Lincoln, prone on a trundle-bed, rocking a cradle with one foot while he read aloud. And in later years, when Jack Armstrong was dead and his boy had grown to man's estate, his mother came to Lincoln in great trouble. Her son, William D. Armstrong, had been arrested for murder. Lincoln knew nothing of the case, but he undertook it, and, after looking into the facts, he became assured that the lad was innocent.

It appeared that young Armstrong, in company with some of his mates, had visited a camp-meeting and had become involved in a quarrel. The difficulty was prolonged into the night, and, in the course of the fracas, a mortal blow was dealt to a young man. The evidence against the prisoner was chiefly circumstantial, except that one witness did swear that he saw the prisoner inflict the fatal blow with a slung-shot.

Lincoln surprised everybody by his calm, merciless, and destructive analysis of the evidence, which, to him, looked like a conspiracy against young Armstrong. But when he came to the evidence of the man

who had made oath that he beheld the blow delivered by the light of the brightly shining moon, he produced an almanac and showed that on the night in question there was no moon at all! The climax was reached, and the jury brought in a verdict of "Not guilty."

The widow had not been able to endure the suspense in court, and had gone out to weep and pray alone. Before the sun went down, a messenger came running to her with the glad tidings: "Bill is free; your son is cleared." For this inestimable service Lincoln would take no fee.

An eminent judge said of Lincoln: "I have no hesitation in saying that he was one of the ablest lawyers I have ever known." And, speaking of his personal appearance and manner at the bar, the judge said: "With a voice by no means pleasant, and, indeed, when excited, in its shrill tones sometimes almost disagreeable; without any of the personal graces of the orator; without much in the outward man indicating superiority of intellect; without great quickness of perception,—still, his mind was so vigorous, his comprehension so exact and clear, and his judgment so sure, that he easily mastered the intricacies of his profession, and became one of the ablest reasoners and most impressive speakers at our bar. . . . He always tried a case fairly and honestly. He never intentionally misrepresented the evidence of a witness or the argument of an opponent. He met them squarely, and if he could not explain the one or answer the other, substantially admitted it. He never misstated the law according to his own intelligent view of it."

CHAPTER X

A GREAT AWAKENING

IN 1850 it seemed to most men that human slavery was forever fixed in this country. Congress had passed a series of measures that were supposed to settle everything, but which satisfied neither the slave States nor the free States. Mr. W. H. Herndon relates that as he and Lincoln were wayfaring together that year Lincoln gloomily said: "How hard, ah, how hard it is to die and leave one's country no better than if one had never lived in it! The world is dead to hope, deaf to its own death-struggle, made known by a universal cry. What is to be done? Is anything to be done? Who can do anything? And how is it to be done? Do you ever think of these things?"

In that year Thomas Lincoln died. Burdened with many cares, Lincoln could not go to see his father, who was reported to him as very low in health. To the ill-faring stepbrother, John Johnston, Lincoln wrote while his father was yet alive:

"I sincerely hope that father may yet recover his health; but, at all events, tell him to remember to call upon and confide in our good and great merciful Father and Maker, who will not turn away from him in any extremity. He notes the fall of the sparrow, and numbers the hairs of our heads; and he will not forget the dying man who puts his trust in him. Say to him

that, if we could meet now, it is doubtful whether it would not be more painful than pleasant, but that if it be his lot to go now, he will soon have a joyful meeting with the loved ones gone before, and where the rest of us, through the mercy of God, hope erelong to join them."

In 1852 Lincoln accepted the place of elector on the Whig ticket in his State. As he was wont to say, he was "a standing candidate for Whig elector, but seldom elected anybody." He took small part in a campaign in which he could have had no heart. His party's platform had closed his mouth on the only subject on which he felt very deeply. In fact, the whole country seemed to be waiting in dumb silence as if anticipating the storm that was brewing. This time, as was expected, the Whig candidate was defeated, and the Democratic nominee, Franklin Pierce, was chosen.

In 1854 came the great awakening. Once more the battle was to be fought between slavery and freedom. By the Ordinance of 1787 slavery was forever forbidden in the region north of the Ohio River, and that stream was felt to be the natural boundary for it. Not until 1820 did such a dividing line become necessary in the new country beyond the Mississippi. When the State of Missouri, jutting north nearly its whole length into the latitude of the free States, wished to join the Union as a slave State, it met much opposition. By the Compromise of 1820, under which Missouri came in as a slave State, it was definitely agreed that all the land to the west and north of that State should be free from slavery.

In 1854 the new Territories of Kansas and Nebraska were knocking at the door for admittance. As these lay to the west of Missouri they were included in

the prohibition of slavery. Stephen Arnold Douglas, Senator from Illinois, introduced in the Senate a bill organizing the two Territories, and leaving the question of slavery to be settled by the voters of the region. This was a repeal of the much-vaunted Missouri Compromise, which positively prohibited slavery in those Territories.

Words can but feebly describe the excitement that this bold and unexpected concession to the slave States created throughout the North. To repeal the Missouri Compromise now would be to remove the one existing barrier that pent the flood of slavery in its present limits, and throw open to it an area as great as that covered by the thirteen original States. Amidst the most intense excitement, Douglas's bill was finally passed through Congress on the 8th of May, 1854. The event was celebrated by the booming of an artillery salute fired on Capitol Hill, Washington. That boom was the death-knell of slavery in the United States.

Instantly the whole North was aflame. Douglas was everywhere denounced, for it was generally believed that his course had been prompted by a desire to gain the support of the slave States in his plans to be elected President of the Republic. With wonderful skill and audacity he defended himself, insisting that the popular will should be sovereign, and that that will should determine whether slavery or freedom should rule in each community. As the settlers in a Territory were called "squatters," the friends of Douglas invented the phrase "squatter sovereignty."

Then began a race to take possession of the new Territory. From the Northern States went large numbers of people bent on being early on the ground to occupy

the soil for freedom; and from the slave States migrated others equally resolved to secure the young Territory for the dominion of slavery. Kansas, being readiest of access, received the full volume of the wave of immigration. The free-State men moved from the Western States nearest; northern Illinois and Iowa more especially contributing companies of actual settlers. But even in far-off New England organizations were formed to assist those who would go to help swell the free population of Kansas. Missouri and Arkansas, however, both slave States, and both having a large floating population, had the advantage which their position gave them; and their people, fired with a determination to save the Territory for slavery, swarmed over the border. These movements, which began almost as soon as the bill passed Congress, occupied the summer of that year. Before three months had passed "free-State men" and "pro-slavery men" had become familiar words all over the West.

Congress adjourned in August, and the great chiefs hurried home, astonished by the angry roar that came up from the people of the North. Douglas hastened to Illinois, confident that, with his crafty logic and audacious declamation, he could convince the people that the Kansas-Nebraska Bill did not contain the pernicious and destructive influences that they believed it did. In Chicago, where he first tarried, his constituents refused to hear him, and placarded the walls with hostile words against him.

When the time for the great agricultural fair of the State drew near, it was noised abroad that Douglas was to speak there to the people in justification of his course. By common consent, all eyes were turned to Lincoln as the speaker best qualified to answer the

plausible and overbearing Senator from Illinois. The day came, and, amidst an excitement that only those who witnessed this great conflict between the two intellectual giants of the West can fully understand, Douglas began his defence. He was the Democratic leader of the West, the acknowledged head of his party in the North, and this was to be his supreme effort. Douglas's statement that the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was made in the interest of the whole people and not in the interest of slavery was ingenious, plausible, and as effective as it could have been in the hands of any living man. That the attempt was vain was owing to the immovable fact that the repeal did open to slavery Territories that had been closed against it.

On the next day Lincoln replied to Douglas. All accounts agree in saying that his was a wonderful and a memorable speech. With his customary fairness, he said that he did not wish to present anything but the truth, and that if Mr. Douglas, who was present, should detect him in making any error, he would be glad to be corrected on the spot. Douglas used this opportunity to interrupt Lincoln frequently and to ask him impertinent questions. Finally Lincoln lost patience, and said: "Gentlemen, I cannot afford to spend my time in quibbles. I take the responsibility of asserting the truth myself, relieving Judge Douglas from the necessity of his impertinent corrections."

At last the lion had been roused. Stung by the pretended contempt, as well as by the dishonest course of Douglas towards him, Lincoln rose to the occasion and spoke as he never spoke before.

"Lincoln quivered with feeling and emotion. The whole house was as still as death. He attacked the

bill with unusual warmth and energy. All felt that a man of strength was its enemy, and that he meant to blast it, if he could, by strong and manly efforts. He was most successful; and the house approved the glorious triumph of truth by loud and long-continued huzzas. Women waved their white handkerchiefs in token of woman's silent but heartfelt consent. . . . Mr. Lincoln exhibited Douglas in all the attitudes in which he could be placed in a friendly debate. He exhibited the bill in all its aspects to show its humbuggery and falsehoods, and when it was thus torn to rags, cut into slips, and held up to the gaze of the vast crowd, a kind of scorn was visible upon the face of the crowd, and upon the lips of the most eloquent speaker. . . . At the conclusion of the speech, every man felt that it was unanswerable—that no human power could overthrow it or trample it under foot. The long and repeated applause evinced the feelings of the crowd, and gave token, too, of the universal assent to Lincoln's whole argument; and every mind present did homage to the man who took captive the heart, and broke like a sun over the understanding." [1]

It was in the course of this famous address that Lincoln uttered a pithy saying which has since been identified with his name. Douglas dwelt long and ingeniously on his favorite doctrine that the right to introduce human slavery into a Territory or community, by vote of the people, was acknowledgment of the right of popular sovereignty. He insisted that it was an insult to the emigrants to Kansas and Nebraska to intimate that they were not able to govern themselves, voting slavery in, or out, as they chose. Replying to this Lincoln said: "I admit that the emi-

[1] *The Springfield Journal* of the following day.

grant to Kansas and Nebraska is competent to govern himself ; but " — and here the speaker rose to his full and towering height — " I deny his right to govern any other person without that person's consent."

At the close of Lincoln's speech Douglas felt that he was crushed. Excited, angry, and with lowering brows, he took the platform and said that he had been abused. Then, as if seeing that the vast audience before him would detect the misstatement, for they had paid close attention to all that had been said, he added, " but in a perfectly courteous manner." He then attempted to make some reply to Lincoln's masterly and unanswerable speech. He faltered, then plucked up enough bravado to say that he would continue his address in the evening. When evening came, Douglas was not there, and the remarks promised were never made.

Lincoln had agreed to speak in Peoria, Illinois, on Monday, October 16th. Thither Douglas followed him, as if determined to see his own annihilation. Douglas spoke for three hours in the afternoon, and Lincoln followed in the evening, speaking three hours also. The result was the same as at Springfield. Lincoln's speech was materially different, but it was, as subsequently written out by him, more skilful and elaborate in its treatment of the great question.

At the close of this speech, Douglas said to Lincoln : " You understand this question of prohibiting slavery in the Territories better than all the opposition in the Senate of the United States. I cannot make anything by debating it with you. You, Lincoln, have, here and at Springfield, given me more trouble than all the opposition in the Senate combined." He then appealed to Lincoln's magnanimity to agree that there should

be no more joint discussions. To this Lincoln assented, and both withdrew for the time being.

The Legislature elected that year was to choose a successor to James Shields, then a Senator from Illinois, a Democratic colleague with Douglas. This was the same Shields who, some years before, had proposed to fight a duel with Lincoln. He was a candidate for re-election, but Lincoln's bout with Douglas, and the fierce excitement that swept the country, had endangered his chances. It is not certain, perhaps, whether the friendship of Douglas or the opposition of Lincoln was the more destructive of Shields's chances for a renewal of his term in the Senate. In the various elements in the Legislature, there was a clear majority of two against any man that had Douglas's advocacy. Lincoln led the opposition, and, by general consent, was selected as a candidate against Shields. When the Legislature came together, the anti-Douglas men were not united. Lyman Trumbull, an able lawyer and an accomplished debater, was one of the candidates of the opponents of Douglas men ; Lincoln was the other. Repeated ballotings produced no result, until Joel A. Matteson, Democrat, had been substituted for Shields, whereupon Lincoln relinquished all his chances, and implored his friends, who were many and steadfast, to leave him and vote for Trumbull, rather than endanger the cause in which they were all so deeply concerned. This generous concession solidified the jarring elements of the new party and made its after-successes possible.

CHAPTER XI

THE KANSAS STRUGGLE

MEANWHILE, immigrants from free States and slave States were pouring into Kansas. In spite of the incursions of the pro-slavery men, the hardy immigrants from Iowa, northern Illinois, and New England were clearly in the majority. The free-State men were, indeed, actual settlers. They took up land, planted crops, and built log cabins for their families, evidently intending to stay. The borderers, on the other hand, were rough-riders, sportsmen, gamblers. They spent their time in drinking, shooting, scouring the country for prey, and terrifying helpless women and children.

Under the lead of the notorious "Dave" Atchison, of Missouri, a Senator of the United States, secret societies, known as "Blue Lodges," were formed for the purpose of ridding the country of the hated free-State men. Steamers bound up the Missouri River, laden with free-State immigrants and their movable property, were stopped by these ruffians, who swarmed on board, drove off the immigrants, put their cattle and goods ashore, and compelled the officers of the steamers, who were only too willing to be an unresisting party to this outrage, to go on and leave their passengers behind.

The border ruffians had on their side the influence of the United States officials, the Missouri State gov-

ernment, and the State militia. Under the leadership of Atchison, raids were planned for long forays into the Territory, the raiders returning into Missouri under cover of the night, or camping in secluded places along the border, ready for another excursion. On the free-State side were such men as "Jim" Lane, afterwards a Senator from Kansas, and a redoubtable fighter; John Brown, then called Ossawatomie Brown, from his pitching his tent on the Kansas stream of that name; Charles Robinson, afterwards the Governor of the free State; Silas C. Pomeroy, afterwards Senator from the new State; and others whose names are gratefully remembered by the early settlers of that dark and troublous time.

When the local elections came on, the free-State men were astounded by the audacity and coolness with which the border men took possession of the polls, voted as often as they pleased, and carried things generally with a high hand. In one instance, for example, the borderers brought with them a directory of the city of St. Louis, and put page after page of it upon the poll-list, in precincts where there were but few votes. In one precinct, they formed a lane of their gangs up to the door of the log cabin where the ballot-box was put. When the voter approached, he was obliged to show his ballot; if it was for slavery, he was permitted to deposit it in the box; if not, he was jocularly lifted to the roof of the cabin, where a squad of stalwart men received him, hurried him over the ridge-pole, and slid him down on the other side, when he was permitted to escape, glad to get away with his life.

Massacres were frequent, and the soil of the unhappy young Territory was literally wet with blood. "Bleeding Kansas" was derided then and afterwards by the

friends of slavery ; but the terse phrase described the condition of the region where the battle of freedom was being fought. In these disturbances, a son of Ossawatomie Brown was slain, and the father made a vow to avenge on slavery the death of his son. Ruined homesteads were to be seen on every hand, and for a time the borderers, with the national Government at their back and the militia troops of Missouri within assisting distance, carried the day. Slavery was "voted up" by such means as have been described, and a Government was established on the basis of the right of any man to own human beings in the new Territory of Kansas.

All this time Kansas was merely a Territory, subject to the rule of Congress and governed by officers appointed by the President—not by men elected by the people. The time would come when the Territory must be admitted into the family of States, and be allowed to choose its own Legislature, Governor, and other officers. Slavery must be fixed upon the people before that time arrived. The free-State men, in their desperation, organized a State government, framed a constitution with slavery left out, and elected a Governor, Charles Robinson. They established their State capital at Topeka. The regular Territorial Legislature and seat of government were established at Lecompton.

About that time, Lincoln wrote a letter to his well-beloved friend, Joshua Speed, of Kentucky — one who not only lived in a slave State, but was still attached to the interests of slavery :

"You say if Kansas fairly votes herself a free State, as a Christian you will rather rejoice at it. All decent slaveholders talk that way, and I do not doubt their candor. But they never vote that way. Although,

in a private letter or conversation you will express your preference that Kansas shall be free, you would vote for no man for Congress who would say the same thing publicly. No such man could be elected, from any district, or any slave State. You think Stringfellow & Co. ought to be hung; and yet you will vote for the exact type and representation of Stringfellow. The slave-breeders and slave-traders are a small and detested class among you, and yet in politics they dictate the course of all of you, and are as completely your masters as you are the masters of your own negroes."

Up to the time of the setting up of the Kansas infamy, Lincoln was still reckoned as a Whig. That party, to be sure, was in a dying condition; but no new party had been formed to take its place, or to receive those who were to come out from it. To those who know what Lincoln did when he became President, and who know how slavery came to an end during his term in the presidential office, his reluctance to join what was at that time known as the Abolition party may seem difficult of explanation. But Lincoln was a statesman. "If all earthly power were given me," he once said, "I should not know what to do as to the existing institution. My first impulse would be to free all the slaves and send them to Liberia — to their own native land. But if they were all landed there in a day, they would all perish in the next ten days; and there is not surplus shipping and surplus money enough to carry them there in many times ten days. What then?" This was a question that Lincoln could not answer. Still, it must be remembered, this was in 1854. As he did not have that power, he took his stand against any further extension of slavery.

Now, however, the old Whig party was in ruins. A

new party, the Free-Soil party, pledged to oppose all further extension of slavery, was to rise and assert itself. It may be said that this party occupied a middle ground between the Democratic party (pledged as that was, in fact, to the support of slavery) and the Abolitionists, pledged to destroy slavery instantly and by every possible means. Lincoln was the natural leader of the Free-Soil or Republican party. In no other party of the country could be found a man who had so carefully studied the question of American slavery as it was related to our system of government and to the political parties of the time as Lincoln. Moreover, he was animated by a sincere love of liberty, and he was a shrewd and even cunning politician.

Not at once did he throw in his fortunes with those who were to be the leaders of the new Free-Soil party. He always moved slowly and with a deliberation that deceived many and annoyed not a few.

Much of his supposed hesitancy was to await the inevitable consequence of events; and it will help us to a better understanding of Lincoln's purposes if we bear in mind that, from the first, he saw that a conflict of some kind was sure to come. At length he declared that he must thenceforth be the champion of freedom against slavery until "The sun shall shine, the rain shall fall, and the wind shall blow upon no man who goes forth to unrequited toil."

CHAPTER XII

LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS

IN 1858, the senatorial term of Douglas was drawing to a close. He desired to be re-elected and to have the endorsement of the people of Illinois. Seeing how the Lecompton Constitution had been lawlessly framed, and realizing that slavery thus forced upon Kansas had already made hosts of converts to the Republican party, he had begun to differ, personally, from the President. He soon, by his votes in the Senate, showed that he was opposed to the Lecompton Constitution. It was inconsistent for him to labor against that which his own Kansas-Nebraska Bill had made possible. But this he did, and not a few Republicans in the Eastern States thought that he would thereafter be with them. They advised that the Illinois Republicans should vote for him. He was now an anti-Lecompton Democrat, as the phrase went; he was sure, so they thought, for freedom as against slavery. The Republicans of Illinois knew Douglas better. They refused to trust him, and when their convention met, June 16, 1858, they declared that Abraham Lincoln was their first and only choice for the United States Senate to fill the vacancy about to be created by the expiration of Mr. Douglas's term of office. The anti-Lecompton Democrats of the State, two months before, had similarly nominated Douglas to succeed himself.

Lincoln realized that this was to be a mighty struggle. None better than he understood and appreciated the great abilities and craftiness of Douglas. None better than he knew how tender the people of Illinois yet were on the subject of human slavery, half afraid of the stale epithet of "Abolitionist." He framed his speech to the convention that had nominated him, putting into it his final platform, the platform from which he was to speak to the people during the coming canvass. Lincoln read the manuscript of his speech to his partner, Mr. W. H. Herndon. That gentleman was somewhat dismayed by the very first paragraph. It was almost an endorsement of the old anti-slavery doctrine of disunion; for in it was the since-famous declaration: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently, half slave and half free." Mr. Herndon said this was all true; but he was doubtful if it was discreet to say so at that time. Alluding to the phrase, "a house divided," etc., Lincoln said: "The proposition has been true for six thousand years. I will deliver this speech as it is written." And he did.

In the course of that address he said: "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 lawful in all States, old as well as new, North as well as South."

When this memorable debate began, Lincoln and Douglas were both in the full maturity of their physical

and intellectual powers. Douglas was forty-five years old, and Lincoln was forty-nine. Douglas was a native of Vermont, and had migrated at the age of twenty to Illinois. Like Lincoln, he was a self-made man, and had risen to eminence by the sheer force of character and genius. At the age of twenty-two he was elected Attorney-General of the young State. Resigning this office, he was chosen to the State Legislature, where he speedily made his mark as a shrewd politician, a ready debater, and a thoroughly "good fellow." Here it was that he first met Lincoln. Subsequently he was elected Representative in Congress three times in succession. But before the time came for him to take his seat in the House of Representatives, after his third election, Douglas was chosen Senator of the United States from Illinois. He was now at the end of his second term as Senator, and was ready to appeal to the people to choose members of the Legislature who should return him to the Senate.

Douglas was frank, hearty, and affable in his manners. Although in debate he was overbearing and imperious, towards his friends he was familiar, and even affectionate. He was a bold, dashing, and fearless debater, fluent, never hesitating for a word or phrase, aggressive, and sometimes arrogant, full of all manner of guile, yet impressing every one with his apparent sincerity and transparency of character. So attractive was he that he bound his friends to him, as it were, with hooks of steel. Small of stature, with long and grizzled hair, at the time this chapter of history opens his admirers called him the "Little Giant." This was the man who was to meet Lincoln in a popular canvass, in which the whole State was to be traversed.

Lincoln was, as we know, of almost herculean build.

His head was massive, poised on a very long neck, with stiff and obstinate hair that usually stood up in irregular waves. His face was dark and seamed, his eyes deep set beneath overhanging and shaggy brows; he was beardless, and had at times a far-away look on his sad features that struck even the most casual observer as profoundly pathetic. His manner, when he was alert, was bright, and when with his congenial associates, even jovial. In speaking he impressed every one with his directness, simplicity, good sense, clearness of statement, wit and humor, and purity and accuracy of language. At this time he was asked for a brief biographical sketch of himself. He complied with the following, which is inserted here at a point that must be reckoned as one of the crises in the history of Abraham Lincoln, son of the Kentucky backwoodsman:

"I was born Feb. 12, 1809, in Hardin County, Kentucky. My parents were both born in Virginia, of undistinguished families — second families, perhaps I should say. My mother, who died in my tenth year, was of a family of the name of Hanks, some of whom now reside in Adams, and others in Macon, counties, Illinois. My paternal grandfather, Abraham Lincoln, emigrated from Rockingham County, Virginia, to Kentucky about 1781 or '2, where, a year or two later, he was killed by Indians, not in battle, but by stealth, when he was laboring to open a farm in the forest. His ancestors, who were Quakers, went to Virginia from Berks County, Pennsylvania. An effort to identify them with the New England family of the same name ended in nothing more definite than a similarity of Christian names in both families, such as Enoch, Levi, Mordecai, Solomon, Abraham, and the like.

" My father, at the death of his father, was but six years of age, and he grew up literally without education. He removed from Kentucky to what is now Spencer County, Indiana, in my eighth year. We reached our new home about the time the State came into the Union. It was a wild region with many bears and other wild animals still in the woods. There I grew up. There were some schools, so called, but no qualification was ever required of a teacher beyond 'readin', writin', and cipherin' ' to the Rule of Three. If a straggler supposed to understand Latin happened to sojourn in the neighborhood, he was looked upon as a wizard. There was absolutely nothing to excite ambition for education. Of course, when I came of age I did not know much. Still, somehow, I could read, write, and cipher to the Rule of Three ; but that was all. I have not been to school since. The little advance I now have upon this store of education, I have picked up from time to time under the pressure of necessity.

" I was raised to farm work, which I continued till I was twenty-two. At twenty-one I came to Illinois, and passed the first year in Macon County. Then I got to New Salem, at that time in Sangamon, now in Menard County, where I remained a year as sort of clerk in a store. Then came the Black Hawk War, and I was elected a Captain of Volunteers, a success which gave me more pleasure than any I have had since. I went [through] the campaign, was elated, ran for the Legislature the same year (1832), and was beaten — the only time I have ever been beaten by the people. The next and three succeeding biennial elections I was elected to the Legislature. I was not a candidate afterwards. During this legislative period I

had studied law, and removed to Springfield to practise it. In 1846 I was once elected to the Lower House of Congress. Was not a candidate for re-election. From 1849 to 1854, both inclusive, practised law more assiduously than ever before. Always a Whig in politics, and generally on the Whig electoral tickets, making active canvasses. I was losing interest in politics, when the repeal of the Missouri Compromise aroused me again. What I have done since then is pretty well known.

"If any personal description of me is thought desirable, it may be said I am in height six feet four inches, nearly; lean in flesh, weighing, on an average, one hundred and eighty pounds; dark complexion, with coarse black hair and gray eyes. No other marks or brands recollected.

"Yours, very truly,

"A. LINCOLN."

Not long before the opening of the debate between Lincoln and Douglas, the Supreme Court of the United States, Chief-Justice Taney delivering the opinion, had decided practically that, by virtue of the Constitution of the Republic, slavery existed in all the Territories, and that Congress had no right to prohibit it. This was known as the Dred Scott decision. A negro of that name sued for his freedom and that of his wife and children, claiming that having been carried by his owner into a Territory north of the northern boundary of Missouri, wherein slavery was excluded by the Missouri Compromise, he had become freed by the operation of the law. This decision made slavery national, freedom local.

Obviously, then, the two important topics before the

country were the effect that the Dred Scott decision would have upon slavery and freedom, and the struggle in Kansas. Although Douglas was now an anti-Lecompton Democrat, he was to be taken to task before the country for the result in Kansas of his advocacy of what he called popular sovereignty. This had made the Lecompton infamy possible. He also approved the Dred Scott decision ; but the dogma laid down in that decision effectually killed his own doctrine of popular sovereignty. It put slavery into all the Territories of the United States before the people of those Territories could have an opportunity of saying whether it should be voted up or down.

Replying to Douglas's speech in which that orator accused Lincoln of advocating the disunion of the States, Lincoln said that he believed that the framers of the Constitution expected that, in course of time, slavery would become extinct ; they had decreed that slavery should not go into territory where it had not already gone, and that when he had said that the opponents of slavery would place that institution where the public mind would rest in the expectation of its ultimate extinction, he only meant to say that they would place it where the fathers of the Republic originally placed it. In Douglas's speech, as was common in those days, when men were cornered for want of logical answers to Republican arguments, the speaker had intimated that Lincoln was in favor of a complete equality of the black and the white races. In his reply, Lincoln said : " I protest, now and forever, against that counterfeit logic which presumes that because I do not want a negro woman for a slave, I do necessarily want her for a wife. My understanding is that I need not have her for either ; but, as God made us separate, we can leave

one another alone, and do one another much good thereby."

This was the opening of the great debate in Chicago, in the summer of 1858. A few days later, Douglas spoke at Bloomington and then in Springfield, on each occasion devoting himself to Lincoln's previous speeches. Lincoln spoke in Springfield, also; and, addressing himself to the expectation that Douglas would, some day, be President of the United States, and that the anxious politicians of his party were waiting for that event with great hopefulness, Lincoln said:

"They have seen, in his round, jolly, fruitful face, post-offices, land-offices, marshalships, and Cabinet appointments, chargeships and foreign missions, bursting and sprouting out, in wonderful luxuriance, ready to be laid hold of by their greedy hands. And as they have been gazing upon this attractive picture so long, they cannot, in the little distraction that has taken place in the party, bring themselves to give up the charming hope; but with greedier anxiety they rush about him, sustain him, and give him marches, triumphal entries, and receptions beyond what, even in the days of his highest prosperity, they could have brought about in his favor. On the contrary, nobody has ever expected me to be President. In my poor, lean, lank face nobody has ever seen that any cabbages were sprouting out."

All this, however, was a contest at which both disputants were, so to speak, at arm's length from each other. Lincoln wanted a closer wrestle with the "Little Giant." Accordingly, he addressed a note to Douglas, asking him if he would agree to a joint canvass of the State, each speaking from the same plat-

form and each having his own quota of time allotted him. Douglas objected to this arrangement, several reasons, satisfactory to himself, being given. But, after some negotiation, arrangements were made by which a joint debate was fixed for seven different points, the first being at Ottawa, August 21, 1858, and the last at Alton, October 15th. Meanwhile both speakers were industriously canvassing the State, each in his own way and independently of the other.

Lincoln travelled in an unostentatious and inexpensive manner. Douglas moved from point to point on a special railway train, accompanied by a brass band and cannon, with the blare and volleying of which his entrance to town was heralded. Douglas did not always observe the proprieties of debate ; and too often the unmannerly followers of the " Little Giant " insolently interrupted the opponent of their chieftain. Lincoln during this memorable canvass was shamefully belied and misrepresented, but no word of remonstrance or complaint ever escaped his lips. Douglas resorted to the use of unworthy epithets and insinuations. He continually harped on the assertion that the Republicans were in favor of negro social equality, and he invariably referred to them as " black Republicans," and employed other terms to express his contempt. Now that we can look back upon this remarkable episode in the history of American politics, it must be admitted that Lincoln's bearing, deportment, and general behavior were all superior to Douglas's.

Mr. Douglas in these debates contended that each State was privileged to decide for itself just what rights, if any, it should give to the negro ; that the negro had no natural equality; that the people of each Territory had a right to say whether they would have slavery or

not ; and that the Union and the government could exist forever, so far as he could see, half slave and half free. Especially did he insist that those who differed from him were in favor of negro social equality, — the admission of negroes to the homes and bosoms of those who were in favor of limiting slavery to the States in which it then existed, or of excluding it from the Territories.

Lincoln, on the other hand, planted himself squarely on the Declaration of Independence ; that all men were born free, and that they *all* had certain rights of which they could not be justly deprived, such as life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The negro, he insisted, was a man. Slavery was wrong, and it should at least be confined in the States in which it already existed ; it should not be the natural condition of things in the Territories, as the Dred Scott decision made it. On this point, he sharply arraigned Douglas for his inconsistency. Douglas clamored for popular sovereignty, the right of the voters in a Territory to say whether slavery should exist with them or not, and the Dred Scott decision declared that slavery was already in the Territories. This, said Lincoln, is declaring that the people have a right to drive away that which has a right to go there.

It was Lincoln's manifest purpose to compel Douglas to desert his seeming indifference to slavery, and to say whether he thought it right or wrong in itself. In his view, the Dred Scott decision and the Douglas idea of popular sovereignty could not be held together in one man's belief. So he framed questions designed to bring the matter before Douglas in such a shape as to oblige him to admit or deny the abstract rights of slavery. Lincoln's friends remonstrated with him.

"If you put that question to him," they said, "he will perceive that the answer, giving practical force and effect to the Dred Scott decision in the Territories, inevitably loses him the battle; and he will therefore reply by offering the decision as an abstract principle, but denying its practical application. He will say that the decision is just and right, but it is not to be put into force and effect in the Territories."—"If he takes that shoot," said Lincoln, "he can never be President." Lincoln's anxious friends replied: "That is not your lookout; you are after the senatorship."—"No, gentlemen," said he, "I am killing larger game. The battle of 1860 is worth a hundred of this."

On the points here indicated, the seven joint debates usually turned. Everybody felt that Lincoln was, to use the common expression of the country, "getting the best" of Douglas. At some times, indeed, Douglas, by his manner, showed that he thought so too. For example, at Charleston, Illinois, when they were in their fourth meeting, Lincoln's reply to Douglas was powerful and intense in its vigor. Douglas's evasions and shifty tricks were exposed with a clearness of logic that was wonderful, and so convincing that everybody saw it; even Douglas's friends seemed to be seized with a panic, and the great assembly was stirred with a strange tremor. Douglas realized his overthrow, his inability to reply, although he had the closing of that day's debate. He lost his temper, left his seat, and, watch in hand, paced up and down the rear of the platform, behind the speaker, his impatience manifest in his manner. The instant that the hands of Douglas's watch marked the moment for Lincoln to stop, he turned the timepiece towards Lincoln, and eagerly cried: "Sit down, Lincoln, sit down; your time is up."

Turning his face, lighted with the fire of his own inspiration, to the speaker behind him, Lincoln calmly said: "I will. I will quit. I believe my time *is* up." —"Yes," said one on the platform, "Douglas has had enough. It is time you let him up."

These debates attracted great and earnest attention all over the country. They were made the occasion of vast outpourings of the people of the State and of the neighboring region. The two men were always promptly on the field to fulfil their engagements; and they invariably found a tremendous concourse of people waiting to hear them. People rode long distances in farm-wagons; and companies of men from a distance camped for the night under the trees, patiently enduring fatigue and privation to hear the mighty truths discussed that so intimately concerned the national well-being. Never before in the history of the Republic had so good an opportunity come for teaching the common people the principles that underlie our free government.

The echo of the controversy penetrated every nook and corner of the Republic, until weary slaves on distant plantations heard the whisper of their coming freedom; for this was but a preparation of the larger struggle that was to come.

Just before the first meeting of the two disputants, a friend of Lincoln's met him at a great political gathering in Springfield, and expressed to him, as delicately as possible, the fears of those who loved him so well. In the half-jocular, half-serious manner that was so peculiar to him he said, with lips compressed: "My friend, sit down here a minute and I will tell you a story. You and I have travelled the circuit together, attending court, and have often seen two men about to

fight. One of them, the big or the little giant, as the case may be, is noisy and boastful; he jumps high in the air and strikes his feet together, smites his fists together, brags about what he is going to do, and tries hard to *skeer* the other man. The other says not a word. His arms are at his side, his fists are clenched, his teeth set, his head settled firmly on his shoulders; he saves his breath and strength for the struggle. This man will whip, just as sure as the fight comes off. Good-bye, and remember what I say."

Nevertheless, Douglas was elected United States Senator. On the other hand, all over the Republic it was felt that Lincoln had come off conqueror in the field of debate, had worsted the hitherto unconquerable Douglas, and had made for himself a name that should endure. In one of the later speeches of this wonderful debate, Lincoln said: "I say to you, that in this mighty issue, it is nothing to the mass of the people of the nation whether Judge Douglas or myself are or shall ever be heard of after this night. It may be a trifle to us, but, in connection with this mighty issue, upon which, perhaps, hang the destinies of the nation, the United States senatorship is absolutely nothing."

In the debates with Douglas, Lincoln was irritated with Douglas's constant iteration of the charge that he, Lincoln, had endorsed certain statements of Senator Trumbull's that were, as Douglas said, untrue. Finally Lincoln said: "Why, sir, there is not a single statement in Trumbull's speech that depends on Trumbull's veracity. Why does not Judge Douglas answer the facts? . . . If you have studied geometry, you remember that by a course of reasoning Euclid proves that all the angles in a triangle are equal to two right angles. Euclid has shown how to work it out. Now

if you undertook to disprove that proposition, to prove that it was erroneous, would you do it by calling Euclid a liar? That is the way Judge Douglas answers Trumbull."

CHAPTER XIII

AFTER A GREAT STRUGGLE

THE election was over, and the two champions were left in a condition that varied with each. The hundred days of a tense and exciting canvass left no mark on Lincoln. Douglas, on the other hand, was badly shattered; his voice was almost gone, and he scarcely spoke above a whisper. He showed great fatigue, and he sought rest and repose as soon as he could get away from his friends. But Douglas, too, had an iron constitution, and he soon rallied his physical forces, and was himself again after a few days of rest. Later on, he went through several of the Southern States, descending towards the Gulf of Mexico by the Mississippi River. At various points down the stream he was received with acclaim, and his speeches manifested his desire to recover with the slave-owning people of the South whatever he might have lost in the debate on the free soil of Illinois.

It was during this brief tour that Douglas made use of the famous "crocodile" figure of speech, afterwards taken up by Lincoln. Douglas said: "As between the crocodile and the negro, I take the side of the negro; but, as between the negro and the white man, I would go for the white man, every time." Lincoln, at home, noted that; and afterwards, when he had occasion to refer to the remark, he said: "I believe that

this is a sort of proposition in proportion, which may be stated thus: 'As the negro is to the white man, so is the crocodile to the negro; and as the negro may rightfully treat the crocodile as a beast or reptile, so the white man may rightfully treat the negro as a beast or reptile.' Now, my brother Kentuckians, who believe in this, you ought to thank Judge Douglas for having put that in a much more taking way than any of yourselves have done."

Lincoln now resumed his practice of law, and to all appearances had given up thoughts of political preferment; but he did not conceal his regret at the failure of his party to carry the Legislature and secure his own election to the United States Senate. When asked by a friend how he felt when his defeat was assured by the returns of the election, he said, in his usual good-natured and jocose way, that he felt "like the boy who stubbed his toe, too badly to laugh, and too big to cry."

Lincoln's affability, perfect simplicity, good-nature, and homelike freedom of manner had by this time made him, as it were, an inmate of every household in the West. Everybody among those plain people recognized him as "one of us," a man to be loved and admired, and not at a distance either. The Lincoln-Douglas debate, however, gave him a wider fame. The speeches had been so extensively read, and the joint canvass was in itself so unique an affair to Eastern people, that they all thought they knew now the two men who had figured on this national stage. Invitations came pouring upon Lincoln from all over the Northern States, seeking to secure his services in the battle being fought in each State. But during the winter of 1858–59, he devoted himself to his own private affairs.

In May, 1859, he was called upon to say, as a possible candidate for the presidency, what were his views concerning the attempts made in Massachusetts to curtail the political privileges of naturalized foreigners. Lincoln, while declining to criticise Massachusetts, said he should be sorry to see any such proposition brought up in Illinois, and he should oppose it wherever he had the right to do so. "As I understand the spirit of our institutions," said he, "it is designed to promote the elevation of men. I am, therefore, hostile to anything that tends to their debasement. It is well known that I deplore the depressed condition of the blacks, and it would, therefore, be very inconsistent for me to look with approval upon any measure that infringes upon the inalienable rights of white men, whether or not they are born in another land or speak a different language from our own."

The Republicans of Illinois held their annual convention in Decatur, Macon County, May 10, 1859. Lincoln was present, and as soon as his tall form was seen on the platform, the entire assemblage, forgetting everything else, rose as one man and cheered and cheered again, until, as one who was present has said, "it seemed as if they never *would* stop." Not often do men who have passed through defeat receive such a greeting as that given to the non-elected candidate for United States Senator. When order was restored, the Republican Governor of the State, Richard Oglesby, said that there was at the door an old-time Macon County Democrat who had a contribution to make to the convention. The curiosity of the delegates was stimulated, and they looked, to see two ancient fence rails, decorated with ribbons of red, white, and blue, borne into the hall by Thomas Hanks, on the rails

being the inscription : "Abraham Lincoln, the Rail Candidate for the Presidency in 1860. Two rails from a lot of three thousand, made in 1830 by Thomas Hanks and Abe Lincoln, whose father was the first pioneer in Macon County." This was Lincoln's first public nomination to the presidency.

These were rails split by Lincoln and Hanks when, as we know, young Abraham tarried with his father, after building a log cabin and ploughing their first field in Illinois, long enough to fence in a small parcel of land sown with grain. Lincoln being asked if he supposed those were the veritable rails that he and Hanks had made, said : "I would n't make my affidavit that they were. But Hanks and I did make rails on that piece of ground, although I think I could make better rails now ; and I did say that if there were any rails that we had split, I would n't wonder if those were the rails."

Lincoln did not believe in what we call "stage tricks," and he was not greatly pleased with the rail incident, although he was gratified by the enthusiasm of his friends when they saw this evidence of his humble toil. He took good care to say that the introduction of these reminders of the past life of the young backwoodsman was a surprise to him. He never ceased to be sorry that, when he was obliged to split rails, he could not have been in college, or devoting his time to great and useful study. But for all that, from that day forward Lincoln was hailed as "the rail-splitter of Illinois." And when he became in fact a regular candidate before the people, some said, "Will he split the Union as he used to split rails ? "

During the winter of 1859–60, Lincoln visited, for the first time in his life, the Territory of Kansas, for which

he had done so much. Tremendous enthusiasm greeted him wherever he appeared. In Leavenworth, it is said, notwithstanding a great storm that raged in the streets, he was met by a great procession of people who escorted him to his hotel, vast throngs being gathered on the sidewalks cheering, every available coign of vantage being occupied by persons greedy for a sight of him.

In September, 1859, Lincoln spoke several times in Ohio, and, being near the Kentucky border, at Cincinnati he addressed a part of his speech to natives of that State, asking them, among other things, what they would do with their part of the Union, if they took it away, as they were now beginning to threaten that they would. "Are you going to keep it alongside of us outrageous fellows?" he asked. "Or are you going to build up a wall, some way, between your country and ours, by which that movable property of yours can't come over here any more, to the danger of your losing it?"

Early in 1860, Lincoln received an invitation to speak in Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, of which Henry Ward Beecher was pastor. He accepted the invitation, but the place of assembling was subsequently changed to the Cooper Union. Of Lincoln at this meeting Ambassador Choate has recently said[1]:

"It is now forty years since I first saw and heard Abraham Lincoln, but the impression which he left on my mind is ineffaceable. After his great successes in the West he came to New York to make a political address. He appeared in every sense of the word like

[1] "The Career and Character of Abraham Lincoln," an address before the Edinburgh Philosophical Society, November 13, 1900.

one of the plain people among whom he loved to be counted. At first sight there was nothing impressive or imposing about him, except that his great stature singled him out from the crowd; his clothes hung awkwardly on his giant frame, his face was of a dark pallor without the slightest tinge of color; his seamed and rugged features bore the furrows of hardship and struggle; his deep-set eyes looked sad and anxious; his countenance in repose gave little evidence of that brain power which had raised him from the lowest to the highest station among his countrymen; as he talked to me before the meeting he seemed ill at ease, with that sort of apprehension which a young man might feel before presenting himself to a new and strange audience, whose critical disposition he dreaded.

"When Mr. Bryant presented him, on the high platform of the Cooper Institute, a vast sea of eager upturned faces greeted him, full of intense curiosity to see what this rude child of the people was like. He was equal to the occasion. When he spoke he was transformed; his eye kindled, his voice rang, his face shone and seemed to light up the whole assembly. For an hour and a half he held his audience in the hollow of his hand. His style of speech and manner of delivery were severely simple. What Lowell called 'the grand simplicities of the Bible,' with which he was so familiar, were reflected in his discourse. With no attempt at ornament or rhetoric, without parade or pretence, he spoke straight to the point. If any came expecting the turgid eloquence or the ribaldry of the frontier, they must have been startled at the earnest and sincere purity of his utterances. It was marvellous to see how this untutored man, by mere self-discipline and the chastening of his own spirit, had

outgrown all meretricious arts and found his own way to the grandeur and strength of absolute simplicity."

This is the testimony of another who was present on that historic occasion : " When Lincoln rose to speak, I was greatly disappointed. He was tall, tall — oh, how tall, and so angular and awkward that I had, for an instant, a feeling of pity for so ungainly a man. His clothes were black and ill-fitting, badly wrinkled — as if they had been jammed carelessly into a small trunk. His bushy head, with the stiff black hair thrown back, was balanced on a long and lean head-stalk, and when he raised his hands in an opening gesture, I noticed that they were very large. He began in a low tone of voice, — as if he were used to speaking outdoors, and was afraid of speaking too loud. He said, ' Mr. *Cheerman*,' instead of ' Mr. Chairman,' and employed many other words with an old-fashioned pronunciation. I said to myself : ' Old fellow, you won't do ; it 's all very well for the wild West, but this will never go down in New York.' But pretty soon he began to get into his subject ; he straightened up, made regular and graceful gestures ; his face lighted as with an inward fire; the whole man was transfigured. I forgot his clothes, his personal appearance, and his individual peculiarities. Presently, forgetting myself, I was on my feet with the rest, yelling like a wild Indian, cheering this wonderful man. In the close parts of his argument, you could hear the gentle sizzling of the gas-burners. When he reached a climax, the thunders of applause were terrific. It was a great speech. When I came out of the hall, my face glowing with excitement and my frame all a-quiver, a friend, with his eyes aglow, asked me what I thought of Abe Lincoln, the rail-splitter. I

said : ' He 's the greatest man since St. Paul.' And I think so yet."

Lincoln took for his theme, that night, the saying of his old adversary, Douglas : " Our fathers, when they framed the government under which we live, understood this question [the question of slavery] just as well, and even better than we do now." This, as Lincoln said, gave him and Douglas a common starting-point for discussion. His speech was devoted, for the most part, to an inquiry into what the fathers who framed the government thought of and did about slavery ; and he showed, by conclusive and irrefutable argument and citations from history, that the fathers, whom Douglas so confidently referred to, acted as though they believed that the Federal Government had no power to put slavery into the Territories. The next section of his speech was a kindly and almost affectionate address to the people of the South. The concluding part was addressed to Republicans, and he closed with these words: " Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the government. Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith, let us, to the end, dare to do our duty, as we understand it."

CHAPTER XIV

ELECTED TO THE PRESIDENCY

IN the spring of 1860 the South was dismayed. All hope of securing Kansas as a slave State was gone. A hostile majority in the House of Representatives made impossible the admission of Kansas under the odious and fraudulent Lecompton constitution. The purchase of Cuba was now also impossible. California had long since been admitted as a free State, in spite of the threats and promises of the pro-slavery administration. All schemes for the acquiring of new territory for the expansion of the slave power had failed utterly. A new President was about to be chosen. The Democratic party was rent into two seemingly irreconcilable parties,—Lecompton and anti-Lecompton. Threats of secession were freely made. Many thought that these were mere bluster, words intended to be taken back if the South could be reassured. And some timorous people wanted the South to be reassured. In his Cooper Union speech, Lincoln, addressing himself to the threatening class, said : " You say you will destroy the Union ; and then you say the great crime of having destroyed it will be put upon us. That is cool. A highwayman holds a pistol to my ear, and mutters through his teeth : ' Stand and deliver, or I shall kill you, and then you will be a murderer.' To be sure, what the robber demanded of me — my money — was

my own ; but it was no more my own than my vote is my own ; and a threat of death to me to extort my money, and threat of destruction to the Union to extort my vote, can scarcely be distinguished in principle."

With these mutterings in the air, the Democratic convention to nominate a candidate for the presidency assembled in Charleston, South Carolina, April 23, 1860. It does not now seem likely that the Northern and the Southern leaders expected to be able to unite on any candidate. Douglas was the one man most prominent in the party. The Northern Democrats would have him and no other. But his speeches during the canvass with Lincoln, as well as his later opposition to the Lecompton constitution for Kansas, had ruined his chances with the South. Nothing short of an unconditional declaration in favor of slavery would satisfy these determined champions of slavery. After days of fruitless discussion, the Democratic convention was torn into pieces. The pro-slavery delegates withdrew in a body, and organized in another building what they called a " constitutional convention." No nominations were made, however, at that time, and the convention adjourned to meet in Richmond, Virginia. The other wing of the party remained in convention in Charleston, and, after fifty-seven unsuccessful ballotings, they, too, gave it up and adjourned to meet in Baltimore, June 18th. May 9th, there met in Baltimore a convention of elderly Whigs and " Know-Nothings," who nominated John Bell, of Tennessee, for President, and Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, for Vice-President. This was the so-called conservative ticket, intended to pour oil on the troubled waters, and elect a President who should have no ideas, no notions, no policy, on the subject of slavery.

The Richmond Convention, composed of pro-slavery Democrats, nominated John C. Breckinridge, afterwards a rebel general, for President. Subsequently, the regular convention, as it was to be considered (although only the anti-Lincoln Democrats were left in it) met in Baltimore, and nominated Stephen A. Douglas for President. The breach between the Northern and Southern Democrats was complete, irreparable.

There was intense excitement all over the Republic when the Republican national convention assembled in Chicago, June 17, 1860. Everybody felt that a crisis in the affairs of the nation had now come. The Democratic party was hopelessly divided on the great and vital question of human slavery. The States in which slavery was recognized as a divine and righteous institution were solidly united in an attempt to force that institution into the free Territories, and so to shape the laws of the Republic that slave property would be safe everywhere ; that black men and women should be sacred as property in every State in the Union, and no fugitive from bondage should be safe anywhere on any rood of land over which the American flag waved.

The party now about to set its candidates in the field was irrevocably opposed to the further extension of slavery in any direction whatever. No man could be nominated by that party who was not irretrievably and unmistakably in favor of the fundamental principle to which, through Lincoln's advice, it had been already pledged, that " all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

The platform was accepted, and the whole series of ringing and courageous resolutions was adopted by

the convention amid the wildest enthusiasm. A tremendous roar went up from the assembled thousands in the building. Other throngs outside the building took up the cheer, and a vast wave of sound went thundering down the lakeside, telling the world that at last a great national party had asserted in unmistakable language the right of man to freedom.

Then the balloting began. Mr. William M. Evarts, of New York, placed before the convention the name of William H. Seward, of that State. In like manner Mr. Judd, of Illinois, nominated Abraham Lincoln. Mr. Dayton, of New Jersey; Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania; Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio; Edward Bates, of Missouri; and John McLean, of Ohio, were subsequently named. But only the names of Seward and Lincoln, the two great leaders of the new party, provoked much enthusiasm.

The air was hushed. Everybody knew that the supreme moment had arrived. The roll of the States was called for the first ballot. It was evident that this would be inconclusive; but every ear was strained to catch the slightest whisper from the delegations. Now and again, a roar of applause would break forth, as if the delegates were unable to restrain themselves, so intense was their desire to hear the result from each other. Such a burst went up when New York cast her seventy votes for Seward, the well-beloved son of the Empire State! And such a burst shook the air when Indiana and Illinois gave their solid votes to Lincoln! The first ballot was as follows: William H. Seward, one hundred and seventy-three and a half; Abraham Lincoln, one hundred and two; Edward Bates, forty-eight; Simon Cameron, fifty and a half; Salmon P. Chase, forty-nine. The remaining forty-two votes

were scattered among John McLean, Benjamin F. Wade, William L. Dayton, John M. Reed, Jacob Collamer, Charles Sumner, and John C. Fremont. There was no choice, two hundred and thirty-three of the total four hundred and sixty-five votes cast being necessary to nominate.

On the second ballot, Lincoln gained seventy-nine votes from Vermont, New Hampshire, and Pennsylvania, receiving one hundred and eighty-one, all told. Seward gained eleven, having one hundred and eighty-four and a half, all told. The third ballot began amid the most intense interest, for all felt that this must determine the contest. Thousands on the floor and in the galleries followed the ballotings with their pencils, silently keeping tally of the votes as they were announced to the chairman by the spokesmen of the several delegations of the States. Before the secretaries could figure up and verify the result, it was whispered about the convention, which fairly trembled with suppressed excitement, that Lincoln had two hundred and thirty-one and a half votes, lacking only a vote and a half of the nomination. Then, while the house was as still as if it were empty, Mr. Carter, of Ohio, rose and said that four of the votes of that State were changed to Abraham Lincoln. The work was done. Lincoln was nominated.

Men flung away their hats, danced in a wild delirium of delight, hugged and kissed each other, and cheered and cheered again, as if they could find no vent to their overpowering joy. The vast Wigwam shook with the torrent of noise. Without, surging crowds broke forth into answering roars as the cheering inside died away, and this was taken up by those within, and thus tumult replied to tumult. On the roof of a great

hotel, not far away, a battery of cannon volleyed and thundered ; the multitudinous wave of sound spread through the city, its streets and lanes, and drifted far over Lake Michigan, telling the world that Lincoln, the beloved, the great, grand man, scarce known outside of his own country, was nominated. And in this way, the son of Thomas Lincoln, the backwoodsman, stepped out upon the mighty stage on which was to be enacted one of the most tremendous tragedies the world has ever seen.

The convention adjourned for an hour, and, later in the day, Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, was nominated for Vice-President with Lincoln. At home, in Springfield, Lincoln waited in a newspaper office, surrounded by friends, for the news that should make him the national candidate of his party, or place him on the retired list of American politicians. At last, a messenger, bearing the fateful message in his hand, came in from the telegraph office. With great solemnity he advanced to Lincoln's side and said :

" The convention has made a nomination, and Seward is—the second man on the list." Then jumping on a table, he cried : " Three cheers for Abraham Lincoln, the next President of the United States ! "

We can imagine with what a hearty good-will those cheers were given, and how the notes thereof rang out in the streets of Springfield and were echoed far and wide. After shaking hands with his friends and receiving their fervent congratulations, Lincoln pocketed the telegram, and, saying " There is a little woman on Eighth Street who would like to hear about this," walked home to tell the news to his household.

It was the duty of the convention to give Lincoln formal and official notice of his nomination. A com-

mittee, with Mr. George Ashmun, of Massachusetts, at its head, was accordingly appointed to wait upon the nominee and serve him with the usual notice. Meantime, however, the citizens of Springfield had fired a salute of one hundred guns, and a vast concourse of the people streamed up the street to Lincoln's humble cottage, eager to take his hand and tell him how glad they were that this great honor had been laid upon him. Some of his devoted Springfield admirers, thinking that a delegation from the great national convention would expect to receive a more liberal supply of refreshment than the total abstainers of the Lincoln family would be likely to have in the house, sent him a supply of wines for this occasion. These unfamiliar fluids gave Lincoln some uneasiness, and he sent them to their donors, with a courteous explanation of his inability to use them. He had never offered wines to his friends; he could not do it now. The committee arrived. They drank the health of the President that was to be, in water from the spring.

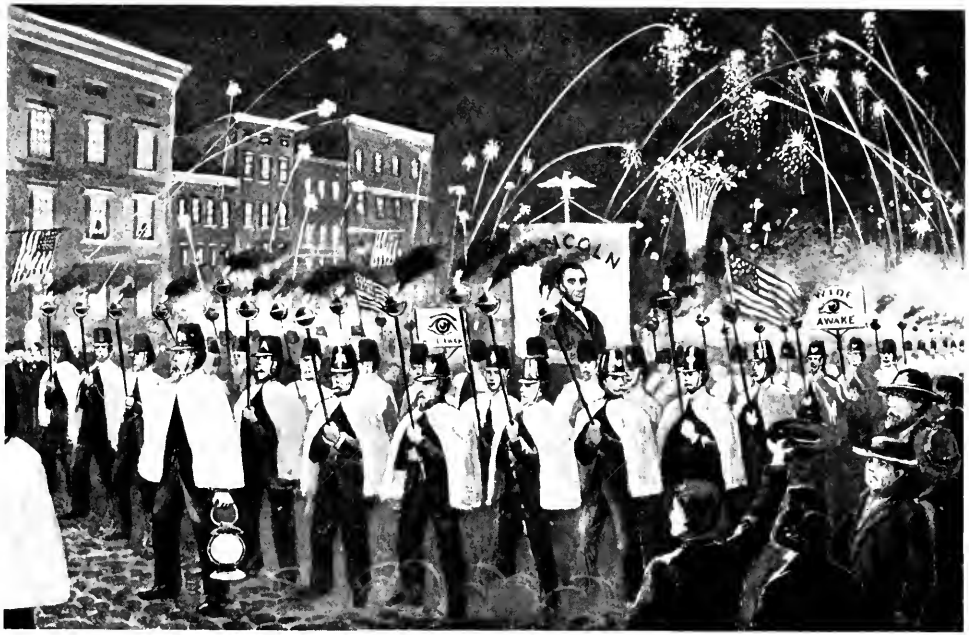
On the 23d of June, Lincoln wrote a formal letter accepting the nomination to the presidency. It was a very short and straightforward document. He accepted the platform of principles laid down by the convention and concluded in the following words: "Imploring the assistance of Divine Providence, and with due regard to the views and feelings of all who were represented in the convention, to the rights of all the States and Territories and people of the nation, to the inviolability of the Constitution, and the perpetual union, harmony, and prosperity of all, I am most happy to co-operate for the practical success of the principles declared by the convention."

The presidential canvass of that year was unique in

the history of the American Republic. The friends of freedom organized semi-military companies, the like of which have appeared in political campaigns since that day. These were called "Wide-awakes," and, uniformed and carrying torches at night, or bannerets in the daytime, they turned out in vast numbers whenever there was a demonstration by the Republicans; and this was very often. Campaign songs were composed, set to music, and sung all over the North, the rousing choruses being taken up and made as familiar to everybody as household words. The log cabin of the Harrison campaign was brought out to do duty again as a token of the humble origin of the candidate. Rails and rail-splitting were popular symbols, and innumerable devices were invented to rouse to a still higher pitch the fervor of the Republicans, and to sweep into the on-rushing wave the halting and the vacillating.

It must not be understood that there was no opposition to Lincoln. Douglas, to the surprise of many of his best friends and followers, took the stump in his own behalf. It had never been the custom for a presidential candidate to speak in advocacy of his own election, although men had often done this, especially in the West, when they were candidates for less important offices. His speeches were designed to prove that he was the only safe candidate before the people, Breckinridge representing the sectionalism of slavery, and Lincoln the sectionalism of anti-slavery; but it appeared that both sections of the country had resolved to have no more experiments. This time the question of slavery extension or slavery limitation was to be settled forever.

Lincoln stayed quietly at home, although he was sometimes well-nigh overwhelmed with visitors from



A WIDE-AWAKE PROCESSION IN 1860.

During Lincoln's first presidential campaign.

every part of the Union. Some of these came from idle curiosity ; some to put in a good word for themselves, in case the candidate should be chosen and have offices to fill. Others came honestly encouraging the candidate, now widely celebrated and so greatly loved as a man of the people. A handsome room in the State Capitol was assigned to Lincoln, and here he received his visitors during the exciting months that intervened between the nomination in June and the election in November; but he made no speeches, and refrained, with his usual wisdom, from making any public demonstration whatever.

When the votes were in, at the end of that famous canvass, it was found that Lincoln had one hundred and eighty of the electoral votes of the States ; and 1,866,452 men had voted for him. Breckinridge had seventy-two electoral votes ; and he had been the express choice of 847,953 voters. Douglas had twelve electoral votes ; his popular vote was 1,375,157. Bell had thirty-nine electoral votes, and a popular vote of 590,631. Lincoln had received a majority of the electoral votes, but it will be noticed that he had not a majority of all the votes of the people, the four candidates in the field having divided the popular votes unusually ; but, notwithstanding this, he had the largest popular vote that had been polled, at that time, for any presidential candidate.

Lincoln took his election with a composure not untinged with sadness. A tremendous responsibility was now certain to be placed upon him. The South had openly and repeatedly declared an intention to break up the Union by leaving it, in case of the election of the Republican candidate. He was oppressed with many weighty and anxious thoughts. On the day

when the news came of his triumph, a strange thing happened to him. He told this story to the writer of these pages :

" It was just after my election in 1860, when the news had been coming in thick and fast all day, and there had been a great ' Hurrah, boys ! ' so that I was well tired out, and went home to rest, throwing myself down on a lounge in my chamber. Opposite where I lay was a bureau, with a swinging glass upon it— [and here he got up and placed furniture to illustrate the position]—and, looking in that glass, I saw myself reflected, nearly at full length ; but my face, I noticed, had *two* separate and distinct images, the tip of the nose of one being about three inches from the tip of the other. I was a little bothered, perhaps startled, and got up and looked in the glass, but the illusion vanished. On lying down again I saw it a second time — plainer, if possible, than before ; and then I noticed that one of the faces was a little paler, say five shades, than the other. I got up and the thing melted away, and I went off and, in the excitement of the hour, forgot all about it — nearly, but not quite, for the thing would once in a while come up, and give me a little pang, as though something uncomfortable had happened. Later in the day, I told my wife about it, and a few days after I tried the experiment, when [with a laugh], sure enough, the thing came again ; but I never succeeded in bringing the ghost back after that, though I once tried very industriously to show it to my wife, who was worried about it somewhat. She thought it was ' a sign ' that I was to be elected to a second term of office, and that the paleness of one of the faces was an omen that I should not see life through the last term."

CHAPTER XV

FROM SPRINGFIELD TO WASHINGTON

ON the 11th of February, 1861, Lincoln, accompanied by his family and a few personal friends, left his modest and happy home in Springfield for the national capital. Already, threats of assassination had been whispered abroad, and it had been boasted by the enemies of the Union that Lincoln would never reach Washington alive. In any case, the certain approach of war was now a matter weighing on every heart, and the man who was to conduct the affairs of the nation, under God, was bowed down with this great anxiety, as he bade farewell to his fellow-townsmen.

"My friends, no one, not in my situation, can appreciate my feeling of sadness at this parting. To this place, and the kindness of these people, I owe everything. Here I have lived a quarter of a century, and have passed from a young to an old man. Here my children have been born, and one is buried. I now leave, not knowing when or whether ever I may return, with a task before me greater than that which rested upon Washington. Without the assistance of that Divine Being who ever attended him, I cannot succeed. With that assistance, I cannot fail. Trusting in Him who can go with me, and remain with you, and be everywhere for good, let us confidently hope that all will yet be well. To His care commending

you, as I hope in your prayers you will commend me, I bid you an affectionate farewell."

Passing from Illinois on his way to the national capital, Lincoln traversed the States of Indiana, Ohio, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. Enthusiasm and curiosity combined to draw prodigious crowds to the stations through which his train passed, or stopped. The outpouring of the people was something unprecedented.

At Indianapolis, where he was greeted with great acclamation, and was escorted to his hotel by a procession of the members of the Legislature of the State, he said a few words about "invasion" and "coercion." At that time these phrases were on every man's lips. It had been expressly declared by those who were President Buchanan's legal advisers that it was neither lawful, nor constitutional, nor possible, for the Government of the United States to "coerce" any State that chose to leave the Union. Coercion, they said, was wrong, and the invasion of a State was unconstitutional and wicked, even treasonable. Lincoln said:

"What, then, is 'coercion'? What is 'invasion'? Would the marching of an army into South Carolina, without the consent of her people, and with hostile intent toward them, be invasion? I certainly think it would, and it would be coercion also if the South Carolinians were forced to submit. But if the United States should merely hold and retake its own forts and other property, and collect the duties on foreign importations, or even withhold the mails from places where they were habitually violated, would any or all of these things be invasion or coercion? . . . Upon what principle, what rightful principle, may a State,

being no more than one fiftieth part of the nation in soil and population, break up the nation, and then coerce a proportionably larger subdivision of itself in the same way?"

At other points, Lincoln was called upon to address the throngs that pressed to see him, to hear his voice. Thus at Lawrenceburg, Indiana, he said, in the course of a very brief speech: "Let me tell you that if the people remain right, your public men can never betray you. If, in my brief term of office, I shall be wicked or foolish, if you remain right and true and honest, you cannot be betrayed. My power is temporary and fleeting; yours as eternal as the principles of liberty."

At Cincinnati, the great city of Ohio, Lincoln was almost bodily carried to his hotel, so vast was the pressure of the wave of people that surged in volumes through the gaily decorated streets. At night the buildings were illuminated, and the city wore a festal appearance while the party tarried. Lincoln made a little speech, full of good feeling; and, as he was now on the borders of Kentucky, a slave State, he addressed himself to Kentuckians, his old-time friends, with peculiar warmth and tenderness.

In this way, making an enthusiastic progress, but constantly pleading for peace, good-will, forbearance, and patriotic concessions to the righteousness of the cause of liberty, Lincoln approached the scene of his future labors. He would have hurried on to Washington but for the fact, more clear in his own mind than in the minds of others, that this was his last opportunity to say a few words to "the plain people," on whom he relied so thoroughly, and in whose patriotism he confided so much. "If we don't all join now to

save the good old ship of the Union this voyage, nobody will have a chance to pilot her on another voyage," he added in his speech at Pittsburg, having in mind the stanza of Longfellow's *Building of the Ship*, which later he was fond of reciting :

> Thou, too, sail on, O Ship of State!
> Sail on, O Union, strong and great!
> Humanity with all its fears,
> With all the hopes of future years,
> Is hanging breathless on thy fate!

Up to the time of his nomination for the presidency, Lincoln's face was clean-shaven. As his neck was long and his cheeks rather hollow and dusky, it must be admitted that the advice given him by an unknown admirer, during the campaign, was very good. A young girl, writing from North East, a station between Erie, Pennsylvania, and Buffalo, New York, counselled him that if he would let his whiskers grow he would look very much better. Lincoln followed her advice, and, bearing in mind the name of the place whence the writer had advised him, he now asked that a stop be made there. In response to the tumultuous greeting of the assembled crowds, he said, after a few words, that he had received a letter from a fair young townswoman of theirs, who, among other things, had urged him to raise whiskers, and that he had, as they could see, followed her counsel. If she were in the assemblage before him, he would be glad to welcome her. In answer to this unexpected request, a blushing little damsel made her way to the President, was assisted to the platform of the railway car, and kissed by the President-elect, to the great delight of the crowd, who cheered heartily as Lincoln and his young correspondent met for the first time and the last.

Lincoln spoke at Albany on the invitation of the State, tendered him by the Hon. E. D. Morgan, soon to be known as the generous and patriotic "War Governor" of the Empire State. He said that he was awed by the influences of the place in which he spoke, associated as it was in his mind with some of the great men of the nation. "It is true that, while I hold myself, without mock modesty, the humblest of all the individuals who have ever been elected Presidents of the United States, I yet have a more difficult task to perform than any one of them has encountered." Then, alluding to the prevailing anxiety to hear some exposition of his future policy, he said: "I deem it just to the country, to myself, to you, that I should see everything, hear everything, and have every light that can possibly be brought within my reach, to aid me before I shall speak officially, in order that, when I do speak, I may have the best means of taking true and correct grounds."

Under very different circumstances from those of his last visit did Lincoln now return to the chief city of the Republic. Then he was comparatively a stranger; his address at Cooper Union had been his introduction to the people of the Eastern States. Now he came as the choice of the nation, the elected chief magistrate of the Republic. At that time, Fernando Wood was Mayor of New York. In his address of welcome Mr. Wood dwelt with some emphasis on the fact that New York was the chief port, as well as the chief city, of the United States, and that it was greatly concerned that there should be peace always; he said that war would be destructive of its highest interests. In his response, Lincoln said that the whole country, as well as the great city of New York, was concerned in the preservation

of that Union under which all the States had acquired their due measure of greatness.

"I understand," he said, "the ship to be made for the carrying and the preservation of the cargo, and so long as the ship can be saved with the cargo, it should never be abandoned, unless there appears to be no possibility of its preservation and it must cease to exist, except at the risk of throwing overboard both freight and passengers. So long, then, as it is possible that the prosperity and the liberties of the people be preserved in this Union, it shall be my purpose at all times to use all my powers to aid in its perpetuation."

At Trenton, New Jersey, Lincoln recalled to the minds of the people before him the fact that very few among the thirteen original States had more battle-fields within their limits than New Jersey. And he added:

"May I be pardoned if, upon this occasion, I mention that, away back in my childhood, the earliest days of my being able to read, I got hold of a small book, such a one as few of these younger members have ever seen, Weems's *Life of Washington*. I remember all the accounts there given of the battle-fields and struggles for the liberties of the country, and none fixed themselves upon my imagination so deeply as the struggle here at Trenton, New Jersey. The crossing of the river, the contest with the Hessians, the great hardships endured at that time—all fixed themselves on my memory more than any single Revolutionary event; and you know, for you have all been boys, how these early impressions last longer than any others. I recollect thinking then, boy even though I was, that there must have been more than common that those men struggled for. I am exceedingly anx-

ious that that thing they struggled for ; that something even more than national independence ; that something that held out a great promise to all the people of the world to all time to come — I am exceedingly anxious that this Union, the Constitution, and the liberties of the people shall be perpetuated in accordance with the original idea for which the struggle was made ; and I shall be most happy indeed, if I shall be an humble instrument in the hands of the Almighty, and of this, His almost chosen people, for perpetuating the object of that great struggle."

There had been vague rumors and suspicions afloat concerning a conspiracy to assassinate the President-elect. Personal friends employed detectives to follow up the slight clues which were given them, and it was absolutely settled that there was a plot to assassinate Lincoln as he passed through Baltimore. At the same time, Gen. Winfield Scott, then commanding the army of the United States, was by his secret agents apprised of the existence of the plot aforementioned. Here were two independent sources of information; still Lincoln was unwilling to believe that any attempt would be made to waylay and murder him.

He had agreed to meet the citizens of Philadelphia at Independence Hall, and to raise a flag over that historic building on Washington's Birthday, February 22d. He had also accepted an invitation to meet the Legislature of Pennsylvania, at Harrisburg, the State capital, on the afternoon of that day. To all expostulations and advice, the President-elect said : " Both of these appointments I shall keep, if it costs me my life." The flag-raising took place as previously arranged. With cheerfulness and dignity, Lincoln made an admirable address. Standing in the room where

the immortal Declaration was signed, he pleaded for the maintenance of the doctrines of universal liberty. "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."

Later in the day, when Lincoln addressed the assembled Legislature of the State, in Harrisburg, he said, speaking of the flag-raising that followed his speech of the morning:

"Our friends there had provided a magnificent flag of the country. They had arranged it so that I was given the honor of raising it to the head of its staff. And when it went up I was pleased that it went to its place by the strength of my own feeble arm. When, according to the arrangement, the cord was pulled, and it flaunted gloriously to the wind without an accident, in the bright, glowing sunshine of the morning, I could not help hoping that there was in the entire success of that beautiful ceremony at least something of an omen of what is to come. Nor could I help feeling then, as I often have felt, that in the whole of that proceeding I was a very humble instrument. I had not provided the flag; I had not made the arrangements for elevating it to its place. I had applied but a very small portion of my feeble strength in raising it. In the whole transaction I was in the hands of the people who had arranged it; and if I can have the same generous co-operation of the people of the nation, I think the flag of our country may yet be kept flaunting gloriously."

The general expectation was that Lincoln, with the party that had come on from the West with him, would take a late train that night for Washington, passing through Baltimore. In order to frustrate the plans of

the conspirators, it was privately arranged that he should take an earlier train and depart from Harrisburg without the usual public announcement being given by telegraph. Accordingly, the telegraph wires were cut in every direction. Harrisburg was isolated from the rest of the country, so far as this means of communication was concerned, and Lincoln, accompanied by two or three devoted personal friends, took a special train to Philadelphia, drove at once to the railway station, found ready the Washington train, and so passed through Baltimore hours before he was expected to arrive there.

There have been many absurd stories circulated since then as to Lincoln being compelled to assume a disguise for this dangerous part of the journey. It is sufficiently disgraceful to the Republic of the United States, that its lawfully elected chief magistrate should have been put in danger of his life when proceeding from his home to the seat of government. Speaking of this episode long afterwards, Lincoln said: "I did not then, nor do I now, believe I should have been assassinated had I gone through Baltimore, as first contemplated, but I thought it wise to run no risk where no risk was necessary."

The people of Washington were surprised, early on the morning of February 23, 1861, to find that Abraham Lincoln, so soon to be President, had arrived safely. His family came on soon after him, and the party were installed at temporary quarters in a hotel, pending his formal inauguration into the great office to which he had been chosen.

CHAPTER XVI

LINCOLN'S INAUGURATION

TREASON lurked in every quarter. Not only were the departments of the government and the halls of Congress poisoned by the presence of open or secret rebels, but many officers of the army and navy were ready to serve in the ranks of the seceders. Some of these had already accepted appointments and commissions from the so-called "Confederate States of America," while they were yet in the service of the Republic. Men distrusted each other. Spies were known to be about, and suspicions of a plot to assassinate the President-elect were rife. Even while the eager throngs surged about the platform, high above their heads, on which Lincoln stood with his friends around him, many a man half expected that he might hear a gunshot, or see a sudden rush of conspirators from the marble colonnades that formed the picturesque background of the scene.

It was a notable gathering of men that was assembled about Lincoln when he was inaugurated President of the United States, March 4, 1861. Among these were many whose names will always hold place in the history of our country. James Buchanan, the weak and irresolute, was just relinquishing the reins of government to the new man "from the West." Taney, Chief-Justice of the United States, whose name is forever linked

with the Dred Scott decision, administered the oath of office to the incoming President. W. H. Seward, formerly Governor of, and then Senator from, New York, soon to be Secretary of State, was there. Senators Sumner and Wilson, of Massachusetts, early Free Soilers, and each destined to occupy prominent places in the management of public affairs, were also there.

Senator "Ben" Wade, of Ohio, another Free Soil leader; General Scott, the great military leader of the time; Stephen A. Douglas, Lincoln's old rival; Edward D. Baker, Lincoln's friend and dearly beloved companion, and many more who were either famous then or subsequently became so,—these all formed a group of historic interest. The ceremony of inauguration took place on a platform constructed at the east front of the Capitol, then not fully finished, overlooking a large and open esplanade, at the outer verge of which a marble statue of Washington shone whitely in the brilliant sunshine. Curiosity to see the face of the new President, and anxiety to hear what he might say, had drawn enormous crowds to the national capital.

In the midst of that vast concourse, Lincoln stood, calm, dignified, self-possessed, undaunted, and unshrinking. Many people, ardent friends and followers of Lincoln, were even then afraid that he would take what they called a "radical" view of the situation, and would say something to anger and exasperate the sullen and hostile rebels. They were needlessly alarmed. Lincoln's oration was a model of a generous, pleading, kindly address.

"Apprehension," he said, "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 never has 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 published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches, when I declare that 'I have no purpose, 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. Those who nominated and elected me did so with the full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations, and had never recanted them."

As Lincoln's voice, trained to open-air speaking, rang out, clear and resonant, above the vast throngs of people before him, the feelings of those who heard him were deeply stirred. The intense, passionate love for the Union manifested itself in spontaneous cheering, whenever any allusion to that sacred compact fell on their ears. Everybody hoped for the best,—hoped that the Union might be saved and war averted. Like Lincoln, they were glad to avail themselves of every honorable device to keep the peace and avoid war, but likewise they were determined to surrender no vital principle for the sake of present peace. Lincoln's voice, naturally plaintive, sounded sadly and with pathetic pleading, as he drew near the end of his address.

"I am loth 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 cords 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."

Among those who pressed about President Lincoln, when he had solemnly taken his oath to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the Republic, was Stephen A. Douglas, Lincoln's ancient opponent in the field of politics. When Lincoln, rising to begin his address, looked about for a place to bestow his head-covering, he caught the eye of Douglas, who immediately reached forward and took it. When the oration was finished, Douglas restored the hat to its owner, and at the same time grasped the new President's hand and warmly assured him that he not only congratulated him on his accession to high office, but pledged him that he would stand by him and give him hearty support in upholding the Constitution and enforcing the laws of the country. The two men clasped hands, and the "Sangamon Chief" and the "Little Giant" of Illinois were friends ever after.

CHAPTER XVII

PRESIDENT ABRAHAM LINCOLN

WHEN he installed himself in the White House, the official residence of Presidents of the United States, Lincoln found that two lamentable features of affairs were really not wholly objectionable, from one point of view. He was surrounded by hordes of office-seekers ; the country was on the brink of war. Nevertheless, with his ready way of finding something encouraging, even in calamities, he said that if the people of the loyal States did not have implicit confidence in the stability of the Union and the government they would not flock in such numbers to Washington to hunt for places under that government. And, although Buchanan's administration had gone out of power leaving everything in the wildest confusion, it had left no policy for Lincoln to revoke or modify. As he expressed it, there was nothing to be undone. Buchanan had merely let things drift. The rebels, meanwhile, had been busily engaged in beginning their so-called Confederacy. But they made very little progress. No troops had been sent against them. They had no "armed invader" to repel, as they had expected. Although the bulk of the United States army was practically in their hands, they had no excuse for fighting, none for that invasion of the North which their leaders had promised and some of their allies in the free States had expected.

The rebel Congress assembled at Montgomery, and, on the 9th of March, 1861, passed a bill for the organization of an army. This was an insurrectionary measure, and was intended to draw the fire, so to speak, of the government. But no steps were taken by Lincoln. The sentiment in the South was overwhelmingly in favor of beginning active hostilities against "the old Union," as the phrase went. The leaders were determined, if possible, to trick the President into giving them a pretext for war. On his part he was equally determined that the overt act for which everybody was waiting, and about which everybody was talking, should come from the rebels.

The delay was exasperating to many of the people of the loyal States. Men clamored for "a vigorous policy"; they wanted something done, and they could not see why Lincoln should wait. Especially was the attention of the whole people, North and South, fixed upon Fort Sumter, where Major Robert Anderson was in command of a very small force of United States troops. The rebels regarded the occupation of that fort as a standing menace to the city of Charleston, and they had, moreover, all along insisted that all forts, arsenals, and other public property of the United States within the limits of the so-called Confederacy were now the property of the seceded States, being their "share" of the joint property of the now divided Union.

This Major Anderson, by the way, as Lieutenant Anderson, swore Abraham Lincoln into the military service of the United States during the Black Hawk War, in 1832. Since that time many changes had occurred. One of the two other regular officers who were then at Dixon's Ferry, Zachary Taylor, had been President of the United States, and was dead. The

third, Jefferson Davis, was President of the rebel Confederacy. And the volunteer captain was President of the United States.

Meanwhile, Fort Pickens, in the harbor of Pensacola, had been relieved, much to the rage of the rebels, and Beauregard, commanding the rebel forces at Charleston, was notified that Fort Sumter would shortly be provisioned. This would be an act of humanity, for the garrison were suffering from lack of food. But the rebel authorities were determined to consider the sending of provisons to Sumter as that "overt act" for which they had been so long waiting. Accordingly, Beauregard, April 12th, sent a message to Anderson demanding the surrender of Fort Sumter, and, being refused, he opened fire on Fort Sumter at half-past four in the morning of that same day.

There is no need to tell here of the noble struggle of that handful of brave men. Nor can words accurately describe the burst of patriotic wrath that swept over the North when Sumter fell. Up to that time, there had been no preparation for war. Now, in consequence of Lincoln's long-suffering forbearance and his wise slowness, the first gun had been fired by the rebels. The North was all aflame. Party ties disappeared. There was but one party,— that for the preservation of the Union, the defence of the insulted Republic.

Generosity had breathed in every line of Lincoln's inaugural address. The plea for peace, while it was designed to appease the South, had the effect of turning upon the rebel leaders the responsibility of beginning and inviting hostilities. Later, when Sumter was fired on, and President Lincoln issued a call for seventy-five thousand troops, he declared, with the utmost consider-

ation for the feelings as well as the asserted rights of the Southerners, "that the first service assigned to the force hereby called forth will probably be to repossess the forts, places, and property which have been seized from the Union; and in every case the utmost care will be observed, consistently with the objects aforesaid, to avoid any devastation, any destruction of, or interference with, property, or any disturbance of peaceful citizens of any part of the country." With the full assurance of a long war before him, Lincoln was determined that nobody should justly say that he had let loose the dogs of war without anxious desire to save from harm all innocent persons.

While doubt and uncertainty hung like a mist over the nation, the voice of a mighty people burst upon the ear of the melancholy President. Then came the tread of the mighty army that should never retire until the country was saved from disunion and the flag had been restored to the staff from which it had been lowered in disgrace.

Lincoln's message to Congress following the battle of Bull Run, after reciting the events that had taken place, declared that the rebels had forced the issue of war or dissolution of the Union, and that this issue "embraces more than the fate of these United States. It presents to the whole family of man the question whether a constitutional republic or democracy — a government of the people by the same people — can or cannot maintain its territorial integrity against its own domestic foes. It presents the question whether discontented individuals, too few in numbers to control administration according to organic law in any case, can always, upon the pretences made in this case, or on any other pretences, or arbitrarily, without any

pretence, break up their government, and thus practically put an end to free government upon the earth. It forces us to ask, 'Is there in all republics this inherent and fatal weakness?' 'Must a government, of necessity, be too strong for the liberties of its own people, or too weak to maintain its own existence?'"

Lincoln was only enforcing here just such ideas of self-government as, during all his life, he had been so clearly expounding to the people; and here, too, will be seen the germ of the famous speech that he later pronounced on the field of Gettysburg. He further said, in the message from which we have been quoting, that it was a sophism, false reasoning, to say that a State may peaceably get out of the Union of the States. "The sophism," he said, "is that any State of the Union may, consistently with the national Constitution, and therefore lawfully and peacefully, withdraw from the Union without consent of the Union, or any other State. The little disguise, that the supposed right is to be exercised only for just cause, themselves to be the judges of its justice, is too thin to merit any notice. With rebellion thus sugar-coated they have been drugging the public mind of their section for more than thirty years, and until at length they have brought many good men to a willingness to take up arms against the government the day after some assemblage of men has enacted the farcical pretence of taking their State out of the Union, who would have, could have, been brought to no such thing the day before."

Early in the struggle the rebel government sent to Europe, as envoys, James M. Mason and John Slidell. These men had been members of the United States Senate, and had left Washington at the beginning of

the war to take sides with their States. Sailing first for Cuba, the two envoys there took passage on the British packet-ship *Trent* for St. Thomas, a British port, intending to sail thence for England. This was on the 7th of November, 1861. On the following day, the *Trent* was overhauled by the United States man-of-war *San Jacinto*, Captain Wilkes. He, having fired a shot across the bows of the *Trent* to bring her to, sent a boat alongside, and took off the two envoys and their secretaries, and carried them to Boston, where they were lodged in Fort Warren.

The demand of the British government that the envoys should be surrendered caused great delight to the rebels. There would now be war between England and the United States, and, in the commotion, their Confederacy would secure independence. In England, very few men, apparently, sympathized with the United States in its struggle to preserve the Union, and the seizure of Mason and Slidell was regarded as an insult. The London newspapers declared that the war would now be terrible; the power of England would be with the South, and the result would be the eternal division of the States.

The British demand only inflamed the indignation already aroused by the attitude of the English people. The people of the loyal States were determined that the envoys should never be surrendered. Congress passed a vote of thanks to Captain Wilkes. The Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Gideon Welles, wrote him a letter congratulating him on "the great public service" he had rendered to the country, and Mr. Stanton, who afterwards replaced Mr. Cameron as Secretary of War, cordially approved of the capture of the rebel emissaries. Secretary Seward was also opposed to

making any concession to the demands of the British government.

In the midst of all this excitement and debate, Lincoln remained thoughtful, anxious, determined. From the first he was doubtful of the lawfulness of the seizure ; and, as he examined the case and studied its bearings, he became convinced that the emissaries must be given up. He was firm in the face of popular clamor and popular rage. It is difficult for those who did not feel the influence of those exciting times to realize how easy it would have been to swim with the tide and rush into a war with England, as our people were then bent on doing. Said Lincoln : " Once we fought Great Britain for doing just what Captain Wilkes has done. If Great Britain protests against this act and demands their release, we must adhere to our principles of 1812. We must give up these prisoners. Besides, one war at a time."

Now that the world has seen and acknowledged the justice as well as the wisdom of Lincoln's position, we may well admire the courage and the sagacity with which he stood out for what was then regarded as a cowardly and ill-advised action. Give up the rebel emissaries? The thought was madness. If the proposal had come from any man but Abraham Lincoln, it would have been laughed down, no matter what was the official function of the man who made it. As it was, not a few of the more radical and violent politicians were greatly incensed against the President. Nevertheless, Secretary Seward was won over to Lincoln's view of the case, and, in a paper of singular ingenuity and skill, he gave answer to the demand of the British government. The envoys were surrendered.

Great was the derision of the rebels over this act.

Great also was the wrath and humiliation of the loyal people of the North ; for men were slow in arriving at the rational conclusion that Lincoln had done the Republic a service invaluable. His enemies and critics were clamorous and bitter. But, serene, confident of the strength of the position he had taken in this weighty affair, Lincoln remained silent ; he waited for time to vindicate the wisdom of his course.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE SLAVERY QUESTION ARISES

NEW trials of patience and sagacity now arose. The irrepressible slavery question came to the surface and would not be long disregarded. Missouri by the summer of 1861 was plunged in a state of wild disorder. Murders, neighborhood feuds, assassinations of every sort were common. The State was classed as doubtful for the Union, being overrun with Secessionists, although the local government had not declared for separation.

On the 31st of August, General Fremont, recently assigned to that region, issued a proclamation declaring Missouri to be under martial law, and that the property of all persons in a state of rebellion against the authority of the United States would be seized and confiscated, and that the slaves of such persons would be free.

These declarations fell on the people of the United States with astounding effect. In the loyal States, the people were thrilled with the thought that a heavy blow had been struck at slavery. The rebels, on the other hand, were infuriated. Up to this time, no sacrilegious hand had been laid on the time-honored right of property in slaves.

Lincoln himself was greatly distressed by this act of insubordination (for such it was) on the part of Fre-

mont, and was troubled by the necessity of rebuking a man whose services he hoped to find useful in the suppression of the Rebellion. Accordingly, he sent him by a private messenger a letter asking him to make such changes in the proclamation as would conform it to the act of Congress by which property used for the purposes of the Rebellion was to be confiscated.

Among other things he said : " I think there is great danger that the closing paragraph, in relation to the confiscation of property and the liberating of slaves of traitorous owners, will alarm our Southern Union friends and turn them against us ; perhaps ruin our rather fair prospect for Kentucky." Fremont was fixed, however, in his opinions. He declined to recall or change any part of his admired proclamation ; and Lincoln, in an order dated September 11, 1861, was forced so to modify the proclamation of Fremont that it should not transcend the provisions of the act of Congress before mentioned.

At this point it may as well be recorded that General David Hunter, commanding the Military Department of the South, with headquarters at Hilton Head, South Carolina, did, in the following May, also issue a proclamation of emancipation not unlike that of Fremont. This extraordinary proclamation was revoked by Lincoln without delay, and with none of the gentle consideration he had shown to Fremont. Hunter had before him the example of Fremont's being overruled, and Lincoln justly thought that his offence was therefore less excusable than the indiscretion of Fremont.

When Hunter's manifesto reached Washington the President proclaimed " that neither General Hunter nor any other commander or person has been authorized by the Government of the United States to make

proclamation declaring the slaves of any State free." He further said, to settle all doubt on this grave matter, that he reserved to himself the right to determine whether it should become a necessity indispensable to the maintenance of the government, to exercise the supposed power of proclaiming emancipation to the slaves. He could not delegate that authority to commanders in the field under any circumstances.

In pursuance of his plan to provide for a gradual abolition of slavery, compensating the loyal slaveholders for their losses, Lincoln sent to Congress, on the 6th of March, 1862, a message recommending the passage of a joint resolution declaring that the United States ought to co-operate with any State that should institute measures for the gradual emancipation of the slaves, extending to such State pecuniary aid for the compensation of those whose slaves should be made free by the acts of the States. In that message Lincoln said : " If the proposition contained in the resolution does not meet the approval of Congress and the country, there is an end ; but if it does command such approval, I deem it of importance that the States and people immediately interested should at once be distinctly notified of the fact, so that they may begin to consider whether to accept or reject it." Furthermore, he said that if resistance to the national authority should cease, the war would cease. " If," he added, " resistance continues, the war must also continue ; and it is impossible to foresee all the incidents which may attend and all the ruin which may follow it. Such as may seem indispensable, or may obviously promise great efficiency toward ending the struggle, must and will come."

Congress adopted the resolution. The border States,

for which it was intended to make provision, regarded the measure with sullen indifference. Most of the border State men in Congress voted against the resolution or let it severely alone. It seems strange that the border States did not take warning by what had already been done by Congress.

Meantime, a bill to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia had passed Congress. When Lincoln signed the bill that gave freedom to the slaves at the seat of the national Government, he said: "Little did I dream, in 1849, when I proposed to abolish slavery in this capital, and could scarcely get a hearing for the proposition, that it would be so soon accomplished." There was a certain poetic justice that the man who, thirteen years before, had had the courage to ask that slavery be expelled from the capital of the nation should be permitted to set his signature, as President of the United States, to the measure he had vainly proffered as a representative of the people.

During the summer of 1862, the question of arming the freedmen began to be seriously considered. Lincoln immediately favored the proposition to arm some of the thousands of able-bodied colored men who swarmed the Union camps, subsisting on rations furnished them by the Government. He said: "Negroes, like other people, act from motive. Why should they do anything for us, if we do nothing for them? If they stake their lives for us, they must be prompted by the strongest of motives, even the promise of freedom. And the promise, being made, must be kept." Accordingly, when the proposition authorizing the enlistment of colored troops became a law, it contained a clause giving freedom to all who served in the Army, and to their families as well.

By act of Congress, slavery had not only been excluded from the District of Columbia, but had been declared illegal in the Territories of the United States; and there were already strong demands for an emancipation proclamation from the President. The most radical of these was in a letter addressed to Lincoln and published in the New York *Tribune* by its editor, Horace Greeley. This was Lincoln's opportunity to lay the case before the people. Accordingly, under date of August 22, 1862, he sent to Mr. Greeley the following letter:

"*Hon. Horace Greeley:*

"DEAR SIR — I have just read yours of the nineteenth instant, addressed to myself through the New York *Tribune*.

"If there be in it any statements or assumptions of facts which I may know to be erroneous, I do not now and here controvert them.

"If there be any inferences which I may believe to be falsely drawn, I do not now and here argue against them.

"If there be perceptible in it an impatient and dictatorial tone, I waive it in deference to an old friend whose heart I have always supposed to be right.

"As to the policy I 'seem to be pursuing,' as you say, I have not meant to leave any one in doubt. I would save the Union. I would save it in the shortest way under the Constitution.

"The sooner the national authority can be restored, the nearer the Union will be — the Union as it was.

"If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them.

"If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them.

"My paramount object is to save the Union, 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 all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that.

"What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save this Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union.

"I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do more whenever I believe doing more will help the cause.

"I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors, and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views.

"I have here stated my purpose according to my views of official duty, and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed personal wish that all men everywhere could be free.

"Yours,

"A. LINCOLN."

Meanwhile, the rebel army, under General Lee, had achieved some important successes, and, flushed with victory, had crossed the Potomac into Maryland. A border State, yet loyal to the Union, had been invaded. The news created something like a panic throughout the country. Lincoln was profoundly stirred. He had been considering the issuing of a proclamation of

emancipation. He had even prepared a draft of such a document. But when others urged it upon him he almost invariably argued against it. He seemed to hesitate. But, as he subsequently admitted, when Maryland was invaded by the rebel forces, and the national capital was put in jeopardy, he made a solemn vow to God that, if the invader should be expelled, he would thereupon issue the long-deferred proclamation. The battle of South Mountain was fought September 14th, the battle of Antietam on the 17th of the month. The rebels, whipped and routed, retreated across the Potomac. Maryland and Pennsylvania were saved. On September 22, 1862, the President issued his immortal Proclamation.

Bonfires, illuminations, salvos of artillery, and public meetings manifested the people's joy over what was declared to be the downfall of slavery. The "house divided against itself" would no longer exist so divided. In many towns and cities thanksgiving services were held, resolutions of approval and congratulation were adopted, and the President was assured, by every possible form of words, of the hearty co-operation of the nation in the work yet remaining to be done. From this time forward, the war took on a new aspect. It was a war for the re-establishment of the Union — the Union without slavery.

In the final issue of the Proclamation, New Year's Day, 1863, Lincoln said:

"WHEREAS, on the twenty-second 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 State 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.'

. . . . . .

"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, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the city of New Orleans), Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, and Virginia (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkeley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Ann,

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 witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand 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 of America the eighty-seventh.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

CHAPTER XIX

A DIFFICULT MILITARY SITUATION

WHILE the steps that led up to the Emancipation Proclamation were being taken, Lincoln was greatly troubled by the difficulties and dangers of the military situation. The eyes of the people, for the most part, were turned towards Washington. The operations around the national capital were, for various reasons, more interesting than were those of greater real importance in other parts of the country. In that direction, it seemed, nothing was done but to make elaborate and extensive preparations.

General McClellan was now in the zenith of his fame and popularity. He was yet young, barely turned thirty-six, but he had already made himself a favorite with the Army and the people. In fact, in the very beginning of the war, he achieved military successes in western Virginia, and won a name for himself before other men had a chance to distinguish themselves. Fresh from his victories, McClellan, in the summer of 1861, assumed command of the Army of the Potomac. He found it a fine body of men, fifty thousand in number, rapidly increasing with the new levies; for Lincoln, as Commander-in-Chief, had strained his authority to the utmost to make that army a large and aggressive force — one of which McClellan could say in the following March: "The Army of the Potomac is now

a real army—magnificent in material, admirable in discipline, excellently equipped and armed. Your commanders are all that I could wish." Yet nothing was done.

Even the brilliant and highly important victories in the West failed, however, to arouse in McClellan any answer to the cry, "On to Richmond." It was not until March, 1862, that this perfect army was transferred to the Peninsula, and was ready to advance. April and May slipped away without any results, and June, in fights and manœuvres even now not readily understood.

On the 9th of April, the President had written McClellan:

"I suppose the whole force which had gone forward to you is with you by this time, and if so, I think that it is the precise time for you to strike a blow. By delay, the enemy will relatively gain upon you — that is, he will gain faster by fortifications and reinforcements than you can by reinforcements alone; and once more let me tell you, it is indispensable to you that you strike a blow. I am powerless to help this. . . . The country will not fail to note—and it is now noting — that the present hesitation to move upon an intrenched enemy is but the story of Manassas repeated. I beg to assure you I have never written . . . in greater kindness, nor with a fuller purpose to sustain you, so far as in my most anxious judgment I consistently can. But you must act."

Still nothing was done, and, on the 25th of May, Lincoln telegraphed to McClellan: "I think the time is near at hand when you must either attack Richmond or give up the job, and come to the defence of Washington."

Lee's army was being massed to crush Pope, in whose hands had been left the defence of the capital. The Peninsular Campaign had already come to a standstill; but the slow-moving McClellan did not use this chance against Richmond, nor to support Pope; nor, indeed, did he reach Washington until the last of August, a month after he received positive orders to move thither.

Meantime Pope had been hopelessly beaten, and once more McClellan had an opportunity offered him to achieve a great success. Yielding to what seemed a military necessity, Lincoln placed him at the head of a newly re-organized army. He now had under him the Army of the Potomac, the remnants of Pope's Army of Virginia, and the forces brought from North Carolina by General Burnside. To these were added reinforcements from the raw levies, making the force under McClellan the largest that had ever been massed together in one army—more than two hundred thousand, all told. If ever "the young Napoleon" was to win laurels, this was his time and opportunity.

Meantime McClellan did not seize the precious opportunity to strike Lee's army while it was divided; and he allowed Harper's Ferry to fall unrelieved, on the 15th of September. Two days later, finally roused, he attacked Lee at Antietam and beat him.

It would appear that McClellan might have followed, one entire corps of his army not having been in the fight. But he remained where he was, and called for more reinforcements. This amazing demand, following the delay to move, alarmed the President, and he made a personal visit to the army to see for himself how affairs stood. On his return to Washington he issued an order directing McClellan to "cross the

Potomac and give battle to the enemy or drive him south." This order McClellan declined to obey. On the tenth of that month, J. E. B. Stuart, a dashing rebel cavalry officer, crossed the Potomac, going as far north as Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, which he raided, and made the entire circuit of McClellan's army before he re-crossed into Virginia.

A few days after this daring exploit, which McClellan had confidently predicted would end in his "bagging" the whole of Stuart's command, Lincoln wrote a long and friendly letter to McClellan, in which he begged for a forward movement, arguing the case from a military point of view with much acuteness. Still McClellan did not move. He complained that his horses were fatigued, and had the "sore tongue." Lincoln could not help asking what his cavalry had done since the battle of Antietam, fought more than a month before, that they should be fatigued. McClellan showed that he resented this home thrust, and Lincoln, ready to plead his own desire to be exactly just, wrote to the General to say that he was very sorry if he had done the General any injustice. He added, however: "To be told, after five weeks' total inactivity of the army, and during which period we had sent to that army every fresh horse we possibly could, amounting in the whole to 7918, that the cavalry horses were too fatigued to move, presented a cheerless, almost hopeless, prospect for the future." It may be added to this that the winter was now close at hand, when active operations in the field, always difficult, would be impossible under McClellan's command.

Finally, on the 5th of November, 1862, just one month after the order to cross had been issued, the army did cross the Potomac. By this time, of course,

the rebels, recovering from their defeat at Antietam, were ready for battle or for a retreat. It was too late. General McClellan was relieved from command of the Army of the Potomac on the 5th of November, and was ordered to Trenton, New Jersey. His military career was closed; and we hear no more of him until he emerged, in 1864, as the presidential candidate of the Democratic party.

Lincoln again and again was urged by the impatient and fiery spirits around him to remove McClellan and subject him to trial by court-martial for repeated disobedience of orders. Even those who did not advise these extreme measures with the General counselled the President to withdraw McClellan from command. But Lincoln knew that many of the subordinate commanders in the Army of the Potomac were warm champions of McClellan's military genius, believers in his mysterious power to win great victories. They would support any other commander with lukewarmness, if they supported him at all.

The country was slow to give up its faith in the young General, and Lincoln was reluctant to remove McClellan while he yet had a chance to retrieve himself. He let him remain to encourage popular and military confidence. Not until McClellan had worn out his reputation was he removed.

The year closed in gloom. Burnside had come in McClellan's place, and had gone his way after the crushing defeat at Fredericksburg. Nor was the military situation in the West for the moment any more hopeful. Congress was divided into factions. The Cabinet was not wholly harmonious. The loyal press of the country was bitter and arrogant in its criticisms of the Administration.

In the army there were mutterings of discontent. General Hooker openly derided Burnside as "a butcher," and declared that he had fought the battle of Fredericksburg on his "deportment." Others of the army began to say that the country needed a dictator, a military hero. An old officer of the army was arrested for saying publicly that the Army of the Potomac, with "little Mac" at its head, should "clean out Congress and the White House." In the midst of these depressing scenes and rumors, Lincoln alone was calm, resolute, and uncomplaining. He never for an instant relaxed his efforts to push the war; never faltered, even in the face of what seemed inevitable defeat. To a sympathizing friend who asked how he was getting on with a prosecution of the war, he sadly and grimly said: "Oh, I am just pegging away." And, long after, when the war was well-nigh over, and another friend congratulated him on his pluck and endurance in sticking to the work when all seemed hopeless, he said: "Well, there was nothing else to be done."

On the 26th of January, 1863, Lincoln wrote to General Hooker the following characteristic letter:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION,
"WASHINGTON, D. C., January 26, 1863.

"*Major-General Hooker:*

"GENERAL,—I have placed you at the head of the Army of the Potomac. Of course I have done this upon what appear to me to be sufficient reasons, and yet I think it best for you to know that there are some things in regard to which I am not satisfied with you. I believe you to be a brave and skilful soldier, which of course I like. I also believe that you do not mix

politics with your profession, in which you are right. You have confidence in yourself, which is a valuable, if not indispensable, quality. You are ambitious, which, within reasonable bounds, does good rather than harm; but I think that during General Burnside's command of the army you have taken counsel of your ambition and thwarted him as much as you could, in which you did a great wrong to the country and to a most meritorious and honorable brother officer. I have heard, in such a way as to believe it, of your recently saying that both the army and the government needed a dictator. Of course it was not for this, but in spite of it, that I have given you the command. Only those generals who gain success can be dictators. What I now ask of you is military success, and I will risk the dictatorship. The government will support you to the utmost of its ability, which is neither more nor less than it has done and will do for all commanders. I much fear that the spirit which you have aided to infuse into the army, of criticising their commander and withholding confidence from him, will now turn upon you. I shall assist you as far as I can to put it down. Neither you nor Napoleon, if he were alive again, could get any good out of an army while such a spirit prevails in it. And now, beware of rashness. Beware of rashness, but, with energy and sleepless vigilance, go forward and give us victories.

"Yours, very truly,

"A. LINCOLN."

It must be said that this brotherly and almost affectionate letter, while it was appreciated by its recipient, did not strike him as being particularly pertinent and well deserved. Just before the battle of Chancellors-

ville, while Lincoln and a few personal friends were at the headquarters of the Army of the Potomac on a visit, General Hooker said to one of the party, in the privacy of his tent, late at night: "I suppose you have seen this letter, or a copy of it?" The gentleman replied that he had, and Hooker, with that magnificent air that characterized him, said: "After I have been to Richmond I shall have the letter published in the newspapers. It will be amusing." When this was told to Lincoln, he said, with a sigh: "Poor Hooker! I am afraid he is incorrigible."

The battle of Chancellorsville, however, was another and yet more crushing disaster. Up to a certain point, all went well with the army; but, that being reached, the plan of campaign seemed to crumble and nothing further was done. There was some delay in returning the army to the north bank of the Rappahannock after the repulse that nearly had ended the campaign. No news reached Washington, and an expectation that Hooker would even yet retrieve the admitted disaster was entertained. Lincoln clung desperately to this hope. But after vainly seeking for information from the army, Lincoln received, early in the afternoon of May 6th, a despatch from General Butterfield, Hooker's Chief of Staff, announcing that the Army of the Potomac had safely recrossed the Rappahannock and was then encamped on its old ground. The President seemed stunned. Taking the despatch in his hand, he passed into another room in the White House, where were two of his intimate friends who had been with him during the recent inspection of the army, and handing it to one of them, he said, by a motion of his lips, "Read it." It was read aloud, and Lincoln, his face ashy gray in hue and his eyes streaming with

tears, finally ejaculated: "My God! my God! what will the country say? What will the country say?" He refused to be comforted, for his grief was great.

The wildest rumors flew around the capital; the most credible being that the Secretary of War had resigned, and the President had gone to the front to put Halleck in command. Neither of these things was true, and as soon as the torn and bleeding Army of the Potomac could be reinforced and recruited it was once more put on a fighting basis. But, for a time, the losses sustained by the Union army, about ten thousand in all, and the disappointment endured by the country, seemed to plunge every loyal element into the deepest gloom, both in the camps and in the towns.

The turning-point in the military history of the Rebellion came during the month of July, 1863. In that month fell Vicksburg, the last stronghold on the Mississippi River; and in that month was fought the battle of Gettysburg, by which the last frantic effort to invade the North was frustrated and an irreparable damage inflicted upon the rebel cause.

On the 4th day of July, Lincoln issued an announcement to the people of the United States, briefly but gladly stating the result of the battle of Gettysburg, and saying that the Army of the Potomac had been covered with the highest honor. He concluded with these words: "The President especially desires that on this day, 'He whose will, not ours, should evermore be done,' be everywhere remembered and reverenced with profoundest gratitude." That evening, the President was visited by a vast throng of excited and joyful people, and a band played patriotic airs under the White House windows. There had not been of late so many victories for the Federal arms that

occasions like these were common. The President appeared at the window, the one central under the portico of the mansion, where he so often afterwards stood to address similar gatherings, and made a short congratulatory address to the multitude.

He said: "I do most sincerely thank God for the occasion of this call." Then, reminding the people of the day being the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, and recalling the immortal words of that Declaration, which were the foundation of his political faith, he said: "How long ago is it? Eighty-odd years since, on the Fourth of July, for the first time in the history of the world, a nation, by its representatives, assembled and declared as a self-evident truth, that all men are created equal. That was the birthday of the United States of America." He was deeply moved by the occurrence on this day, above all others in the year, of events calculated to impress upon the minds of Americans the ideas declared in 1776, so dear to every patriotic citizen, so profoundly fixed in his own mind, as the underlying principles of human political freedom. And, after referring to historic events of national importance related to Independence Day, he added: "And now at this last Fourth of July just passed we have a gigantic rebellion, at the bottom of which is an effort to overthrow the principle that all men are created equal. We have the surrender of a most important position and an army on that very day."

In August, Lincoln was invited with great urgency to attend a meeting called to assemble in Springfield, Illinois, to concert measures for the maintenance of the Union and to consider the condition of public affairs. In a letter written August 26th, he expressed his regret

that he could not attend the meeting, and in a few well-chosen sentences he outlined his policy. Alluding to the notion then beginning to be more prevalent than it had been,— that there might be a peaceful compromise with the rebels,— he asked how such a compromise could disband or expel from Northern soil the rebel army. He urged that the strength of the Rebellion was its army, and that a compromise, to be effective, must be with those who controlled that army. And he promised that any proposition coming from any persons able to control the rebel forces should be entertained. The closing paragraphs of this letter, admirable examples of Lincoln's homely and forcible figures of speech, were as follows :

" The Father of Waters again goes unvexed to the sea. Thanks to the great Northwest for it ; nor yet wholly to them. Three hundred miles up they met New England, Empire, Keystone, and Jersey, hewing their way right and left. The sunny South, too, in more colors than one, also lent a helping hand. On the spot, their part of the history was jotted down in black and white. The job was a great national one, and let none be slighted who bore an honorable part in it. And while those who have cleared the great river may well be proud, even that is not all. It is hard to say that anything has been more bravely and well done than at Antietam, Murfreesboro, Gettysburg, and on many fields of less note. Nor must Uncle Sam's web-feet be forgotten. At all the watery margins they have been present, not only on the deep sea, the broad bay, and the rapid river, but also up the narrow, muddy bayou, and wherever the ground was a little damp, they have been and made their tracks. Thanks to all. For the great Republic—for the principle it lives

by and keeps alive — for man's vast future—thanks to all.

"Peace does not appear so distant as it did. I hope it will come soon and come to stay; and so come as to be worth the keeping in all future time. It will then have been proved that among freemen there can be no successful appeal from the ballot to the bullet, and that they who take such appeal are sure to lose their case and pay the cost. And there will be some black men who can remember that with silent tongue and clenched teeth and steady eye and well-poised bayonet they have helped mankind on to this great consummation, while I fear there will be some white ones unable to forget that with malignant heart and deceitful speech they have striven to hinder it."

On the 19th of November, 1863, the battle-field of Gettysburg was solemnly dedicated as a burying-place for the repose of the remains of those who had yielded up their lives on that now historic ground. The services were solemn and impressive. The principal oration was made by Edward Everett, of Massachusetts. A few days before the ceremony, Mr. Everett sent the President a copy of his address, printed on one sheet of a Boston newspaper. It was very long. Lincoln looked it over with great gravity and said: "It was very kind in Mr. Everett to send me this, in order that I might not go over the same ground that he has. There is no danger that I shall. My speech is all blocked out. It is very short."

The speech was written out in Washington, but Lincoln revised it somewhat after he reached Gettysburg. As he read it from the manuscript, he made a few verbal changes. These changes did not appear in the report printed at the time by the newspapers, but they

were embodied in the draft made for permanent publication, afterwards, by Lincoln. As delivered and corrected by its illustrious author, the speech was as follows :

" Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on 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 resting-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 poor 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, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

This wonderful address, so compact of wisdom and the simplest elements of eloquence, was received with becoming solemnity. But it must be admitted that the oration of the silver-tongued Everett, then one of the most admired of American orators, momentarily attracted greater attention. The very shortness of Lincoln's little speech caused it to be almost overlooked at the time. But in a few days, when the people of the country at large had fairly digested it, and its patriotic and human lesson had sunk into the minds of men, public opinion seized upon it and glorified it as one of the few masterpieces in oratory that the world has received.

CHAPTER XX

POLITICAL COMPLICATIONS

AS the time approached, in 1864, for the Republicans to assemble in national convention, Lincoln made no sign of anxiety for a renomination by his party. In conversation with one of his friends he said: "I am only the people's attorney in this great affair. I am trying to do the best I can for my client — the country. But if the people desire to change their attorney, it is not for me to resist or complain. Nevertheless, between you and me, I think the change would be impolitic, whoever might be substituted for the present counsel." To another he said, with his inveterate habit of putting a large truth in the form of a pleasantry, "I don't believe it is wise to swap horses while crossing a stream." In truth, after men had anxiously canvassed the names of all who were in the least worthy to be considered eligible to the presidency, succeeding Lincoln, they almost invariably returned to him as the only man to be thought of with seriousness.

One of the important military events of that winter was the appointment of General Grant to the rank of Lieutenant-General. Hitherto, the highest rank in the army had been that of Major-General. The title of General-in-Chief, borne by Halleck, was temporary, a mere expedient, and not distinctly recognized by

usage. The rank of Lieutenant-General was created by act of Congress, with the tacit understanding that it was to be conferred upon Grant, whose almost unbroken series of victories in the West had by this time convinced the people that here was at last "the coming man" for whom they had so long waited.

Grant arrived in Washington, to accept his new commission, on the 8th of March. That evening there chanced to be a presidential levee at the White House. It was a public reception, open to all who chose to come. Thither went Grant, entering the reception-room unannounced. He was instantly recognized by those who had seen his portraits printed in the newspapers and circulated by means of the photographs then becoming common. He was greeted very warmly, almost affectionately, by Lincoln, and it was speedily noised about that the hero of Vicksburg was in the rooms, and the pressure to see him was so great that the modest General was induced to stand on a sofa, where he rose above the crowd and was regarded with admiring eyes. When he bade the President good-night, he said, "This is a warmer campaign than I have witnessed during the war."

Next day, by appointment, he waited upon the President, who, in the presence of members of the Cabinet and a few personal friends, presented him with his commission, saying:

"General Grant, the nation's appreciation of what you have done, and its reliance upon you for what remains to be done in the existing great struggle, are now presented with this commission, constituting you Lieutenant-General in the Army of the United States. With this high honor devolves upon you also a corresponding responsibility. As the country here intrusts

you, so, under God, it will sustain you. I need scarcely add that, with what I here speak for the nation, goes my own hearty personal concurrence."

General Grant accepted the commission in a few modest words expressive of appreciation of the high honor conferred upon him, and acknowledging his sense of responsibility, his dependence upon the valorous armies, and, above all, as he said, "the favor of that Providence which leads both nations and men." The General immediately visited the Army of the Potomac, of which General Meade still retained command. Then he returned to Washington where, without his knowledge, a dinner for him had been arranged by Mrs. Lincoln, at the White House. At the close of an important interview with the President, during which the General outlined his plan of military operations, as far as they could be arranged at that time, he announced his intention of leaving at once for the West. Lincoln told him of the expected dinner, but Grant quietly insisted that he must go. "Besides," said the General, "I have had enough of this show business, Mr. President." And the General left for the West without waiting for the dinner and the brilliant invited company. This incident greatly pleased Lincoln, who, up to that time, had not met any military officer who was so willing to forego "the show business."

Lincoln was not unaware of political movements against him, but he took no steps to counteract them. When he was told that some of his opponents were considering the name of General Grant as a possible candidate for the presidency, he said: "If the people think that General Grant can end the Rebellion sooner by being in this place, I shall be very glad to get out of it."

And when remonstrated with, on account of his making appointments of those who were notoriously opposed to his renomination, he said: "If this man is likely to make a good and faithful public officer, as I believe he is, have I any right to inquire further?"

The result justified this calm and unruffled confidence. The Republican national convention was held in Baltimore, June 8, 1864. The only strife in the convention was for the honor of being the first to bring Lincoln's name before the delegates for their approval. Lincoln was nominated with scarcely a dissenting vote, and in the midst of a vociferous enthusiasm that rivalled that of the famous Chicago convention of 1860, when the name of the son of the backwoods and the frontier was first brought before the people of the United States as a candidate for the chief magistracy.

In accepting the nomination, Lincoln said: "I view this call to a second term as in no wise more flattering to myself than as an expression of the public judgment that I may better finish a difficult work than any one less severely schooled to the task." At that time an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, forever prohibiting slavery, was pending, and, referring to that, Lincoln said: "Such an amendment as is now proposed becomes a fitting and necessary conclusion to the final success of the Union cause. Such alone can meet all cavils. The unconditional Union men, North and South, perceive its importance and embrace it. In the joint names of Liberty and Union, let us labor to give it legal form and practical effect."

The losses of the war required that fresh levies of troops should be made. Many timid people, anxious for Lincoln's re-election, advised that a call for men and the enforcement of a draft should be put off until

after the election had taken place. To such advice, Lincoln turned a deaf ear. He replied that more men must be had, if the war was to go on to a successful termination, and that the consequences to him, personally, or to the party that had nominated him, were so insignificant, compared with the actual necessities of the country, that he could not for a moment consider them. The call was accordingly issued for five hundred thousand men. If the required number did not appear by the 5th of September, 1864, then a draft must be ordered. Lincoln's timorous friends were aghast at the prospect.

The election resulted in an overwhelming majority for Lincoln. Every State that voted, that year, declared for Lincoln and Lincoln's policy, three alone excepted. These were Delaware, Kentucky, and New Jersey. The two first-named were formerly slave-holding States. The total number of votes cast in all the States was 4,015,902, of which Lincoln had a clear majority of 411,428, and 212 of the 233 electoral votes, McClellan having twenty-one electoral votes. Lincoln very naturally felt gratified by this mark of popular approval and confidence. He said this to the first party that came to congratulate him on his re-election — a company of Pennsylvanians in Washington. And he added: "If I know my heart, my gratitude is free from any taint of personal triumph. I do not impugn the motives of any one opposed to me. It is no pleasure to me to triumph over any one; but I give thanks to the Almighty for this evidence of the people's resolution to stand by free government and the rights of humanity."

About the time that Lincoln was preparing his message to Congress, which assembled in December of that year, Sherman was on his way from Atlanta to the sea.

The object of his march was unknown to the general public, but so implicit was the people's confidence in the great General that there was no disquiet as to his ultimate success. Lincoln delayed the conclusion of his annual message as long as possible, hoping to be able to report in it the successful termination of Sherman's march to the sea. When the message was sent to Congress, he contented himself with a vague reference to Sherman's movements, from which, he intimated, good results would come.

While this message was in course of preparation, he had an interview with two ladies, wives of rebel officers, prisoners of war in one of the federal strongholds of the North. Taking one of the stiff strips of cardboard on which his message was first sketched, he wrote out and gave to a personal friend a report of the interview, which he called "the President's last, shortest, and best speech." This he submitted to the critical judgment of his friend, adding that, if he thought it worth while, it might be printed in the newspapers. It was as follows:

"On Thursday of last week two ladies from Tennessee came before the President, asking the release of their husbands, held as prisoners of war at Johnson's Island. They were put off until Friday, when they came again, and were again put off until Saturday. At each of the interviews one of the ladies urged that her husband was a religious man. On Saturday, when the President ordered the release of the prisoners, he said to this lady: 'You say your husband is a religious man; tell him when you meet him that I say I am not much of a judge of religion, but that, in my opinion, the religion that sets men to rebel and fight against their government because, as they think, that govern-

ment does not sufficiently help *some* men to eat their bread in the sweat of *other* men's faces, is not the sort of religion upon which people can get to heaven.' "

The second inauguration of Lincoln took place March 4, 1865. The day was dark and dismal in the opening hours, but the rain ceased when the procession from the White House to the Capitol began to move; and as Lincoln rose to deliver his inaugural address the sun burst through the clouds, irradiating the scene with splendor and light. With a clear, resonant voice, standing bareheaded under the March sky, now softened and suffused with sunlight, Lincoln pronounced his masterly address, as follows:

"FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN: At this season, appearing to take the oath of the presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at 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 with, 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 by 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 toward 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."

It is impossible to describe the effect of the reading of this paper upon those who heard it and those who subsequently read it. Its lofty tone and grand majesty reminded one of the Hebraic prophecies; and its dispassionate and almost merciless dissection of the issues of the struggle for the preservation of the Union, and the dying contortions of the monster, slavery, were received with a feeling of awe. The impression made by the inaugural was profound. It was conclusive of the genius and the intellectual greatness of its author.

CHAPTER XXI

END OF A STRANGE, EVENTFUL HISTORY

THE spring of 1865 opened with every prospect of a speedy and complete ending of the Rebellion. Sherman's march to the sea had once more rent the dying Confederacy even more disastrously than the opening of the Mississippi had previously split it into two large fragments. Everywhere, on land and sea, the arms of the Union had been crowned with victory. Sherman's movements in the Carolinas had compelled the abandonment of Charleston. The capture of Fort Fisher by General Terry had virtually closed the last Atlantic port against possible supplies from abroad for the rebel forces. The scattered remnants of their armies were forced to concentrate and rally around Lee for the defence of the rebel capital.

On the 27th of March, a conference of Lincoln, Grant, and Sherman was held on board of a steamer lying in the James River, near Grant's headquarters, at which the final and decisive measures of the campaign were discussed. Sheridan, who had been manœuvring far to Grant's left, by dint of ten days' rapid marching and almost incessant fighting, had cut off the last avenue of Lee's escape southward, and had made his surrender merely a matter of a few days, at the furthest. Closely followed by Grant, Sheridan

had now drawn a line completely around Lee's army, cutting it off from food and supplies. Petersburg fell into the hands of the victorious Union troops, and on Monday morning, April 3d, the federal troops hoisted the flag of the Union over the building in Richmond that had been occupied by the rebel Congress.

Lincoln was at City Point, near Grant's old headquarters, waiting for the final and great result of all these military movements. Accompanied by Tad, he entered the fallen capital of the Confederacy as soon as possible after the news of its downfall reached him. Unattended, save by a boat's crew from a gunboat near at hand, and leading his little boy by the hand, Lincoln entered the late capital of the rebel Confederacy, over which the national ensign now peacefully waved. He walked as one in a dream. Richmond, so long and so painfully the object of Union hopes and desires, was in the hands of the United States, its Congress and bureaus dispersed, and the members of its exploded government fugitives.

Multitudes of colored people, apparently the only persons left in the city, flocked around the Liberator. They rent the air with their frenzied shouts. They danced, they sang, they prayed for blessings on the head of their deliverer; they wept, kneeling at his feet. In that supreme moment Lincoln was speechless. He wore no look of triumph over a fallen foe, evidences of whose poverty and great trial were thick about him. The tears streamed down his cheeks, furrowed with many cares, and, simply bowing his thanks, or raising his hat to the jubilant and almost hysterical crowds of freed persons, he passed on to the interior of the city. The statesman reared by God's wonderful providence and disciplined in the rough school of adversity, with

the memories of his hard struggle in life still upon him, was in the last stronghold of the broken slave power.

Meanwhile, Grant and Sheridan were drawing their lines more closely about the rebel army under Lee, who, like a hunted fox, vainly turned this way and that to escape the net in which he was enveloped. Grant tarried at Petersburg long enough to meet the President, who pressed on to see him for a moment. The two men met. Lincoln seized Grant by the hands, and poured forth his thanks and congratulations with a glowing radiance on his countenance.

The North was delirious with joy. First came the news of the capture of Petersburg, announced in a despatch from President Lincoln to the War Department, and received in Washington about ten o'clock in the morning of the 3d of April. Three quarters of an hour later a despatch from General Weitzel told the glad tidings of the fall of Richmond. Although Lee had not been overtaken, these despatches were sufficient to set the people wild. The end of the Rebellion was at hand. Davis a fugitive, men recognized Lee as the real head of the Rebellion, but did not wait to hear of his surrender. The national capital was in a tumult of excitement and triumph. Thence the wave spread all over the country ; the news penetrated remote villages and hamlets in an incredibly short space of time. Flags were spread to the breeze. Guns were fired, and bands, processions, and every outward form of jubilation were used to express the joy of the people. The prevailing feeling was not one of victory over a fallen foe, but of relief that the war was over. No more fighting ; no more dying on fields of battle ; no more enlistments and drafts ; no more anxious measures for the maintenance of the Union. The war was

over. This was the burden of the song that flowed from the hearts of millions of men and women, relieved at last from an intolerable trial of patience.

In Washington, the rejoicings took the form of a national celebration; the public departments were closed as for a holiday. Flags flew from all the Government buildings, and the War Department ordered a salute of eight hundred guns, five hundred for Richmond and three hundred for Petersburg. Bands paraded the streets, and the members of the Cabinet, in the absence of the President, were called out to address the excited crowds. Congress had adjourned, but the city was full of congressmen; and multitudes of men, bent on seeing the end of the Rebellion as it was celebrated in the capital of the nation, had gone thither. The cheering and the congratulations lasted far into the night. The city was given up to a mighty impromptu festivity. On the following day, these demonstrations were renewed, and on the night of the 4th of April the city was illuminated. Public and private buildings were a blaze of light, and bonfires, fireworks, and every possible contrivance for the making of light and noise were resorted to by the happy people.

Late in the night of April 8th, Palm Sunday, the news of the surrender of Lee reached Washington and was communicated to Lincoln, who had returned and was waiting for it. Once more the capital went wild with joy. The city took a general holiday. Once more the air resounded with the boom of cannon and the blare of martial music. Government clerks assembled in the great rotunda of the Treasury building and sang, "Praise God from whom all blessings flow."

On the evening of the 11th of April, Washington was illuminated by the Government, and again every

possible token of national rejoicing was put into requisition. It was a notable, even an historic occasion. At last the war was over. Outside of the White House was a vast crowd, cheering and shouting with a roar like that of the sea. A small battery from the navy yard occasionally rent the air with a salute, and the clamor of brass bands and the hissing of fireworks added to the confusion and racket in front of the mansion. Inside of the house, at one of the front windows on the right of the staircase, was old Edward, the conservative and dignified butler of the White House, struggling with Tad and trying to drag him back from the window, from which he was waving a confederate flag, captured in some fight and given to the boy. The crowd recognized Tad, who frantically waved the flag as he fought with Edward, while the people roared with delight.

Edward conquered, and, followed by a parting cheer from the throng below, Tad rushed to his father with his complaints. But the President, just then approaching the centre window overlooking the portico, stood with a beaming face before the vast assembly beneath, and the mighty cheer that arose drowned all other sounds. The speech began with the words, "We meet this evening, not in sorrow, but in gladness of heart."

As Lincoln spoke, the multitude below was as silent as if the great courtyard were deserted. Then, as his speech was written on loose sheets, and the candles placed for him were too low, he took a light in his hand and went on with his reading. Soon, coming to the end of a page, he found some difficulty in handling the manuscript and holding the candlestick. A friend who stood behind the drapery of the window reached out and took the candle, and held it until the end of

the speech, and the President let the loose pages fall on the floor one by one, Tad picking them up as they fell and impatiently calling for more as they fluttered from his father's hand.

Lincoln had made his last speech. Great events hurried after each other from that night to the morning of the 14th of April, 1865. These marked the disappearance of the last vestiges of the fallen and broken Confederacy. At noon on the 14th was held the last meeting of the Cabinet, at which General Grant was present. While waiting for the latest arrival of the Ministers, Lincoln was observed to wear a grave look. He explained that he had had a strange dream — a remarkable presentiment. What it was he did not say, but abruptly proceeded to business. After the Cabinet meeting, he drove out for an hour with Mrs. Lincoln, talking cheerfully about their plans for the future and what would be possible and best for them and the boys when they should finally leave the White House, at the end of his second term. Mrs. Lincoln desired to visit Europe, and Lincoln was not wholly certain whether it would be best to fix his residence finally in his old home in Springfield, or in California, where he thought the boys might have a better start in life than in any of the older portions of the Republic.

That night, as had been arranged, Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln, accompanied by General Grant and a few personal friends, were to visit the theatre. The fact had been announced in the newspapers, and an unusually large audience collected. General Grant was detained by business, and the President, Mrs. Lincoln, Miss Clara Harris (a daughter of Senator Ira Harris, of New York), and Major Rathbone, of the army, occupied a box near the stage, in the upper tier of boxes.

John Wilkes Booth, an actor, had conspired with certain others to take the President's life on the first convenient occasion. This man, so far as known, had no personal grievance of which to complain. He had been possessed by an insane notion that Lincoln was an inhuman tyrant whose death was desirable. He and his companions had made their plans with great care and forethought. On this night he had a fleet horse ready in the rear of the theatre to bear him away when the deed should be done.

At half-past ten o'clock in the evening, while those present were absorbed in what was happening on the stage, the assassin, who had passed unnoticed into the rear of the box occupied by the President and his friends, held a pistol within a few inches of the head of Lincoln, near the base of the brain, and fired. The ball entered the brain, and Lincoln fell forward insensible. The shot startled the great audience, but the position of the box did not allow many to see what had happened. Major Rathbone sprang to his feet and attempted to seize the assassin, who, drawing a long knife, stabbed Rathbone in the arm, and profiting by the Major's repulse, jumped from the box to the stage. Striding across the stage, he brandished the knife, crying: "Sic semper tyrannis!"—the motto of the State of Virginia—"Ever so to tyrants." Then adding, "The South is avenged!" he vanished and was seen no more.

In the midst of confusion and lamentation indescribable, the insensible form of Lincoln was carried from the theatre to a private residence across the street, and his family were sent for, and members of the Government made haste to assemble. Robert Lincoln, his mother, the Secretaries of the President, members of

the Cabinet, and a few of the personal friends of the family watched by the bed of the dying President through the night. No human skill could save that precious life, and all that science could do was merely to support the vigorous and well-trained natural powers as they struggled involuntarily with approaching death. The President uttered no word, and gave no sign of being conscious of what had taken place, or of the presence of those about him. The tremulous whispers of medical attendants, the suppressed sobs of strong men, and the labored breathing of the dying man were the only sounds that broke the stillness of the chamber. At twenty-two minutes past seven o'clock, on the morning of April 15th, the mighty heart had ceased to beat. Lincoln was dead.

As the sun rose red over Washington, on the morning of April 15th, the body of Lincoln was carried to the White House, followed by a little procession of weeping but stern-faced men. Grief and a vague desire for revenge for this cruel and needless crime struggled for the mastery. This was the feeling all over the country, when the heavy tidings of the foul and most unnatural murder went forth over the length and breadth of the land. Flags that had been flying in triumph were lowered to half-mast in sorrow. It is no stretch of imagination to say that a great wave of lamentation, spontaneous and exceeding bitter, swept over the Republic. Bells were tolled and minute-guns were fired. For days all ordinary business, except that of the most imperative importance, was practically suspended, and the nation seemed abandoned to its mighty grief.

On Wednesday, April 19th, the funeral of the dead President took place at the White House, in the midst

of an assemblage of the chief men of the nation. From the mansion in which the beloved Lincoln had suffered and toiled so much for the good of the people, his form was carried to the Capitol of the nation, in the rotunda of which it lay in state for one day, guarded by a company of high officers of the army and navy and a detachment of soldiers. Thousands of men, women, and children passed through the building to take their last look at the face of Lincoln, white in his coffin. It was a memorable spectacle, and sighs and sobs attested the genuine grief of those who crowded in weeping throngs to see the Emancipator for the last time.

Lincoln was buried in Oak Ridge Cemetery, near Springfield, Illinois. The funeral train left Washington on the 21st of April, and traversed nearly the same route that had been passed over by the train that bore him, President-elect, from Springfield to Washington five years before. It was a funeral unique, wonderful. Nearly two thousand miles were traversed; the people lined the entire distance, almost without an interval, standing with uncovered heads, mute with grief, as the sombre cortège swept by. Even night and falling showers did not keep them away from the line of the sad procession. Watch-fires blazed along the route in the darkness, and by day every device that could lend picturesqueness to the mournful scene and express the woe of the people was employed.

In some of the larger cities the coffin of the illustrious dead was lifted from the funeral train and carried through, from one end to the other, attended by mighty processions of citizens, forming a funeral pageant of proportions so magnificent and imposing that the world has never since seen the like. Thus, honored in his funeral, guarded to his grave by famed and battle-

scarred generals of the army, Lincoln's body was laid to rest at last near his old home. Friends, neighbors, men who had known and loved homely and kindly Honest Abe Lincoln, assembled to pay their final tribute of affection and honor at his burying-place. And with the remains of his darling little son Willie by his side, he was left whose life had begun in the poverty and obscurity of an American wilderness, and ended in the full blaze of the white light that beats upon a place conspicuous in the world's wide fame.

It seemed as if the whole civilized world were arrested in its daily concerns of life by this tragic calamity. From every quarter of the globe — from kings and queens, emperors, senates, and legislative assemblies, from private individuals, high and low, and from convocations of the plain people of many lands—came messages of sympathy, condolence, respect, and sincere sorrow. It was a tribute, unprecedented and spontaneous, to the ended life and completed services of Abraham Lincoln.

It would be hard to better the words of Lowell, foreshadowing as they did in 1865 the conclusions of time and calmer judgment :

" People of more sensitive organizations may be shocked, but we are glad that in this our true war of independence, which is to free us forever from the Old World, we have had at the head of our affairs a man whom America made, as God made Adam, out of the very earth, unancestried, unprivileged, unknown, to show us how much truth, how much magnanimity, and how much statecraft await the call of opportunity in simple manhood when it believes in the justice of God and the worth of man.

"On the day of his death, this simple Western attorney, who, according to one party was a vulgar joker, and whom the doctrinaires among his own supporters accused of wanting every element of statesmanship, was the most absolute ruler in Christendom, and this solely by the hold his good-humored sagacity had laid on the hearts and understandings of his countrymen. Nor was this all, for it appeared that he had drawn the great majority, not only of his fellow-citizens, but of mankind also, to his side. So strong and so persuasive is honest manliness without a single quality of romance or unreal sentiment to help it."

As Lowell's was among the earliest and truest estimates of Lincoln's worth, so, thirty-five years later in the Senate of the United States, the following from the lips of a Southern partisan [1] affords a striking instance of the triumph of Lincoln's statesmanship :

"The condition in regard to slavery and the ceaseless agitation had embittered the South against the North and the North against the South. Secession and belief in States' rights, for which the South has always contended, precipitated the conflict. The North fought to preserve the Union and to free the slaves, and the South fought for self-government and the inherited belief in the justice of holding slaves as property. The Declaration of Independence was the slogan of both sections. The North contended that the Declaration embraced the negroes, while the South, remembering that Jefferson had been a slaveholder, contended that it did not. I was only a boy of thirteen when the great struggle began; but who can forget, even though

[1] Senator Tillman, January 29, 1900.

a child, the angry outbursts, the battle-cries that had led up to the bloody contest?

"Amid the storm of passion, who was the man, the embodiment of all that was best and noblest in Northern civilization, and even in American civilization, who stood as the great apostle of liberty? Whose words of fervid eloquence marshalled the Northern hosts? Whose high moral purpose, whose grandeur of character and greatness of soul sustained those hosts in adversity and defeat? Who stood like a Colossus towering above the smaller, meaner men who surrounded him, and who must ever stand above them, commanding the admiration and love of all true men everywhere? Who? Abraham Lincoln; and I from South Carolina tell you so and feel honored in doing it.

"Whatever motives may be attributed to others, whatever of selfishness or ambition that entered into the calculations of others, I here declare it is my belief that he never had a thought in connection with the whole subject nor uttered a word that did not have its inspiration in the purest patriotism and the noblest aspiration for humanity. He did not consider the Declaration of Independence an academic question. It was to him a religion."

The author of this brief biography has imperfectly carried out his purpose if he has failed to show how the character of Lincoln was developed and shaped by his early training; how he was raised up and fitted, in the obscure seclusion of humble life, by the providence of God, for a special and peculiar service; how he became the type, flower, and representative of all that is worthily American; how in him the commonest of human traits were blended with an all-embracing charity

and the highest human wisdom ; and how, with single-hearted devotion to the right, he lived unselfishly, void of selfish personal ambition, and, dying tragically, left a name to be remembered with love and honor as one of the best and greatest of mankind.

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