

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1920.

10:00 o'Clock A. M.

Convention met pursuant to adjournment.

The President in the chair.

Prayer by the chaplain, Rabbi Edward L. Israel, Temple B'Rith Sholom.

THE PRESIDENT. The Journal of Tuesday, February 10, 1920, having been printed and placed on the desks of the members on yesterday is now subject to correction. There being no correction proposed, the Journal of February 10, 1920, will stand approved as printed, and it is so ordered.

Whereupon the Convention proceeded upon the order of special orders of the day, reports of standing committees.

THE PRESIDENT. The Committee on Rules and Procedure presents a report.

COMMITTEE REPORT.

Your Committee on Rules and Procedure reports the following matters for consideration in Committee of the Whole on next Tuesday, February 17th, namely:

The consideration of Proposals numbered 133 and 134, respectively.

Mr. DOVE (Shelby). May I say just a word to the Convention relative to these Proposals? The request for this special order comes as a result of the unanimous action of your Committee on Initiative, Referendum and Recall, and it was the opinion of every member of that committee irrespective of what our preconceived views may be as to the advisability or inadvisability of incorporating into the Constitution of this State any initiative and referendum to accord to every person a full, courteous and respectful hearing on these subjects. The Initiative, Referendum and Gateway Amendment league have requested of this committee the privilege of being heard on Proposals numbers 133 and 134 offered yesterday by Delegate Wolff (Cook) and it is for the purpose of hearing the representatives of that league, namely, Ex-Governor Dunn, chairman of the league, Charles E. Merriam of the University of Chicago, Harriet Taylor Treadwell, president of the Political Equity League, Willis J. Spaulding, Duncan MacDonald and Dr. Herbert S. Bigelow, on next Tuesday, and your Committee on Initiative, Referendum and Recall indulges in the hope that this report may be by the Convention unanimously adopted.

(Report adopted.)

Mr. TRAUTMANN (St. Clair). I offer the following resolution and move its adoption:

RESOLUTION No. 20.

*Resolved*, That the Secretary of State be and he is hereby requested to cause to be prepared ready for occupancy by one or more of the committees of this Convention on Tuesday morning next, room 530, in the State House, which said room was by the last General Assembly expressly reserved for the use of this Convention and its committees.

(Resolution adopted.)

Mr. WARREN (DeKalb). I offer the following resolution:

RESOLUTION No. 21.

WHEREAS, The Delegates to the Constitutional Convention of the State of Illinois have learned with sorrow of the death of Mrs. Edward H. Brewster,

the beloved wife of Edward H. Brewster, a Delegate to this Convention from the Thirty-fifth Senatorial District, on the seventh day of February, nineteen hundred and twenty, at Dixon, Illinois; therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the Delegates to the Constitutional Convention express their deep regret at the loss to Mr. Brewster and to his children, of the loving comradeship and counsel of a devoted wife and mother, and that they extend their sympathy to the members of the bereaved family; and, be it further

*Resolved*, That this resolution be spread on the records of the Convention and that a copy thereof suitably engrossed be forwarded to the family. (Resolution adopted.)

THE PRESIDENT. The Committee on Rules and Procedure presents a further report.

#### COMMITTEE REPORT.

Your Committee on Rules and Procedure reports the following matters for consideration in Committee of the Whole on next Wednesday, February 18th:

The consideration of the various Proposals concerning a proposed judicial system, and especially the consideration of Proposal No. 56.

(Report adopted.)

THE PRESIDENT. On January the 28th the Convention adopted a resolution to commemorate the birthday of Abraham Lincoln and set eleven o'clock as the time for the services appropriate to the occasion. Some of the persons who were to take part in that program have not yet arrived at the hall, and I would suggest that the Convention be at ease until eleven o'clock. (Whereupon the Convention was at ease until eleven o'clock.)

THE PRESIDENT. The hour of eleven o'clock having arrived we will now enter upon our program for the celebration of the birthday of Abraham Lincoln pursuant to resolution heretofore adopted. The Convention appointed a committee on arrangements to make the appropriate arrangements for this ceremony. On that committee the President appointed as chairman, Delegate Jarman of Schuyler county, and I will ask Delegate Jarman to take the chair and to introduce the speakers to the crowd.

Whereupon Delegate Jarman took the chair.

CHAIRMAN JARMAN. I want to first explain that invitations were sent to those persons who were members of the Convention of 1870 to attend these exercises, and we have received letters from three; the Honorable George W. Hall, Honorable J. W. McNeely and the Honorable John M. Woodson. All of these gentlemen answered the invitations but were unable to be present. Mr. McNeely was also a member of the Convention of 1862.

Now, I am compelled to make another explanation. The programs that you have before you contain the names of Mr. Quinn, Mr. Mayer and Mr. Morris as speakers on this occasion. These gentlemen have been detained and it is impossible, as we have it by wire, for them to be here, except Mr. Morris is here, but on account of sickness is unable to speak. In this program Captain Carlstrom has agreed to take the place of these gentlemen, very generously and without much notice.

It would seem most fitting that this Convention should pause for a time in its deliberations to turn our thought to the life and character of Abraham Lincoln.

Not since he uttered those immortal words on the field of Gettysburg, "that government by the people, of the people, and for the people may not perish from the earth," has our country and its institutions been in greater danger than now.

Greater strength and courage, to meet these threatened dangers, cannot be gained from any higher human source than from the life and counsel of Abraham Lincoln.

As you approach this Capitol from the east and look upon his statue, it seems to appeal for fidelity, for law, for patriotism, for unselfish public service.

It seems to guard the portals of this State House against the intrusion of corruption, of unholy ambition, of political intrigue, of injustice.

It seems to demand, with the authority of one who died for his country, that he who enters here shall swear to do his duty.

History gives us no assurance that this nation will continue to exist, except it shall be governed in its laws and in the life of its people, by those virtues which were the virtues of Lincoln.

If we shall hear his voice and heed his counsel, by insuring justice, by establishing righteousness, by promoting peace, by protecting the weak, we shall then conserve the rich heritage of our liberties. If we refuse to listen, we shall die as other nations have died.

So again on this 12th day of February we come to hear the words of eminent men spoken concerning the life and character of Lincoln, that we may be strengthened in our courage and fidelity to our State and country. (Applause.)

(Whereupon the following program was rendered):

PROGRAM.

Male Quartette....."Battle Hymn of the Republic"

CHAIRMAN JARMAN. Our great troubles in this late war seems to have determined three propositions: First, the gripping hand of the law should crush every man that is against his country; second, that the scorn of public opinion should crush every man that refuses to help his country; third, that the standing of every man in his community should be measured by the degree in which he does help his country. I introduce to you Captain Carlstrom, of Aledo. He voluntarily enlisted in the service of his country; he went to France and came home commissioned as a captain of artillery. Captain Carlstrom. (Applause.)

Mr. CARLSTROM (Mercer). Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen of the Convention, Ladies and Gentlemen who have come here this morning as our guests:

I feel exceedingly presumptuous in standing before you today, especially in view of the fact that night before last while drinking a cup of coffee with two friends, both of whom are here, they, neither of them knowing that I had been asked to speak in the place of some of the gentlemen who had been originally detailed or requested to speak for you, were saying that "they guessed most of the fellows would go home tomorrow, they did not think many of them would care to hear the substitute speakers." (Laughter.) I said, "That being true, I think I will recall my consent to speak, if that is the attitude." Furthermore, the chairman of this morning's exercises in mentioning the fact I would speak here, and the inability of Mr. Mayer and Mr. Morris and Mr. Quinn to be present, stated to you a few moments ago that I had kindly consented to take their place on the program. I should say that is a pretty big job for any man to fill the place of these eminent and distinguished gentlemen. I was asked only forty-eight hours ago to fill out the program because of the inability of those gentlemen to speak to you, and it is without preparation I speak to you today, but my friends, it seems to me no man who is a citizen of Illinois, or of this great country in which we live can be without speech when he stands in this great capitol building of the State of Illinois and in this place of many intimate associations with one of the greatest characters America has ever produced. It seems to me a man whose heart is touched by a sense of patriotism must be able to speak without any preparation, without any prepared thought, when he is inspired by the associations and traditions connected with the life of Lincoln which are centered about the City of Springfield in the State of Illinois, and it is peculiarly appropriate, my friends, that we of the Constitutional Convention should turn our attention from our labors in that Convention to the consideration on this day of some of the characteristics of the Great Emancipator, the great leader of American thought, the great exemplar of American citizenship, because from that fountain head, from these sources of character and ideals we shall certainly be

able to absorb something that will enable us to clarify our vision for the grave questions that will come before us for our determination.

In my judgment one of the things that has troubled America in the last two or three decades is, that we have become too intensely material and practical, and we have departed from the purity of the ideals which are embodied in the wonderful traditions of America, and which have gone to stamp the character of her men and women, and which have given her in the composite strength of that manhood and womanhood a national character that has made itself felt throughout the civilized world.

I feel, my friends, that regardless of the material complications that may be involved in the problems of today, that we shall never solve them rightly until we fill our hearts and souls and minds with the fundamental ideas of truth and justice. When we bring such a spirit to bear on these problems we have them already half solved. I think we may well take the time to re-consecrate ourselves at the altar of patriotism, to the standards of humanity as adopted by him, who one hundred and eleven years ago was born in obscurity in Kentucky, and whose fame will grow through the centuries as long as men appreciate and revere law and liberty; so long, my friends, as men shall hold these principles dear, the memory of his name and the ideals of his character shall remain and grow greater in lustre and beauty.

Let us turn for a moment to the consideration of those elements which were involved in his character, and it is a remarkable thing to me, and I have frequently said with regard to Abraham Lincoln, that his action, his attitude, his solution of problems, his understanding of the difficulties that presented themselves to him, and the wonderful way in which he trod through the maze of difficulties which surrounded him in the Presidency of the United States, the successes he achieved, can be explained on only one theory. He was not educated or prepared for the responsibilities of that office in the sense that we now understand such preparation. He was not graduated from some great college or university. He had not been taught by the learned men of the ages their ideas and standards from books. He had not passed through those tests which warrant the conferring of degrees from our colleges and universities, and he did not have those qualifications and preparation which we deem essential to the solution of the great problems of our time and which were necessary from a material standpoint even in his day, but the explanation of his remarkable foresight and success has always seemed to me to be this: As he wandered around in the obscurity of the wilderness there in Kentucky, and that cabin on Big South Fork of Nolin creek near where he was born, as he travelled with his mother and father and their family to their home in Indiana and spent his early years there and then came across to Illinois, that during all those years of the early experience of Lincoln, and later as he trod the Valley of the Sangamon, he was attended by sorrow, disappointment and bitterness; in the loneliness, I believe, of those experiences of sorrow which teach men the fundamentals of truth by reducing them to the primeval condition where the spirit seems to touch and contact with the powers that govern and lead the souls of men, he under those circumstances spending his early years in the valleys and great open reaches of prairie in Illinois, my friends, I believe, came to know and understand the power of the God of Truth and Simple Justice, and to understand in a measure the purposes of the Divine, and it was that intimate conception of Primal Truth which gave him clarity of purpose and vision and explained his wonderful grasp and conception of his great problems and enabled him to see with a clarity not given other men far more educated than he.

I say again, as we are approaching the deliberations of this great Constitutional Convention, for that is the thing that is on my mind and on the mind and hearts of every man in it today, the responsibilities that rest upon us, as the Governor said in opening this Convention, "that the sovereign power of the people of Illinois had for the moment been intrusted to our care," and when that great power has been intrusted to this body, it is essential and necessary that we drink at the fountain of knowledge and under-

standing which Abraham Lincoln found, in order that we can apply the eternal principles of justice and equality to the conclusions which we shall ask the people of the State of Illinois to accept.

I am moved to refer to a little paragraph which you will find on the back of your programs, and it is as true now as when it was uttered by Mr. Lincoln:

"Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still competent to adjust, in the best way, all our present difficulties."

Reference has been made to the great war through which we have passed. Our part in it as a nation was one of which we can indeed be proud as it was a privilege for any man to serve his country at that time, and the thing that impressed us across the sea perhaps more than any other one thing was the wonderful way in which America responded to the demands made upon her in 1918. It seemed to us, looking at it across the sea, noting the activities of our people as a whole—it seemed to us that America had so welded herself together in the high purposes of upholding and supporting the purposes of our government—she had so welded herself together that she was no longer a body of one hundred million units, but one great living powerful entity, which seemed to have taken unto itself a heart and a soul, and that heart beat, my friends, with a power that was psychologically felt across the sea; it steeled the arm, strengthened the sinew and gave vigor to the men who represented you and me over there, because America had resolved itself with a singleness and unselfishness of purpose to the accomplishment of a great cause, and for example when men were called upon to subscribe to the great Liberty loans and other war funds and activities and if they said, "we cannot afford to do it, we do not know what is going to become of this thing," the answer was, "if we fail all you have means nothing anyhow, and if we win, as we will, the government of the United States stands back of all you have done, and you need have no fear what the result will be."

Ultimately, therefore, in the last analysis, my friends, ideals and character and government are those things which are permanent and lasting; the material things we must of course in a practical sense dispose of, but ideals we must have as controlling and governing in the conduct of men. We learn those things from the character of this great man. I know there are those here who will speak to you much more intelligently and better than I on the life of Lincoln, as they can speak with personal knowledge on that subject, and I will leave that to them. All through those years that Abraham Lincoln was passing through the experiences until finally he was selected in the old Wigwam at Chicago to fill the highest place in America, and until that day in bidding affectionate farewell to his friends and neighbors of Springfield when leaving to assume the duties of the Presidency, he uttered those memorable words inscribed on his memorial out here in the Capitol yard—(and I think every man should read what is written there because it is the outpouring of a great soul to those who understand)—until after all his hardships and trials he was beginning to achieve something of the reward due his noble character, and in traveling to the seat of government at Washington his utterances from time to time were moving the country to appreciate the greatness of his character he was but building in simplicity on the solid rock of eternal right and truth. I thought of this, that Chief Justice Taney, of the Supreme Court of the United States who wrote the Dred Scott decision which Lincoln had criticized, should administer the oath of office to him, was significant of the meeting of two great opposite forces. When he sought to meet the great problems of government, because they did not understand and appreciate his ability to meet them and misinterpreted his humility of character, members of his Cabinet thought him weak. Yet slowly but firmly he showed them that he (Lincoln) was President of the United States, and that the powers of government rested upon him, and that he would discharge the duties that resulted therefrom and assume full responsibility, which he did. When at last the time came, when final victory in the great cause was achieved, his words as he

came to the close of that bitter chapter in American history, "With malice towards none, with charity to all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in," are classic and a guiding principle for us all even to this day.

When that terrible blow fell upon America and the news flashed over the wires that the President had been assassinated, and his body moved in state from the east to the west that his remains might sleep in the bosom of the prairies from which he had gained his inspiration of Freedom, the whole people of the United States, as they knew the great leader had gone out from among them and America had sustained a loss that she could not retrieve, crowded to the stations as the funeral train passed through, and regardless of storm or rain great masses of the people assembled and bowed their heads silently in realization of the loss of the nation, and while they believed it was an irreparable loss, and it was, yet "God moves in a mysterious way his wonders to perform." Lincoln is dead! Yet we ask, is he dead? Is David dead? Is any man who has been worth living, dead? No. Disenthralled of the flesh he has risen into that illimitable sphere into which passion and hatred never come, and henceforth his life shall be engrafted upon the eternal and will be more fruitful than any earthly life can be."

We think of the great truths he enunciated, which could be repeated by the hour, and always there was wonderful philosophy in what he said, and we know it to be true that eternally he clove to those fundamental principles which are the foundations of government, and which we must do here, if we would succeed. It seems to me in the adoption of the great fundamental law of our State that the one thing we should seek to keep uppermost in our minds is the preservation of those guaranties of life, freedom and right to our people which must not be transcended by any authority but remain permanently guaranteed.

In conclusion, my friends, I just want to say one thing: Let us study the life of the Great Emancipator, and let us make it a part of our religion and creed. America needs more than ever in her history a conception and understanding of the fundamental principles of republican form of government and a form of government that is truly representative in its character. Those problems are facing us today. They are vital. They strike at the very root of our government. The future is in your hands and mine. I think the last sentence of the preamble of the Constitution of the United States, and we must concede that the men who wrote that great document looked down through the vista of the years impressed by the desire to guard the rights of generations yet unborn—"and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America," and I would like to impress upon us all in approaching a solution of the problems that are confronting us today, that they be not solved for the selfish purposes of this generation, but be solved with regard to the rights and the happiness of our children and our children's children, and when we seek to thus rightly solve them we can do no better than study the life and utterances of Lincoln and apply these to our conception of our relation to society, and we need clarity of and allegiance to the fundamentals of government more than a solution of the high cost of living, or other material problems that confront us, because they are temporary in character, and we must have in the hearts of the citizens of America a concept of the government which has made America what she is; we must preserve for future generations these things in the same spirit and with like conviction as shown by Lincoln in that first trying year of his presidency, when they sought to have him take a position that was a compromise, and he said, in substance, "This union must stand at any cost or sacrifice. Whatever is necessary to preserve it, I will do." I speak to you earnestly and feelingly along these lines. We should try to instill into the heart of every man, woman and child in America the conviction that the institutions of America and principles of American representative government are such as to be worthy of being guarded and defended zealously at whatever cost and we must get away from the idea of associating ourselves in groups selfishly, and cleave

unswervingly to that standard of citizenship and a just regard for our free institutions and the permanency of America as a great nation that will be worthy of the traditions and assure the fulfilling of her great destiny and we can do that by using such standards as men like Abraham Lincoln have set for us. When we think of how grievously he was misunderstood, we cannot help but utter the prayer, Oh, God, that men could see a little clearer, or judge less harshly when they cannot see. Oh, God, that men could draw a little nearer one another, They'd be nearer Thee, and understood. My friends, I thank you.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN JARMAN. To touch the hem of a great and good man is an influence never lost. To have come in contact with the life of Abraham Lincoln in a little way as a boy is an experience never to be forgotten. Mr. Conkling, a loved citizen of the City of Springfield, conveyed to Mr. Lincoln the wire message notifying him of his nomination as candidate for the United States Presidency. I now present to you Mr. Conkling.

(Applause.)

Mr. CONKLING (Sangamon). Mr. Chairman, Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I shall not attempt upon this occasion to pronounce a eulogy upon Abraham Lincoln. After the eloquent and stirring words of the gentleman who has preceded me it would ill become me to attempt anything of the kind, even should I be able, and in view of the words that shall be spoken after I have done, it would be still more presumptuous for me to attempt a eulogy upon Mr. Lincoln, but I desire to give to you this morning a few things which will give the setting in the midst of which Mr. Lincoln lived. I wish to refer to two or three incidents that will enable you more thoroughly to understand the eulogies that have been and will be pronounced, for what I say will be simple and will form a setting and background to the picture which others may paint.

With much reluctance I yielded to the request of the committee when they asked me a few days ago to say something on this occasion about Mr. Lincoln, and especially how he received the news of his first nomination. The time is entirely too short to do justice to the subject, and my ability is not equal to the task; but in a conversational way I trust I may say a few things that will be interesting.

The original settlers in this region were largely from Kentucky, Tennessee and Virginia, and were mostly pro-slavery in their feelings. More than one captured slave from Missouri and Kentucky was carried back through the streets of this town of Springfield in chains to be returned to bondage without effective protest and with the approval of the mass of the people. After a while a stream of emigrants came from New York and New England. The two principles of slavery and freedom here met and battled. One of the stations of the underground railroad was here, another at Farmington and so on at intervals to the north part of the State.

Meanwhile at New Salem, twenty miles west, Abraham Lincoln was preparing to be a lawyer. He was admitted to the Bar, and one day in March, 1837, seated on a borrowed horse, with all his earthly possessions, among which was a law library of two or three volumes, in a pair of old saddle-bags, he rode into Springfield from the west along what is now Jefferson street. William Butler, then living at the southwest corner of Madison and Third streets in a good brick house in the midst of a large garden, invited him to take his meals with his family. Passing on to the general store of Joshua Speed, whom he knew, he asked the cost of a bed and other things. Speed told him what his list would cost. It was more money than he had. "Come upstairs," said Speed, "and see if we can't fix you up." There Speed showed him a bed and said, "half of that is yours if you'll take it." Placing his saddle-bags on the floor beside the bed, Lincoln said, "well, I'm moved." This first home of Lincoln in Springfield, and where he and Speed kept bachelor apartments, was in the second story of a two-story brick building on the northwest corner of Adams and Fifth streets, where Herndon's store now is.

At the time of Lincoln's arrival, most of the houses on the Square were on the north and west sides. They were mostly small wooden structures. The two-storied brick row of three, of which Speed's store was one, were the most pretentious on that side of the Square. At the northwest corner of the Square was a row of five two-story brick buildings called "Hoffman's Row," running north on the west side of Fifth street. In the upper room of one of these Stuart and Lincoln had their law office, for Major John T. Stuart had taken Mr. Lincoln into partnership with him immediately upon his arrival.

At that time "Chicken Row" on the north side of the Square was the place where chickens, butter, eggs and other produce were sold. Wooden awnings covered the sidewalks. It was the market place for the people. The common coins in use were large copper cents, silver five and ten cent pieces, the latter known as dimes, and bits or shillings and quarters, the latter usually called "two-bits." A bit or shilling was 12½ cents. The New York or long shilling was 16½ cents.

About the time that Mr. Lincoln made his home in Springfield, it required from seven to eight days to come from Chicago. The fare was \$25 in gold. Railroads were unknown. There were no telegraphs. The mails were very irregular. There were no postage stamps and letters were sent without pre-payment of postage, the receiver having to pay from ten to twenty-five cents for postage before he could get his letter.

Springfield was then a straggling village containing a few hundred inhabitants. The main part of the town was situated on both sides of Jefferson street, north of what was known as the Town Branch and west of Sixth street, and was locally known for many years as Old Town. The houses were mostly built of logs. The new and better improvements were extending east and south. The center of business, which had been at the intersection of Second and Jefferson streets, was now gathering about the Square, in which there had been built in 1831 the court house. This was torn down in 1837 when the capitol was removed from Vandalia to this place, and room was made for the erection of the new capitol, the present court house. The courts were held for nearly two years on the ground floor in Hoffman's Row, Mr. Lincoln's office being above one of the court rooms.

The partnership with Mr. Stuart lasted for four years. Then came the partnership with Stephen T. Logan under the firm name of Logan and Lincoln, with offices in the third story of the building now standing on the west side of Sixth street at the southeast corner of the Square.

At this time Dr. John Todd lived on the south side of Washington street between first and second streets, occupying the whole of the block. His was a typical Southern home with a large gallery in front. Here stayed with him at intervals his niece, Mary Todd, afterwards Mrs. Lincoln. Part of the courtship between her and Mr. Lincoln took place in this house; also in the home of her sister, Mrs. Ninian W. Edwards, on South Second street, and, when a temporary coolness arose between them, Mrs. Simeon Francis, who lived at the southeast corner of Sixth and Jefferson streets, befriended the couple, and here they laid the plans for their hasty wedding.

My mother was a young lady here at that time, having come from Baltimore, Maryland. She was intimately acquainted with all the Edwards and Todd families, and was a friend of Mary Todd. She has told me repeatedly that the story in Herndon's book that the wedding was set and the guests assembled but that Mr. Lincoln did not appear and that the company separated is not true. The same story is indignantly denied by members of Mrs. Edwards' family, who by actual knowledge and tradition know the story to be untrue.

Mrs. Benjamin S. Edwards, in her reminiscences written in 1900 said this about Mary Todd:

"I must tell of my acquaintance and friendship with this most interesting woman, Mary Todd. I was attracted towards her at once. The sunshine in her heart was reflected in her face. She insisted upon my calling her by her first name, saying she knew we would be great friends and I must call her Mary. This bond of friendship was continued to the end of



her life. Mary Todd had naturally a fine mind and cultivated tastes. She was a great reader and possessed a remarkably retentive memory. Her brilliant conversation, often embellished with apt quotations, made her society much sought after by the young people of the town. She was quick at repartee and, when the occasion seemed to require it, was sarcastic and severe.

"About that time Springfield society contained some of the brightest young men that any State could produce, men whose names hold a prominent place in Illinois history and who came together here during the sessions of the legislature. \* \* \* These legislative assemblies were always the occasion of many social gatherings for distinguished men from every part of the State, who came to the capitol, and were royally entertained by our ladies. There was then a galaxy of beautiful girls whose vivacity, intelligence and propriety of deportment would entitle them to the entree of the choicest society of any city. It was a brave set of young people with a congeniality of mind and spirit such as is seldom met with in these days. I have heard that at this time Mary Todd was the center of attraction."

She also said:

"Mr. Lincoln, I think, was acknowledged to be the most popular and agreeable talker of the young men. His stories were always listened to with the greatest attention and enjoyed immensely. I heard a rumor of an engagement between Mr. Lincoln and Mary Todd, yet I considered it one of those unfounded reports always floating in society, for I really thought Mr. Douglas was more assiduous in his attentions than Mr. Lincoln."

The wedding took place in Mr. N. W. Edwards' parlor and hardly anyone but members of the family were present.

The couple at once took rooms at the Globe Hotel, at the modest price, it is said, of \$4.00 per week. This house was situated on the north side of Adams street between Third and Fourth streets. It was a plain two-story wooden structure and was the stage office for the lines from St. Louis and from Jacksonville and Beardstown on the west, and from Peoria on the north. It had a bell on the top, much like a locomotive bell. Many of the travelers came in their own conveyances. The clerk would ring the bell and the stable men would come around to take the horses of the travellers to the barn in the rear. This place continued to be a hotel under different names for some years, and during my early boyhood I have often seen the stage roll up in front and have heard the bell ring when some traveller came. In those days I thought that the very height of a boy's ambition would be fulfilled if he could only become a stage driver.

In those days and for many years thereafter, indeed, until the latter part of the sixties, Springfield was not only known as the Capitol of the State, but also as one of the most unattractive places to be found. In bad weather the streets approached the condition of a quagmire with dangerous sink-holes where the boatman's phrase "no bottom" furnished the only description. An absence of civic pride made them the dumping ground of the community rubbish, so that the gutters were filled with manure, discarded clothing and all kinds of trash, threatening the public health with their noxious effluvia.

The problem of the hog nuisance and of the running at large of cows came up time and again, and most frequently the owners of the stock succeeded in having full freedom given to their property to wander through the streets at will. One paper stated that the hogs were more numerous on the streets of Springfield than in the pens of the State Fair Ground, and another paper said that they had equal rights with the citizens upon the streets.

When Mr. Lincoln came here there may have been 1,600 people in the city. In 1840 there were probably not over 2,000. In 1850 the population was 4,500 and in 1860 a little over 9,000.

It was into a place of this kind and amidst surroundings like these that Mr. Lincoln came and lived and practiced law.

His partnership with Major Stuart was dissolved because of political differences, Mr. Lincoln being a Whig, and opposed to the further extension of slavery; Mr. Stuart being pro-slavery in his leanings.

The partnership with Judge Logan was terminated after two years, because of differences of opinion about how much to charge for fees and as to the conduct of cases. But all three of the men during all the remaining years of their lives were warm personal friends.

Mr. Lincoln rode the circuit—that is, with the judge and other lawyers in this judicial circuit, they went from county seat to county seat opening the terms of court. The courts often met and adjourned the same day, the cases were so few. Yet court days were gala days with the people. The circus and the courts provided the principal holidays for the masses.

Mr. Lincoln generally rode the whole circuit, but Mr. Stuart also attended the courts in the northern part of the district, and those in the counties adjacent to Sangamon. The country was then comparatively unsettled. Between Fancy Creek, just north of Springfield and Postville, near Lincoln, there were only two or three houses. Beyond Postville for thirteen miles was a stretch of unbroken prairie, flat and wet, covered with gopher hills and apparently incapable of being cultivated for generations. For fifteen or eighteen miles this side of Carlinville the country was of a similar character, without a house or improvement along the road. The lawyers would travel between Decatur and Shelbyville from nine o'clock in the morning until after dark over a country covered with water from recent rains, without finding a house for shelter or refreshment. The tall grass in the low places was higher than the horses' heads, while in the higher parts of the prairie the grass covered the ground as far as the eye could reach, and in the springtime was covered with innumerable flowers. The prairie rattlesnakes would often be found coiled up in the road sunning themselves, and in the evenings as the traveller passed from the prairie down to the edge of the timber, it was very common to see the black and white pussy-like skunks, which would run along in front of the horse in the roadway for quite a distance before they would oblige by turning off into the grass. The snakes were frequently killed with the buggy whip, but care was taken never to strike the wood's pussy.

At the hotels and in the court rooms the lawyers were ever ready for fun, conversation or legal battle.

The present court house, whose corner stone was laid in 1837, but whose interior has been entirely changed, was then the State House. Within its four walls and in the various offices that then existed, on up to 1861, Mr. Lincoln was a frequent visitor and every room had its memories of him.

In the Hall of Representatives, which was in the second story on the west side, on June 16th, 1858, he delivered the celebrated speech, in which he said, "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure half slave and half free. It will become all one thing or all the other." I sat on the steps of the platform within arm's reach of Mr. Lincoln as he delivered this speech.

The Republican National Convention met in Chicago on May 16, 1860. The interest throughout the country in the results of the meeting was intense. The general opinion, especially in the East, was that William H. Seward of New York would be nominated, although Horace Greely and others from New York were opposed to him.

The Illinois Republican State Convention on the ninth of the same month had declared Abraham Lincoln to be the first choice of the Republican party of Illinois for the Presidency. Many delegates and politicians thronged the city several days before the convention. Mr. Lincoln's friends were early on the ground, working earnestly and effectively to create sentiment in his favor.

To a Chicago friend who shortly before the convention asked him, "Are you coming up to the convention, Mr. Lincoln?" he replied:

"Well, I don't know. I am not quite enough of a candidate to stay away and too much of a candidate to come."

Mr. Lincoln was present at the State Convention at Decatur but did not go to Chicago. He remained in Springfield, went to his law office as usual, received reports of the progress of events by telegrams, letters and from persons returning from Chicago, visited with his friends to discuss

the situation and prospects, and occasionally, as was his wont, joined in a game of hand ball, the then favorite pastime of the professional men of the town.

The only wires into Springfield in 1860 were owned and operated by the Illinois and Mississippi Telegraph Company and were called the "Caton Lines," after Judge John D. Caton of Ottawa, president of the company and one of its organizers. Its principal office was at St. Louis. John James Speed Wilson, afterwards known as "Col. Wilson," was superintendent of the Eastern division, with headquarters at Springfield; E. D. L. Sweet was superintendent of the Western division, with his office in Chicago.

The local Springfield offices of the telegraph company in May, 1860, were in the upper story of the building known as No. 121 South Fifth street and over Chatterton's jewelry store in the middle of the west side of the Public Square. In this building were the law offices of James C. Conkling, a warm personal and political friend of Mr. Lincoln.

Mr. E. D. L. Sweet during the convention had charge of all the telegraphic arrangements. There was only one wire into the "Wigwam" as the convention hall was called. This was connected in the main city office with the eastern wire of the Western Union—it being the general opinion that the nomination would go to an Eastern man, Seward being the one most often mentioned in that connection. Mr. Wilson was in Chicago during the convention and divided his time between the main telegraph office at the southeast corner of Clark and Lake streets and the "Wigwam," a building erected for the occasion at the corner of Market and Lake streets. Most of the personal messages from delegates to Illinois points were sent from the convention hall to the main office of the Caton company by messenger boys.

On Friday morning, May 18, 1860, the third day of the convention, the delegates were to meet to ballot. James C. Conkling of Springfield, who had been in Chicago several days, but was unexpectedly called back, arrived home that morning. About half past eight o'clock Mr. Lincoln came into Mr. Conkling's office inquiring for him, as he had just heard on the street that he had returned from Chicago. On being told that Mr. Conkling was not in but probably would be in an hour, Mr. Lincoln said he would go out on the street and come back again as he was anxious to see Mr. Conkling. Presently the latter came in and Mr. Lincoln again called.

There was an old wooden settee by the front window on which were several buggy cushions. Mr. Lincoln stretched himself at full length upon this settee, his head on a cushion and his feet over the end of the settee. For a long time they talked about the convention. Mr. Lincoln wanted to know what had been done and what Mr. Conkling had seen and learned and what he believed would be the result of the convention. Mr. Conkling replied that Mr. Lincoln would be nominated that day; that after the conversations he had had and the information he had gathered in regard to Mr. Seward's candidacy, he was satisfied that Mr. Seward could not be nominated, for he not only had enemies in other States than his own, but he had enemies at home; that if Mr. Seward was not nominated on the first ballot the Pennsylvania delegation and other delegations would immediately go to Mr. Lincoln and he would be nominated.

Mr. Lincoln replied that he hardly thought this could be possible and that in case Mr. Seward was not nominated on the first ballot, it was his judgment that Mr. Chase of Ohio or Mr. Bates of Missouri would be the nominee. They both considered that Mr. Cameron of Pennsylvania stood no chance of nomination. Mr. Conkling in response said he did not think it was possible to nominate any other one except Mr. Lincoln under the existing conditions because the pro-slavery part of the Republican party then in the convention would not vote for Mr. Chase, who was considered an abolitionist, and the abolition part of the party would not vote for Mr. Bates, because he was from a slave State, and that the only solution of the matter was the nomination of Mr. Lincoln.

After discussing the situation at some length, Mr. Lincoln arose from the settee and said, "Well, Conkling, I believe I will go back to my office and practice law." He then left the office.

I was present during a part only of this conversation and depend very largely for the details of the interview upon what my father, Mr. Conkling, and Mr. George H. Brinkerhoff, then a law student in my father's office, have told me.

A moment after Mr. Lincoln left, the wires in the adjoining telegraph office brought the news of his nomination and I rushed down the stairs after him. I met him coming out of his brother-in-law's store, just a few steps away, and all unconscious of the news. I cried to him, "Mr. Lincoln, you're nominated." Taking my outstretched hand in both of his great hands, a smile spreading over his face, he looked down upon me and said, "Well, Clinton, then we've got it."

Then the excited crowds surged around him and I dropped out of sight.

Mr. Lincoln's own version of the story is that he had gone into the dry goods store of N. W. Edwards & Company on an errand for Mrs. Lincoln. "I had started out," Mr. Lincoln afterward told a friend, T. W. S. Kidd, editor of the Sangamo Monitor, "and Jack Smith (a member of the firm) walked to the door with me. As we stood there talking I heard a shout go up near the telegraph office. Then Jim Conkling's oldest boy came running up and told me I was nominated. That is the first I knew of it."

I was that boy.

Through the courtesy of Hon. Robert T. Lincoln there came into my possession five original telegrams received by Mr. Lincoln on the day he was nominated. All are on the Illinois and Mississippi Company form.

The first one sent was from the telegraph superintendent Wilson, shows signs of haste and bears no date. It reads:

"To Lincoln.

You are nominated.

J. J. S. WILSON."

This was the first message received for Mr. Lincoln announcing his nomination.

A moment after this message was sent a messenger boy brought to the main office in Chicago a message addressed simply "Abe" and which read, "We did it. Glory to God. Knapp." The receiving clerk brought the message to Mr. Sweet, calling his attention to the address, and also to the expression, "Glory to God." Mr. Sweet directed that words "Lincoln, Springfield," be added and that the message be sent at once. This message is probably the first one to Mr. Lincoln from any person who was actively at work in his behalf in the convention and without doubt was from Mr. N. M. Knapp, then of Winchester, Illinois.

The next two telegrams are from J. J. Richards who was well known in earlier days in Springfield. He was connected with the Great Western Railroad Company and was its agent for some time at Naples, which was then the end of the road. He subsequently went to Chicago. These telegrams are as follows:

"To Abraham Lincoln

You're nominated & elected.

J. J. Richards"

"To Hon. A. Lincoln

You were nominated on third ballot.

J. J. Richards"

Mr. J. J. S. Wilson followed his first message, probably within a very few moments, by another which reads:

"To Hon. A. Lincoln

Vote just announced. Whole No. 466 necessary to choice 234—  
Lincoln 354 votes not stated on motion of Mr. Evarts of N. Y. the  
nomination was made unanimous amid intense enthusiasm.

J. J. S. Wilson"

In August of 1860 a most extraordinary mass meeting was held in Springfield by the Republicans, or as they were commonly known, "Black Republicans." People came in great companies, in wagons and buggies and on horseback and camped in the groves on the outskirts of the town for several days beforehand. There were many thousands of people from Cen-

tral Illinois here. The procession took eight hours to pass Mr. Lincoln's residence on Eighth Street. The crowd was so great that his friends feared for the safety of Mr. Lincoln, the people were so eager to see him. That evening there was an immense torchlight procession in the city in which most of the ministers and all State officials and very many prominent business men, young and old, marched with the old-time wide awake oil lamps.

Near the close of the year 1860 Mr. Lincoln rented his house to Mr. Tilton, superintendent of the Wabash railway and spent the last few weeks of his stay in Springfield at the Chenery House, which was situated on the northeast corner of Washington and Fourth Streets. Owing to the fact that the legislature then met in the fore part of December, Mr. Lincoln had to give up his reception room in the State House, and Joel Johnson, an old time friend of his, who had recently erected some brick buildings on the northwest corner opposite the Chenery House, offered him the use of his double parlors in the second story as a reception room for the remainder of his stay, which Mr. Lincoln gladly accepted. Mr. Johnson's buildings afterwards became known as the Revere House.

The night before Mr. Lincoln left, on February 11, 1861, for Washington, he had his trunks brought down into the office of the hotel. He "corded" them himself and then taking some of the cards of the hotel, wrote on the backs, "Lincoln, White House, Washington, D. C." and tacked them on the trunks. The next morning early, in a drizzling rain, he went in the old hotel bus to the Great Western Railroad station on Tenth and Monroe Streets. On a stub track which lay west of the main track and ended on the north side of Monroe Street, the car in which he and those with him were to go East was standing, and from the rear of this car he spoke his farewell address to his friends and neighbors.

On February 22, 1842, Mr. Lincoln delivered an address before the Springfield Washingtonian Temperance Society at the Second Presbyterian Church. In this address he referred to the political revolution of 1776 and then to the temperance revolution, and said:

"And when the victory shall be complete—when there shall be neither slave nor a drunkard on earth—how proud the title of that land which may truly claim to be the birthplace and the cradle of both those revolutions, that shall have ended in that victory. How nobly distinguished that people who shall have planted, and nurtured to maturity, both the political and moral freedom of their species."

How striking is this language in view of the emancipation of the slaves in 1863 and the amendment to the Federal Constitution in 1919.

In closing his address Mr. Lincoln referred to the day as being the one hundred and tenth anniversary of the birth of Washington.

Today is the one hundred and eleventh anniversary of the birthday of Abraham Lincoln. Permit me in closing to substitute the name of the latter for that of the former and say of our martyr President as Mr. Lincoln said of Washington:

"This is the one hundred and eleventh anniversary of the birthday of Lincoln—we are met to celebrate this day. Lincoln is the mightiest name of earth—long since mightiest in the cause of civil liberty, still mightiest in moral reformation. On that name a eulogy is expected. It cannot be. To add brightness to the sun, or glory to the name of Lincoln, is alike impossible. Let none attempt it. In solemn awe pronounce the name, and in its naked, deathless splendor leave it shining on."

I have thus endeavored to give you some of the settings amidst which this great man lived and from which he went after pronouncing this farewell address which is well known to you all. If what I have said will enable you more thoroughly to visualize the circumstances under which Mr. Lincoln grew and increased here to the time he left here, my object will have been done. It will be for others to analyze his character, to tell of his influence upon the world at large and to apply to the problems of the present day the teachings which he has left. Thank you. (Applause.)

Male Quartette—"Illinois."

CHAIRMAN JARMAN. Greater honor has come to few men than to be a soldier of his country and Governor of his State. I present to you Governor Fifer. (Applause.)

Mr. FIFER (McLean). Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen: I can truly say that I am glad to be here upon this most interesting occasion, and I thank the committee for honoring me with a place upon this program, although I can say, if left to my own choosing, I should have preferred to be a silent listener to these exercises.

Now, friends, the hour is growing late and I promise I shall not detain you very long. I have commissioned my good friend and colleague, Mr. Kerrick, if I overrun my time to pull my coat tail and I will take my seat. (Laughter.)

We have already heard two excellent addresses and without any flattery to the gentlemen who have spoken, I do not hope to improve on anything they have said.

The story of Abraham Lincoln is now a thrice told tale, and it is almost impossible to say anything new on the subject. Competent critics have told us that more has been written and said of this great man than has ever been written or said of any man that ever lived. This strange man who, if he did not believe in dreams was greatly impressed by them, came among us and strode over this little grain of sand on which we live, and disappeared leaving the world in amazement and wonder at his great achievement. I am glad that I knew him. I saw him many times in the court room at Bloomington, where it is said he had more friends than in any other section of this great State of ours, and where he preferred to visit above all other places; and as evidence of this, he appointed our Circuit Judge Davis to the Supreme Bench of the United States. I used to see him in the court room, and when he was sitting alone not engaged in any way, he was the saddest object that my eyes ever rested upon; melancholy seemed to drip from the tips of his fingers. When spoken to his face immediately lit up with intelligence and interest and his whole appearance changed. I never heard him make but one political speech, and that was in 1858, during his great contest with Stephen A. Douglas, one of the greatest statesmen that this country has produced since the era of American independence. They had no joint debate there, but Douglas came down from Chicago in a special car with George B. McClelland, who at that time was connected with the Illinois Central Railroad Company, and his friends say that Douglas made the greatest speech of his life. He fairly tore up the ground, as they put it. Judge Davis and Sweet and others telegraphed Mr. Lincoln he must come and answer Douglas. He telegraphed back it was impossible, that he could not come. Judge Davis, at the head of a committee, came to Springfield and drafted him into the service. The meeting was in the court house square. No seats, everybody standing. Sweet introduced him; Sweet was then a young and a brilliant lawyer and a great personal friend of Mr. Lincoln's. Lincoln got up and started off rather awkwardly. He would run out on a sentence and if it did not suit him, he would come back and try again. The crowd around where I stood, and I was within ten feet of the platform, said "Pshaw, why didn't they nominate Sweet." Sweet had made a brilliant and beautiful little speech in introducing Mr. Lincoln; but presently Lincoln got going, and I declare to you I never heard such a speech before or since. I can repeat many of the sentences he uttered even now and before he was through, that crowd's faces were riveted upon the stand as though they had been hewn out of the solid granite. With that great arm of his he would raise his fist in the air and bring it down in emphasis and make your heart stop beating for awhile and ones hair stand on end.

I had no introduction to him. I simply saw him in the court room and saw him on this occasion.

Now, we can explain Washington but we cannot explain Lincoln. Washington was born under a monarchy; he was the richest man on the continent, of a distinguished if not a noble family, and it would be expected that he would win his place in the great Revolutionary War and in laying the foundations of our free institutions, but how can you explain Abraham

Lincoln? Born down here in the beech woods of Kentucky, in a frontier cabin, sheltered by clapboards and his cradle resting upon a puncheon floor, with only three months' schooling, he says himself, yet he wrote the best English of any American. I have a friend in Bloomington, who graduated from Cambridge, England, and he told me not long ago he was over there visiting, and he visited the great college of which he was a graduate, and while walking arm in arm with one of his professors down the halls of that great world University, they came to the end of the hall and there was hung up and framed some of Lincoln's productions, and his professor said to him, "There is the best English that was ever written." Now, think of it. This man born down here under some inauspicious circumstances, in the wilderness of America, writing English that is hung up in one of the universities of the world as a model! And yet the four men, in my judgment who wrote the best English in the world were, first, John Bunyan, a tinker, and he wrote *Pilgrim's Progress* while in jail. The next was Shakespeare; they say he was so illiterate that he did not write it, but he did; the next was Abraham Lincoln, a rail splitter, and the next was Mark Twain, a pilot on a Mississippi steamboat.

Now, when I read of that, it takes all the pride and dignity out of me so far as being a college man is concerned.

Now, how do we explain Lincoln? Oh, it is simply the verification of the old story. From the bull rushes and the manglers come the saviours and the benefactors of our race. Somebody has said that the saviours and the benefactors of our race in modern times have been born under the straw thatched roofs of Europe and the log cabins of America; that their cradles have been rocked by the feet of mothers whose hands at the same time were busy with the needle or the wheel. Abraham Lincoln was one of these moral heroes whose life teaches the world the great lesson that the indispensable basis of all true greatness is integrity of character, and without it, all of our seeming successes will in the end turn to ashes in our hands.

But my friends, these personal matters do not portray Abraham Lincoln. There is a larger Lincoln than the Lincoln who told funny stories and who wrote good English. His lasting and his permanent reputation must forever rest upon the fact that he saved the American Union. That he saved the institutions of our country, which were in sore travail, planted in the wilderness of America by our heroic forefathers and in order to explain the true Lincoln, the Lincoln of the Ages, you must measure his achievements. As he lay upon his bloody bier, Secretary Stanton pointed to him and said, "There lies the greatest leader of men that ever lived. He now belongs to the ages." And so he does. No man can become really great unless he connects his name with some great event, with some great movement in human affairs that benefit mankind. No man can become really great unless the event and the man come together, and then the man must rise to the occasion and this Lincoln did.

Now, in order to explain Abraham Lincoln, it is necessary to go back to the era of our Independence and see what kind of a government it was that Lincoln saved for us and saved for the world, and in order to explain that government, it is necessary to go still a step back and explain the government from which our government was derived.

I do not know why it was that the officials at Springfield ceased publishing *Magna Charta* in our statute books along with the several Constitutions of the State and if there is any way for this Convention to compel the re-publication of that great Charter, I am going to vote for it, because it is the greatest charter of human liberty that was ever written. It was written in the Thirteenth Century, the greatest of all the centuries so far as governmental affairs are concerned, and we will have to do with that great Charter before we get through making, as we hope to do, the best Constitution that Illinois ever had. Now, upon that instrument, the sturdy English people slowly and painfully erected the fabric of English Constitutional Liberty: The Constitution of England rests in four great charters: *Magna Charta*, written by a bishop of the Catholic church; then followed the *Petition of Rights*, that came in the reign of Charles the First. It was supposed all

authority came from the Lord; the Lord anointed the King, and the King anointed the dukes and the nobles, but none of that divine efflatus ever got down to the common people as was supposed. Charles the First after granting the Charter, tried to break it and the English people solved the difficulty by cutting off his head. In the next reign, Parliament passed the Habeas Corpus Act; and in the great Revolution of 1688, the last of the male line of the Stuarts was run off the throne and Parliament placed in permanent form the petition of rights, which was afterwards known as the Bill of Rights and became an act of Parliament. I want our good friend, Rinaker, to see to it that his Committee on Judiciary do not run their hands too deep into our Bill of Rights. It is centuries old. It was copied into the Federal Constitution and it appears in practically the same form in all the state constitutions of the several states.

When our forefathers came to these shores, they claimed that they brought with them as a protecting shield, the British Constitution. This was denied by George the Third, an insolent, haughty, overbearing and tyrannical prince who tried to rule by his own despotic will and this our revolutionary fathers would not submit to. The real hardships of the colonies were not very great. They had four grievances. First, taxation without representation; second, quartering of large armies in the midst of the people to over-awe and intimidate them; third, denial of trial by jury and the transporting of offenders beyond the seas to be tried in a strange land and fourth, the undue seizure of persons and papers. All violations of that great Charter I have told you about. All violations of the British Constitution. Well, our forefathers went to war about it and the world knows the results.

It has been said by British statesmen and the statesmen of the world that our revolution saved not only British liberty and the British Constitution for the subjects at home, but also for British subjects in the wilderness of America. We did not war against the British Constitution, we were claiming it as a right and as a protecting shield over us as a means of defense against the fiat of a despotic prince.

Now, competent British statesmen have said that our own Constitution which was fashioned after the British Constitution is the greatest instrument that was ever struck out at a single time, but you notice they say, at a single time, because they claim for the British Constitution that it was a matter of growth and development through centuries of time and that no human genius could ever have struck out at one time such a perfect instrument; from time to time it was changed to meet the demands of a developing people, and so today, they say it stands before the world as a perfect model.

Now, we did not adopt their kingcraft and their lords and dukes. The world for thousands of years had claimed that all just powers came from above, from the king, hence the barons wrung from old King John Magna Charta, after that the Petition of Rights from Charles the First, because it was supposed that all sovereign power rested with the crown. So when our forefathers come to lay the foundation of our institutions, they turned that doctrine upside down and declared that all just powers were derived from the people; the men who run your railroad trains, the men who labor in your shops and offices, and in the fields and the men who do the heavy drudgery of the warehouse and the street. They said, on their broad shoulders we will rest the foundations of our free institutions.

Now, this kingcraft and the lords and dukes were no real part of the British Constitution. It was only the cornice, the ginger bread, if you please, and we cut it all away and adopted all that was real and good of the British Constitution.

Well, at the beginning, our first act was to create a Continental Congress and authorized them to declare war, contract peace, and to sever the relations between the colonies and the mother-country. Then the succeeding year, they passed the Articles of Confederation. Both were revolutionary governments and held the colonies together as long as the war lasted by a sense of a common danger, but when the war ended, it was wholly unsuited to times of peace. If the Federal Government wanted men or money, it



had to make requisition on the several colonies; they would comply or refuse just as suited their convenience. Now, then after the adoption of the Constitution the Federal Government goes past the states and lays its strong hand, if it wants money or men, upon the shoulder of the individual citizen. Under the Articles of Confederation every lawyer and historian knows that the government was about to go to pieces. They could scarcely get a quorum in the Congress of the United States. Many of them resigned and went home and were elected to their state general assembly. It was of more dignity. The members of Congress under those Articles of Confederation were paid by the several states. They were not even responsible to the Federal Government for their salaries, and it was just about to go to pieces, and Washington saw it, and Hamilton, that colossal figure in American history, the greatest intellect in my judgment, produced by the revolutionary period, he saw, and Jefferson saw and Madison saw, it, and the result was the Constitutional Convention which was called simply to amend and revise the old Articles of Confederation, but when they came together they saw it was impossible to amend the Articles of Confederation, and they threw it on the ash pile, and made a new instrument entirely. It was largely the work of James Madison, of my own native state of Virginia. He was a graduate of Princeton. Those men in those days had large libraries. Jefferson got so poor, after he left the presidency, that he was compelled to sell his library. Congress bought it and drove a hard bargain, and paid him twenty-five thousand dollars, when it was worth fifty thousand. Madison had a greater library and so had Hamilton. Those men for the most part lived in the country where they could devote their time to study and abstract thought. Madison had read of governments from the time of Aristotle to the last one formed; he studied the republics of the past and so did Hamilton. They saw many had failed, and they saw why they had failed, and they knew it was because all the branches of government were united in one body. Therefore, they made a Constitution dividing the powers of government, so that the lower house would be a check on the senate and the senate on the house, the President upon both and the Supreme Court above all. So it is impossible for the people, so long as they maintain that form of government ever to be enslaved. They had their difficulties at the formation of the Constitution. There were the small states jealous of the big states. The little fellows were afraid of being swallowed up. There is the little state of Rhode Island, which has two counties when the tide is down and only one county when the tide is up; it refused to send delegates and did not come into the Union for two years after Washington had been inaugurated. Our fathers made a concession to the small states by giving them an equal voice in one of the legislative branches of the government. There was the slave question. North Carolina by reason of the slave question, did not come into the Union for a year after Washington was inaugurated, although concessions were made to the slave states. They extended the slave trade for twenty years; they provided for the return of slaves escaping to free territory; they provided also for representation of slaves by counting five as three citizens. Finally they got it fixed up, and everybody was satisfied, and when the Constitution was finished they seemed to be awed and overcome with the magnitude of the work they had done, because they knew they were legislating for the ages that were yet to come.

On the back of Washington's chair was a piece of tapestry intended to represent the rising sun, and Doctor Franklin, then a man of eighty-two years old, arose and said, with tears streaming down his eyes, "I have sat here day by day and month by month and as my eyes rested upon that figure I did not know whether it was a rising or a setting sun; but now, thank God, I know it is a rising sun." Now, friends, this is the government that Abraham Lincoln saved; these are the institutions that he preserved in the great struggle for the preservation of the American Union.

I have told you that no man by the agility of his individual intellect can ever become immortal. He must unite his name with some great event and the event and the man must come together. Now, you must know that in a

great event like where a new government was to be established that some man's name was destined to be sent to the Pantheon, and so it was. There are just two great events in this country that have transpired up to this time. One is the founding of our free institutions and the other is their preservation. So we see the arch that spans the first century of our government, one end is found at Mount Vernon, while the other rests down firmly upon the shoulders of Abraham Lincoln.

During the succeeding century we boasted we were the greatest country in the world, an ocean-bound republic; we were right about it; of course, we licked England every Fourth of July in our speeches and we were getting along all right, but finally, friends, we were called up before the judgment bar and hour of the God of nations and our boasted institutions went on trial before the civilized opinion of mankind. It was a supreme crisis, for if this great government failed, what other could ever hope to endure. The great Webster once said: "Should disastrous war destroy our commerce, succeeding generations will reconstruct it. Should our country become depleted and made bankrupt, future industry will replenish it. Should our territory be overrun by hostile armies and our agriculture destroyed, under a new cultivation our fields will grow green again and ripen to future harvests, but if our free institutions fail, if this government falls, who will rear again the well proportioned columns of constitution and liberty? Like the Coliseum and the Partheon, they will have a mournful and a melancholy immortality; more bitter tears will be shed over its ruins than ever were shed over the remains of Grecian and Roman art, but if they fall, they will not rise again.

Now, Mr. Lincoln, when that great crisis came kept his head, although publicly abused, not only by those who were seeking to destroy the Union, but by his misguided friends. They said to Lincoln, "You are not moving fast enough." The first crack out of the box, as we say in the language of the street, they wanted him to issue the Emancipation Proclamation; he saw it would not do. Wendell Phillips travelled over the country lecturing, and always referred to Lincoln as "that slave hound from Illinois." Why, my friends, Lincoln hated slavery more than Wendell Phillips was capable of hating it. There was more of him and he was a greater man than Wendell Phillips. He answered Horace Greeley when he was urging him to issue the Emancipation Proclamation, and said: "My paramount object is to save the Union. If I can save the Union by freeing part of the slaves, I will do that. If I can save the Union by freeing part and leaving others in slavery, I will do that. If I can save the Union by freeing none of the slaves, I will do that. I will do anything to save the Union."

He answered his critics by an illustration that shows his common sense. There was a man named Blondin about that time who stretched a wire over Niagara Falls and put another fool on his back and with a balance pole walked over the falls of Niagara. Answering these critics who said that he did not go fast enough, or did not lean over this way or that way, Lincoln called attention to Blondin and said, "If you had been there would you have said to Blondin, Blondin go a little faster, Blondin, don't go so fast; Blondin, lean a little to the left or right." No, he said, "You would have held your breath as you would your tongues until Blondin got safely over with his load."

Now, I am not going over the Civil War. The story of the Civil War has been told and retold and is as familiar as the primer to every school boy, but suppose Lincoln had failed. What a miserable spectacle we would have presented in the world's great crisis if we had had a divided Union. If this country of ours had been divided into two rival states, each governed and controlled by intrigue, and maneuvering cabinets, and the Ohio River on both sides would have bristled with arsenals and standing armies on either side, and there would have been chronic and everlasting and eternal war between the two sections. Germany would not have cared a tinker's dam whether this country was for them or against them, if we had been divided. Let me ask you why it was during that great crisis that when President Wilson spoke his words they heard around the world and every

crowned head in Europe sat up and listened to what he had to say? It was because Abraham Lincoln lived, and it was because U. S. Grant, that silent man from Galena, lived. It was because two million boys in blue fought and bled and many of them died in the holy cause of freedom and good government. That is the reason.

Sometimes when I hear of these proposed new fangled propositions which seek to change our form of government, I feel afraid almost to push aside the curtain and look into the future of this great land of ours, but during the present war I took increased courage as I saw one hundred millions of people speaking every language under the sun, professing every religion beneath the sun, who, when the call came, took their places beside the strong right arm of President Wilson, determined if need be to sacrifice their lives for their country, crossed the sea in the darkest hour of that great war, and when they got over there, things did not look very bright. It was very discouraging. Russia had capitulated. Roumania and Servia had been crushed and our other allies were being driven back in defeat and disaster. Only omniscience could forecast all the portents that blazed in the angry sky of Europe at that time. Our boys got over there and in the battle line of the Marne, the second battle of the Marne, that battle line stood in the focus of the world's attention and the world was wondering if the next drive would carry the enemy into Paris? I was asked that question. Some of my good friends at Bloomington thought because I had been through the Civil War and had been Governor that I knew everything—I said I don't know, but tell me how many American soldiers are on that battle line of the Marne and I can tell you whether the enemy will ever get into Paris or not. They told me that there was about 250,000, and I said, "Then they will never take Paris until they walk over the dead bodies of two hundred and fifty thousand American soldiers," and they never did. (Applause.)

When the word was given, our boys like athletes hurled back the enemy in defeat and disaster, and when the glad tidings of victory was flashed under all the waves of the sea and spread westward across our prairies, you all remember the great rejoicing. Now, when I saw that I took increased courage for the future of this big country of ours, and to Abraham Lincoln, possibly more than to any other man, is credit due, and the American people and the world appreciate his great service. Go where you will, from Maine to California, from Lakes to the Gulf, and you will see in monuments and in other ways the love and the affection that is entertained by the American people for that great man. But friends, a greater and better monument is now building to the memory of our statesmen and heroes living and dead, greater and better than any of granite or marble; it belongs not to regiments or brigades, or army corps or political divisions, but to all beneath our flag who have wrought in the holy cause of freedom and good government. That monument is the progress, social, industrial and political of the great republic they founded and saved; about its shaft cluster the hopes and the aspirations of every living patriot, and under it in assured immortality sleep all our heroic dead. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT. This concludes our program for today. I am sure we have all derived inspiration both as citizens and as delegates to this Convention from the consideration of the life and services of Abraham Lincoln.

Mr. BRENHOLT (Madison). I move you that a vote of thanks be extended to the gentlemen who have participated in our exercises this morning, and that we now adjourn until next Tuesday morning at 10:00 o'clock, February the 17th.

(Motion prevailed.)

Whereupon an adjournment was taken by the Convention until Tuesday, February 17, A. D. 1920, at 10:00 o'clock a. m.



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