

THE LIFE

OF

ABRAHAM LINCOLN:

WITH

EXTRACTS FROM HIS SPEECHES.

BY J. Q. HOWARD.

CINCINNATI:

ANDERSON, GATES AND WRIGHT.

1860.

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Rare

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THE following Sketch of the Life of Abraham Lincoln embraces simply the material facts in his history. Fictitious embellishments, to suit the varied imaginations of readers, are left to be supplied by the readers themselves. For whatever the Sketch contains the writer alone is responsible.

COLUMBUS, O., June 26, 1860.

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THE LIFE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

BIRTH AND BOYHOOD.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN was born February 12, 1809, in what was then Hardin, now Larue county, Kentucky. His father and grandfather were natives of Rockingham county, Virginia. His earlier ancestors came to Virginia from Berks county, Pennsylvania. Farther back than this we do not choose to trace his lineage. Those interested in genealogical researches will doubtless find that he is descended in a direct line from Adam and Eve. These ancestors were distinguished only for honesty and industry. To say that they were Quakers is to say this much.

Abraham, the grandfather, removed to Kentucky—was one of the earliest pioneers, and had just obtained a comfortable home, when he was surprised and killed by the Indians while working in his fields. This was in 1784. He left a widow, two daughters, and three sons. Thomas Lincoln, the youngest of these sons, is the father of the Republican candidate for the Presidency. Thomas, on account of the

murder of his father and the very narrow circumstances of his mother, became a wandering laboring boy, and grew up without an education. He worked as a hired hand, for his uncle and others, and in his twenty-eighth year, when he had collected some small means as the fruits of his labor, he married Miss Nancy Hanks, the mother of the distinguished subject of this sketch. She also had been born in Virginia, and had endured the hardships and braved the perils of pioneer life in Kentucky. The marriage took place in 1806, and three years later, Abraham was born. There were three children of this marriage, but Abraham only survives, a brother younger than himself having died in infancy, and a sister older than himself having died many years since. Abraham began his education in Kentucky, by attending, for short periods, A B C schools, the first kept by Zachariah Riney, and the second by Caleb Hazel. The family resided at this time on Knob Creek, on the road leading from Bardstown to Nashville, Tennessee.

REMOVES TO INDIANA.

In the autumn of 1816, the family removed to Spencer county, Indiana, Abraham then being in his eighth year. This removal was owing partly to a desire to get rid of the evils and get beyond the influences of slavery, and partly to the fact that titles to land at that time in Kentucky were uncertain and defective. The father, doubtless, felt that his son, like himself, was destined to a life of toil, and preferred him to live where labor was honorable, not disgraceful—where his rank and influence would be determined by the number of his virtues, not by the number of his slaves.

The Lincoln family settled in an unbroken forest. Trees must be felled and logs cleared away, and Abraham, though very young, was large for his age, and soon had an ax put into his hands. Thus, at the early age of nine, he began his life of toil, earning his bread by the sweat of his brow, at the severest physical labor. The ax was the first weapon he wielded, and, to use his own language, "from that day till within my twenty-third year, I was almost constantly handling that most useful instrument—less, of course, in plowing and harvesting seasons."

LOG CABIN; AND EARLY STRUGGLES WITH POVERTY.

Like President Harrison, Mr. Lincoln has spent about one third part of his life in a log cabin. The structure which he assisted to erect was very rude, and scarcely sufficient to protect them from the storms of winter. Its wonderful facilities for self-ventilation can be better understood when it is related that Abraham, one day, in the absence of his father, while standing inside the cabin, shot, with a rifle through one of the cracks, the leader of a flock of wild turkeys that had ventured too near. This exploit took place when he was eight years of age.

At an early age he was called upon to bear the loss of his mother, whose death occurred in 1818. The hardships of their mode of living, in comparison with this bereavement, seemed trifling indeed. His father was left alone—with him and his sister—and in 1819, he married Mrs. Sally Johnston, of Elizabethtown, Kentucky, a widow with three children of her first

marriage. She proved a good and kind mother, and is still living in Coles county, Illinois.

Soon after this, Abraham had the opportunity of resuming his studies at school. He readily learned to read, and obtained a respectable knowledge of arithmetic. The aggregate of all his schooling, during his life, amounted to about one year. He never enjoyed the advantages of either an academy or college. He is, nevertheless, now an educated man. How he became such we shall presently see.

Twelve years were spent by him in Spencer county, engaged in the laborious duties of a farmer's son, plowing, harvesting, cutting wood, making rails, and building fences. While cultivating the ground, he did not forget to cultivate his mind. The following incident exhibits his love of knowledge, conscientiousness and integrity :

He was a hard-working lad, very eager in his thirst for knowledge. A man named Crawford, owned a copy of "Weems's Life of Washington"—the only one in the neighborhood. Young Lincoln borrowed that interesting book (not having money enough to spare to buy one), and while reading it, by slight negligence left it in a window, when a rain-storm came up and wet the book so as to ruin it. Young Lincoln felt badly, but, like an honest boy, he went to Mr. Crawford with the ruined book, acknowledged his accountability for its destruction, and his willingness to make due compensation. He said he had no money, but would work out the value of the book. The owner, saying that he would not be hard on him, concluded that two days' work would be a sufficient consideration for the damaged document. Abe accordingly worked faithfully for two entire days, surprised that any man should

put so low an estimate on the Life of Washington! He read every thing within his reach. He studied the teachings and operations of nature; and that book, denied to none, whose pages are ever open, he read attentively and well, as the similes, metaphors and illustrations in his writings, drawn from this source, will show.

FIRST FLAT-BOATING EXPERIENCE.

The monotony of frontier life was at length interrupted by his embarking on a flat-boat for New Orleans, when in his nineteenth year. This was in 1828, and was his first trip from home. He went as a hired hand merely; and he and a son of the owner of the boat, without other assistance, safely made the trip, and disposed of the cargo. The nature of the "load" made it necessary for them to linger and trade along the coast, and one night they were attacked by seven negroes, who made the attempt to kill and rob them. They were wounded in the meleé, but finally succeeded in driving the negroes from the boat, and then weighed anchor and dropped down stream. He returned home improved by what he had seen, and here, when he arrived at age, we find him engaged at his old occupations on the farm.

REMOVES TO ILLINOIS—OX-DRIVING AND RAIL-SPLITTING.

March 1st, 1830, when young Lincoln had just completed his twenty-first year, his father and family, with the families of relatives, left the old homestead in Indiana, and set out for Illinois. Their earthly possessions were conveyed in wagons, drawn by oxen, and Abraham drove one of the ox-teams. A

distance of about two hundred miles was traveled in this way, over roads which would now be considered impassable. They reached Macon county, Illinois, and settled in a new place, about ten miles west of where the flourishing town of Decatur now stands. Here their log cabin experiences were renewed. They at once put up a cabin, and having made rails enough to fence ten acres of ground, they broke it up and raised a crop of corn upon it the same year. The rails inclosing these ten acres, are the rails about which so much has been said, and so much wild enthusiasm manifested. The associations connected with them seem to touch the hearts of the people. They thereby learn that manual labor is not incompatible with the loftiest intellectual achievements. What a commentary on our free institutions does Mr. Lincoln's history furnish us; and what a lesson to poor, struggling, but aspiring sons of toil! But as Mr. Lincoln once said, "these are far from being the first or only rails made by me." We learn from a reliable source,* that Lincoln split several thousand rails during the year that he lived in Macon county. Not having enough to do at home, he went wherever he could get employment, sometimes walking five and six miles to his days' works. He was still poor, and "had nothing only plenty of friends." He was welcomed to every honest woodman's house, and he here began to acquire that reputation for relating anecdotes for which he has since become so distinguished.

Times were hard. He was paid but twenty-five cents per hundred for splitting rails, and this not in money, but in materials for clothing. One of his contracts for labor was this:

* George Close, now living in Menard county, Illinois, who helped Lincoln make one thousand rails for James Hanks and William Miller.

He was to maul four hundred rails for each yard of brown jeans cloth, dyed with walnut bark, until he had earned enough to make him a pair of pantaloons. One who has known him intimately since this time, makes the heart-felt declaration, that "God never made a finer man than Abraham Lincoln."

LINCOLN'S FIRST SPEECH.

In the summer of 1830, Gen. Wm. L. D. Ewing, since a Senator of the United States, and a man by the name of Posey, came to Decatur to make political speeches, and present their claims as candidates for the Legislature. The meeting was largely attended, and after the topics of the day had been discussed by the candidates, Ewing, as was the usual custom in those days (and alas, too frequently now), made an appeal to the palates of the voters, by "treating" them to whisky and other strong drinks. This evidence of capacity to make laws, Posey, for some reason or other, failed to furnish, and was straightway denounced by the offended sovereigns, and sundry by no means complimentary epithets were applied to the would-be law-giver, the most significant one being that of Picayune Posey. It appears that there is a spot more tender even than the pocket, and the thirsty voters, to heal their wounded feelings and give vent to their displeasure, proposed that Lincoln should be selected to give the blighted Posey a "slatherin."

Lincoln promised to speak if his friends would not laugh at him, and with much trepidation, began. He did not abuse Posey, but spoke favorably of both candidates, and after ably discussing the issues of the day, closed with an eloquent peroration, painting in glowing colors the future wealth, growth,

and greatness of Illinois. A high compliment was paid him by Gen. Ewing, and those who heard him were almost unanimous in the opinion that he had made the best speech of the day. He is described, by one who was present, as "being dressed in a pair of flax-and-tow pantaloons, with the knees both out." So rough an exterior, perhaps, never concealed so clear a head and so honest a heart.

FLAT-BOATMAN AGAIN.

In the winter of 1830-31, young Lincoln, his half-brother, John D. Johnson, and John Hanks, hired themselves to one Denton Offutt to take a flat-boat from Beardstown, Illinois, to New Orleans, and for that purpose were to join Offutt at Springfield. It was the winter of the "deep snow," and the country was so flooded by the melting of it in March, 1831, that traveling by land was rendered impracticable. To obviate this difficulty they purchased a large canoe, and in it came down the Sangamon River. This was the time and manner of Lincoln's first entrance into Sangamon county, a county which he has so honorably represented both in the State Legislature and in Congress.

They learned from Offutt, at Springfield, that he had failed to get a boat at Beardstown, which led to his hiring them at twelve dollars per month each, to build a flat-boat for him. With the ax and a single whipsaw, they shaped the planks out of the trees they had cut down, and launched their craft at old Sangamon town, seven miles north-west of Springfield, with which they safely conveyed a cargo to New Orleans.

Lincoln was so successful in this, his second trip, and had

such a strict regard for the interests of his employer, that he was selected by Offutt, on his return, to take charge of a store and mill that he had by accident established at New Salem, then in Sangamon, now Menard county. This place is situated on a bluff twenty miles north-west of Springfield, and now contains but a solitary house. Offutt, it seems, had contemplated shipping another boat load of produce to New Orleans, from the head-waters of the Sangamon, but circumstances, or rather a circumstance in the shape of a mill-dam, checked his course at New Salem, and after the manner of the fox trying in vain to get the grapes, he concluded that New Orleans was not much of a place for business after all, and that, upon the whole, he would much prefer to remain where he was.

He accordingly rented a mill near by to grind his wheat, and obtained a small store-room in which he put a stock of goods. He kept what was at that time most frequently called for by the settlers—as powder, lead, coffee, sugar, calicoes, and so forth, and was what would now be called a grocery store.

LINCOLN AS A CLERK.

In July, 1831, his career as a clerk in a store began. By joining in the rude sports of the rough settlers, and adapting himself to their manners, as his knowledge of human nature enabled him to do, he soon formed acquaintances and gathered around him friends, and in less than one year, so rapidly had his popularity increased, that he was almost unanimously elected captain of a volunteer company, which had enlisted to defend the homes of the pioneers against the ravages of the Indians.

CAPTAIN LINCOLN.

In 1832 the Black Hawk war broke out. In the spring of that year, Black Hawk, the great chief of the Sac and Fox Indians, with several hundred warriors, recrossed the Mississippi near Fort Armstrong, and with an apparently hostile intention, returned within the limits of the State of Illinois. The note of alarm was sounded on the frontier and echoed from cabin to cabin. Dreadful depredations were anticipated, and Governor Reynolds of Illinois, promptly responding to the many memorials and petitions asking for an armed force to repel the invaders, issued his proclamation calling for the enlistment of bodies of militia. In a short time a large body of volunteers, "embracing many of the most respectable and influential citizens of Illinois, were in the vicinity of the invading foe, and ready to co-operate with the regular troops under General Atkinson."

Lincoln was the first to volunteer at Richland, in Menard county, and to his surprise but gratification, was chosen captain. The mode of choosing a captain was for the candidates to take a position at a distance from the main body, and then each man would go to the one that he desired to be his leader. At first about three out of every four walked to Lincoln, and when it was found that the choice had fallen upon him, the minority began to come over one by one, until his competitor was left standing almost alone. The cause of Lincoln's satisfaction was, that he had beaten a tyrannical and overbearing man, whose hired hand he had formerly been, and with whom he had quarreled on account of his oppression. This company

met the other companies at Beardstown, as the place of rendezvous, and there elected battalion officers, the Hon. John T. Stuart of Springfield being chosen major. Captain Lincoln marched to the frontier where he endured the ordinary hardships of such an expedition, and held his company in readiness for more active service, but did not have an opportunity to take part in an actual engagement. The company remained out about three months, and was disbanded at the successful termination of the war. He still owns, in Iowa, the land for which his own warrants for the service were located.

SAVES THE LIFE OF AN INDIAN.

While in the service of the State, an incident occurred which illustrates Mr. Lincoln's kind-heartedness, magnanimity and bravery. It is thus related by an eye-witness: A solitary Indian chief had come into camp bearing in his hand an old but carefully preserved piece of parchment, which proved to be a letter signed by Lewis Cass, and was to the effect that the bearer was a friendly, honest and well-disposed Indian, and should be allowed to pass through the camp unmolested. Some of the militia, however, who were anxious for an opportunity to show their bravery, seized the Indian and would have butchered him on the spot, had not Lincoln interfered. A contest ensued, in which those bravest in times of no danger, declared that to kill Indians was what they had enlisted for, and that they were determined to kill them whether at home or abroad, in church or in market; said they believed the Indian was a spy, and intimated that Lincoln was actuated by a fear of exasperating the other Indians. Lincoln told them that

barbarians would not kill a prisoner, that his letter guaranteed his good faith, and that if they killed this one they must do it over his dead body; and if they thought he was actuated by cowardly motives, any one of them could, then and there, have the opportunity to test his courage. All were overcome by his boldness, and the chief, expressing his gratitude to his benefactor, went on his way rejoicing.

CANDIDATE FOR THE LEGISLATURE.

Returning home but ten days before the August election of 1832, he was proposed and supported by his friends as a candidate for the Legislature, so great was the popularity he had acquired by a residence of but little more than one year at New Salem. At this time the two great political parties were known as the Adams or Clay, and the Jackson parties. Owing to the fact that Mr. Lincoln was not known, except in one quarter of Sangamon county, and the Jackson men being in the majority, he failed in being elected. The vote in Lincoln's own precinct, however, is perhaps without a parallel in the history of any public man. There were, for members of the Legislature, two hundred and eighty-four votes polled, of which he received two hundred and seventy-seven; or in other words, he received one more vote than both Mr. Duncan and Mr. Pugh, the Clay and Jackson candidates for Congress, the aggregate of their votes being two hundred and seventy-six. And this, too, while he was an avowed Clay man, and the precinct giving the autumn afterward a majority of one hundred and fifteen to Gen. Jackson over Mr. Clay.

This is the only time that Mr. Lincoln has ever been beaten in a direct vote of the people.

ELECTED TO THE LEGISLATURE IN 1834.

In August, 1834, he was again a candidate for the Legislature. At this time General Jackson was at the zenith of his popularity. He had been elected a second time President of the United States, having received 219 electoral votes out of 288, the whole number cast. He had been inaugurated, with great pomp and solemnity, on the 4th of March, 1833, and had entered upon his second term of office with increased popularity. Political animosities were bitter, and party spirit was at an unprecedented height. Lincoln made a vigorous canvass, delivering addresses in those parts of the country where he had before been unknown, and exciting great zeal in his behalf by the eloquence of his appeals.

An incident worthy of mention occurred during the progress of this canvass, which we have from the lips of one of the parties concerned:

Lincoln and other candidates had met at what was called in those times a Beef Shooting. The election of Mr. Stuart, a prominent candidate, being, at that stage of the canvass, conceded, certain politicians, thinking that Mr. Stuart's success would interfere with their own aspirations, proposed to Mr. Lincoln, that they would transfer enough votes to him from Mr. Stuart, to elect him and defeat Mr. S., if he would give his assent to the proposition. Lincoln immediately took Mr. S. apart from the others, and informed him of the manner in

which he had been approached, and declared that he would not play false to him for any office, high or low.

Mr. Lincoln was elected by the highest vote cast for any candidate, his own precinct giving him almost as decided a majority as before. He took his seat in the Legislature which met at Vandalia, December 1, 1834.

HIS EDUCATION, HOW ACQUIRED.

Just three years before this Lincoln was a flat-boatman. Let us go back and trace his progress from the time he began his career as a clerk at New Salem, and we shall find that this period was the most important in his history. He came here with the ability to read and write well, with a good knowledge of figures, and with an unusual amount of general information. He had gone to school but one year, but had been studying and learning during his life. But he felt the need of a more thorough knowledge of text-books, and three months after his arrival at New Salem, he declared his determination to study English Grammar, and being unable to procure one in the immediate neighborhood, he walked about seven miles and borrowed an old copy of Kirkham. His progress was wonderful. In three weeks, his instructor informs us, he was a good practical grammarian, and in three months vanquished the oracle of the village in a dispute concerning the use of certain pronouns. He remarked to a friend that if that was what they called a science he would try and master another, and accordingly soon after procured the work of Flint and Gibson on Surveying, and without assistance from others, obtained a thorough theoretical and practical knowledge of that branch

of science, which formed so material a part of the text-book knowledge of Washington and other great men. It is said that his means having been exhausted by the purchase of a compass, he used a grape-vine for a chain.

He was soon after appointed deputy surveyor of Sangamon county, and continued this excellent discipline, at intervals, for several years. His accuracy as a surveyor is spoken of at this day, and the lines he established remain undisturbed. He has a mathematical turn of mind, and has since studied the higher mathematics at different periods during his life. He carefully studied the six books of Euclid after he was a member of Congress.

During his first year's residence at New Salem, he became a subscriber to the *Louisville Journal*, then the leading Whig paper of the country, and paid for it out of his hard earnings. Burns was for many years his constant companion, and it is said that he can repeat from memory almost the entire work. In later years Shakspeare became his idol, and of American authors his favorite is Poe.

In the spring of 1833, Lincoln bought, at an auction in Springfield, a copy of Blackstone, and became for a time so absorbed in the study of the law that his friends were fearful that he would injure his mind by too close application. But he was still undecided as to what he should do. He thought of learning the blacksmith trade, as his great physical strength would be an advantage to him in that business. Poverty and a lack of a liberal education were barriers in the way of his pursuing the law. It was not until the canvass of 1834, that he finally determined, through the advice of Major John T. Stuart, to choose that profession. After the election he bor-

rowed books of that gentleman, took them home with him, and prosecuted the study alone.

Another means of education, which young Lincoln, like Henry Clay, availed himself of, was the debating club. A club had been organized in an old store-room in New Salem, in the debates of which he, Dr. John Allen of Petersburg, and others, took an active part. He also regularly walked about seven miles to attend a similar society. The little victories gained in this humble arena, in no slight degree prepared him to achieve those great victories over Senator Douglas in 1858.

INCIDENTS IN EARLY LIFE.

At the time of Lincoln's arrival in Sangamon county, there lived in and around New Salem, a band of rollicking, roystering fellows, known throughout all that region as the Clary's Grove Boys. These rowdies, although they included among their number many influential men, were emphatically wild and rough, and were the terror of all those who did not belong to the company. In connection with the duty of regulating the neighborhood, they took it upon themselves to try the mettle of every new-comer, and ascertain what sort of stuff he was made of, by appointing some one of their number to wrestle, fight or run a foot-race with him, as the case might be. In the gawky young Lincoln they thought they had discovered a subject; and the champion of the clan, Jack Armstrong, was selected to wrestle with him. It did not take Jack long to find out that he had got hold of the wrong customer, and when Jack's friends ascertained that he could not throw Lincoln down by fair means, it was agreed

that he should resort to foul. But Lincoln, knowing their design, met them with a boldness at which they all quailed, and informed them that if they wanted a fair wrestle he was willing to renew the contest, but if they wanted any thing else he was ready for that, and would settle any quarrel they wished to have on the spot. So decided was he that he completely won their hearts by his courage and bravery. This was a turning-point in Lincoln's life. He was afterward by these same men elected captain, and through the popularity thus acquired became a member of the Legislature. They have ever been his warmest friends.

The widow of Jack Armstrong is still living, and it was a son of this widow that Mr. Lincoln defended a few years since, when arraigned on a charge of murder. The following thrilling sketch is substantially correct:

“Some few years since the oldest son of Mr. Lincoln's old friend Armstrong, the chief support of his widowed mother, was arrested on the charge of murder. A young man had been killed during a riotous meleé, in the night time, at a camp-meeting, and one of his associates stated that the death-wound was inflicted by young Armstrong. A preliminary examination was gone into, at which the accuser testified so positively that there seemed no doubt of the guilt of the prisoner, and therefore he was held for trial. As is too often the case, the bloody act caused an undue degree of excitement in the public mind. Every improper incident in the life of the prisoner, each act which bore the least semblance of rowdyism—each school-boy quarrel—was suddenly remembered, until they pictured him as a fiend of the most horrible hue. As these rumors spread abroad, they were received as

gospel truth, and a feverish desire for vengeance seized upon the infatuated populace, whilst only prison-bars prevented a horrible death at the hands of a mob.

“The prisoner, overwhelmed by the circumstances under which he found himself placed, fell into a melancholy condition bordering on despair, and the widowed mother, looking through her tears, saw no cause for hope of earthly aid. At this juncture the widow received a letter from Mr. Lincoln, volunteering his services in an effort to save the youth from the impending stroke. Gladly was his aid accepted, although it seemed impossible for even his sagacity to prevail in such a desperate case; but the heart of the attorney was in his work, and he set about it with a will that knew no such word as fail. He went to unraveling the history of the case, and satisfied himself that his client was the victim of malice, and that the statements of the accuser was a tissue of falsehoods. When the trial was called on, the prisoner, pale and emaciated, with hopelessness written on every feature, and accompanied by his half-hoping, half-despairing mother—whose only hope was in a mother’s belief of her son’s innocence, in the justice of the God she worshiped, and in the noble counsel, who, without the hope of fee or reward upon earth, had undertaken the cause—took his seat in the prisoner’s box, and with a strong firmness listened to the reading of the indictment. The examination of witnesses for the State was begun, and a well-arranged mass of evidence, circumstantial and positive, was introduced, with which to impale the prisoner beyond the possibility of extrication.

“The prosecutor felt that the case was a clear one, and his opening speech was brief and formal. Lincoln arose, and

while a deathly silence pervaded the vast audience, and in a clear and moderate tone, began his argument. Slowly and carefully he reviewed the testimony, pointing out the hitherto unobserved discrepancies in the statements of the principal witness.

“The witness had stated that the affair took place at a certain hour in the evening, and that by the aid of the brightly shining moon he saw the prisoner inflict the death-blow with a slung-shot. Mr. Lincoln showed that at the hour referred to the moon had not yet appeared above the horizon, and consequently the whole tale was a fabrication. An almost instantaneous change seemed to have been wrought in the minds of the auditors, and the verdict of not guilty was at the end of every tongue. His whole being had for months been bound up in this work of gratitude and mercy, and great thoughts and burning words leaped forth from the soul of the eloquent Lincoln. He drew a picture of the perjurer so horrid and ghastly that the accuser could sit under it no longer, but reeled and staggered from the court-room, whilst the audience fancied they could see the brand upon his brow. Then in words of thrilling pathos, Lincoln appealed to the jurors, as fathers of sons who might become fatherless, and of husbands of wives who might become widowed, to yield to no previous impressions, no ill-founded prejudice, but to do his client justice; and as he alluded to the debt of gratitude which he owed the boy’s father, tears were seen to fall from many eyes unused to weep. It was near night when he concluded by saying, that if justice was done, as he believed it would be, before the sun should set it would shine upon his client a free man.

“The jury retired, and a half hour had not elapsed when they returned with the verdict of ‘Not guilty.’

“The widow dropped into the arms of her son, who lifted her up and told her to look upon him as before, free and innocent. Then with the words, “Where is Mr. Lincoln?” he rushed across the room and grasped the hand of his deliverer, while the heart was too full for utterance. I confess that my eyes were not wholly unwet by tears, and I turned from the affecting scene. As I cast a glance behind, I saw Abraham Lincoln obeying the divine injunction, by comforting the widow and the fatherless.”

Mr. M. Graham, of Menard county, who has heretofore been a political opponent of Mr. Lincoln, gives us the following illustration of his generosity, and his sympathy for those in distress :

“The fall after his arrival at New Salem, Lincoln was a neighbor of mine, and performed many kind acts during a time that sickness was prevailing in the neighborhood. At one time my own family, consisting of nine persons, were all sick excepting myself. I was unable for several weeks to do any work, and we were without means and in much distress. I was walking past Lincoln’s boarding-house one day when he came out and asked me about the family. I told him my little girl was dead. He appeared much affected. When I came back he handed me ten dollars, probably all the money he had in the world. I had not asked him for any and did not suppose he knew that I needed it.” Mr. Graham adds: “I think him, all in all, one of the most candid, truthful, honest and upright men the world has ever produced.”

Lincoln’s genial disposition and popular manners, and his

never-failing fund of anecdote, ever rendered him the center of every circle in which he moved. He early displayed unusual talent.

A leading public man of Indiana, who casually met him in 1831, declared that he had talent enough to make a President; and the ardent-minded Offutt was accustomed rather enthusiastically to assert that a man with a better mind the world had never produced. His society was sought by the cultivated men of the community. The Hon. Richard Yates, the present talented candidate for Governor of Illinois, met him at New Salem in 1831, and speaks in the highest terms of his talents and future promise.

APPOINTED POSTMASTER BY PRESIDENT JACKSON.

In 1833 Lincoln, and a man as poor as himself, by the name of William Berry, bought a stock of goods, on credit, of William G. Green, Esq., now a wealthy citizen of Menard county. Mr. Green had bought the stock of one Radford, and had disposed of his bargain to Lincoln and Berry, they becoming principals, and he surety on the notes given to Radford for the goods. It was while Lincoln was keeping this store on his own responsibility, that he received the appointment of Postmaster at New Salem, he being almost the only man in the village qualified to make out the returns. It is said that he cannot be so well pleased if elected President, as when he received this appointment. The secret of his gratification was the prospect of having access to the papers that passed through the office, so that his thirst for reading would for once be gratified. The store was brought to an untimely end by the intemperance

and death of Berry, and by other causes. By giving up his compass on one occasion, and his overcoat on another, he was enabled to raise money enough to pay his share of the notes, Mr. Green paying the balance. One James Short bought Lincoln's compass, when sold on execution, and gave it back to him.

Mr. G. subsequently removed to Tennessee, and was surprised, five or six years after this, to receive a letter from Mr. Lincoln, stating that he was now able to refund what money Mr. G. had paid for Berry, as he was equitably and legally bound so to do. Mr. Green had supposed that he himself was the person upon whom the loss should properly fall, and had no idea that he had any claim on Mr Lincoln.*

Mr. Lincoln returned to the surveying business, and was soon after elected a member of the Legislature, as we have before mentioned.

LEGISLATIVE CAREER.

The Representatives for the county of Sangamon, who took their seats December 1, 1834, to serve for the period of two years, were John Dawson, John T. Stuart, William Carpenter, and Abraham Lincoln. The relative strength of the two political parties may be shown with tolerable accuracy by the vote for Speaker of the House—James Semple, Jackson candidate, receiving thirty votes, and Charles Dunn, Opposition, twenty-five. Mr. Lincoln was appointed a member of the standing committee on Public Accounts and Expenditures,

* We acknowledge our indebtedness to B. F. Stephenson, M.D., L. M. Green, Esq., Mr. H. McHenry, and other gentlemen of Petersburg, in addition to those above mentioned, for valuable assistance rendered us.

and from the first session took an active interest in the financial affairs of the State. Among the first business of the session, was the election of a United States Senator. Mr. Lincoln voted for Richard M. Young, but John M. Robinson being the candidate of the majority, was of course elected, the vote on joint ballot being forty-seven to thirty.

We find Mr. Lincoln's vote recorded in favor of the construction of canals and railroads; for a bill to exempt Bibles, school-books, mechanics' tools, etc., from execution; in favor of the chartering of colleges, and female seminaries; for an act to provide for the education of orphan children; in favor of an act for the benefit of religious societies; in favor of an act for the distribution of the school fund, and for the encouragement of education; in short, pursuing that line of policy on every question, that we would expect him to pursue were he a member of a Republican Legislature to-day.

His vote is also on record against increasing the salaries of State officers, and in favor of measures of retrenchment. His speeches were few and short during this session, but always to the point. The House Journal informs us that "Mr. Stephen A. Douglas, Esq." was elected State's Attorney for the first Judicial District—Mr. Lincoln voting for John J. Hardin, his opponent. Mr. Douglas received two majority in a Legislature largely Democratic. Why his majority was so small does not appear.

During the session, beginning December, 1835, Mr. Lincoln served as chairman of many important select committees. He supported W. L. D. Ewing as a candidate for the United States Senate, who was elected during the first month of the session.

On the following amendment, introduced by Mr. Webb, we find Mr. Lincoln's vote recorded in the affirmative :

“*Resolved*, That the price of the public lands ought to be reduced.

“*Resolved*, That all white male citizens of the age of twenty-one and upwards, are entitled to the privilege of voting whether they hold real estate or not.

“*Resolved*, That we approve of the granting of pre-emption rights to settlers on the public lands.”

Mr. Lincoln's record is uniform and consistent in favor of internal improvements.

RE-ELECTED TO LEGISLATURE IN 1836.

At the end of his second annual session in the Legislature, Mr. Lincoln again took up his law books, and spent the time alternately at the law and at surveying, as his necessities required. His friends again presented him as a candidate for the Legislature, and he was re-elected by a large majority.

In the autumn of 1836, having studied law about two and a half years, he was admitted to the Bar, and on April 15, 1837, he removed to Springfield, and commenced the practice, his old friend Stuart taking him into partnership. This partnership continued until the election of Mr. Stuart to Congress, when Mr. Lincoln became the law partner of Judge Logan.

During the times of his candidacy, he was frequently called upon to define his position on the questions then exciting public interest. The following extract, which we take from the commencement of a letter found in the Sangamon Journal of June 15, exhibits Mr. Lincoln's frankness :

“NEW SALEM, June 13th, 1836.

“*To the Editor of the Journal:*

“In your paper of last Saturday, I see a communication over the signature of ‘Many Voters,’ in which the candidates who are announced in the Journal, are called upon to ‘show their hands.’ Agreed. Here’s mine!”

He then very clearly and fully states his opinions, which, on questions of national policy, were identical with those of Henry Clay.

March 3, 1837, by a protest entered upon the Illinois House Journal of that date, on pages 817, 818, Mr. Lincoln, with Dan. Stone, another Representative of Sangamon county, briefly defined his position on the slavery question; and so far as it goes, was then, we believe, the same that it is now. The protest is as follows:

“*March 3, 1837.*

“Resolutions upon the subject of domestic slavery having passed both branches of the General Assembly at its present session, the undersigned do 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 said District.

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

“DAN. STONE,

“A. LINCOLN,

“*Representatives of the County of Sangamon.*”

The sessions of 1836-7, were chiefly distinguished for the inauguration of an extensive system of internal improvements, and for the removal of the capitol from Vandalia to Springfield. Mr. Lincoln favored this removal. Previous to that time, he is said sometimes to have walked the entire distance from New Salem to Vandalia. Sangamon county was represented during these two years by nine men, each of whom was six feet or upward. They were a jolly, jovial set of fellows, and were known as the *long nine*. On one occasion the long nine were met returning from Vandalia, at the close of a session, and while eight of them were wending their way on horseback, Mr. Lincoln accompanied them, and kept up with them on foot.

RE-ELECTED TO LEGISLATURE IN 1838 AND 1840.

For a third and fourth time, Mr. Lincoln was re-elected by the citizens of Sangamon county to represent them in the Legislature. The county had increased greatly both in population and in wealth, and seemed destined to become the leading county in the State. The Representatives in the lower House,

from 1838 to 1840, were Abraham Lincoln, John Dawson, William F. Elkin, Edward D. Baker, Ninian W. Edwards, and Andrew McCormick. A special session was held at Springfield, commencing December 9th, 1839, during which he made several speeches of considerable length. He was a member of two important standing committees, one the Finance committee, the other the committee on New Counties. The law regulating interest being under consideration, Mr. Lincoln moved the following amendment :

“That hereafter all revolutionary pensioners within this State, shall be permitted to loan all, or any part of the money which they may have acquired exclusively by means of their pensions, without paying any tax whatever.”

This shows a regard for the interests and appreciation for the services of that noble band of men, who, notwithstanding their many virtues, are, as a class, blessed with but a small portion of this world's goods.

While John Quincy Adams was battling for the sacred right of petition in the halls of Congress, Abraham Lincoln was almost daily presenting petitions from his constituents on whatever subjects they felt an interest. It mattered not whether the petitioners were wealthy or influential, or numerous or not, in every case their prayers received equal attention ; for, in one instance, we find him presenting the petition of a *single farmer*, and taking all the care to have it referred to the proper committee, that he would have done had it been signed by thousands.

Mr. Lincoln was now considered the leader of the Whig party in the Legislature, and in both 1838 and in 1840, his

political friends voted for him for Speaker of the House, but being in the minority he was not elected.

After 1840, having served in the Legislature eight years, he declined a re-election. He was one of the Harrison electoral ticket of that year, and performed much valuable service during that memorable campaign.

LINCOLN IN CONGRESS.

In 1844 Mr. Lincoln was one of the electors on the ticket with Henry Clay, and had taken a very active part to secure the election of that great statesman. He was pursuing the practice of his profession, having associated with him W. H. Herndon, Esq., who still remains his partner, when he was called from retirement by being nominated as the Whig candidate for Congress in the Central District.

So great was his popularity at home, that although the State was considered hopelessly Democratic, he was elected by 1500 majority over Peter Cartwright, his opponent. He was the only Whig among the seven members from Illinois, who took their seats in the thirtieth Congress, which convened December 6, 1847.

This Congress was, in many respects, one of the most remarkable ever assembled. In the Senate were such men as Webster, Calhoun, Crittenden, Corwin, Benton, Douglas, Davis, Dayton, Bell, Clayton, Cameron, and Cass; and in the House we find many names not unknown to fame; as, J. Q. Adams, Winthrop, Collamer, Ashmun, Wilmot, Cobb, Toombs, Stephens, Botts, Boyd, Vinton, Schenck, Iverson, and Giddings.

The first business of the session being the election of Speaker, Robert C. Winthrop of Massachusetts was elected on the third ballot, Mr. Lincoln casting his vote for him on each ballot. The most exciting questions before this Congress were those growing out of the war with Mexico, in the discussion of which, Mr. Lincoln delivered several lengthy and able speeches. He, in conjunction with the majority of the lower House of Congress, had always maintained that the war was unnecessarily and unconstitutionally begun by President Polk, and for that reason, he introduced the following resolutions during the first month of the session, to ascertain, if possible, by what authority Mr. Polk had made certain declarations in his message, upon the truth of which he had justified his line of policy :

“WHEREAS the President of the United States, in his message of May 11, 1846, has declared that ‘the Mexican Government not only refused to receive him (the envoy of the United States), or listen to his propositions, but after a long-continued series of menaces, have at last invaded *our territory* and shed the blood of our fellow-citizens on *our own soil*.’

“And again, in his message of December 8, 1846, that ‘we had ample cause of war against Mexico long before the breaking out of hostilities, but even then we forbore to take redress into our own hands until Mexico herself became the aggressor, by invading *our soil* in hostile array, and shedding the blood of our citizens.’

“And yet again, in the message of December 7, 1847, that ‘the Mexican Government refused even to hear the terms of adjustment which he (our minister of peace) was authorized

to propose, and finally, under wholly unjustifiable pretexts, involved the two countries in war, by invading the territory of the State of Texas, striking the first blow, and shedding the blood of our citizens on *our own soil*?

“And whereas this House is desirous to obtain a full knowledge of all the facts which go to establish whether the particular spot on which the blood of our citizens was so shed, was or was not at that time *our own soil*; therefore,

“*Resolved by the House of Representatives*, That the President of the United States be respectfully requested to inform this House—

“1st. 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.

“2d. Whether that spot is or is not within the territory which was wrested from Spain by the revolutionary Government of Mexico.

“3d. 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.

“4th. Whether that settlement is or is not isolated from any and all other settlements by the Gulf and the Rio Grande, on the south and west, and by wide uninhabited regions, on the north and east.

“5th. Whether the people of that settlement, or a majority of them, or any of them, have ever submitted themselves to the government or laws of Texas or of the United States, by consent or by compulsion, either by accepting office, or voting

at elections, or paying tax, or serving on juries, or having process served upon them, or in any other way.

“6th. Whether the people of that settlement did or did not flee from the approach of the United States army, leaving unprotected their homes and their growing crops, *before* the blood was shed, as in the message stated; and whether the first blood, so shed, was or was not shed within the inclosure of one of the people who had thus fled from it.

“7th. Whether our *citizens*, whose blood was shed, as in his messages declared, were or were not at that time, armed officers and soldiers, sent into that settlement by the military order of the President, through the Secretary of War.

“8th. Whether the military force of the United States was or was not so sent into that settlement after General Taylor had more than once intimated to the war department that, in his opinion, no such movement was necessary to the defense or protection of Texas.”

Mr. Lincoln did not get an opportunity to discuss these resolutions until January 12, 1848, at which time he delivered an elaborate speech, while the President's annual message was under discussion. After first showing Mr. Polk's error as to the boundary between our country and Mexico, he continues:

“Some time after my colleague [Mr. Richardson] introduced the resolutions I have mentioned, I introduced a preamble, resolution, and interrogatories,* intended to draw the President out, if possible, on this hitherto untrodden ground. To show their relevancy, I propose to state my understanding of the true rule for ascertaining the boundary between Texas and

* See *Congressional Globe*, 1st sess. 30th Cong., page 94.

Mexico. It is, that *wherever* Texas was *exercising* jurisdiction was hers; and *wherever Mexico* was exercising jurisdiction was hers; and that *whatever* separated the actual exercise of jurisdiction of the one from that of the other, was the true boundary between them. If, as is probably true, Texas was exercising jurisdiction along the western bank of the Nueces, and Mexico was exercising it along the eastern bank of the Rio Grande, then *neither* river was the boundary, but the uninhabited country between the two was. The extent of our territory in that region depended, not on any *treaty-fixed* boundary (for no treaty had attempted it), but on revolution. Any people any where, being inclined and having the power, have the *right* to rise up and shake off the existing government, and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable, a most sacred right—a right which, we hope and believe, is to liberate the world. Nor is this right confined to cases in which the whole people of an existing government may choose to exercise it. Any portion of such people that *can may* revolutionize and make their *own* of so much of the territory as they inhabit. More than this, a *majority* of any portion of such people may revolutionize, putting down a *minority*, intermingled with, or near about them, who may oppose their movements. Such minority was precisely the case of the Tories of our own Revolution. It is a quality of revolutions not to go by *old* lines or *old* laws; but to break up both, and make new ones. As to the country now in question, we bought it of France in 1803, and sold it to Spain in 1819, according to the President's statement. After this, all Mexico, including Texas, revolutionized against Spain; and still later, Texas revolutionized against Mexico. In my view, just so far

as she carried her revolution, by obtaining the *actual*, willing or unwilling, submission of the people, *so far* the country was hers, and no farther.

“ Now, sir, for the purpose of obtaining the very best evidence as to whether Texas had actually carried her revolution to the place where the hostilities of the present war commenced, let the President answer the interrogatories I proposed, as before mentioned, or some other similar ones. Let him answer fully, fairly, and candidly. Let him answer with *facts*, and not with arguments. Let him remember he sits where Washington sat; and, so remembering, let him answer as Washington would answer. As a nation *should* not, and the Almighty *will* not, be evaded, so let him attempt no evasion, no equivocation. And if, so answering, he can show that the soil was ours where the first blood of the war was shed—that it was not within an inhabited country, or, if within such, that the inhabitants had submitted themselves to the civil authority of Texas, or of the United States, and that the same is true of the site of Fort Brown—then I am with him for his justification. In that case, I shall be most happy to reverse the vote I gave the other day. I have a selfish motive for desiring that the President may do this; I expect to give some votes, in connection with the war, which, without his so doing, will be of doubtful propriety, in my own judgment, but which will be free from the doubt, if he does so. But if he *cannot* or *will not* do this—if, on any pretense, or no pretense, he shall refuse or omit it—then I shall be fully convinced, of what I more than suspect already, that he is deeply conscious of being in the wrong; that he feels the blood of this war, like the blood of Abel, is crying to Heaven against him; that he

ordered General Taylor into the midst of a peaceful Mexican settlement, purposely to bring on a war; that originally having some strong motive—what I will not stop now to give my opinion concerning—to involve the two countries in a war, and trusting to escape scrutiny by fixing the public gaze upon the exceeding brightness of military glory—that attractive rainbow that rises in showers of blood—that serpent's eye that charms to destroy—he plunged into it, and has swept *on* and *on*, till, disappointed in his calculation of the ease with which Mexico might be subdued, he now finds himself he knows not where. How like the half insane mumbling of a fever dream is the whole war part of the late message! At one time telling us that Mexico has nothing whatever that we can get but territory; at another, showing us how we can support the war by levying contributions on Mexico. At one time urging the national honor, the security of the future, the prevention of foreign interference, and even the good of Mexico herself, as among the objects of the war; at another, telling us that, 'to reject indemnity by refusing to accept a cession of territory, would be to abandon all our just demands, and to wage the war, bearing all its expenses, *without a purpose or definite object.*' So, then, the national honor, security of the future, and every thing but territorial indemnity, may be considered the *no-purposes* and *indefinite* objects of the war! But, having it now settled that territorial indemnity is the only object, we are urged to seize, by legislation here, all that he was content to take a few months ago, and the whole province of Lower California to boot, and to still carry on the war—to take *all* we are fighting for, and *still* fight on. Again, the President is resolved, under all circumstances to have full territorial indem-

nity for the expenses of the war; but he forgets to tell us how we are to get the *excess* after those expenses shall have surpassed the value of the *whole* of the Mexican territory. So, again, he insists that the separate national existence of Mexico shall be maintained; but he does not tell us *how* this can be done after we shall have taken *all* her territory. Lest the questions I here suggest be considered speculative merely, let me be indulged a moment in trying to show they are not.

“The war has gone on some twenty months; for the expenses of which, together with an inconsiderable old score, the President now claims about one-half of the Mexican territory, and that by far the better half, so far as concerns our ability to make any thing out of it. *It* is comparatively uninhabited; so that we could establish land-offices in it, and raise some money in that way. But the other half is already inhabited, as I understand it, tolerably densely for the nature of the country; and all its lands, or all that are valuable, already appropriated as private property. How, then, are we to make any thing out of these lands with this incumbrance on them, or how remove the incumbrance on them? I suppose no one will say we should kill the people, or drive them out, to make slaves of them, or even confiscate their property? How, then, can we make much out of this part of the territory? If the prosecution of the war has, in expenses, already equaled the *better* half of the country, how long its future prosecution will be in equaling the less valuable half is not a *speculative*, but a *practical* question, pressing closely upon us; and yet it is a question which the President seems never to have thought of.

“As to the mode of terminating the war and securing peace, the President is equally wandering and indefinite. First, it is

to be done by a more vigorous prosecution of the war in the vital parts of the enemy's country; and, after apparently talking himself tired on this point, the President drops down into a half-despairing tone, and tells us, that 'with a people distracted and divided by contending factions, and a Government subject to constant changes, by successive revolutions, *the continued success of our arms may fail to obtain a satisfactory peace.*' Then he suggests the propriety of wheedling the Mexican people to desert the counsels of their own leaders, and, trusting in our protection, to set up a Government from which we can secure a satisfactory peace, telling us that '*this may become the only mode of obtaining such a peace.*' But soon he falls into doubt of this too, and then drops back on to the already half-abandoned ground of 'more vigorous prosecution.' All this shows that the President is in nowise satisfied with his own positions. First, he takes up one, and in attempting to argue us *into* it, he argues himself *out* of it; then 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 power, is running hither and thither, like some tortured creature on a burning surface, finding no position on which it can settle down and be at ease.

"Again, it is a singular omission in this message, that it nowhere intimates *when* the President expects the war to terminate. At its beginning, General Scott was, by this same President, driven into disfavor, if not disgrace, for intimating that peace could not be conquered in less than three or four months. But now at the end of about twenty months, during which time our arms have given us the most splendid successes—

every department, and every part, land and water, officers and privates, regulars and volunteers, doing all that men *could* do, and hundreds of things which it had ever before been thought men could *not* do; after all this, this same President gives us a long message without showing us that, *as to the end*, he has himself even an imaginary conception. As I have before said, he knows not where he is. He is a bewildered, confounded, and miserably-perplexed man. God grant he may be able to show there is not something about his conscience more painful than all his mental perplexity!"

Mr. Lincoln frequently advocated and voted for bills granting bounty lands to soldiers, and so anxious was he that they should be well paid for the hardships they endured, and the losses they sustained, that, as he subsequently said, "he was a good deal like a gentleman near him, who was in favor of paying for every thing, by way of being sure of paying those who were right."

The following extract shows his true position :

"Mr. Lincoln said, if there was a general desire on the part of the House to pass the bill now, he should be glad to have it done—concurring, as he did generally, with the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. Johnson], that the postponement might jeopard the safety of the proposition. If, however, a reference was to be made, he wished to make a very few remarks in relation to the several subjects desired by gentlemen to be embraced in amendments to the ninth section of the act of the last session of Congress. The first amendment desired by members of this House had for its only object to give bounty lands to such persons as had served for a time as privates, but

had never been discharged as such, because promoted to office. That subject, and no other, was embraced in this bill. There were some others who desired, while they were legislating on this subject, that they should also give bounty lands to the volunteers of the war of 1812. His friend from Maryland said there were no such men. He (Mr. L.) did not say there were many, but he was very confident there were some. His friend from Kentucky near him [Mr. Gaines], told him he himself was one.

“There was still another proposition touching this matter : that was, that persons entitled to bounty land should by law be entitled to locate these lands in parcels, and not be required to locate them in one body, as was provided by the existing law.

“Now, he had carefully drawn up a bill embracing these three separate propositions, which he intended to propose as a substitute for all these bills in the House, or in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, at some suitable time. If there was a disposition on the part of the House to act at once on this separate proposition, he repeated that, with the gentleman from Arkansas, he should prefer it, lest they should lose all. But if there was to be a reference, he desired to introduce his bill embracing the three propositions, thus enabling the committee and the House to act at the same time, whether favorably or unfavorably, upon all. He inquired whether an amendment was now in order?

“The Speaker replied in the negative.”

In May, 1848, while the bill for the admission of the State of Wisconsin into the Union was under discussion, Mr. Lin-

coln spoke in favor of Congress making appropriations of alternate sections of land to aid the States in building railroads, and making other internal improvements. Again, when the general subject of internal improvements was under consideration, Mr. Lincoln, on June 20, 1848, delivered a very able argument, in which, among other points, he established, that the Democratic party, under the leadership of General Cass, was directly pledged to oppose the making of internal improvements by the General Government; and in a clear and satisfactory manner, answered the various objections to the proposed measures, based on Constitutional and other grounds. We regret that we have not room for any part of this or the preceding speech.

Mr. Lincoln's peculiar style cannot be better illustrated than by the following extract from a speech, delivered near the close of his Congressional career, on the Presidential question. After speaking of the position of General Taylor and his friends, he proceeds:

“Mr. Speaker, I have said General Taylor's position is as well defined as is that of General Cass. In saying this, I admit I do not certainly know what he would do on the Wilmot proviso. I am 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. As such, and with what information I have, I hope, and *believe*, General Taylor, if elected, would not veto the proviso; but I do not *know* it. Yet, if I knew he would, I still would vote for him. I should do so, because, in my judgment, his election alone can defeat General Cass; and because, *should* slavery

thereby go into the territory we now have, just so much will certainly happen by the election of Cass; and, in addition, a course of policy leading to new wars, new acquisitions of territory, and still further extensions of slavery. One of the two is to be President: which is preferable?

“But there is as much doubt of Cass on improvements as there is of Taylor on the proviso. I have no doubt myself of General Cass on this question, but I know the Democrats differ among themselves as to his position. My internal improvement colleague [Mr. Wentworth] stated on this floor the other day, that he was satisfied Cass was for improvements, because he had voted all the bills that he [Mr. W.] had. So far so good. But Mr. Polk vetoed some of these very bills; the Baltimore Convention passed a set of resolutions, among other things, approving these vetoes, and Cass declares, in his letter accepting the nomination, that he has carefully read these resolutions, and that he adheres to them as firmly as he approves them cordially. In other words, General Cass voted for the bills, and thinks the President did right to veto them; and his friends here are amiable enough to consider him as being on one side or the other, just as one or the other may correspond with their own respective inclinations. My colleague admits that the platform declares against the constitutionality of a general system of improvements, and that General Cass indorses the platform; but he still thinks General Cass is in favor of some sort of improvements. Well, what are they? As he is against *general* objects, those he is *for*, must be *particular* and *local*. Now, this is taking the subject precisely by the wrong end. *Particularity*—expending the money of the *whole* people for an object which will benefit

only a *portion* of them, is the greatest real objection to improvements, and has been so held by General Jackson, Mr. Polk, and all others, I believe, till now. But now, behold, the objects most general, nearest free from this objection, are to be rejected, while those most liable to it are to be embraced. To return: I cannot help believing that General Cass, when he wrote his letter of acceptance, well understood he was to be claimed by the advocates of both sides of this question, and that he then closed the door against all further expressions of opinion, purposely to retain the benefits of that double position. His subsequent equivocation at Cleveland, to my mind, proves such to have been the case.

“One more word, and I shall have done with this branch of the subject. You Democrats, and your candidate, in the main, are in favor of laying down, in advance, a platform—a set of party positions, as a unit; and then of enforcing the people, by every sort of appliance, to ratify them, however unpalatable some of them may be. We, and our candidate, are in favor of making Presidential elections and the legislation of the country distinct matters; so that the people can elect whom they please, and afterward, legislate just *as* they please, without any hindrance, save only so much as may guard against infractions of the Constitution, undue haste, and want of consideration. The difference between us is clear as noon-day. That we are right we cannot doubt. We hold the true Republican position. In leaving the people’s business in their hands we cannot be wrong. We are willing, and even anxious, to go to the people on this issue.

“But I suppose I cannot reasonably hope to convince you that we have any principles. The most I can expect is, to as-

sure you that we think we have, and are quite contented with them. The other day, one of the gentlemen from Georgia [Mr. Iverson], an eloquent man, and a man of learning, so far as I can judge, not being learned myself, came down upon us astonishingly. He spoke in what the Baltimore American calls the 'scathing and withering style.' At the end of his second severe flash I was struck blind, and found myself feeling around with my fingers for an assurance of my continued physical existence. A little of the bone was left, and I gradually revived. He eulogized Mr. Clay in high and beautiful terms, and then declared that we had deserted all our principles, and had turned Henry Clay out, like an old horse, to root. This is terribly severe. It cannot be answered by argument; at least, I cannot so answer it. I merely wish to ask the gentleman if the Whigs are the only party he can think of, who sometimes turn old horses out to root? Is not a certain Martin Van Buren an old horse, which your own party have turned out to root? and is he not rooting a little to your discomfort about now? But in not nominating Mr. Clay, we deserted our principles, you say. Ah! in what? Tell us, ye men of principles, what principle we violated? We say you did violate principle in discarding Van Buren, and we can tell you how. You violated the primary, the cardinal, the one great living principle of all Democratic representative government—the principle that the representative is bound to carry out the known will of his constituents. A large majority of the Baltimore Convention of 1844 were, by their constituents, instructed to procure Van Buren's nomination if they could. In violation, in utter, glaring contempt of this, you rejected him—rejected him, as the gentleman from New York [Mr. Bird-

sall] the other day expressly admitted, for *availability*—that same ‘general availability’ which you charge upon us, and daily chew over here, as something exceedingly odious and unprincipled. But the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Iverson] gave us a second speech yesterday, all well considered and put down in writing, in which Van Buren was scathed and withered a ‘few’ for his present position and movements. I cannot remember the gentleman’s precise language, but I do remember he put Van Buren down, down, till he got him where he was finally to ‘stink’ and ‘rot.’

“Mr. Speaker, it is no business or inclination of mine to defend Martin Van Buren. In the war of extermination now waging between him and his old admirers, I say, devil take the hindmost—and the foremost. But there is no mistaking the origin of the breach; and if the curse of ‘stinking’ and ‘rotting’ is to fall on the first and greatest violators of principle in the matter, I disinterestedly suggest, that the gentleman from Georgia and his present co-workers are bound to take it upon themselves.

“But the gentleman from Georgia further says, we have deserted all our principles, and taken shelter under General Taylor’s military coat-tail; and he seems to think this is exceedingly degrading. Well, as his faith is, so be it unto him. But can he remember no other military coat-tail, under which a certain other party have been sheltering for near a quarter of a century? Has he no acquaintance with the ample military coat-tail of General Jackson? Does he not know that his own party have run the last five Presidential races under that coat-tail, and that they are now running the sixth under that same cover? Yes, sir, that coat-tail was used, not only

for General Jackson himself, but has been clung to with the grip of death by every Democratic candidate since. You have never ventured, and dare not now venture, from under it. Your campaign papers have constantly been 'Old Hickories,' with rude likenesses of the old General upon them; hickory poles and hickory brooms your never-ending emblems; Mr. Polk, himself, was 'Young Hickory,' 'Little Hickory,' or something so; and even now your campaign paper here is proclaiming that Cass and Butler are of the true 'Hickory stripe.' No, sir; you dare not give it up. Like a horde of hungry ticks, you have stuck to the tail of the Hermitage lion to the end of his life, and you are still sticking to it, and drawing a loathsome sustenance from it after he is dead. A fellow once advertised that he had made a discovery, by which he could make a new man out of an old one, and have enough of the stuff left to make a little yellow dog. Just such a discovery has General Jackson's popularity been to you. You not only twice made President of him out of it, but you have had enough of the stuff left to make Presidents of several comparatively small men since; and it is your chief reliance now to make still another.

"Mr. Speaker, old horses and military coat-tails, or tails of any sort, are not figures of speech such as I would be the first to introduce into discussions here; but as the gentleman from Georgia has thought fit to introduce them, he and you are welcome to all you have made, or can make, by them. If you have any more old horses, trot them out; any more tails, just cock them, and come at us.

"I repeat, I would not introduce this mode of discussion here; but I wish gentlemen on the other side to understand, that

the use of degrading figures is a game at which they may not find themselves able to take all the winnings. [We give it up.] Aye, you give it up, and well you may, but from a very different reason from that which you would have us understand. The point—the power to hurt—of all figures, consists in the *truthfulness* of their application; and understanding this, you may well give it up. They are weapons which hit you, but miss us.

“ But, in my hurry, I was very near closing on the subject of military tails, before I was done with it. There is one entire article of the sort I have not discussed yet; I mean the military tail you Democrats are now engaged in dovetailing on to the great Michigander. Yes, sir, all his biographers (and they are legion) have him in hand, tying him to a military tail, like so many mischievous boys tying a dog to a bladder of beans. True, the material they have is very limited; but they drive at it, might and main. He *invaded* Canada without resistance, and he *outvaded* it without pursuit. As he did both under orders, I suppose there was, to him, neither credit nor discredit in them; but they are made to constitute a large part of the tail. He was not at Hull's surrender, but he was close by. He was volunteer aid to General Harrison on the day of the battle of the Thames; and, as you said in 1840, Harrison was picking whortleberries two miles off, while the battle was fought, I suppose it is a just conclusion, with you, to say Cass was aiding Harrison to pick whortleberries. This is about all, except the mooted question of the broken sword. Some authors say he broke it; some say he threw it away; and some others, who ought to know, say nothing about it. Perhaps it would

be a fair historical compromise to say, if he did not break it, he did not do any thing else with it.

“By the way, Mr. Speaker, did you know I am a military hero? Yes, sir, in the days of the Black Hawk war, I fought, bled, and came away. Speaking of General Cass’s career, reminds me of my own. I was not at Stillman’s defeat, but I was about as near it as Cass was to Hull’s surrender; and, like him, I saw the place very soon afterward. It is quite certain I did not break my sword, for I had none to break; but I bent a musket pretty badly on one occasion. If Cass broke his sword, the idea is, he broke it in desperation; I bent the musket by accident. If General Cass went in advance of me in picking whortleberries, I guess I surpassed him in charges upon 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 the loss of blood, I can truly say I was often very hungry.

“Mr. Speaker, if I should ever 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 they shall not make fun of me, as they have of General Cass, by attempting to write me into a military hero.”

We will now close our brief account of Mr. Lincoln’s course in Congress. On the most important questions that came before that body we have preferred to let Mr. Lincoln speak for himself, rather than to put our own construction upon his language, knowing that every word that he uttered and every vote that he cast will bear the strictest scrutiny. No one who

will take the trouble to refer to his record will be at a loss to know what opinions he did, or did not hold, what measures he did or did not support. There was no dodging, no equivocation. There were many questions, some of local, some of general interest, in the discussion of which he participated, to which we have not even alluded, knowing that his course in regard to them is a matter of public record accessible to all. We must refer, however, to the fact that one of the last acts of his career in Congress, was to secure the passage of a Bill by which slavery, in the District of Columbia, would be put in course of ultimate extinction. Before offering this bill to Congress, Mr. Lincoln submitted it to about fifteen of the leading citizens of the District, not one of whom failed to approve of the proposition, but afterward learning that, through the influence of Southern members, those who had promised to support the measure would oppose it, he did not press its passage. The material provisions were as follows :

“That no person not now within the District of Columbia nor now owned by any person or persons now resident within it, nor hereafter born within it, shall ever be held in slavery within said District.

“That all children born of slave mothers within said District, on or after the 1st day of January, in the year of our Lord 1850, shall be free ; but shall be reasonably supported and educated by the respective owners of their mothers, etc.” And the Bill further provides, that the owners of slaves shall be paid the full value of their slaves, the value to be determined by a competent board—and the abolition to be fully consummated by the decision of a majority of the qualified voters of the District.

It is a matter of wonder that a proposition so just and so liberal has not yet met the approbation of those who occupy a place in the halls of legislation, so that the 'foul blot of slavery' might be removed from our Capitol.

LINCOLN'S CAREER FROM 1850 TO 1858.

In 1849 Mr. Lincoln, firmly declining a re-election, retired from Congress and resumed the practice of the law. He had been married, in 1842, to Miss Mary Todd, daughter of the Hon. Robert S. Todd, of Kentucky, a gentleman who had been for many years Clerk of the House of Representatives at Washington, and a prominent citizen of his own State.

From 1850 to 1854, Mr. Lincoln kept steadily at the laborious duties of his profession, with but a slight interruption in 1852, when he was placed on the Scott electoral ticket, and made some few speeches in Illinois to secure the election of that greatest military chieftain of modern times.

He anticipated the unsuccessful termination of that contest and retired disheartened, the gradual breaking up of the Whig, party having already commenced. That party ceased to be one of the controlling parties of the country after the defeat of General Scott; but many of the principles of the party will never cease to be the true principles of the Government, and are as immortal as Clay and Webster themselves.

Mr. Lincoln would now perhaps have been engaged in the duties of his profession, had not the outrage perpetrated by the Democratic party in 1854, aroused his patriotism and his sense of justice, and caused him to leave his retirement and nobly battle in defense of the truth. A solemn compromise had been repealed. Slavery, which before had been restricted;

to fixed limits by a sacred barrier, and was thought to be in process of ultimate extinction, was now unrestricted and unrestrained, and was put in process of immediate extension.

The counsels and labors of our greatest statesmen had been disregarded and set at naught, and the interests of future generations bartered away. The matter was brought home to Mr. Lincoln by the fact that the chief perpetrator of this great wrong was a Senator from his own State, and the professed representative of the people of Illinois.

Mr. Lincoln, the real representative of the sentiments of the people, and Mr. Douglas, the nominal representative, met at Springfield, October 4, 1854.

“The Nebraska bill had been passed on the previous twenty-second of May. Mr. Douglas had returned to Illinois to meet an outraged constituency. He had made a fragmentary speech in Chicago, the people filling up each hiatus in a peculiar and good-humored way. He called the people a mob—they called him a rowdy. The ‘mob’ had the best of it, both then and at the election which succeeded. The notoriety of all these events had stirred up the politics of the State from bottom to top.

“We do not remember whether a challenge to debate passed between the friends of the speakers or not, but there was a perfectly amicable understanding between Lincoln and Douglas, that the former should speak two or three hours, and the latter reply in just as little or as much time as he chose. Mr. Lincoln took the stand at two o’clock—a large crowd in attendance, and Mr. Douglas seated on a small platform in front of the desk. The first half hour of Mr. Lincoln’s speech was taken up with compliments to his distinguished friend, Judge

Douglas, and dry allusions to the political events of the past few years. His distinguished friend, Judge Douglas, had taken his seat, as solemn as the Cock-Lane ghost, evidently with the design of not moving a muscle till it came his turn to speak. The laughter provoked by Lincoln's exordium, however, soon began to make him uneasy; and when Mr. L. arrived at his (Douglas's) speech, pronouncing the Missouri Compromise 'a sacred thing, which no ruthless hand would ever be reckless enough to disturb,' he opened his lips far enough to remark, 'A first-rate speech!' This was the beginning of an amusing colloquy.

"'Yes,' continued Mr. Lincoln, 'so affectionate was my friend's regard for this Compromise line, that when Texas was admitted into the Union, and it was found that a strip extended north of 36° 30', he actually introduced a bill extending the line and prohibiting slavery in the northern edge of the new State.'

"'And you voted against the bill,' said Douglas.

"'Precisely so,' replied Lincoln; 'I was in favor of running the line *a great deal further south.*'

"'About this time,' the speaker continued, 'my distinguished friend introduced me to a particular friend of his, one David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania.' [Laughter.]

"'I thought,' said Douglas, 'you would find him congenial company.'

"'So I did,' replied Lincoln. 'I had the pleasure of voting for his proviso, in one way and another, about forty times. It was a *Democratic* measure then, I believe. At any rate, General Cass scolded honest John Davis, of Massachusetts, soundly, for talking away the last hours of the session, so that he (Cass)

couldn't crowd it through. *Apropos* of General Cass: if I am not greatly mistaken, he has a prior claim to my distinguished friend, to the authorship of Popular Sovereignty. The old General has an infirmity for writing letters. Shortly after the scolding he gave John Davis, he wrote his Nicholson letter.'

"Douglas (solemnly)—'God Almighty placed man on the earth, and told him to choose between good and evil. That was the origin of the Nebraska bill!'

"Lincoln—'Well, the priority of invention being settled, let us award all credit to Judge Douglas for being the first to discover it.'"*

During the same month, Mr. Lincoln made, at Peoria, Illinois, one of the ablest speeches of his life. He spoke from the heart with such eloquence that the effect was magnetic and the impression profound.

The canvass resulted in the election of a majority of anti-Nebraska members of the Legislature. Lincoln was the choice of much the greater part of these as a candidate for the United States Senate. But as there were some anti-Nebraska Democrats who were not inclined to break over the old party lines and support a former Whig, through the influence of Mr. Lincoln, his friends were induced to go over to the support of Judge Trumbull, for fear of the election of a man less decided on the slavery question.

This disinterested sacrifice which he made to conciliate and unite the elements of the opposition, was followed by a similar one the same year. He was the choice of the anti-Nebraska party for Governor, but fearing that his prominence as a lead-

* *Chicago Press and Tribune.*

er of the Whig party would awaken old animosities, and furnish an excuse for Democrats acting with them in opposition to the extension of slavery, to return to their old party connections, he gave up that glittering prize also, and gave his influence in favor of William Bissell, a former Democrat, who was triumphantly elected. In 1855, the Republican party, under its present name, was organized in Illinois, and Mr. Lincoln, by correspondence with prominent men and by active personal effort, became the acknowledged leader of that party, in the State, which has now made him its leader in the nation.

In 1856, the Republican National Convention gave Mr. Lincoln one hundred and two votes as a candidate for Vice President, showing that at that time his reputation was not confined by State lines.

He was again honored by the Republicans by being placed at the head of the Fremont electoral ticket.

Mr. Lincoln had now gained the first rank at the bar. His forte before a jury was his sincerity. So great faith had men in his honesty, that whatever he stated as the facts in a case, were taken for granted, and whatever Lincoln said was the law the jury applied as the law; and it was frequently beyond the power of the court to convince them that the advocate was mistaken as to the law that applied to the case. He was an indefatigable worker, prepared his cases with great care, and fortified his positions in an almost impregnable manner. But when his positions were overturned, he could seldom *reconstruct*. He is safe and accurate as a lawyer, but not ready or ingenious. Numerous anecdotes have been told to illustrate his peculiarities at the bar, but these we have not room to in-

sert. He attained the highest distinction in a profession in which the highest honors are bestowed only on great abilities.

THE GREAT DEBATES.

In June, 1858, the Republican State Convention met at Springfield, and unanimously fixed upon Abraham Lincoln, as the candidate of the party for United States Senator, and their champion in the coming contest. The plan of making this direct appeal to the people was unprecedented, and when we consider the number of very able Republicans in Illinois, the honor of singling out him was a proud and significant distinction. On June 17, at the time of this nomination, he delivered one of the ablest speeches that has been published in this country for many years. We include it entire in this volume.

Mr. Lincoln entered upon the canvass, speaking at different points, and on the 24th of July wrote to Mr. Douglas, who was the acknowledged choice of the Democracy for the Senate, and challenged him to discuss before the people the political issues of the campaign. Mr. Douglas, notwithstanding he at first thought that "recent events had interposed difficulties in the way of such an arrangement," finally agreed that they should hold seven joint debates, reserving for himself the privilege of opening and closing four of these discussions.

The first of these debates, which have become throughout the land famous as the "Great Debates," took place at Ottawa, La Salle county, August 21, 1858. About 12,000 people were present. The speakers were escorted to the stand by long processions of their respective friends. Never before in

the history of our country had two such able opponents met each other face to face.

There was something extraordinary and strange to the common people in a personal intellectual conflict, and the importance of the questions discussed, turned the eyes of the whole country toward this western arena. The wildest enthusiasm was manifested at Jonesboro, Galesburgh, Alton, and other points. We refer all candid readers to these published debates, believing that all unprejudiced men will conclude that the victory belongs to Mr. Lincoln. Such was the verdict of the people, as shown by the vote.

Vote in 1856	Fremont. 96,189	Fillmore. 37,444	Buchanan. 105,348
Vote in 1858.....	Lincoln. 125,275	Lecompton. 5971	Douglas. 121,130
Lincoln's gain over Fremont.....	29,086		
Douglas's gain over Buchanan.....	15,742		
Lincoln's net gain over Douglas.....	13,344		

An honest people gave Lincoln a barren victory, and a dishonest apportionment gave Douglas a fruitful defeat. It shall forever stand out to the disgrace of Stephen A. Douglas, that his seat in the Senate was gained by the violation of that principle which he declares he has devoted his life to maintain, that the people shall govern themselves, and that a *majority* shall make the laws and select their representatives.

In September, 1859, Mr. Lincoln was invited to visit Ohio, and during the gubernatorial canvass delivered able speeches at Columbus and Cincinnati. These speeches were extensively published at the time, have since been put in book form, and were influential in the election of Governor Dennison.

The leading Republicans of Ohio, anxious to manifest their

admiration for the ability with which he had conducted the debates with Douglas, requested copies of the same for publication in permanent form, which debates have since been published in Ohio.

Mr. Lincoln, on invitation, also visited New York and the the New England States, and was everywhere warmly and enthusiastically received.

On May 16, 1860, the Republican National Convention assembled at Chicago, and after three days' session, and on the third ballot, unanimously nominated Abraham Lincoln as the candidate of the Republican party for the Presidency. The Convention was composed of a larger number of able and prudent men than have ever met in a similar body in our country. A better nomination, in the circumstances, could not have been made, and we predict a confirmation on the 6th of November of the wisdom of that choice.

CHARACTER AND HABITS.

Mr. Lincoln is fifty-one years of age. He stands six feet four inches high. His form is slightly bent; frame angular and wiry; his arms are long, hands large, and his general appearance that of one who has endured severe physical and mental labor. In walking, he steps deliberately, with his eyes upon the ground. His countenance when in repose, has a sad, care-worn expression, but in conversation is exceedingly animated and expressive—almost making known his thoughts before their utterance. If there is one thing more striking than another about Mr. Lincoln, it is his power as a logician. Every sentence has a logical connection and rela-

tion with what precedes and succeeds, and he talks in the form of a syllogism, because he seems unable to do otherwise. The premises are stated cautiously and timidly, but the conclusion with a smile of triumph, which annihilates the answer you have prepared. His hair is black, thin and obstinate. His head resembles that of Henry Clay, as also his mouth. His eye is clear, and has the fire which God gave it. His complexion is not dark, but has the appearance of being tanned by exposure to the sun.

Mr. Lincoln's habits are the most abstemious. His food is plain, and his drink usually cold water. He is a man of the purest morals. He never drank a drop of liquor, never uses tobacco, and was never guilty of a licentious act. He never uses profane language, and never gambles. The value of his property is less than one year's salary of the President of the United States. It is small because his fees have been small, and his hand always generous. He never wronged any man out of a cent.

Mr. Lincoln is a regular attendant at church, Mrs. L. being a strict Presbyterian, and has by his means and influence always been a supporter of Christianity. A professional friend declares he merits the distinction of never having contended for a legal proposition which he did not believe to be sound law. He lives in a moderate-sized, two-story frame house, which, like its distinguished inhabitant, is plain and unassuming.

He sits alone in his antiquated room in the State House, at Springfield, and receives his friends with the same simplicity with which, as a clerk, he received his customers; as a lawyer, his clients. You open a rickety door at his call, and, with or

without letters or friends to introduce you, are received with sincere warmth and conversed with on terms of perfect equality. His popularity at home is unbounded.

Should we describe him in the language of his early friends, we would be accused of gross adulation. To doubt his ability is to show one's own weakness, and his honesty cannot be exaggerated. One who has known him best, says he never knew Abraham Lincoln to do a mean act. If elected President, our country will never have had a purer administration.

We close this sketch with an extract from an able speech delivered recently in Springfield, Illinois, by the Hon. Richard Yates, the present talented Republican candidate for Governor in that State. Mr. Yates has known Mr. Lincoln since 1830, and no man has had better opportunities of learning his character, and few better qualified to pass upon his merits :

“WHO IS ABRAHAM LINCOLN?”

“Now, fellow-citizens, it may strike you as rather a strange matter that the people of so great a nation as this should come to Illinois for its President—that the mighty Republican party should look to this far-away Prairie State for its standard-bearer in such a momentous contest. If you are surprised at this—if you are surprised to find such a man in your very midst, it is because you have been in the habit of looking at him as men look at mountains who live close at their bases, losing sight of their grand outline, unaware of the majestic pile that towers almost overhead, while those at a distance measure all its great proportions with just admiration. We do not reflect that no splendor of eloquence, no power of ar-

gument, no combination of shining qualities can make a man more than a man, and we expect to find these qualities only in a sort of superior being to ourselves. Yet, I say here to-day, that I have heard the great men of this nation north and south, east and west, for four consecutive years, in the Hall of the House of Representatives, and in the Senate of the United States—I have heard the Stephens and Toombs of the South, the Searlds, Chases and Corwins of the North—I have heard the most renowned orators on the floor of the Senate and House daily for years; and I say here to-day, that for clearness of statement, for penetration of thought, for power of irresistible logic, for broad, comprehensive, statesman-like views, for exalted purity of private and public character, your own Abraham Lincoln is the clearest, noblest, purest and best of them all. In the history of his life—in all the elements which inspire with enthusiasm the hearts of the masses of mankind and rouse the millions to action, I stand up here to-day, in this the Capitol of the State and in the presence of my countrymen, to say that the name of Abraham Lincoln is this day and hour the mightiest name upon the continent of North America.”

SPEECH AT SPRINGFIELD, ILL.,

June 17, 1858.

THE following speech was delivered at Springfield, Ill., at the close of the Republican State Convention held at that time and place, and by which Convention Mr. Lincoln had been named as their candidate for U. S. Senator :

MR. PRESIDENT, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do, and how to do it. We are now far into the fifth year, since a policy was initiated with the avowed object, and confident promise, of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion, it will not cease, until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. "A house divided against itself cannot stand." I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward, till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South.

Have we no tendency to the latter condition?

Let any one who doubts, carefully contemplate that now almost complete legal combination—piece of machinery, so to speak—compounded of the Nebraska doctrine and the Dred Scott decision. Let him consider not only what work the ma-

chinery is adapted to do, and how well adapted; but also, let him study the history of its construction, and trace, if he can, or rather fail, if he can, to trace the evidences of design, and concert of action, among its chief architects, from the beginning.

The new year of 1854 found slavery excluded from more than half the States by State Constitutions, and from most of the national territory by Congressional prohibition. Four days later, commenced the struggle which ended in repealing that Congressional prohibition. This opened all the national territory to slavery, and was the first point gained.

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

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

While the Nebraska bill was passing through Congress, a *law case* involving the question of a negro's freedom, by reason of his owner having voluntarily taken him first into a free State and then into a Territory covered by the Congressional prohibition, and held him as a slave for a long time in each, was

passing through the U. S. Circuit Court for the District of Missouri; and both Nebraska bill and law suit were brought to a decision in the same month of May, 1854. The negro's name was "Dred Scott," which name now designates the decision finally made in the case. Before the then next Presidential election, the law case came to, and was argued in, the Supreme Court of the United States; but the decision of it was deferred until after the election. Still, before the election, Senator Trumbull, on the floor of the Senate, requested the leading advocate of the Nebraska bill to state *his opinion* whether the people of a Territory can constitutionally exclude slavery from their limits; and the latter answers, "That is a question for the Supreme Court."

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

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

At length a squabble springs up between the President and the author of the Nebraska bill, on the mere question of *fact*, whether the Lecompton Constitution was or was not, in any just sense, made by the people of Kansas; and in that quarrel the latter declares that all he wants is a fair vote for the

people, and that he cares not whether slavery be voted *down* or voted *up*. I do not understand his declaration that he cares not whether slavery be voted down or voted up, to be intended by him other than as an apt definition of the policy he would impress upon the public mind—the principle for which he declares he has suffered so much, and is ready to suffer to the end. And well may he cling to that principle. If he has any parental feeling, well may he cling to it. That principle is the only shred left of his original Nebraska doctrine. Under the Dred Scott decision “squatter sovereignty” squatted out of existence, tumbled down like temporary scaffolding—like the mould at the foundry served through one blast and fell back into loose sand—helped to carry an election, and then was kicked to the winds. His late joint struggle with the Republicans, against the Lecompton Constitution, involves nothing of the original Nebraska doctrine. That struggle was made on a point—the right of a people to make their own constitution—upon which he and the Republicans have never differed.

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

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

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

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

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

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

hasty after-indorsement of the decision by the President and others?

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

It should not be overlooked that, by the Nebraska bill, the people of a *State* as well as *Territory*, were to be left “perfectly free,” “subject only to the Constitution.” Why mention a *State*? They were legislating for *Territories*, and not for or about *States*. Certainly the people of a *State* are and ought to be subject to the Constitution of the United States; but why is mention of this lugged into this merely *Territorial* law? Why are the people of a *Territory* and the people of a *State* therein lumped together, and their relation to the Constitution therein treated as being precisely the same? While the opinion of the court, by Chief Justice Taney, in the *Dred Scott* case, and the separate opinions of all the concurring Judges, expressly declare that the Constitution of the United States neither permits Congress nor a *Territorial* Legislature to exclude slavery from any United States territory, they all omit to declare whether or not the same Constitution permits a *State*, or the people of a *State*, to exclude it. *Possibly*, this is a mere omission; but who can be quite sure, if McLean or Curtis had sought to get into the opinion a declaration of unlimited power in the people of a *State* to exclude slavery from their limits,

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

Such a decision is all that slavery now lacks of being alike lawful in all the States. Welcome, or unwelcome, such decision is probably coming, and will soon be upon us, unless the power of the present political dynasty shall be met and overthrown. We shall lie down pleasantly dreaming that the people of Missouri are on the verge of making their State free, and we shall awake to the reality instead, that the Supreme Court has made Illinois a slave State. To meet and overthrow the power of that dynasty, is the work now before all those who would prevent that consummation. That is what we have to do. How can we best do it?

There are those who denounce us openly to their own friends, and yet whisper us softly, that Senator Douglas is the aptest instrument there is with which to effect that object. They wish us to *infer* all, from the fact he now has a little quarrel with the present head of the dynasty; and that he has regu-

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

Senator Douglas holds, we know, that a man may rightfully be wiser to-day than he was yesterday—that he may rightfully change when he finds himself wrong. But can we, for that reason, run ahead, and infer that he will make any particular change, of which he, himself, has given no intimation? Can we safely base our action upon any such vague inference? Now, as ever, I wish not to misrepresent Judge Douglas's position, question his motives, or do aught that can be personally offensive to him. Whenever, if ever, he and we can come together on principle so that our cause may have assistance from his great ability, I hope to have interposed no adventitious obstacle. But clearly, he is not now with us—he does not pretend to be—he does not promise ever to be.

Our cause, then, must be intrusted to, and conducted by,

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

THE following extracts, taken from the speeches of Mr. Lincoln, delivered during the great debates with Senator Douglas, in 1858, give briefly his position on the slavery and other questions:

WHAT THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE MEANS.

We were often—more than once at least—in the course of Judge Douglas's speech last night, reminded that this government was made for white men—that he believed it was made for white men. Well, that is putting it into a shape in which no one wants to deny it; but the Judge then goes into his passion for drawing inferences that are not warranted. I protest, now and forever, against that counterfeit logic which presumes that because I did 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. There are white men enough to marry all the white women, and enough black men to marry all the black

women, and in God's name let them be so married. The Judge regales us with the terrible enormities that take place by the mixture of races; that the inferior race bears the superior down. Why, Judge, if we do not let them get together in the Territories they won't mix there.

Now, it happens that we meet together once every year, sometimes about the 4th of July, for some reason or other. These 4th of July gatherings I suppose have their uses. If you will indulge me, I will state what I suppose to be some of them.

We are now a mighty nation; we are thirty, or about thirty millions of people, and we own and inhabit about one-fifteenth part of the dry land of the whole earth. We run our memory back over the pages of history for about eighty-two years, and we discover that we were then a very small people in point of numbers, vastly inferior to what we are now, with a vastly less extent of country, with vastly less of every thing we deem desirable among men—we look upon the change as exceedingly advantageous to us and to our posterity, and we fix upon something that happened away back, as in some way or other being connected with this rise of prosperity. We find a race of men living in that day whom we claim as our fathers and grandfathers; they were iron men; they fought for the principle that they were contending for; and we understood that by what they then did it has followed that the degree of prosperity which we now enjoy has come to us. We hold this annual celebration to remind ourselves of all the good done in this process of time, of how it was done and who did it, and how we are historically connected with it; and we go from these meetings in better humor with ourselves—we feel more attached the one to the other, and more firmly bound to the country we inhabit. In every way we are better men in the age, and race, and country in which we live, for these celebrations. But after we have done all this we have not yet reached the whole. There is something else connected with it. We have besides these, men—descended by blood from our ancestors—among us, perhaps half our people, who are not descendants at all of these men; they are men who have come from Europe—German, Irish, French and Scandina-

vian—men that have come from Europe themselves, or whose ancestors have come hither and settled here, finding themselves our equals in all things. If they look back through this history to trace their connection with those days by blood, they find they have none, they cannot carry themselves back into that glorious epoch and make themselves feel that they are part of us; but when they look through that old Declaration of Independence, they find that those old men say that "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal," and then they feel that that moral sentiment taught in that day evidences their relation to those men: that it is the father of all moral principle in them, and that they have a right to claim it as though they were blood of the blood, and flesh of the flesh, of the men who wrote that Declaration, and so they are. That is the electric cord in that Declaration that links the hearts of patriotic and liberty-loving men together, that will link those patriotic hearts as long as the love of freedom exists in the minds of men throughout the world.

Now, sirs, for the purpose of squaring things with this idea of "don't care if slavery is voted up or voted down," for sustaining the Dred Scott decision, for holding that the Declaration of Independence did not mean any thing at all, we have Judge Douglas giving his exposition of what the Declaration of Independence means, and we have him saying that the people of America are equal to the people of England. According to his construction, you Germans are not connected with it. Now I ask you in all soberness, if all these things, if indulged in, if ratified, if confirmed and indorsed, if taught to our children, and repeated to them, do not tend to rub out the sentiment of liberty in the country, and to transform this Government into a government of some other form. Those arguments that are made, that the inferior race are to be treated with as much allowance as they are capable of enjoying; that as much is to be done for them as their condition will allow. What are these arguments? They are the arguments that kings have made for en-slaving the people in all ages of the world. You will find that all the arguments in favor of king-craft were of this class; they always bestrode the necks of the people, not that they wanted to do it, but

because the people were better off for being ridden. That is their argument, and this argument of the Judge is the same old serpent that says, you work and I eat, you toil and I will enjoy the fruits of it. Turn in whatever way you will—whether it come from the mouth of a king, an excuse for enslaving the people of his country, or from the mouth of men of one race as a reason for enslaving the men of another race, it is all the same old serpent, and I hold if that course of argumentation that is made for the purpose of convincing the public mind that we should not care about this, should be granted, it does not stop with the negro. I should like to know if, taking this old Declaration of Independence, which declares that all men are equal upon principle, and making exceptions to it, where will it stop? If one man says it does not mean a negro, why not another say it does not mean some other man? If that declaration is not the truth, let us get the statute book, in which we find it, and tear it out! Who is so bold as to do it? If it is not true let us tear it out! [cries of “no, no”]; let us stick to it then, let us stand firmly by it then.

SO CALLED IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT STATED AND EXPLAINED.

I said, in that speech, and I meant no more, that the institution of slavery ought to be placed in the very attitude where the framers of this Government placed it and left it. I said: “We are now far advanced into the fifth year since a policy was created for the avowed object and with the confident promise of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy that agitation has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion it will not cease till a crisis shall have been reached and passed. ‘A house divided against itself cannot stand.’ I believe that this Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. 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 for-

ward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South."

Now you all see, from that quotation, I did not express my *wish* on any thing. In that passage I indicated no wish or purpose of my own; I simply expressed my *expectation*. Cannot the Judge perceive a distinction between a *purpose* and an *expectation*? I have often expressed an expectation to die, but I have never expressed a *wish* to die. I said at Chicago, and now repeat, that I am quite aware this Government has endured, half slave and half free, for eighty-two years. I understand that little bit of history. I expressed the opinion I did, because I perceived—or thought I perceived—a new set of causes introduced. I did say at Chicago, in my speech there, that I do wish to see the spread of slavery arrested, and to see it placed where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction. I said that because I supposed, when the public mind shall rest in that belief, we shall have peace on the slavery question. I have believed—and now believe—the public mind did rest on that belief up to the introduction of the Nebraska bill.

Although I have ever been opposed to slavery, so far I rested in the hope and belief that it was in the course of ultimate extinction. For that reason, it had been a minor question with me. I might have been mistaken; but I had believed, and now believe, that the whole public mind, that is, the mind of the great majority, had rested in that belief up to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. But upon that event, I became convinced that either I had been resting in a delusion, or the institution was being placed on a new basis—a basis for making it perpetual, national and universal. Subsequent events have greatly confirmed me in that belief. I believe that bill to be the beginning of a conspiracy for that purpose. So believing, I have since then considered that question a paramount one. So believing, I thought the public mind will never rest till the power of Congress to restrict the spread of it shall again be acknowledged and exercised on the one hand, or on the other, all resistance be entirely crushed out. I have expressed that opinion, and I entertain it to-night.

It is denied that there is any tendency to the nationalization of slavery in these States.

Mr. Brooks, of South Carolina, in one of his speeches, when they were presenting him canes, silver plate, gold pitchers and the like, for assaulting Senator Sumner, distinctly affirmed his opinion that when this Constitution was formed, it was the belief of no man that slavery would last to the present day.

He said, what I think, that the framers of our Constitution placed the institution of slavery where the public mind rested in the hope that it was in the course of ultimate extinction. But he went on to say that the men of the present age, by their experience, have become wiser than the framers of the Constitution; and the invention of the cotton-gin had made the perpetuity of slavery a necessity in this country.

As another piece of evidence tending to this same point: Quite recently in Virginia, a man—the owner of slaves—made a will providing that after his death certain of his slaves should have their freedom if they should so choose, and go to Liberia, rather than remain in slavery. They chose to be liberated. But the persons to whom they would descend as property, claimed them as slaves. A suit was instituted, which finally came to the Supreme Court of Virginia, and was therein decided against the slaves, upon the ground that a negro cannot make a choice—that they had no legal power to choose—could not perform the condition upon which their freedom depended.

I do not mention this with any purpose of criticising it, but to connect it with the arguments as affording additional evidence of the change of sentiment upon this question of slavery in the direction of making it perpetual and national. I argue now as I did before, that there is such a tendency, and I am backed not merely by the facts, but by the open confession in the slave States.

And now, as to the Judge's inference, that because I wish to see slavery placed in the course of ultimate extinction—placed where our fathers originally placed it—I wish to annihilate the State Legislatures—to force cotton to grow upon the tops of the Green Mountains—to freeze ice in Florida—to

cut lumber on the broad Illinois prairies—that I am in favor of all these ridiculous and impossible things.

It seems to me it is a complete answer to all this to ask, if, when Congress did have the fashion of restricting slavery from free territory; when courts did have the fashion of deciding that taking a slave into a free country made him free—I say it is a sufficient answer to ask, if any of this ridiculous nonsense about consolidation, and uniformity, did actually follow? Who heard of any such thing, because of the Ordinance of '87? because of the Missouri Restriction? because of the numerous court decisions of that character?

JUDGE DOUGLAS'S ABSTRACTION.

Now, I wish to know what the Judge can charge upon me, with respect to decisions of the Supreme Court, which does not lie in all its length, breadth, and proportions at his own door. The plain truth is simply this: Judge Douglas is *for* Supreme Court decisions when he likes, and *against* them when he does not like them. He is for the Dred Scott decision because it tends to nationalize slavery—because it is part of the original combination for that object. It so happens, singularly enough, that I never stood opposed to a decision of the Supreme Court till this. On the contrary, I have no recollection that he was ever particularly in favor of one till this. He never was in favor of any, nor opposed to any, till the present one, which helps to nationalize slavery.

Free men of Sangamon—free men of Illinois—free men everywhere—judge ye between him and me upon this issue.

He says this Dred Scott case is a very small matter at most—that it has no practical effect; that at best, or rather, I suppose, at worst, it is but an abstraction. I submit, that the proposition that the thing which determines whether a man is free or a slave, is rather *concrete* than *abstract*. I think you would conclude that it was if your liberty depended upon it, and so would Judge Douglas if his liberty depended upon it. But suppose it was on the question of spreading slavery over the new Territories that he considers it as being merely an abstract matter, and one of no practical importance. How

has the planting of slavery in new countries always been effected? It has now been decided that slavery cannot be kept out of our new Territories by any legal means. In what does our new Territories now differ in this respect from the old Colonies when slavery was first planted within them? It was planted, as Mr. Clay once declared and as history proves true, by individual men in spite of the wishes of the people; the Mother Government refusing to prohibit it, and withholding from the people of the Colonies the authority to prohibit it for themselves. Mr. Clay says this was one of the great and just causes of complaint against Great Britain by the Colonies, and the best apology we can now make for having the institution amongst us. In that precise condition our Nebraska politicians have at last succeeded in placing our own new Territories; the Government will not prohibit slavery within them, nor allow the people to prohibit it.

I defy any man to find any difference between the policy which originally planted slavery in these Colonies and that policy which now prevails in our new Territories. If it does not go into them, it is only because no individual wishes it to go. The Judge indulged himself, doubtless to-day, with the question as to what I am going to do with or about the Dred Scott decision. Well, Judge, will you please tell me what you did about the bank decision? Will you not graciously allow us to do with the Dred Scott decision precisely as you did with the bank decision? You succeeded in breaking down the moral effect of that decision; did you find it necessary to amend the Constitution? or to set up a court of negroes in order to do it?

AFFECTION FOR OLD WHIGS.

There is one other point. Judge Douglas has a very affectionate leaning toward the Americans and Old Whigs. Last evening, in a sort of weeping tone, he described to us a death-bed scene. He had been called to the side of Mr. Clay, in his last moments, in order that the genius of "popular sovereignty" might duly descend from the dying man and settle upon him, the living and most worthy successor. He could

do no less than promise that he would devote the remainder of his life to "popular sovereignty;" and then the great statesman departs in peace. By this part of the "plan of the campaign," the Judge has evidently promised himself that tears shall be drawn down the cheeks of all Old Whigs, as large as half-grown apples.

Mr. Webster, too, was mentioned; but it did not quite come to a death-bed scene, as to him. It would be amusing, if it were not disgusting, to see how quick these compromise-breakers administer on the political effects of their dead adversaries, trumping up claims never before heard of, and dividing the assets among themselves. If I should be found dead to-morrow morning, nothing but my insignificance could prevent a speech being made on my authority, before the end of next week. It so happens that in that "popular sovereignty" with which Mr. Clay was identified, the Missouri Compromise was expressly reserved; and it was a little singular if Mr. Clay cast his mantle upon Judge Douglas on purpose to have that compromise repealed.

NEGRO EQUALITY.

Now, gentlemen, I don't want to read at any greater length, but this is the true complexion of all I have ever said in regard to the institution of slavery and the black race. This is the whole of it, and any thing that argues me into his idea of perfect social and political equality with the negro, is but a specious and fantastic arrangement of words, by which a man can prove a horse-chestnut to be a chestnut horse. I will say here, while upon this subject, 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, and I have no inclination to do so. I have no purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and the black races. There is a physical difference between the two, which, in my judgment, will probably forever forbid their living together upon the footing of perfect equality, and inasmuch as it becomes a necessity that there must be a difference, I, as well as Judge Douglas, am

in favor of the race to which I belong having the superior position. I have never said any thing to the contrary, but I hold that, notwithstanding all this, there is no reason in the world why the negro is not entitled to all the natural rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence, the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. I hold that he is as much entitled to these as the white man. I agree with Judge Douglas he is not my equal in many respects—certainly not in color, perhaps not in moral or intellectual endowment. But in the right to eat the bread, without the leave of any body else, which his own hand earns, *he is my equal and the equal of Judge Douglas, and the equal of every living man.*

COURSE ON MEXICAN WAR.

And so I think my friend, the Judge, is equally at fault when he charges me, at the time when I was in Congress, of having opposed our soldiers who were fighting in the Mexican war. The Judge did not make his charge very distinctly, but I can tell you what he can prove, by referring to the record. You remember I was an old Whig, and whenever 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 whenever they asked for any money, or land-warrants, or any thing to pay the soldiers there, during all that time, I gave the same vote that Judge Douglas did. You can think as you please as to whether that was consistent. Such is the truth; and the Judge has the right to make all he can out of it. But when he, by a general charge, conveys the idea that I withheld supplies from the soldiers who were fighting in the Mexican war, or did any thing else to hinder the soldiers, he is, to say the least, grossly and altogether mistaken, as a consultation of the records will prove to him.

HENRY CLAY AND JUDGE DOUGLAS.

Now, having spoken of the Dred Scott decision, one more word and I am done. Henry Clay, my beau ideal of a statesman, the man for whom I fought all my humble life—Henry

Clay once said of a class of men who would repress all tendencies to liberty and ultimate emancipation, that they must, if they would do this, go back to the era of our Independence, and muzzle the cannon which thunders its annual joyous return; they must blow out the moral lights around us; they must penetrate the human soul, and eradicate there the love of liberty; and then, and not till then, could they perpetuate slavery in this country! To my thinking, Judge Douglas is, by his example and vast influence, doing that very thing in this community, when he says that the negro has nothing in the Declaration of Independence. Henry Clay plainly understood the contrary. Judge Douglas is going back to the era of our Revolution, and to the extent of his ability, muzzling the cannon which thunders its annual joyous return. When he invites any people, willing to have slavery, to establish it, he is blowing out the moral lights around us. When he says he "cares not whether slavery is voted down or voted up"—that it is a sacred right of self-government—he is, in my judgment, penetrating the human soul and eradicating the light of reason and the love of liberty in this American people. And now I will only say that when, by all these means and appliances, Judge Douglas shall succeed in bringing public sentiment to an exact accordance with his own views—when these vast assemblages shall echo back all these sentiments—when they shall come to repeat his views and to avow his principles, and to say all that he says on these mighty questions—then it needs only the formality of the second Dred Scott decision, which he indorses in advance, to make slavery alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South.

Judge Douglas, during the debates with Mr. Lincoln, having constantly used the term "Black Republican" when speaking of the Republican party, was frequently interrupted by cries of "White, white." Having termed this "vulgarity and blackguardism" on the part of his opponents, Mr. Lincoln made the following sarcastic reply:

The first thing I have to say to you is a word in regard to Judge Douglas's declaration about the "vulgarity and black-

guardism" in the audience—that no such thing, as he says, was shown by any Democrat while I was speaking. Now, I only wish, by way of reply on this subject, to say that while *I* was speaking, *I* used no "vulgarity or blackguardism" toward any Democrat.

IS SLAVERY PERPETUAL.

While I am upon this subject, I will make some answers briefly to certain propositions that Judge Douglas has put. He says, "Why can't this Union endure permanently, half slave and half free?" I have said that I supposed it could not, and I will try, before this new audience, to give briefly some of the reasons for entertaining that opinion. Another form of his question is, "Why can't we let it stand as our fathers placed it?" That is the exact difficulty between us. I say, that Judge Douglas and his friends have changed them from the position in which our fathers originally placed it. I say, in the way our fathers originally left the slavery question, the institution was in the course of ultimate extinction, and the public mind rested in the belief that it *was* in the course of ultimate extinction. I say when this Government was first established, it was the policy of its founders to prohibit the spread of slavery into the new Territories of the United States, where it had not existed. But Judge Douglas and his friends have broken up that policy, and placed it upon a new basis by which it is to become national and perpetual. All I have asked or desired anywhere is that it should be placed back again upon the basis that the fathers of our Government originally placed it upon. I have no doubt that it *would* become extinct, for all time to come, if we but readopted the policy of the fathers by restricting it to the limits it has already covered—restricting it from the new Territories.

REPLY TO JUDGE DOUGLAS.

I find a report of a speech made by Judge Douglas at Joliet, since we last met at Freeport—published, I believe, in the *Missouri Republican*—on the 9th of this month, in which Judge Douglas says:

“You know at Ottawa, I read this platform, and asked him if he concurred in each and all of the principles set forth in it. He would not answer these questions. At last I said frankly, I wish you to answer them, because when I get them up here where the color of your principles are a little darker than in Egypt, I intend to trot you down to Jonesboro. The very notice that I was going to take him down to Egypt made him tremble in the knees so that he had to be carried from the platform. He laid up seven days, and in the mean time held a consultation with his political physicians; they had Lovejoy and Farnsworth and all the leaders of the Abolition party, they consulted it all over, and at last Lincoln came to the conclusion that he would answer, so he came up to Freeport last Friday.”

Now that statement altogether furnishes a subject for philosophical contemplation. I have been treating it in that way, and I have really come to the conclusion that I can explain it in no other way than by believing the Judge is crazy. If he was in his right mind, I cannot conceive how he would have risked disgusting the four or five thousand of his own friends who stood there, and knew, as to my having been carried from the platform, that there was not a word of truth in it.

Judge Douglas—“Didn’t they carry you off?”

Mr. Lincoln—There; that question illustrates the character of this man Douglas, exactly. He smiles now and says, “Didn’t they carry you off?” But he said then “*he had to be carried off;*” and he said it to convince the country that he had so completely broken me down by his speech that I had to be carried away. Now he seeks to dodge it, and asks, “Didn’t they carry you off?” Yes, they did. *But, Judge Douglas, why didn’t you tell the truth?* I would like to know why you didn’t tell the truth about it. And then again, “He laid up seven days.” He puts this in print for the people of the country to read as a serious document. I think if he had been in his sober senses he would not have risked that barefacedness in the presence of thousands of his own friends, who knew that I made speeches within six of the seven days at Henry, Marshall county; Augusta, Hancock county, and Macomb, McDonough county, including all the necessary travel

to meet him again at Freeport at the end of the six days. Now, I say, there is no charitable way to look at that statement, except to conclude that he is actually crazy, There is another thing in that statement that alarmed me very greatly as he states it, that he was going to "trot me down to Egypt." Thereby he would have you to infer that I would not come to Egypt unless he forced me—that I could not be got here, unless he, giant-like, had hauled me down here. That statement that he makes, too, in the teeth of the knowledge that I had made the stipulation to come down here, *and that he himself had been very reluctant to enter into the stipulation.* More than all this, Judge Douglas, when he made that statement, must have been crazy, and wholly out of his sober senses, or else he would have known that when he got me down here—that promise—that windy promise—of his powers to annihilate me, wouldn't amount to any thing. Now, how little do I look like being carried away trembling? Let the Judge go on, and after he is done with his half hour, I want you all, if I can't go home myself, to let me stay and rot here; and if any thing happens to the Judge, if I cannot carry him to the hotel and put him to bed, let me stay here and rot. I say, then, there is something *extraordinary* in this statement. I ask you if you know any other living man who would make such a statement? I will ask my friend Casey, over there, if he would do such a thing? Would he send that out and have his men take it as the truth? Did the Judge talk of trotting me down to Egypt to scare me to death? Why, I know this people better than he does. I was raised just a little east of here. I am a part of this people. But the Judge was raised further north, and perhaps he has some horrid idea of what this people might be induced to do. But really I have talked about this matter perhaps longer than I ought, for it is no great thing, and yet the smallest are often the most difficult things to deal with. The Judge has set about seriously trying to make the impression that when we meet at different places I am literally in his clutches—that I am a poor, helpless, decrepit mouse, and that I can do nothing at all. This is one of the ways he has taken to create that impression. I don't know any other way to meet it, except this. I don't want to quarrel with him

—to call him a liar—but when I come square up to him I don't know what else to call him, if I must tell the truth out. I want to be at peace, and reserve all my fighting powers for necessary occasions. My time, now, is very nearly out, and I give up the trifle that is left to the Judge, to let him set my knees trembling again, if he can.

OPPOSED TO PERFECT EQUALITY BETWEEN NEGROES AND WHITES.

While I was at the hotel to-day, an elderly gentleman called upon me to know whether I was really in favor of producing a perfect equality between the negroes and white people. While I had not proposed to myself on this occasion to say much on that subject, yet as the question was asked me I thought I would occupy perhaps five minutes in saying something in regard to it. I will say then that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races—that I am not nor ever have been in favor of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people; and I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I as much as any other man am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race. I say upon this occasion I do not perceive that because the white man is to have the superior position the negro should be denied every thing. I do not understand that because I do not want a negro woman for a slave I must necessarily want her for a wife. My understanding is that I can just let her alone. I am now in my fiftieth year, and I certainly never have had a black woman for either a slave or a wife. So it seems to me quite possible for us to get along without making either slaves or wives of negroes. I will add to this that I have never seen, to my knowledge, a man, woman or child who was in favor of producing a perfect equality,

social and political, between negroes and white men. I recollect of but one distinguished instance that I ever heard of so frequently as to be entirely satisfied of its correctness—and that is the case of Judge Douglas's old friend Col. Richard M. Johnson. I will also add to the remarks I have made (for I am not going to enter at large upon this subject), that I have never had the least apprehension that I or my friends would marry negroes if there was no law to keep them from it; but as Judge Douglas and his friends seem to be in great apprehension that they might, if there were no law to keep them from it, I give him the most solemn pledge that I will to the very last stand by the law of this State, which forbids the marrying of white people with negroes. I will add one further word, which is this: that I do not understand that there is any place where an alteration of the social and political relations of the negro and the white man can be made except in the State Legislature—not in the Congress of the United States—and as I do not really apprehend the approach of any such thing myself, and as Judge Douglas seems to be in constant horror that some such danger is rapidly approaching, I propose as the best means to prevent it that the Judge be kept at home and placed in the State Legislature to fight the measure.

ESSENCE OF THE DRED SCOTT CASE.

While we were at Freeport, in one of these joint discussions, I answered certain interrogatories which Judge Douglas had propounded to me, and there in turn propounded some to him, which he in a sort of way answered. The third one of these interrogatories I have with me and wish now to make some comments upon it. It was in these words: "If the Supreme Court of the United States shall decide that the States cannot exclude slavery from their limits, are you in favor of acquiescing in, adhering to and following such decision, as a rule of political action?"

To this interrogatory Judge Douglas made no answer, in any just sense of the word. He contented himself with sneering at the thought that it was possible for the Supreme Court

ever to make such a decision. He sneered at me for propounding the interrogatory. I had not propounded it without some reflection, and I wish now to address to this audience some remarks upon it.

In the second clause of the sixth article, I believe it is, of the Constitution of the United States, we find the following language: "This Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any thing in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

The essence of the Dred Scott case is composed in the sentence which I will now read: "Now, as we have already said in an earlier part of this opinion, upon a different point, the right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution." I repeat it, "*The right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution!*" What is it to be "*affirmed*" in the Constitution? Made firm in the Constitution—so made that it cannot be separated from the Constitution without breaking the Constitution—durable as the Constitution, and part of the Constitution. Now, remembering the provision of the Constitution which I have read, affirming that that instrument is the supreme law of the land; that the Judges of every State shall be bound by it, any law or Constitution of any State to the contrary notwithstanding; that the right of property in a slave is affirmed in that Constitution, is made, formed into, and cannot be separated from it without breaking it; durable as the instrument; part of the instrument;—what follows as a short and even syllogistic argument from it? I think it follows, and I submit to the consideration of men capable of arguing, whether as I state it, in syllogistic form, the argument has any fault in it?

Nothing in the Constitution or laws of any State can destroy a right distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution of the United States.

The right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution of the United States.

Therefore, nothing in the Constitution or laws of any State can destroy the right of property in a slave.

I believe that no fault can be pointed out in that argment ; assuming the truth of the premises, the conclusion, so far as I have capacity at all to understand it, follows inevitably. There is a fault in it as I think, but the fault is not in the reasoning ; but the falsehood in fact is a fault of the premises. I believe that the right of property in a slave *is not* distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution, and Judge Douglas thinks it *is*. I believe that the Supreme Court and the advocates of that decision may search in vain for the place in the Constitution where the right of a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed. I say, therefore, that I think one of the premises is not true in fact. But it is true with Judge Douglas. It is true with the Supreme Court who pronounced it. They are estopped from denying it, and being estopped from denying it, the conclusion follows that the Constitution of the United States being the supreme law, no constitution or law can interfere with it. It being affirmed in the decision that the right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution, the conclusion inevitably follows that no State law or constitution can destroy that right. I then say to Judge Douglas and to all others, that I think it will take a better answer than a sneer to show that those who have said that the right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution, are not prepared to show that no constitution or law can destroy that right. I say I believe it will take a far better argument than a mere sneer to show to the minds of intelligent men that whoever has so said, is not prepared, whenever public sentiment is so far advanced as to justify it, to say the other. This is but an opinion, and the opinion of one very humble man ; but it is my opinion that the Dred Scott decision, as it is, never would have been made in its present form if the party that made it had not been sustained previously by the elections. My own opinion is, that the new Dred Scott decision, deciding against the right of the people of the States to exclude slavery, will never be made, if that party is not sustained by the elections. I believe, further, that it is just as sure to be made as to-morrow is to

come, if that party shall be sustained. I have said, upon a former occasion, and I repeat it now, that the course of argument that Judge Douglas makes use of upon this subject: (I charge not his motives in this), is preparing the public mind for that new Dred Scott decision. I have asked him again to point out to me the reasons for his first adherence to the Dred Scott decision as it is. I have turned his attention to the fact that General Jackson differed with him in regard to the political obligation of a Supreme Court decision. I have asked his attention to the fact that Jefferson differed with him in regard to the political obligation of a Supreme Court decision. Jefferson said, that "Judges are as honest as other men, and not more so." And he said, substantially, that "whenever a free people should give up in absolute submission to any department of government, retaining for themselves no appeal from it, their liberties were gone." I have asked his attention to the fact that the Cincinnati Platform, upon which he says he stands, disregards a time-honored decision of the Supreme Court, in denying the power of Congress to establish a National Bank. I have asked his attention to the fact that he himself was one of the most active instruments at one time in breaking down the Supreme Court of the State of Illinois, because it had made a decision distasteful to him—a struggle ending in the remarkable circumstance of his sitting down as one of the new Judges who were to overlaugh that decision—getting his title of Judge in that very way.

So far in this controversy I can get no answer at all from Judge Douglas upon these subjects. Not one can I get from him, except that he swells himself up and says, "All of us who stand by the decision of the Supreme Court are the friends of the Constitution; all you fellows that dare question it in any way, are the enemies of the Constitution." Now, in this very devoted adherence to this decision, in opposition to all the great political leaders whom he has recognized as leaders—in opposition to his former self and history, there is something very marked. And the manner in which he adheres to it—not as being right upon the merits, as he conceives (because he did not discuss that at all), but as being absolutely obligatory upon every one simply because of the source from whence it

comes—as that which no man can gainsay, whatever it may be—this is another marked feature of his adherence to that decision. It marks it in this respect, that it commits him to the next decision, whenever it comes, as being as obligatory as this one, since he does not investigate it, and won't inquire whether this opinion is right or wrong. So he takes the next one without inquiring whether *it* is right or wrong. He teaches men this doctrine, and in so doing prepares the public mind to take the next decision when it comes, without any inquiry. In this I think I argue fairly (without questioning motives at all), that Judge Douglas is most ingeniously and powerfully preparing the public mind to take that decision when it comes; and not only so, but he is doing it in various other ways. In these general maxims about liberty—in his assertions that he “don't care whether slavery is voted up or voted down;” that “whoever wants slavery has a right to have it;” that “upon principles of equality it should be allowed to go everywhere;” that “there is no inconsistency between free and slave institutions.” In this he is also preparing (whether purposely or not) the way for making the institution of slavery national!

SLAVERY A MORAL, SOCIAL AND A POLITICAL WRONG.

We have in this nation this element of domestic slavery. It is a matter of absolute certainty that it is a disturbing element. It is the opinion of all the great men who have expressed an opinion upon it, that it is a dangerous element. We keep up a controversy in regard to it. That controversy necessarily springs from difference of opinion, and if we can learn exactly—can reduce to the lowest elements—what that difference of opinion is, we perhaps shall be better prepared for discussing the different systems of policy that we would propose in regard to that disturbing element. I suggest that the difference of opinion, reduced to its lowest terms, is no other than the difference between the men who think slavery a wrong and those who do not think it wrong. The Republican party think it wrong—we think it is a moral, a social and a political wrong. We think it as a wrong not confining itself

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

We oppose the Dred Scott decision in a certain way, upon which I ought perhaps to address you a few words. We do not propose that when Dred Scott has been decided to be a slave by the court, we, as a mob, will decide him to be free. We do not propose that, when any other one, or one thousand, shall be decided by that court to be slaves, we will in any violent way disturb the rights of property thus settled; but we nevertheless do oppose that decision as a political rule, which shall be binding on the voter to vote for nobody who thinks it wrong, which shall be binding on the members of Congress or

the President to favor no measure that does not actually concur with the principles of that decision. We do not propose to be bound by it as a political rule in that way, because we think it lays the foundation not merely of enlarging and spreading out what we consider an evil, but it lays the foundation for spreading that evil into the States themselves. We propose so resisting it as to have it reversed if we can, and a new judicial rule established upon this subject.

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

I will say now that there is a sentiment in the country contrary to me—a sentiment which holds that slavery is not wrong, and therefore it goes for the policy that does not propose dealing with it as a wrong. That policy is the Democratic policy, and that sentiment is the Democratic sentiment. If there be a doubt in the mind of any one of this vast audience that this is really the central idea of the Democratic party, in relation to this subject, I ask him to bear with me while I state a few things tending, as I think, to prove that proposition. In the first place, the leading man—I think I may do my friend Judge Douglas the honor of calling him such—advocating the present Democratic policy, never himself says it is wrong. He has the high distinction, so far as I know, of never having said slavery is either right or wrong. Almost every body else says one or the other, but the Judge never does. If there be a man in the Democratic party who thinks it is wrong, and yet clings to that party, I suggest to him in the first place that his leader don't talk as he does, for

he never says that it is wrong. In the second place, I suggest to him that if he will examine the policy proposed to be carried forward, he will find that he carefully excludes the idea that there is any thing wrong in it. If you will examine the arguments that are made on it, you will find that every one carefully excludes the idea that there is any thing wrong in slavery. Perhaps that Democrat who says he is as much opposed to slavery as I am, will tell me that I am wrong about this. I wish him to examine his own course in regard to this matter a moment, and then see if his opinion will not be changed a little. You say it is wrong; but don't you constantly object to any body else saying so? Do you not constantly argue that this is not the right place to oppose it? You say it must not be opposed in the free States, because slavery is not here; it must not be opposed in the slave States, because it is there; it must not be opposed in politics, because that will make a fuss; it must not be opposed in the pulpit, because it is not religion. Then where is the place to oppose it? There is no suitable place to oppose it. There is no plan in the country to oppose this evil overspreading the continent, which you say yourself is coming. Frank Blair and Gratz Brown tried to get up a system of gradual emancipation in Missouri, had an election in August and got beat, and you, Mr. Democrat, threw up your hat, and hallooed "hurrah for Democracy." So I say again, that in regard to the arguments that are made, when Judge Douglas says he "don't care whether slavery is voted up or voted down," whether he means that as an individual expression of sentiment, or only as a sort of statement of his views on national policy, it is alike true to say that he can thus argue logically if he don't see any thing wrong in it; but he cannot say so logically if he admits that slavery is wrong. He cannot say that he would as soon see a wrong voted up as voted down. When Judge Douglas says that whoever or whatever community wants slaves, they have a right to have them, he is perfectly logical if there is nothing wrong in the institution; but if you admit that it is wrong, he cannot logically say that any body has a right to do wrong. When he says that slave property and horse and hog property are, alike, to be allowed to go into the Territories,

upon the principles of equality, he is reasoning truly, if there is no difference between them as property; but if the one is property, held rightfully, and the other is wrong, then there is no equality between the right and wrong; so that, turn it in any way you can, in all the arguments sustaining the Democratic policy, and in that policy itself, there is a careful, studied exclusion of the idea that there is any thing wrong in slavery. Let us understand this. I am not, just here, trying to prove that we are right and they are wrong. I have been stating where we and they stand, and trying to show what is the real difference between us; and I now say that whenever we can get the question distinctly stated—can get all these men who believe that slavery is in some of these respects wrong, to stand and act with us in treating it as a wrong—then, and not till then, I think we will in some way come to an end of this slavery agitation.

THE SO-CALLED "IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT" EXPLAINED.

I said we were now far into the fifth year, since a policy was initiated with the avowed object and confident promise of putting an end to the slavery agitation. Is it not so? When that Nebraska bill was brought forward four years ago last January, was it not for the "avowed object" of putting an end to the slavery agitation? We were to have no more agitation in Congress, it was all to be banished to the Territories. By the way, I will remark here that, as Judge Douglas is very fond of complimenting Mr. Crittenden in these days, Mr. Crittenden has said there was a falsehood in that whole business, for there was *no slavery agitation at that time to allay*. We were for a little while *quiet* on the troublesome thing, and that very allaying plaster of Judge Douglas's stirred it up again. But was it not understood or intimated with the "confident promise" of putting an end to the slavery agitation? Surely it was. In every speech you heard Judge Douglas make, until he got into this "imbroglio," as they call it, with the Administration about the Lecompton Constitution, every speech on that Nebraska bill was full of his felicitations that we were *just at the end* of the slavery agitation. The

last tip of the last joint of the old serpent's tail was just drawing out of view. But has it proved so? I have asserted that under that policy that agitation "has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented." When was there ever a greater agitation in Congress than last winter? When was it as great in the country as to-day?

There was a collateral object in the introduction of that Nebraska policy which was to clothe the people of the Territories with a superior degree of self-government, beyond what they had ever had before. The first object and the main one of conferring upon the people a higher degree of "self-government," is a question of fact to be determined by you in answer to a single question. Have you ever heard or known of a people anywhere on earth who had as little to do, as, in the first instance of its use, the people of Kansas had with this same right of "self-government?" In its main policy and in its collateral object, *it has been nothing but a living, creeping lie from the time of its introduction till to-day.*

I have intimated that I thought the agitation would not cease until a crisis should have been reached and passed. I have stated in what way I thought it would be reached and passed. I have said that it might go one way or the other. We might, by arresting the further spread of it, and placing it where the fathers originally placed it, put it where the public mind should rest in the belief that it was in the course of ultimate extinction. Thus the agitation may cease. It may be pushed forward until it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South. I have said, and I repeat, my wish is that the further spread of it may be arrested, and that it may be placed where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction. I have expressed that as my wish. I entertain the opinion upon evidence sufficient to my mind, that the fathers of this Government placed that institution where the public mind *did* rest in the belief that it was in the course of ultimate extinction. Let me ask why they made provision that the source of slavery—the African slave-trade—should be cut off at the end of twenty years? Why did they make provision that in all the new territory we owned at that time, slavery should be forever

inhibited? Why stop its spread in one direction and cut off its source in another, if they did not look to its being placed in the course of ultimate extinction?

Again; the institution of slavery is only mentioned in the Constitution of the United States two or three times, and in neither of these cases does the word "slavery" or "negro race" occur; but covert language is used each time, and for a purpose full of significance. What is the language in regard to the prohibition of the African slave-trade? It runs in about this way: "The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight."

The next allusion in the Constitution to the question of slavery and the black race, is on the subject of the basis of representation, and there the language used is, "Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed—three-fifths of all other persons."

It says "persons," not slaves, not negroes; but this "three-fifths" can be applied to no other class among us than the negroes.

Lastly, in the proposition for the reclamation of fugitive slaves, it is said: "No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due." There again there is no mention of the word "negro" or of slavery. In all three of these places, being the only allusions to slavery in the instrument, covert language is used. Language is used not suggesting that slavery existed, or that the black race were among us. And I understand the contemporaneous history of those times to be that covert language was used with a purpose, and that purpose was that in our Constitution, which it was hoped and is still hoped will endure forever—when it

should be read by intelligent and patriotic men, after the institution of slavery had passed from among us—there should be nothing on the face of the great charter of liberty suggesting that such a thing as negro slavery had ever existed among us. This is part of the evidence that the fathers of the Government expected and intended the institution of slavery to come to an end. They expected and intended that it should be in the course of ultimate extinction. And when I say that I desire to see the further spread of it arrested, I only say I desire to see that done which the fathers have first done. When I say I desire to see it placed where the public mind will rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, I only say I desire to see it placed where they placed it. It is not true that our fathers, as Judge Douglas assumes, made this Government part slave and part free. Understand the sense in which he puts it. He assumes that slavery is a rightful thing within itself—was introduced by the framers of the Constitution. The exact truth is, that they found the institution existing among us, and they left it as they found it. But in making the Government they left this institution with many clear marks of disapprobation upon it. They found slavery among them, and they left it among them because of the difficulty—the absolute impossibility of its immediate removal. And when Judge Douglas asks me why we cannot let it remain part slave and part free, as the fathers of the Government made it, he asks a question based upon an assumption which is itself a falsehood; and I turn upon him and ask him the question, when the policy that the fathers of the Government had adopted in relation to this element among us, was the best policy in the world—the only wise policy—the only policy that we can ever safely continue upon—that will ever give us peace, unless this dangerous element masters us all and becomes a national institution—I turn upon him and ask him why he could not leave it alone. I turn and ask him why he was driven to the necessity of introducing a new policy in regard to it. He has himself said he introduced a new policy. He said so in his speech on the 22d of March of the present year, 1858. I ask him why he could not let it remain where our fathers placed it. I ask, too, of Judge

Douglas and his friends why we shall not again place this institution upon the basis on which the fathers left it. I ask you, when he infers that I am in favor of setting the free and slave States at war, when the institution was placed in that attitude by those who made the Constitution, *did they make any war?* If we had no war out of it, when thus placed, wherein is the ground of belief that we shall have war out of it, if we return to that policy? Have we had any peace upon this matter springing from any other basis? I maintain that we have not. I have proposed nothing more than a return to the policy of the fathers.

I confess, when I propose a certain measure of policy, it is not enough for me that I do not intend any thing evil in the result, but it is incumbent on me to show that it has not a *tendency* to that result. I have met Judge Douglas in that point of view. I have not only made the declaration that I do not *mean* to produce a conflict between the States, but I have tried to show by fair reasoning, and I think I have shown to the minds of fair men, that I propose nothing but what has a most peaceful tendency. The quotation that I happened to make in that Springfield speech, that "a house divided against itself cannot stand," and which has proved so offensive to the Judge, was part and parcel of the same thing. He tries to show that variety in the domestic institutions of the different States is necessary and indispensable. I do not dispute it. I have no controversy with Judge Douglas about that. I shall very readily agree with him that it would be foolish for us to insist upon having a cranberry law here in Illinois, where we have no cranberries, because they have a cranberry law in Indiana, where they have cranberries. I should insist that it would be exceedingly wrong in us to deny to Virginia the right to enact oyster laws, where they have oysters, because we want no such laws here. I understand, I hope, quite as well as Judge Douglas or any body else, that a variety in the soil and climate and face of the country, and consequent variety in the industrial pursuits and productions of a country, require systems of law conforming to this variety in the natural features of the country. I understand quite as well as Judge Douglas, that if we here raise a barrel of flour

more than we want, and the Louisianians raise a barrel of sugar more than they want, it is of mutual advantage to exchange. That produces commerce, brings us together, and makes us better friends. We like one another the more for it. And I understand as well as Judge Douglas, or any body else, that these mutual accommodations are the cements which bind together the different parts of this Union—that instead of being a thing to “divide the house”—figuratively expressing the Union—they tend to sustain it; they are the props of the house tending always to hold it up.

But when I have admitted all this, I ask if there is any parallel between these things and this institution of slavery. I do not see that there is any parallel at all between them. Consider it. When have we had any difficulty or quarrel amongst ourselves about the cranberry laws of Indiana, or the oyster laws of Virginia, or the pine-lumber laws of Maine, or the fact that Louisiana produces sugar, and Illinois flour? When have we had any quarrels over these things? When have we had perfect peace in regard to this thing which I say is an element of discord in this Union? We have sometimes had peace, but when was it? It was when the institution of slavery remained quiet where it was. We have had difficulty and turmoil whenever it has made a struggle to spread itself where it was not. I ask, then, if experience does not speak in thunder-tones, telling us that the policy which has given peace to the country heretofore, being returned to, gives the greatest promise of peace again. You may say, and Judge Douglas has intimated the same thing, that all this difficulty in regard to the institution of slavery is the mere agitation of office-seekers and ambitious northern politicians. He thinks we want to get “his place,” I suppose. I agree that there are office-seekers amongst us. The Bible says somewhere that we are desperately selfish. I think we would have discovered that fact without the Bible. I do not claim that I am any less so than the average of men, but I do claim that I am not more selfish than Judge Douglas.

But is it true that all the difficulty and agitation we have in regard to this institution of slavery springs from office-seeking—from the mere ambition of politicians? Is that the

truth? How many times have we had danger from this question? Go back to the day of the Missouri Compromise. Go back to the Nullification question, at the bottom of which lay this same slavery question. Go back to the Annexation of Texas. Go back to the troubles that led to the Compromise of 1850. You will find that every time, with the single exception of the Nullification question, they sprung from an endeavor to spread this institution. There never was a party in the history of this country, and there probably never will be, of sufficient strength to disturb the general peace of the country. Parties themselves may be divided and quarrel on minor questions, yet it extends not beyond the parties themselves. But does *not* this question make a disturbance outside of political circles? Does it not enter into the churches and rend them asunder? What divided the great Methodist Church into two parts, North and South? What has raised this constant disturbance in every Presbyterian General Assembly that meets? What disturbed the Unitarian Church in this very city two years ago? What has jarred and shaken the great American Tract Society recently, not yet splitting it, but sure to divide it in the end? Is it not this same mighty, deep-seated power that somehow operates on the minds of men, exciting and stirring them up in every avenue of society—in politics, in religion, in literature, in morals, in all the manifold relations of life? Is this the work of politicians? Is that irresistible power which for fifty years has shaken the Government and agitated the people, to be stilled and subdued by pretending that it is an exceedingly simple thing, and we ought not to talk about it? If you will get every body else to stop talking about it, I assure you I will quit before they have half done so. But where is the philosophy or statesmanship which assumes that you can quiet that disturbing element in our society which has disturbed us for more than half a century, which has been the only serious danger that has threatened our institutions—I say, where is the philosophy or the statesmanship based on the assumption that we are to quit talking about it, and that the public mind is all at once to cease being agitated by it? Yet this is the policy here in the north that Douglas is advocating—that we are to care nothing about it! I ask

you if it is not a false philosophy. Is it not a false statesmanship that undertakes to build up a system of policy upon the basis of caring nothing about *the very thing that every body does care the most about?*—a thing which all experience has shown we care a very great deal about?

CHICAGO REPUBLICAN PLATFORM,

ADOPTED MAY 17, 1860, BY THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Resolved, That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican electors of the United States, in Convention assembled, in the discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and our country, unite in the following declarations:

First. That the history of the nation during the last four years has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party, and that the causes which called it into existence, are permanent in their nature, and now, more than ever before, demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph.

Second. That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the Federal Constitution, is essential to the preservation of our Republican institutions, and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the union of the States, must and shall be preserved,

Third. That to the union of the States this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population; its surprising development of material resources; its rapid augmentation of wealth; its happiness at home and its honor abroad; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source they may; and we congratulate the country that no Republican member of Congress has uttered or countenanced a threat of disunion, so often made by Democratic members of Congress, without rebuke and with applause from

their political associates; and we denounce those threats of disunion, in case of a popular overthrow of their ascendancy, as denying the vital principles of a free government, and as an avowal of contemplated treason, which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people strongly to rebuke and forever silence.

Fourth. That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions, according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political faith depends, and we denounce the lawless invasion by an armed force of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

Fifth. That the present Democratic administration has far exceeded our worst apprehensions in its measureless subserviency to the exactions of a sectional interest, as is especially evident in its desperate exertions to force the infamous Le-compton Constitution upon the protesting people of Kansas; in construing the personal relation between master and servant to involve an unqualified property in persons; in its attempted enforcement everywhere, on land and sea, through the intervention of Congress and the Federal courts, of the extreme pretensions of a purely local interest, and in its general and unvarying abuse of the power intrusted to it by a confiding people.

Sixth. That the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the Federal Government; that a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest the system of plunder of the public treasury by favored partisans; while the recent startling developments of fraud and corruption at the Federal Metropolis show that an entire change of administration is imperatively demanded.

Seventh. That the new dogma that the Constitution of its own force carries slavery into any or all the Territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent;

is revolutionary in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.

Eighth. That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom; that as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, or a Territorial Legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States.

Ninth. That we brand the recent reopening of the African slave-trade, under the cover of our national flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, as a crime against humanity, a burning shame to our country and age; and we call upon Congress to take prompt and efficient measure for the total and final suppression of that execrable traffic.

Tenth. That in the recent vetoes, by their Federal Governors, of the acts of the Legislatures of Kansas and Nebraska, prohibiting slavery in those Territories, we find a practical illustration of the boasted Democratic principle of non-intervention and popular sovereignty embodied in the Kansas and Nebraska bill, and a denunciation of the deception and fraud involved therein.

Eleventh. That Kansas should, of right, be immediately admitted as a State under the Constitution recently formed and adopted by the people, and accepted by the House of Representatives.

Twelfth. That while providing revenue for the support of the General Government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imposts as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the working men liberal wages, to agriculture remunerating prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence.

Thirteenth. That we protest against any sale or alienation

to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the Free Homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or suppliants for public bounty; and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory Homestead measure which has already passed the House.

Fourteenth. That the National Republican party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws, or any State legislation by which the rights of citizenship hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired, and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home and abroad.

Fifteenth. That appropriations by Congress for River and Harbor improvements of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of our existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution, and justified by an obligation of the Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

Sixteenth. That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country; that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction; and that, as preliminary thereto, a daily overland mail should be promptly established.

Seventeenth. Finally, having thus set forth our distinctive principles and views, we invite the co-operation of all citizens, however differing on other questions, who substantially agree with us in their affirmance and support.

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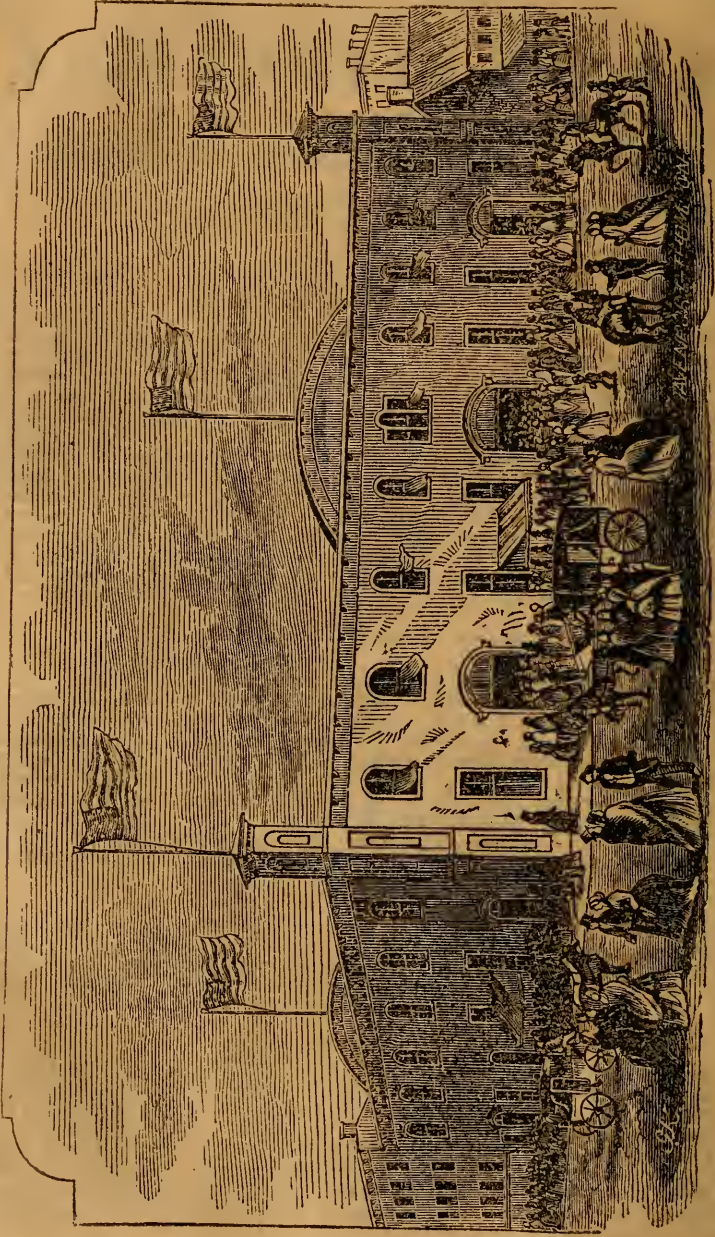
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