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THE MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH
NOTES AND QUERIES

Extra Number—No. 25

RARE LINCOLNIANA—No. 3

COMPRISING

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(Greek and English Text) *Wilfred O. Bailey*
- SPEECHES—I. IN PARLIAMENT 1. *By Sir George Grey*
2. *By Disraeli*
- II. IN ST. JAMES' HALL, LONDON 1. *By W. E. Forster, M.P.*
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- FUNERAL ORATION AT CONCORD *R. W. Emerson*
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WILLIAM ABBATT

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

IN THIS, the third of our EXTRAS devoted to Lincoln, are three of the rarest items relating to him—the Indianapolis Court resolutions, the Woods sermon, and the Bailey Greek Oration.

Of the latter the author says, in a recent letter to the Editor: “I should like to point out that the speech (which is imaginary) was written in Greek with the special object of illustrating the style of Thucydides in his speeches * * * I have attempted nothing but to make a faithful translation, and fear you will not recognize Lincoln’s particular style! It can only be judged in the Greek.”

We are sure our readers will find this a very interesting article.

It might be thought strange to call a public document “scarce”—yet as a matter of fact the celebrated Address to the special session of Congress—1861—is fairly entitled to that adjective. In it appears the celebrated phrase “sugar-coated,” which occasioned Seward’s famous adverse criticism and Mr. Lincoln’s equally famous reply to his objection.

The various speeches by Englishmen of note, as well as Emerson’s Address, have not been reprinted before; General Hamlin’s account of the assassination appeared only in a volume of Loyal Legion papers,—which are unknown to the general public—and Mr. Malet’s brief account of his interview in 1862 reports a statement by the President about his nomination which we have not seen reported by any other writer.

THE PRESIDENT'S SPECIAL SESSION MESSAGE

July 4, 1861.

Fellow Citizens of The Senate and House of Representatives:

Having been convened on an extraordinary occasion, as authorized by law, your attention is not called to any ordinary subject of legislation.

At the beginning of the present Presidential term, four months ago, the functions of the Federal Government were found to be generally suspended within the several states of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Florida, excepting only those of the Post Office Department.

Within these states all the forts, arsenals, dockyards, custom-houses, and the like, including the movable and stationary property in and about them, had been seized and were held in open hostility to this Government, excepting only Forts Pickens, Taylor and Jefferson, on and near the Florida coast, and Fort Sumter, in Charleston Harbor, South Carolina. The forts thus seized had been put in improved condition, new ones had been built, and armed forces had been organized and were organizing, all avowedly with the same hostile purpose.

The forts remaining in the possession of the Federal Government in and near these States were either besieged or menaced by warlike preparations, and especially Fort Sumter was nearly surrounded by well-protected hostile batteries, with guns equal in quality to the best of its own and out-numbering the latter as perhaps ten to one. A disproportionate share of the Federal muskets and rifles had somehow found their way into these States, and had been seized to be used against the Government. Accumulations of the public revenue lying within them had been seized for the same object. The Navy was scattered in distant seas, leaving but a very

small part of it within the immediate reach of the Government. Officers of the Federal Army and Navy had resigned in great numbers, and of those resigning a large proportion had taken up arms against the Government. Simultaneously and in connection with all this the purpose to sever the Federal Union was openly avowed. In accordance with this purpose, an ordinance had been adopted in each of these States declaring the States respectively to be separated from the National Union. A formula for instituting a combined government of these States had been promulgated, and this illegal organization, in the character of Confederate States, was already invoking recognition, aid, and intervention from foreign powers.

Finding this condition of things and believing it to be an imperative duty upon the incoming Executive to prevent, if possible the consummation of such attempt to destroy the Federal Union, a choice of means to that end became indispensable. This choice was made, and was declared in the inaugural address. The policy chosen looked to the exhaustion of all peaceful measures before a resort to any stronger ones. It sought only to hold the public places and property not already wrested from the Government and to collect the revenue, relying for the rest on time, discussion, and the ballot box. It promised a continuance of the mails at Government expense to the very people who were resisting the Government, and it gave repeated pledges against any disturbance to any of the people or any of their rights. Of all that which a President might constitutionally and justifiably do in such a case, everything was foreborne without which it was believed possible to keep the Government on foot.

On the 5th of March, the present incumbent's first full day in office, a letter of Major Anderson, commanding at Fort Sumter, written on the 28th of February and received at the War Department on the 4th of March, was by that Department placed in his

hands. This letter expressed the professional opinion of the writer that reënforcements could not be thrown into that fort within the time for his relief rendered necessary by the limited supply of provisions, and with a view of holding possession of the same, with a force of less than 20,000 good and well-disciplined men. This opinion was concurred in by all the officers of his command, and their memoranda on the subject were made enclosures of Major Anderson's letter. The whole was immediately laid before Lieutenant-General Scott, who at once concurred with Major Anderson in opinion. On reflection, however, he took full time, consulting with other officers, both of the Army and the Navy, and at the end of four days came reluctantly but decidedly, to the same conclusion as before. He also stated at the same time that no such sufficient force was then at the control of the Government or could be raised and brought to the ground within the time when the provisions in the fort would be exhausted. In a purely military point of view this reduced the duty of the Administration in the case to the mere matter of getting the garrison safely out of the fort.

It was believed, however, that to so abandon that position under the circumstances would be utterly ruinous; that the *necessity* under which it was done would not be fully understood; that by many it would be construed as a part of a *voluntary* policy; that at home it would discourage the friends of the Union, embolden its adversaries, and go far to insure to the latter a recognition abroad; that, in fact, it would be our national destruction consummated. This could not be allowed. Starvation was not yet upon the garrison, and ere it was reached *Fort Pickens* might be reënforced. This last would be a clear indication of *policy*, and would better enable the country to accept the evacuation of Fort Sumter as a military *necessity*. An order was at once directed to be sent for the landing of the troops from the steamship *Brooklyn* into Fort Pickens. This order could not go by land, but must take the longer and slower route by sea. The first return news from the order was received

just one week before the fall of Fort Sumter, The news itself was that the officer commanding the *Sabine*, to which vessel the troops had been transferred from the *Brooklyn*, acting upon some *quasi* armistice of the late Administration, (and of the existence of which the present Administration, up to the time the order was dispatched, had only too vague and uncertain rumors to fix attention,) had refused to land the troops. To now reënforce Fort Pickens before a crisis would be reached at Fort Sumter, was impossible, rendered so by the near exhaustion of provisions in the latter-named fort. In precaution against such a conjuncture the Government had a few days before commenced preparing an expedition, as well adapted as might be, to relieve Fort Sumter, which expedition was intended to be ultimately used or not, according to circumstances. The strongest anticipated case for using it was now presented, and it was resolved to send it forward. As had been intended in this contingency it was also resolved to notify the governor of South Carolina, that he might expect an attempt would be made to provision the fort, and that if the attempt should not be resisted there would be no effort to throw in men, arms, or ammunition without further notice, or in case of an attack upon the fort. This notice was accordingly given, whereupon the fort was attacked and bombarded to its fall, without even awaiting the arrival of the provisioning expedition.

It is thus seen that the assault upon and reduction of Fort Sumter was in no sense a matter of self-defense on the part of the assailants. They well knew that the garrison in the fort could by no possibility commit aggression upon them. They knew—they were expressly notified—that the giving of bread to the few brave and hungry men of the garrison was all which would on that occasion be attempted, unless themselves, by resisting so much, should provoke more. They knew that this Government desired to keep the garrison in the fort, not to assail them, but merely to preserve visible possession, and thus to preserve the Union from actual and immediate dissolution, trusting, as hercinbefore stated, to time, discussion,

and the ballot-box for final adjustment; and they assailed and reduced the fort for precisely the reverse object—to drive out the visible authority of the Federal Union, and thus force it to immediate dissolution. That this was their object the Executive well understood, and having said to them in the inaugural address, “You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors,” he took pains not only to keep this declaration good, but also to keep the case so free from the power of ingenious sophistry as that the world should not be able to misunderstand it. By the affair at Fort Sumter, with its surrounding circumstances, that point was reached.

Then and thereby the assailants of the Government began the conflict of arms, without a gun in sight or in expectancy to return their fire, save only the few in the fort, sent to that harbor years before for their own protection, and still ready to give that protection in whatever was lawful. In this act, discarding all else, they have forced upon the country the distinct issue, “Immediate dissolution or blood.”

And this issue embraces more than the fate of these United States. It presents to the whole family of man the question whether a constitutional republic, or democracy—a government of the people by the same people—can or can not maintain its territorial integrity against its own domestic foes. It presents the question whether discontented individuals, too few in numbers to control administration according to organic law in any case, can always, upon the pretenses made in this case, or on any other pretenses, or arbitrarily without any pretense, break up their government, and thus practically put an end to free government upon the earth. It forces us to ask, Is there in all republics this inherent and fatal weakness? Must a government of necessity be too *strong* for the liberties of its own people, or too *weak* to maintain its own existence?

So viewing the issue, no choice was left but to call out the war

power of the Government and so to resist force employed for its own destruction by force for its preservation.

The call was made, and the response of the country was most gratifying, surpassing in unanimity and spirit the most sanguine expectation. Yet none of the States commonly called slave States, except Delaware, gave a regiment through regular State organization. A few regiments have been organized within some others of those States by individual enterprise, and received into the Government service. Of course the seceded States so-called (and to which Texas had been joined about the time of the inauguration) gave no troops to the cause of the Union. The border States, so called, were not uniform in their action, some of them being almost *for* the Union while in others, as Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas, the Union sentiment was nearly repressed and silenced. The course taken in Virginia was the most remarkable, perhaps the most important. A convention elected by the people of that State to consider this very question of disrupting the Federal Union was in session at the capital of Virginia when Fort Sumter fell. To this body the people had chosen a large majority of *professed* Union men. Almost immediately after the fall of Sumter many members of that majority went over to the original disunion minority, and with them adopted an ordinance for withdrawing the State from the Union. Whether this change was wrought by their great approval of the assault upon Sumter or their great resentment at the Government's resistance to that assault is not definitely known. Although they submitted the ordinance for ratification to a vote of the people, to be taken on a day then somewhat more than a month distant, the convention and the legislature, which was also in session at the same time and place, with leading men of the State not members of either, immediately commenced acting as if the State were already out of the Union. They pushed military preparations vigorously forward all over the State. They seized the United States armory at Harper's Ferry and the navy-yard at Gosport, near Norfolk.

They received—perhaps invited—into their State large bodies of troops, with their warlike appointments, from the so-called seceded States. They formally entered into a treaty of temporary alliance and cooperation with the so-called “Confederate States” and sent members to their congress at Montgomery; and, finally, they permitted the insurrectionary government to be transferred to their capital at Richmond.

The people of Virginia have thus allowed this giant insurrection to make its nest within her borders, and this Government has no choice left but to deal with it *where* it finds it; and it has the less regret, as the loyal citizens have in due form claimed its protection. Those loyal citizens this Government is bound to recognize and protect, as being Virginia.

In the border States, so called—in fact, the Middle States—there are those who favor a policy which they call “armed neutrality”; that is, an arming of those States to prevent the Union forces passing one way or the disunion the other over their soil. This would be disunion completed. Figuratively speaking, it would be the building of an impassable wall along the line of separation, and yet not quite an impassable one, for, under the guise of neutrality, it would tie the hands of the Union men and freely pass supplies from among them to the insurrectionists, which it could not do as an open enemy.

At a stroke it would take all the trouble off the hands of secession, except only what proceeds from the external blockade. It would do for the disunionists that which of all things they most desire—feed them well and give them disunion without a stroke of their own. It recognizes no fidelity to the Constitution, no obligation to maintain the Union; and while very many who have favored it are doubtless loyal citizens, it is, nevertheless, very injurious in effect.

Recurring to the action of the Government, it may be stated that at first a call was made for 75,000 militia, and rapidly following this a proclamation was issued for closing the ports of the insurrectionary districts by proceedings in the nature of blockade. So far all was believed to be strictly legal. At this point the insurrectionists announced their purpose to enter upon the practice of privateering.

Other calls were made for volunteers to serve three years unless sooner discharged, and also for large additions to the Regular Army and Navy. These measures, whether strictly legal or not, were ventured upon under what appeared to be a popular demand and a public necessity, trusting then, as now, that Congress would readily ratify them. It is believed that nothing has been done beyond the constitutional competency of Congress.

Soon after the first call for militia it was considered a duty to authorize the Commanding General in proper cases, according to his discretion, to suspend the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*, or, in other words, to arrest and detain without resort to the ordinary processes and forms of law such individuals as he might deem dangerous to the public safety. This authority has purposely been exercised but very sparingly. Nevertheless, the legality and propriety of what has been done under it are questioned, and the attention of the country has been called to the proposition that one who is sworn to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed" should not himself violate them. Of course some consideration was given to the questions of power and propriety before this matter was acted upon. The whole of the laws which were required to be faithfully executed were being resisted and failing of execution in nearly one-third of the States. Must they be allowed to finally fail of execution, even had it been perfectly clear that by the use of the means necessary to their execution some single law, made in such extreme tenderness of the citizen's liberty that practically it

relieves more of the guilty than of the innocent, should to a very limited extent be violated? To state the question more directly, Are all the laws *but one* to go unexecuted, and the Government itself go to pieces lest that one be violated? Even in such a case, would not the official oath be broken if the Government should be overthrown when it was believed that disregarding the single law would tend to preserve it? But it was not believed that this question was presented. It was not believed that any law was violated. The provision of the Constitution that "the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it", is equivalent to a provision—is a provision—that such privilege may be suspended when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety *does* require it. It was decided that we have a case of rebellion and that the public safety does require the qualified suspension of the privilege which was authorized to be made. Now it is insisted that Congress and not the Executive, is vested with this power; but the Constitution itself is silent as to which or who is to exercise the power; and as the provision was plainly made for a dangerous emergency, it can not be believed that the framers of the instrument intended that in every case the danger should run its course until Congress could be called together, the very assembling of which might be prevented, as was intended in this case, by the rebellion.

No more extended argument is now offered, as an opinion at some length will probably be presented by the Attorney-General. Whether there shall be any legislation upon the subject, and, if any, what, is submitted entirely to the better judgment of Congress.

The forbearance of this Government had been so extraordinary and so long continued as to lead some foreign nations to shape their action as if they supposed the early destruction of our National Union was probable. While this on discovery gave the Executive some concern, he is now happy to say that the sovereignty and right

of the United States are now everywhere practically respected by foreign powers, and a general sympathy with the country is manifested throughout the world.

The reports of the Secretaries of the Treasury, War, and the Navy will give the information in detail deemed necessary and convenient for your deliberation and action, while the Executive and all the Departments will stand ready to supply omissions or to communicate new facts considered important for you to know.

It is now recommended that you give the legal means for making this contest a short and decisive one; that you place at the control of the Government for the work at least 400,000 men and \$400,000,000. That number of men is about one-tenth of those of proper ages within the regions where apparently *all* are willing to engage, and the sum is less than a twenty-third part of the money value owned by the men who seem ready to devote the whole. A debt of \$600,000,000 now is a less sum per head than was the debt of our Revolution when we came out of that struggle, and the money value in the country now bears even a greater proportion to what it was *then* than does the population. Surely each man has as strong a motive *now* to *preserve* our liberties as each had then to *establish* them.

A right result at this time will be worth more to the world than ten times the men and ten times the money. The evidence reaching us from the country leaves no doubt that the material for the work is abundant, and that it needs only the hand of legislation to give it legal sanction and the hand of the Executive to give it practical shape and efficiency. One of the greatest perplexities of the Government is to avoid receiving troops faster than it can provide for them. In a word, the people will save their Government if the Government itself will do its part only indifferently well.

It might seem at first thought to be of little difference whether the present movement at the South be called "secession" or

“rebellion”. The movers, however, well understand the difference. At the beginning they knew they could never raise their treason to any respectable magnitude by any name which implies *violation* of law. They knew their people possessed as much of moral sense, as much of devotion to law and order, and as much pride in and reverence for the history and Government of their common country as any other civilized and patriotic people. They knew they could make no advancement directly in the teeth of these strong and noble sentiments. Accordingly, they commenced by an insidious debauching of the public mind. They invented an ingenious sophism, which, if conceded, was followed by perfectly logical steps through all the incidents to the complete destruction of the Union. The sophism itself is that any State of the Union may *consistently* with the National Constitution, and therefore *lawfully* and *peacefully*, withdraw from the Union without the consent of the Union or of any other State. The little disguise that the supposed right is to be exercised only for just cause, themselves to be the sole judge of its justice, is too thin to merit any notice.

With rebellion thus sugar-coated they have been drugging the public mind of their section for more than thirty years, and until at length they have brought many good men to a willingness to take up arms against the Government the day *after* some assemblage of men have enacted the farcical pretense of taking their State out of the Union who could have been brought to no such thing the day *before*.

This sophism derives much, perhaps the whole, of its currency from the assumption that there is some omnipotent and sacred supremacy pertaining to a *State*—to each State of our Federal Union. Our States have neither more nor less power than that reserved to them in the Union by the Constitution, no one of them ever having been a State *out* of the Union. The original ones passed into the Union even *before* they cast off their British colonial

dependence, and the new ones each came into the Union directly from a condition of dependence, excepting Texas; and even Texas, in its temporary independence, was never designated a State. The new ones only took the designation of States on coming into the Union, while that name was first adopted for the old ones in and by the Declaration of Independence. Therein the "United Colonies" were declared to be "free and independent States:" but even then the object plainly was not to declare their independence of *one another* or of the Union, but directly the contrary, as their mutual pledge and their mutual action before, at the time, and afterwards abundantly show. The express plighting of faith by each and all of the original thirteen in the Articles of Confederation, two years later, that the Union shall be perpetual is most conclusive. Having never been States, either in substance or in name, *outside* the Union, whence this magical omnipotence of "State rights", asserting a claim of power lawfully to destroy the Union itself? Much is said about the "sovereignty" of the States, but the word even is not in the National Constitution, nor as is believed, in any of the State constitutions. What is a "sovereignty" in the political sense of the word? Would it be far wrong to define it "a political community without a political superior?" Tested by this, no one of our States, except Texas, ever was a sovereignty; and even Texas gave up the character on coming into the Union, by which act she acknowledged the Constitution of the United States and the laws and treaties of the United States made in pursuance of the Constitution to be for her the supreme law of the land. The States have their status in the Union, and they have no other legal status. If they break from this, they can only do so against law and by revolution. The Union, and not themselves separately, procured their independence and their liberty. By conquest or purchase the Union gave each of them whatever of independence and liberty it has. The Union is older than any of the States, and, in fact, it created them as States. Originally some dependent colo-

nies made the Union, and in turn the Union threw off their old dependence for them and made them States, such as they are. Not one of them ever had a State constitution independent of the Union. Of course it is not forgotten that all the new States framed their Constitutions before they entered the Union, nevertheless dependent upon and preparatory to coming into the Union.

Unquestionably the States have the powers and rights reserved to them in and by the National Constitution; but among these surely are not included all conceivable powers, however mischievous or destructive, but at most such only as were known in the world at the time as governmental powers; and certainly a power to destroy the Government itself had never been known as a governmental—as a merely administrative power. This relative matter of national power and State rights, as a principle, is no other than the principle of *generality* and *locality*. Whatever concerns the whole should be confided to the whole—to the General Government—while whatever concerns *only* the State should be left exclusively to the State. This is all there is of original principle about it. Whether the National Constitution in defining boundaries between the two has applied the principle with strict accuracy is not to be questioned. We are all bound by that defining without question.

What is now combated is the position, that secession is *consistent* with the Constitution—is *lawful* and *peaceful*. It is not contended that there is any express law for it, and nothing should ever be implied as law which leads to unjust or absurd consequences. The nation purchased with money the countries out of which several of these States were formed. Is it just that they shall go off without leave and without refunding? The nation paid very large sums (in the aggregate I believe, nearly a hundred millions) to relieve Florida of the aboriginal tribes. Is it just that she shall now be off without consent or without making any return? The nation

is now in debt for money applied to the benefit of these so-called seceding States in common with the rest. Is it just either that creditors shall go unpaid or the remaining States pay the balance? A part of the present National debt was contracted to pay the old debts of Texas. Is it just that she shall leave and pay no part of this herself?

Again: If one State may secede, so may another; and when all shall have seceded none is left to pay the debts. Is this quite just to our creditors? Did we notify them of this sage view of ours when we borrowed their money? If we now recognize this doctrine by allowing the seceders to go in peace, it is difficult to see what we can do if others choose to go or to extort terms upon which they will promise to remain.

The seceders insist that our Constitution admits of secession. They have assumed to make a national constitution of their own, in which of necessity they have either *discarded* or *retained* the right of secession, as they insist it exists in ours. If they have discarded it, they thereby admit that on principle it ought not to be in ours. If they have retained it, by their own construction of ours they show that to be consistent they must secede from one another whenever they shall find it the easiest way of settling their debts or effecting any other selfish or unjust object. The principle itself is one of disintegration, and upon which no government can possibly endure.

If all the States save one should assert the power to *drive* that one out of the Union, it is presumed the whole class of seceder politicians would at once deny the power and denounce the act as the greatest outrage upon State rights. But suppose that precisely the same act, instead of being called "driving the one out", should be called "the seceding of the others from that one", it would be exactly what the seceders claim to do, unless, indeed, they make the point that the one, because it is a minority, may right-

fully do what the others, because they are a majority, may not rightfully do. These politicians are subtle and profound on the rights of minorities. They are not partial to that power which made the Constitution and speaks from the preamble, calling itself "we, the people".

It may well be questioned whether there is today a majority of the legally qualified voters of any State, except, perhaps, South Carolina, in favor of disunion. There is much reason to believe that the Union men are the majority in many, if not in every other one, of the so-called seceded States. The contrary has not been demonstrated in any one of them. It is ventured to affirm this even of Virginia and Tennessee; for the result of an election held in military camps, where the bayonets are all on one side of the question voted upon, can scarcely be considered as demonstrating popular sentiment. At such an election all that large class who are at once *for* the Union and *against* coercion would be coerced to vote against the Union.

It may be affirmed without extravagance that the free institutions we enjoy have developed the powers and improved the condition of our whole people beyond any example in the world. Of this we now have a striking and an impressive illustration. So large an army as the Government has now on foot was never before known without a soldier in it but who had taken his place there of his own free choice. But more than this, there are many single regiments whose members, one and another, possess full practical knowledge of all the arts, sciences, professions, and whatever else, whether useful or elegant, is known in the world; and there is scarcely one from which there could not be selected a President, a Cabinet, a Congress and perhaps a court, abundantly competent to administer the Government itself. Nor do I say this is not true also in the army of our late friends, now adversaries in this contest; but if it is, so much better the reason why the Government which has conferred such

benefits on both them and us should not be broken up. Whoever in any section proposes to abandon such a government would do well to consider in deference to what principle it is that he does it; what better he is likely to get in its stead; whether the substitute will give, or be intended to give so much of good to the people. There are some foreshadowings on this subject. Our adversaries have adopted some declarations of independence in which, unlike the good old one penned by Jefferson, they omit the words "all men are created equal" Why? They have adopted a temporary national constitution in the preamble of which, unlike our good old one signed by Washington, they omit "We, the people", and substitute "We, the deputies of the sovereign and independent States." Why? Why this deliberate pressing out of view the rights of men and the authority of the people?

This is essentially a people's contest. On the side of the Union it is a struggle for maintaining in the world that form and substance of government whose leading object is to elevate the condition of men; to lift artificial weights from all shoulders; to clear the paths of laudable pursuit for all; to afford all an unfettered start and a fair chance in the race of life. Yielding to partial and temporary departures, from necessity, this is the leading object of the Government for whose existence we contend.

I am most happy to believe the plain people understand and appreciate this. It is worthy of note that while in this the Government's hour of trial large numbers of those in the Army and Navy who have been favored with the offices have resigned and proved false to the hand which had pampered them, not one common soldier or common sailor is known to have deserted his flag.

Great honor is due to those officers who have remained true despite the example of their treacherous associates; but the greatest honor and most important fact of all is the unanimous firmness of the common soldiers and common sailors. To the last man, so

far as known, they have successfully resisted the traitorous efforts of those whose commands but an hour before they obeyed as absolute law. This is the patriotic instinct of plain people. They understand without an argument that the destroying the government which was made by Washington means no good to them.

Our popular Government has often been called an experiment. Two points in it our people have already settled—the successful *establishing* and the successful *administering* of it. One still remains—its successful *maintenance* against a formidable internal attempt to overthrow it. It is now for them to demonstrate to the world that those who can fairly carry an election can also suppress a rebellion; that ballots are the rightful and peaceful successors of bullets and that when ballots have fairly and constitutionally decided there can be no successful appeal back to bullets; that there can be no successful appeal except to ballots themselves at succeeding elections. Such will be a great lesson of peace, teaching men that what they cannot take by an election neither can they take by a war; teaching all the folly of being the beginners of a war.

Lest there be some uneasiness in the minds of candid men as to what is to be the course of the Government towards the Southern States *after* the rebellion shall have been suppressed, the Executive deems it proper to say it will be his purpose then, as ever, to be guided by the Constitution and the laws, and that he probably will have no different understanding of the powers and duties of the Federal Government relatively to the rights of the States and the people under the Constitution than that expressed in the inaugural address.

He desires to preserve the Government, that it may be administered for all as it was administered by the men who made it. Loyal citizens everywhere have the right to claim this of their government, and the government has no right to withhold or neglect it. It is not perceived that in giving it there is any coercion, any conquest, or any subjugation in any just sense of those terms.

The Constitution provides, and all the States have accepted the provision, that "the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government." But if a State may lawfully go out of the Union, having done so it may also discard the republican form of government; so that to prevent its going out is an indispensable *means* to the *end* of maintaining the guaranty mentioned; and when an end is lawful and obligatory the indispensable means to it are also lawful and obligatory.

It was with the deepest regret that the Executive found the duty of employing the war power in defense of the Government forced upon him. He could but perform this duty or surrender the existence of the Government. No compromise by public servants could in this case be a cure; not that compromises are not often proper, but that no popular government can long survive a marked precedent that those who carry an election can only save the government from immediate destruction by giving up the main point upon which the people gave the election. The people themselves, and not their servants, can safely reverse their own deliberate decisions.

As a private citizen the Executive could not have consented that these institutions shall perish; much less could he in betrayal of so vast and so sacred a trust as these free people had confided to him. He felt that he had no moral right to shrink, nor even to count the chances of his own life, in what might follow. In full view of his great responsibility he has so far done what he has deemed his duty. You will now, according to your own judgment, perform yours. He sincerely hopes that your views and your action may so accord with his as to assure all faithful citizens who have been disturbed in their rights, of a certain and speedy restoration to them under the Constitution and the laws.

And having thus chosen our course, without guile and with pure purpose, let us renew our trust in God and go forward without fear and with manly hearts.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Gaisford Prize—Greek Prose

1893

Supposed Speech of Abraham Lincoln, on
the occasion of his second election
to the Presidency of the
United States

(In the style of Thucydides)

BY

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1893

IMAGINARY SPEECH BY ABRAHAM LINCOLN ON THE
OCCASION OF HIS SECOND INAUGURATION

IN THE STYLE OF THUCYDIDES.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

MY FRIENDS,

I am indeed rejoiced to be honoured by this numerous and enthusiastic gathering. It is a great token of your goodwill. And when a man is grappling with a task full of dangers and pitfalls, the encouragement of friends acts like a charm in strengthening his purpose to go forth with renewed zeal to his work; without it, his mind is paralyzed in the face of a crisis. It is because the reality and not the semblance of justice has been my constant ideal, that I have reached my present exalted station, one with which no poor man has ever been honoured by you before. And it would have been hard indeed if, having been elected by you when the state was in dangerous waters, I had been dismissed just as I was safely piloting her into harbour. For let no man think that I plunged the state into war. Our enemies were thirsting for a conflict and were the first to do us wrong, by dismantling one of our forts. Yet, granting to the full that *we* had been the first to act, it would still have been unfair to lay the origin of the dispute at our door. For I say that a war is stirred up not by the man who, smarting under an insult, strikes the first swift blow in self defence, but by him who, overriding all laws sacred and profane, tries to steal away his neighbours' possessions. We could no longer brook to see the enslavement of some an accomplished fact, that of others impending. Let me not waste words in relating the causes and progress of the war—They are matters of common knowledge. But there are some points upon which I should like to refresh your memory. Among other falsehoods to which they give currency about the slaves, is the fiction that

ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΟΣ Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΗΜΟΥ
ΤΩ ΔΗΜΩ ΔΙΟΙΚΩΝ.

Καὶ ἀσμένῳ μοι, ὦ ἄνδρες, συνέδη ταῦτα ὑφ' ὑμῶν, πλήθει τε παρόντων καὶ θορυβούντων τιμᾶσθαι· μέγα γὰρ εὐνοίας τεκμήριον· τῷ δὲ δεινοῖς τε καὶ σφαλεροῖς προσομιλοῦντι, ἢ τῶν φίλων παραμυθία, αἰεὶ μετὰ κηλήσεως συνοῦσα, πολλὴν ἔχει γνώμης βεβαιώσιν ἐς τὸ προθυμότερον πρὸς τὰ ἔργα ἐξίκεσθαι· ἐν δὲ τῷ μὴ τυχόντι αὐτῇ ἑαυτῆς ἀσθενεστέρα ἢ διάνοια παρὰ τὰς ξυμφορὰς ἐγένετο. αἰεὶ γὰρ τοῦτο προθυμηθῆν ὅπως τῇ ἀληθεῖ ἀλλὰ μὴ τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ δοκούσῃ εἶναι χρησαίμην. δι' ὅπερ οὐχ ἠκίστα ἐς τὸδε ἀξιώματος προβέβηκα, ὥστε πλείστα εἰς ἀνὴρ πένης ὑφ' ὑμῶν τιμηθῆσθαι· καὶ δεινὸν ἦν εἰ, μετεώρου τῆς πόλεως ἄρχειν αἰρεθείς, ἐς λιμένα ὅσον οὐ καταγαγὼν αὐτὴν παρελύθη. μηδεὶς γὰρ οἶηθῆ ὡς ἡσυχάζουσαν τὴν πόλιν ἐς πόλεμον κατέστησα. οἱ γὰρ ἐναντιοὶ δῆλοι ἦσαν πολεμησίοντες καὶ πρῶτοι ὑπῆρξαν ἀδικίας, τείχος τῶν ἡμετέρων καθελόντες, εἰ μέντοι τὰ μάλιστα οὐχ οὔτοι ἦσαν ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς οἱ δρώντες, τῆς διαφορᾶς τὴν αἰτίαν ἡμῖν τις ἐπιφέρων οὐκ ἂν ὀρθῶς αἰτιάσαιτο. πόλεμον γὰρ ἐγείρει, οὐχ ὅς ἂν τὰ αὐτοῦ σώζων φθάσας προκαταλάβῃ ὑβρισθείς, ἀλλ' ὅς ἂν, πάντα θεῖα καὶ ὅσια προπηλακίσας, τῶν ἀλλοτρῶν λαθῶν πλεονεκτεῖν πειραθῆ. οὐδὲ ἔτι ἐνεχώρει ἡμῖν τοὺς μὲν ἤδη καταδουλωθῆσθαι, τοὺς δὲ μὴ διὰ μακροῦ τὸ αὐτὸ πάσχειν. ἀλλὰ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ὅπως καὶ ὧν ἕνεκα ἐπολεμήθη ἐν εἰδόσι τί δεῖ μακρηγορεῖν; ὅμως ἔστιν ἃ περὶ αὐτὸ προεπισταμένους ὑμᾶς ὑπομνήσαι ἂν βουλοίμην. ὅσα γὰρ περὶ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων ἄλλα τε οὐκ ὄντα λέγουσιν ἐπικαταψευδόμενοι, καὶ ὡς, ὕβρει καὶ κακίᾳ ἐπαρθέντες, τὰ σφισιν ὑπάρχοντα ἀγαθὰ φθονήσαντες ἀποστεροῦμεν, πᾶν τούναντίον αὐτοὶ τῷ ἐγκλήματι τούτῳ μάλιστα ἐνοχοὶ γεγονόσιν. ὅσον γὰρ χρόνον τὰ σφέτερα καρπούμενοι τοῖς οἰκέταις ἐχρῶντο, καὶ ἡμεῖς, οὐ μὲν δίκαιον ἠγούμενοι εἶ τις ἄλλον τινὰ ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπον ὄντα καὶ τῇ γε φύσει οὐδένης ἦσσαν ἐλεύθερον καταδουλωσάμενος ἔξει, ἀλλὰ τοῦ κατὰ μέρος δικαίου τὴν κοινὴν σωτηρίαν προτιμήσαντες, ἐνθυμούμενοι ὡς εἰ λόγῳ ἀποτρέψαι αὐτοὺς πειρασαίμεθα, οὐκ ἂν ἀνάσχοιντο νοθετούμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἀποστάντες, οὐδὲν ἦσσαν ἢ πρότερον ἐν τοῖς ἀδικήμασι διατελοῖεν, καὶ ἅμα μὴ περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἤδη εἴη κίνδυνος, μὴ διασπασθὲν καὶ δίχα γενόμενον διαφθαρείη, τῶς μὲν οὖν ἡσυχίαν ἠγομεν, ἀγαπῶντες εἰ τὸ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς γε ἀγαθοὶ γενοίμεθα, ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὔτοι ἐς τοῦτο ἀναισχυντίας προήλθον ὥστε καὶ ἡμῖν τὸ σφέτερον μῦθος ἐμποιεῖν ἐπιχειρεῖν, οὐκέτι περιοπτέα ἦν ἀλλ' ἀπροφασίστως ἀμυντέον καὶ οὐχ ὑπεικτέον. εἴτα ποῖφ σὺν δικαίφ ἐν αἰτίφ ἐσόμεθα ὡς ἀλλοτρῶν πλεονέκται ἐσμέν, αὐτοὶ πλεονεκτούμενοι; ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἤδε περὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως γνώμη· κωλύοντος τοῦ ἡλίου, εἴπερ τινὸς ἀγριωτάτου περὶ τὰ ταύτη χωρὶα κατέχοντος, πάντας ἀνθρώπους πλὴν Λιβύων γε, ἀναγκαζομένων δὲ καὶ τούτων, ἐργάζεσθαι, τῶν δὲ προσόδων σφισὶν ἐν τοῖς πρῶτον ἐκ τῶν ἄγρων τῆς ἐργασίας προσιούσων, δυοῖν οὖν θᾶτερόν σφισι παρασχεῖν,

out of sheer maliciousness and truculence, we are trying to oust them from their envied possessions; whereas on the contrary that is exactly the charge upon which they may themselves be convicted. So long as they confined their system of slavery strictly within their own sphere, though we regarded it as unjust for man to hold in slavery his fellow man, by right of nature no less free than himself, we set the common welfare before individual justice; we reflected that, if we tried to turn them from their path by persuasion, they would resent our reproof, and would desert the Union, while not departing an inch from their evil courses. And we feared for the general body politic that it might be torn asunder and perish utterly. So for a space we held our peace, content with the purity of our own actions. But when they carried their arrogant pretensions to the pitch of attempting to infect us with their own taint, then indeed the matter could no longer be overlooked; the time for concession was passed, the hour for uncompromising resistance had struck. How then in common fairness can we be set down as the aggressors, when we ourselves have been the victims of aggression? The way the secessionists looked at the matter was as follows: Such is the fierceness of the sun in those parts, that it makes manual labour impossible for any but negroes, and even those must be under compulsion. Now as their chief source of revenue lay in agriculture, they had two alternatives before them, to keep their slaves and survive, or to lose their all. On our side we had once let them have their way, now we were preventing them. "Would it not be better" they argued "if we left the Union altogether and formed a separate political unit of our own? We have land in plenty, of the finest quality, abounding in natural resources. If our manners and customs are so distasteful to them, well then, let us leave them to bask in the sunshine of their own self-righteousness, while we sin in peace." "Never" they said "did we enter into a voluntary partnership to be kept tied and bound by it against our interests. It was no in-

ἢ μετὰ δούλων περιέσεσθαι, ἢ τῆς γε οὐσίας ἐστερηθῆσθαι· ἡμῶν δὲ δῆθεν πρότερον μὲν ἐασάντων, τότε δὲ κωλυόντων, ἀμείνω αὐτοῖς συμβῆσεσθαι, εἰ, ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἀποστάντες, καθ' αὐτοὺς τὸ λοιπὸν πολιτεύσουσιν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἰκανῆς σφισὶ χώρας ὑπαρχούσης, καὶ ταύτης οὐδεμιᾶς τῶν ἄλλων λειπομένης, ἔτι δὲ χρημάτων ἀφθόνων ὄσων γεμούσης. ὥστε εἰ τὰ αὐτῶν ἐπιτηδεύματα ἡμῖν πάνυ ἀπαρέσκειν, ἡμῖν μὲν ἐξεῖναι κατὰ μόνας ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι, σφισὶ δὲ ἀμαρτάνειν· οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν ἀρχὴν τούτου ἔνεκα ἡμῖν ἐκούσιοι κοινωνίαν ποιήσασθαι, ἵνα παρὰ τὸ ξύμφερον ἐν αὐτῇ μένιν βιάζοιντο, οὐδ' ἐς αἰὶ ὥσπερ κῆδος ἀμετακίνητον συνάψασθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ἐς τὸ παραχρῆμα καιροῦ ἔνεκα ξυνηθήκη, ἢ μετὰ τοῦ ξυμφέροντός τε συντίθεται καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου διαλύεται, καὶ ὅμοια μὲν φρονούντων μένει, ἄλλα δὲ γόντων παύεται. μέλλειν δέ που ἡμᾶς καλῶς τοῦτο ἐπίστασθαι, καπηλικὸν γε ὄντας γένος καὶ τῶν περὶ τὰ ξυναλλάγματα οὐκ ἀπείρους, οὐδὲ εἰκὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντίσχειν αὐτοῖς ἀλλὰ πεισθῆναι. εἰ δ' ἄρα καὶ μεθ' ὅπλων διακριθῆναι τολμήσοιμεν, οὐκ ἐς μακρὸν σφισιν ἡμᾶς ἀμάχους μαχιμωτάτοις ὑποστήσεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ταχέως ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς περιπεσεῖσθαι, τὰ μὲν δειλίᾳ, ἔστι δὲ ἃ προδοσίᾳ. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα πάνυ διαφέρειν σφεῖς ἡμῶν, καὶ ἐς τὴν τῶν βελτίστων ἀνδρῶν σωφροσύνην ἔννομον οἰκεῖν προτιμῶντες, πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἐς πονηρίαν μᾶλλον ἐξάγοντας τὰ πράγματα, καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἠγούμενοι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀρίστοις δεῖν εἶναι τὸ κράτος, τῷ δὲ φύσει ὑποδεεστέρῳ ὑπακουστέον τε εἶναι καὶ τὰ μέτρια δουλευτέον, πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς, ἰσότητος ὀνόματι εὐπρεπεῖ, ἔργῳ τὸ ἀμεινον τῷ χεῖρονι καὶ πλῆθει καταδουλοῦντας· ἐνὶ δὲ κεφαλαίῳ ἐν μὲν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ διατελοῦσιν πάνυ ἀβίωτον ἄν σφισι γενέσθαι, ἀπόστασιν δὲ ἀσφαλείᾳ τε καὶ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἀΐδιῳ ταύτων δύνασθαι. τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ οὐχ ἡμεῖς τῆς γνώμης ἐξέσταμεν, οὔτοι δὲ μετεβάλλοντο, ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ ἤμεν. τὸ γὰρ κοινὸν σώζοντες εἰώμεν αὐτοὺς κατὰ σφᾶς ἀδικεῖν, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἠθελον, ἀλλ' ἢ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀναγκάζειν ταύτων ποιεῖν, ἢ αὐτοὶ ἀφεστάναι.

Τοῦ δ' οὖν πολέμου ἄπαξ κινήντος, οὐκέτι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν οὐδ' ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἦν ὁ ἀγὼν, εἰκότως· ὅσα γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον τοῦ κοινοῦ ἔνεκα ἀμείνω ἐδόκει μὴ κινούμενα, ταῦτα πολεμούντων ἤδη περιμάχητα ἦν, ὥστε καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν μὲν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ τῆς τούτων ἀδικίας ἡμελοῦμεν, τότε δὲ καὶ τὸδε ἐκνικητέον ἦν, ὅπως τῆς καταδουλώσεως παύσωνται· ἄτοπον γὰρ ἦν εἰ οὔτοι, αὐτοὶ μὲν πρότερον ἠξίουσαν αὐτόνομοι εἶναι, ὡς πάντων δὴ ἀνθρώπων φύσει ἴσων καὶ ὁμοίων τυγχανόντων, ἄλλους δὲ τοσάδε ἤδη ἔτη κατεδουλοῦντο· ἀλλ' ἔδει ἢ καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑπακούειν ἐθέλειν, ἢ μηδὲ ἐτέρους ἀναγκάζειν. οἱ δὲ δὴ ἀδίκως ἐτέρων πλεονεκτοῦντες, οὐ μόνον ὧν ἐπεθύμησαν ἀπέτυχον τὸ πλεόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ προὔπαρχοντα προσαπώλεσαν. ἃ καὶ οὔτοι ἔπαθον. ἡμῶν γὰρ προκηρυξάντων ὅτι «ἐάν τις κατὰ τὰ εἰρημένα χωρία ἢ ἄλλοθι που, ὅσας ἡμεῖς ἄρχομεν, ἔτι δουλεύῃ, οὔτος νῦν τε καὶ ἔπειτα ἐς ἐλευθέρους τελεῖται,» οὐδεὶς διε-

dissoluble bond of marriage into which we entered, but a temporary contract, such as expediency binds and expediency looses, such as holds good when there is unity of purpose, but vanishes the moment disagreement arises. The Northerners should be the last persons in the world to deny this, a nation of shopkeepers, used to all kinds of commercial transactions. No, they will not hold out for long before they fall in with our views. But even if they should decide to put the matter to the test of the sword, they are an unwarlike race and will soon fall before the onslaught of such fighters as ourselves; before long cowardice or treachery will throw them into confusion." "Great," they declared, "is the contrast between the two peoples. *We* stand for the law-abiding reserve of an aristocratic régime; *they* lean towards the corruption and license of democracy. We believe in placing power in the hands of the best men, in making those naturally inferior learn to obey and to submit to a modified form of servitude; they, under the specious name of equality, in practice put what is best under the heel of the inferior, or, in other words, the mob." "In short," they said "if we remain in the Union, life will no longer be endurable for us, while secession will be tantamount to perpetual freedom and security." In point of fact it was not we who had altered our minds, but they. Our standpoint was unchanged. For the common good we tried to leave them alone in their wrongdoing. But they would not. Either we must be compelled to follow their example, or they insisted on secession.

However hostilities once began, neither the conditions nor the objects of the war remained the same—Naturally. There were questions which at first we considered best left untouched for the common good. Once we were at war, these questions must be fought out. Consequently while we had originally disregarded their course of action, now we were bound to carry through our purpose of putting a stop to slavery altogether. For their position was preposterous. They claimed autonomy on the ground

γένετο χρόνος και ἤδη εἰκοσακισμῦριοι μάλιστα ἄνδρες μάχιμοι πρὸς τὸ ἡμέτερον προσχωρήσαντες, τῶν ἐναντίων τὴν ἀνάλωσιν πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν προσθήκην συμμετρομένην διπλασίαν παρείχοντο· ὥστε οἱ καλοκάγαθοι καλούμενοι, πρὶν μὲν καταγνόντες ἡμῶν ἀσθένειαν, ὡς ἄρα διὰ δήμου τὸ ἀκατάστατον και τὴν περὶ τῶν μεγίστων οὔποτε ὁμόνοιαν, δι' ὀλίγου στάσεως ἐμπλησθέντες αὐτοὶ περὶ αὐτοῖς πταίσαιμεν, (και ἦν δέ τι ἐν τῇ πόλει οὐδὲν ὑγιές βουλευόμενον ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐναντίοις τὰ πράγματα ὑποχείρια καθιστάν), και ἄμα ὡς αὐτοὶ ἐς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐσβαλόντες πάντα τάχα ἀνάστατα ποιήσεσθαι, νῦν δὴ περιέστη τὸ μὲν ἡμῶν ἐς τὰ κοινὰ ὁμονοεῖσθαι, τοῖς δὲ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα στασιάζεσθαι, μᾶλλον δὲ και πᾶνυ διαστῆναι, ἔτι δὲ ἡμᾶς τὰ σφέτερα ἄγοντας και φέροντας και λείαν ποιησαμένους μηδὲν δεινὸν πάσχειν. τὴν γὰρ τῶν ἀνδραπῶδων ἀπόστασιν ροπήν πολέμου τις νομίζων οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοί· δίχα γοῦν ὄντων αὐτῶν τὰς μὲν ἤδη νενικήκαμεν μαχάς, τὰς δὲ και νικήσομεν· λαμπρῶς γὰρ ἤδη κατὰ γῆν τε και θάλασσαν ἐπικείμεθα, λιμέσι τε ἐφορμοῦντες και κατὰ πόλεις ἀποκλήσαντες, ὥστε ἦν μὲν ἐς ἀπόνοιαν καταστάντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τάχα παραδώσιν, εἰ δὲ μή, ἡμεῖς γε οὐ χαλεπῶς χειρωσόμεθα.

Ἄλλ' οὐπερ διὰ παντὸς ἥκιστα δεῖ ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι, μαθεῖν χρῆ· οὐ γὰρ πρὸς βαρβάρους και ἀλλοφύλους, οὐδ' οὔν πρὸς πολεμίους πόλεμον ἠράμεθα, μᾶλλον δὲ πρὸς ξυγγενεῖς μὲν ὄντας, ἐχθροὺς δὲ γενομένους, ὥστε πρέπει ἡμᾶς ὡς τάχα διαλλαχθησομένους και οὐ μνησικακήσοντας, οὔτω διανοεῖσθαι. αἰδῶς γὰρ μετὰ φειδοῦς μέγιστος ἀνδρείας κοσμός· τὸ δὲ εὐψυχον, οὐκ ἐν ᾧ τις τοὺς ἐναντίους κρατήσας, εἴτα ἰδίας ὀργῆς ἠσσηθείς ἐπὶ πλείστον φονεύων και ληιζόμενος ἐπέλθῃ, ἀλλ' ὅς ἂν, αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ ἐγκρατῆς γενόμενος, πρὸς τοὺς νικηθέντας μετρίως και πρᾶως προσφέρηται. ὑμῖν οὔν, ὅσοι στρατηγεῖτε, ἐπισκήπτω και ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ και μαρτύρομαι μὴ χαλεποὺς ὑμᾶς παρασχεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅσα μὴ πᾶνυ ἐνδόντας ἐκείνοις, κατὰ τὸ δύνατον φόνου ἀπέχεσθαι· και γὰρ πολλοὺς μὲν ἤδη ἐκεῖνοι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἀποτεθνεῶτας ὀλοφύρονται, πολλοὺς δὲ και ἡμεῖς, και μέχρι τοῦδε ἡμῶν ἡ λύπη παυσάσθω· ἄλλῃ τοσοῦτοι πενθοῦντες. ἐὰν δὲ τις, κατὰ τὸ εἶκος, πατέρα ἢ ἀδελφὸν ἢ φίλον ἢ ξυγγενῆ ἐν μάχῃ ἀπολέσας χαλεπαίνῃ, και τιμωρεῖσθαι γλίχηται, ἀνεπίφθονον μὲν αὐτῷ ἀγανακτεῖν, ὅμως δὲ μαθέτω μὴ κακοῖς τὸ λεγόμενον κακὰ ἰᾶσθαι· ἐπεὶ ὧδε σκέψασθε· πῶς γὰρ ἀνεκτόν, εἰ οὔτοι μὲν, πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν σκοποῦντες, μὴ διαφθαρεῖν, οὐδαμῆ ἄλλῃ ἔχοντες τὴν διαφορὰν καταλύσασθαι, ἀκουσίως μὲν ἀναγκαίως δὲ τολμήσαντες ἰδίᾳ μεθ' ὀπλων διακινδυνεύσαι ἐτελεύτησαν, ἡμεῖς δὲ, παρασχὼν ἡμῖν, ἦτοι μετὰ βραχέος γε ἢ οὐδένοσ φόνου, ὃ βουλόμεθα μετελθεῖν, εἴτα, ἰδίων ἔνεκα ἐγκλημάτων, τοῦ μὲν κοινοῦ και ἀριστοῦ ἀμελήσομεν, τοῦ δὲ κακοῦ μὲν ἀναγκαίου δὲ ἐκούσιοι παρὰ τὸ δέον ἐξόμεθα; δεῖ δ' οὔ, ἀλλὰ τῆς τούτων τιμῆς ἐπιμελεστερόους εἶναι, ὅπως ἀξία ὦν ἔδρασαν γενήσεται; ἢ δὲ οὐ δι' ἐχθρῶν τιμωρίας γίγνεται, μηδὲ

of the natural equality of mankind, yet they were all the time and had been for years holding others in subjection. They ought either themselves to submit to authority, or not compel others to do so. However men who are engaged in preying on their neighbour, are often found not only to fail in the attainment of the object they have coveted, but to lose their original possessions into the bargain. And this is what actually occurred—No sooner had our proclamation gone forth to the effect that “If any person is still kept in slavery in the said territory or in any other territory over which we have jurisdiction, such person is for ever hereafter to be regarded as free”, than 200,000 fighting men came over to our side. The loss of the enemy was added to our gains and doubled it. These so-called fine gentlemen had convicted us of weakness on the ground that the fickleness of democracy, with its eternal conflicts of views on the most momentous questions, would fill us with strife and compass our ruin—(And I will not deny that there was a small party among us with sinister intentions, which aimed at delivering us into the hands of our enemies.) They further boasted that they would invade our territory and spread confusion everywhere. What has happened? Ours is the political unity, theirs the disunion or rather total disruption. And it is we who have spread rapine and plunder over the whole face of their country without suffering any injury in return—The fact is, the revolt of the slaves was the turning-point of the war. Ever since their division, we have won many battles and we shall win many more—We are pressing them hard and brilliantly by land and sea, we are blockading their harbours and cutting off their towns. Before long, if I am not mistaken, they will be driven to despair and hand themselves over to us. If not, we shall have no difficulty in overcoming them—Now there is one thing which you must constantly bear in mind. The war we are waging is no war against a savage or a foreign race, nor indeed against our natural enemies; rather it is a war against men who are our own kith and

ένθυμείσθε, οὐδ' αὖ στηλῶν καὶ τάφων ἀναθήμασι τὸ πλεόν (τῶν γὰρ τοιοῦτων ἱκανὰ λήξονται), ἀλλὰ σωμάτων καὶ ψυχῶν, εἰ εἰς ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ἑαυτὸν τῷ ἔργῳ τούτῳ ἀναθήσει, ὃ ἐκείνοι ἀτελές ὑπέλιπον, τὸ τῆν ἐς ἀλλήλους ὁμόνοιαν ἐν ἅπασι βεβαιοῦν, καὶ μίαν πόλιν ἀλλ' οὐ δύο καταστήσαι αὐτήν, ὅπως ἡ πατρὶς τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τετελευτηκόσιν ἀκέραιος σώζεται, ὡς οὐκ ἐν ἄλλῳ μείζονι τῆν προθυμίαν ἂν δεικνύντες. ἐπεὶ οὐ σμικρῶς ἀξία θαυμάζεσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν γῆς, ἣν κατὰ πάντα μεγαλοπρεπῆ οἰκοῦμεν, ἔς τε ποταμούς μεγέθους πέρι καὶ λιμένων χρήσιν, ὄρων τε ὑψηλότητι καὶ ἅμα σίτου καὶ φυτῶν, ὅσα γῆ ἀνίησιν, ἀπάντων ἀφθονία. ἡ αὐτὴ δὲ θαλάσση ἑκατέρωθεν περικλυθεῖσα, τῆς οἰκουμένης ὡσπερ ὄμφαλος, μέση Ἀσίας τε καὶ Εὐρώπης ἰδρυμένη, ἐξ ἑκατέρας τε τὰ πρόσφορα καρπουμένη, τῆς μὲν ἐς τὰς τέχνας δεινότερα, τῆς δὲ πλουσιωτέρα ἀμφοῖν δὲ αὐταρκεστέρα κατέστη. οὐκ οὖν μεγάλη ἀρχὴ καὶ ἀντιπάλῳ ὄμοροι ἐποικοῦντες, αἰεὶ δι' ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ ἀντιφυλακῆς τῶν πέλας, ἐς μεγάλα στρατόπεδα δαπανῶντες καὶ πράγματα ἔχοντες, μετὰ κινδύνων διάγομεν. πρόσει δὲ οὐχ' ὡσπερ τὰ ἄλλα τῶν ἐθνῶν ὅσα μέγала, ἀρχὴν πολλὴν μὲν, διεσπασμένην δὲ κεκτῆμεθα, ὅλην δὲ ἡπειρον οὔσαν καὶ ἐς μίαν συμπεφυκυῖαν, πόλεων πλήθει πολυανδρούσαν, καὶ μυρίαὶς ὁδῶν κατασκευαῖς ἐς πόλεμον καὶ εἰρήνην φορτίου κομιδὴν ἢ στρατιᾶς ἀγωγὴν εὐπορωτάτην παρέχουσιν.

Χρῶμεθα δὲ πολιτεία ἀγαθοῖς νόμοις ἡρμοσμένη, καὶ ἅπασι τὸ ἴσον νεμούση, τὰς τε ἀρχὰς οὐ κατὰ πλοῦτον ἢ προγόνων προτίμησιν ἀλλ' ἀξιώματος, καθ' ὅσον ἂν τις ἰδίᾳ ἐλλαμπρύνηται, μεταδιδούση. ὥστε ἡμιστ' ἂν τις ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε τοῖς αἰεὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ οὔσι φθονήσῃ διὰ τὸ καὶ αὐτὸς ποτε ἐς αὐτὰς προελθεῖν ἐλπῖσαι· ἔτι δέ, ὅπερ ἀνάγκη πάση πολιτεία, ἣτις καὶ ἀξία του, προσεῖναι, μὴ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς εἶναι νόμους τε τίθεσθαι καὶ δίκας κρίνειν ἢ βουλευεῖν, ἡμῖν, εἴ τισι καὶ ἄλλοις, σύμφερον ὄν, ὑπάρχει. εἰ δέ τι ἐξεκλίνωμεν αὐτοῦ, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοὺς περὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ πόλει διοικήσεως παρανόμου εἰσαγγελλέντας διὰ τῆς βουλῆς μᾶλλον ἢ παρὰ δικασταῖς τοῖς εἰωθότι κρίνοντες, οὐδὲ μνησθῆναι ἄξιον. πρὸς γὰρ ὅλον τὸ ἀποβαῖνον ἀποβλέποντι ἢ ἐξετάσῃς τῆς γνώμης βέλτιον γίγνεται ἢ ἐκ τῆς περὶ ἕκαστα ἐπιμελεστέρας ἀκριβείας. τὸ γοῦν ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων ἀναριθμητῶν τὸ πλῆθος καὶ γῆς ἐς μέγεθος ἀπείρου μίαν πολιτείαν ἀπὸ κοινῆς διανοίας γνώμη ἐπινοήσαντας καὶ ἔργῳ μετὰ βεβαιότητος ἀσφαλείᾳ ἐπιτελέσαι, πρῶτον ἐφ' ἡμῖν οἶόν τε ὄν δεδήλωται. οἱ γὰρ κτίσαντες αὐτὴν τῆς κοινῆς ἐλευθερίας ἴσαπερ μετέχοντες καὶ οὐδένοσ ὑπακούοντες, οὐδὲν ἤξιωσαν, ξυνοθήκην ποιησάμενοι καὶ ἀρχὰς καταστήσαντες, διὰ τῆν πάντων σωτηρίαν ἰδίᾳ τι ἐλασσωθῆναι, ἵνα τε μὴ διὰ μέσου ἀμφίλογα γένοιτο, ἐς ξυγγραφὴν συνστήσαντο αὐτήν, ὅρκους ὁμόσαντες καὶ πίστεως τὰς μεγίστας εἶναι δοκούσας διδόντες καὶ λαβόντες. ὥστε οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὸ σφέτερον πόλεως σχῆμα πολλῶν ἐμπειρία καὶ μελέτη ἐκ πλειστοῦ χρόνου ἔργῳ βασανισθὲν ἐπαινοῦσι, καὶ ὅτι αἰεὶ ἐκ παραδόσεως τῶν προγόνων

kin, but who have been estranged from us—We must therefore prepare our minds for speedy and ungrudging reconciliation. The greatest ornament of bravery is forbearance and mercy. True courage is not his, who having overcome his foe, falls a victim to his own rancour and goes to extreme lengths of carnage and plunder; rather it is his, who has the self-mastery to treat his enemy with gentleness and moderation. Those of you therefore who are in command, I beg, nay, I entreat, do not show yourselves hard masters. So far as you can without yielding your ground, refrain from bloodshed. Already they have many victims of this war to weep over, and so have we—Let this be the consummation of our grief. There are mourners enough and to spare—If any man, as needs be, who has lost a father or a brother or a friend or a kinsman in the war, is moved to wrath and thirsts for revenge, small blame to him for his anger; still, let him learn not, as the proverb goes, to heal evil with evil. For look you, the thing is intolerable—To preserve the commonwealth from destruction, when there was no other way of composing their differences, these men, reluctantly yielding to necessity, faced in their own private persons the arbitrament of the sword, and so went to their doom. And shall we, when we can gain our ends with little or no bloodshed, for the sake of our own private quarrels, disregard what is best and for the common good, and out of season cling to what is bad and only necessity can justify? Never. Let us rather see to it that the honour to which these men attain is worthy of their deeds. Such honour, believe me, is gained, not by revenge on the foe, nor by the dedication of monuments or tombs (of such they will have their fill) but by the dedication of bodies and souls, by each one of you devoting himself to the completion of the work which they have left unfinished, the consolidation of general unity amongst ourselves, and the welding together of the state into a nation one and indivisible. So will our country be preserved inviolate for those who perished for her sake. Be sure, in no worthier cause could

τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον καὶ τελειότερον προήλθε, μεγαλύνονται εἰκότως ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄνευ πόνου καὶ μελέτης παραχρημα τὸ αὐτὸ ἀπεδείξαμεν, ἔτι δὲ βέλτιον ὅσῳ καὶ οὐκ ἀρχαιοτρόποις τοῖς νόμοις καὶ σφισιν ἐναντίοις τοῖς πολλοῖς ἢ χρόνῳ ἀμελουμένοις κωλύμεθα, ἀλλ' ἅπαντα σύμφωνά τε ἑαυτοῖς καὶ χρήσιμα καὶ ἀπλᾶ ἔχομεν. κατὰ ταῦτά τε οἰκοῦσιν ἡμῖν οὕτως ἐπηυξήθη τὰ πράγματα, ὥστε τὸ πρῶτον τριακοσίων μάλιστα μυριάδων ἀνθρώπων κοινῇ συμπολιτεύεσθαι συμβάντων, ὀλίγου ἐς ἑξακισχιλίας μυριάδας ἐπέδωσαν τὸ πλῆθος, ὧν οὐδεὶς ὅστις ὑφ' ἑτέρου ὑπερέχεσθαι καὶ καταφρονεῖσθαι δίκαιοι. ἐντός γε μὴν τῶν τεσσάρων ἐτῶν τῶν δε, ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον ὑμῶν προστάτην ἐμὲ ἀπεδείξατε, ἤδη πολλῇ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος αὐξήσις ἐπεγένετο, καὶ τοῦτο πολέμου ἰσχύρου καθεστῶτος. ὥστε ἦν τις ὑμῶν σωματῶν τε φθορᾶ καὶ χρημάτων δαπανῇ, εἴ τι καὶ παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἀπαναλώθη, καταπλαγῇ, ἐνθυμηθῆτω τε ὡς ἄπερ ἐν τῷ πρὶν χρόνῳ ἐκτρησάμεθα καὶ αὐθις ἂν κερδάναιμεν, καὶ ἐς τῆς γῆς ἡμῶν τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὸ ἦθος τῶν ἐνοικούντων ἀποδλέπων (ταῦτα γὰρ αἰδία καὶ οἶα μηδ' ὑφ' ἑνὸς ἂν κατατριφθῆναι) θαρσείτω τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων ραδίᾳ ἢ ἀνάληψις. καὶ γὰρ τριῶν πολέμων ἡμᾶς, ἐπεὶ συνφκίσθημεν, καταλαβόντων, τὸν μὲν πρῶτον τὴν τῶν Βριτάννων ἀρχήν, τῶν τότε οὐδεμιᾶς ἄλλης ἐς ἴσχυρ καὶ παρασκευὴν τὴν πᾶσαν λειπομένην, μόνοι ὑποστάντες, τοσαύτην τόλμαν καὶ ἀρετὴν ἀπεδείξαμεν, ὥστε ἐνδεᾶ μὲν τῆς διανοίας τυχεῖν πράξαντες, πᾶσι δὲ διὰ τὸ εὐψυχον ἴσχυος ὑπόνοιαν παρέχειν. ἐν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ, ὃν πρὸς τοὺς Μεξικάνους καλουμένους ἠράμεθα, οὔτε τοῦ ἀξιώματος οὐδὲν ἀπεβάλομεν, γῆν τε πολλὴν καὶ ἄριστα ἐσκευασμένην ἐπεκτησάμεθα. τὸν δὲ ἄρτι γενόμενον καὶ ὅσον οὐ διαπεπολεμημένον, ἕκ τε τῶν στρατευομένων τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τεκμαίρομενος, ὄλων τε καὶ ὅσα ἐς ὄλεθρον χρήσιμα εὐπρεπεία καὶ ἀκμῇ, οὐχ' ἥκιστα δὲ λογισμῷ χρώμενος περὶ ὅσων τῶν διαφόρων πολεμεῖται, πολλῷ τῶν προγεγενημένων τε ἀξιολογώτατον, ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ σύμπασι χρησιμώτατον ἠγοῦμαι. εἰ γὰρ αὐτόν, ὡς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων σαφῶς εἰκάζειν, εὖ θησόμεθα, σκέψασθε ὡς καλὸν ἡμῖν τὸ ἀγώνισμα, μὴ μόνον τριακοσίας ἀνθρώπων μυριάδας ἐλευθέρους καταστήσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἅπανσι κατάδηλον γενέσθαι, ὡς τὸ ἡμέτερον κοινὸν οὔτε στάσει οὔτε ἄλλῃ τέχνῃ οὔτε μηχανῇ οὐδεμιᾶ ἐκ τῆς καθεστηκυίας τάξεως μετακινεῖται. συνελόντι δὲ εἰπεῖν, τῆς ἀνθρωπείας φύσεως ἐπὶ πάσας ἰδέας χωρησάσης καὶ πολλὰ διαπραξάσης, οὐδὲν ὅτι, τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ συλλαβόντος, τῇ πολιτείᾳ ταύτῃ ὁμοιώθη ἦν οὗτοι καταλύουσιν.

Ἄλλὰ μὴν ἐλευθερίας τε πέρι καὶ παρρησίας τῶν τε τοιούτων, ἐφ' ὅσον ἔργῳ καὶ οὐ τὰ μὲν, τὰ δ' οὐ, ἀλλὰ τελείως μετέχομεν, οὐκ ἐμοῦ που προσδεῖ ἐξηγήτου, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν εἰς ἀγνοήσειεν. οὐκοῦν εἰκότως ἡμᾶς τοιαύτην χώραν οἰκοῦντας καὶ οὕτως ἐσκευασμένην ἀντιπάλους καὶ τὰς διανοίας καθίστασθαι. ὅπερ καὶ συμβέβηκε ὃ γὰρ μέγιστον ὑμῖν τε ὑπάρχει καὶ δι' αὐτὸ πλεῖστον ἔν τε τῷ παρελθόντι καὶ ἐν τῷ

you show your zeal. For the country we live in is very wonderful. All is on a scale of grandeur, both in the size of its rivers, the utility of its harbours, the loftiness of its mountains, and the abundance of all the gifts of the earth. On either side it is washed by the sea. It is the navel of the inhabited globe and lying midway between Europe and Asia, reaping its harvest of benefits from each, it has grown more cunning in the arts than the one, richer than the other, more self-sufficing than either. Nor do we live on the flanks of some mighty rival, ever plotting or guarding against our neighbour, spending vast sums of money on huge armaments, and living in endless worry and danger. Nor yet, like other great nations, do we own a great though scattered empire, but a continent in itself, single and homogeneous, swarming with populous cities, with its network of roads, providing easy transport for armies in war or merchandise in peace.

We enjoy a constitution knit together with just laws, which gives to each his due, which distributes its offices, not according to wealth or noble ancestry, but in proportion to the distinction gained by individual merit—So it comes to pass that envy of those in high places is almost eliminated, since everyone feels that he has an equal chance of attaining to them himself. Moreover, what is a necessary qualification of every constitution worthy of the name, that the legislature, judicature and executive should be kept distinct, is our especial and valuable privilege. Slight deviations therefrom, such as the impeachment of men accused of maladministration before the senate rather than a common jury, are hardly worthy of mention. For a discriminating judgment looks at the general result rather than at overminute questions of details. At least it is a fact that, for the first time in history, it has been shewn to be possible to conceive by a common effort of will and to carry into execution with security for its permanence, a single constitution affecting such vast numbers of men and such an enormous extent of territory. The men who founded that con-

νῦν ἐτέρων προκεκρίμεθα, τὸ κόσμιον καὶ ἔννομον τοῦ ἤθους ἐστίν, ὃ κωλύει ἡμᾶς μὴ μετὰ νόμων καὶ σχήματος πολιτικοῦ καὶν πολλοστοῦ χρόνου μόριον διατρίβειν. καὶ ἕτεροι μὲν τάχα ἂν (οὐδὲ μεμπτοὶ οὗτοι ἔς τε τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἐπιτήδευσιν) τὸν ἀεὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντα σέβοντο, ἡμεῖς δὲ παρὰ τοὺς τῶν νόμων φύλακας, οἵτινες ἀεὶ ἀνθρωπίνως ἐκ διαδοχῆς μεταβάλλονται, αὐτοὺς τοὺς νόμους καὶ πᾶν ὄπερ ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ πόλεων ξύνδεσμος ὕπεστι, προσκυνοῦμεν. οὐκ οὖν ἄλλως καὶ ὅδε ὁ λόγος εἴρηται περὶ ἡμῶν, ὡς ὅποι ἂν γῆς, εἴτε ἐς ἐρημίαν εἴτε καὶ ἄλλοσέ ποι, ὀλίγοι ὄντες, τύχωμεν ἐκπεσόντες, εὐθύς νόμους τε τίθεσθαι καὶ ἄλλους τοὺς κυρώσοντας αὐτοὺς καταστήσαι ἄρχομεν. ὥστε, ὡς ἡ τε ἀλήθεια ἔχει καὶ ἐγὼ σημαίνω, παρ' ἡμῖν οἱ νόμοι κατὰ πάντα πάντων ὑπέρτατοι φαίνονται, καὶ οὐδεὶς οὔτε πλούτῳ οὔτε ἀρχῇ οὕτως ἐπήρθη, ὥστε ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπερέχοντος ἀμελεῖν τι αὐτῶν ἔχειν. δι' ὄπερ φύσει τε ἡμῖν ἐγγιγνόμενον καὶ τροφῇ τε καὶ μιμήσει τῶν πέλας ἐπαυξανόμενον, τὰ πλεῖστα αὐτοὶ τε θεδαίως εὐνομήθημεν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τι αὐτῶν μεταδιδόναι ἐδυνάμεθα.

Ἔτι δὲ τριῶν ὄντων τῶν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐς ἀνθρώπων εὐπραγίαν φερόντων, ξυνέσεως τε καὶ τόλμης καὶ φρονήματος, οὐδένοσ ὅτου οὐκ ὅ,τι μάλιστα μετέχομεν· ἀλλ' ἐν τῷδε καὶ κίνδυνος μὴ πολλάκις ταῦτα ἄνευ σωφροσύνης ξύνεσις μὲν ἐς δεινότητα, τόλμα δὲ ἐς ἀκολασίαν, ἐς αὔχησιν δὲ φρόνημα ἐξυδρίση· ὃ (δύναται γὰρ καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν τι τοιοῦτον εἶναι) μὴ ἡμεῖς πάθωμεν, μηδὲ τὴν παροῦσαν εὐτυχίαν σμικροῦ τούτου ἔνεκα κολοῦμεν. τοῖς γὰρ διαφερόντως εὐπραγοῦσιν ἥκιστα τὸ σῶφρον συνοικεῖν ἐθέλει· καὶ οἶδα ταῦτα μὴ πάνυ τέρποντα λέγων, ἀλλ', οὐ γὰρ ἔδει πάντα ὁμοίως ἐπαινεῖσαι ἀλλ', εἴ που δέοι, καὶ ψέγειν, οὐκ ἀπεκρυψάμην. ὃ γὰρ ἅμα τοῖς προσφθοῖς καὶ τὰ ἀξυμφορὰ ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις ἐνορῶν καὶ προφυλασσόμενος πλεῖστ' ἂν ὀρθοῖτο. ἀλλὰ τούτου γε ἔνεκα ἱκανὰ εἰρήσθω, σὺ γὰρ δὴ ἐν ἄλλῳ γέ τι ἐλλείπομεν μὴ οὐ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀρετῇ καὶ σοφίᾳ καὶ εὐτυχίᾳ νικᾶν.

Οὐκοῦν τρία ταῦτα βέλτιστα ἔχοντες, ἀρχὴν τε μεγίστην καὶ ἐν ποσὶ κειμένην, καὶ πολιτείαν τὸ ἰσόνομον ἅπασι πιστὸν θεβαιούσαν, ἐν ἧθεσί τε τοιοῦτοις πεπαιδευμένοι, καὶ ἅμα ὁμόφυλοι ὄντες καὶ ὁμόγλωσσοι, ποῖ δοκεῖτε σὺν τῷ θεῷ ἀξιώσεώς τε καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ ἀρχήματος προβήσεσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἀεὶ ἐν τούτῳ ὑστερήσαι δοκοῦντες, ἐν ᾧ ἂν μὴ μεγάλως τις προτερῆση, ἣν δ' ἄρα τι καὶ σφαλῶμεν, οὐκ ἐκπλαγέντες τὸ ζημιοῦν ὅσον γέγονεν ἐκλογιζόμενοι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς σμικρὸν τὸ παραλειφθὲν μέγα τὸ προκόψαν κέρδος ἠγούμενοι, τὸ τε αὐτίκα καλὸν πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι οὐδένοσ ἀξίον νέμοντες καὶ οὐκ ἀγαπῶντες εἰ τοῖς προγόνοις ἰσοπαλῇ ἀπεδείξαμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντες εἰ μὴ ἀξιολόγως αὐτῶν προσείχομεν, καὶ ξυνελόντι εἰπεῖν ἀεὶ ἐκεῖνο ἐκπονοῦντες ὅπως ἄκροι τῶν τε νῦν καὶ τῶν πρὶν γενησόμεθα; ἐς ταῦτα δὲ ἡδὴ προαγαγόντων ἡμῶν αὐτά, εὐ οἶδ' ὅτι οὐδεὶς τοῦ πολέμου τοῦδε ἐκῶν

stitution, though sharing in a common freedom and independence, did not hesitate to sacrifice some portion of their individuality for the common benefit, by entering into a compact and appointing rulers over themselves. And, to avoid all possibility of dispute, they drew it up in the form of a written contract and swore to abide by it after exchanging the most solemn pledges. Other men then may vaunt their constitution which has stood the test of time, and is the result of ages of care and experience. They may boast that from generation to generation it has grown ever better and more complete—It is well. But we, without toil or experience, on the spur of the moment have produced the same result, nay a better, since we are not fettered by self-contradictory or obsolete laws, but all is consistency, utility, simplicity. Moving then in such a world, so great has been our progress that, whereas the original compact for common constitutional life was made between 3,000,000 souls, they rapidly increased to 60,000,000 of whom not one man would brook the domination or contempt of his fellow. Within these four years, since first you elected me President, there has been a mighty increase, in spite of the great war in progress. Therefore if any of you are disheartened by the destruction of life and expenditure of property, unprecedented as it may have been during the war, let him reflect that whatsoever we have acquired in the past we can win over again in the future; and then let him look at this noble land and the spirit of its inhabitants and take courage for, while other things are lightly spent, these things are eternal and indestructible.

Three wars have overtaken us since the Union. In the first, we stood alone against the British nation, at that time the mightiest and best equipped of all; yet we showed such courage and determination, that although, as it happened, we did not fully realize our expectations, still we gave an impression of strength by the vigour with which we fought. In the second, which we fought against Mexico, while losing none of our prestige, we acquired a

μνησθήσεται, οἱ δὲ ἔκγονοι τῶν ἡμῖν ἐπαναστάντων τὰ ἔργα τῶν προγόνων ἐν αἰσχύνῃ
ἔξουσι καὶ εὐφημεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν ὡς ἀσεβῶν καὶ ἀθέων καὶ ἀφίλων τινῶν βουλήσον-
ται, τῶν δὲ ἀνδραπόδων τὴν ἐλευθέρωσιν καὶ τὴν γενομένην ὁμόνοιαν ἀεὶ ἀνὰ στόμα
ἔχοντες ὑμνήσουσιν, οὐχ' αὐτοῖς τὴν εὐτυχίαν ἀναφέροντες μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ δαιμονίῳ.
ταῦτα δὲ ὑμῖν ὡς οὐ πολὺν ἔτι χρόνον ἐπιβιωσόμενος ἀλλ' ὅσον οὐκ ἐς βίου καταστρο-
φὴν ἀφικόμενος, ὥσπερ μαντευόμενος προφωνῶ. πολλὰ γὰρ μοι καθ' ἡμέραν κρύφα
φῆμαι ἐπιφοιτῶσαι θάνατον ἀπειλοῦσιν' τηρήσατε οὖν τοὺς λόγους καὶ ὅταν ἔργῳ
τελεωθῶσιν, μὴ ἐμὲ τὸν προειπόντα τε ὑμῖν καὶ παντὸς πόνου συλλαβόντα ἄγαν ἀκλε-
ῶς ἀφανίσητε.

large additional and valuable tract of territory. This late war, now rapidly drawing to a close, whether you judge by the numbers of combatants, or the high state of perfection of the arms and other engines of destruction, or last but not least, by the mighty issues involved, I reckon to be the most momentous of all, as well as the most profitable to ourselves. For if we bring it to a happy conclusion (as it is safe to infer) just think what a glorious prize we shall have won, not only to have set free 3,000,000 men but also to have proved to the world that the foundation of the Union cannot be shaken either by revolution or by any other means or devices whatsoever—In a word, amongst all the varied works which the genius of mankind has contrived, nothing yet without divine collaboration, has rivalled our constitution. That constitution our enemies would destroy!

I suppose there is no need for me to enlarge on such matters of common knowledge as the complete and unqualified freedom we enjoy, both of speech and action. What then more natural than that, living as we do in such a country and with such an organization, our characters should be found to match it. This is just what has happened. Our greatest asset, the quality by virtue of which we have towered above our neighbours in the past and present is the law-abiding, orderly spirit which animates us, a spirit which makes it impossible for us to exist for the shortest space of time without law or political organization. Other peoples, whose reputation and standard of life are worthy of all respect, may pay their regard to the man for the moment in authority, who exercises his power to carry out the law. We look beyond the guardians of the law, who succeed each other in the ordinary course of humanity, reserving our reverence for Law itself, for the underlying bond which knits together civic society. It is therefore no idle word which has been said about us, that wheresoever in the world fate casts out a handful of us, even if it be a desert, we start at once to make laws and appoint men to enforce them. Conse-

quently I am speaking nothing but the sober truth when I say that among us law is the supreme arbiter, and that there is no one exalted enough in wealth or station to take advantage of his position to disregard it. This spirit, bred in our bones, has been still further fostered by education and environment, with the result that not only have we ourselves enjoyed the full security of sound legislation, but have been able to impart some of it to others.

Now there are three things which contribute more than aught else to success—shrewdness, daring and pride. Of these we have our full share. But here there is some danger that without self-restraint, shrewdness may degenerate into cunning, daring into recklessness, pride into boastfulness. It is possible that some such process has taken place in us. Let us be on our guard against it and not mar our present good fortune for a minor defect such as this. Sobriety often fails to find a home in men unusually prosperous. I know well that what I say is not altogether pleasant, but I have not failed to call attention to it, lest my speech should become a mere panegyric, without blame where blame is due. That man is most likely to succeed, who in his own case can detect and guard against the defects of his qualities. But let what I have said suffice about it, as this is the only point in which we are not unrivalled in virtue, wisdom and success.

With these three great advantages of a mighty and homogeneous empire, a polity which guarantees equality before the law to all, a moral nurture such as those described, with the further advantage of unity of race and language, to what a point, think you, with God's help, of prestige and power and glory we may hope to attain? It is our habit to think we are left behind if we are not largely ahead of our rivals. Should we occasionally fail in some measure, we do not stop in dismay to reckon up the tale of our loss, but we set off the great advantages we have won against the small ground we have lost. We look upon the benefit of the moment as unworthy of comparison with that which is to be; we

are not content to equal our predecessors; we are angry if we have not largely surpassed them. In a word we are forever labouring to be first and foremost both of the past and present. I know well that when our progress has been such as this, not one of us will willingly recall this war. The descendants of the men who revolted against us will be ashamed of their ancestors' work, and will wish to hold their peace about them, looking on them in the light of outcasts, who were regardless of sacred or human obligations; they will forever have on their lips and glorify the liberator of the slaves and the subsequent national reconciliation, while laying the credit of their good fortune to Divine help. These last words I speak to you with a prophetic instinct, as one who has not long to live but has nearly reached his goal. Every day secret visions haunt me, whispering to me of my death. Bear then my words in mind, and when they are fulfilled do not altogether banish from your mind the name and fame of one who shared in all your labours and who foretold your future greatness.

SPEECHES
ON
THE ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN

(These speeches appeared—after their first appearance in *Hansard*—in what was doubtless intended to be an annual publication, but which seems never to have issued its second volume: the “Oratorical Year-Book for 1865” (London, 1866). It is hardly known here, except to Lincoln collectors, and probably not to many of them. In fact, we were unable to find a copy in any of the great libraries in New York, and had to avail ourselves of that in the Library of Congress.

The address by Emerson does not appear in his collected “Works,” and we believe it, too, has not been reprinted before.—[ED.]

[The following Speeches were delivered in the House of Commons on the 1st of May, 1865—Sir G. GREY moving and Mr. DISRAELI seconding an address to the Crown expressing the sorrow and indignation of the House at the Assassination of the President of the United States, and praying Her Majesty to convey these sentiments on the part of the House of Commons to the Government of the United States.]

SPEECH OF THE RT. HON. SIR GEORGE GREY

MEMBER FOR MORPETH

I VERY much regret the unavoidable absence of my noble friend at the head of the Government, in whose name the notice was given of the motion which it now devolves upon me to ask the House to agree to. I feel, however, that it is comparatively unimportant by whom the motion is proposed, because I am confident that the Address to the Crown which I am about to ask the House to agree to is one which will meet with the cordial and unanimous assent of all. When the news a few days ago of the assassination of the President of the United States, and the attempted assassination—for I hope that we may now confidently expect that it will not be a successful attempt—of Mr. Seward reached this country, the first impression in the mind of every one was that the intelligence could not be true. It was hoped by every one that persons could not be found capable of committing a crime so atrocious. When the truth was forced upon us, when we could no longer entertain any doubt as

to the correctness of the intelligence, the feeling which succeeded was one of universal sorrow, horror, and indignation. It was felt as if some great calamity had befallen ourselves; for, in the Civil War, the existence and the long continuance of which we have so sincerely deplored, it is well known that the Government of this country, acting, as I believe, in accordance with the almost unanimous, or perhaps I may say in accordance with the unanimous feeling of this country, had maintained a strict and impartial neutrality. But it is notorious, and it could not in a great country like this be otherwise, that different opinions have been entertained by different persons with regard to the questions at issue between the Northern and Southern States of America; but still I believe that the sympathies of the majority of the people of this country have been with the North. I am desirous on this occasion of avoiding everything which may excite any difference of opinion. I may say, therefore, that in this free country different opinions have been entertained and different sympathies felt, and that in this free country the freest expression has been given, as should be the case, to those differences of opinion. I am sure I shall raise no controversy when I say in the presence of that great crime which has sent a thrill of horror through every one who heard of it, all difference of opinion, all conflicting sympathies for a moment entirely vanished. I am anxious to say at once, and I desire to proclaim that belief with the strongest confidence, that this atrocious crime was regarded by every man of influence and power in the Southern States with the same degree of horror which it excited in every other part of the world. We may, therefore—and this is all I wish to say upon this subject—whatever our opinions with regard to the past, and whatever our sympathies may have been—we shall all cordially unite in expressing our abhorrence of that crime, and in rendering our sympathy to that nation which is now mourning the loss of its chosen and trustful chief, struck to the ground by the hand of an assassin, and that too at the most critical period of its history. While la-

menting that war and the loss of life which it has inevitably occasioned, it is impossible, whatever our opinions or our sympathies may have been, to withhold our admiration from the many gallant deeds performed and acts of heroism displayed by both parties in the contest; and it is a matter for bitter reflection that the page of history, recording such gallant achievements and such heroic deeds, by men who so freely shed their blood on the battlefield in a cause which each considered right, should also be stained with the record of a crime such as we are now deploring. At length a new era appeared to be dawning on the contest between the North and the South. The time had come when there was every reason to hope that that war would speedily be brought to a close. Victory had crowned the efforts of the statesmen and the arms of the Federals, and most of us—all, I hope—had turned with a feeling of some relief and some hope for the future from the record of sanguinary conflicts to that correspondence which has but recently passed between the Generals commanding the hostile armies. And when we turned to Mr. President Lincoln, I should have been prepared to express a hope, indeed an expectation—and I have reason to believe that that expectation would not have been disappointed—that in the hour of victory and in the use of victory he would have shown a wise forbearance, a generous consideration, which would have added tenfold lustre to the fame and reputation which he has acquired throughout the misfortunes of this war. Unhappily the foul deed which has taken place has deprived Mr. Lincoln of the opportunity of thus adding to his well-earned fame and reputation: but let us hope, what indeed we may repeat, that the good sense and right feeling of those upon whom will devolve the most arduous and difficult duties in this conjuncture will lead them to respect the wishes and the memory of him whom we are all mourning, and will lead them to act in the same spirit and to follow the same counsels by which we have good reason to believe the conduct of Mr. Lincoln would have been marked, had he survived to complete the work

that was entrusted to him. I am only speaking the general opinion when I say that nothing could give greater satisfaction to this country than by means of forbearance, it may be of temperate conciliation, to see the Union of the North and South again accomplished, especially if it can be accomplished by common consent, freed from what hitherto constituted the weakness of that Union—the curse and disgrace of slavery. I wish it were possible for us to convey to the people of the United States an adequate idea of the depth and universality of the feeling which this sad event has occasioned in this country, that from the highest to the lowest there has been but one feeling entertained. Her Majesty's Minister at Washington will, in obedience to the Queen's command, convey to the Government of the United States the expression of the feelings of Her Majesty and of her Government upon the deplorable event; and Her Majesty, with that tender consideration which she has always evinced for sorrow and suffering in others, of whatever rank, has with her own hand written a letter to Mrs. Lincoln, conveying the heartfelt sympathy of a widow to a widow suffering under the calamity of having lost one suddenly cut off. From every part of this country, from every class, but one voice has been heard, one of abhorrence of the crime, and of sympathy for and interest in the country which has this great loss to mourn. The British residents in the United States, as of course was to be expected, lost not an hour in expressing their sympathy with the Government of the United States. The people of our North American colonies are vying with each other in expressing the same sentiments. And it is not only among men of the same race who are connected with the people of the United States by origin, language, and blood, that these feelings prevail, but I believe that every country in Europe is giving expression to the same sentiments and is sending the message to the Government of the United States. I am sure, therefore, that I am not wrong in anticipating that this House will, in the name of the people of England, of Scotland, and of Ireland, be anxious to

record their expression of the same sentiment, and to have it conveyed to the Government of the United States. Of this I am confident, that this House could never more fully and more adequately represent the feelings of the whole of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom, than by agreeing to the Address which it is now my duty to move, expressing to Her Majesty our sorrow and indignation at the assassination of the President of the United States, and praying Her Majesty that, in communicating her own sentiments to the Government of that country upon the deplorable event, she will express at the same time, on the part of this House, their abhorrence of the crime and their sympathy with the Government and the people of the United States in the deep affliction into which they have been thrown.

SPEECH OF THE RIGHT HON. B. DISRAELI

MEMBER FOR BUCKS

THERE are rare instances when the sympathy of a nation approaches those tenderer feelings which are generally supposed to be peculiar to the individual and to be the happy privilege of private life; and this is one. Under any circumstances we should have bewailed the catastrophe at Washington; under any circumstances we should have shuddered at the means by which it was accomplished. But in the character of the victim, and even in the accessories of his last moments, there is something so homely and innocent that it takes the question, as it were, out of all the pomp of history and the ceremonial of diplomacy,—it touches the heart of nations and appeals to the domestic sentiment of mankind. Whatever the various and varying opinions in this House, and in the country generally, on the policy of the late President of the United States, all must agree that in one of the severest trials which ever tested the moral qualities of man he fulfilled his duty, with simplicity and strength. Nor is it possible for the people of England at such a moment to forget that he sprang from the same fatherland

and spoke the same mother tongue. When such crimes are perpetrated the public mind is apt to fall into gloom and perplexity, for it is ignorant alike of the causes and the consequences of such deeds. But it is one of our duties to reassure them under unreasoning panic and despondency. Assassination has never changed the history of the world. I will not refer to the remote past, though an accident has made the most memorable instance of antiquity at this moment fresh in the minds and memory of all around me. But even the costly sacrifice of a Cæsar did not appropriate the inexorable destiny of his country. If we look to modern times, to times at least with the feelings of which we are familiar, and the people of which were animated and influenced by the same interests as ourselves, the violent deaths of two heroic men, Henry IV. of France and the Prince of Orange, are conspicuous illustrations of this truth. In expressing our unaffected and profound sympathy with the citizens of the United States on this untimely end of their elected chief, let us not therefore sanction any feeling of depression, but rather let us express a fervent hope that from out of the awful trials of the last four years, of which the least is not this violent demise, the various populations of North America may issue elevated and chastened, rich with the accumulated wisdom and strong in the disciplined energy which a young nation can only acquire in a protracted and perilous struggle. Then they will be enabled not merely to renew their career of power and prosperity, but they will renew it to contribute to the general happiness of mankind. It is with these feelings that I second the Address to the Crown.

SPEECH OF MR. W. E. FORSTER

MEMBER FOR BRADFORD

[The two following Speeches were delivered by Mr. W. E. Forster and Mr. Stansfeld respectively at St. James's Hall, on the 29th of April, a meeting having been convened, under the auspices of the Emancipation Society, for the purpose of expressing indignation at the assassination of President Lincoln, and sympathy with Mrs. Lincoln and the people of the United States. Professor Fawcett, Mr. Shaw Lefevre, the Hon. Lyulph Stanley and others were also amongst the speakers on the occasion.]

IN MOVING this resolution * I shall say but few words. There are many speakers here this evening, and you will agree with me that it is a time when many should have an opportunity of trying to express those feelings, though few can find words capable of doing so. This is a time when that tie of blood which binds Englishmen to Americans, and of which we so often talk, is indeed truly felt, and the thrill of grief and horror and indignation which has swept over the length and breadth of Europe upon the receipt of this news pierces the heart of almost every Englishman, as though some fearful calamity had fallen upon ourselves. It is to the credit of our country—it would, indeed, be to its shame if it were otherwise—that, with very few exceptions, rich and poor, friends of the North and friends of the South—all are anxious to show that they forget all differences with their American kinsmen as regards social or political arrangements, all disagreements with them in matters of policy, in the overpowering sympathy which they feel with them in this their sore trial. But while America has an especial claim upon the sympathy of England, it certainly does pre-eminently become the society of which you, Sir, are the chairman, and all of us who, though not members of this society, have advocated its principles, and have believed with you that the restoration of the American Union with emancipation for its condition and freedom for its bond will be a blessing to this country, and to the world, to hasten to come forward and try to show what we feel when this man is struck down; to whom of all men it would seem as though God had entrusted the duty of restoring the Union and of freeing it from slavery—struck down, too, just at that time when he had reason to hope that that task at which he had been toiling with such devotion and such single-minded earnestness was on the point of being accomplished. The handwriting on the wall was guiding

*“That this meeting desires to give utterance to the feelings of grief and horror with which it has heard of the assassination of President Lincoln and the murderous attack upon Mr. Seward, and to convey to Mrs. Lincoln and to the United States Government and people an expression of its profound sympathy and heartfelt condolence.”

him, and in those words of solemn beauty which he was allowed to utter at his recent inauguration—though even then the knife of the assassin was hanging over his head—he showed, to quote those very words, that he saw that “God had willed that this offence should cease, though there was woe upon all those, whether in the North or in the South, through whom this offence had come.” And if we can surely prophesy any one result that will follow from this foul crime, it is this—that that offence will all the more speedily cease, and that this foul deed has sealed the quick and irrevocable doom of slavery. Like you, Sir, I do not lay this crime to the charge of the slaveholding leaders of the rebellion. It would be unpardonable for any Englishman to add fuel to that fire of anger from the burning up of his heart by which every American must pray that he may be preserved, by saying or insinuating that any of those leaders either instigated this crime or were cognizant of it. But, Sir, I do trace it to the influence of that system of slaveholding which those leaders have thought to preserve. Doubtless, this assassin and his miserable accomplices were men of a morbid nature—abnormal monsters, the growth of a social system by which every bad passion, provided only it were wreaked upon the weak and the helpless, was legalized—a system by which assassination was organized, for what, after all, was the lynch law of the South, which burned black men alive, and murdered white men because they were Abolitionists, but organized assassination? I say it needed the influence of such a system as this to send such a man as that miserable Booth, as I see by *The Times* to-day, to gloat over the execution of John Brown, and train even him to this parricide. If there be any man left in the Free States whom the experience of the last few years has not taught that there is no peace, no safety for his country, until the sin of slavery is wiped out, that there are no terms possible between the Union and slavery, this crime will have convinced him. I have only one word more to add. We must not allow the ship which leaves our shores tonight to take merely the

message of our sympathy with the widow and the orphans—with that country which has truly lost its father. I am sure this meeting will not be content with the mere expression of their sympathy with our kinsmen in this their present calamity, but we should wish to add to it an expression of our faith in their future, our confident belief that they have learnt the lesson of our common history, that even in this hour of their trial they will show what strength a free and Christian people have to bear up against such a blow, than which none more severe ever fell upon any nationality, and to bear up against it, not only without their power being paralyzed, but without any diminution either of their self-reliance or their self-restraint. And, Sir, may we not also add an expression of our hopeful trust that those rulers to whom God has now entrusted their fate will be so imbued with the spirit of the patriot statesman whom they have lost—that spirit of mingled firmness and moderation, which, exercised as it has been under circumstances than which none were ever more trying, has made the name of Abraham Lincoln one that will be pre-eminent in all future history—that they will continue his work of restoring peace to their country and of insuring freedom to all who dwell in it, undisturbed even by that temptation to vengeance to which I believe they will not yield, but which must beset them with a strength proportioned to the unparalleled atrocity of the crime which has provoked it?

SPEECH OF MR. STANSFELD

MEMBER FOR HALIFAX.

The resolution which I have to move is in these words:—

“That this meeting desires also to express the entire confidence which it feels in the determination and power of the Government and the people of the United States to carry out to the full the policy of which Abraham Lincoln’s Presidential career was the embodiment, and to establish free institutions throughout the whole of the American Republic.”

SIR, we are assembled here to-night not so much that by speech—for who is there who does not feel his heart too full for fitting utterance?—as that by our common presence and our common acts we may express the horror and indignation with which we have heard of deeds so foul that history cannot produce their parallel—that we may express our deep, our heartfelt sympathy with the wife who has become a widow, and with the nation which staggers wildly moaning beneath the loss of its elect. But we are here, it seems to me, for a further purpose. I at least can take no part in these proceedings, at this the time of its direst trial, at its momentous crisis, without also expressing my sympathy for a cause which began by being noble, which grew to be righteous, and which, above all, by the acts, by the life, and by the death of the martyred President, has become consecrated in our eyes. The cause of the North was in its inception noble. One who ranks high among us in influence and in position, and whose opinion upon this very question as well as upon many others deserves our respect—Lord Russell—once said that the North was fighting for empire and the South for independence. He has himself upon many occasions supplied the omissions which rendered incorrect and incomplete that definition of this mighty struggle. The South was fighting for independence, but for independence with the sole, the avowed, the deliberate purpose of promoting and perpetuating the institution of human slavery. Jefferson Davis, at a time when some of us, perhaps even some who wished well to this great cause, doubted of the persistency of the North, was said to have established a nationality. But the nationality which he established had no right of existence, for it was founded upon a national crime, and it has met with the deserved fate of those who set themselves alike against the laws of God and man. The North was fighting for empire! No; the North was fighting for a common country, which it would share, but would not allow to be torn asunder. I am here to say that I for one should have justified the long persistence, at so much

cost of life and suffering, in that war, had there been no other question than Secession concerned in it. But the crime of the South was from the very first the justification of that great cause of which the North was, it may be, at first in some part an unconscious, or, if you will, in some part an unwilling instrument. Well, then, this cause, which began by being noble, grew, as I have said, to be a righteous cause. Step by step the North grew to the height of this great, this holy argument. Every fear, every hope of those who wished ill to the Republic was disappointed. Each delay, each difficulty, each defeat, seemed to serve but to render more stern the resolve to render higher and more pure the policy of the North, until from their original standpoint of the non-extension of slavery, up through the Emancipation Proclamation, to the final decree abolishing slavery throughout the States, the North rose to the full sense of that duty which perfected their right; and then, Sir, and not till then, victory was permitted finally to be theirs. We used to hear a good deal about the hypocrisy and the shortcomings of the North on this question of slavery. I have never been able to understand how this view, even if correct, could justify positive sympathies and flagrant acts in favour of a Confederacy based and founded upon the institution of slavery. But who, let me ask, made these men judges of the fitting appointments in a providential scheme? I for one cannot look back upon this mighty struggle without feeling that there was there a great and superhuman purpose, and without now rejoicing that it has been fulfilled and that by the task of its fulfilment, through all their efforts and their suffering, the Union has been purified, and this mighty convulsion of our race has been justified in the decrees of God and before the eyes of men. And now, who was it who from the first watched over and controlled for good the varying and progressive phases of this mighty strife? Who was the man who took his stand first within the Constitution and the law, upon the ground of the non-extension of slavery to the territories of the United States, who then came to feel that as an act

of war he might issue his Emancipation Proclamation, who next defeated the machinations of that party which loved the Union in such wise that for the Union they would sacrifice that sacred object which alone justified the war? Who was it who contributed more than any other man, perhaps, to the passing of the final abolition decree? Who was it who, when victory seemed already dawning upon the arms of the North before Richmond, was already there, thinking and busying himself about the work of reconstruction and of peace? Who was it whose face we have been told ever since those days seemed radiant and illuminated with blessed thoughts of mercy and peace? Who was the man who, commencing amid the suspicions and the unfavourable criticisms of the world, simply by dint of his own simplicity of character, his own steadfastness and faithfulness, and utter unselfishness of purpose, had won his way to the admiration of the world? Who was it but this man of the people, this uneducated man, without experience in great affairs, this man whose heart visibly before the world grew sadder and gentler to the last amid all the death and the suffering which he witnessed and which he might not allay to the end? Who was it but Abraham Lincoln—Lincoln, the martyr of his country's and of freedom's cause? Sir, it is right and it is necessary that we should say thus much. Great as has been the moral progress of the States, their greatest danger, their time of sorest trial and temptation, is not at an end. If anything can soothe and strengthen them for this trying time, I believe it will be the deep-felt, the spontaneous, the universal burst of sympathy which will crowd to them across the Atlantic from the nations of Europe. Let us ardently hope, let us devoutly and earnestly pray, that they may be equal to this great occasion, that they may disappoint all vain fears, and if it be possible that now a malicious hope be harboured in any human breast that they may disappoint it too, and that the President, the Government, and the people of the United States may be true, as I believe—and as I ask you to say that you believe—them to be true to the memory and the example of him who was the guide and the martyr of their cause.

MR. RALPH WALDO EMERSON'S ORATION ON THE DEATH OF MR. LINCOLN

(The following address was delivered by Mr. Ralph Waldo Emerson, the orator, poet, and essayist, at Concord, Massachusetts, on occasion of the funeral services in honour of Mr. Lincoln.)

WE MEET under the gloom of a calamity which darkens down over the minds of good men in all civilized society, as the fearful tidings travel over the sea, over land, from country to country, like the shadow of an uncalculated eclipse over the planet. Old as history is, and manifold as are its tragedies, I doubt if any death has caused so much pain to mankind as this has caused or will cause, on its announcement; and this not so much because nations are by modern arts brought so closely together, as because of the mysterious hopes and fears which, in the present day, are connected with the name and institutions of America. In this country, on Saturday, every one was struck dumb, and saw, at first, only deep below deep, as he meditated on the ghastly blow. And, perhaps, at this hour, when the coffin which contains the dust of the President sets forward on its long march through mourning States, on its way to his home in Illinois, we might well be silent, and suffer the awful voices of the time to thunder to us. Yes, but that first despair was brief; the man was not so to be mourned. He was the most active and hopeful of men; and his work had not perished; but acclamations of praise for the task he had accomplished burst out into a song of triumph, which even tears for his death cannot keep down. The President stood before us a man of the people. He was thoroughly American, had never crossed the sea, had never been spoiled by English insularity or French dissipation; a quiet, native, aboriginal man, as an acorn from the oak; no aping of foreigners, no frivolous accomplishments; Kentuckian born, working on a farm, a flatboatman, a captain in the Blackhawk war, a country lawyer, a representative in the rural legislature of Illinois

—on such modest foundations the broad structure of his fame was laid. How slowly, and yet by happily prepared steps, he came to his place! All of us remember—it is only a history of five or six years—the surprise and disappointment of the country at his first nomination at Chicago. Mr. Seward, then in the culmination of his good fame, was the favourite of the Eastern States. And when the new and comparatively unknown name of Lincoln was announced (notwithstanding the report of the acclamations of that convention) we heard the result coldly and sadly. It seemed too rash, on a purely local reputation, to build so grave a trust, in such anxious times; and men naturally talked of the chances in politics as incalculable. But it turned out not to be chance. The profound good opinion which the people of Illinois and of the West had conceived of him, and which they had imparted to their colleagues, that they also might justify themselves to their constituents at home, was not rash, though they did not begin to know the richness of his worth. A plain man of the people, an extraordinary fortune attended him. Lord Bacon says, “Manifest virtues procure reputation; occult ones, fortune.” He offered no shining qualities at the first encounter; he did not offend by superiority. He had a face and manner which disarmed suspicion, which inspired confidence, which confirmed goodwill. He was a man without vices. He had a strong sense of duty which it was very easy for him to obey. Then he had what farmers call a long head; was excellent in working out the sum for himself, in arguing his case and convincing you fairly and firmly. Then it turned out that he was a great worker, and, prodigious faculty of performance, worked easily. A good worker is so rare; everybody has some one disabling quality. But this man was found to the very core, cheerful, persistent, all right for labour, and liked nothing so well. Then he had a vast good nature, which made him tolerant and accessible to all; fair-minded, leaning to the claim of the petitioner, affable, and not sensible to the affliction which the innumerable visits paid to him, when President, would

have brought to any one else. And how this good nature became a noble humanity in many a tragic case which the events of the war brought to him everyone will remember, and with what increasing tenderness he dealt when a whole race was on his compassion. The poor negro said of him, on an impressive occasion, "Massa Linkum am eberywhere." Then his broad good humour, running easily into jocular talk, in which he delighted and in which he excelled, was a rich gift to this wise man. It enabled him to keep his secret, to meet every kind of man and every rank in society, to take off the edge of the severest decisions, to mask his own purpose and sound his companion, and to catch with true instinct the temper of each company he addressed. And, more than all, it is to a man of severe labour, in anxious and exhausting crises, the natural restorative, good as sleep, and is the pretension of the overdriven brain against rancour and insanity. He is the author of a multitude of good sayings, so disguised as pleasantries that it is certain that they had no reputation at first but as jests; and only later, by the acceptance and adoption they find in the mouths of millions, turn out to be the wisdom of the hour. I am sure if this man had ruled in a period of less facility of printing, he would have become mythological in a few years, like Æsop or Pilpay, or one of the Seven Wise Masters, by his fables and proverbs. But the weight and penetration of many passages in his letters, messages, and speeches, hidden now by the very closeness of their application to the moment, are destined hereafter to wide fame. What pregnant definitions; what unerring common sense; what foresight; and on great occasions, what lofty and more than natural, what humane tone! His occupying the chair of State was a triumph of the good sense of mankind and of the public confidence. This middle-class country has got a middle-class President at last. Yes, in manners, sympathies, but not in powers, for his powers were superior. His mind mastered the problem of the day; and, as the problem grew, so did his comprehension of it. Rarely was man so

fitted to the event. In the midst of fears and jealousies, in the Babel of counsels and parties, this man wrought incessantly with all his might and all his honesty, labouring to find what the people wanted, and how to obtain that. It cannot be said there is any exaggeration of his worth. If ever a man was fairly tested he was. There was no lack of resistance, nor of slander, nor of ridicule. The times have allowed no State secrets; the nation has been in such a ferment, such multitudes had to be trusted, that no secret could be kept. Every door was ajar, and we know all that befell. Then what an occasion was the whirlwind of the war! Here was place for no holiday magistrate, no fair-weather sailor; the new pilot was hurried to the helm in a tornado. In four years—the four years of battle-days—his endurance, his fertility of resources, his magnanimity, were sorely tried and never found wanting. There, by his courage, his justice, his even temper, his fertile counsel, his humanity, he stood, an heroic figure in the centre of an heroic epoch. He is the true history of the American people in his time. Step by step he walked before them; slow with their slowness, quickening his march by theirs; the true representative of this continent; an entirely public man; father of his country, the pulse of twenty millions throbbing in his heart, the thought of their minds articulated by his tongue. Adam Smith remarks that the axe which in Houbraken's portraits of British kings and worthies is engraved under those who have suffered at the block adds a certain lofty charm to the picture. And who does not see, even in this tragedy so recent, how fast the terror and ruin of the massacre are already burning into glory around the victim? Far happier this fate than to have lived to be wished away; to have watched the decay of his own faculties; to have seen—perhaps, even he—the proverbial ingratitude of statesmen; to have seen mean men preferred. Had he not lived long enough to keep the greatest promise that ever man made to his fellow men—the practical abolition of slavery? He had seen Tennessee, Missouri, and Maryland emancipate their

slaves. He had seen Savannah, Charleston, and Richmond surrendered; had seen the main army of the rebellion lay down its arms. He had conquered the public opinion of Canada, England, and France. Only Washington can compare with him in fortune. And what if it should turn out in the unfolding of the web, that he had reached the term; that this heroic deliverer could no longer serve us; that the rebellion had touched its natural conclusion, and what remained to be done required new and uncommitted hands—a new spirit born out of the ashes of the war; and that Heaven, wishing to show the world a completed benefactor, shall make him serve his country even more by his death than his life. Nations, like kings, are not good by facility and complaisance. “The kindness of kings consists in justice and strength.” Easy good nature has been the dangerous foible of the Republic, and it was necessary that its enemies should outrage it, and drive us to unwonted firmness, to secure the salvation of this country in the next ages.

JOHN BRIGHT ON LINCOLN

(We take the following—including his letter to Sumner,—from Trevelyan's *Life of Bright* [London, 1913]. We believe neither has before been published here.)—[Ed.]

WHILST at Dolgelly on the 27th (April, 1865), heard of the shocking tragedy in Washington—the murder of President Lincoln. For an hour or near it, I felt stunned and ill I will not write an eulogy on the character of President Lincoln—there will be many to do that now that he is dead. *I have spoken of him when living* In him I have observed a singular resolution honestly to do his duty, a great courage—shown in the fact that in his speeches and writings no word of passion, or of panic or of ill-will, has ever escaped him—a great gentleness of temper and nobleness of soul, proved by the absence of irritation and menace under circumstances of the most desperate provocation, and a pity and mercifulness to his enemies which seemed drawn as from the very fount of Christian charity and love. His *simplicity* for a time did much to hide his *greatness*, but all good men everywhere will mourn for him, and history will place him high among the best and noblest of men.—*Journal*, April 29, 1865.

JOHN BRIGHT TO CHARLES SUMNER

April 29, 1865.

For fifty years I think no other event had created such a sensation in this country as the great crime which has robbed you of your President. The whole people positively mourn, and it would seem as if again we were one nation with you, so universal is the grief and the horror of the deed of which Washington has been the scene.

When I read that the President had gone to Richmond without a guard, I felt that he ran a risk to which he ought not to have subjected himself. In times of great excitement dangerous men become more dangerous, partly vicious and partly mad, and men of great mark become the objects of their hate and passion. The deed is done, and it is now too late to take precautions.

It is easy to kill a President, but it is not easy to destroy a nation.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT
COURT, INDIANAPOLIS, IN RELATION TO THE
DEATH OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN

This item is No. 803 in Judge Fish's "Lincoln Bibliography". The original is excessively rare—so rare that he himself wrote the Editor that he had never seen it. It is lacking in almost all Lincoln collections, and very seldom occurs for sale. We believe this is the first time it has been republished.—[ED.]

YESTERDAY morning,* as we had previously announced, the District Court of the United States proceeded to take action in relation to the assassination of President Lincoln. The court was opened at half-past nine o'clock. The judges of the Supreme Court of the state and Judge Finch of the Circuit Court, together with Judges Davis and McDonald, occupied the bench. The venerable Judge Morrison, chairman of the committee appointed previously, arose and said: May it please the Court—

On behalf of the committee heretofore appointed to report to your honors resolutions touching the occasion of the death of President Lincoln, I now respectfully submit to your honors the following:

Posthumous honors, however gorgeous or imposing, do not always prove the sincerity of the tribute thus paid, offered in memory of the departed, nor even the presence of the sentiment which such honors are held to symbolize. But there is no danger of mistaking the import of those manifestations which but a few days ago shrouded this whole nation in the habiliments of the grave.

Never, it is believed, in the history of the world, has the demise of any man, or any ruler, called forth such profound sorrowing, such poignant grief, and such evidences of devoted attachment, as has the death of President Lincoln of the United States.

As the astounding intelligence of the atrocious assassination of the Chief Magistrate sped on lightning wing from city to city, and to town, and hamlet and cabin, the whole population gasped con-

*May, 19, 1865.

vulsively. The public mind was horror-struck, stupefied, stunned. Men held their breath, ejaculating hurried prayers that a life so precious might still be spared, and when the seemingly incredible story was fully confirmed, and the worst phases of the terrible tragedy began to be realized, the great popular heart sickened and almost ceased to throb; and then came reaction, and the stern resolve and vows of vengeance against the traitor-felon who had perpetrated the infernal act and his no less guilty accomplices.

And now that the solemn funeral train has passed, and all that is mortal of him whom the people delighted to honor has been consigned to its last earthly resting-place, there to wait the general resurrection at the last day, it has been deemed to be eminently proper that uniting with the judges of this court, the members of the bar should record their high appreciation of the distinguished public services, and exemplary private worth of the illustrious dead; it is therefore

Resolved, 1. That in common with our loyal fellow-citizens everywhere, we deplore as a great national calamity, the death of President Lincoln.

2. That in the discharge of the various and responsible duties of his high office, President Lincoln was ever guided by the inspirations of an unselfish and lofty patriotism, designing above all things and laboring for, the perpetuity of the union of the states.

3. That perfectly honest and upright in intention and act, possessed of rare practical wisdom and tolerant, lenient and forgiving, President Lincoln had gained and secured, as no other man had, the confidence and respect and love of his country.

“His was the upright deed,
His the unswerving course,
'Mid every thwarting current's force
Unchanged by venal aims, or flattery's hollow reed.”

4. That in all the separate private and family relations, the dead President has left a record unsullied and worthy of imitation.

5. That the honorable and successful career of the departed President, in the profession to which the bench and the bar of this court belong, should serve as an incentive to us who remain, as well as to those who shall succeed us, to pursue our high calling with diligence, holding fast our integrity.

6. That the bereaved family of the deceased have our sincerest sympathy and condolence in their great and irreparable loss.

7. That the court and the bar will wear the usual badge of respect for the memory of the deceased for thirty days.

8. That the honorable the judges of this court be respectfully requested to permit these proceedings to be entered upon the minutes, and that the Clerk be directed to transmit a copy under the seal of the court, to the stricken family of the departed President.

After the reading of the resolutions, Hon. T. A. Hendricks seconded them, following in appropriate remarks, after which Mr. Ketcham, Judge Sullivan, Hon. A. G. Porter, Hon. J. E. McDonald, and Mr. Fishback spoke briefly concerning the character of the late President, which was listened to with the most profound respect by those present. After the members of the bar had spoken, Judge Davis, the personal and intimate friend of Mr. Lincoln, delivered a most touching and eloquent tribute to the memory of the departed, which we here give:

GENTLEMEN OF THE BAR: The death of Mr. Lincoln, by disease, at any period within the last four years, would have shocked the civilized world, but occurring at the time, and in the manner it did, it has produced an inexpressible feeling of sadness and gloom. A season of universal joy and festivity has been turned into grief and lamentation. Victories are no longer celebrated by bonfires and illuminations. Great disasters do not even arrest at-

tention, and the fact that armed rebellion has ceased, hardly excites remark. All hearts are touched, and the people mourn as no people ever mourned before. Sorrow is in every household, and throughout the country. The feeling is not alone for the loss of a great and wise ruler, but for that of a dear and well-beloved personal friend. That such a man, with the fruition of his hopes and labors near at hand, should be assassinated, is, to finite wisdom, an inscrutable dispensation of Providence. But as a Christian people we submit with humble resignation, knowing that God intends our good in all that He does, and all that He suffers to be done, and that, in His own proper time, he will make manifest what appears now so dark and mysterious.

I do not propose to deliver a eulogy on the life and character of Mr. Lincoln. The brief limits of a reply to the resolutions of the bar will not admit of it, and time has not yet sufficiently chastened this affliction to us, to do it wisely. His career in life was remarkable as well as glorious, and illustrates the beneficence of our free institutions. From the humblest poverty, without education, or the means of attaining it; unaided by wealth or influential family connections, he rose, solely by the strength of his intellect and the force of his character, to the highest position in the world. He died a patriot martyr, and the greatest man of the generation in which he lived. Hereafter history will associate him with the benefactors of mankind, and with the great and good men of every age. To you, gentlemen, it has seemed to me more appropriate to speak of Mr. Lincoln as a lawyer. Our profession trains men for greatness, and it is a high privilege to contemplate the character of a man who has dignified and adorned that profession. I enjoyed for over a quarter of a century the personal friendship of Mr. Lincoln. We were admitted to the Bar about the same time, and traveled for many years what is known in Illinois as the Eighth Judicial Circuit. In 1848, when I first went on the bench, the Circuit embraced fourteen counties, and Mr. Lincoln went with the court to every county. Rail-

roads were not then in use, and our mode of travel was either on horseback or in buggies. This simple life he loved, preferring it to the practice of the law in a city, where although the remuneration would be greater, the opportunity would be less for mixing with the great body of the people, who loved him, and whom he loved. Mr. Lincoln was transferred from the bar of that circuit to the office of President of the United States, having been without official position since he left Congress in 1849. In all the elements that constitute the great lawyer, he had few equals. He was great both at *nisi prius* and before an appellate tribunal. He seized the strong points of a cause, and presented them with clearness and great compactness. His mind was logical and direct, and he did not indulge in extraneous discussion. Generalities and platitudes had no charm for him. An unfailing vein of humor never deserted him, and he was always able to chain the attention of court and jury, when the cause was the most uninteresting, by the appropriateness of his anecdotes.

His power of comparison was large, and he rarely failed in a legal discussion to use that mode of reasoning. The framework of his mental and moral being was honesty, and a wrong cause was poorly defended by him. The ability which some eminent lawyers possess of explaining away the bad points of a cause by ingenious sophistry, was denied him. In order to bring into full activity his great powers, it was necessary that he should be convinced of the right and justice of the matter which he advocated. When so convinced, whether the cause was great or small, he was usually successful. He read law books but little, except when the cause in hand made it necessary, yet he was unusually self-reliant, depending on his own resources and rarely consulting his brother lawyers either on the management of his case or in the legal questions involved. Mr. Lincoln was the fairest and most accommodating of practitioners, granting all favors which he could do consistently with his duty to his client, and rarely availing himself of an unwary oversight of his adversary.

He hated wrong and oppression everywhere, and many a man whose fraudulent conduct was undergoing review in a court of justice, has writhed under his terrific indignation and rebukes. He was the most simple and unostentatious of men in his habits, having few wants, and those easily supplied. To his honor be it said, that he never took from a client even when the case was gained, more than he thought the service was worth, and the client could reasonably afford to pay. The people where he practiced law were not rich, and his charges were always small. When he was elected President, I question whether there was a lawyer in the circuit who had been at the bar as long a time, whose means were not larger. It did not seem to be one of the purposes of his life to accumulate a fortune. In fact, outside of his profession, he had no knowledge of the way to make money, and he never even attempted it.

Mr. Lincoln was loved by his brethren at the bar, and no body of men will grieve more at his death, or pay more sincere tribute to his memory. His presence on the circuit was watched for with interest, and never failed to produce joy and hilarity. When casually absent, the spirits of both bar and people were depressed. He was not fond of controversy, and would compromise a lawsuit whenever practicable. And I may be permitted to say here that the great qualities of his mind and heart preëminently fitted him to settle the questions growing out of this war, to readjust the displaced machinery of government, and to reunite a divided people. War with him was simply a necessity for the sake of peace. It has seemed to me that the atrocity of the crime which deprived him of life was only excelled by its folly. He loved his profession, appreciating the high services always rendered by it to the cause of good government and civil liberty. To elucidate truth was a precious privilege with him, and he was always glad to avail himself of it. He was kind and gentle in his nature, with sympathies easily awakened, "with charity for all, and malice to none," harboring no resentment to opposing counsel, and indulgent to his younger brethren.

Mr. Lincoln's whole life attests the strength and sincerity of his convictions. Although ambitious, yet office had no attractions for him if attainable through a sacrifice of principle. He attached himself to a party when satisfied that its views of public policy were correct, and the circumstances that the party was in the minority, and could with difficulty win its way to the confidence of the people, had no terrors for him. Had he loved principle less and place more, he would not have been without official station during the greater portion of his life.

He had faith—without which true greatness does not exist. Believing in certain great principles of government, he did not complain because for a season, they were unacceptable to the people—having faith in their ultimate triumph.

Mr. Lincoln was daily growing in wisdom, and greatness, and was fast gaining the confidence and attachment of the whole American people. He died at the most critical period in the history of the nation, when it was apparent that his country would be free from the curse and disgrace of slavery. Had he survived to complete the work he had begun, it is easy to see that the basis, which in his wisdom he should have thought proper to adopt to settle our difficulties, would have been accepted by the country, and that all factious opposition to his administration would have ceased. Hereafter the name of Abraham Lincoln will be associated with that of George Washington, and the present and all future generations will equally honor and revere them.

After the delivery of Judge Davis' remarks the court adjourned until this morning.

(Copied from the *Daily State Sentinel* (Indianapolis) of
Saturday, May 20, 1865.)



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

A SERMON DELIVERED BEFORE

WINFIELD SCOTT POST, No. 114

DEPARTMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA

GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC

AT GETHSEMANE BAPTIST CHURCH

By REV. BYRON A. WOODS, D.D.

PHILADELPHIA

May 26, 1895

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Isaiah 5, 26-27: "None shall be weary nor stumble among them; none shall slumber nor sleep; neither shall the girdle of their loins be loosed, nor the latchet of their shoes be broken: whose arrows are sharp and all their bows bent, their horses' hoofs shall be counted like flint, their wheels like a whirlwind."

IT WAS March 4, 1865, dark, drizzly as stern November. The shameful spectacle by which Andrew Johnson disgraced himself and humiliated the nation was over. The President-elect attended by high officials, passed from the Senate chamber out to the inauguration platform, on the east front of the Capitol. The thunders of applause ceased as Abraham Lincoln stepped forward and began reading his second inaugural. "At that moment the sun, which had been obscured all day, burst forth in its unclouded meridian splendor, and flooded the spectacle with glory and with light." The last words of that matchless address fell upon the ears of the hushed, prayerful, tearful throng: "Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn by the lash shall be paid by another drawn by the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.' " "With malice towards none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations."

The last word spoken, Abraham Lincoln turned to the Chief Justice; the Bible was opened: laying his right hand reverently

upon the open page, he repeated the oath of office, then solemnly kissed the Book, saying, as he did so, "So help me God," and rose up inaugurated President of the United States for the second term. The Chief Justice himself had noticed the place where his lips had touched the inspired page. Is it strange that he and others felt the significance of the words?

None shall be weary nor stumble among them; none shall slumber nor sleep; neither shall the girdle of their loins be loosed, nor the latchet of their shoes be broken; whose arrows are sharp, and all their bows are bent, their horses' hoofs shall be counted like flint, their wheels like a whirlwind."

It was in the spirit of these words that Abraham Lincoln undertook the toil and burden, and the care of the Chief Magistracy for the second time. Experience had taught him how crushing was the load; but he had neither grown weary nor stumbled in bearing it; his loins were still girded, his shoes latched for the way.

Tonight I am to say something about this marvelous man—this man whose life is the consummate flower of American history, whose character is the ripest fruitage thereof.

It is a service from which many better fitted and furnished than I have shrunk. The name of Abraham Lincoln is sacred, baptized with the tears and blood of the best of our land. The story of his life is the sweetest, saddest, dearest among the archives of the Nation. As the great historian has said, "Abraham Lincoln went through life bearing the load of a people's sorrows with a smiling face. As long as he lived he was the guiding star of a whole brave nation, and when he died the little children cried in the streets." In him nature was at its best,

"For him her Old World moulds aside she threw,
And choosing sweet clay from the breast
Of the unexhausted West,
With stuff untainted shaped a hero new,
Wise, steadfast in the strength of God, and true."

It takes an artist to paint a mountain crowned with snow, circled with cloud, gilded with the summer sun; to fill in the foliage

that drapes its noble form, to portray the snow-born streams that tumble down its tumultuous sides, and anon break in silvery veils, or glow with prismatic beauty; to represent the houses and barns, the flocks and herds, the harvest fields and pasture lands, that cover its fruitful slopes; and to outline the beautiful valleys and broad acres that lie at its base—it requires an artist to do that. And yet an humbler hand may sketch its heroic lines, intimate its beauties, and suggest its glories. Though I cannot do the one permit me to attempt the other. Permit me to lay a way-side flower—love's token—upon the altar of his greatness.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN WAS GREAT IN NATURAL ENDOWMENT

It took six feet four inches of bone and brawn, of sinew and muscle to carry the load and endure the strain of his mighty intellect, and to house the great throbbing heart that beat for all humanity; the two engines that labored and toiled within that gaunt, homely frame of his.

He had great powers of perception. He saw things, truths, facts and men, what they were in themselves, and in their relations. He could “grasp the situation,” whether political, military, philosophic or statesmanic. He could note the beginnings of great movements, calculate their progress, and foretell the issue, as few men have ever done.

He had unsurpassed reasoning powers. His addresses were not political harangues, but masterly arguments based upon fundamental principles. When professors and ministers from cultured New England asked him how he attained his marvelous way of putting things, a method such that the statement of his position was itself an argument, he replied that early in legal life he had spent weeks in mastering the problems of geometry, that he might know what the word “demonstration” meant. His was the power to demonstrate the truth he uttered.

This gave him marvelous influence over his hearers. He ap-

prehended the foundation principles himself, and then caused them to apprehend them also. Other men skimmed the surface, he went to the bottom; they saw the symptoms, he the disease. English statesmen visited him, and, referring to the great loss of life in the battles fought, were surprised to have him reply with statistics drawn from their own history showing their losses had been greater in proportion, and departing declared that he was a surprise to them, and that undoubtedly future generations would rank him among the greatest men the world had produced. Generals of the army sometimes spoke lightly of his military plans, only to awake at last to the realization that his plan of campaign, if adopted would undoubtedly have brought victory, when theirs was followed by disaster.

During the first months of his presidency men attempted to take from his hands the reins of government, but found in him a master-mind and an iron will before which they were compelled to bow, and finally to render glad homage. Even Mr. Seward, experienced, able, eminent in the nation, found his words concerning the adoption of a policy and the resolute prosecution of it, "either by the President" or "some member of the cabinet," met by the calm, dignified reply, "If this must be done, I must do it," and awoke from his dream of personal glory to realize that Abraham Lincoln was President, and he himself Secretary of State—nothing more.

This intellectual greatness has been one of the things men have been slow to recognize in the man. They knew that he was honest, kind of heart, true, devoted, but that he was incomparably, superlatively great they could not realize. Perhaps it was because of his humble birth, perhaps because of his deficient education, perhaps because of his homely but apt metaphors, perhaps because of his gaunt ugliness, perhaps it was because they stood so near him they could not apprehend his magnitude; be the reason what it may the fact remains, he was greater than their great-

est conceptions, nobler than their noblest thoughts. A generation has passed and we do not know him yet. A second, and possibly a third must come before men will fully appreciate his character, and properly estimate his work. When you are climbing Mt. Blanc, you do not realize its height, you must be miles away to see it in its totality and feel its magnitude.

The men who toiled by Lincoln's side did not know him. William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips and Horace Greeley were great men, and each in his way did a great work for freedom and humanity. But they were not able to understand Lincoln. They could not rise to the mountain-height from which he surveyed the field. They could not comprehend the principles which were the A B C of his life. They never saw the present as he saw it. They never planned the future as he planned it, seeing the end from the beginning. And so they criticised and said and wrote bitter things: "He was slow, he was treacherous, he lacked moral earnestness, he must be supplanted."

Garrison and Phillips hurled poisoned arrows, and denounced him to his face, while Greeley plotted for peace behind his back, holding correspondence with the enemies of the nation and the cause, hindering by so much the speedy victory for which Lincoln was patiently, persistently, surely toiling.

And when the end drew nigh and the final triumphs were ready to drop, like ripened fruit, into the lap of the nation, because Lincoln went to Hampton Roads, and unofficially, informally, and at the earnest request of General Grant, met the men who had come from the Confederacy, and declared to them the only terms upon which propositions of peace or armistice could or would be considered—because Lincoln with wise foresight saw the opportunity of unmasking false pretensions and thereby strengthening the cause, and seized the opportunity, Senators and Congressmen denounced him upon the floor of the Capitol, and passed

resolutions demanding an account of his doings. It would seem as if they ought to have understood him better by that time, as if they ought to have had more confidence in the sagacity and honesty of the man who had so ably guided the affairs of the nation during the years that had gone. But no, they did not understand him, they did not understand the situation. And so they uttered words they gladly would have blotted from history, and brought pain and anguish to the heart of one who carried the burdens of the nation.

The abolitionists erred because they did not see that Lincoln was sworn to support the Constitution, and therefore could not emancipate the slaves until it became evident that only so could the Constitution itself be preserved. And Senators and Congressmen erred because they did not see, as he saw, the effect, the necessary effect, of putting the words "our common country" over against the words of Davis concerning "the two countries." They did not realize, and we are only too slow to acknowledge, that Abraham Lincoln alone embodied, not only the heart of the people, but the brains of the nation as well.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN WAS GREAT IN UNSWERVING DEVOTION TO
LIBERTY

He is twenty-one years of age. They are in the city of New Orleans. Slaves are being bought and sold. With his companions he visits a slave pen, while an auction is in progress. He marks how rough men handle young women and discuss in vulgar terms their merits or demerits. Turning to his companion, his giant frame trembling with righteous indignation, he registers his vow: "If ever I get a chance to hit that institution, I'll hit it hard, by the Eternal God!"

The first great opportunity to "hit" the institution came to Lincoln in the campaign of 1854.

In reply to Douglas, these burning words fell from his lips:

“This declared indifference to the spread of slavery I can but hate. I hate it because of the monstrous injustice of slavery itself. If the negro is a man is it not the destruction of self-government to say that he shall not govern himself? When a white man governs himself, that is self-government; but when he governs himself and another man, that is more than self-government, it is despotism. No man is good enough to govern another man without his consent. Slavery is founded on the selfishness of man’s nature; opposition to it is his love of justice. These principles are in eternal antagonism.”

“Never did a man,” said Lincoln’s law partner, Mr. Herndon, “change as did Mr. Lincoln. No sooner had he planted himself right on the slavery question than his whole soul seemed burning. He blossomed right out. Spiritual things became clear to him.”

Again he meets Douglas; it is just after the Dred Scott decision. “In my opinion it (this agitation) will not cease until a crisis has 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 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.” When friends remonstrated with him, saying those words would injure him politically, defeat his election and possibly ruin his party Lincoln listened, rose, stood erect. The old far-away look came into his face. “My friends, I have given much thought to this question. The time has come when these sentiments should be uttered. If it is decreed that I should go down because of this speech, then let me go down linked with it to the truth. Let me die in the advocacy of what is just and right.” Listen again to his words, in reply to the same opponent. “Think nothing of me; take no thought for the political fate of any man whatsoever, but come back to the truths that are in the Declaration of Independence. You may do anything with me you choose, if you will but

heed these sacred principles. You may not only defeat me for the Senate, but you may take me and put me to death. While pretending no indifference to earthly honors, I do claim to be actuated in this contest by something higher than an anxiety for office. I charge you to drop every paltry and insignificant thought for any man's success. It is nothing. I am nothing. Judge Douglas is nothing. But do not destroy that immortal emblem of humanity, the Declaration of Independence."

I cannot repeat his many ringing words that echoed round the world in advocacy of the principles of liberty. Thank God, to-day they are household words.

I may be permitted, however, to refer to one other occasion upon which he gave proof even more strikingly of his steadfast devotion to the cause of freedom. It was near the close of his first term in the Presidency, 1864. It was one of the darkest periods of the war. People were clamoring for peace. Horace Greeley was imploring, begging, demanding, that he make overtures for peace, or at least an armistice for one year. There were divisions and dissensions in the Cabinet. Congressmen were angry because he had not signed the bill for the re-admission of seceded states into the Union. "Your re-election," wrote Thurlow Weed to the President, "is an impossibility."

Lincoln himself said to his intimate acquaintances, "I doubt if I shall be re-elected." August 23rd, 1864, was the day for the regular meeting of President and Cabinet. When the members of the Cabinet were assembled, Lincoln handed them a sealed envelope, with a paper folded within. "Gentlemen," he said, "will you do me a favor, will you please write your names upon this envelope?" He made no explanation; they asked no questions, but did as requested, and the package was laid away. What was written there, so carefully sealed, so surely certified? These were the words, written with his own hand:

“This morning, as for several days past, it seems probable that this Administration will not be re-elected. Then it will be my duty to so co-operate with the President-elect as to save the Union between the election and the inauguration, as he will have secured his election on such grounds that he cannot possibly save it afterwards.” Here was devotion, pure and simply, unselfish and heroic. He might go down and his administration fall, but his last breath should be expended for the nation and principles he loved.

But Lincoln was re-elected, and lived, not only to give slavery its death blow—hitting it hard, as he had vowed—but also to celebrate the victorious ending of the struggle.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN WAS GREAT BECAUSE OF HIS RELIANCE UPON
ALMIGHTY GOD

“I believe,” writes Ruskin, “the first test of a truly great man is his humility. I do not mean by humility, doubt of his own power, or hesitation in speaking his opinion. But really great men have a curious undersense of powerlessness, feeling that the greatness is not in them but through them; that they could not do or be anything else than God made them. And they see something divine and God-made in every other man, and are endlessly, foolishly, incredibly merciful.” Horace Bushnell says, “The great master-spirits of the world are not so much distinguished, after all, by the acts they do as by the sense itself of some mysterious girding of the Almighty upon them, whose behests they are set to fulfil.” In harmony with these words of wisdom and of truth, Abraham Lincoln declared, “I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me. No human council has devised, nor hath any mortal hand worked out these great things. They are of the gracious gifts of the Most High God.”

Lincoln’s religious nature was influenced by the Puritans on the one hand and the Quakers on the other. From his mother he

received instruction in the Bible and in the ways of righteousness, as well as a deep under-current of reverence and devotion, symbolized in them both by "that far-away look" that so often arrested attention.

Early in life, there came a religious crisis. It was just after he had failed to meet his engagement and marry her who afterward became his wife. A deep melancholy had come over him. Possibly the great brain was trembling on its throne. Anyhow, and happily, devout friends received him into their home, and into the inner circle of faith. An intelligent Christian woman speaks to him of God as a Father, and Jesus Christ as a brother, and new truths dawn, and the old Book receives diviner light. Little by little the bewildered wanderer is led out of the desert of despair and unbelief, into the light of life and glory. From that hour doubt is gone, never to return; from that hour the Bible becomes his rule of life and duty.

When the time of trial came he declared to his friends, "I know there is a God, and that he hates injustice and slavery. I see the storm coming, and I know that His hand is in it. If He has a place for me, and I think He has, I believe I am ready. . . . With God's help I shall not fail."

Time passes, he is now leaving his home for Washington. A few last words are spoken ere the train departs: "I now leave, not knowing when or whether I may ever return, with a task before me greater than that which rested upon Washington. Without the assistance of that Divine Being who ever attended him, I cannot succeed. With that assistance, I cannot fail. Trusting in Him who can go with me, and remain with you, and be everywhere for good, let us confidently hope that all will yet be well. To His care commending you, as I hope in your prayers you will commend me, I bid you an affectionate farewell."

And now the curtains of the White House are drawn low.

Little Willie lies near the river. The father's great heart is breaking. The nurse says, "Mr. Lincoln, a great many people are praying for you today." "I am glad to hear it," he replies, "I want them to pray for me, I need their prayers, and I will try to go to God with my sorrow." Later the minister tells him his Willie is alive. "Alive! alive!" he exclaims. "Yes, Mr. Lincoln, alive. Jesus Christ has said it." The old truth came into his soul no longer an abstract doctrine, but a blessed fact, to be accepted and realized. And Lincoln clasped in his arms the man who had opened his eyes to one of God's most precious promises.

Again, the time for the Emancipation Proclamation has come. Lincoln does not consult his Cabinet as to the question of its issue. A victory has been gained, and Lincoln says, "I have made a vow—a covenant—that if God should give us victory in battle I would consider it an indication of the divine will, and that it would be our duty to move forward with emancipation."

The battle of Gettysburg had been won. When a general asked Lincoln if he had not been anxious as to the result, he replied that he had been confident of victory. They asked, why? But he hesitated, and would not say until repeatedly urged to do so. "Well," he says, "I will tell you. Before the battle, I retired alone to my room in the White House, and got down on my knees and prayed to the Almighty God to give us the victory. I said to Him that this was His war, and that if He would stand by the nation now, I would stand by Him the rest of my life. He gave us the victory, and I purpose to keep my pledge. I arose from my knees with a feeling of deep and serene confidence, and had no doubt of the result from that hour."

At another time Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Fessenden were in confidential conversation. Mr. Fessenden asked him how far he believed the Almighty actually directed our national affairs. Slowly and solemnly, he replied, "That the Almighty does make use of

human agencies, and directly intervenes in human affairs, is one of the plainest statements of the Bible. I have had so many evidences of His direction, so many instances when I have been controlled by some other power than my own will, that I cannot doubt that this power comes from above. I am satisfied that when the Almighty wants me to do or not do a particular thing, He finds a way of letting me know it At first, I used to lose heart sometimes. Now I seem to know that Providence has protected and will protect us against any fatal defeat. All we have to do is to trust the Almighty and keep right on obeying His orders and executing His will."

Lee surrenders, the war draws to its close. Washington is ablaze with glory. The universal joy cannot be restrained. The crowds gather; Lincoln speaks. "The tired spot" which he said "nothing touched" is rested. The man who declared "I do not think I shall ever be glad again" is gladdened. The country saved, the nation redeemed, all he has labored for, prayed for, lived for has been accomplished. His address to the people he so ably served begins with the reminder, "We meet this evening in gladness of heart In the midst of this, He 'from whom all blessings flow' must not be forgotten; a call for a national thanksgiving is being prepared and will be duly promulgated." It is his last public utterance. His official life closes as it began—with his face turned towards the Great White Throne. He has rounded out the circle of his greatness; henceforth Abraham Lincoln "belongs to the ages." And tonight, "The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land" do "swell the chorus of the Union, touched again, as surely they have been, by the better angels of our nature."

THE DARKEST HOUR.

EVERYBODY is more or less superstitious. However unwilling we may be to confess it, there are times when we cannot resist superstition, but yield to its sway. Examples from daily life are innumerable, beginning with the days of the emperor who could not endure the presence of a cat in the same room, and coming down to these days when the last guest finds that he makes the unwelcome thirteenth at the table and politely refuses to remain. The farmer who sees the new moon over his left shoulder, and the sailor who will not set sail from port on Friday, are common illustrations.

Without combating this common trait or endeavoring to reason away its cause, arising so largely as it does through illogical deductions from seeming coincidences, let me tell you of an instance in my own experience.

If any one can claim the right to be superstitious about a play at the theatre, I claim to be of the number. Three times I have purchased tickets for "Our American Cousin," desiring to see Sothern in it, but I have never seen it. The sickness of a star actor compelled a change in the title *rôle* the first time; I was called away out of town the second time: and the assassination of President Lincoln abruptly terminated the third time, under such circumstances, conditions and tragical surroundings that I called that night the "*darkest hour*."

The winter of 1865 found me on duty with Major-General A. P. Howe, inspector of artillery, with headquarters in Washington. He also had command of Camp Barry, which was an artillery *dépôt* for instructing, equipping and repairing batteries of artillery.

—Read by the late Brevet Brigadier-General Charles Mamlin before the Maine Commandery of the Loyal Legion.

On that fatal night, accompanied by my wife and sister, I went somewhat early to Ford's Theatre both to hear the patriotic music of the orchestra and to witness the entrance of the President, who had accepted an invitation to witness the play, with a party of invited guests. We obtained seats only a few steps behind the orchestra on the side next to the box, second tier, assigned to the Presidential party,—being on your right as you enter the auditorium. We found the theatre already well filled: the front of the boxes beautifully decorated with flags. The orchestra lost no time in expressing the loyal joy of the jubilant throng in soul-stirring passages, comprising choice selection of all the National airs. These airs were repeated at the request of the audience which did not seem impatient for the curtain to rise. Then followed a long interval of silence. The illustrious guest of the evening had not arrived. Whispers ran round the house that he would not come, and finally the manager yielded to the calls and the curtain slowly rung up and the play began. The first act, however, was only fairly beginning when it was suspended with a loud outburst of "Hail to the Chief," by the orchestra, in welcoming with the cheers of the audience,—all standing up,—the much-expected President, who modestly bowed as he quietly moved along the wall and with his wife and friends entered the box.

Quiet was resumed and *Dundreary* was soon lisping, in inimitable drollery, his opening words. The people now gave their undivided attention to the play, happy to share its humor, wit and gaiety with one who had earned that right, if ever relief, followed by relaxation, was due to one who had led the nation through the sea of trouble to a triumphant ending. It would be difficult indeed, to conceive of higher conditions for people's enjoyment and the chief magistrate's brief hour of freedom from care and anxiety. How often since have I recalled the scene! All eyes were radiant with the joy of life. "Grim-visaged war had smoothed his wrinkled front" and the bronzed veterans' uniforms, here and there, set off

in fine contrast the rich apparel and adornments of their fair companions. The air was redolent of peace and happiness. The scene was so impressive that it must have had its influence on the President himself, for he did not move after taking a seat in the front corner, next to the audience, whence he could see almost the entire auditorium and the stage.

The following events, but not the length of time, remain indelibly fixed in my memory. I am confident of the accuracy of their succession and I will now state them in their order:

After one or more scenes,—they may be all in the first act,—the actors had left the stage and scenery slides quite near the front were run out from each wing to represent one side of a room. They did not come together and join at the center with that ease and certainty which are found in well-managed theatres. They bumped together, shot past each other, were pulled back again at a short distance, and then hurriedly thrown together but not uniting. One form was lifted up once or twice when both forms seemed to be joined, but were suddenly pulled slightly apart again and remained so. Momentarily expecting, in this condition of bungling scene-shifting, that the defect would be noticed by the person in charge, and watching both ends of the stage for the entrance of the next actor, as well as the proper adjustment of the scene, the delay in both seems unusually prolonged. Suddenly a pistol shot is heard. To me its direction is from the stage, and I think it is part of the next act, never having seen the play and not knowing its plot. Still no actor comes out. The scenes remain unadjusted. A slight murmur runs through the audience,—it is the suppressed voices of the men and women criticising the delay or questions asking its cause. Time enough has now elapsed to arouse the curious and impatient who rise in their places just as a man is seen standing on the outer edge of the President's box. He suddenly jumps down upon the stage, landing, after a flight of nearly fifteen

feet, in a crouched position about six or eight feet from the side of the tier of boxes. He rises, and with his face to the audience he walks leisurely to the center of the stage as if he belonged to the troupe and was entering upon his part. As he faces the audience in the center of the stage, about ten or twelve feet from the footlights, we get a clear view of him. He is dressed in faultless black, the opening of his vest disclosing a white shirt front, then not often seen by us of the army. His face, surmounted by waving black hair, has a deathly pallor and his eyes are glittering bright, almost emitting fire. Spellbound, never dreaming of the awful tragedy which had already taken place, the audience intently observes the man in his every movement, and wondering still what his appearance means and how it is connected with the play.

Halting at the center with his face to the audience, as I have, already described him, he hissed out these words, *Sic semper tyrannis*, raising a dagger in his right hand above his head with the flashing blade pointing down. With these words that I have quoted, he dropped his hand, turned towards the right of the stage, the left of the audience, and deliberately marched with a stage gait from our sight and disappeared through the wings on that side.

It is not easy to describe the effect produced upon the audience nor the precise order of events. I now recall my sister's speaking to me and saying, "Why, that's Wilkes Booth!" Also my reply "It is not possible. He is not down on the bill." A voice in the audience cried out, "The President is shot." This was the first intimation to me of what had happened,—the awful tragedy itself. I started up from my seat to ascertain if it was true and to see what I could do. Several persons in my vicinity tried to cross over the orchestra to the stage. One of them, who proved to be a naval officer,—Flood, of the U. S. S. *Primrose*,—as I learned from his card which he gave me the next day at his hotel,—succeeded in the attempt and climbed into the President's box by elinging to the wood ornamentation overlaying its front.

There was immediate confusion, and cries of alarm and horror were raised as soon as it was stated that the President had been shot, and no one seemed to know what to do. A gentleman on the extreme left gained the stage, as I now remember, at nearly the same time with Flood. He spoke in an excited manner and passed at once behind the wing on that side. This was J. B. Stewart, of Washington, a dealer in real estate of some prominence. In his testimony afterwards before the military commission, he claimed to have been the first person to reach the stage, and to have been wounded by dagger thrusts or cuts given by the assassin.

As soon as I could make my way through the retiring audience I ran up the stairs leading to the second story and found they were just bringing the President out of his box,—his wife leading the way with her dress covered with blood, weeping and moaning and wringing her hands all the while with most heartrending sobs. Laura Keene, the leading lady in the play, had preceded me and stood in front of Mrs. Lincoln calling out from time to time as the sad procession moved on towards the stairway,—“For God’s sake, gentlemen, let this poor woman pass.” As her hands and dress were stained with blood it seems that she must have entered the box, as soon as the door was pushed open and assisted in removing the dying man. I followed the President across the street as far as the house where he was taken in, and where he breathed his last. Waiting to see how I could render service I encountered Lieutenant Parsons of the 4th United States Artillery, who told me that Grant, Stanton, Seward and Vice-President Johnson, had also been assassinated. This was, indeed, the *darkest hour*. It all foreboded insurrection, an uprising of rebels and assassins by night in the capital city. Instantly I thought of my duty and determined, at all hazards, to do what was in my power to prevent such a horrible atrocity. I ran to our headquarters, more than a mile distant, at the corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and H Street, and sent word to Major Hall, and in the name of General Howe ordered out

all the batteries at Camp Barry to take position immediately at all the street crossings leading from the great avenues, remaining myself at our office. The order was duly executed and the batteries remained in position until the afternoon of the next day. At frequent intervals I reported to the War Department until seven o'clock in the morning, when I learned by a daily morning paper of the President's death and the escape from the assassin of all others except Mr. Seward.

As I am giving a personal account only of the awful tragedy, but little more remains to be told. The rest is public history and I will add but one other event.

General Howe and General Augur were among the high officers who constituted the guard of honor at the Executive Mansion until the funeral, and remained in the room with the sacred body. I was called there early in the morning of the third day to receive orders from General Howe, who called me into the room. Mr. Stanton came in soon and seemed engaged in viewing the remains and their proper apparel. General Howe spoke to him of the discoloration of one side of the face and inquired of Mr. Stanton whether something could not be done to remove it before the public were allowed to take a last look at their beloved President. I shall never forget the reply, when turning to the general his eyes suffused and with trembling lips he gave a deep sigh and in gentle and subdued tones said, "General, it is best as it is. It is now part of the history of the case."

Turning slowly away, I took my last, long look at the great martyr, who now belongs to all the ages; who had always been to me personally as kind as my father; and the friendly grasp of whose hand will remain in my memory an eternal benediction.

The *darkest hour* passed away, but whether I shall ever see "Our American Cousin" I cannot say.

CHARLES HAMLIN.

MR. LINCOLN IN MAY, 1862

The writer of the following account was Rev. W. W. Malet, Vicar of Ardeley, Hertfordshire, England, who came to the United States in June 1862, to communicate with an English lady living in South Carolina on matters relating to her family in England.

Through a letter from Mr. Adams, our Minister to England to Mr. Seward, he was allowed to go to South Carolina, and on his return to England published an account of his experiences, under the title of "An Errand to the South"—now a rare book—from which the item is taken.—[Ed.]

PRESIDENT Lincoln and Mr. Secretary Seward were both in the next room, and at my request Mr. Stanton introduced me to them.

The President, who was neatly dressed in a suit of black, is full six feet two inches in height, of spare and upright figure; his hair is black, his eyes have a remarkably calm expression; his features are strongly marked, his complexion dark, his address and manner betokening perfect self-possession; very ready to enter into conversation and to set you at once at your ease.

A perfect contrast is Mr. Seward; a man of small stature, rather grey, with prominent nose and penetrating eyes; reserved in manner. When I first saw him in the corridor he wore a broad-brimmed Mexican hat, and was smoking his cigar.

Next day I paid my respects to the President at the White House, and was most kindly received. He told me he was born in 1809; and remarked that when employed as a lawyer to settle the French claims in Illinois, he had met with my name. We pored together over a comparative chart of rivers, which showed that America had the two largest rivers in the world—Mississippi and Amazon—the former 4400 miles long! He told me they used hard un-bituminous coal in the United States Navy, giving great force of fire without the slightest smoke, so that the approach of their men-of-war is not seen over the horizon or in rivers. He lamented the occurrence of the war, observing that "if he could have foreseen it he would not have accepted the office of President." After I had sat in conversation with Mr. Lincoln about twenty minutes Mr. Seward came in, when I took my leave, both shaking me cordially by the hand—Mr. Seward not speaking a word, but with an expression in his hand and look as if he knew my errand and wished me success.

LINCOLN PLAYBILLS

From the *Boston Transcript* of Sept. 3, 1913, we take this interesting account of the LINCOLN PLAYBILLS, as an appropriate addition to our EXTRA.

MOST collectors of Lincoln relics are familiar with the appearance of the playbill issued at Ford's Theatre in Washington on the evening when the President was assassinated, but many yet seem unaware of the different varieties, and which of these are genuine. Not a year passes without several being sold in the auction rooms or at private sale, and several collectors boast of copies "stained with Lincoln's blood," a brown stain on the bill being shown in proof. Needless to say, authentication in the latter cases is hopelessly lacking: they were all "picked up in the box the same night," and with that statement alone the owner is more or less satisfied, generally more.

Two genuine playbills only were printed, and those bearing the legend "This Evening the Performance will be honored by the presence of President Lincoln," or variations, are much later productions than April 14, 1865. Both the varieties of the genuine bill have imprint at bottom "H. Polkinhorn & Son, Printers, D street, near 7th, Washington, D. C." The rarer of the two can be distinguished by the omission at the bottom of the sheet of "The Prices of Admission," this omission, together with a little condensation above allowing the printer to insert a verse as follows:

PATRIOTIC SONG AND CHORUS

Honor To Our Soldiers

Honor to our soldiers,
Our nation's greatest pride,
Who 'neath our starry banner's folds,
Have fought, and bled, and died;
They're nature's noblest handiwork—
No king so proud as they,
God bless the heroes of the land,
And cheer them on their way.

Words by H. B. Phillips; music composed and arranged by Professor William Withers, Jr.; solos by Miss M. Hart, H. B. Phillips and George N. Arth and the ladies and gentlemen of the company.

This has been facsimiled, but they are not common and the facsimiles can with little difficulty be detected by the appearance of the paper and types when reproduced by photographic process; when reproduced with type the words "The Octoroon" prove a stumbling-block, as in the original the type used is a curious, almost outline capital, the centres of the outline dotted with marks resembling a curved "v," or precisely the marks a painter uses in representing flying birds at a distance. This type seems to have been a poser to all reproducers in type, for none of the facsimiles in type reproduce it, the nearest being one where the "T," for instance is the shape of the Greek "Upsilon," and the other letters having straight or convex sides instead of concave as in the genuine. This playbill was issued in the afternoon when it was known President Lincoln was to attend the evening performance.

THE FACSIMILED PLAYBILL

The commoner playbill, and the one usually occurring and facsimiled, is that printed in the morning of the day, before it was known that Lincoln would attend. The main difference is that it does not contain the verse and lines immediately above and below and has the prices of admission. Another difference is "Mr. John Dyott and Mr. Harry Hawk" occupy three lines; in the "verse playbill" the words are compressed into one line and the "Mr." omitted from each.

It is important in the detection of facsimiles and forgeries to note resemblances in these two bills, for both were evidently printed from the same form with the mere removal of the lines giving the prices of admission, and the condensation of the names of the two star actors from three lines into one, the rest of the type standing bodily in its place or removed bodily slightly without re-setting it. To distinguish the two we may call one the "morning bill" and the other with the verse the "evening bill".

In the fourth line from the top "whole number of nights 49 5"

is printed thus in both, the final 5 of the number separated by the space of a letter from the two preceding numerals; in eighth line the "H" in the name of the treasurer, H. Clay Ford, is directly beneath the "J" of the line above; in sixteenth line the "S" of "Supported" comes directly below the last stroke of the "N" in "Manageress" of the line above; in the twenty-seventh line the "H" in "Her original character" comes directly beneath the right hand upright of "H" in "Trenchard" in the line above; the first "H" of Harry Hawk in the east is partly under "J" in the line above; in the line advertising the coming of Boucicault's drama, "The Octoroon," it is called "Great Sensation Drama." Moreover a few additional points can be gained from an examination of similar bills issued shortly before. These agree in not having a colon after the words "The Prices of Admission;" and they read "Orchestra Chairs" invariably. Both these bills measure—from a line drawn across the top of the words "Ford's Theatre" to the rule at the bottom above the printer's name and address,—eighteen and one-eighth inches. This morning bill is the one that usually occurs in facsimile state, but is nearly two inches shorter in length. It should also be noted, before going further that one character, "Rasper, the groom," appears in the morning bill that is omitted in the evening bill.

ANOTHER TYPE VARIATION

There is, however, another variation of this morning bill that has every appearance of having been printed with type, and by the same printer as the original and apparently about the same time. There is no doubt that a great demand sprang up immediately after the assassination for specimens of these bills as souvenirs. Those at the theatre on the night probably kept theirs, and those who did not attend and desired the bill had no recourse but to go to the printer and buy from him, and it may be that the demand was thus supplied. But though very carefully set up with the same types and having the same imprint, there are some variations that suggest it was hurriedly and not so carefully done, and later than April

14th. The main differences are that the advertisement of Boucicault's drama reads "Great Sensational Drama" instead of "Great Sensation Drama," that "Orchestra Chairs" has the word "Chairs" omitted, while it appears in the original and on other bills about the same date; that the separation of the numeral at the top "5" from "49" is corrected and the figures are closed together; and "Prices of Admission" has a colon (:) after it, while there is none in the original or other bills about the same date. Other slight changes can be found by comparing this variation of the bill or facsimiles of it with the resemblances given above of the two bills we have characterized as genuine. There seems to be no other conclusion possible in respect to this variation than that it was a later printing, and probably after the event. Yet it is this variation that is known as the "Buckingham" playbill, from the fact that J. E. Buckingham was doorkeeper at the theatre on the evening of the assassination and sold facsimiles of it as souvenirs.

FINIS

