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Complete Works of
Abraham Lincoln

MEMORIAL EDITION

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Lincoln

Abraham Lincoln

*Steel Engraving from the Original Photograph by
Brady in 1864, and now in the War
Department Collection.*

Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln

Edited by

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With a General Introduction *by*
RICHARD WATSON GILDER, and Special Articles
by OTHER EMINENT PERSONS

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FRANCIS D. TANDY

Abraham Lincoln and the Promises of the Declaration of Independence¹

FOR the second time in our annals the country has been summoned by the President to unite, on an appointed day, in commemorating the life and character of the dead. The first was on the death of George Washington, when, as now, a day was set apart for simultaneous eulogy throughout the land and cities, towns, and villages all vied in tribute. More than half a century has passed since this early observance in memory of the Father of his country, and now it is repeated in memory of Abraham Lincoln.

Thus are Washington and Lincoln associated in the grandeur of their obsequies. But this association is not accidental. It is from the nature of things, and because the part which Lincoln was called to perform resembled in character the part which was performed by Washington. The work left undone by Washington was continued by Lincoln. Kindred in service, kindred in patriotism, each was naturally surrounded at

¹A Eulogy on Abraham Lincoln, delivered before the Municipal Authorities of the City of Boston, June 1, 1865.

death by kindred homage. One sleeps in the East, and the other sleeps in the West; and thus, in death, as in life, one is the complement of the other.

The two might be compared after the manner of Plutarch; but it will be enough for the present if we glance only at certain points of resemblance and of contrast, so as to recall the part which each performed.

Each was at the head of the Republic during a period of surpassing trial; and each thought only of the public good, simply, purely, constantly, so that single-hearted devotion to country will always find a synonyme in their names. Each was the national chief during a time of successful war. Each was the representative of his country at a great epoch of history. But here, perhaps, the resemblance ends and the contrast begins. Unlike in origin, conversation, and character, they were unlike also in the ideas which they served, except as each was the servant of his country. The war conducted by Washington was unlike the war conducted by Lincoln — as the peace which crowned the arms of the one was unlike the peace which began to smile upon the other. The two wars did not differ in the scale of operations, and in the tramp of mustered hosts, more than in the ideas involved. The first was for National Independence; the

second was to make the Republic one and indivisible, in the indestructible foundations of Liberty and Equality. The first only cut the connection with the mother country, and opened the way to the duties and advantages of Popular Government. The second will have failed unless it performs all the original promises of that Declaration which our fathers took upon their lips when they became a Nation. In the relation of cause and effect the first was the natural precursor and herald of the second. National Independence was the first epoch in our history, and such was its importance that Lafayette boasted to the First Consul of France that, though its battles were but skirmishes, they decided the fate of the world.

The Declaration of our fathers, which was entitled simply "the unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America," is known familiarly as the Declaration of Independence, because the remarkable words with which it concludes made independence the absorbing idea, to which all else was tributary. Thus did the representatives of the United States of America in General Congress assembled, solemnly publish and declare "that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all

political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved . . . and for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance in the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor." To sustain this mutual pledge Washington drew his sword and led the national armies, until at last, by the Treaty of Peace in 1783, Independence was acknowledged.

Had the Declaration been confined to this pledge, it would have been less important than it was. Much as it might have been to us, it would have been less of a warning and trumpet-note to the world. There were two other pledges which it made. One was proclaimed in the designation "United States of America," which it adopted as the national name, and the other was proclaimed in those great words, fit for the baptismal vows of a Republic: "We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." By the sword of Washington Independence was secured; **but** the Unity of the Republic and the

principles of the Declaration were left exposed to question. From that day to this, through various chances, they have been questioned and openly dishonored,—until at last the Republic was constrained to take up arms in their defence. And yet, since enmity to the Union proceeded entirely from enmity to the great ideas of the Declaration, history must record that the question of the Union itself was absorbed in the grander conflict to uphold those primal truths which our fathers had solemnly proclaimed.

Such are these two great wars in which these two chiefs bore each his part. Washington fought for National Independence and triumphed,—making his country an example to mankind. Lincoln drew his reluctant sword to save those great ideas, essential to the life and character of the Republic, which, unhappily, the sword of Washington had failed to put beyond the reach of assault.

It was by no accident that these two great men became the representatives of their country at these two different epochs, so alike in peril, and yet so unlike in the principles involved. Washington was the natural representative of National Independence. He might also have represented National Unity had this principle been challenged to bloody battle during his life; for nothing was nearer his heart than the consolida-

tion of our Union, which, in his letter to Congress transmitting the Constitution, he declared to be "the greatest interest of every true American." Then again, in a remarkable letter to John Jay, he plainly said he did not conceive "we can exist long as a nation without lodging somewhere a power which will pervade the Union in as energetic a manner as the authority of the State governments extends over the several States." But another person was needed of different birth and simpler life to represent the ideas which were now assailed.

Washington was of a family which may be traced in English heraldry. Some of his ancestors sleep in close companionship with the noble name of Spencer. By inheritance and marriage he was rich in lands, and, let it be said in respectful sorrow, rich also in slaves, so far as slaves breed riches rather than curses. At the age of fourteen he refused a commission as a midshipman in the British Navy. At the age of nineteen he was military inspector with the rank of major. At the age of twenty-one he was selected by the British Governor of Virginia as Commissioner to the French posts. At the age of twenty-two he was colonel of a regiment, and was thanked by the House of Burgesses in Virginia. Early in life he became an observer of form and ceremony. Always strictly just,

according to prevailing principles, and ordering at his death the emancipation of his slaves, he was a general and a statesman rather than a philanthropist; nor did he seem to be inspired, beyond the duties of patriotism, to any active sympathy with Human Rights. In the ample record of what he wrote or said there is no word of adherence to the great ideas of the Declaration. Such an origin—such an early life—such opportunities—such a condition—such a character, were all in contrast with the origin, the early life, the opportunities, the condition, and the character of him whom we commemorate to-day.

Abraham Lincoln was born, and until he became President always lived in a part of the country which at the period of the Declaration of Independence was a savage wilderness. Strange but happy Providence, that a voice from that savage wilderness, now fertile in men, was inspired to uphold the pledges and promises of the Declaration! The Unity of the Republic on the indestructible foundation of Liberty and Equality was vindicated by the citizen of a community which had no existence when the Republic was formed.

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At a later day, he became a representative in Congress for a single term, beginning in December 1847, being the only Whig representative

from Illinois. His speeches during this brief period have many of the characteristics of his later productions. They are argumentative, logical, and spirited, with that quaint humor and sinewy sententiousness which belonged to his nature. His votes were constant against Slavery For the Wilmot Proviso, he had voted, according to his own statement, "in one way and another about forty times." His vote is recorded against the pretence that slaves were property under the constitution. From Congress he again passed to his profession. The day was at hand when all his powers, enlarged by experience and quickened to their highest activity, would be needed to repel that haughty domination which was already undermining the Republic.

The first field of conflict was in his own State, with no less an antagonist than Stephen A. Douglas, unhappily at that time in alliance with the Slave Power. The too famous Kansas and Nebraska bill, introduced by him into the Senate, assumed to set aside the venerable safeguard of freedom in the territory west of the Missouri, under the pretence of allowing the inhabitants "to vote Slavery up or to vote it down" according to their pleasure, and this barbarous privilege was called by the fancy name of Popular Sovereignty. The future President did

not hesitate to denounce this most baleful measure in a series of popular addresses, where truth, sentiment, humor, and argument all were blended. As the conflict continued, he was brought forward as a candidate for the Senate against its able author. The debate that ensued is one of the most memorable in our political history, whether we consider the principles involved, or the way in which it was conducted.

It commenced with a close, well-woven speech from the Republican champion, in which he used words which showed his insight into the actual condition of things, as follows: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved,—I do not expect the house to fall,—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other." Only a few days before his death, when I asked him if at the time he had any doubt about this remark, he replied, "Not in the least. It was clearly true, and time has justified me." With like plainness he exposed the Douglas pretence of Popular Sovereignty as meaning simply "that if any one man shall choose to enslave another, no third man shall be allowed to object," and he announced his belief in "the existence of a conspiracy to perpetuate

and nationalize Slavery," of which the Kansas and Nebraska Bill and the Dred Scott decision were essential parts. Such was the character of this debate at the beginning, and so it continued on the lips of our champion to the end.

But the inevitable topic to which he returned with the most frequency, and to which he clung with all the grasp of his soul, was the practical character of the Declaration of Independence in announcing the Liberty and Equality of all men. These were no idle words, but substantial truth, binding on the conscience of mankind. I know not if this grand pertinacity has been noticed before; but I deem it my duty to say, that to my mind it is by far the most important incident of that controversy, and perhaps the most interesting in the biography of the speaker. Nothing previous to his nomination for the Presidency is comparable to it. Plainly his whole subsequent career took its impulse and character from that championship. And here too is our first debt of gratitude. The words which he then uttered live after him, and nobody can hear how he then battled without feeling a new motive to fidelity in the cause of Human Rights.

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In the winter of the next year the Western champion appeared at New York; and, in a re-

markable address at the Cooper Institute, February 27, 1860, vindicated the policy of the Fathers of the Republic and the principles of the Republican party. After showing with curious skill and minuteness the original understanding on the power of Congress over Slavery in the territories, he demonstrated that the Republican party was not in any just sense sectional; and he proceeded to expose the perils from the pretensions of slave-masters, who, not content with requiring that "we must arrest and return their slaves with greedy pleasure," insisted that the Constitution must be so interpreted as to uphold the idea of property in man. The whole address was in a subdued and argumentative style, while each sentence was like a driven nail, with a concluding rally that was a bugle-call to the lovers of right. "Let us have faith," said he, "that right makes might, and in that faith, let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it."

A few months later this champion of the right, who would not see the colored man shut out from the promises of the Declaration of Independence, and who insisted upon the exclusion of Slavery from the territories, after summoning his countrymen to dare to do their duty, was nominated by a great political party as their candidate for President of the United States.

Local considerations, securing to him the support of certain States beyond any other candidate, exercised a final influence in determining his election; but it is easy to see how, from position, character, and origin, he was at that moment especially the representative of his country. The Unity of the Republic was menaced. He was from that vast controlling Northwest, which would never renounce its communications with the sea, whether by the Mississippi or by eastern avenues. The birthday Declaration of the Republic was dishonored, in the denial of its primal truths. He had already become known as a volunteer in its defence. Republican Institutions were in jeopardy. He was the child of humble life, through whom Republican Institutions would stand confest. These things which are so obvious now, in the light of history, were less apparent then in the turmoil of party. But that Providence, in whose hands are the destinies of nations, which had found out Washington to conduct his country through the war of Independence, now found out Lincoln to wage the new battle for the Unity of the Republic on the foundations of Human Rights.

The election took place. Of the popular vote, Abraham Lincoln received 1,857,610, represented by 180 electoral ballots; Stephen A.

Douglas received 1,365,976, represented by 12 electoral ballots; John C. Breckenridge received 847,953, represented by 72 electoral ballots; and John Bell received 590,631, represented by 39 electoral ballots. By this vote Abraham Lincoln became President. The triumph at the ballot-box was flashed by the telegraph over the whole country, from north to south, from east to west; but it was answered by defiance from the slavemasters, speaking in the name of State Rights and for the sake of Slavery. The declared will of the American people, registered at the ballot-box, was set at naught. The conspiracy of years blazed into day. The National Government, which Alexander H. Stephens characterized as "the best and freest government, the most equal in its rights, the most just in its decisions, the most lenient in its measures, the most aspiring in its principles to elevate the race of man that the sun of heaven ever shone on;" and which Jefferson Davis himself pronounced "the best government that has ever been instituted by man,"—that National Government, whose portrait is thus drawn by its enemies, was defied. South Carolina was the first in crime, and before the elected champion had turned his face from the beautiful prairies of the West to enter upon his dangerous duties, State after State had under-

taken to abandon its place in the Union,—senator after senator had dropped from his seat,—fort after fort had been lost,—and the mutterings of war had begun to fill the air, while the actual President, besotted by Slavery, tranquilly witnessed the gigantic treason, as he sat at ease in the Executive Mansion—and did nothing.

It was time for another to come upon the scene. You do not forget how the new President left his village home, never to return except under the escort of death. In words of farewell to the friendly multitude who surrounded him, he dedicated himself to his country and solemnly invoked the aid of Divine Providence. “I know not,” he said, “how soon I shall see you again;” and then, with a prophetic voice he announced that a duty devolved upon him “greater than that which has devolved upon any other man since the days of Washington,” and he asked his friends to pray that he might receive that Divine assistance, without which he could not succeed, but with which success was certain. Others have gone forth to power and fame with gladness and with song. He went forth prayerfully as to a sacrifice.

You do not forget how at each resting-place on the road he renewed his vows, and when at Philadelphia, visiting Independence Hall, his

soul broke forth in homage to the vital truths which were there declared. Of all his utterances on the way to the national capital, after his farewell to his neighbors, there is nothing so prophetic as these unpremeditated words:—

All the political sentiments I entertain have been drawn, so far as I have been able to draw them, from the sentiments which originated, and were given to the world from this hall. I have never had a feeling politically that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence. . . . Now, my friends, can this country be saved on this basis? If it can, I shall consider myself one of the happiest men in the world if I can help to save it. If it cannot be saved upon that principle, it will be truly awful. But if this country cannot be saved without giving up that principle, I was about to say I would rather be assassinated on the spot.

And then, after adding that he had not expected to say a word, he repeated again the consecration of his life, exclaiming,

I have said nothing but what I am willing to live by, and, if it be the pleasure of Almighty God, to die by.

He was about to raise the national banner over the old hall. But before this service he took up the strain which he loved so well, saying:—

It is on such an occasion as this that we can reason

together, reaffirm our devotion to the country and the principles of the Declaration of Independence.

Thus constantly did he bear his testimony. Surely this fidelity will be counted ever after among his chief glories. I know no instance in history more touching, especially when we consider that his support of those principles caused his sacrifice. "Though every tile were a devil, yet will I enter Worms," said Luther. Our reformer was less defiant, but hardly less determined. Three times he had already announced, that, for the great truths of the Declaration, he was willing to die; three times he had offered himself on that alter; three times he had vowed himself to this martyrdom.

Slavery was already pursuing his life. An attempt was made to throw from the track a train in which he was journeying, and a hand grenade was found secreted in another. Baltimore, which lay directly on his way, was the seat of a murderous plot against him. Avoiding the conspirators of Slavery, he came from Philadelphia to Washington unexpectedly in the night; and thus, for the moment cheating assassination of its victim, he entered the National capital.

From this time forward his career broadens into the history of his country and of the age. You all know it by heart. Therefore a few

glimpses will be enough, that I may exhibit its moral rather than its story.

The Inaugural Address—the formation of his cabinet—his earliest acts—his daily conversation—all attested the spirit of moderation with which he approached his perilous position. At the same time he declared openly, that in the contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution, the Union of these States is perpetual; that no State, upon its own mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void; that acts of violence within any State are insurrectionary or revolutionary; and that, to the extent of his ability, he should take care, according to the express injunction of the Constitution, that the laws of the Union should be faithfully executed in all the States. But, while thus positive in upholding the Unity of the Republic, he was determined that on his part there should be no act of offence; that there should be no bloodshed or violence unless forced upon the country; that it was his duty to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government, but beyond what was necessary for this object, there should be no exercise of force, and the people everywhere would be left in that perfect security which is most favorable to calm thought and reflection.

But the madness of Slavery knew no bounds. It had been determined from the beginning that the Union should be broken, and no moderation could change this wicked purpose. A pretended power was organized, in the form of a Confederacy, with Slavery as the declared corner-stone. You know what ensued. Fort Sumter was attacked, and, after a fiery storm of shot and shell for thirty-three hours, the national flag fell. This was 14th April, 1861. War had begun.

War is always a scourge, and it never can be regarded without sadness. It is one of the mysteries of Providence that it is still allowed to vex mankind. There were few who deprecated it more than the President. From his Quaker blood and from reflection, he was essentially a man of peace. In one of his speeches during his short service in Congress, he arraigned military glory as "that rainbow that rises in showers of blood—that serpent eye that charms but to destroy;" and now that he was charged with the terrible responsibility of government, he was none the less earnest for peace. He was not willing to see his beloved country torn by bloody battle, and fellow-citizens striking at each other. But after the criminal assault on Fort Sumter there was no alternative. The Republic was in danger, and every man

from President to citizen was summoned to the defence. Nor was this all. An attempt was made to invest Slavery with national Independence, and the President, who disliked both slavery and war, described, perhaps, his own condition, when, in a letter to one of the Society of Friends, he said, "Your people have had and are having very great trials on principles and faith. Opposed to both war and oppression, they can only practically oppose oppression by war." In these few words the whole case is stated; inasmuch as, whatever might be the pretension of State Rights, the war was made necessary to put down the hideous ambition of Slavery.

The slave-masters simply put in execution a conspiracy long contrived, for which they had already prepared the way: first, by teaching that any State might, at its own will, break from the Union, and, secondly, by teaching that colored persons were so far inferior as not to be embraced in the promises of the Declaration of Independence, but were justly held as slaves. The Mephistopheles of Slavery, Mr. Calhoun, had, for years, inculcated both these pretensions. But the pretension of State Rights was merely a cover for Slavery.

Therefore, when it was determined that the slave-masters should be encountered, two things were resolved: first, that this Republic was one

and indivisible; and, secondly, that no hideous Power, with Slavery blazoned on its front, should be created on our soil. Here was an affirmation and a denial; first, an affirmation of the Unity of the Republic; and, secondly, a denial of any independent foothold to rebel Slavery. In accepting the challenge at Fort Sumter, the President became the voice of the country, which, with a stern determination, insisted that the Rebellion should be put down by war. The people were in earnest, and would not brook hesitation; and they were right. If ever in the history war was necessary,—if ever in history war was holy,—it was the war then and there begun for the overthrow of rebel Slavery.

From the first cannon shot, it was plain that the Rebellion was nothing but Slavery in arms; but such was the power of Slavery, even in the Free States, that months elapsed before this giant criminal was directly attacked. Generals in the field were tender with regard to it, as if it were a church, or a work of the fine arts. It was only under the teaching of disaster that the country was aroused. The first step was taken in Congress after the defeat at Bull Run. But still the President hesitated. Disaster thickened and graves opened, until at last the country saw that only by justice could we hope

for Divine favor, and the President, who leaned so closely upon the popular heart, pronounced that great word, by which all slaves in the Rebel States were set free. Let it be named forever to his glory, that he grasped the thunderbolt, even though tardily, under which the Rebellion staggered to its fall; that, following up the blow, he enlisted colored citizens as soldiers in the national army; and, that he declared his final purpose never to retract or modify the Emancipation Proclamation, nor to return into Slavery any person free by the terms of that instrument, or by any of the acts of Congress, saying loftily, "If the people should, by whatever mode or means, make it an executive duty to re-enslave such persons, another and not I must be the instrument to perform it."

It was sometimes said that the Proclamation was of doubtful constitutionality. If this criticism did not proceed from sympathy with Slavery, it evidently proceeded from the prevailing superstition with regard to this idol. Future jurists will read with astonishment that such a flagrant wrong could be considered at any time as having any rights which a court was bound to respect, and especially that rebels in arms could be considered as having any title to the services of people whose allegiance was primarily due to the United States. But, turning

from these conclusions, it seems to be obvious that Slavery, which stood exclusively on local law without any support in natural law, must have fallen with the local government, both legally and constitutionally; legally, inasmuch as it ceased to have any valid legal support; and constitutionally, inasmuch as it came at once within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Constitution, where Liberty is the prevailing law. The President did not act upon these principles, but, speaking with the voice of authority, he said "Let the slaves be free." What Court and Congress hesitated to declare, he proclaimed, and thus enrolled himself among the world's Emancipators.

Passing from the Proclamation of Emancipation, which places its author so far above human reproach that human envy cannot reach him, I carry you for one moment to our Foreign Relations. The convulsion here was felt in the most distant places—as at the great Earthquake of Lisbon, when that capital seemed about to be submerged, there was a commotion of the waters in our Northern Lakes. All Europe was stirred. There, too, was the Slavery Question in another form. England, in an unhappy moment, under an ill-considered plea of "necessity"—which Milton tells us was the plea by which the fiend "executed a devilish deed"—accorded

to rebel Slavery the rights of belligerency on the ocean, and then proceeded to open her ports, to surrender her workshops, and to let loose her merchant ships in aid of this wickedness;—forgetting all the relations of alliance and amity with the United States—forgetting all the logic of English history—forgetting all the distinctions of right and wrong—and forgetting also that a new Power founded on Slavery was a moral monster with which a just nation could have nothing to do. To appreciate the character of this concession we must appreciate clearly the whole vast unprecedented crime of the Rebellion, taking its complexion from Slavery. Undoubtedly it was criminal to assail the Unity of this Republic, and thus destroy its peace and impair its example in the world; but the attempt to build a new power on Slavery as a cornerstone, and with no other declared object of separate existence, was more than criminal, or rather it was a crime of that untold, unspeakable guilt, which no language can depict and which no judgment can be too swift to condemn. The associates in this terrible apostasy might rebuke each other in the words of an old dramatist:—

Thou must do, then
What no malevolent star will dare to look on,
It is so wicked; for which men will curse thee

For being the instrument, and the blest angels
Forsake me at my need, for being the author;
For 't is a deed of night, of night, Francisco!
In which the memory of all good actions
We can pretend to, shall be buried quick;
Or, if we be remembered, it shall be
To fright posterity by an example
That have outgone all precedents of villains
That were before us.

To recognize such a power;—to enter into semi-alliance with it;—to invest it with rights;—to open ports to it;—to surrender workshops to it;—to build ships for it;—to drive a busy commerce with it;—all this, or any part of this, is positive and plain complicity with the original guilt, and must be judged as we judge any other complicity with Slavery. To say that it was a necessity is only to repeat the plea which has been made by slave-masters and slave-traders from the earliest moment, when driven to vindicate their crime. But a generous Englishman, who was an ornament of letters, and who has told us in memorable lines “what constitutes a State,” has denounced all complicity with Slavery in words which strike directly at this plea of necessity.

Let sugar be as dear as it may, said Sir William Jones to the freeholders of Middlesex, it is better to eat honey, if sweetness be palatable; better to eat

aloes, or coloquintida, than violate a primary law of nature impressed on every heart not imbruted by avarice, or rob one honest creature of these eternal rights of which no law upon earth can justly deprive him.

England led in the concession of belligerent rights to rebel Slavery. No event of the war has been comparable to this concession in encouragement to this transcendent crime or in prejudice to the United States. It was out of English ports and English workshops that rebel Slavery drew its supplies: It was in English ship-yards that the cruisers of rebel Slavery were built and equipped. It was from English foundries and arsenals that rebel Slavery was armed. And all this was made easy, when her Majesty's government, under the pretence of an impossible neutrality, lifted rebel Slavery to an equality with the United States. This was the fatal concession which gave to rebel Slavery belligerent power on the ocean. The early legend was here verified. King Arthur was without a sword, when suddenly one appeared, thrust out from a lake. "Lo!" said Merlin, the enchanter. "yonder is a sword; it belongeth to the Lady of the Lake; if she will, thou mayest take it; but if she will not, it will not be in thy power to take it." And the Lady of the Lake yielded the sword, so says the legend—even as England

has since yielded the sword to rebel Slavery.

The President saw the painful consequences of this concession, and especially that it was a first step towards the acknowledgment of rebel Slavery as an Independent Power. Clearly, if it were proper for a Foreign Power to acknowledge Belligerency, it might, at a later stage, be proper to acknowledge Independence; and any objection vital to Independence, would, if applicable, be equally vital to Belligerency. Solemn resolutions, by Congress, on this subject were communicated to Foreign Powers; but the unanswerable argument against any possible recognition of a new Power founded on Slavery—whether as Independent or as Belligerent—was stated by the President, in a paper which I now hold in my hand, and which has never before seen the light. It is a copy of a resolution drawn by himself, which he gave to me, in his own autograph, for transmission to one of our valued friends abroad, as an expression of his opinion on the great question involved, and a guide to public duty. It is in these words:—

Whereas, while heretofore States and Nations have tolerated Slavery, recently, for the first time in the world, an attempt has been made to construct a new nation upon the basis of Human Slavery, and with the primary and fundamental object to maintain, enlarge, and perpetuate the same, therefore

Resolved, that no such embryo State should ever be recognized by, or admitted into, the family of Christian and civilized nations; and that all Christian and civilized men everywhere should, by all lawful means, resist to the utmost such recognition or admission.

You will see how distinctly any recognition of rebel Slavery as an Independent Power is branded, and how "all Christian and civilized men everywhere" are summoned "to resist to the utmost such recognition;" and precisely for the same reason "such Christian and civilized men everywhere" should have resisted to the utmost any recognition of rebel Slavery as a Belligerent Power. Of course, had such a benign spirit entered into the counsels of England when Slavery first took up arms against the Republic, this great historic nation would have shrunk at every hazard from that fatal concession, which was in itself a plain contribution to Slavery, and opened the way to infinite contributions, without which the criminal pretender must have speedily succumbed. There would have been no plea of "necessity." But divine Providence willed it otherwise. Perhaps it was essential to the full revelation of its boundless capacities, that the Republic should stand forth alone, in sublime solitude, warring for Human Rights, and thus become an example to mankind.

Meanwhile the war continued with the proverbial vicissitudes of this arbitrament. Battles were fought and lost. Other battles were fought and won. Rebel Slavery stood face to face in deadly conflict with the Declaration of Independence when the President, with unconscious power, dealt it another blow, second only to the Proclamation of Emancipation. This was at the blood-soaked field of Gettysburg, where the armies of the Republic had encountered the armies of Slavery, and, after a conflict of three days, had driven them back with destructive slaughter—as at that decisive battle of Tours, on which hung the destinies of Christianity in Western Europe, the invading Mahometans, after a conflict of three days, were driven back by Charles Martel. No battle of the present war was more important. Few battles in history can compare with it. A few months later there was another meeting on that same field. It was of grateful fellow-citizens gathered from all parts of the Union to dedicate it to the memory of those who had fallen there. Among these were eminent men from our own country and from foreign lands. There too was your classic orator, whose finished address was a model of literary excellence. The President spoke very briefly; but his few words will live as long as time. Since Simonides wrote the

epitaph for those who died at Thermopylae, nothing equal to them has ever been breathed over the fallen dead. Thus he began :

“Four-score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in Liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.”

The Equality of all men, which he had so often vindicated and for which he was willing to die, is thus heralded, and the country is again called to carry it forward, that our duty may not be left undone.

It is for us the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation under God shall have a new birth of Freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

That speech, uttered at the field of Gettysburg and now sanctified by the martyrdom of its author, is a monumental act. In the modesty of his nature he said :

“The world will little note, nor long remember

what we say here; but it can never forget what they did here."

He was mistaken. The world noted at once what he said, and will never cease to remember it. The battle itself was less important than the speech. Ideas are always more than battles.

Among the events which secured to him the assured confidence of the country against all party clamour and prejudice, you cannot place this speech too high. To some who had doubted his earnestness here was touching proof of their error. Others who had followed him with indifference, were warmed with grateful sympathy. There were none to criticize.

He was re-elected President; and here was not only a personal triumph, but a triumph of the Republic. For himself personally, it was much to find his administration thus ratified; but for republican ideas it was of incalculable value, that, at such a time, the plume of the soldier had not prevailed. In the midst of war, the people at the ballot-box deliberately selected a civilian. Ye, who doubt the destinies of the Republic—who fear the ambition of a military chief—or who suspect the popular will—do not forget, that, at this moment, when the voice of battle filled the whole land, the country quietly appointed for its ruler this man of peace.

And now there was a surfeit of battle and of

victory. Calmly he saw the land of Slavery enveloped by the national forces; saw the great coil bent by his generals about it; saw the mighty garrotte as it tightened against the neck of the Rebellion. Good news came from all quarters. Everywhere the army was doing its duty. One was conquering in Tennessee; another was marching in Georgia and Carolina; another was watching at Richmond. The navy echoed back the thunders of the army. Place after place was falling—Savannah, Charleston, Fort Fisher, Wilmington. The President left the National Capital to be near the Lieutenant-General. Then came the capture of Petersburg and Richmond, with the flight of Jefferson Davis and his cabinet. Without pomp or military escort, the President entered the capital of the Rebellion and walked its streets, from which Slavery had fled forever. Then came the surrender of Lee. The surrender of Johnston was at hand. The military power of rebel Slavery had been broken like a Prince Rupert drop, and everywhere within its confines the barbarous government it had set up was tumbling in crash and ruin. The country was in ecstasy. All this he watched without elation, while his soul was brooding on thoughts of peace and clemency. His youthful son, who had been on the staff of the Lieutenant-General, returned on the morning of Friday,

14th April, to resume his interrupted studies. The father was happy in the sound of his footsteps, and felt the augury of peace. On the same day the Lieutenant-General returned. In the intimacy of his family the President said that this day the war was over. In the evening he sought relaxation, and you know the rest. Alas! the war was not over. The minions of Slavery were dogging him with unabated animosity, and that night he became a martyr.

The country rose at once in an agony of grief, and strong men everywhere wept. City, town, and village were darkened by the obsequies, as they swept by with more than "sceptred pall." Every street was draped with the ensigns of woe. He had become, as it were, the inmate of every house, and the families of the land were in mourning. Not only in the Executive mansion, but in uncounted homes, was his vacant chair. Never before was such universal sorrow; and already the voice of lamentation is returning to us from Europe, where candor towards him had begun even before his tragic death. Only a short time ago he was unknown, except in his own State. Only a short time ago he had visited New York as a stranger, and was shown about its streets by youthful companions. Five years later he was borne through these streets with funeral pomp, such as the world

never before witnessed. Space and speed were forgotten in the offering of hearts. As the surpassing pageant moved over counties and States, from ocean-side to prairie, on iron highways, at thirty miles an hour, the whole afflicted people bent their uncovered heads.

At the first moment it was hard to comprehend this blow, and many cried in despair. But the rule of God has been too visible of late to allow any doubt of his constant presence. Did not our martyr remind us in his last address, that the judgments of the Lord are true, and righteous altogether? And who will say that his death was not a judgment of the Lord? Perhaps it was needed to lift the country to a more perfect justice and to inspire it with a sublimer faith. Perhaps it was sent in mercy to set a sacred, irreversible seal upon the good he had done and to put Emancipation beyond all mortal question. Perhaps it was the sacrificial consecration of those primal truths, embodied in the birthday Declaration of the Republic, which he had so often vindicated, and for which he had announced his willingness to die. He is gone, and he has been mourned sincerely. It is only private sorrow that could wish to recall the dead. He is now removed beyond earthly vicissitudes. Life and death are both past. He had been happy in life. He was not less happy in

death. In death, as in life, he was still under the guardianship of that Divine Providence, which took him early by the hand and led him from obscurity to power and fame. The blow was sudden, but not unprepared for. Only on the Sunday preceding, as he was coming from the front on board the steamer—with a quarto Shakespeare in his hands—he read aloud the well-known words of his favorite Macbeth:—

Duncan is in his grave;
After life's fitful fever, he sleeps well.
Treason has done his worst; nor steel, nor poison,
Malice domestic, foreign levy, nothing
Can touch him further.

Impressed by their beauty or by some presentiment unuttered, he read them aloud a second time. As the friends who then surrounded him listened to his reading, they little thought how, in a few days, what was said of the murdered Duncan would be said of him. Nothing can touch him further. He is saved from the trials that were gathering about him. He had fought the good fight of Emancipation. He had borne the brunt of war with embattled hosts against him, and had conquered. He had made the name of Republic a triumph and a joy in foreign lands. Now that the strife of blood was ended, it remained to be seen how he could confront those machinations, which are only a prolonga-

tion of the war, and more dangerous because more subtle, where recent rebels, with professions of Union on the lips, but still denying the birthday Declaration of the Republic, vainly seek to organize peace on another Oligarchy of the skin. From all these trials he was saved. But his testimony lives and will live forever, quickened by the undying echoes of his tomb. Invisible to mortal sight, and now above all human weakness, he is still champion, as in his early conflict, summoning his countrymen back to the truths that are in the Declaration of Independence. Dead, he speaks with more than living voice. But the author of Emancipation cannot die. His immortality on earth has begun. His country and his age are already enshrined in his example, as if he were its great poet gathered to his fathers:—

Back to the living hath he turned him,
And all of death has passed away;
The age that thought him dead and mourned him,
Itself now lives but in his lay.

If the President were alive he would protest against any monotony of panegyric. He never exaggerated. He was always cautious in praise, as in censure. In endeavoring to estimate his character, we shall be nearer to him in proportion as we cultivate the same spirit.

In person he was tall and bony, with little

resemblance to any historic portrait, unless he might seem in one respect to justify the epithet which was given to an early English monarch. As he stood, his form was angular, with something of that straightness in its lines which is so peculiar in the figure of Dante by Flaxman. His countenance had more of rugged strength than his person, and while in repose sometimes seemed sad; but it lighted up easily. Perhaps the quality which struck most at first sight was his simplicity of manners and conversation, without form or ceremony of any kind, beyond that among neighbors. His hand-writing had the same simplicity. It was as clear as that of Washington, but less florid. Each had been a surveyor, and was perhaps, indebted to this experience. But the son of the Western pioneer was more simple in nature, and the man appeared in the autograph. That integrity which has become a proverb, belonged to the same quality. The most perfect honesty must be the most perfect simplicity. The words by which an ancient Roman was described belong to him: "Vita innocentissimus, proposito sanctissimus." He was naturally humane, inclined to pardon, and never remembering the hard things said against him. He was always good to the poor, and in his dealings with them was full of those "kind little words which are of the same blood

as great and holy deeds." Only on the Saturday before his death I saw him shake hands with more than five thousand soldier-patients in the tent hospitals at City Point, and he said afterwards that his arm was not tired. Such a character wakened instinctively the sympathy of the people. They saw his fellow-feeling with them and felt the kinship. With him as President, the idea of Republican Institutions, where no place is too high for the humblest, was perpetually manifest, so that his simple presence was like a Proclamation of the Equality of all Men.

While social in nature and enjoying the flow of conversation, he was often singularly reticent. Modesty was natural to such a character. As he was without affectation, so he was without pretence or jealousy. No person civil or military can complain that he appropriated to himself any honor that belonged to another. To each and all he anxiously gave the credit that was due. And this same spirit was apparent in smaller things. On one occasion, in a sally of Congressional debate, he said that a fiery slave-master of Georgia, to whom he was replying, "was an eloquent man, and a man of learning;—so far as he could judge of learning, not being learned himself."

His humor has become a proverb. He in-

sisted sometimes that he had no invention, but only a memory. He did not forget the good things that he heard, and was never without a familiar story to illustrate his meaning. When he spoke, the recent West seemed to vie with the ancient East in apologue and fable. His ideas moved, as the beasts entered Noah's ark, in pairs. At times his illustrations had a homely felicity, and with him they seemed to be not less important than the argument, which he always enforced with a certain intensity of manner and voice. But this same humor was often displayed where there was no story, and with a point that might remind you of Franklin. I know not how the indifference, which many persons showed with regard to Slavery, could be exposed more effectively than when he said of a political antagonist who was thus indifferent, "I suppose the institution of Slavery really looks small to him. He is so put up by nature that a lash upon his back would hurt him, but a lash upon anybody else's back does not hurt him." And then, again, there is a bit of reply to Mr. Douglas, which is characteristic not only for its humor, but as showing how little at that time he was looking to the great place which he reached so soon afterwards. "Senator Douglas," said he, "is of world-wide renown. All the anxious politicians of his party, or who have

been of his party for years past, have been looking upon him as certainly, at no distant day, to be the President of the United States. They have seen in his round, jolly, fruitful face, post offices, land offices, marshalships, and cabinet appointments, chargeships and foreign missions, bursting and sprouting out in a wonderful exuberance, ready to be laid hold of by their greedy hands. On the contrary, nobody has ever expected me to be President. In my poor, lean, lank face nobody has ever seen that any cabbages were sprouting out. These are disadvantages that the Republicans labor under. We have to fight the battle upon principle, and upon principle alone." Here is a glimpse with regard to himself, which is as honorable as it is curious. In a different vein he said, while President, "The national government must not undertake to run the churches." Here wisdom and humor seem to vie with each other.

He was original in mind as in character. His style was his own; formed on no model, and springing directly from himself. While failing often in correctness, it is sometimes unique in beauty and in sentiment. There are passages which will live always. It is no exaggeration to say, that, in weight and pith, suffused in a certain poetical color, they call to mind Bacon's Essays. Such passages make an epoch in State

Papers. No Presidential message or speech from a throne ever had any thing of such touching reality. They are harbingers of the great era of Humanity. While uttered from the heights of power, they reveal a simple, unaffected trust in Almighty God, and speak to the people as equal to equal.

He was placed by Providence at the head of his country during an unprecedented crisis, when the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and men turned for protection to military power. Multitudinous armies were mustered. Great navies were created. Of all these he was the constitutional Commander-in-Chief. As the war proceeded, all his prerogatives enlarged and others sprang into being, until the sway of a Republican President became imperatorial and imperial. But not for one moment did the modesty of his nature desert him. His constant thought was his country, and how to serve it. He saw the certain greatness of the Republic, and was pleased in looking forward to that early day, when, according to assured calculation, its millions of people will count by the hundred; but he saw in this prodigious sway nothing but the good of man. Personal ambition at the expense of patriotism was as far removed from the simple purity of his nature as poison from a strawberry. And thus

with equal courage in the darkest hours he continued on, heeding as little the warnings of danger as the temptations of power. "It would not do for a President," he said, "to have guards with drawn sabres at his door, as if he fancied he were, or were trying to be, or were assuming to be, an emperor." And in the same homeliness he spoke of his return at morning to his daily duties as "opening shop." Though commissioning officers in multitudes beyond any other person of authentic history, he never learned the mystery of shoulder-straps and of buttons in the military and naval uniforms, except that he had noticed three stars on the shoulders of the Lieutenant-General.

When he became President he was without any considerable experience in public affairs; nor was he much versed in history, whose lessons would have been most valuable. As he became more familiar with the place his facility evidently increased. He had "learned the ropes" so he said. But his habits of business were irregular, and they were never those of despatch. He did not see at once the just proportions of things, and allowed himself to be too much occupied by details. Even in small things, as well as in great, there was in him a certain resistance to be overcome. There were moments when this delay caused impatience,

and important questions seemed to suffer. But when the blow was struck there was nothing but gratitude, and all confessed the singleness with which he had sought the public good. There was also a conviction, that, though slow to reach his conclusion, he was inflexible in maintaining it. Pompey boasted that by the stamp of his foot he might raise an army. The President might have done the same; but, according to his own words, he "put his foot down," and saved a principle.

In the statement of moral truth and the exposure of wrong, he was at times singularly cogent. There was fire as well as light in his words. Nobody exhibited Slavery in its enormity more clearly. On one occasion he blasted it as "a monstrous injustice;" on another he pictured the slave-master as "wringing his bread from the sweat of other men's faces;" and then, on still another he said, with exquisite simplicity of diction, "If Slavery is not wrong, then nothing is wrong." Would you find any condemnation of Slavery more complete, you must go to the sayings of John Brown or to those famous words of John Wesley, when the great Methodist held it up as "the sum of all villanies." Another mind, more submissive to the truth which he recognized, and less disposed to take counsel of to-morrow, would not have hesitated

in carrying forward this judgment to its natural conclusion. Perhaps, his courage to apply truth was not always equal to his clearness in seeing it. Perhaps, the heights that he gained in conscience were not always sustained in conduct. And have we not been told that the soul can gain heights which it cannot keep? Thus while blasting Slavery, he still waited, till many feared that his judgment would "lose the name of action." And even while vindicating the Equality of all Men, against the assaults of one of the ablest debaters of the country, and insisting, with admirable constancy, that colored persons were embraced within the birthday promises of the Republic, he yet allowed himself to be pressed by his adversary to an illogical limitation of this self-evident truth, so that colored persons might be excluded from political rights. But he was at all times willing to learn and not ashamed to change. Before death he had already expressed his desire that the suffrage should be extended to colored persons in certain cases; but here again he failed to apply that very principle of Equality for which he so often contended. If the suffrage be given to colored persons only in certain cases, then, of course, it can be given to whites only in the same cases; or Equality ceases to exist.

It was his own frank confession that he had

not controlled events, but that they had controlled him. At all the great stages of the war he followed rather than led. The people, under God, were masters. Let it not be forgotten that the triumphs of this war, and even Emancipation itself, sprang from the great heart of the American people. Individual services have been important; but there is no man who has been necessary.

There was one theme on which latterly he was disposed to conduct the public mind. It was the treatment of the rebel leaders. His policy was never announced, and, of course, it would always have been subject to modification, in the light of experience. But it is well known that, at the very moment of his assassination, he was much occupied by thoughts of lenity and pardon. He was never harsh, even in speaking of Jefferson Davis; and, only a few days before his end, when one who was privileged to speak to him in that way, said, "Do not allow him to escape the law,—he must be hanged," the President replied calmly, in the words which he had adopted in his last Inaugural Address, "Judge not, that ye be not judged." And when pressed again by the remark that the sight of Libby Prison made it impossible to pardon him, the President repeated twice over these same words, revealing unmistakably the generous sentiments

of his heart. The question of clemency here is the very theme so ably debated between Caesar and Cato, while the Roman Senate was considering the punishment of the confederates of Catiline. Caesar consented to confiscation and imprisonment, but pleaded for the lives of the criminals. Cato was sterner. It is probable that the President, who was a Cato in patriotism, would on this occasion have followed the counsels of Caesar.

Good will to all men was with him a science as well as a sentiment. His nature was pacific, and throughout the terrible conflict his thoughts were always turned on peace. He wished peace among ourselves, and he wished peace with foreign powers. While abounding in gratitude to the officers and men who had so grandly fought the national battle, he longed to see their swords concealed in their scabbards, never again to flash against the sky. His prudence found expression in the saying, "One war at a time;" but his whole nature seemed to say, "Peace always." And yet it was his fortune to conduct one of the greatest wars of all time. "With malice towards none; with charity for all; with firmness for the right, as God gives us to see the right;" so he worked and lived, and these words of his own might be his honest epitaph.

His place in history may be seen at once from

the transcendent events with which his name must be forever associated. The pyramids of our country are built by the people more than by any ruler; but the ruler of the people at such a moment cannot be forgotten.

It is impossible to exaggerate the Proclamation of Emancipation as an historic event. Its influence cannot be limited to the present in place or time. It will reach beyond the national jurisdiction, and beyond the present age. Besides its immediate efficacy in liberating slaves at home, it will be one of the landmarks of Human Progress. From the solidarity of Slavery, the fall of this abomination among us must cause its fall everywhere,—so that in Cuba, Porto Rico, Brazil, or wherever else a slave may wear a chain, that Proclamation will be felt. It will also be proudly recognized in the destinies of the Republic which it advanced. Only a short time before, the Czar of Russia, by Proclamation, raised twenty millions of serfs to the dignity of freemen; but even this great act was less historic. Though of incalculable importance to the serfs, it was not the triumph of Popular Government, and it came from the East instead of the West. It is to the West that the world now looks for sunrise. “*Video solem orientem in occidente.*” But the Emancipation Proclamation itself was one of the agencies in

the military overthrow of the Rebellion, which, if regarded as an achievement of war, is one of the greatest in the history of war, but, if regarded in its political consequences, is one of the grandest events in all history. Here again the magnitude of the event can be fully appreciated only when it is considered that the triumph of the Republic is the triumph of Popular Institutions everywhere. It is much that the Republic has become impregnable, whether against "malice domestic" or "foreign levy;" but it is more that it has become an example to the world. That all this should be done under a President, who represented especially the people, who spoke always in sympathy with the people in words of power that cannot be forgotten, and who sealed his devotion with his life, adds to the grandeur of the example.

Here are great heralds of fame, such as few have had as they entered the lofty portals. Our martyred dead may be seen also in the company to which he will be admitted, amongst the purest spirits of all time,—martyrs, patriots, philanthropists, servants of truth and duty. Milton, Hampden, Sidney, Wilberforce,—all will welcome the new-comer. Washington will lead the hosts of his own country to do him honor, from the Pilgrims of the Mayflower to the thronging crowds who have laid down their lives for the Republic.

By the association of a common death he will pass into the same historic galaxy with Caesar, William of Orange, and Henry IV of France, all of whom were assassinated,—and his star will not pale by the side of theirs. Caesar was a contrast to him in everything, unless it be in clemency, and in the coincidence that each was fifty-six years of age at the time of his death. How unlike in all else. Caesar was of a brilliant lineage, which he traced on one side to the immortal gods, and on the other to one of the recent chiefs of Rome; of completest education; of amplest means; of rarest experience; of acknowledged genius as statesman, soldier, orator, and writer;—being in himself the most finished man of antiquity; but he was the enslaver of his country, whose personal ambition took the place of patriotism, and whose name has since become the synonyme of imperial power. William of Orange was of princely origin, and in early life was a page in the palace of Charles V. During the long contest of Holland with Spain, he became the liberator of his country, which he conducted wisely, surely, and greatly,—anticipating the example of Washington. The name of “Silent,” which he bore, may suggest the reticence of his American parallel. Henry IV, memorable for practical sense, anecdote, and pregnant wit, represented the idea of Na-

tional Unity in France as the Supreme condition of national safety. He died, leaving great plans unfulfilled, and his career has been illustrated by the popular epic of his country, *La Henriade*, of Voltaire. These are illustrious names; but there is nothing in them which can eclipse the simple life of our President, whose example will be an epoch in the history of Humanity, and a rebuke to every usurper,—to be commemorated forever by history and by song. The cause which he served was more than empire. The motive of his conduct was higher than success; as devotion to Human Rights is higher than genius or power; as Man is higher than aught else on earth.

There is another character, who, like him, was taken away at the age of fifty-six, with whom the President may be more properly compared. It is St. Louis of France; and yet here the resemblance is only in certain kindred features, and the common consecration of their lives. The French monarch, though at the head of a military power, was a lover of peace, and cultivated justice towards his neighbors. Under his influence a barbarous institution was overthrown, and France was lifted in the career of civilization. Though in an age of privilege, and wearing a crown, he was moved to the practice of Equality. History recalls, with undis-

guised delight, the simple justice which he administered to his people, as he sat under an oak in the park of Vincennes. Our President struck too at a barbarism, and lifted his country. He too practiced Equality. And he too had his oak of Vincennes. It was that plain room, where he was always so accessible, as to make his example difficult for future Presidents. But there were stated times when he was open to all who came with their petitions, and they flocked across the continent. The transactions of that simple court of last resort would show how much was done to temper the law, to assuage sorrow, and to care for the widow and orphan; but its only record is in heaven.

Such, fellow-citizens, is the Life and Character of Abraham Lincoln. You have discerned his simple beginnings;—have watched his early struggles;—have gratefully followed his consecration to those truths which our fathers declared;—have hailed him as the twice-elected head of the Republic, through whom it was known in foreign lands;—have recognized him at a period of national trial as the representative of the unfulfilled promises of our Fathers, even as Washington was the representative of National Independence; and you have beheld him struck down, at the moment of victory when rebel Slavery was everywhere succumbing.

Reverently we acknowledge the finger of the Almighty, and pray that all our trials may not fail; but that the promises of the Fathers may be fulfilled, so that all men shall be equal before the law, and government shall stand only on the consent of the governed,—two self-evident truths which the Republic at its birth announced.

Traitorous assassination struck him down. But do not be too vindictive towards the poor atom that held the weapon. Reserve your rage for the responsible Power, which, not content with assailing the life of the Republic by atrocious Rebellion, has outraged all laws human and divine; has organized Barbarism as a principle of conduct; has taken the lives of faithful Unionists at home; has prepared robbery and murder on the northern borders; has fired hotels, filled with women and children; has plotted to scatter pestilence and poison; has perpetrated piracy and ship-burning at sea; has starved American citizens, held as prisoners; has inflicted the slow torture of Andersonville and Libby; has menaced assassination always; and now at last, true to itself, has assassinated our President; and this responsible Power is none other than Slavery. It is Slavery that has taken the life of our beloved Chief Magistrate, and here is another triumph of its Barbarism. On

Slavery let vengeance fall. Spare if you please the worms it employs; but do not—I entreat you—yield any amnesty to this murderous wickedness. Ravailac, who took the life of Henry IV. of France, was torn to pieces on the public square in front of the City Hall, by four powerful horses, each of them attached to one of his limbs, and tearing in opposite directions, until at last, after a fearful struggle, nothing of the wretched assassin remained in the hands of the executioner except his bloody shirt,—which was at once handed over to be burned. Such be our vengeance; and let Slavery be the victim.

And not only Slavery, which is another name for property in man, but so also that other pretension, which is not less irrational and hateful, that Human Rights can depend on color. This is the bloody shirt of the assassin; and it must be handed over to be burned.

Such a vengeance will be like a kiss of reconciliation; for it will remove every obstacle to peace and harmony. The people where Slavery once ruled will bless the blow which destroyed it. The people where the kindred tyranny of Caste once ruled, will rejoice that this too fell under the same blow. They will yet confess that it was dealt in no harshness to them, in no unkindness, in no desire to humiliate, but simply and solemnly, in the name of the Re-

public, and of Human Nature; for their good as well as ours; ay, for their good more than ours.

It is by ideas that we have conquered, more than by armies. The sword of the Archangel was less mighty than the mission which he bore from the Lord. But if the ideas which have given us the victory are now neglected; if the promises of the Declaration, which the Rebellion openly assailed, are still left unfulfilled, then will our blood and treasure have been lavished in vain. Alas! for the dead who have given themselves so bravely to their country; alas! for the living who have been left to mourn the dead;—if any relic of Slavery is allowed to continue; especially if this bloody imposter, defeated in the pretension of property in man, is allowed to perpetuate an Oligarchy of the skin!

And how shall these ideas be saved? In other words, how shall the war waged by Abraham Lincoln be brought to an end, so as to secure peace, tranquillity and reconciliation? At this moment all turns on the colored suffrage in the rebel States. This is now the pivot of national safety. A mistake on this point is worse than the loss of a battle. And yet here again we encounter the Rebellion in all its odious pretensions, hardly less audacious than when it took up arms. As its camp-fires expire, the men

who have trimmed them—taking fresh oaths of allegiance on their lips—renew their early activity in plotting how still to preserve an oligarchical power. The demon of Caste takes the place of the demon of Slavery. In setting ourselves against this fearful demon, we only follow the solemn behests of the great Declaration, of which our martyred President was the champion. And now as I close this humble tribute, let me ask you to adopt that championship which was his first and most constant title to the national gratitude. Let each be a standard bearer of the Declaration. I cannot err, if speaking at his funeral, I detain you to insist upon this absorbing duty in which for the moment all other duties are swallowed up.

The argument for the colored suffrage is overwhelming. It springs from the necessity of the case, as well as from the rights of man. This suffrage is needed for the security of the colored people; for the stability of the local government; and for the strength of the Union. Without it there is nothing but insecurity for the colored people, instability for the local government, and weakness for the Union, involving, of course, the national credit. Without it the Rebellion will break forth under a new alias, unarmed it may be, but with white votes to take possession of the local government and wield it

at will, whether at home or in the national councils. If it be said that the colored people are unfit, then do I say that they are more fit than their recent masters, or even than many among the "poor whites." They have been loyal always, and who are you, that, under any pretence, exalts the prejudices of the disloyal above the rights of the loyal? Their suffrage is now needed; more even than you ever needed their muskets or sabres. An English statesman, after the acknowledgment of the Spanish Colonies as Independent States, boasted that he had called a new world into existence to redress the balance of the old. In similar spirit we too must call a new ballot into existence to redress the tyranny which will not learn the duty of justice to the colored race.

The same National authority that struck down Slavery must see that this other pretension is not permitted to survive; nor can there be any doubt that the authority which struck down Slavery is competent to this kindred duty. Each is a part of that great policy of justice through which alone can peace be made permanent and immutable. Nor can the Republic shirk this remaining duty, without leaving Emancipation unfinished and the early promises of the Republic unfulfilled. Vain is the gift of Liberty, if you surrender the rights of the freed-

man to be judged by the recent assertors of property in man. Burke, in his day, saw the flagrant inconsistency and denounced it, saying, that, whatever such people did on this subject was "arrant trifling," and, notwithstanding its plausible form, always wanted what he aptly called "the executive principle." These words of warning have been adopted and repeated by two later statesmen, George Canning and Henry Brougham; but they are so plain as not to need the support of names. The infant must not be handed over to be suckled by the wolf, but carefully nursed by its parent; and since the Republic is the parent of Emancipation, the Republic must nurse the immortal infant into maturity and strength. It is the Republic which at the beginning took up this great work. The Republic must finish what it began; and it cannot err on the occasion, if, in anxious care, it holds nothing done so long as anything remains undone. It is the Republic, which, with matchless energy, hurled forward its armies until it conquered. The Republic must exact that "security for the future," without which this unparalleled war will have been waged in vain. It is the Republic which to-day, with one consenting voice, commemorates the murdered dead. The same Republic, prompt to honor him, must require that his promises to an op-

pressed race be maintained in all their integrity and completeness, in letter and in spirit, so that the great cause for which he became a sacrifice may not fail. His martyrdom was a new pledge beyond any even in life.

There can be no question here, whether a State is in the Union or out of it. This is but a phrase on which discussion is useless. Look at the actual fact. Here all will agree. The old governments are vacated, and this is enough. Until the whole body of loyal people have set up a government, all is under the National authority, acting by the Executive or by Congress; and, since the Constitution, even without the injunction of the Declaration of Independence, knows nothing of color, it is the obvious duty of the National authority to protect the whole body of loyal people against any denial of rights on this pretension. Already it has undertaken to say that certain persons shall not vote. Surely the same authority which may limit the electoral law of Slavery, may enlarge it. If the National authority can do anything about elections; if it can order an election; if it can regulate an election; if it can exclude a traitor who is still at large, it can admit a loyalist whose only incapacity is his skin.

The colored suffrage is now a necessity. But beyond this, in making it an essential condition

of the restoration of rebel States to the Union, we follow, first, the law of reason and of nature, and, secondly, the Constitution, not only in its text, but as read in the light of the Declaration of Independence. By reason and nature there can be no denial of rights on account of color; and we can do nothing which is thus irrational and unnatural. By the Constitution it is stipulated that the "United States shall guarantee to every State a republican form of government;" but the meaning of this guaranty must be found in the birthday Declaration of the Republic, which is the controlling preamble of the Constitution. Beyond all question the United States, when called to enforce this guaranty, must insist on the Equality of all men before the law, and the consent of the governed. Such is the true idea of a Republic government according to American institutions.

The slave-masters, driven from their first entrenchments, already occupy inner defences. Property in man is abandoned; but they now insist that colored persons shall not enjoy political rights. Liberty has been won. The battle for Equality is still pending. And now a new compromise is proposed, by which colored persons are to be sacrificed in the name of State rights. It is said that it should be so. But I do not despair. The cause may be delayed; but it can-

not be lost; and all who set themselves against it will be overborne; for it is the cause of Humanity. Not the rich and proud, but the poor and lowly, will be the favorites of an enfranchised Republic. The words of the prophet will be fulfilled; "and I will punish the people for their evil, and the wicked for their iniquity, and I will cause the arrogance of the proud to cease, and will lay low the haughtiness of the terrible. I will make a man more precious than fine gold, even a man, than the golden wedge of Ophir." I catch these sublime promises, and echo them back as the assurance of triumph. Then will the Republic be all that heart can desire or imagination can paint—"Supremely lovely and serenely great, Majestic mother" of a free, happy, and united people, with Slavery and all its tyranny beaten down under foot, so that no man shall call another master, and all shall be equal before the law.

Fellow-citizens, your task is before you. Mourn not the dead, but rejoice in his life and example. Rejoice as you point to this child of the people who was lifted so high, that Republican Institutions became manifest in him. Rejoice that through him Emancipation was proclaimed. Rejoice that under him "government of the people, by the people and for the people," has obtained a final verdict which can

never be set aside or questioned. Above all, see to it that his constant vows are performed, and that the promises of the Fathers are maintained, so that no person in the upright form of man can be shut out from their protection. Do this, and the Unity of the Republic will be fixed on a foundation that cannot fail. The corner-stone of National Independence is already in its place, and on it is inscribed the name of George Washington. There is another stone which must have its place at the corner also. This is the great Declaration itself, once a promise only, at last a reality. On this adamant stone we will gratefully inscribe the name of Abraham Lincoln.

Charles Sumner

O Captain! My Captain

BY WALT WHITMAN

O Captain! my Captain! our fearful trip is done,
The ship has weather'd every rack, the prize we sought
is won,

The port is near, the bells I hear, the people all exulting,
While follow eyes the steady keel, the vessel grim and
daring;

But O heart! heart! heart!

O the bleeding drops of red,

Where on the deck my Captain lies,
Fallen cold and dead.

O Captain! my Captain! rise up and hear the bells;
Rise up—for you the flag is flung—for you the bugle
trills,

For you bouquets and ribbon'd wreaths—for you the
shores a-crowding,

For you they call, the swaying mass, their eager faces
turning;

Here Captain! dear father!

This arm beneath your head!

It is some dream that on the deck,
You've fallen cold and dead.

O Captain! My Captain

My Captain does not answer, his lips are pale and still,
My father does not feel my arm, he has no pulse nor
will,

The ship is anchor'd safe and sound, its voyage closed
and done,

From fearful trip the victor ship comes in with object
won ;

Exult O shores, and ring O bells !

But I with mournful tread,

Walk the deck my Captain lies,

Fallen, cold and dead.

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Complete Works of
Abraham Lincoln

Volume IX

[1863---1864]

Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln

LETTER TO M. BIRCHARD AND OTHERS ¹

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 29, 1863.

GENTLEMEN: The resolutions of the Ohio Democratic State Convention, which you present me, together with your introductory and closing remarks, being in position and argument mainly the same as the resolutions of the Democratic meeting at Albany, New York, I refer you to my response to the latter as meeting most of the points in the former.

This response you evidently used in preparing your remarks, and I desire no more than that it be used with accuracy. In a single reading of your remarks, I only discovered one inaccuracy in matter which I suppose you took from that

¹ Letter to David A. Houk, George Bliss, T. W. Bartley, W. J. Gordon, John O'Neill, C. A. White, W. E. Finck, Alexander Long, J. W. White, George H. Pendleton, George L. Converse, Warren P. Noble, James R. Morris, W. A. Hutchins, Abner L. Backus, J. F. McKinney, F. C. Le Blond, Louis Schaefer.

paper. It is where you say: "The undersigned are unable to agree with you in the opinion you have expressed that the Constitution is different in time of insurrection or invasion from what it is in time of peace and public security."

A recurrence to the paper will show you that I have not expressed the opinion you suppose. I expressed the opinion that the Constitution is different in its application in cases of rebellion or invasion, involving the public safety, from what it is in times of profound peace and public security; and this opinion I adhere to, simply because, by the Constitution itself, things may be done in the one case which may not be done in the other.

I dislike to waste a word on a merely personal point, but I must respectfully assure you that you will find yourselves at fault should you ever seek for evidence to prove your assumption that I "opposed, in discussions before the people, the policy of the Mexican war."

You say: "Expunge from the Constitution this limitation upon the power of Congress to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*, and yet the other guarantees of personal liberty would remain unchanged." Doubtless, if this clause of the Constitution, improperly called, as I think, a limitation upon the power of Congress were expunged, the other guarantees would remain

the same; but the question is not how those guarantees would stand with that clause out of the Constitution, but how they stand with that clause remaining in it, in case of rebellion or invasion involving the public safety. If the liberty could be indulged of expunging that clause, letter and spirit, I really think the constitutional argument would be with you.

My general view on this question was stated in the Albany response, and hence I do not state it now. I only add that, as seems to me, the benefit of the writ of *habeas corpus* is the great means through which the guarantees of personal liberty are conserved and made available in the last resort; and corroborative of this view is the fact that Mr. Vallandigham in the very case in question, under the advice of able lawyers, saw not where else to go but to the *habeas corpus*. But by the Constitution the benefit of the writ of *habeas corpus* itself may be suspended when, in case of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

You ask, in substance, whether I really claim that I may override all the guaranteed rights of individuals, on the plea of conserving the public safety—when I may choose to say the public safety requires it. This question, divested of the phraseology calculated to represent me as struggling for an arbitrary personal prerogative, is

either simply a question who shall decide, or an affirmation that nobody shall decide, what the public safety does require in cases of rebellion or invasion.

The Constitution contemplates the question as likely to occur for decision, but it does not expressly declare who is to decide it. By necessary implication, when rebellion or invasion comes, the decision is to be made from time to time; and I think the man whom, for the time, the people have, under the Constitution, made the commander-in-chief of their army and navy, is the man who holds the power and bears the responsibility of making it. If he uses the power justly, the same people will probably justify him; if he abuses it, he is in their hands to be dealt with by all the modes they have reserved to themselves in the Constitution.

The earnestness with which you insist that persons can only, in times of rebellion, be lawfully dealt with in accordance with the rules for criminal trials and punishments in times of peace, induces me to add a word to what I said on that point in the Albany response.

You claim that men may, if they choose, embarrass those whose duty it is to combat a giant rebellion, and then be dealt with in turn, only as if there were no rebellion. The Constitution itself rejects this view. The military arrests

and detentions which have been made, including those of Mr. Vallandigham, which are not different in principle from the others, have been for prevention, and not for punishment—as injunctions to stay injury, as proceedings to keep the peace; and hence, like proceedings in such cases and for like reasons, they have not been accompanied with indictments, or trials by juries, nor in a single case by any punishment whatever, beyond what is purely incidental to the prevention. The original sentence of imprisonment in Mr. Vallandigham's case was to prevent injury to the military service only and the modification of it was made as a less disagreeable mode to him of securing the same prevention. I am unable to perceive an insult to Ohio in the case of Mr. Vallandigham. Quite surely nothing of the sort was or is intended. I was wholly unaware that Mr. Vallandigham was, at the time of his arrest, a candidate for the Democratic nomination for governor until so informed by your reading to me the resolutions of the convention. I am grateful to the State of Ohio for many things, especially for the brave soldiers and officers she has given in the present national trial to the armies of the Union.

You claim, as I understand, that according to my own position in the Albany response, Mr. Vallandigham should be released; and this be-

cause, as you claim, he has not damaged the military service by discouraging enlistments, encouraging desertions or otherwise; and that if he had, he should have been turned over to the civil authorities under the recent acts of Congress. I certainly do not know that Mr. Vallandigham has specifically and by direct language advised against enlistments and in favor of desertion and resistance to drafting.

We all know that combinations, armed in some instances, to resist the arrest of deserters began several months ago; that more recently the like has appeared in resistance to the enrolment preparatory to a draft; and that quite a number of assassinations have occurred from the same animus. These had to be met by military force, and this again has led to bloodshed and death. And now, under a sense of responsibility more weighty and enduring than any which is merely official, I solemnly declare my belief that this hindrance of the military, including maiming and murder, is due to the course in which Mr. Vallandigham has been engaged in a greater degree than to any other cause; and it is due to him personally in a greater degree than to any other one man.

These things have been notorious, known to all, and of course known to Mr. Vallandigham. Perhaps I would not be wrong to say they ori-

ginated with his special friends and adherents. With perfect knowledge of them, he has frequently if not constantly made speeches in Congress and before popular assemblies; and if it can be shown that, with these things staring him in the face, he has ever uttered a word of rebuke or counsel against them, it will be a fact greatly in his favor with me and one of which as yet I am totally ignorant. When it is known that the whole burden of his speeches has been to stir up men against the prosecution of the war, and that in the midst of resistance to it he has not been known in any instance to counsel against such resistance, it is next to impossible to repel the inference that he has counseled directly in favor of it.

With all this before their eyes, the convention you represent have nominated Mr. Vallandigham for governor of Ohio, and both they and you have declared the purpose to sustain the National Union by all constitutional means. But of course they and you in common reserve to yourselves to decide what are constitutional means; and, unlike the Albany meeting, you omit to state or intimate that in your opinion an army is a constitutional means of saving the Union against a rebellion, or even to intimate that you are conscious of an existing rebellion being in progress with the avowed object of de-

stroying that very Union. At the same time your nominee for governor, in whose behalf you appeal, is known to you and to the world to declare against the use of an army to suppress the rebellion. Your own attitude therefore, encourages desertion, resistance to the draft, and the like because it teaches those who incline to desert and to escape the draft to believe it is your purpose to protect them, and to hope that you will become strong enough to do so.

After a short personal intercourse with you, gentlemen of the committee, I cannot say I think you desire this effect to follow your attitude; but I assure you that both friends and enemies of the Union look upon it in this light. It is a substantial hope, and by consequence a real strength to the enemy. If it is a false hope and one which you would willingly dispel, I will make the way exceedingly easy.

I send you duplicates of this letter in order that you, or a majority of you, may, if you choose, indorse your names upon one of them and return it thus indorsed to me with the understanding that those signing are thereby committed to the following propositions and to nothing else:

1. That there is now a rebellion in the United States, the object and tendency of which is to destroy the National Union; and that, in your

opinion, an army and navy are constitutional means for suppressing that rebellion;

2. That no one of you will do anything which, in his own judgment, will tend to hinder the increase, or favor the decrease, or lessen the efficiency of the army or navy while engaged in the effort to suppress that rebellion; and

3. That each of you will, in his sphere, do all he can to have the officers, soldiers, and seamen of the army and navy, while engaged in the effort to suppress the rebellion, paid, fed, clad, and otherwise well provided for and supported.

And with the further understanding that upon receiving the letter and names thus indorsed, I will cause them to be published, which publication shall be, within itself, a revocation of the order in relation to Mr. Vallandigham.

It will not escape observation that I consent to the release of Mr. Vallandigham upon terms not embracing any pledge from him or from others as to what he will or will not do. I do this because he is not present to speak for himself, or to authorize others to speak for him; and because I should expect that on his returning he would not put himself practically in antagonism with the position of his friends. But I do it chiefly because I thereby prevail on other influential gentlemen of Ohio to so define their position as to be of immense value to the

army—thus more than compensating for the consequences of any mistake in allowing Mr. Vallandigham to return; so that, on the whole, the public safety will not have suffered by it. Still, in regard to Mr. Vallandigham and all others, I must hereafter, as heretofore, do so much as the public safety may seem to require.

I have the honor to be respectfully yours, etc.,

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO WILLIAM KELLOGG

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 29, 1863.

My dear Sir: I have received and read your pencil note. I think you do not know how embarrassing your request is. Few things are so troublesome to the government as the fierceness with which the profits in trading are sought. The temptation is so great that nearly everybody wishes to be in it; and, when in, the question of profit controls all, regardless of whether the cotton-seller is loyal or rebel, or whether he is paid in corn-meal or gunpowder. The officers of the army, in numerous instances, are believed to connive and share the profits, and thus the army itself is diverted from fighting the rebels to speculating in cotton, and steamboats and wagons in the pay of the government are set to gathering and carrying cotton, and the soldiers to loading cotton-trains and guarding them.

The matter deeply affects the Treasury and War Departments, and has been discussed again and again in the cabinet. What can and what cannot be done has for the time been settled, and it seems to me I cannot safely break over it. I know it is thought that one case is not much, but how can I favor one and deny another? One case cannot be kept a secret. The authority given would be utterly ineffectual until it is shown, and when shown, everybody knows of it.

The administration would do for you as much as for any other man; and I personally would do some more than for most others; but really I cannot involve myself and the government as this would do. Yours as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL R. H. MILROY

(*Private.*)

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 29, 1863.

My dear Sir: Your letters to Mr. Blair and to myself are handed to me by him. I have never doubted your courage and devotion to the cause. But you have just lost a division, and, *prima facie*, the fault is upon you; and while that remains unchanged, for me to put you in command again is to justly subject me to the charge of having put you there on purpose to have you lose another. If I knew facts suf-

ficient to satisfy me that you were not in fault or error, the case would be different; but the facts I do know, while they are not at all conclusive (and I hope they may never prove so), tend the other way.

First, I have scarcely seen anything from you at any time that did not contain imputations against your superiors, and a chafing against acting the part they had assigned you. You have constantly urged the idea that you were persecuted because you did not come from West Point, and you repeat it in these letters. This, my dear general, is, I fear the rock on which you have split.

In the Winchester case you were under General Schenck and he under General Halleck. I know by General Halleck's order-book that he, on the 11th of June, advised General Schenck to call you in from Winchester to Harper's Ferry; and I have been told, but do not know, that General Schenck gave you the order accordingly on the same day; and I have been told, but do not know, that on receiving it, instead of obeying it, you sent by mail a written protest against obeying it which did not reach him until you were actually beleaguered at Winchester.

I say I do not know this. You hate West Point generally and General Halleck particularly; but I do know that it is not his fault that

you were at Winchester on the 13th, 14th, and morning of the 15th—the days of your disaster. If General Schenck gave the order on the 11th, as General Halleck advised, it was an easy matter for you to have been off at least on the 12th. The case is inevitably between General Schenck and you.

Neither General Halleck nor any one else, as far as I know, required you to stay and fight 60,000 with 6,000, as you insinuate.

I know General Halleck, through General Schenck, required you to get away, and that in abundant time for you to have done it.

General Schenck is not a West-Pointer, and has no prejudice against you on that score.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR JOEL PARKER

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 30, 1863.

Governor Parker, Trenton, N. J.: Your despatch of yesterday received. I really think the attitude of the enemy's army in Pennsylvania presents us the best opportunity we have had since the war began. I think you will not see the foe in New Jersey. I beg you to be assured that no one out of my position can know so well as if he were in it, the difficulties and involvements of replacing General McClellan in command, and this aside from any imputations upon

him. Please accept my sincere thanks for what you have done and are doing to get troops forward.

A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO COLONEL A. K. MCCLURE ¹

WAR DEPARTMENT, June 30, 1863.

A. K. McClure, Philadelphia: Do we gain anything by opening one leak to stop another? Do we gain anything by quieting one clamor merely to open another, and probably a larger one?

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL D. HUNTER

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 30, 1863.

My dear General: I have just received your letter of the 25th of June.

I assure you, and you may feel authorized in stating, that the recent change of commanders in the Department of the South was made for no reasons which convey any imputation upon your known energy, efficiency, and patriotism; but for causes which seemed sufficient, while they were in no degree incompatible with the respect and esteem in which I have always held you as a man and an officer.

I cannot, by giving my consent to a publication of whose details I know nothing, assume the

¹ Following the resignation of General Hooker came a strong demand for the reinstatement of McClellan. This telegram was sent in reply to a letter urging McClellan's appointment.

responsibility of whatever you may write. In this matter your own sense of military propriety must be your guide, and the regulations of the service your rule of conduct.

I am very truly your friend,

A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO GENERAL D. N. COUCH

WASHINGTON CITY, June 30, 1863.—3.25 A. M.

Major-General Couch, Harrisburg, Pa.: I judge by absence of news that the enemy is not crossing or pressing up to the Susquehanna. Please tell me what you know of his movements.

A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO ROBERT T. LINCOLN

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 3, 1863.

Robert T. Lincoln, Esq., Cambridge, Mass.: Don't be uneasy. Your mother very slightly hurt by her fall.

A. L.

Please send at once.

DRAFT OF TELEGRAM TO REAR-ADMIRAL S. P.
LEE

(*Not sent.*)

NAVY DEPARTMENT, July 4, 1863.

Rear-Admiral S. P. Lee: Your despatch transmitting a note from Mr. Alexander H. Stephens has been received.

You will not permit Mr. Stephens to proceed to Washington or to pass the blockade. He does not make known the subjects to which the communication in writing from Mr. Davis relates, which he bears and seeks to deliver in person to the President, and upon which he desires to confer. Those subjects can only be military or not military, or partly both. Whatever may be military will be readily received if offered through the well-understood military channel. Of course nothing else will be received by the President when offered, as in this case, in terms assuming the independence of the so-called Confederate States; and anything will be received, and carefully considered by him, when offered by any influential person or persons in terms not assuming the independence of the so-called Confederate States.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO REAR-ADMIRAL S. P. LEE

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C.,

July 4, 1863.

Rear-Admiral S. P. Lee: The request of A. H. Stephens is inadmissible. The customary agents and channels are adequate for all needful communication and conference between the United States forces and the insurgents.

A. LINCOLN.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF NEWS FROM GETTYSBURG

WASHINGTON, July 4. 10.30 A. M.

The President announces to the country that news from the Army of the Potomac, up to 10 P. M. of the 3d, is such as to cover that army with the highest honor, to promise a great success to the cause of the Union, and to claim the condolence of all for the many gallant fallen; and that for this he especially desires that on this day He whose will, not ours, should ever be done be everywhere remembered and revered with profoundest gratitude. A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL R. C. SCHENCK

WASHINGTON, July 4, 1863.—9.20 P. M.

Major-General Schenck, Baltimore, Maryland: Your despatches about negro regiments are not uninteresting or unnoticed by us, but we have not been quite ready to respond. You will have an answer to-morrow. A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. H. FRENCH

(Cipher.)

WAR DEPARTMENT, July 5, 1863.

Major-General French, Frederick Town, Md.: I see your dispatch about destruction of pontoons. Cannot the enemy ford the river?

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL H. W. HALLECK

SOLDIERS' HOME,

WASHINGTON, July 6, 1863. 7 P. M.

Major-General Halleck: I left the telegraph office a good deal dissatisfied. You know I did not like the phrase—in Orders, No. 68, I believe—“Drive the invaders from our soil.” Since that, I see a despatch from General French, saying the enemy is crossing his wounded over the river in flats, without saying why he does not stop it, or even intimating a thought that it ought to be stopped. Still later, another despatch from General Pleasonton, by direction of General Meade, to General French, stating that the main army is halted because it is believed the rebels are concentrating “on the road toward Hagerstown, beyond Fairfield,” and is not to move until it is ascertained that the rebels intend to evacuate Cumberland Valley.

These things all appear to me to be connected with a purpose to cover Baltimore and Washington, and to get the enemy across the river again without a further collision, and they do not appear connected with a purpose to prevent his crossing and to destroy him. I do fear the former purpose is acted upon and the latter is rejected.

If you are satisfied the latter purpose is en-

tertained, and is judiciously pursued, I am content. If you are not so satisfied, please look to it.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO J. K. DUBOIS AND OTHERS

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C.,

July 7, 1863.

J. K. Dubois and Others, Springfield, Ill.: An appointment of Chesley at Danville had already been made and gone forward for enrollment commissioner of Seventh District when your dispatch arrived.

A. LINCOLN.

RESPONSE TO A SERENADE, July 7, 1863

FELLOW-CITIZENS: I am very glad indeed to see you to-night, and yet I will not say I thank you for this call; but I do most sincerely thank Almighty God for the occasion on which you have called. How long ago is it?—eighty-odd years since, on the Fourth of July, for the first time in the history of the world, a nation, by its representatives, assembled and declared, as a self-evident truth, “that all men are created equal.” That was the birthday of the United States of America. Since then the Fourth of July has had several very peculiar recognitions. The two men most distinguished in the framing and support of the Declaration were Thomas Jefferson and John Adams—the one having penned it, and the other sustained it the most forcibly in debate—the only two of the fifty-five who signed it that were elected Presidents of the United States. Precisely fifty years after they put their hands to the paper, it pleased Almighty God to take both from this stage of action. This was indeed an extraordinary and remarkable event in our history. Another President, five years after, was

called from this stage of existence on the same day and month of the year; and now on this last Fourth of July just passed, when we have a gigantic rebellion, at the bottom of which is an effort to overthrow the principle that all men are created equal, we have the surrender of a most powerful position and army on that very day. And not only so, but in a succession of battles in Pennsylvania, near to us, through three days, so rapidly fought that they might be called one great battle, on the first, second, and third of the month of July; and on the fourth the cohorts of those who opposed the Declaration that all men are created equal "turned tail" and run. Gentlemen, this is a glorious theme, and the occasion for a speech, but I am not prepared to make one worthy of the occasion. I would like to speak in terms of praise due to the many brave officers and soldiers who have fought in the cause of the Union and liberties of their country from the beginning of the war. These are trying occasions, not only in success, but for the want of success. I dislike to mention the name of one single officer, lest I might do wrong to those I might forget. Recent events bring up glorious names, and particularly prominent ones; but these I will not mention. Having said this much, I will now take the music.

TELEGRAMS FROM GENERAL HALLECK TO
GENERAL MEADE

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C.,

July 7, 1863.

Major-General Meade, Army of the Potomac: I have received from the President the following note, which I respectfully communicate:

MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK:

We have certain information that Vicksburg surrendered to General Grant on the Fourth of July. Now, if General Meade can complete his work so gloriously prosecuted thus far, by the literal or substantial destruction of Lee's army, the rebellion will be over.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

H. W. HALLECK, General-in-Chief.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 8, 1863.

Major-General Meade, Frederick, Md.: There is reliable information that the enemy is crossing at Williamsport. The opportunity to attack his divided forces should not be lost. The President is urgent and anxious that your army should move against him by forced marches.

H. W. HALLECK, General-in-Chief.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL LORENZO THOMAS

WASHINGTON, July 8, 1863. 12.30 P. M.

General Lorenzo Thomas, Harrisburg, Penn.: Your despatch of this morning to the Secretary of War is before me. The forces you speak of will be of no imaginable service if they cannot go forward with a little more expedition. Lee is now passing the Potomac faster than the forces you mention are passing Carlisle. Forces now beyond Carlisle to be joined by regiments still at Harrisburg, and the united force again to join Pierce somewhere, and the whole to move down the Cumberland Valley, will, in my unprofessional opinion, be quite as likely to capture the "man in the moon" as any part of Lee's army.

A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO E. D. SMITH

WAR DEPARTMENT, July 8, 1863.

E. Delafield Smith, New York: Your kind despatch on behalf of self and friends is gratefully received. Capture of Vicksburg confirmed by despatch from General Grant himself.

A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO F. F. LOW

WAR DEPARTMENT, July 8, 1863.

Hon. F. F. Low, San Francisco, Cal.: There

is no doubt that General Meade, now commanding the Army of the Potomac, beat Lee at Gettysburg, Pa., at the end of a three days' battle, and that the latter is now crossing the Potomac at Williamsport over the swollen stream and with poor means of crossing, and closely pressed by Meade. We also have despatches rendering it entirely certain that Vicksburg surrendered to General Grant on the glorious old 4th.

A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO L. SWETT AND F. F. LOW
(*Cipher.*)

WAR DEPARTMENT, July 9, 1863.

Hon. L. Swett, Hon. F. F. Low, San Francisco, Cal.: Consult together and do not have a riot, or great difficulty about delivering possession.

A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO ROBERT T. LINCOLN

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 11, 1863.

R. T. Lincoln, New York, Fifth Avenue Hotel: Come to Washington. A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO J. K. DUBOIS

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 11, 1863. 9 A. M.

Hon. J. K. Dubois, Springfield, Ill.: It is certain that after three days' fighting at Gettys-

burg, Lee withdrew and made for the Potomac; that he found the river so swollen as to prevent his crossing; that he is still this side, near Hagerstown and Williamsport, preparing to defend himself; and that Meade is close upon him, and preparing to attack him, heavy skirmishing having occurred nearly all day yesterday.

I am more than satisfied with what has happened north of the Potomac so far, and am anxious and hopeful for what is to come.

A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAMS TO GENERAL R. C. SCHENCK

(*Cipher.*)

WAR DEPARTMENT,

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 11, 1863.

Major-General Schenck, Baltimore, Md.:

How many rebel prisoners captured within Maryland and Pennsylvania have reached Baltimore within this month of July?

A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, July 12, 1863.

Major-General Schenck, Baltimore, Md.:

You seem to misunderstand the nature of the objection to General Tremble's going to Baltimore. His going there is opposed to prevent his meeting his traitorous associates there.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL GRANT¹

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 13, 1863.

My dear General: I do not remember that you and I ever met personally. I write this now as a grateful acknowledgment for the almost inestimable service you have done the country. I wish to say a word further. When you first reached the vicinity of Vicksburg, I thought you should do what you finally did—march the troops across the neck, run the batteries with the transports, and thus go below; and I never had any faith, except a general hope that you knew better than I, that the Yazoo Pass expedition and the like could succeed. When you got below and took Port Gibson, Grand Gulf, and vicinity, I thought you should go down the river and join General Banks, and when you turned northward, east of the Big Black, I feared it was a mistake. I now wish to make the personal acknowledgment that you were right and I was wrong. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

¹ From the first days of the war Lincoln had been trying to find among his generals a man who would accomplish something. General Grant had from the first pursued an aggressive policy and had won several important victories. Halleck, his superior, disapproved of his actions on technical grounds and urged Lincoln to remove him. The President, who had been perpetually irritated by the indecision of his generals, replied: "I can't spare this man. He fights," and raised Grant to the rank of major-general.

TELEGRAM TO H. T. BLOW

WAR DEPARTMENT,

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 13, 1863.

Hon. H. T. Blow, St. Louis, Mo.: I saw your despatch to the Secretary of War. The publication of a letter without the leave of the writer or the receiver I think cannot be justified, but in this case I do not think it of sufficient consequence to justify an arrest; and again, the arrest being, through a parole, merely nominal, does not deserve the importance sought to be attached to it. Cannot this small matter be dropped on both sides without further difficulty?

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. M. SCHOFIELD

WAR DEPARTMENT,

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 13, 1863.

General Schofield, St. Louis, Mo.: I regret to learn of the arrest of the "Democrat" editor. I fear this loses you the middle position I desired you to occupy. I have not learned which of the two letters I wrote you it was that the "Democrat" published, but I care very little for the publication of any letter I have written. Please spare me the trouble this is likely to bring.

A. LINCOLN.

DRAFT OF LETTER TO GENERAL G. G. MEADE¹

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., July 14, 1863.

Major-General Meade: I have just seen your despatch to General Halleck, asking to be relieved of your command because of a supposed censure of mine. I am very, very grateful to you for the magnificent success you gave the cause of the country at Gettysburg; and I am sorry now to be the author of the slightest pain to you. But I was in such deep distress myself that I could not restrain some expression of it. I have been oppressed nearly ever since the battles of Gettysburg by what appeared to be evidences that yourself and General Couch and General Smith were not seeking a collision with the enemy, but were trying to get him across the river without another battle. What these evidences were, if you please, I hope to tell you at some time when we shall both feel better. The case, summarily stated, is this: You fought and beat the enemy at Gettysburg and, of course, to

¹ Lee had hoped to take Philadelphia, but the defeat he suffered from General Meade at Gettysburg, on the first three days of July, 1863, made this impossible. The popular belief was that this defeat was so severe that the war must soon end. Lincoln's immediate cognizance of Meade's error and his apprehension of its results again showed him indeed to be "his own best general." He afterward regretted not having ordered Meade to attack Lee.

say the least, his loss was as great as yours. He retreated, and you did not, as it seemed to me, pressingly pursue him; but a flood in the river detained him till, by slow degrees, you were again upon him. You had at least twenty thousand veteran troops directly with you, and as many more raw ones within supporting distance, all in addition to those who fought with you at Gettysburg, while it was not possible that he had received a single recruit, and yet you stood and let the flood run down, bridges be built, and the enemy move away at his leisure without attacking him. And Couch and Smith! The latter left Carlisle in time, upon all ordinary calculation, to have aided you in the last battle at Gettysburg, but he did not arrive. At the end of more than ten days, I believe twelve, under constant urging, he reached Hagerstown from Carlisle, which is not an inch over fifty-five miles, if so much, and Couch's movement was very little different.

Again, my dear general, I do not believe you appreciate the magnitude of the misfortune involved in Lee's escape. He was within your easy grasp, and to have closed upon him would, in connection with our other late successes, have ended the war. As it is, the war will be prolonged indefinitely. If you could not safely attack Lee last Monday, how can you possibly do

so south of the river, when you can take with you very few more than two thirds of the force you then had in hand?

It would be unreasonable to expect, and I do not expect [that], you can now effect much. Your golden opportunity is gone, and I am distressed immeasurably because of it.

I beg you will not consider this a prosecution or persecution of yourself. As you had learned that I was dissatisfied, I have thought it best to kindly tell you why.

[*Indorsement on the Envelope.*]

To General Meade, never sent or signed.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL R. C. SCHENCK

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C.,

July 14, 1863. 1.40 P. M.

Major-General Schenck, Baltimore, Maryland: Mr. Jaquess is a very worthy gentleman, but I can have nothing to do, directly, or indirectly with the matter he has in view.

A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO ROBERT T. LINCOLN

WAR DEPARTMENT,

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 14, 1863.

Robert T. Lincoln, New York: Why do I hear no more of you?

A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO L. SWETT

*(Cipher.)*WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., July 15, 1863.

Hon. L. Swett, San Francisco, Cal.: Many persons are telegraphing me from California, begging me for the peace of the State to suspend the military enforcement of the writ of possession in the Almedan case, while you are the single one who urges the contrary. You know I would like to oblige you, but it seems to me my duty in this case is the other way.

A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO SIMON CAMERON

(Cipher.)

WAR DEPARTMENT, July 15, 1863.

Hon. Simon Cameron, Harrisburg, Pa.: Your despatch of yesterday received. Lee was already across the river when you sent it. I would give much to be relieved of the impression that Meade, Couch, Smith, and all since the battle at Gettysburg, have striven only to get Lee over the river without another fight. Please tell me if you know, who was the one corps commander who was for fighting in the council of war on Sunday night.

A. LINCOLN.

PROCLAMATION FOR THANKSGIVING

July 15, 1863

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA:*A Proclamation.*

It has pleased Almighty God to hearken to the supplications and prayers of an afflicted people, and to vouchsafe to the army and navy of the United States victories on land and on sea so signal and so effective as to furnish reasonable grounds for augmented confidence that the union of these States will be maintained, their Constitution preserved, and their peace and prosperity permanently restored. But these victories have been accorded not without sacrifices of life, limb, health, and liberty, incurred by brave, loyal and patriotic citizens. Domestic affliction in every part of the country follows in the train of these fearful bereavements. It is meet and right to recognize and confess the presence of the Almighty Father and the power of his hand equally in these triumphs and in these sorrows.

Now, therefore, be it known that I do set apart Thursday, the 6th day of August next, to be observed as a day for national thanksgiving, praise, and prayer, and I invite the people of the United States to assemble on that occasion in their customary places of worship, and, in the

forms approved by their own consciences, render the homage due to the Divine Majesty for the wonderful things he has done in the nation's behalf, and invoke the influence of his Holy Spirit to subdue the anger which has produced and so long sustained a needless and cruel rebellion, to change the hearts of the insurgents, to guide the counsels of the government with wisdom adequate to so great a national emergency, and to visit with tender care and consolation throughout the length and breadth of our land all those who, through the vicissitudes of marches, voyages, battles, and sieges have been brought to suffer in mind, body, or estate, and finally to lead the whole nation through the paths of repentance and submission to the Divine Will back to the perfect enjoyment of union and fraternal peace.

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

Done at the city of Washington, this fifteenth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and [L. S.] sixty-three, and of the independence of the United States of America the eighty-eighth. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State.

TELEGRAM TO J. O. BROADHEAD

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 15, 1863. 8 A. M.

J. O. Broadhead, St. Louis, Mo.: The effect on political position of McKee's arrest will not be relieved any by its not having been made with that purpose.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 17, 1863.

My dear Sir: It is proper on principle that the governor of Kansas should stand on the same ground as other loyal governors, in giving original commissions and in filling vacancies for troops raised in his State; and I wish him to be so placed at once, unless you know some substantial reason to the contrary.

Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL J. H. LANE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 17, 1863.

My dear Sir: Governor Carney has not asked to [have] General Blunt removed, or interfered with, in his military operations. He has asked that he, the governor, be allowed to commission officers for troops raised in Kansas, as other governors of loyal States do; and I think he is right in this.

He has asked that General Blunt shall not take persons charged with civil crimes out of the hands of the courts and turn them over to mobs to be hung; and I think he is right in this also. He has asked that General Ewing's department be extended to include all Kansas; and I have not determined whether this is right or not.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR O. P. MORTON

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 18, 1863.

Governor O. P. Morton, Indianapolis: What do you remember about the case of John O. Brown, convicted of mutinous conduct and sentenced to death? What do you desire about it?

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GOVERNOR JOEL PARKER

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 20, 1863.

Dear Sir: Yours of the fifteenth has been received, and considered by the Secretary of War and myself. I was pained to be informed this morning by the Provost-Marshal-General that New Jersey is now behind twelve thousand, irrespective of the draft. I did not have time to ascertain by what rules this was made out; and I shall be very glad if it shall, by any means, prove to be incorrect. He also tells me that eight thousand will be about the quota of New

Jersey on the first draft; and the Secretary of War says the first draft in that State would not be made for some time in any event. As every man obtained otherwise lessens the draft so much, and this may supersede it altogether, I hope you will push forward your volunteer regiments as fast as possible.

It is a very delicate matter to postpone the draft in one State, because of the argument it furnishes others to have postponement also. If we could have a reason in one case which would be good if presented in all cases, we could act upon it.

I will thank you, therefore, to inform me, if you can, by what day, at the earliest you can promise to have ready to be mustered into the United States service the eight thousand men.

If you can make a reliable promise (I mean one which you can rely on yourself) of this sort, it will be of great value, if the day is not too remote.

I beg you to be assured I wish to avoid the difficulties you dread as much as yourself.

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL JOHN M. SCHOFIELD

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 20, 1863.

My dear General: I have received and read your letter of the 14th of July.

I think the suggestion you make, of discontinuing proceedings against Mr. McKee, a very proper one. While I admit that there is an apparent impropriety in the publication of the letter mentioned, without my consent or yours, it is still a case where no evil could result, and which I am entirely willing to overlook.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 21, 1863.

My dear Sir: I desire that a renewed and vigorous effort be made to raise colored forces along the shores of the Mississippi. Please consult the general-in-chief, and if it is perceived that any acceleration of the matter can be effected, let it be done. I think the evidence is nearly conclusive that General Thomas is one of the best (if not the very best) instrument for this service.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GOVERNOR THOMAS CARNEY

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 21, 1863.

Gov. T. Carney, Topeka, Kans.: Yours dated Pittsburg, the 19th instant, is received.

The day after you were with me, I wrote a

note to the Secretary of War, asking him to place you on the same ground with all other governors of loyal States, as to the appointment of military officers. In reply to this, he verbally told me, when I next met him, that he had never placed you on any other ground—that the forces in regard to which you and General Blunt have a controversy were raised on special authority from the War Department, given before you were governor, and that the officers were commissioned by him (the Secretary of War) according to the original authority; and that he never had required you to commission officers nominated by General Blunt.

The like of this has been done in some other States, as I remember.

As to leaving no part of Kansas in Blunt's department, the thing should not be hastily done. He, with his command, is now in the field south of Kansas; and while I do not know how much what you desire might interfere with his supplies, it is very certain that he cannot now be interfering with you.

It is my purpose to take care that he shall not any more take persons charged with civil crimes out of the custody of the courts, and turn them over to mobs to be hanged.

Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL O. O. HOWARD ¹

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 21, 1863.

My dear General Howard: Your letter of the 18th is received. I was deeply mortified by the escape of Lee across the Potomac, because the substantial destruction of his army would have ended the war, and because I believed such destruction was perfectly easy—believed that General Meade and his noble army had expended all the skill, and toil, and blood, up to the ripe harvest, and then let the crop go to waste.

Perhaps my mortification was heightened because I had always believed—making my belief a hobby, possibly—that the main rebel army going north of the Potomac could never return, if well attended to; and because I was so greatly flattered in this belief by the operations at Gettysburg. A few days having passed, I am now profoundly grateful for what was done, without criticism for what was not done.

General Meade has my confidence as a brave and skilful officer and a true man.

Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

¹The preponderance of testimony given by the generals engaged in the Battle of Gettysburg indicates that General Meade erred in not pushing his advantage with more energy.

LETTER TO GENERAL CHARLES E. HOVEY

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 21, 1863.

Dear Sir: I distinctly say that I will nominate you as a brigadier-general of volunteers, if you will furnish me with Major-General William T. Sherman's written request to do so.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. M. SCHOFIELD

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 22, 1863. 10.45 A. M.

Major-General Schofield, St. Louis, Mo.:
The following despatch has been placed in my hands. Please look to the subject of it.

LEXINGTON, Mo., July 21, 1863.

Hon. S. C. Pomeroy: Under Orders No. 63, the sheriff is arresting slaves of rebels inside our lines, and returning them in great numbers. Can he do it?

Answer.

GOULD.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GOVERNOR H. R. GAMBLE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 23, 1863.

Sir: My private secretary has just brought me a letter, saying it is a very "cross" one from you, about mine to General Schofield, recently published in the "Democrat." As I am trying to preserve my own temper by avoiding irritants

so far as practicable, I decline to read the cross letter. I think fit to say, however, that when I wrote the letter to General Schofield, I was totally unconscious of any malice or disrespect toward you, or of using any expression which should offend you if seen by you. I have not seen the document in the "Democrat," and therefore cannot say whether it is a correct copy.

Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL R. C. SCHENCK

(*Private.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 23, 1863.

My dear Sir: Returning to the Executive Room yesterday, I was mortified to find you were gone, leaving no word of explanation. I went down-stairs, as I understood, on a perfect understanding with you that you would remain till my return. I got this impression distinctly from "Edward," whom I believe you know. Possibly I misunderstood him. I had been very unwell in the morning, and had scarcely tasted food during the day, till the time you saw me go down.

I beg you will not believe I have treated you with intentional discourtesy.

Yours as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO POSTMASTER-GENERAL BLAIR

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 24, 1863.

Sir: Yesterday little indorsements of mine went to you in two cases of postmasterships sought for widows whose husbands have fallen in the battles of this war. These cases occurring on the same day brought me to reflect more attentively than I had before done, as to what is fairly due from us here in the dispensing of patronage toward the men who, by fighting our battles, bear the chief burden of saving our country. My conclusion is that, other claims and qualifications being equal, they have the better right; and this is especially applicable to the disabled soldier and the deceased soldier's family.

Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL A. E. BURNSIDE

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 24, 1863.

Major-General Burnside, Cincinnati, O.:
What, if anything, further do you hear from John [H.] Morgan?

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GOVERNOR JOEL PARKER

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 25, 1863.

Sir: Yours of the 21st is received, and I have taken time and considered and discussed the sub-

ject with the Secretary of War and the Provost-Marshal-General, in order, if possible, to make you a more favorable answer than I finally find myself able to do.

It is a vital point with us to not have a special stipulation with the governor of any one State, because it would breed trouble in many, if not all, other States; and my idea was when I wrote you, as it still is, to get a point of time to which we could wait, on the reason that we were not ready ourselves to proceed, and which might enable you to raise the quota of your State, in whole, or in large part, without the draft. The points of time you fix are much farther off than I had hoped. We might have got along in the way I have indicated for twenty, or possibly thirty, days. As it stands, the best I can say is that every volunteer you will present us within thirty days from this date, fit and ready to be mustered into the United States service, on the usual terms, shall be *pro tanto* an abatement of your quota of the draft. That quota I can now state at eight thousand seven hundred and eighty-three (8783). No draft from New Jersey, other than for the above quota, will be made before an additional draft, common to [all] the States, shall be required; and I may add that if we get well through with this draft, I entertain a strong hope that any further one may never be needed.

This expression of hope, however, must not be construed into a promise.

As to conducting the draft by townships, I find it would require such a waste of labor already done, and such an additional amount of it, and such a loss of time, as to make it, I fear, inadmissible. Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

P. S. Since writing the above, getting additional information, I am enabled to say that the draft may be made in subdistricts, as the enrolment has been made, or is in process of making. This will amount practically to drafting by townships, as the enrolment sub-districts are generally about the extent of townships.

A. L.

NOTE TO SECRETARY STANTON, July 27, 1863

Will the Secretary of War please glance over these papers and inform me on what ground Dr. Phillips's nomination was withheld from the Senate, and what objection there is, if any, to his reappointment?

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL G. G. MEADE

(*Private.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 27, 1863.

Major-General Meade: I have not thrown General Hooker away; and therefore I would

like to know whether it would be agreeable to you, all things considered, for him to take a corps under you, if he himself is willing to do so. Write me in perfect freedom, with the assurance that I will not subject you to any embarrassment by making your letter or its contents known to any one. I wish to know your wishes before I decide whether to break the subject to him. Do not lean a hair's breadth against your own feelings, or your judgment of the public service, on the idea of gratifying me.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL A. E. BURNSIDE

WAR DEPARTMENT, July 27, 1863.

· *Major-General Burnside, Cincinnati, O.:*
Let me explain. In General Grant's first despatch after the fall of Vicksburg, he said, among other things, he would send the Ninth Corps to you. Thinking it would be pleasant to you, I asked the Secretary of War to telegraph you the news. For some reasons never mentioned to us by General Grant, they have not been sent, though we have seen outside intimations that they took part in the expedition against Jackson. General Grant is a copious worker and fighter, but a very meager writer or telegrapher. No doubt he changed his purpose in regard to the

Ninth Corps for some sufficient reason, but has forgotten to notify us of it.

A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO MRS. LINCOLN

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 28, 1863.

Mrs. A. Lincoln, New York: Bob went to Fort Monroe and only got back to-day. Will start to you at 11 A. M. to-morrow. All well.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 28, 1863.

My dear Sir: A young son of Senator Brown of Mississippi, not yet twenty, as I understand, was wounded and made a prisoner at Gettysburg. His mother is sister of Mrs. P. R. Fendall, of this city. Mr. Fendall, on behalf of himself and family, asks that he and they may have charge of the boy to cure him up, being responsible for his person and good behavior. Would it not be rather a grateful and graceful thing to let them have him?

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL H. W. HALLECK

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

WASHINGTON, D.C., July 29, 1863.

Major-General Halleck: Seeing General Meade's despatch of yesterday to yourself causes

me to fear that he supposes the government here is demanding of him to bring on a general engagement with Lee as soon as possible. I am claiming no such thing of him. In fact, my judgment is against it; which judgment, of course, I will yield if yours and his are the contrary. If he could not safely engage Lee at Williamsport, it seems absurd to suppose he can safely engage him now when he has scarcely more than two thirds of the force he had at Williamsport, while it must be that Lee has been reinforced. True, I desired General Meade to pursue Lee across the Potomac, hoping, as has proved true, that he would thereby clear the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and get some advantages by harassing him on his retreat. These being past, I am unwilling he should now get into a general engagement on the impression that we here are pressing him, and I shall be glad for you to so inform him, unless your own judgment is against it.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 29, 1863.

Sir: Can we not renew the effort to organize a force to go to Western Texas?

Please consult with the general-in-chief on the subject.

If the governor of New Jersey shall furnish any new regiments, might not they be put into such an expedition? Please think of it.

I believe no local object is now more desirable.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

ORDER OF RETALIATION

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 30, 1863.

It is the duty of every government to give protection to its citizens of whatever class, color, or condition, and especially to those who are duly organized as soldiers in the public service. The law of nations, and the usages and customs of war, as carried on by civilized powers, permit no distinction as to color in the treatment of prisoners of war as public enemies. To sell or enslave any captured person on account of his color, and for no offense against the laws of war, is a relapse into barbarism and a crime against the civilization of the age.

The government of the United States will give the same protection to all its soldiers, and if the enemy shall sell or enslave any one because of his color, the offense shall be punished by retaliation upon the enemy's prisoners in our possession.

It is therefore ordered that for every soldier of the United States killed in violation of the

laws of war, a rebel soldier shall be executed; and for every one enslaved by the enemy or sold into slavery, a rebel soldier shall be placed at hard labor on the public works, and continued at such labor until the other shall be released and receive the treatment due to a prisoner of war.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

LETTER TO F. P. BLAIR, SR.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 30, 1863.

My dear Sir: Yours of to-day, with inclosure, is received. Yesterday I commenced trying to get up an expedition for Texas.

I shall do the best I can. Meantime I would like to know who is the great man Alexander, that talks so oracularly about "if the President keeps his word" and Banks not having "capacity to run an omnibus on Broadway"? How has this Alexander's immense light been obscured hitherto?

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO — MOULTON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 31, 1863.

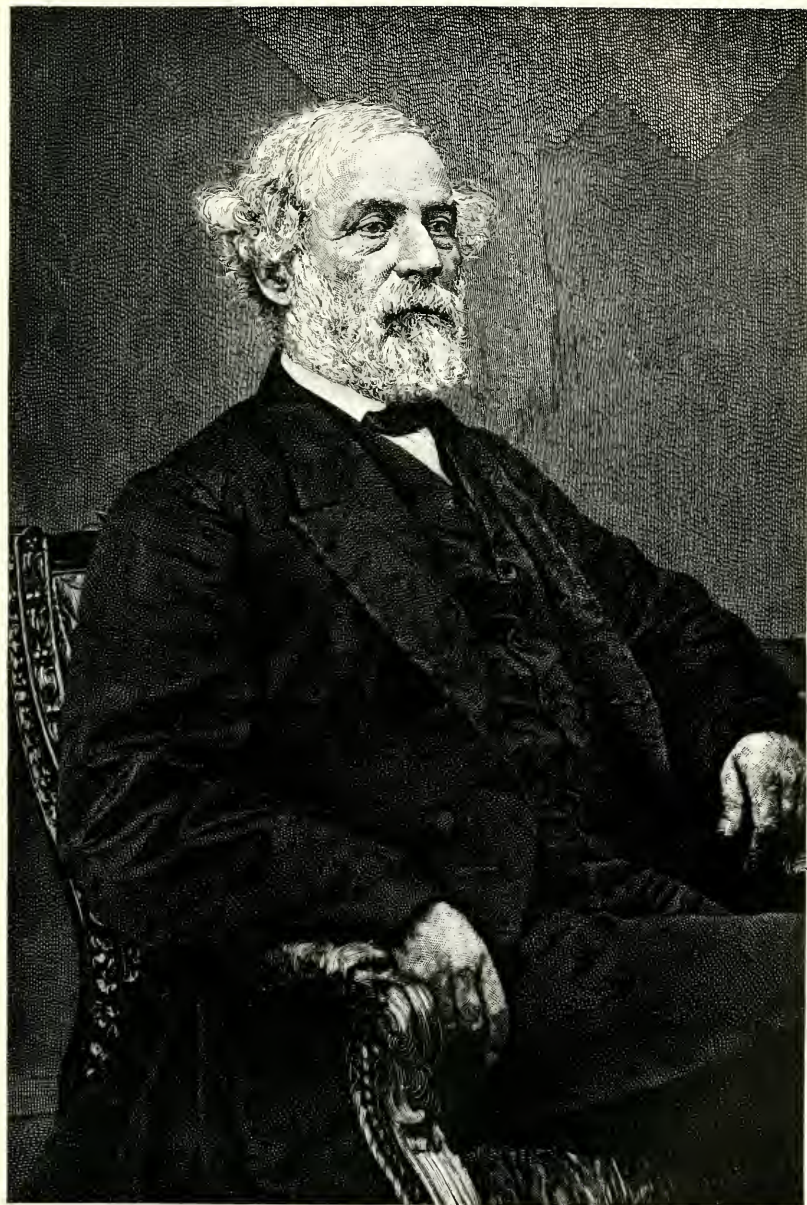
My dear Sir: There has been a good deal of complaint against you by your superior officers of the Provost-Marshal-General's Department, and your removal has been strongly urged on the

ground of "persistent disobedience of orders and neglect of duty." Firmly convinced, as I am, of the patriotism of your motives, I am unwilling to do anything in your case which may seem unnecessarily harsh or at variance with the feelings of personal respect and esteem with which I have always regarded you. I consider your services in your district valuable, and should be sorry to lose them. It is unnecessary for me to state, however, that when differences of opinion arise between officers of the government, the ranking officer must be obeyed. You of course recognize as clearly as I do the importance of this rule. I hope you will conclude to go on in your present position under the regulations of the department. I wish you would write to me. I am very truly your friend and obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

General Robert E. Lee

From a Photograph taken after the War.



LETTER TO GENERAL S. A. HURLBUT

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 31, 1863.

MY dear General Hurlbut: Your letter by Mr. Dana was duly received. I now learn that your resignation has reached the War Department. I also learn that an active command has been assigned you by General Grant. The Secretary of War and General Halleck are very partial to you, as you know I also am. We all wish you to reconsider the question of resigning; not that we would wish to retain you greatly against your wish and interest, but that your decision may be at least a very well-considered one.

I understand that Senator [William K.] Sebastian, of Arkansas, thinks of offering to resume his place in the Senate. Of course the Senate, and not I, would decide whether to admit or reject him. Still I should feel great interest in the question. It may be so presented as to be one of the very greatest national importance; and it may be otherwise so presented as to be of no more than temporary personal consequence to him.

The emancipation proclamation applies to

Arkansas. I think it is valid in law, and will be so held by the courts. I think I shall not retract or repudiate it. Those who shall have tasted actual freedom I believe can never be slaves or quasi-slaves again. For the rest, I believe some plan substantially being gradual emancipation would be better for both white and black. The Missouri plan, recently adopted, I do not object to on account of the time for ending the institution; but I am sorry the beginning should have been postponed for seven years, leaving all that time to agitate for the repeal of the whole thing. It should begin at once, giving at least the new-born a vested interest in freedom which could not be taken away. If Senator Sebastian could come with something of this sort from Arkansas, I, at least, should take great interest in his case; and I believe a single individual will have scarcely done the world so great a service. See him, if you can, and read this to him; but charge him to not make it public for the present. Write me again.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR SEYMOUR

ALBANY, August 1, 1863. Rec'd 2 P. M.

The President of the United States: I ask that the draft be suspended in this State until I can send you a communication I am preparing. HORATIO SEYMOUR.

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 1, 1863. 4 P. M.

Governor Seymour, Albany, N. Y.: By what day may I expect your communication to reach me? Are you anxious about any part except the city and vicinity?
A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. G. FOSTER

EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 3, 1863.

Major-General Foster, (or whoever may be in command of the military department with headquarters at Fort Monroe, Va. :) If Dr. Wright on trial at Norfolk, has been or shall be convicted, send me a transcript of his trial and conviction and do not let execution be done upon him until my further order
A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO J. A. BINGHAM

EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 4, 1863.

Hon. John A. Bingham, Cadiz, O.: It is indispensable for us to have a judge at Key West as soon as possible. Please inform me whether you will go.
A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO THE CINCINNATI GAZETTE

(*Cipher.*)

WAR DEPARTMENT, August 5, 1863.

Cincinnati Gazette: Please send me your present posting as to Kentucky election.

A. LINCOLN.

*LETTER TO COMMISSIONER OF AGRICULTURE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 5, 1863.

Dear Sir: . . . About a year ago Captain Isaac R. Diller came to me with a proposition in regard to a new compound of gunpowder, the ingredients and mode of compounding being a secret. It promised important advantages, which would be very valuable, if the promise was made good. But he did not wish to give the government the secret; nor did the government wish to buy it without a test of its value. For this object, the manufacture of a quantity of it became indispensable; and this again required the service of a good chemist. Dr. Charles M. Wetherill, Chemist in your Department, was an acquaintance of Captain Diller, and was sought by him to aid in the manufacture of the powder. As I remember I requested you to allow him to do so, which you did. A small quantity was manufactured, and proved so far satisfactory that Captain now, Admiral Dahlgren advised the making of a large quantity so as to test it for artillery use. I consented, and procured the Secretary of War and Secretary of the Navy, to advance, from time [to time], sums amounting in the whole to five thousand dollars, from funds under their discretionary control. Dr. Wetherill's service was again required, and

again obtained, perhaps, so far as you are concerned, at my request. At the time, nothing was said, or thought of, so far as I remember, as to his receiving his salary at your Department, while engaged at the powder. Now, being brought to my mind, it seems reasonable he should receive his salary for that time, which he tells me is refused. The manufacturer of the powder has required the building of a good deal of expensive machinery, leaving the five thousand dollars fund no reliance for Dr. Wetherill. In fact, I suppose Captain Diller thought the government was furnishing Dr. Wetherill, as one of its officers, to make the experiment.

Dr. Wetherill presents another question, which is as to the amount of his permanent or general salary. I see that the law fixes the salaries of a class to which the chemist belongs "corresponding to the salaries of similar officers in other Departments" and I do not see that the law assigns me any duty or discretion about it. All I can do is to give a sort of legal opinion that his salary should be fixed according to the law. I do wish these questions could be settled, without further difficulty. I do not know what has been fixed as the salary of similar officers in other Departments; but I suppose this can not be hard to ascertain.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL N. P. BANKS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 5, 1863.

My dear General Banks: Being a poor correspondent is the only apology I offer for not having sooner tendered my thanks for your very successful and very valuable military operations this year. The final stroke in opening the Mississippi never should, and I think never will, be forgotten.

Recent events in Mexico, I think, render early action in Texas more important than ever. I expect, however, the general-in-chief will address you more fully upon this subject.

Governor Boutwell read me to-day that part of your letter to him which relates to Louisiana affairs. While I very well know what I would be glad for Louisiana to do, it is quite a different thing for me to assume direction of the matter. I would be glad for her to make a new constitution recognizing the emancipation proclamation, and adopting emancipation in those parts of the State to which the proclamation does not apply. And while she is at it, I think it would not be objectionable for her to adopt some practical system by which the two races could gradually live themselves out of the old relation to each other, and both come out better prepared for the new. Education for young blacks should be included

in the plan. After all, the power or element of "contract" may be sufficient for this probationary period; and, by its simplicity and flexibility, may be the better.

As an anti-slavery man, I have a motive to desire emancipation which pro-slavery men do not have; but even they have strong enough reason to thus place themselves again under the shield of the Union; and to thus perpetually hedge against the recurrence of the scenes through which we are now passing.

Governor Shepley has informed me that Mr. Durant is now taking a registry, with a view to the election of a constitutional convention in Louisiana. This to me appears proper. If such convention were to ask my views, I could present little else than what I now say to you. I think the thing should be pushed forward, so that, if possible, its mature work may reach here by the meeting of Congress.

For my own part, I think I shall not, in any event, retract the emancipation proclamation; nor, as executive, ever return to slavery any person who is freed by the terms of that proclamation, or by any of the acts of Congress.

If Louisiana shall send members to Congress, their admission to seats will depend, as you know, upon the respective Houses, and not upon the President.

If these views can be of any advantage in giving shape and impetus to action there, I shall be glad for you to use them prudently for that object. Of course you will confer with intelligent and trusty citizens of the State, among whom I would suggest Messrs. Flanders, Hahn, and Durant; and to each of whom I now think I may send copies of this letter.

Still, it is perhaps better to not make the letter generally public.

Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

[*Indorsement.*]

Copies sent to Messrs. Flanders, Hahn, and Durant, each indorsed as follows:

The within is a copy of a letter to General Banks.

Please observe my directions to him. Do not mention the paragraph about Mexico.

August 6, 1863.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GOVERNOR SEYMOUR

EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 7, 1863.

Governor Horatio Seymour, New York:
Your communication of the third instant has been received and attentively considered.

I cannot consent to suspend the draft in New York, as you request, because, among other reasons, time is too important.

By the figures you send, which I presume are correct, the twelve districts represented fall into two classes of eight and four respectively. The disparity of the quotas for the draft in these two classes is certainly very striking, being the difference between an average of 2200 in one class, and 4864 in the other. Assuming that the districts are equal one to another in entire population, as required by the plan on which they were made, this disparity is such as to require attention. Much of it, however, I suppose will be accounted for by the fact that so many more persons fit for soldiers are in the city than are in the country, who have too recently arrived from other parts of the United States and from Europe to be either included in the census of 1860, or to have voted in 1862. Still, making due allowance for this, I am yet unwilling to stand upon it as an entirely sufficient explanation of the great disparity.

I shall direct the draft to proceed in all the districts, drawing, however, at first from each of the four districts, to wit: the second, fourth, sixth, and eighth, only 2200 being the average quota of the other class. After this drawing, these four districts, and also the seventeenth and twenty-ninth, shall be carefully reënrolled, and, if you please agents of yours may witness every step of the process. Any deficiency which may

appear by the new enrolment will be supplied by a special draft for that object, allowing due credit for volunteers who may be obtained from these districts respectively during the interval. And at all points, so far as consistent with practical convenience, due credits will be given for volunteers; and your excellency shall be notified of the time fixed for commencing a draft in each district.

I do not object to abide a decision of the United States Supreme Court, or of the judges thereof, on the constitutionality of the draft law. In fact, I should be willing to facilitate the obtaining of it, but I cannot consent to lose the time while it is being obtained. We are contending with an enemy, who, as I understand, drives every able-bodied man he can reach into his ranks, very much as a butcher drives bullocks into a slaughter-pen. No time is wasted, no argument is used. This produces an army which will soon turn upon our now victorious soldiers, already in the field, if they shall not be sustained by recruits as they should be. It produces an army with a rapidity not to be matched on our side, if we first waste time to reëxperiment with the volunteer system already deemed by Congress, and palpably, in fact, so far exhausted as to be, inadequate, and then more time to obtain a court decision as to whether a law is constitu-

tional which requires a part of those not now in the service to go to the aid of those who are already in it, and still more time to determine with absolute certainty that we get those who are to go in the precisely legal proportion to those who are not to go. My purpose is to be in my action just and constitutional, and yet practical, in performing the important duty with which I am charged, of maintaining the unity and the free principles of our common country.

Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO MRS. LINCOLN

EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 8, 1863.

My dear Wife: All as well as usual, and no particular trouble anyway. I put the money into the Treasury at five per cent., with the privilege of withdrawing it any time upon thirty days' notice. I suppose you are glad to learn this. Tell dear Tad poor "Nanny Goat" is lost, and Mrs. Cuthbert and I are in distress about it. The day you left, Nanny was found resting herself and chewing her little cud on the middle of Tad's bed; but now she's gone! The gardener kept complaining that she destroyed the flowers, till it was concluded to bring her down to the White House. This was done, and the second day she had disappeared and has not been heard

of since. This is the last we know of poor "Nanny." The weather continues dry and excessively warm here. Nothing very important occurring. The election in Kentucky has gone very strongly right. Old Mr. Wickliffe got ugly, as you know: ran for governor, and is terribly beaten. Upon Mr. Crittenden's death, Brutus Clay, Cassius's brother, was put on the track for Congress, and is largely elected. Mr. Menzies, who, as we thought, behaved very badly last session of Congress, is largely beaten in the district opposite Cincinnati, by Green Clay Smith, Cassius Clay's nephew. But enough.

Affectionately,

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL J. G. FOSTER

EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 8, 1863.

General Foster: This will be handed you by Governor Peirpoint of Virginia.

He goes, among other things, seeking to adjust a difficulty at Norfolk and Portsmouth. It seems there is a large number of families in Portsmouth who are destitute and whose natural supporters are in the rebel army or have been killed in it. These destitute families must live somehow, and it seems the city authorities on one side, and our military on the other, are in ruinous conflict about the mode of providing.

Governor Peirpoint is a good man, and if you will place him in conference and amicable relations with the military authority in the vicinity, I do not doubt that much good will come of it. Please do it.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO J. M. FLEMING AND R. MORROW

EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 9, 1863.

Gentlemen: The petition of which you were the bearers has just been handed me. Your cards and notes had come to me on two or three successive days before; and I knew then, as well as I do now after reading the petition, what your mission was. I knew it was the same true and painful story which Governor Johnson, Mr. Maynard, Dr. Clements, and others have been telling me for more than two years. I also knew that meeting you could do no good, because I have all the while done, and shall continue to do, the best for you I could and can. I do as much for East Tennessee as I would or could if my own home and family were in Knoxville. The difficulties of getting a Union army into that region, and of keeping it there, are so apparent—so obvious—that none can fail to see them, unless it may be those who are driven mad and blind by their sufferings. Start by whatever route they may, their lines of supply are broken

before they get half way. A small force sufficient to beat the enemy now there would be of no value, because the enemy would reinforce to meet them, until we should have to give back or accumulate so large a force as to be very difficult to supply, and as to ruin us entirely if a great disaster should befall it. I know you are too much distressed to be argued with, and therefore I do not attempt it at length. You know I am not indifferent to your troubles, else I should not, more than a year and a half ago, have made the effort I did to have a railroad built on purpose to relieve you. The Secretary of War, General Halleck, General Burnside, and General Rosecrans are all engaged now in an effort to relieve your section. But, remember, you will probably thwart them if you make this public.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT

EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 9, 1863.

My dear General Grant: I see by a despatch of yours that you incline quite strongly toward an expedition against Mobile. This would appear tempting to me also, were it not that in view of recent events in Mexico I am greatly impressed with the importance of reëstablishing the national authority in Western Texas as soon as

possible. I am not making an order, however; that I leave, for the present at least, to the general-in-chief.

A word upon another subject. General Thomas has gone again to the Mississippi Valley, with the view of raising colored troops. I have no reason to doubt that you are doing what you reasonably can upon the same subject. I believe it is a resource which if vigorously applied now will soon close the contest. It works doubly, weakening the enemy and strengthening us. We were not fully ripe for it, until the river was opened. Now, I think at least one hundred thousand can and ought to be rapidly organized along its shores, relieving all white troops to serve elsewhere. Mr. Dana understands you as believing that the emancipation proclamation has helped some in your military operations. I am very glad if this is so.

Did you receive a short letter from me dated the thirteenth of July?

Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

MEMORANDUM, August 10, 1863

After the report mentioned was made, this case, including the report, was brought before me, and upon quite full hearing and consideration, my conclusion was that Mr. Sands is prob-

ably a rather disagreeable man, and that these charges made to get rid of him are frivolous. Such is my present impression.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS

EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 10, 1863.

My dear General Rosecrans: Yours of the 1st was received two days ago. I think you must have inferred more than General Halleck has intended, as to any dissatisfaction of mine with you. I am sure you, as a reasonable man, would not have been wounded could you have heard all my words and seen all my thoughts in regard to you. I have not abated in my kind feeling for and confidence in you. I have seen most of your despatches to General Halleck—probably all of them. After Grant invested Vicksburg I was very anxious lest Johnston should overwhelm him from the outside, and when it appeared certain that part of Bragg's force had gone and was going to Johnston, it did seem to me it was exactly the proper time for you to attack Bragg with what force he had left. In all kindness let me say it so seems to me yet. Finding from your despatches to General Halleck that your judgment was different, and being very anxious for Grant, I, on one occasion, told General Halleck I thought he should direct you to

decide at once to immediately attack Bragg or to stand on the defensive and send part of your force to Grant. He replied he had already so directed in substance. Soon after, despatches from Grant abated my anxiety for him, and in proportion abated my anxiety about any movement of yours. When afterward, however, I saw a despatch of yours arguing that the right time for you to attack Bragg was not before, but would be after, the fall of Vicksburg, it impressed me very strangely, and I think I so stated to the Secretary of War and General Halleck. It seemed no other than the proposition that you could better fight Bragg when Johnston should be at liberty to return and assist him than you could before he could so return to his assistance.

Since Grant has been entirely relieved by the fall of Vicksburg, by which Johnston is also relieved, it has seemed to me that your chance for a stroke has been considerably diminished, and I have not been pressing you directly or indirectly. True, I am very anxious for East Tennessee to be occupied by us; but I see and appreciate the difficulties you mention. The question occurs, Can the thing be done at all? Does preparation advance at all? Do you not consume supplies as fast as you get them forward? Have you more animals to-day than you had at the battle of Stone's River? And yet have not

more been furnished you since then than your entire present stock? I ask the same questions as to your mounted force.

Do not misunderstand: I am not casting blame upon you; I rather think by great exertion you can get to East Tennessee; but a very important question is, Can you stay there? I make no order in the case—that I leave to General Halleck and yourself.

And now be assured once more that I think of you in all kindness and confidence, and that I am not watching you with an evil eye.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

NOTE TO SECRETARY STANTON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 10, 1863.

Sir: I have not heard of any charges being filed against General J. A. McClernand. Are there any? Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

LETTER OF ACKNOWLEDGMENT

EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 10. 1863.

Dear Madam: I thank you very cordially for the beautifully finished cushion received by your courtesy to-day. But, grateful as I am, it will be a greater pleasure to you to reflect that the brave soldiers who reap the benefit of your kindness and liberality are to-day more grateful still. I am yours very sincerely, A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GOVERNOR SEYMOUR

EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 11, 1863.

Governor Horatio Seymour, New York:
Yours of the 8th, with Judge-Advocate-General Waterbury's report, was received to-day.

Asking you to remember that I consider time as being very important, both to the general cause of the country and to the soldiers already in the field, I beg to remind you that I waited, at your request, from the 1st till the 6th inst., to receive your communication dated the 3d. In view of its great length, and the known time and apparent care taken in its preparation, I did not doubt that it contained your full case as you desired to present it. It contained figures for twelve districts, omitting the other nineteen, as I supposed, because you found nothing to complain of as to them. I answered accordingly.

In doing so I laid down the principle to which I purpose adhering, which is to proceed with the draft, at the same time employing infallible means to avoid any great wrongs. With the communication received to-day you send figures for twenty-eight districts including the twelve sent before, and still omitting three, from which I suppose the enrolments are not yet received. In looking over the fuller list of twenty-eight districts, I find that the quotas for sixteen of

them are above 2000 and below 2700, while of the rest, six are above 2700 and six are below 2000. Applying the principle to these new facts, the fifth and seventh districts must be added to the four in which the quotas have already been reduced to 2200 for the first draft; and with these, four others must be added to those to be reënrolled. The corrected case will then stand: the quotas of the second, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth districts fixed at 2200 for the first draft. The Provost-Marshal-General informs me that the drawing is already completed in [the] sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, twenty-second, twenty-fourth, twenty-sixth, twenty-seventh, twenty-eighth, twenty-ninth, and thirtieth districts. In the others, except the three outstanding, the drawing will be made upon the quotas as now fixed. After the first draft, the second, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, sixteenth, seventeenth, twenty-first, twenty-fifth, twenty-ninth, and thirty-first districts will be reënroled for the purpose, and in the manner stated in my letter of the 7th inst. The same principle will be applied to the now outstanding districts when they shall come in. No part of my former letter is repudiated by reason of not being restated in this, or for any other cause.

Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL G. G. MEADE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 11, 1863.

My dear General Meade: Yesterday week I made known to General Hooker our brief correspondence in regard to him. He seemed gratified with the kind spirit manifested by both of us; but said he was busy preparing a report and would consider.

Yesterday he called again, and said he would accept the offer if it was still open; would go at once if you desire, but would prefer waiting till the 1st of September, unless there was to be a battle, or you desire him to come sooner. I told him I would write you. Please answer.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

INDORSEMENT, August 11, 1863

Secretary of War: Please give General Logan the extended leave asked for, unless you know a good reason to the contrary.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL J. A. MCCLERNAND

EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 12, 1863.

My dear Sir: Our friend, William G. Greene, has just presented a kind letter in regard to yourself, addressed to me by our other friends, Yates, Hatch, and Dubois.

I doubt whether your present position is more painful to you than to myself. Grateful for the patriotic stand so early taken by you in this life-and-death struggle of the nation, I have done whatever has appeared practicable to advance you and the public interest together. No charges, with a view to a trial, have been preferred against you by any one; nor do I suppose any will be. All there is, so far as I have heard, is General Grant's statement of his reasons for relieving you. And even this I have not seen or sought to see; because it is a case, as appears to me, in which I could do nothing without doing harm. General Grant and yourself have been conspicuous in our most important successes; and for me to interfere and thus magnify a breach between you could not but be of evil effect. Better leave it where the law of the case has placed it. For me to force you back upon General Grant would be forcing him to resign. I cannot give you a new command, because we have no forces except such as already have commanders.

I am constantly pressed by those who scold before they think, or without thinking at all, to give commands respectively to Frémont, McClellan, Butler, Sigel, Curtis, Hunter, Hooker, and perhaps others, when, all else out of the way, I have no commands to give them. This is now your case; which, as I have said, pains me not

less than it does you. My belief is that the permanent estimate of what a general does in the field is fixed by the "cloud of witnesses" who have been with him in the field; and that relying on these, he who has the right needs not to fear.

Your friend as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. G. FOSTER

WAR DEPARTMENT, August 15, 1863.

Major-General Foster, Fort Monroe, Va.:
I think you are right in placing "little reliance in the report," still the question is so interesting that I would like to know if the captain of the *Hudson* gave any particulars how he got his news and the like. Please answer.

A. LINCOLN.

OPINION ON THE DRAFT, NEVER ISSUED OR PUBLISHED BY THE PRESIDENT, August [15?] 1863

IT is at all times proper that misunderstanding between the public and the public servant should be avoided; and this is far more important now than in times of peace and tranquillity. I therefore address you without searching for a precedent upon which to do so. Some of you are sincerely devoted to the republican institutions and territorial integrity of our country, and yet are opposed to what is called the draft, or conscription.

At the beginning of the war, and ever since, a variety of motives, pressing, some in one direction and some in the other, would be presented to the mind of each man physically fit for a soldier, upon the combined effect of which motives he would, or would not, voluntarily enter the service. Among these motives would be patriotism, political bias, ambition, personal courage, love of adventure, want of employment, and convenience, or the opposites of some of these. We already have, and have had in the service, as appears, substantially all that can be

obtained upon this voluntary weighing of motives. And yet we must somehow obtain more, or relinquish the original object of the contest, together with all the blood and treasure already expended in the effort to secure it. To meet this necessity the law for the draft has been enacted. You who do not wish to be soldiers do not like this law. This is natural; nor does it imply want of patriotism. Nothing can be so just and necessary as to make us like it if it is disagreeable to us. We are prone, too, to find false arguments with which to excuse ourselves for opposing such disagreeable things. In this case, those who desire the rebellion to succeed, and others who seek reward in a different way, are very active in accommodating us with this class of arguments. They tell us the law is unconstitutional. It is the first instance, I believe, in which the power of Congress to do a thing has ever been questioned in a case when the power is given by the Constitution in express terms. Whether a power can be implied when it is not expressed has often been the subject of controversy; but this is the first case in which the degree of effrontery has been ventured upon of denying a power which is plainly and distinctly written down in the Constitution. The Constitution declares that "The Congress shall have power . . . to raise and support armies; but no appropriation

of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years." The whole scope of the conscription act is "to raise and support armies." There is nothing else in it. It makes no appropriation of money, and hence the money clause just quoted is not touched by it.

The case simply is, the Constitution provides that the Congress shall have power to raise and support armies; and by this act the Congress has exercised the power to raise and support armies. This is the whole of it. It is a law made in literal pursuance of this part of the United States Constitution; and another part of the same Constitution declares that "this Constitution, and the laws made in pursuance thereof, . . . shall be the supreme law of the land, and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." Do you admit that the power is given to raise and support armies, and yet insist that by this act Congress has not exercised the power in a constitutional mode?—has not done the thing in the right way? Who is to judge of this? The Constitution gives Congress the power, but it does not prescribe the mode, or expressly declare who shall prescribe it. In such case Congress must prescribe the mode, or relinquish the power. There is no alternative. Congress could not exercise the pow-

er to do the thing if it had not the power of providing a way to do it, when no way is provided by the Constitution for doing it. In fact, Congress would not have the power to raise and support armies, if even by the Constitution it were left to the option of any other or others to give or withhold the only mode of doing it. If the Constitution had prescribed a mode, Congress could and must follow that mode; but, as it is, the mode necessarily goes to Congress, with the power expressly given. The power is given fully, completely, unconditionally. It is not a power to raise armies if State authorities consent; nor if the men to compose the armies are entirely willing; but it is a power to raise and support armies given to Congress by the Constitution, without an "if."

It is clear that a constitutional law may not be expedient or proper. Such would be a law to raise armies when no armies were needed. But this is not such. The republican institutions and territorial integrity of our country cannot be maintained without the further raising and supporting of armies. There can be no army without men. Men can be had only voluntarily, or involuntarily. We have ceased to obtain them voluntarily, and to obtain them involuntarily is the draft—the conscription. If you dispute the fact, and declare that men can still be

had voluntarily in sufficient numbers, prove the assertion by yourselves volunteering in such numbers, and I shall gladly give up the draft. Or, if not sufficient number, but any one of you will volunteer, he for his single self will escape all the horrors of the draft, and will thereby do only what each one of at least a million of his manly brethren have already done. Their toil and blood have been given as much for you as for themselves. Shall it all be lost rather than that you, too, will bear your part?

I do not say that all who would avoid serving in the war are unpatriotic; but I do think every patriot should willingly take his chance under a law made with great care, in order to secure entire fairness. This law was considered, discussed, modified, and amended by Congress at great length, and with much labor; and was finally passed by both branches, with a near approach to unanimity. At last, it may not be exactly such as any one man out of Congress, or even in Congress, would have made it. It has been said, and I believe truly, that the Constitution itself is not altogether such as any one of its framers would have preferred. It was the joint work of all, and certainly the better that it was so.

Much complaint is made of that provision of the conscription law which allows a drafted man

to substitute three hundred dollars for himself; while, as I believe, none is made of that provision which allows him to substitute another man for himself. Nor is the three hundred dollar provision objected to for unconstitutionality; but for inequality, for favoring the rich against the poor. The substitution of men is the provision, if any, which favors the rich to the exclusion of the poor. But this, being a provision in accordance with an old and well-known practice in the raising of armies, is not objected to. There would have been great objection if that provision had been omitted. And yet, being in, the money provision really modifies the inequality which the other introduces. It allows men to escape the service who are too poor to escape but for it. Without the money provision, competition among the more wealthy might, and probably would, raise the price of substitutes above three hundred dollars, thus leaving the man who could raise only three hundred dollars no escape from personal service. True, by the law as it is, the man who cannot raise so much as three hundred dollars, nor obtain a personal substitute for less, cannot escape; but he can come quite as near escaping as he could if the money provision were not in the law. To put it another way: is an unobjectionable law which allows only the man to escape who can pay a

thousand dollars made objectionable by adding a provision that any one may escape who can pay the smaller sum of three hundred dollars? This is the exact difference at this point between the present law and all former draft laws. It is true that by this law a somewhat larger number will escape than could under a law allowing personal substitutes only; but each additional man thus escaping will be a poorer man than could have escaped by the law in the other form. The money provision enlarges the class of exempts from actual service simply by admitting poorer men into it. How then can the money provision be a wrong to the poor man? The inequality complained of pertains in greater degree to the substitution of men, and is really modified and lessened by the money provision. The inequality could only be perfectly cured by sweeping both provisions away. This, being a great innovation, would probably leave the law more distasteful than it now is.

The principle of the draft, which simply is involuntary or enforced service, is not new. It has been practised in all ages of the world. It was well-known to the framers of our Constitution as one of the modes of raising armies, at the time they placed in that instrument the provision that "the Congress shall have power to raise and support armies." It has been used just before in

establishing our independence, and it was also used under the Constitution in 1812. Wherein is the peculiar hardships now? Shall we shrink from the necessary means to maintain our free government, which our grandfathers employed to establish it and our own fathers have already employed once to maintain it? Are we degenerate? Has the manhood of our race run out?

Again, a law may be both constitutional and expedient, and yet may be administered in an unjust and unfair way. This law belongs to a class, which class is composed of those laws whose object is to distribute burdens or benefits on the principle of equality. No one of these laws can ever be practically administered with that exactness which can be conceived of in the mind. A tax law, the principle of which is that each owner shall pay in proportion to the value of his property, will be a dead letter, if no one can be compelled to pay until it can be shown that every other one will pay in precisely the same proportion, according to value; nay, even, it will be a dead letter if no one can be compelled to pay until it is certain that every other one will pay at all—even in unequal proportion. Again, the United States House of Representatives is constituted on the principle that each member is sent by the same number of people that each other one is sent by; and yet, in practice, no two

of the whole number, much less the whole number, are ever sent by precisely the same number of constituents. The districts cannot be made precisely equal in population at first, and if they could, they would become unequal in a single day, and much more so in the ten years which the districts, once made, are to continue. They cannot be remodeled every day; nor, without too much expense and labor, even every year.

This sort of difficulty applies in full force to the practical administration of the draft law. First, it starts with all the inequality of the congressional districts; but these are based on entire population, while the draft is based upon those only who are fit for soldiers, and such may not bear the same proportion to the whole in one district that they do in another. Again, the facts must be ascertained and credit given for the unequal numbers of soldiers which have already gone from the several districts. In all these points errors will occur in spite of the utmost fidelity. The government is bound to administer the law with such an approach to exactness as is usual in analogous cases, and as entire good faith and fidelity will reach. If so great departures as to be inconsistent with such good faith and fidelity, or great departures occurring in any way, be pointed out, they shall be corrected; and any agent shown to have caused such de-

partures intentionally shall be dismissed. With these views, and on these principles, I feel bound to tell you it is my purpose to see the draft law faithfully executed.

TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR SEYMOUR

EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 16, 1863.

Governor Seymour, New York: Your despatch of this morning is just received, and I fear I do not perfectly understand it.

My view of the principle is that every soldier obtained voluntarily leaves one less to be obtained by draft. The only difficulty is in applying the principle properly. Looking to time, as heretofore, I am unwilling to give up a drafted man now even for the certainty, much less for the mere chance, of getting a volunteer hereafter. Again, after the draft in any district, would it not make trouble to take any drafted man out and put a volunteer in, for how shall it be determined which drafted man is to have the privilege of thus going out, to the exclusion of all the others? And even before the draft in any district the quota must be fixed; and the draft might be postponed indefinitely if every time a volunteer is offered the officers must stop and reconstruct the quota. At least I fear there might be this difficulty; but, at all events, let credits for volunteers be given up to the last mo-

ment, which will not produce confusion or delay. That the principle of giving credits for volunteers shall be applied by districts seems fair and proper, though I do not know how far by present statistics it is practicable. When for any cause a fair credit is not given at one time, it should be given as soon thereafter as practicable. My purpose is to be just and fair, and yet to not lose time.

A. LINCOLN.

NOTE TO SECRETARY STANTON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 16, 1863.

Sir: It seems that George W. McGuire and David Bell have been tried and condemned to be shot by a military commission at St. Louis, Missouri, of which commission General W. K. Strong was the head. If a transcript of the record is at your control, please send it to me.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO JAMES H. HACKETT

EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 17, 1863.

My dear Sir: Months ago I should have acknowledged the receipt of your book and accompanying kind note; and I now have to beg your pardon for not having done so.

For one of my age I have seen very little of the drama. The first presentation of *Falstaff* I ever

saw was yours here, last winter or spring. Perhaps the best compliment I can pay is to say, as I truly can, I am very anxious to see it again. Some of Shakspeare's plays I have never read; while others I have gone over perhaps as frequently as any unprofessional reader. Among the latter are "Lear," "Richard III.," "Henry VIII.," "Hamlet," and especially "Macbeth." I think nothing equals "Macbeth." It is wonderful.

Unlike you gentlemen of the profession, I think the soliloquy in "Hamlet" commencing "Oh, my offense is rank," surpasses that commencing "To be or not to be." But pardon this small attempt at criticism. I should like to hear you pronounce the opening speech of Richard III. Will you not soon visit Washington again? If you do, please call and let me make your personal acquaintance.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO F. F. LOWE

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 17, 1863.

Hon. F. F. Lowe, San Francisco, Cal.: There seems to be considerable misunderstanding about the recent movement to take possession of the "New Almaden" mine. It had no reference to any other mine or mines.

In regard to mines and miners generally, no change of policy by the government has been decided on, or even thought of, so far as I know.

The "New Almaden" mine was peculiar in this, that its occupants claimed to be the legal owners of it, on a Mexican grant, and went into court on that claim. The case found its way into the Supreme Court of the United States, and last term, in and by that court the claim of the occupants was decided to be utterly fraudulent. Thereupon it was considered the duty of the government by the Secretary of the Interior, the Attorney-General, and myself, to take possession of the premises; and the Attorney-General carefully made out the writ, and I signed it. It was not obtained surreptitiously, although I suppose General Halleck thought it had been, when he telegraphed, simply because he thought possession was about being taken by a military order, while he knew no such order had passed through his hands as general-in-chief.

The writ was suspended, upon urgent representations from California, simply to keep the peace. It never had any direct or indirect reference to any mine, place, or person, except the "New Almaden" mine and the persons connected with it.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR ANDREW JOHNSON

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 17, 1863.

Governor Johnson, Nashville, Tenn.: The appointment of Colonel Gillam to be a brigadier-general has been ordered. A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL J. G. BLUNT

EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 18, 1863.

Major-General Blunt: Yours of July 31st is received. Governor Carney did leave some papers with me concerning you; but they made no great impression upon me, and I believe they are not altogether such as you seem to think. As I am not proposing to act upon them, I do not now take the time to reëxamine them.

I regret to find you denouncing so many persons as liars, scoundrels, fools, thieves, and persecutors of yourself. Your military position looks critical, but did anybody force you into it? Have you been ordered to confront and fight 10,000 men with 3000 men? The government cannot make men; and it is very easy, when a man has been given the highest commission, for him to turn on those who gave it and vilify them for not giving him a command according to his rank. My appointment of you first as a brigadier, and then as a major-general, was evidence of my appreciation of your services; and I have

since marked but one thing in connection with you with which to be dissatisfied. The sending a military order twenty-five miles outside of your lines, and all military lines, to take men charged with no offense against the military, out of the hands of the courts, to be turned over to a mob to be hanged, can find no precedent or principle to justify it. Judge Lynch sometimes takes jurisdiction of cases which prove too strong for the courts; but this is the first case within my knowledge wherein the court being able to maintain jurisdiction against Judge Lynch, the military has come to the assistance of the latter. I take the facts of this case as you state them yourself, and not from any report of Governor Carney, or other person. Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 19, 1863.

Dear Sir: The bearer of this, Judge Colt, of Missouri, introduced to me by the Attorney-General, tells me he has a stepson—Singleton Wilson—who ran away into the rebel army, then under seventeen, and still under nineteen, and who is now a prisoner at Camp Morton, Indiana. He now wants to take the oath of allegiance, and go home with the judge, and the judge desires the same. May it not be safely done?

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO J. C. CONKLING

(Cipher.)

WAR DEPARTMENT, August 20, 1863.

Hon. James C. Conkling, Springfield, Ill.:

Your letter of the 14th is received. I think I will go or send a letter, probably the latter.

A. LINCOLN

*TELEGRAM TO GENERAL A. J. HAMILTON

(Cipher.)

WAR DEPARTMENT, August 20, 1863.

General A. J. Hamilton (of Texas), New York: Telegraph me the name of a boy or young man who you would like to have appointed to West Point.

A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. G. MEADE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 21, 1863.

Major-General Meade, Warrenton, Va.: At this late moment I am appealed to in behalf of William Thompson of Company K, Third Maryland Volunteers, in Twelfth Army Corps, said to be at Kelly's Ford, under sentence to be shot to-day as a deserter. He is represented to me to be very young, with symptoms of insanity. Please postpone the execution till further order.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 21, 1863.

My dear Sir: In the autumn of 1861, certain persons in armed rebellion against the United States, within the counties of Accomac and Northampton, laid down their arms upon certain terms then proposed to them by General Dix, in and by a certain proclamation. It is now said that these persons, or some of them, are about to be forced into the military lines of the existing rebellion, unless they will take an oath prescribed to them since, and not included in General Dix's proclamation referred to. Now, my judgment is that no one of these men should be forced from his home, who has not broken faith with the government, according to the terms fixed by General Dix and these men.

It is bad faith in the government to force new terms upon such as have kept faith with it—at least so it seems to me. A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL D. SICKLES

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 22, 1863.

My dear Sir: Your note and brief about the California land claim are received. The question presented is a property question, with which I do not think I should meddle as a volunteer. It will save me labor, therefore, if you will

first point me to the law which assigns any duty to the President in the case. This done, next send me a reference to the treaty, and all the statutory law which bears upon the case.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO MRS. E. J. GRIMSLEY

WAR DEPARTMENT, August 24, 1863.

Mrs. Elizabeth J. Grimsley, Springfield, Ill.:
I mail the papers to you to-day appointing Johnny to the Naval school. A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO SECRETARY USHER

EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 24, 1863.

Sir: By the within you see the claim of Illinois for the two per cent. on sales of public lands is again presented.

My view of the case is not changed. I believe the law is with the State; and yet I think it is ungracious to be pressing the claim at this time of national trouble.

Nevertheless, I have to ask that you will determine what is your duty according to the law, and then do it. Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

INDORSEMENT ON NOTE OF SECRETARY STANTON

WAR DEPARTMENT, August 25, 1863.

Dear Sir: Please give me the reference to the act of Congress in relation to the election of members of

the House, which you have mentioned to me on one or two occasions. I cannot find the act.

Truly yours,

To the President.

EDWIN M. STANTON.

[*Indorsement.*]

The little short act on page 804 of the large new volume was shown to me by Mr. Bingham of Ohio, as being the one, in connection with the other laws therein referred to, which works the result. I have not tracked up the other laws.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 26, 1863.

Sir: In my correspondence with Governor Seymour in relation to the draft, I have said to him, substantially, that credits shall be given for volunteers up to the latest moment, before drawing in any district, that can be done without producing confusion or delay. In order to do this, let our mustering officers in New York and elsewhere be at once instructed that whenever they muster into our service any number of volunteers, to at once make return to the War Department, both by telegraph and mail, the date of the muster, the number mustered, and the Congressional or enrolment district or districts, of their residences, giving the numbers separately for each district. Keep these returns dili-

gently posted, and by them give full credit on the quotas, if possible, on the last day before the draft begins in any district.

Again, I have informed Governor Seymour that he shall be notified of the time when the draft is to commence in each district in his State. This is equally proper for all the States. In order to carry it out, I propose that so soon as the day for commencing the draft in any district is definitely determined, the governor of the State, including the district, be notified thereof, both by telegraph and mail, in form about as follows:

.....

..... 1863.

Governor of.....

.....

*You are notified that the draft will commence in the
..... district, at..... on the.....
day of..... 1863, at..... A. M. of said day.
Please acknowledge receipt of this by telegraph and
mail.*

.....

.....

This notice may be given by the Provost-Marshal-General here, the sub-provost-marshal-generals in the States, or perhaps by the district provost-marshals.

Whenever we shall have so far proceeded in New York as to make the reënrolment specially,

promised there, practicable, I wish that also to go forward, and I wish Governor Seymour notified of it; so that if he choose, he can place agents of his with ours to see the work fairly done. Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO I. N. MORRIS

EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 26, 1863.

Dear Sir: Your note asking what you were to understand, was received yesterday. Monday morning I sent the papers to the Secretary of the Interior, with an indorsement that my impression of the law was not changed, and that I desired him to take up the case and do his duty according to his view of the law. Yesterday I said the same thing to him verbally.

Now, my understanding is that the law has not assigned me, specifically, any duty in the case, but has assigned it to the Secretary of the Interior. It may be my general duty to direct him to act—which I have performed. When he shall have acted, if his action is not satisfactory, there may or may not be an appeal to me. It is a point I have not examined; but if it be shown that the law gives such appeal, I shall not hesitate to entertain it when presented.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO JAMES C. CONKLING ¹

EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 26, 1863.

MY DEAR SIR: Your letter inviting me to attend a mass-meeting of unconditional Union men, to be held at the capital of Illinois on the 3d day of September has been received. It would be very agreeable to me to thus meet my old friends at my own home, but I cannot just now be absent from here so long as a visit there would require.

The meeting is to be of all those who maintain unconditional devotion to the Union; and I am sure my old political friends will thank me for tendering, as I do, the nation's gratitude to those and other noble men whom no partizan malice or partizan hope can make false to the nation's life.

There are those who are dissatisfied with me.

¹ On June 17, 1863, a meeting had been held in Springfield with the idea of forming a Northwestern Confederacy. The Republicans prepared to hold there in the beginning of September the greatest mass meeting of the campaign. They were very anxious to have Lincoln appear in person and James Conkling wrote urging him to be present. As this was impossible, Lincoln wrote this letter to be read at the meeting. He thought it "rather a good letter." It was received with enthusiasm and has often been considered his "last stump speech."

To such I would say: You desire peace, and you blame me that we do not have it. But how can we attain it? There are but three conceivable ways: First, to suppress the rebellion by force of arms. This I am trying to do. Are you for it? If you are, so far we are agreed. If you are not for it, a second way is to give up the Union. I am against this. Are you for it? If you are, you should say so plainly. If you are not for force, nor yet for dissolution, there only remains some imaginable compromise. I do not believe any compromise embracing the maintenance of the Union is now possible. All I learn leads to a directly opposite belief. The strength of the rebellion is its military, its army. That army dominates all the country and all the people within its range. Any offer of terms made by any man or men within that range, in opposition to that army, is simply nothing for the present, because such man or men have no power whatever to enforce their side of a compromise, if one were made with them.

To illustrate: Suppose refugees from the South and peace men of the North get together in convention, and frame and proclaim a compromise embracing a restoration of the Union. In what way can that compromise be used to keep Lee's army out of Pennsylvania? Meade's army can keep Lee's army out of Pennsylvania,

and, I think, can ultimately drive it out of existence. But no paper compromise to which the controllers of Lee's army are not agreed can at all affect that army. In an effort at such compromise we should waste time which the enemy would improve to our disadvantage; and that would be all. A compromise, to be effective, must be made either with those who control the rebel army, or with the people first liberated from the domination of that army by the success of our own army. Now, allow me to assure you that no word or intimation from that rebel army, or from any of the men controlling it, in relation to any peace compromise, has ever come to my knowledge or belief. All charges and insinuations to the contrary are deceptive and groundless. And I promise you that if any such proposition shall hereafter come, it shall not be rejected and kept a secret from you. I freely acknowledge myself the servant of the people, according to the bond of service—the United States Constitution—and that, as such, I am responsible to them.

But to be plain. You are dissatisfied with me about the negro. Quite likely there is a difference of opinion between you and myself upon that subject. I certainly wish that all men could be free, while I suppose you do not. Yet, I have neither adopted nor proposed any meas-

ure which is not consistent with even your view, provided you are for the Union. I suggested compensated emancipation, to which you replied you wished not to be taxed to buy negroes. But I had not asked you to be taxed to buy negroes, except in such way as to save you from greater taxation to save the Union exclusively by other means.

You dislike the emancipation proclamation, and perhaps would have it retracted. You say it is unconstitutional. I think differently. I think the Constitution invests its commander-in-chief with the law of war in time of war. The most that can be said—if so much—is that slaves are property. Is there—has there ever been—any question that by the law of war, property, both of enemies and friends, may be taken when needed? And is it not needed whenever taking it helps us, or hurts the enemy? Armies, the world over, destroy enemies' property when they cannot use it; and even destroy their own to keep it from the enemy. Civilized belligerents do all in their power to help themselves or hurt the enemy, except a few things regarded as barbarous or cruel. Among the exceptions are the massacre of vanquished foes and non-combatants, male and female.

But the proclamation, as law, either is valid or is not valid. If it is not valid, it needs no

retraction. If it is valid, it cannot be retracted any more than the dead can be brought to life. Some of you profess to think its retraction would operate favorably for the Union. Why better after the retraction than before the issue? There was more than a year and a half of trial to suppress the rebellion before the proclamation issued; the last one hundred days of which passed under an explicit notice that it was coming, unless averted by those in revolt returning to their allegiance. The war has certainly progressed as favorably for us since the issue of the proclamation as before.¹ [I know, as fully as one can know the opinions of others, that some of the commanders of our armies in the field, who have given us our most important successes, believe the emancipation policy and the use of the colored troops constitute the heaviest blow yet dealt to the rebellion, and that at least one of these important successes could not have been achieved when it was but for the aid of black soldiers. Among the commanders holding these views are some who have never had any affinity with what is called Abolitionism, or with Republican party politics, but who hold them purely as military opinions. I submit these

¹The remainder of this paragraph, which has been placed between brackets to distinguish it, was not included in the letter as first sent, but was forwarded in a separate letter with instructions on Aug. 31, 1863.

opinions as being entitled to some weight against the objections often urged that emancipation and arming the blacks are unwise as military measures, and were not adopted as such in good faith.]

You say you will not fight to free negroes. Some of them seem willing to fight for you; but no matter. Fight you, then, exclusively, to save the Union. I issued the proclamation on purpose to aid you in saving the Union. Whenever you shall have conquered all resistance to the Union, if I shall urge you to continue fighting, it will be an apt time then for you to declare you will not fight to free negroes.

I thought that in your struggle for the Union, to whatever extent the negroes should cease helping the enemy, to that extent it weakened the enemy in his resistance to you. Do you think differently? I thought that whatever negroes can be got to do as soldiers, leaves just so much less for white soldiers to do in saving the Union. Does it appear otherwise to you? But negroes, like other people, act upon motives. Why should they do anything for us if we will do nothing for them? If they stake their lives for us they must be prompted by the strongest motive, even the promise of freedom. And the promise, being made, must be kept.

The signs look better. The Father of Waters

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

Peace does not appear so distant as it did. I hope it will come soon, and come to stay; and so come as to be worth the keeping in all future time. It will then have been proved that among free men there can be no successful appeal from

the ballot to the bullet, and that they who take such appeal are sure to lose their case and pay the cost. And then there will be some black men who can remember that with silent tongue, and clenched teeth, and steady eye, and well-poised bayonet, they have helped mankind on to this great consummation, while I fear there will be some white ones unable to forget that with malignant heart and deceitful speech they strove to hinder it.

Still, let us not be over-sanguine of a speedy final triumph. Let us be quite sober. Let us diligently apply the means, never doubting that a just God, in his own good time, will give us the rightful result.

Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

*LETTER TO J. C. CONKLING

(*Private.*)

WAR DEPARTMENT,

WASHINGTON, August 26, 1863.

My dear Conkling: I cannot leave here now. Herewith is a letter instead. You are one of the best public readers. I have but one suggestion—read it very slowly. And now God bless you, and all good Union men.

Yours as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GOVERNOR SEYMOUR

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., August 27, 1863.

Governor Horatio Seymour, of New York:
Yours of the 21st, with exhibits, was received on the 24th.

In the midst of pressing duties I have been unable to answer it sooner. In the mean time the Provost-Marshal-General has had access to yours, and has addressed a communication in relation to it to the Secretary of War, a copy of which communication I herewith inclose to you.

Independently of this, I addressed a letter on the same subject to the Secretary of War, a copy of which I also inclose to you. The Secretary has sent my letter to the Provost-Marshal-General, with direction that he adopt and follow the course therein pointed out. It will, of course, overrule any conflicting view of the Provost-Marshal-General, if there be such.

Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

P. S. I do not mean to say that if the Provost-Marshal-General can find it practicable to give credits by sub-districts, I overrule him in that. On the contrary, I shall be glad of it; but I will not take the risk of over-burdening him by ordering him to do it.

A. L.

TELEGRAM TO A. C. WILDER AND J. H. LANE

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 27, 1863. 8.30 A. M.

Hon. A. C. Wilder, Hon. J. H. Lane, Leavenworth, Kan.: Notice of your demand for the removal of General Schofield is hereby acknowledged

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. M. SCHOFIELD

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 27, 1863. 8.30 A. M.

General Schofield, St. Louis: I have just received the despatch which follows from two very influential citizens of Kansas, whose names I omit. The severe blow they have received naturally enough makes them intemperate even without there being any just cause for blame. Please do your utmost to give them future security and to punish their invaders.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. G. MEADE

WAR DEPARTMENT,

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 27, 1863. 9 A. M.

Major-General Meade, Warrenton, Virginia: Walter, Rionese, Folancy, Lai, and Kuhn appealed to me for mercy, without giving any ground for it whatever. I understand these are

very flagrant cases, and that you deem their punishment as being indispensable to the service. If I am not mistaken in this, please let them know at once that their appeal is denied.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO F. C. SHERMAN AND J. S. HAYES

WASHINGTON, August 27, 1863.

F. C. Sherman, Mayor, J. S. Hayes, Comptroller, Chicago: Yours of the 24th, in relation to the draft, is received. It seems to me the government here will be overwhelmed if it undertakes to conduct these matters with the authorities of cities and counties. They must be conducted with the governors of States, who will, of course represent their cities and counties. Meanwhile you need not be uneasy until you again hear from here.

A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. G. FOSTER

WAR DEPARTMENT, August 28, 1863.

Major-General Foster, Fort Monroe, Va.: Please notify, if you can, Senator Bowden, Mr. Segar, and Mr. Chandler, all, or any of them, that I now have the record in Dr. Wright's case and am ready to hear them. When you shall have got the notice to them please let me know.

A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO GENERAL CRAWFORD

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 28, 1863.

Gen. Crawford, Rappahannock Station, Va.:

I regret that I cannot be present to witness the presentation of a sword by the gallant Pennsylvania Reserve Corps to one so worthy to receive it as General Meade.

A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO L. SWETT

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 29, 1863.

Hon. L. Swett, San Francisco, Cal.: If the Government's rights are reserved, the Government will be satisfied, and at all events it will consider.

A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO MRS. LINCOLN

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 29, 1863.

Mrs. A. Lincoln, Manchester, N. H.: All quite well. Fort Sumter is *certainly* battered down and utterly useless to the enemy, and it is *believed* here, but not entirely certain that both Sumter and Fort Wagner are occupied by our forces. It is also certain that General Gilmore has thrown some shot into the city of Charleston.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS

EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 31, 1863.

My dear General Rosecrans: Yours of the 22d was received yesterday. When I wrote you before, I did [not] intend, nor do I now, to engage in an argument with you on military questions. You had informed me you were impressed through General Halleck that I was dissatisfied with you; and I could not bluntly deny that I was without unjustly implicating him. I therefore concluded to tell you the plain truth, being satisfied the matter would thus appear much smaller than it would if seen by mere glimpses. I repeat that my appreciation of you has not abated. I can never forget whilst I remember anything that about the end of last year and beginning of this, you gave us a hard-earned victory, which, had there been a defeat instead, the nation could scarcely have lived over. Neither can I forget the check you so opportunely gave to a dangerous sentiment which was spreading in the North. Yours as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

NOTE TO GENERAL H. W. HALLECK, August 31,
1863

It is not improbable that retaliation for the recent great outrage at Lawrence, in Kansas,

may extend to indiscriminate slaughter on the Missouri border, unless averted by very judicious action. I shall be obliged if the general-in-chief can make any suggestions to General Schofield upon the subject. A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, September 1, 1863.

My dear Sir: I am now informed, contrary to my impression when I last talked with you, that the order compelling the four hundred on the eastern shore of Virginia to take the oath or be sent away is about being carried into execution. As this, and also the assessment for damage done to and at the lighthouse, are very strong measures, and as I have to bear the responsibility of them, I wish them suspended until I can at least be better satisfied of their propriety than I now am. Yours truly,
A. LINCOLN.

DRAFT OF LETTER TO SECRETARY CHASE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, September 2, 1863.

My dear Sir: Knowing your great anxiety that the Emancipation Proclamation shall now be applied to certain parts of Virginia and Louisiana which were exempted from it last January, I state briefly what appear to me to be difficulties in the way of such a step. The ori-

ginal proclamation has no constitutional or legal justification, except as a military measure. The exemptions were made because the military necessity did not apply to the exempted localities. Nor does that necessity apply to them now any more than it did then. If I take the step, must I not do so without the arguments of military necessity, and so without any argument except the one that I think the measure politically expedient and morally right? Would I not thus give up all footing upon Constitution or law? Would I not thus be in the boundless field of absolutism? Could this pass unnoticed or unresisted? Could it fail to be perceived that without any further stretch I might do the same in Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri, and even change any law in any State? Would not many of our own friends shrink away appalled? Would it not lose us the elections and with them the very cause we seek to advance? [A. LINCOLN.]

*TELEGRAM TO J. C. CONKLING

EXECUTIVE MANSION, September 3, 1863.

Hon. James C. Conkling, Springfield, Ill.:
I am mortified this morning to find the letter to you botched up in the Eastern papers, telegraphed from Chicago. How did this happen?
A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO MRS. LINCOLN

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 3, 1863.

Mrs. A. Lincoln, Manchester, N. H.: The Secretary of War tells me he has telegraphed General Doubleday to await further orders. We are all well and have nothing new.

A. LINCOLN.

ORDER CONCERNING COMMERCIAL REGULATIONS

EXECUTIVE MANSION, September 4, 1863.

Ordered, That the Executive Order, dated November 21, 1862, prohibiting the exportation from the United States of arms, ammunition, or munitions of war, under which the commandants of departments were, by order of the Secretary of War dated May 13, 1863, directed to prohibit the purchase and sale for exportation from the United States of all horses and mules within their respective commands, and to take and appropriate to the use of the United States any horses, mules, and live stock designed for exportation, be so far modified as that any arms heretofore imported into the United States may be reexported to the place of original shipment, and that any live stock raised in any State or Territory bounded by the Pacific Ocean may be exported from any port of such State or Territory.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO JOSEPH SEGAR

WAR DEPARTMENT,

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 5, 1863.

Hon. Joseph Segar, Fort Monroe, Va.: I have just seen your despatch to the Secretary of War, who is absent. I also send a despatch from Major Hayner of the 3d showing that he had notice of my order, and stating that the people were jubilant over it, as a victory over the Government extorted by fear, and that he had already collected about 4,000 of the money. If he has proceeded since I shall hold him accountable for his contumacy. On the contrary no dollar shall be refunded by my order until it shall appear that my act in the case has been accepted in the right spirit.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO SECRETARY STANTON

WAR DEPARTMENT, September 6, 1863. 6 P. M.

Hon. Secretary of War, Bedford, Pa.: Burnside has Kingston and Knoxville, and drove the enemy across the river at Loudon, the enemy destroying the bridge there; captured some stores and one or two trains; very little fighting; few wounded and none killed. No other news of consequence.

A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO GENERAL R. C. SCHENCK

WAR DEPARTMENT, September 6, 1863.

The Secretary of War is absent. Please direct or order that the collection of the light house be suspended, and that the money already collected be held, both till further order. A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO MRS. LINCOLN

WAR DEPARTMENT, September 6, 1863.

Mrs. A. Lincoln, Manchester, N. H.: All well and no news except that General Burnside has Knoxville, Tenn. A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO F. C. SHERMAN AND J. S. HAYES

WASHINGTON, September 7, 1863.

Yours of August 29 just received. I suppose it was intended by Congress that this government should execute the act in question without dependence upon any other government, State, city, or country. It is, however, within the range of practical convenience to confer with the governments of States while it is quite beyond that range to have correspondence on the subject with counties and cities. They are too numerous. As instances, I have corresponded with Governor Seymour, but not with Mayor Opdyke; with Governor Curtin, but not with Mayor Henry. A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR JOHNSON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, September 8, 1863. 9.30 A. M.

Hon. Andrew Johnson, Nashville, Tennessee:
Despatch of yesterday just received. I shall try to find the paper you mention and carefully consider it. In the mean time let me urge that you do your utmost to get every man you can, black and white, under arms at the very earliest moment, to guard roads, bridges, and trains, allowing all the better trained soldiers to go forward to Rosecrans. Of course I mean for you to act in coöperation with, and not independently of, the military authorities. A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. G. MEADE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, September 9, 1863.

Major-General Meade, Warrenton, Va.: It would be a generous thing to give General Wheaton a leave of absence for ten or fifteen days, and if you can do so without injury to the service, please do it. A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO GENERAL F. WHEATON

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 10, 1863.

General Wheaton, Army of Potomac: Yesterday at the instance of Mr. Blair, senator, I telegraphed General Meade asking him to grant you a leave of absence, to which he replied that

you had not applied for such leave, and that you can have it when you do apply. I suppose it is proper for you to know this. A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO DR. JOHN P. GRAY

EXECUTIVE MANSION, September 10, 1863.

Sir: Dr. David M. Wright is in military custody at Norfolk, Virginia, having been by a military commission tried for murder and sentenced to death, his execution awaiting the order of the major-general in command of that military department, or of the President of the United States. The record is before me, and a question is made as to the sanity of the accused. You will please proceed to the military department whose headquarters are at Fort Monroe, and take in writing all evidence which may be offered on behalf of Dr. Wright and against him, and any, in addition, which you may find within your reach, and deem pertinent; all said evidence to be directed to the question of Dr. Wright's sanity or insanity, and not to any other questions; you to preside with power to exclude evidence which shall appear to you clearly not pertinent to the question. When the taking of the evidence shall be closed, you will report the same to me, together with your own conclusions as to Dr. Wright's sanity both at the time of the homicide and at the time of your examination.

On reaching Fort Monroe, you will present this letter to the officer then commanding that department, and deliver to him a copy of the same, upon which he is hereby directed to notify Hon. L. J. Bowden and Hon. L. H. Chandler of the same; to designate some suitable person in his command to appear for the government as judge-advocate or prosecuting attorney; to provide for the attendance of all such witnesses before you as may be desired by either party, or by yourself, and who may be within convenient reach of you; to furnish you a suitable place, or places, for conducting the examination; and to render you such other reasonable assistance in the premises as you may require. If you deem it proper, you will examine Dr. Wright personally, and you may in your discretion require him to be present during the whole or any part of the taking of the evidence. The military are hereby charged to see that an escape does not occur.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GOVERNOR ANDREW JOHNSON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, September 11, 1863. h

MY DEAR SIR: All Tennessee is now clear of armed insurrectionists. You need not to be reminded that it is the nick of time for reinaugurating a loyal State government. Not a moment should be lost. You and the coöperating friends there can better judge of the ways and means than can be judged by any here. I only offer a few suggestions. The reinauguration must not be such as to give control of the State and its representation in Congress to the enemies of the Union, driving its friends there into political exile. The whole struggle for Tennessee will have been profitless to both State and nation if it so ends that Governor Johnson is put down and Governor Harris is put up. It must not be so. You must have it otherwise. Let the reconstruction be the work of such men only as can be trusted for the Union. Exclude all others, and trust that your government so organized will be recognized here as being the one of republican form to be guaranteed to the State, and to be

protected against invasion and domestic violence. It is something on the question of time to remember that it cannot be known who is next to occupy the position I now hold, nor what he will do. I see that you have declared in favor of emancipation in Tennessee, for which may God bless you. Get emancipation into your new State government—constitution—and there will be no such word as fail for your case. The raising of colored troops, I think, will greatly help every way. Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO HANNIBAL HAMLIN

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 11, 1863.

Vice President Hamlin, Bangor, Me.: Your letter of August 22, to be presented by your son Cyrus is on my table, but I have not seen him, or know of his being here recently. A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. G. MEADE ¹

EXECUTIVE MANSION, September 11, 1863.

Major-General Meade, Warrenton, Va.: It is represented to me that Thomas Edds, in your army, is under sentence of death for desertion, to

¹ Much dissatisfaction was caused to the generals in the field by Lincoln's willingness to pardon military offenders. Such softness of heart made it difficult for them to enforce proper discipline. On file in the War Department are countless orders to "suspend execution till further orders." Lincoln is reported to have often said: "If the Lord gives a man a pair of cowardly legs, how can he help their running away with him?"

be executed next Monday. It is also said his supposed desertion is comprised in an absence commencing with his falling behind last winter, being captured and paroled by the enemy, and then going home. If this be near the truth, please suspend the execution till further order and send me the record of the trial.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL A. E. BURNSIDE

WASHINGTON, September 11, 1863. 11.30 A. M.

Major-General Burnside, Cumberland Gap:
Yours received. A thousand thanks for the late successes you have given us. We cannot allow you to resign until things shall be a little more settled in East Tennessee. If then, purely on your own account, you wish to resign, we will not further refuse you.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO JOSIAH QUINCY

EXECUTIVE MANSION, September 12, 1863.

Dear and honored Sir: Allow me to express the personal gratification I feel at the receipt of your very kind letter of the 7th of September, and to thank you most cordially for its wise and earnest words of counsel.

Believe me, my dear sir, to be very respectfully and sincerely your friend and servant,

A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. G. MEADE

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 12, 1863.

Major-General Meade, Warrenton, Va.: The name is "Thomas Edds" not "Eddie" as in your despatch. The papers left with me do not designate the regiment to which he belongs. The man who gave me the papers, I do not know how to find again. He only told me that Edds is in the Army of the Potomac, and that he fell out of the ranks during Burnside's mud march last winter. If I get further information I will telegraph again. A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO J. K. DUBOIS AND O. M. HATCH

WASHINGTON, September 13, 1863.

Hon. J. K. Dubois, Hon. O. M. Hatch: What nation do you desire General Allen to be made quarter-master-general of? This nation already has a quarter-master-general.

A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO DR. J. P. GRAY

EXECUTIVE MANSION, September 13, 1863.

Dr. John P. Gray, Norfolk, Va.: The names of those whose affidavits are left with me on the question of Dr. Wright's sanity are as follows:

Mrs. Jane C. Bolsom, Mrs. M. E. Smiley, Moses Hudgin, J. D. Ghislin, Jr., Felix Logue,

Robert B. Tunstall, M. D., Mrs. Elizabeth Rooks, Dr. E. D. Granier, Thomas K. Murray, William J. Holmes, Miss Margaret E. Wigeon, Mrs. Emily S. Frost. A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO DR. W. H. H. SCOTT

WASHINGTON, September 13, 1863.

Dr. William H. H. Scott, Danville, Ill.: Your niece, Mrs. Kate Sharp, can now have no difficulty in going to Knoxville, Tenn., as that place is within our military lines.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER FROM SECRETARY STANTON TO GENERAL
MCCLERNAND

WAR DEPARTMENT, September 14, 1863.

General: Your letter of the 5th instant has been submitted to the President, who directs me to say that a court of inquiry embracing any one of the subjects specified in that letter would necessarily withdraw from the field many officers whose presence with their commands is absolutely indispensable to the service, and whose absence might cause irreparable injury to the success of operations now in active progress. For these reasons he declines at present your application, but if hereafter it can be done without prejudice to the service, he will, in view of your anxiety upon the subject, order a court.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

PROCLAMATION SUSPENDING WRIT OF *Habeas Corpus*, September 15, 1863.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

Whereas, the Constitution of the United States has ordained 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; and whereas, a rebellion was existing on the third day of March, 1863, which rebellion is still existing; and whereas, by a statute which was approved on that day, it was enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled, that during the present insurrection the President of the United States, whenever in his judgment the public safety may require it, is authorized to suspend the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* in any case throughout the United States, or any part thereof; and whereas, in the judgment of the President, the public safety does require the privilege of the said writ shall now be suspended, throughout the United States, in the cases where, by the authority of the President of the United States, military, naval, and civil officers of the United States, or any of them, hold persons under their

command, or in their custody, either as prisoners of war, spies, or aiders or abettors of the enemy, or officers, soldiers, or seamen enrolled or drafted or mustered or enlisted in, or belonging to, the land or naval forces of the United States, or as deserters therefrom, or otherwise amenable to military law, or the rules and articles of war, or the rules or regulations prescribed for the military or naval service by authority of the President of the United States; or for resisting a draft, or for any other offense against the military or naval service:

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do hereby proclaim and make known to all whom it may concern, that the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* is suspended throughout the United States in the several cases before mentioned, and that this suspension will continue throughout the duration of the said rebellion, or until this proclamation shall, by a subsequent one to be issued by the President of the United States, be modified or revoked. And I do hereby require all magistrates, attorneys, and other civil officers within the United States, and all officers and others in the military and naval service of the United States, to take distinct notice of this suspension, and to give it full effect, and all citizens of the United States to conduct and govern

themselves accordingly, and in conformity with the Constitution of the United States and the laws of Congress in such cases made and provided.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed, this [L. S.] fifteenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the independence of the United States of America the eighty-eighth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President:

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

LETTER TO GENERAL H. W. HALLECK

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

WASHINGTON, September 15, 1863.

Major-General Halleck: If I did not misunderstand General Meade's last despatch, he posts you on facts as well as he can, and desires your views and those of the government as to what he shall do. My opinion is that he should move upon Lee at once in manner of general attack, leaving to developments whether he will make it a real attack. I think this would develop Lee's real condition and purposes better than the cavalry alone can do. Of course my

opinion is not to control you and General Meade.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO J. G. BLAINE

WAR DEPARTMENT, September 15, 1863.

J. G. Blaine, Augusta, Me.: Thanks both for the good news you send and for the sending of it.

A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO MRS. J. F. SPEED

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 16, 1863.

Mrs. J. F. Speed, Louisville, Ky.: Mr. Holman will not be jostled from his place with my knowledge and consent.

A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO GENERAL R. C. SCHENCK

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

WASHINGTON, September 17, 1863.

Major-General Schenck, Baltimore, Md.: Major Haynor left here several days ago under a promise to put down in writing, in detail the facts in relation to the misconduct of the people on the Eastern shore of Virginia. He has not returned. Please send him over.

A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. G. MEADE

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

WASHINGTON, September 17, 1863.

Major-General Meade, Army of Potomac:

Yours in relation to Albert Jones is received. I am appealed to in behalf of Richard M. Abrams of Company A, Sixth New Jersey Volunteers, by Governor Parker, Attorney-General Freelinghuysen, Governor Newell, Hon. Mr. Middleton, M. C., of the district and the marshal who arrested him. I am also appealed to in behalf of Joseph S. Smith, of Company A, Eleventh New Jersey Volunteers, by Governor Parker, Attorney-General Freelinghuysen, and Hon. Marcus C. Ward. Please state the circumstances of their cases to me.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO I. N. MORRIS

EXECUTIVE MANSION, September 18, 1863.

Sir: Please carefully put the argument in writing, with reference to authorities, in the matter intended to show that the law gives an appeal to me in the case referred to. When that is ready to be presented, I will try to give you the personal interview about Illinois matters generally.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO C. M. SMITH

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., September 18, 1863.

C. M. Smith, Springfield, Ill.: Why not name him for the general you fancy most? This is my suggestion. A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO MRS. HANNAH ARMSTRONG

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, September 18, 1863.

Mrs. Hannah Armstrong, Petersburg, Ill.: I have just ordered the discharge of your boy William as you say, now at Louisville, Ky. A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GOVERNOR ANDREW JOHNSON

(*Private.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., September 19, 1863.

My dear Sir: Herewith I send you a paper, substantially the same as the one drawn up by yourself and mentioned in your despatch, but slightly changed in two particulars: First, yours was so drawn as that I authorized you to carry into effect the fourth section, etc., whereas I so modify it as to authorize you to so act as to require the United States to carry into effect that section.

Secondly, you had a clause committing me in some sort to the State constitution of Tennessee, which I feared might embarrass you in making a new constitution, if you desire; so I dropped that clause. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

[*Inclosure.*]

EXECUTIVE MANSION, September 19, 1863.

Hon. Andrew Johnson, Military Governor of Tennessee: In addition to the matters contained in the orders and instructions given you by the Secretary of War, you are hereby authorized to exercise such powers as may be necessary and proper to enable the loyal people of Tennessee to present such a republican form of State government as will entitle the State to the guaranty of the United States therefor, and to be protected under such State government by the United States against invasion and domestic violence, all according to the fourth section of the fourth article of the Constitution of the United States.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL H. W. HALLECK

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

WASHINGTON, September 19, 1863.

MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK: By General Meade's despatch to you of yesterday it appears that he desires your views and those of the government as to whether he shall advance upon the enemy. I am not prepared to order, or even advise, an advance in this case, wherein I know so little of particulars, and wherein he, in the field, thinks the risk is so great, and the promise of advantage so small.

And yet the case presents matters for very serious consideration in another aspect. These two armies confront each other across a small river, substantially midway between the two capitals, each defending its own capital, and menacing the other. General Meade estimates the enemy's infantry in front of him at not less than 40,000. Suppose we add fifty per cent. to this for cavalry, artillery, and extra-duty men stretching as far as Richmond, making the whole force of the enemy 60,000.

General Meade, as shown by the returns, has

with him, and between him and Washington, of the same classes of well men, over 90,000. Neither can bring the whole of his men into a battle; but each can bring as large a percentage in as the other. For a battle, then, General Meade has three men to General Lee's two. Yet, it having been determined that choosing ground and standing on the defensive gives so great advantage that the three cannot safely attack the two, the three are left simply standing on the defensive also.

If the enemy's 60,000 are sufficient to keep our 90,000 away from Richmond, why, by the same rule, may not 40,000 of ours keep their 60,000 away from Washington, leaving us 50,000 to put to some other use? Having practically come to the mere defensive, it seems to be no economy at all to employ twice as many men for that object as are needed. With no object, certainly, to mislead myself, I can perceive no fault in this statement, unless we admit we are not the equal of the enemy, man for man. I hope you will consider it.

To avoid misunderstanding, let me say that to attempt to fight the enemy slowly back into his intrenchments at Richmond, and then to capture him, is an idea I have been trying to repudiate for quite a year.

My judgment is so clear against it that I

would scarcely allow the attempt to be made if the general in command should desire to make it. My last attempt upon Richmond was to get McClellan, when he was nearer there than the enemy was, to run in ahead of him. Since then I have constantly desired the Army of the Potomac to make Lee's army, and not Richmond, its objective point. If our army cannot fall upon the enemy and hurt him where he is, it is plain to me it can gain nothing by attempting to follow him over a succession of intrenched lines into a fortified city.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAMS TO MRS. LINCOLN

WAR DEPARTMENT, September 20, 1863.

Mrs. A. Lincoln, New York: I neither see nor hear anything of sickness here now, though there may be much without my knowing it. I wish you to stay, or come just as it is most agreeable to yourself.

A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, September 21, 1863.

Mrs. A. Lincoln: The air is so clear and cool and apparently healthy that I would be glad for you to come. Nothing very particular but I would be glad to see you and Tad.

A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR F. H. PIERPOINT

WAR DEPARTMENT, September 21, 1863.

Governor Pierpoint, Alexandria, Va.: I would be glad to have your opinion whether it would be good policy to refund the money collected from the people of East Virginia, as indemnity for the light house depredation. I believe you once gave me your opinion on the point, but I am not entirely sure. Please answer.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL H. W. HALLECK

EXECUTIVE MANSION, September 21, 1863.

Major-General Halleck: I think it very important for General Rosecrans to hold his position at or about Chattanooga, because if held from that place to Cleveland, both inclusive, it keeps all Tennessee clear of the enemy, and also breaks one of his most important railroad lines. To prevent these consequences is so vital to his cause that he cannot give up the effort to dislodge us from the position, thus bringing him to us and saving us the labor, expense, and hazard of going farther to find him, and also giving us the advantage of choosing our own ground and preparing it to fight him upon. The details must, of course, be left to General Rosecrans, while we must furnish him

the means to the utmost of our ability. If you concur, I think he would better be informed that we are not pushing him beyond this position; and that, in fact, our judgment is rather against his going beyond it. If he can only maintain this position, without more, this rebellion can only eke out a short and feeble existence, as an animal sometimes may with a thorn in its vitals.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAMS TO GENERAL A. E. BURNSIDE

WAR DEPARTMENT, September 21, 1863. 11 A. M.

Gen. Burnside, Greenville, Tenn.: If you are to do any good to Rosecrans it will not do to waste time with Jonesboro. It is already too late to do the most good that might have been done, but I hope it will still do some good. Please do not lose a moment. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, September 21, 1863.

Gen. Burnside, Knoxville, Tenn.: Go to Rosecrans with your force without a moment's delay. A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAMS TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS

WASHINGTON, September 21, 1863. 12.55 P. M.

Major-General Rosecrans, Chattanooga: Be of good cheer. We have unabated confidence in you, and in your soldiers and officers. In

the main you must be the judge as to what is to be done. If I were to suggest, I would say, save your army by taking strong positions until Burnside joins you, when, I hope, you can turn the tide. I think you had better send a courier to Burnside to hurry him up. We cannot reach him by telegraph. We suppose some force is going to you from Corinth, but for want of communication we do not know how they are getting along. We shall do our utmost to assist you. Send us your present positions.

A. LINCOLN.

(*In Cipher.*)

WAR DEPARTMENT, September 22, 1863. 8.30 A. M.

Major-General Rosecrans, Chattanooga, Tenn.: We have not a word here as to the whereabouts or condition of your army up to a later hour than sunset, Sunday, the 20th. Your despatches to me of 9 A. M., and to General Halleck of 2 P. M., yesterday, tell us nothing later on those points. Please relieve my anxiety as to the position and condition of your army up to the latest moment. A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO O. M. HATCH AND J. K. DUBOIS¹

EXECUTIVE MANSION, September 22, 1863.

Hon. O. M. Hatch, Hon. J. K. Dubois, Springfield, Ill.: Your letter is just received.

¹ Referring to his telegram of Sept. 13.

The particular form of my despatch was jocular, which I supposed you gentlemen knew me well enough to understand. General Allen is considered here as a very faithful and capable officer, and one who would be at least thought of for quartermaster-general if that office were vacant.

A. LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAM TO MRS. LINCOLN

EXECUTIVE MANSION, September 22, 1863.

Mrs. A. Lincoln, New York: Did you receive my despatch of yesterday? Mrs. Cuthbert did not correctly understand me. I directed her to tell you to use your own pleasure whether to stay or come, and I did not say it is sickly and that you should on no account come. So far as I see or know, it was never healthier, and I really wish to see you. Answer this on receipt.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS

WASHINGTON, September 23, 1863. 9.15 A. M.

Major-General Rosecrans, Chattanooga, Tenn.: Below is Bragg's despatch as found in the Richmond papers. You see he does not claim so many prisoners or captured guns as you were inclined to concede. He also confesses to heavy loss. An exchanged general of ours leaving Richmond yesterday says two of

Longstreet's divisions and his entire artillery and two of Pickett's brigades and Wise's legion have gone to Tennessee. He mentions no other.

CHICKAMAUGA RIVER, September 20 (via Ringold, 21st).

General Cooper, Adjutant-General: After two days' hard fighting we have driven the enemy, after a desperate resistance, from several positions, and now hold the field; but he still confronts us. The losses are heavy on both sides, especially in our officers. We have taken over twenty pieces of artillery and some 2,500 prisoners.

BRAXTON BRAGG.

A. LINCOLN.

PROCLAMATION OPENING THE PORT OF ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA, SEPTEMBER 24, 1863

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

(*A Proclamation.*)

Whereas, in my proclamation of the twenty-seventh of April, 1861, the ports of the States of Virginia and North Carolina were, for reasons therein set forth, placed under blockade; and whereas the port of Alexandria, Virginia, has since been blockaded, but as the blockade of said port may now be safely relaxed with advantage to the interests of commerce:

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, pursuant to the authority in me vested by the fifth section of the act of Congress, approved on the 13th of July, 1861, entitled "An act further to provide for the collection of duties on imports, and for other purposes," do hereby declare that the blockade of the said port of Alexandria shall so far cease and determine, from and after this date, that commercial intercourse with said port, except as to persons, things, and information contraband of war, may from this date be carried on, subject to the laws of the United States, and to the limitations, and in pursuance of the regulations which are prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury in his order, which is appended to my proclamation of the 12th of May, 1862.

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

Done at the city of Washington, this twenty-fourth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-eighth.

[L. S.]

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS

WAR DEPARTMENT, September 24, 1863. 10 A. M.

Major-General Rosecrans, Chattanooga, Tenn.: Last night we received the rebel accounts, through Richmond papers, of your late battle. They give Major-General Hood as mortally wounded, and Brigadiers Preston Smith, Wofford, Walthall, Helm of Kentucky, and Deshler killed, and Major-Generals Preston, Cleburne, and Gregg, and Brigadier-Generals Benning, Adams, Bunn, Brown and John [B. H.] Helm wounded. By confusion the two Helms may be the same man, and Bunn and Brown may be the same man. With Burnside, Sherman, and from elsewhere we shall get to you from forty to sixty thousand additional men.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO MRS. LINCOLN

WAR DEPARTMENT, September 24, 1863.

Mrs. A. Lincoln, New York: We now have a tolerably accurate summing up of the late battle between Rosecrans and Bragg. The result is that we are worsted, if at all, only in the fact that we, after the main fighting was over, yielded the ground, thus leaving considerable of our artillery and wounded to fall into the enemy's hands, for which we got nothing in

turn. We lost in general officers one killed and three or four wounded, all brigadiers, while, according to the rebel accounts which we have, they lost six killed and eight wounded. Of the killed one major-general and five brigadiers, including your brother-in-law, Helm; and of the wounded three major-generals and five brigadiers. This list may be reduced two in number by corrections of confusion in names. At 11:40 A. M. yesterday General Rosecrans telegraphed from Chattanooga: "We hold this point, and I cannot be dislodged except by very superior numbers and after a great battle." A despatch leaving there after night yesterday says: "No fight to-day."

A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAMS TO GENERAL G. G. MEADE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, September 24, 1863.

Major-General Meade: I am appealed to in favor of a private (name not remembered) in Company D, First Regiment New Jersey Volunteers, in Sixth Corps, who is said to be under sentence to be shot to-morrow. Please give me briefly the facts of the case, including his age and your opinion on it.

A. LINCOLN.

P. S. Also give me a like statement in the case of Daniel Sullivan, of Thirteenth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers, First Army Corps.

A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, September 25, 1863.

Major-General Meade: Owing to the press in behalf of Daniel Sullivan, Company E, Thirteenth Massachusetts, and the doubt though small, which you express of his guilty intention, I have concluded to say let his execution be suspended till further order, and copy of record sent me.

A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO GENERAL MCCALLUM

WAR DEPARTMENT, September 25, 1863.

General McCallum, Alexandria, Va.: I have sent to General Meade, by telegraph, to suspend the execution of Daniel Sullivan of Company E, Thirteenth Massachusetts, which was to be to-day, but understanding there is an interruption on the line, may I beg you to send this to him by the quickest mode in your power?

A. LINCOLN.

DRAFT OF LETTER TO GENERAL A. E. BURNSIDE
(*Not Sent.*)

WAR DEPARTMENT, September 25, 1863.

Major-General Burnside: Yours of the 23d is just received, and it makes me doubt whether I am awake or dreaming. I have been struggling for ten days, first through General Halleck, and then directly, to get you to go to assist General Rosecrans in an extremity, and you

have repeatedly declared you would do it, and yet you steadily move the contrary way. On the 19th you telegraph once from Knoxville, and twice from Greenville, acknowledging receipt of order, and saying you will hurry support to Rosecrans. On the 20th you telegraph again from Knoxville, saying you will do all you can, and are hurrying troops to Rosecrans. On the 21st you telegraph from Morristown, saying you will hurry support to Rosecrans, and now your despatch of the 23d comes in from Carter's Station, still farther away from Rosecrans, still saying you will assist him, but giving no account of any progress made toward assisting him.

You came in upon the Tennessee River at Kingston, Loudon, and Knoxville; and what bridges, or the want of them, upon the Holston, can have to do in getting the troops toward Rosecrans at Chattanooga, is incomprehensible. They were already many miles nearer Chattanooga than any part of the Holston River is, and on the right side of it. If they are now on the wrong side of it, they can only have got so by going from the direction of Chattanooga, and that, too, since you have assured us you would move to Chattanooga; while it would seem, too, that they could recross the Holston by whatever means they crossed in going east.

*TELEGRAM TO GENERAL R. C. SCHENCK

WAR DEPARTMENT, September 25, 1863.

Maj.-Gen. Schenck, Baltimore, Md.: Please send Mayor Hayner over now. A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAMS TO GENERAL A. E. BURNSIDE

WAR DEPARTMENT, September 27, 1863. 6.45 P. M.

Major-General Burnside, Knoxville, Tenn.:
Your despatch just received. My order to you meant simply that you should save Rosecrans from being crushed out, believing if he lost his position you could not hold east Tennessee in any event; and that if he held his position, east Tennessee was substantially safe in any event. This despatch is in no sense an order. General Halleck will answer you fully. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, September 27, 1863. 8 P. M.

Major-General Burnside, Knoxville, Tenn.:
It was suggested to you, not ordered, that you should move to Rosecrans on the north side of the river, because it was believed the enemy would not permit you to join him if you should move on the south side. Hold your present positions, and send Rosecrans what you can spare, in the quickest and safest way. In the meantime hold the remainder as nearly in readiness to go to him as you can consistently

with the duty it is to perform while it remains. East Tennessee can be no more than temporarily lost so long as Chattanooga is firmly held.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS

EXECUTIVE MANSION, September 28, 1863.

My dear General Rosecrans: We are sending you two small corps, one under General Howard and one under General Slocum, and the whole under General Hooker. Unfortunately the relations between Generals Hooker and Slocum are not such as to promise good, if their present relative positions remain. Therefore, let me beg—almost enjoin upon you—that on their reaching you, you will make a transposition by which General Slocum with his corps may pass from under the command of General Hooker, and General Hooker, in turn, receive some other equal force. It is important for this to be done, though we could not well arrange it here. Please do it.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS

WAR DEPARTMENT, September 28, 1863. 8 A. M.

Maj.-Gen. Rosecrans, Chattanooga, Tenn.: You can perhaps communicate with General Burnside more rapidly by sending telegrams di-

rectly to him at Knoxville. Think of it. I send a like despatch to him. A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO HORATIO AMES

EXECUTIVE MANSION, September 28, 1863.

Mr. Horatio Ames, Falls Village, Conn.: If you will on or before the first day of March, 1864, within the State of Connecticut, or at any point nearer this city, produce fifteen guns, each of capacity to carry a missile of at least one hundred pounds' weight, and notify me thereof, I will cause some person or persons to examine and test said guns; and if, upon such examination and test, it shall be the opinion of such person or persons that said guns, or any of them, are, on the whole, better guns than any of like caliber heretofore, or now, in use in the United States, I will, on account of the United States, accept said guns, or so many thereof, as shall be so favorably reported on, and advise that you be paid for all so accepted, at the rate of eighty-five cents per pound, avoirdupois weight, of said guns so accepted; it being understood that I have no public money at my control, with which I could make such payment absolutely.

Yours, etc.,

A. LINCOLN.

REPLY TO SONS OF TEMPERANCE
SEPTEMBER 29, 1863

AS a matter of course, it will not be possible for me to make a response co-extensive with the address which you have presented to me. If I were better known than I am, you would not need to be told that in the advocacy of the cause of temperance you have a friend and sympathizer in me.

When I was a young man—long ago—before the Sons of Temperance as an organization had an existence—I, in a humble way, made temperance speeches, and I think I may say that to this day I have never, by my example, belied what I then said.

In regard to the suggestions which you make for the purpose of the advancement of the cause of temperance in the army, I cannot make particular responses to them at this time. To prevent intemperance in the army is even a part of the articles of war. It is part of the law of the land, and was so, I presume, long ago, to dismiss officers for drunkenness. I am not sure that, consistently with the public service, more can be done than has been done. All, there-

fore, that I can promise you is—if you will be pleased to furnish me with a copy of your address—to have it submitted to the proper department, and have it considered whether it contains any suggestions which will improve the cause of temperance and repress the cause of drunkenness in the army any better than it is already done. I can promise no more than that.

I think that the reasonable men of the world have long since agreed that intemperance is one of the greatest, if not the very greatest, of all evils among mankind. That is not a matter of dispute, I believe. That the disease exists, and that it is a very great one, is agreed upon by all. The mode of cure is one about which there may be differences of opinion. You have suggested that in an army—our army—drunkenness is a great evil, and one which, while it exists to a very great extent, we cannot expect to overcome so entirely as to have such successes in our arms as we might have without it. This undoubtedly is true, and while it is perhaps rather a bad source to derive comfort from, nevertheless, in a hard struggle, I do not know but what it is some consolation to be aware that there is some intemperance on the other side, too; and, that they have no right to beat us in physical combat on that ground.

But I have already said more than I expected to be able to say when I began, and if you please to hand me a copy of your address, it shall be considered. I thank you very heartily, gentlemen, for this call, and for bringing with you these very many pretty ladies.

*TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. M. SCHOFIELD

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., September 30, 1863.

General Schofield, Saint Louis, Mo.: Following despatch just received:

Union Men Driven Out of Missouri.

LEAVENWORTH, September 29.—Governor Gamble having authorized Colonel Moss, of Liberty, Mo., to arm the men in Platte and Clinton Counties, he has armed mostly the returned rebel soldiers and men under bonds. Moss' men are now driving the Union men out of Missouri. Over one hundred families crossed the river to-day. Many of the wives of our Union soldiers have been compelled to leave. Four or five Union men have been murdered by Colonel Moss' men.

Please look to this and if true, in whole or part put a stop to it.

A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO F. S. CORKRAN

EXECUTIVE MANSION, September 30, 1863.

Hon. Francis S. Corkran, Baltimore, Md.: Mrs. L. is now at home and would be pleased

to see you any time. If the grape time has not passed away, she would be pleased to join in the enterprise you mention.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR A. W. BRADFORD

EXECUTIVE MANSION, October 1, 1863.

Gov. Bradford, Baltimore, Md.: Please be here in person at 12 M. Saturday to fix up definitely in writing the matter about which Mr. Johnson and Governor Hicks brings a communication from you.

A. LINCOLN.

Please repeat to Annapolis.

A. L.

LETTER TO GENERAL J. M. SCHOFIELD

EXECUTIVE MANSION, October 1, 1863.

General John M. Schofield: There is no organized military force in avowed opposition to the General Government now in Missouri, and if any such shall reappear, your duty in regard to it will be too plain to require any special instruction. Still, the condition of things both here and elsewhere is such as to render it indispensable to maintain for a time the United States military establishment in that State, as well as to rely upon it for a fair contribution of support to that establishment generally. Your immediate duty in regard to Missouri now is to advance the efficiency of that establishment, and

to so use it as far as practicable to compel the excited people there to leave one another alone. Under your recent order, which I have approved, you will only arrest individuals and suppress assemblies or newspapers when they may be working palpable injury to the military in your charge, and in no other case will you interfere with the expression of opinion in any form or allow it to be interfered with violently by others. In this you have a discretion to exercise with great caution, calmness, and forbearance. With the matters of removing the inhabitants of certain counties *en masse*, and of removing certain individuals from time to time who are supposed to be mischievous, I am not now interfering, but am leaving to your own discretion. Nor am I interfering with what may still seem to you to be necessary restrictions upon trade and intercourse. I think proper, however, to enjoin upon you the following:

Allow no part of the military under your command to be engaged in either returning fugitive slaves or in forcing or enticing slaves from their homes, and, so far as practicable, enforce the same forbearance upon the people.

Report to me your opinion upon the availability for good of the enrolled militia of the State.

Allow no one to enlist colored troops except

upon orders from you or from here, through you.

Allow no one to assume the functions of confiscating property under the law of Congress, or otherwise, except upon orders from here.

At elections see that those, and only those, are allowed to vote who are entitled to do so by the laws of Missouri, including, as of those laws, the restriction laid by the Missouri convention upon those who may have participated in the rebellion. So far as practicable, you will, by means of your military force, expel guerrillas, marauders, and murderers, and all who are known to harbor, aid, or abet them. But in like manner you will repress assumptions of unauthorized individuals to perform the same service because, under pretense of doing this, they become marauders and murderers themselves.¹

To now restore peace, let the military obey orders, and those not of the military leave each other alone, thus not breaking the peace themselves. In giving the above directions, it is not intended to restrain you in other expedient and necessary matters not falling within their range.

Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

¹ An active secession minority kept Missouri in continual social, political and military turmoil during the war. Only the President's patience, tact and wisdom saved the State to the Union.

*TELEGRAM TO GENERAL E. B. TYLER

WAR DEPARTMENT,

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 1, 1863.

General Tyler, Baltimore: Take care of colored troops in your charge, but do nothing further about that branch of affairs until further orders. Particularly do nothing about General Vickers of Kent County. A. LINCOLN.

Send a copy to Colonel Birney. A. L.

*TELEGRAM TO T. A. SCOTT

WAR DEPARTMENT,

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 1, 1863. 4.20 P.M.

Thomas A. Scott, Louisville, Ky.: Tell me how things have advanced so far as you know.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. M. SCHOFIELD

WAR DEPARTMENT,

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 2, 1863. 9 A. M.

Major-General Schofield: I have just seen your despatch to Halleck about Major-General Blunt. If possible, you better allow me to get through with a certain matter here before adding to the difficulties of it. Meantime supply me the particulars of Major-General Blunt's case.

A. LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAM TO COLONEL BIRNEY

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 3, 1863.

Colonel Birney, Baltimore, Md.: Please give me as near as you can the number of *slaves* you have recruited in Maryland. Of course the number is not to include the free colored.

A. LINCOLN.

PROCLAMATION FOR THANKSGIVING, October 3,
1863

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

The year that is drawing toward its close has been filled with the blessings of fruitful fields and healthful skies. To these bounties, which are so constantly enjoyed that we are prone to forget the source from which they come, others have been added, which are of so extraordinary a nature that they cannot fail to penetrate and soften the heart which is habitually insensible to the ever-watchful providence of almighty God. In the midst of a civil war of unequal magnitude and severity, which has sometimes seemed to foreign states to invite and provoke their aggressions, peace has been preserved with all nations, order has been maintained, the laws have

been respected and obeyed, and harmony has prevailed everywhere, except in the theater of military conflict; while that theater has been greatly contracted by the advancing armies and navies of the Union.

Needful diversions of wealth and of strength from the fields of peaceful industry to the national defense have not arrested the plow, the shuttle, or the ship; the ax has enlarged the borders of our settlements, and the mines, as well of iron and coal as of the precious metals, have yielded even more abundantly than heretofore. Population has steadily increased, notwithstanding the waste that has been made in the camp, the siege, and the battle-field, and the country, rejoicing in the consciousness of augmented strength and vigor, is permitted to expect continuance of years with large increase of freedom.

No human counsel hath devised, nor hath any mortal hand worked out these great things. They are the gracious gifts of the most high God, who, while dealing with us in anger for our sins, hath nevertheless remembered mercy.

It has seemed to me fit and proper that they should be solemnly, reverently, and gratefully acknowledged as with one heart and one voice by the whole American people. I do, therefore, invite my fellow-citizens in every part of the United States, and also those who are at sea and

those who are sojourning in foreign lands, to set apart and observe the last Thursday of November next as a day of thanksgiving and praise to our beneficent Father who dwelleth in the heavens. And I recommend to them that, while offering up the ascriptions justly due to him for such singular deliverances and blessings, they do also, with humble penitence for our national perverseness and disobedience, commend to his tender care all those who have become widows, orphans, mourners, or sufferers in the lamentable civil strife in which we are unavoidably engaged, and fervently implore the interposition of the almighty hand to heal the wounds of the nation, and to restore it, as soon as may be consistent with the Divine purposes, to the full enjoyment of peace, harmony, tranquillity, and union.

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

Done at the city of Washington, this third day of October, in the year of our [L. S.] Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-eighth.

A. LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. M. SCHOFIELD

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 4, 1863. 11 A. M.

Major-General Schofield, St. Louis, Mo.: I think you will not have just cause to complain of my action.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS

WAR DEPARTMENT, October 4, 1863. 11.30 A.M.

Major-General Rosecrans, Chattanooga, Tenn.: Yours of yesterday received. If we can hold Chattanooga and East Tennessee, I think the rebellion must dwindle and die. I think you and Burnside can do this, and hence doing so is your main object. Of course to greatly damage or destroy the enemy in your front would be a greater object, because it would include the former and more, but it is not so certainly within your power. I understand the main body of the enemy is very near you, so near that you could "board at home," so to speak, and menace or attack him any day. Would not the doing of this be your best mode of counter-acting his raid on your communications? But this is not an order. I intend doing something like what you suggest whenever the case shall appear ripe enough to have it accepted in the true understanding rather than as a confession of weakness and fear.

A. LINCOLN.

Lincoln and McClellan, Antietam, 1862
*From Unpublished Photograph given by General
McClellan to Charles McKnight Loeser,
now owned by his son.*



LETTER TO CHARLES D. DRAKE AND OTHERS

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 5, 1863.

GENTLEMEN: Your original address presented on the 30th ultimo, and the four supplementary ones presented on the 3d instant, have been carefully considered. I hope you will regard the other duties claiming my attention, together with the great length and importance of these documents, as constituting a sufficient apology for my not having responded sooner. These papers, framed for a common object consist of the things demanded and the reasons for demanding them. The things demanded are:

First: That General Schofield shall be relieved, and General Butler be appointed, as commander of the military department of Missouri.

Second. That the system of enrolled militia in Missouri may be broken up, and national forces be substituted for it; and

Third. That at elections persons may not be allowed to vote who are not entitled by law to do so.

Among the reasons given, enough of suffering

and wrong to Union men is certainly, and I suppose truly, stated. Yet the whole case, as presented, fails to convince me that General Schofield or the enrolled militia is responsible for that suffering and wrong. The whole can be explained on a more charitable and, as I think, a more rational hypothesis. We are in civil war. In such cases there always is a main question; but in this case that question is a perplexing compound—Union and slavery. It thus becomes a question not of two sides merely but of at least four sides, even among those who are for the Union, saying nothing of those who are against it. Thus, those who are for the Union with, but not without, slavery—those for it without, but not with—those for it with or without, but prefer it with—and those for it with or without, but prefer it without.

Among these again is a subdivision of those who are for gradual, but not for immediate, and those who are for immediate, but not for gradual, extinction of slavery. It is easy to conceive that all these shades of opinion, and even more, may be sincerely entertained by honest and truthful men. Yet, all being for the Union, by reason of these differences each will prefer a different way of sustaining the Union. At once sincerity is questioned, and motives are assailed. Actual war coming, blood grows hot, and blood

is spilled. Thought is forced from old channels into confusion. Deception breeds and thrives. Confidence dies and universal suspicion reigns. Each man feels an impulse to kill his neighbor, lest he be first killed by him. Revenge and retaliation follow. And all this, as before said, may be among honest men only; but this is not all. Every foul bird comes abroad and every dirty reptile rises up. These add crime to confusion. Strong measures deemed indispensable, but harsh at best, such men make worse by maladministration. Murders for old grudges, and murders for pelf, proceed under any cloak that will best cover for the occasion. These causes amply account for what has occurred in Missouri, without ascribing it to the weakness or wickedness of any general. The newspaper files, those chroniclers of current events, will show that the evils now complained of were quite as prevalent under Frémont, Hunter, Halleck, and Curtis, as under Schofield. If the former had greater force opposed to them, they also had greater force with which to meet it. When the organized rebel army left the State, the main Federal force had to go also, leaving the department commander at home relatively no stronger than before. Without disparaging any, I affirm with confidence that no commander of that department has, in propor-

tion to his means, done better than General Schofield.

The first specific charge against General Schofield is that the enrolled militia was placed under his command, whereas it had not been placed under the command of General Curtis. The fact, I believe, is true; but you do not point out, nor can I conceive how that did or could injure loyal men or the Union cause.

You charge that, upon General Curtis being superseded by General Schofield, Franklin A. Dick was superseded by James O. Broadhead as Provost-Marshal-General. No very specific showing is made as to how this did or could injure the Union cause. It recalls, however the condition of things as presented to me, which led to a change of commander for that department.

To restrain contraband intelligence and trade, a system of searches, seizures, permits, and passes had been introduced, I think, by General Frémont. When General Halleck came, he found and continued this system, and added an order, applicable to some parts of the State, to levy and collect contributions from noted rebels, to compensate losses and relieve destitution caused by the rebellion. The action of General Frémont and General Halleck, as stated, constituted a sort of system, which General Curtis

found in full operation when he took command of the department. That there was a necessity for something of the sort was clear, but that it could only be justified by stern necessity and that it was liable to great abuse in administration, was equally clear. Agents to execute it, contrary to the great prayer, were led into temptation. Some might, while others would not, resist that temptation. It was not possible to hold any to a very strict accountability, and those yielding to the temptation would sell permits and passes to those who would pay most and most readily for them; and would seize property and collect levies in the aptest way to fill their own pockets. Money being the object, the man having money, whether loyal or disloyal, would be a victim. This practice doubtless existed to some extent, and it was a real additional evil that it could be and was plausibly charged to exist in greater extent than it did.

When General Curtis took command of the department, Mr. Dick, against whom I never knew anything to allege, had general charge of this system. A controversy in regard to it rapidly grew into almost unmanageable proportions. One side ignored the necessity and magnified the evils of the system, while the other ignored the evils and magnified the necessity, and each bitterly assailed the motives of the

other. I could not fail to see that the controversy enlarged in the same proportion as the professed Union men there distinctly took sides in two opposing political parties. I exhausted my wits, and very nearly my patience also, in efforts to convince both that the evils they charged on each other were inherent in the case, and could not be cured by giving either party a victory over the other.

Plainly the irritating system was not to be perpetual, and it was plausibly urged that it could be modified at once with advantage. The case could scarcely be worse, and whether it could be made better could only be determined by a trial. In this view, and not to ban or brand General Curtis, or to give a victory to any party, I made the change of commander for the department.

I now learn that soon after this change Mr. Dick was removed, and that Mr. Broadhead, a gentleman of no less good character, was put in the place. The mere fact of this change is more distinctly complained of than is any conduct of the new officer or other consequences of the change.

I gave the new commander no instructions as to the administration of the system mentioned beyond what is contained in the private letter afterward surreptitiously published, in which I

directed him to act solely for the public good and independently of both parties. Neither anything you have presented me nor anything I have otherwise learned has convinced me that he has been unfaithful to this charge.

Imbecility is urged as one cause for removing General Schofield and the late massacre at Lawrence, Kansas, is pressed as evidence of that imbecility. To my mind that fact scarcely tends to prove the proposition. That massacre is only an example of what Grierson, John [H.] Morgan and many others might have repeatedly done on their respective raids had they chosen to incur the personal hazard and possessed the fiendish hearts to do it.

The charge is made that General Schofield, on purpose to protect the Lawrence murderers, would not allow them to be pursued into Missouri. While no punishment could be too sudden or too severe for those murderers, I am well satisfied that the preventing of the threatened remedial raid into Missouri was the only safe way to avoid an indiscriminate massacre there, including probably more innocent than guilty. Instead of condemning I therefore approve what I understand General Schofield did in that respect.

The charges that General Schofield has purposely withheld protection from loyal people

and purposely facilitated the objects of the disloyal are altogether beyond my power of belief. I do not arraign the veracity of gentlemen as to the facts complained of, but I do more than question the judgment which would infer that those facts occurred in accordance with the purposes of General Schofield.

With my present views, I must decline to remove General Schofield. In this I decide nothing against General Butler. I sincerely wish it were convenient to assign him a suitable command. In order to meet some existing evils I have addressed a letter of instructions to General Schofield, a copy of which I inclose to you.

As to the enrolled militia, I shall endeavor to ascertain better than I now know what is its exact value. Let me say now, however, that your proposal to substitute national forces for the enrolled militia implies that in your judgment the latter is doing something which needs to be done; and if so, the proposition to throw that force away and to supply its place by bringing other forces from the field where they are urgently needed seems to me very extraordinary. Whence shall they come? Shall they be withdrawn from Banks, or Grant or Steele or Rosecrans? Few things have been so grateful to my anxious feelings as when, in June last, the local force in Missouri aided General Schofield to so

promptly send a large general force to the relief of General Grant, then investing Vicksburg, and menaced from without by General Johnston. Was this all wrong? Should the enrolled militia then have been broken up and General Heron kept from Grant to police Missouri? So far from finding cause to object, I confess to a sympathy for whatever relieves our general force in Missouri and allows it to serve elsewhere. I therefore, as at present advised, cannot attempt the destruction of the enrolled militia of Missouri. I may add that the force being under the national military control, it is also within the proclamation in regard to the *habeas corpus*.

I concur in the propriety of your request in regard to elections, and have, as you see, directed General Schofield accordingly. I do not feel justified to enter upon the broad field you present in regard to the political differences between Radicals and Conservatives. From time to time I have done and said what appeared to me proper to do and say. The public knows it all. It obliges nobody to follow me, and I trust it obliges me to follow nobody. The Radicals and Conservatives each agree with me in some things and disagree in others. I could wish both to agree with me in all things, for then they would agree with each other and

would be too strong for any foe from any quarter. They, however, choose to do otherwise; and I do not question their right. I too shall do what seems to be my duty. I hold whoever commands in Missouri or elsewhere responsible to me and not to either Radicals or Conservatives. It is my duty to hear all, but at last I must, within my sphere, judge what to do and what to forbear.

Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

MEMORANDUM CONCERNING T. J. CARTER

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 5, 1863.

Whom it may concern: Unless something now unknown and unexpected shall come to my knowledge, tending to change my purpose, I shall, at the proper time, appoint Timothy J. Carter one of the two directors to be appointed by the President, according to a provision in the first section of the act of Congress, entitled "An act to aid in the construction of a railroad and telegraph line from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean, and to secure to the government the use of the same for postal, military, and other purposes, approved July 1, 1862."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR ANDREW JOHNSON

WAR DEPARTMENT, October 7, 1863.

Governor Johnson, Nashville, Tenn.: What news have you from Rosecrans' army, or in that direction beyond Nashville? A. LINCOLN.

DETAIL OF C. B. STEWART FOR CERTAIN
PURPOSES

EXECUTIVE MANSION, October 9, 1863.

To whom it may concern: In pursuance of a resolution of the Senate and Assembly of the State of New York, in the words following, to wit: "Resolved, That the governor be and hereby is empowered and requested to invite the President of the United States to select and detail a competent engineer in behalf and at the expense of the General Government, to consult with the engineers so to be appointed by the canal board in respect to the surveys mentioned in the preceding resolution and as to the mode of constructing the work so as most effectually to promote the national interests," and in response to the invitation of the governor of said State of New York, made in virtue of said resolution, I do hereby select and detail Charles B. Stewart, of Geneva, in said State, to perform the duties contemplated in and by said resolution, it being understood by said Stewart that he is

to rely upon an appropriation hereafter to be made by Congress, for any compensation he may receive.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. G. MEADE

WASHINGTON, October 10, 1863. 4.55 P. M.

General Meade: Am interested with your despatch of noon. How is it now?

A. LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAMS TO GENERAL G. G. MEADE

WAR DEPARTMENT, October 11, 1863. 9.50 A. M.

Major-General Meade, Army of Potomac:
How is it now?

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, October 12, 1863.

Major-General Meade, Army of Potomac:
The father and mother of John Murphy, of the One hundred and nineteenth Pennsylvania Volunteers, have filed their own affidavits that he was born June 22, 1846, and also the affidavits of three other persons who all swear that they remembered the circumstances of his birth and that it was in the year 1846, though they do not remember the particular day. I therefore on account of his tender age, have concluded to pardon him, and to leave it to yourself, whether to discharge him or continue him in the service.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS

WAR DEPARTMENT, October 12, 1863. 8.35 A. M.

Major-General Rosecrans, Chattanooga, Tenn.: As I understand, Burnside is menaced from the west, and so cannot go to you without surrendering East Tennessee. I now think the enemy will not attack Chattanooga and I think you will have to look out for his making a concentrated drive at Burnside. You and Burnside now have him by the throat; and he must break your hold or perish. I therefore think you better try to hold the road up to Kingston, leaving Burnside to what is above there. Sherman is coming to you, though gaps in the telegraph prevent our knowing how far he is advanced. He and Hooker will so support you on the west and northwest as to enable you to look east and northeast. This is not an order. General Halleck will give his views. A. LINCOLN

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. G. MEADE

WASHINGTON, October 12, 1863. 9 A. M.

Major-General Meade: What news this morning? A despatch from Rosecrans, leaving him at 7:30 P. M. yesterday, says:

Rebel rumors that head of Ewell's column reached Dalton yesterday.

I send this for what it is worth. A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAMS TO WAYNE McVEIGH

EXECUTIVE MANSION, October 13, 1863.

McVeigh, Philadelphia: The enemy some days ago made a movement, apparently to turn General Meade's right. This led to a manœuvring of the two armies and to pretty heavy skirmishing on Saturday, Sunday and Monday. We have frequent dispatches from General Meade, and up to 10 o'clock last night nothing had happened giving either side any marked advantage. Our army reported to be in excellent condition. The telegraph is open to General Meade's camp this morning, but we have not troubled him for a despatch. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, October 14, 1863. 3.35.

Wayne McVeigh, Philadelphia: How does it stand now? A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO THURLOW WEED

EXECUTIVE MANSION, October 14, 1863.

My dear Sir: I have been brought to fear recently that somehow, by commission or omission, I have caused you some degree of pain. I have never entertained an unkind feeling or a disparaging thought toward you; and if I have said or done anything which has been construed into such unkindness or disparagement, it has been misconstrued. I am sure if we could meet

we would not part with any unpleasant impression on either side. Yours as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAM TO J. W. GRIMES

EXECUTIVE MANSION, October 15, 1863.

Hon. James W. Grimes, Burlington, Iowa: Thanks for your Iowa election news. I suppose you know that Pennsylvania and Ohio are all right. Governor Morton telegraphs that county elections in Indiana have gone largely in the same direction.

A. LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. G. FOSTER

WAR DEPARTMENT, October 15, 1863.

Major-General Foster, Fort Monroe, Va.: Postpone the execution of Dr. Wright to Friday the 23d instant, (October). This is intended for his preparation and is final.

A. LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAM TO L. B. TODD

WAR DEPARTMENT, October 15, 1863.

L. B. Todd, Lexington, Ky.: I send the following pass to your care.

A. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 15, 1863.

To whom it may concern: Allow Mrs. Robert S. Todd, widow, to go South and bring her daughter, Mrs. General B. Hardin Helm, with her children north to Kentucky.

A. LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. G. MEADE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, October 15, 1863.

Major-General Meade: On the 4th instant you telegraphed me that Private Daniel Hanson, of Ninety-seventh New York Volunteers, had not yet been tried. When he shall be, please notify me of the result, with a brief statement of his case, if he be convicted. Gustave Blittersdorf, whom you say is enlisted in the One hundred and nineteenth Pennsylvania Volunteers, as William Fox, is proven to me to be only fifteen years old last January. I pardon him and you will discharge him or put him in the ranks at your discretion. Mathias Brown, of Nineteenth Pennsylvania Volunteers, is proven to me to be eighteen last May, and his friends say he is convicted on an enlistment and for a desertion, both before that time. If this last be true he is pardoned, to be kept or discharged as you please. If not true, suspend his execution and report the facts of his case. Did you receive my dispatch of 12th pardoning John Murphy? A. LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAM TO SECRETARY CHASE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, October 16, 1863.

Hon. S. P. Chase, Cincinnati, O.: If Judge Lawrence cannot go to Key West at once, I shall have to appoint another. A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL H. W. HALLECK

EXECUTIVE MANSION, October 16, 1863.

Major-General Halleck: I do not believe Lee can have over 60,000 effective men.

Longstreet's corps would not be sent away to bring an equal force back upon the same road; and there is no other direction for them to have come from.

Doubtless, in making the present movement, Lee gathered in all available scraps, and added them to Hill's and Ewell's corps; but that is all and he made the movement in the belief that four corps had left General Meade; and General Meade's apparently avoiding a collision with him has confirmed him in that belief. If General Meade can now attack him on a field no worse than equal for us, and will do so with all the skill and courage which he, his officers, and men possess, the honor will be his if he succeeds, and the blame may be mine if he fails.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAM TO T. W. SWEENEY

WAR DEPARTMENT, October 16, 1863.

Thomas W. Sweeney: Tad is teasing me to have you forward his pistol to him.

A. LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAM TO T. C. DURANT

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 16, 1863.

T. C. Durant, New York: I remember receiving nothing from you of the 10th, and I do not comprehend your despatch of to-day. In fact I do not remember, if I ever knew who you are, and I have very little conception as to what you are telegraphing about.

A. LINCOLN.

CALL FOR 300,000 VOLUNTEERS, October 17,
1863

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

Whereas, the term of service of a part of the volunteer forces of the United States will expire during the coming year, and whereas, in addition to the men raised by the present draft, it is deemed expedient to call out three hundred thousand volunteers to serve for three years or the war, not, however, exceeding three years:

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, and commander-in-chief of the army and navy thereof, and of the militia of the several States when called into

actual service, do issue this, my proclamation, calling upon the governors of the different States to raise and have enlisted into the United States service, for the various companies and regiments in the field from their respective States, their quotas of three hundred thousand men.

I further proclaim that all volunteers thus called out and duly enlisted shall receive advance pay, premium, and bounty, as heretofore communicated to the governors of States by the War Department, through the Provost-Marshal-General's office, by special letters.

I further proclaim that all volunteers received under this call as well as all others not heretofore credited, shall be duly credited on, and deducted from, the quotas established for the next draft.

I further proclaim that if any State shall fail to raise the quota assigned to it by the War Department under this call, then a draft for the deficiency in said quota shall be made on said State, or on the districts of said State, for their due proportion of said quota; and the said draft shall commence on the fifth day of January, 1864.

And I further proclaim that nothing in this proclamation shall interfere with existing orders, or those which may be issued, for the present draft in the States where it is now in progress, or where it has not yet commenced.

The quotas of the States and districts will be assigned by the War Department, through the Provost-Marshall-General's office, due regard being had for the men heretofore furnished, whether by volunteering or drafting, and the recruiting will be conducted in accordance with such instructions as have been or may be issued by that department.

In issuing this proclamation I address myself not only to the governors of the several States, but also to the good and loyal people thereof, invoking them to lend their willing, cheerful, and effective aid to the measures thus adopted, with a view to reinforce our victorious armies now in the field, and bring our needful military operations to a prosperous end, thus closing forever the fountains of sedition and civil war.

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

Done at the city of Washington, this seventeenth day of October, in the year [L. S.] of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-eighth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

TELEGRAM TO J. WILLIAMS AND N. G. TAYLOR

WAR DEPARTMENT, October 17, 1863.

John Williams and N. G. Taylor, Knoxville, Tenn.: You do not estimate the holding of East Tennessee more highly than I do. There is no absolute purpose of withdrawing our forces from it, and only a contingent one to withdraw them temporarily for the purpose of not losing the position permanently. I am in great hope of not finding it necessary to withdraw them at all, particularly if you raise new troops rapidly for us there.

A. LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAM TO GENERAL A. E. BURNSIDE

(Cipher.)

WAR DEPARTMENT, October 17, 1863.

Major-General Burnside, Knoxville, Tenn.: I am greatly interested to know how many new troops of all sorts you have raised in Tennessee. Please inform me.

A. LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAM TO W. B. THOMAS

EXECUTIVE MANSION, October 17, 1863.

Hon. William B. Thomas, Philadelphia, Pa.: I am grateful for your offer of 100,00 men, but as at present advised I do not consider that Washington is in danger, or that there is any emergency requiring 60 or 90 days men.

A. LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. G. FOSTER.

(Cipher.)

WAR DEPARTMENT, October 17, 1863.

Major-General Foster, Fort Monroe, Va.: It would be useless for Mrs. Dr. Wright to come here. The subject is a very painful one, but the case is settled.

A. LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAM TO T. C. DURANT

EXECUTIVE MANSION, October 18, 1863.

T. C. Durant, New York: As I do with others, so I will try to see you when you come.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GOVERNOR GAMBLE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, October 19, 1863.

Hamilton R. Gamble, Governor of Missouri: Yours of the 1st instant was duly received; and I have delayed so long to answer it because of other pressing duties; because it did not appear to me that the domestic violence you apprehend was very imminent; and because, if it were so imminent, my direction to General Schofield embraces very nearly the extent of my power to repress it. Being instructed to repress all violence, of course he will, so far as is in his power, repress any which may be offered to the State government. At the beginning of our present

troubles, the regularly installed State officers of Missouri, taking sides with the rebellion, were forced to give way to the provisional State government, at the head of which you stand, and which was placed in authority, as I understand, by the unanimous action and acquiescence of the Union people of the State. I have seen no occasion to make a distinction against the provisional government because of its not having been chosen and inaugurated in the usual way. Nor have I seen any cause to suspect it of unfaithfulness to the Union. So far as I have yet considered, I am as ready, on a proper case made, to give the State the constitutional protection against invasion and domestic violence, under the provisional government, as I would be if it were under a government installed in the ordinary manner. I have not thought of making a distinction.

In your proclamation of the 12th instant you state the proposition substantially, that no objection can be made to any change in the State government which the people may desire to make so far as the end can be effected by means of conforming to the constitution and laws through the expression of the popular will, but that such change should not be effected by violence. I concur in this, and I may add that it makes precisely the distinction I wish to keep in

view. In the absence of such violence, or imminent danger thereof, it is not proper for the national executive to interfere, and I am unwilling by any formal action to show an appearance of belief that there is such imminent danger before I really believe there is. I might thereby to some extent bear false witness. You tell me "a party has sprung up in Missouri which openly and loudly proclaims the purpose to overturn the provisional government by violence." Does the party so proclaim, or is it only that some members of the party so proclaim? If I mistake not, the party alluded to recently held a State convention and adopted resolutions. Did they therein declare violence against the provisional State government? No party can be justly held responsible for what individual members of it may say or do. Nothing in this letter is written with reference to any State which may have maintained within it no State government professedly loyal to the United States.

Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS

WAR DEPARTMENT, October 19, 1863. 9 A. M.

Major-General Rosecrans, Chattanooga, Tenn.: There has been no battle recently at Bull Run. I suppose what you have heard a

rumor of was not a general battle but an "affair" at Bristow Station, on the railroad a few miles beyond Manassas Junction toward the Rappahannock, on Wednesday, the 14th. It began by an attack of the enemy upon General Warren, and ended in the enemy being repulsed with a loss of four cannon and from four to seven hundred prisoners. A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAMS TO GENERAL R. C. SCHENCK

EXECUTIVE MANSION, October 21, 1863. 2.45 P. M.

Major-General Schenck, Baltimore, Maryland: A delegation is here saying that our armed colored troops are at many, if not at all, the landings on the Patuxent River, and by their presence with arms in their hands are frightening quiet people and producing great confusion. Have they been sent there by any order, and if so, for what reason? A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, October 22, 1863. 1.30 P. M.

Major-General Schenck, Baltimore, Maryland: Please come over here. The fact of one of our officers being killed on the Patuxent is a specimen of what I would avoid. It seems to me we could send white men to recruit better than to send negroes and thus inaugurate homicides on *punctilio*. Please come over.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL H. W. HALLECK

EXECUTIVE MANSION, October 24, 1863.

Major-General Halleck: Taking all our information together, I think it probable that Ewell's corps has started for East Tennessee by way of Abingdon, marching last Monday, say, from Meade's front directly to the railroad at Charlottesville.

First, the object of Lee's recent movement against Meade; his destruction of the Alexandria and Orange Railroad, and subsequent withdrawal, without more motive, not otherwise apparent, would be explained by this hypothesis.

Secondly, the direct statement of Sharpe's men that Ewell has gone to Tennessee.

Thirdly, the Irishman's statement that he has not gone through Richmond and his further statement of an appeal made to the people at Richmond to go and protect their salt, which could only refer to the works near Abingdon.

Fourthly, Graham's statement from Martinsburg that Imboden is in retreat for Harrisonburg. This last matches with the idea that Lee has retained his cavalry, sending Imboden and perhaps other scraps to join Ewell. Upon this probability what is to be done?

If you have a plan matured, I have nothing to say. If you have not, then I suggest that,

with all possible expedition, the Army of the Potomac get ready to attack Lee, and that in the mean time a raid shall, at all hazards, break the railroad at or near Lynchburg,

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TRANSMITTING ORIGINAL DRAFT OF
EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION ¹

EXECUTIVE MANSION, October 26, 1863.

According to the request made in your behalf, the original draft of the Emancipation Proclamation is herewith enclosed. The formal words at the top and the conclusion, except the signature, you perceive, are not in my handwriting. They were written at the State Department, by whom I know not. The printed part was cut from a copy of the preliminary proclamation, and pasted on, merely to save writing. I had some desire to retain the paper; but if it shall contribute to the relief or comfort of the soldiers, that will be better.

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GEORGE H. BOKER

EXECUTIVE MANSION, October 26, 1863.

My dear Sir: It is with heartfelt gratification that I acknowledge the receipt of your com-

¹ Addressed to ladies having in charge the Northwestern Fair for the Sanitary Commission, Chicago, Illinois.

munication of the 6th, and the accompanying medal by which I am made an honorary member of the Union League of Philadelphia.

I shall always bear with me the consciousness of having endeavored to do my duty in the trying times through which we are passing, and the generous approval of a portion of my fellow-citizens so intelligent and so patriotic as those composing your association assures me that I have not wholly failed.

I could not ask, and no one could merit, a better reward.

Be kind enough, sir, to convey to the gentlemen whom you represent, the assurance of the grateful appreciation with which I accept the honor you have conferred upon me.

I am very truly your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO E. B. WASHBURNE

(Private and Confidential.)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, October 26, 1863.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 12th has been in my hands several days. Inclosed I send the leave of absence for your brother, in as good form as I think I can safely put it. Without knowing whether he would accept it, I have tendered the collectorship at Portland, Maine, to your other brother, the governor.

Thanks to both you and our friend Campbell for your kind words and intentions. A second term would be a great honor and a great labor, which, together, perhaps I would not decline if tendered.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO SECRETARY CHASE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, October 26, 1863.

My dear Sir: The writer of the accompanying letter is one of Mrs. Lincoln's numerous cousins. He is a grandson of "Milliken's Bend," near Vicksburg—that is, a grandson of the man who gave name to Milliken's Bend. His father was a brother to Mrs. Lincoln's mother. I know not a thing about his loyalty beyond what he says. Supposing he is loyal, can any of his requests be granted, and if any, which of them?

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

OPINION ON THE LOSS OF GENERAL R. H.

MILROY'S DIVISION, October 27, 1863

In June last a division was substantially lost at or near Winchester, Va. At the time, it was under General Milroy as immediate commander in the field, General Schenck as department commander at Baltimore, and General Halleck as general-in-chief at Washington.

General Milroy, as immediate commander, was put in arrest, and subsequently a court of inquiry examined chiefly with reference to disobedience of orders, and reported the evidence.

The foregoing is a synoptical statement of the evidence, together with the judge-advocate-general's conclusions. The disaster, when it came was a surprise to all. It was very well known to Generals Schenck and Milroy for some time before, that General Halleck thought the division was in great danger of a surprise at Winchester; that it was of no service commensurate with the risk it incurred, and that it ought to be withdrawn; but, although he more than once advised its withdrawal, he never positively ordered it. General Schenck, on the contrary, believed the service of the force at Winchester was worth the hazard, and so did not positively order its withdrawal until it was so late that the enemy cut the wire and prevented the order reaching General Milroy.

General Milroy seems to have concurred with General Schenck in the opinion that the force should be kept at Winchester at least until the approach of danger, but he disobeyed no order upon the subject.

Some question can be made whether some of General Halleck's despatches to General Schenck could not have been construed to be

orders to withdraw the force, and obeyed accordingly; but no such question can be made against General Milroy. In fact, the last order he received was to be prepared to withdraw, but not actually withdraw until further order, which further order never reached him.

Serious blame is not necessarily due to any serious disaster, and I cannot say that in this case any of the officers are deserving of serious blame. No court-martial is deemed necessary or proper in the case.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO THOMAS SWANN

(*Private.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, October 27, 1863.

Dear Sir: Your letter, a copy of which is on the other half of this sheet is received. I trust there is no just ground for the suspicion you mention; and I am somewhat mortified that there could be any doubt of my views upon the point of your inquiry. I wish all loyal qualified voters in Maryland and elsewhere to have the undisturbed privilege of voting at elections; and neither my authority nor my name can be properly used to the contrary.

Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

Publish both letters, if either.

A. L.

* TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR ANDREW JOHNSON
(*Cipher.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 28, 1863.

Hon. Andrew Johnson, Nashville, Tenn.: If not too inconvenient, please come at once and have a personal conversation with me.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL J. M. SCHOFIELD
(*Private and Confidential.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 28, 1863.

General John M. Schofield: There have recently reached the War Department, and thence been laid before me, from Missouri, three communications, all similar in import and identical in object. One of them, addressed to nobody, and without place or date, but having the signature of (apparently) the writer, is a letter of eight closely written foolscap pages. The other two are written by a different person, at St. Joseph, Mo., and of the dates, respectively, October 12 and 13, 1863 and each inclosing a large number of affidavits. The general statements of the whole are that the Federal and State authorities are arming the disloyal and disarming the loyal and that the latter will all be killed or

driven out of the State unless there shall be a change. In particular, no loyal man who has been disarmed is named, but the affidavits show by name forty-two persons as disloyal who have been armed. They are as follows: [The names are omitted.]

A majority of these are shown to have been in the rebel service. I believe it could be shown that the government here has deliberately armed more than ten times as many captured at Gettysburg, to say nothing of similar operations in East Tennessee. These papers contain altogether thirty-one manuscript pages, and one newspaper *in extenso*, and yet I do not find it anywhere charged in them that any loyal man has been harmed by reason of being disarmed, or that any disloyal one has harmed anybody by reason of being armed by the Federal or State Government. Of course, I have not had time to carefully examine all; but I have had most of them examined and briefed by others, and the result is as stated. The remarkable fact that the actual evil is yet only anticipated—inferred—induces me to suppose I understand the case; but I do not state my impression, because I might be mistaken, and because your duty and mine is plain in any event. The locality of nearly all this seems to be St. Joseph and Buchanan County. I wish you to give special attention

to this region, particularly on election day. Prevent violence from whatever quarter, and see that the soldiers themselves do no wrong.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

NOTE TO GENERAL CLINTON B. FISK

EXECUTIVE MANSION, October 29, 1863.

My dear Sir: I have just received and read your very kind and instructive letter of the 24th, for which please accept my thanks. It is so free from passion, and so full of charity and goodwill, that I regret not having time to do more than acknowledge the receipt of it.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAM TO T. J. CARTER

EXECUTIVE MANSION, October 29, 1863.

T. J. Carter, New York: I made your appointment yesterday, and the Secretary of the Interior undertook to send it to you. I suppose it will reach you to-day. A. LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. G. MEADE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, October 29, 1863.

Major-General Meade, Army of Potomac: I see in a newspaper that you have recently approved sentences of death for desertion of Thomas Sands, James Haley, H. H. Williams, Mathias Brown, alias Albert Brown, H. C.

Beardsley, and George F. Perkins. Several of these are persons in behalf of whom appeals have been made to me. Please send me a short statement of each one of the cases, stating the age of each, so far as you can. A. LINCOLN.

* LETTER TO JAMES W. GRIMES

EXECUTIVE MANSION, October 29, 1863.

My dear Sir: The above act of Congress was passed, as I suppose, for the purpose of shutting out improper applicants for seats in the House of Representatives; and I fear there is some danger that it will be *used* to shut out proper ones. Iowa, having an entire Union delegation, will be one of the States the attempt will be made, if upon any. The Governor doubtless has made out the certificates, and they are already in the hands of the members. I suggest that they come on with them; but that, for greater caution, you, and perhaps Mr. Harlan with you, consult with the Governor, and have an additional set made out according to the form on the other half of this sheet; and still another set, if you can, by studying the law, think of a form that in your judgment, promises additional security, and quietly bring the whole on with you, to be used in case of necessity. Let what you do be kept still.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO VICE-PRESIDENT HAMLIN

AN ACT TO REGULATE THE DUTIES OF THE CLERK
OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN PREPAR-
ING FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF THE HOUSE.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that, before the first meeting of the next Congress, and every subsequent Congress, the clerk of the next preceding House of Representatives shall make a roll of the Representatives-elect, and place thereon the names of all persons, and of such persons only, whose credentials show that they were regularly elected in accordance with the laws of their States respectively, or the laws of the United States.

Approved March 3, 1863.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 29, 1863.

My dear Sir: The above act of Congress was passed, as I suppose, to exclude improper applicants from seats in the House of Representatives and there is danger now that it will be used to exclude proper ones. The attempt will be made, if at all, upon the members of those States whose delegations are entirely, or by a majority, Union men and of which your State is one.

I suppose your members already have the usual certificates—which let them bring on. I

suggest that for greater caution, yourself, the two senators, Messrs. Fessenden and Morrill, and the Governor consider this matter, and that the Governor make out an additional certificate, or set of certificates, in the form on the other half of this sheet, and still another, if on studying the law you gentlemen shall be able to frame one which will give additional security; and bring the whole with you, to be used if found necessary. Let it all be done quietly. The members of Congress themselves need not know of it.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

* LETTER TO F. F. LOWE

(*Cipher.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 30, 1863.

Hon. F. F. Lowe, San Francisco, Cal.: Below is an act of Congress, passed last session, intended to exclude applicants not entitled to seats, but which there is reason to fear, will be used to exclude some who are entitled. Please get with the Governor and one or two other discreet friends, study the act carefully, and make certificates in two or three forms, according to your best judgment, and have them sent to me, so as to multiply the chances of the delegation getting their seats. Let it be done without publicity.

Below is a form which may answer for one. If you could procure the same to be done for the Oregon member it might be well. A. LINCOLN.

By His Excellency.....

Governor of the State of California.

I,, Governor of the State of California, do hereby certify and make known that the following persons, namely:

Names.

Districts.

have been regularly elected members of the House of Representatives of the United States for the Thirty-eighth Congress, and for the districts above mentioned, in accordance with the laws of the said State and of the United States, and that they only have been so elected.

IN TESTIMONY THEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the said State to be affixed.

.....

.....,

Secretary of State.

*TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. G. MEADE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, October 30, 1863.

Major-General Meade, Army of Potomac:
Much obliged for the information about deserters contained in your despatch of yesterday, while I have to beg your pardon for troubling

you in regard to some of them, when, as it appears by yours, I had the means of answering my own questions.

A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO A. WAKEMAN

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 31, 1863.

Hon. Abram Wakeman, New York: Hanscom's despatch just received. Have made careful inquiry as to the truth of assertions you refer to and find them unfounded. The provost-marshal-general has issued no proclamation at all. He has in no form announced anything recently in regard to troops in New York, except in his letter to Governor Seymour of October 21, which has been published in the newspapers of that State.

JOHN HAY.

* TELEGRAM TO SAINT NICHOLAS HOTEL

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 31, 1863.

Saint Nicholas Hotel Office, New York: Not knowing whether Colonel Parsons could be spared from duty elsewhere to come to Washington, I referred Governor Yates's despatch to the Secretary of War, who I presume still holds it under advisement.

A. LINCOLN.

MEMORANDUM, October 31, 1863

EXECUTIVE MANSION, October 31, 1863.

The Provost-Marshal-General has issued no proclamation at all. He has in no form announced anything recently in regard to troops in New York, except in his letter to Governor Seymour of October 21, which has been published in the newspapers of that State. It has not been announced or decided in any form by the Provost-Marshal-General, or any one else in authority of the government, that every citizen who has paid his three hundred dollars commutation is liable to be immediately drafted again, or that towns that have just raised the money to pay their quotas will have again to be subject to similar taxation or suffer the operations of the new conscription, nor is it probable that the like of them ever will be announced or decided.

*TELEGRAM TO SECRETARY SEWARD

WAR DEPARTMENT,

WASHINGTON, D. C., November 1, 1863.

Hon. W. H. Seward, Auburn, N. Y.: No important news. Details of Hooker's night fight do great credit to his command, and particularly to the Eleventh Corps and Geary's part of the Twelfth. No discredit on any.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO POSTMASTER-GENERAL BLAIR

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., November 2, 1863.

My dear Sir: Some days ago I understood you to say that your brother, General Frank Blair, desires to be guided by my wishes as to whether he will occupy his seat in Congress or remain in the field. My wish, then, is compounded of what I believe will be best for the country and best for him, and it is that he will come here, put his military commission in my hands, take his seat, go into caucus with our friends, abide the nominations, help elect the nominees, and thus aid to organize a House of Representatives which will really support the government in the war. If the result shall be the election of himself as Speaker, let him serve in that position; if not, let him retake his commission and return to the army. For the country this will heal a dangerous schism; for him it will relieve from a dangerous position. By a misunderstanding, as I think, he is in danger of being permanently separated from those with whom only he can ever have a real sympathy—the sincere opponents of slavery. It will be a mistake if he shall allow the provocations offered him by insincere time-servers to drive him out of the house of his own building. He is

young yet. He has abundant talent—quite enough to occupy all his time without devoting any to temper. He is rising in military skill and usefulness. His recent appointment to the command of a corps by one so competent to judge as General Sherman proves this. In that line he can serve both the country and himself more profitably than he could as a member of Congress on the floor. The foregoing is what I would say if Frank Blair were my brother instead of yours. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GOVERNOR BRADFORD, OF MARYLAND

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., November 2, 1863.

Sir: Yours of the 31st ult. was received yesterday about noon, and since then I have been giving most earnest attention to the subject-matter of it. At my call General Schenck has attended, and he assures me it is almost certain that violence will be used at some of the voting places on election day unless prevented by his provost-guards. He says that at some of those places Union voters will not attend at all, or run a ticket, unless they have some assurance of protection. This makes the Missouri case, of my action in regard to which you express your approval.

The remaining point of your letter is a protest against any person offering to vote being put to any test not found in the laws of Maryland. This brings us to a difference between Missouri and Maryland. With the same reason in both States, Missouri has, by law, provided a test for the voter with reference to the present rebellion, while Maryland has not. For example, General Trimble, captured fighting us at Gettysburg, is, without recanting his treason, a legal voter by the laws of Maryland. Even General Schenck's order admits him to vote, if he recants upon oath. I think that is cheap enough. My order in Missouri, which you approve, and General Schenck's order here, reach precisely the same end. Each assures the right of voting to all loyal men, and whether a man is loyal, each allows that man to fix by his own oath. Your suggestion that nearly all the candidates are loyal, I do not think quite meets the case. In this struggle for the nation's life, I cannot so confidently reply on those whose elections may have depended upon disloyal votes. Such men, when elected, may prove true; but such votes are given them in the expectation that they will prove false.

Nor do I think that to keep the peace at the polls, and to prevent the persistently disloyal from voting, constitutes just cause of offense to

Maryland. I think she has her own example for it. If I mistake not, it is precisely what General Dix did when your Excellency was elected governor.

I revoke the first of the three propositions in General Schenck's General Order No. 53; not that it is wrong in principle, but because the military, being of necessity exclusive judges as to who shall be arrested, the provision is too liable to abuse. For the revoked part I substitute the following:

That all provost marshals and other military officers do prevent all disturbance and violence at or about the polls, whether offered by such persons as above described, or by any other person or persons whomsoever.

The other two propositions of the order I allow to stand. General Schenck is fully determined, and has my strict orders besides, that all loyal men may vote, and vote for whom they please. Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO JAMES H. HACKETT

(*Private.*)

WASHINGTON, D. C., November 2, 1863.

My dear Sir: Yours of October 22 is received, as also was in due course that of Oc-

tober 3. I look forward with pleasure to the fulfilment of the promise made in the former.

Give yourself no uneasiness on the subject mentioned in that of the 22d.

My note to you I certainly did not expect to see in print; yet I have not been much shocked by the newspaper comments upon it. Those comments constitute a fair specimen of what has occurred to me through life. I have endured a great deal of ridicule without much malice; and have received a great deal of kindness, not quite free from ridicule. I am used to it.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO SECRETARY SEWARD

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., November 3, 1863.

Hon. W. H. Seward, Auburn, N. Y.: Nothing new. Despatches up to 12 last night from Chattanooga show all quiet and doing well. How is your son? A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAMS TO GENERAL G. G. MEADE

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., November 3, 1863.

Major-General Meade, Army of Potomac: Samuel Wellers, private in Company B, Fortyninth Pennsylvania Volunteers, writes that he is to be shot for desertion on the 6th instant. His

own story is rather a bad one, and yet he tells it so frankly, that I am somewhat interested in him. Has he been a good soldier except the desertion? About how old is he?

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, November 5, 1863.

Major-General Meade, Army of Potomac:
Please suspend the execution of Samuel Wellers, Forty-ninth Pennsylvania Volunteers, until further orders.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL N. P. BANKS

EXECUTIVE MANSION, November 5, 1863.

Major-General Banks: Three months ago to-day I wrote you about Louisiana affairs, stating, on the word of Governor Shepley, as I understood him, that Mr. Durant was taking a registry of citizens preparatory to the election of a constitutional convention for that State. I sent a copy of the letter to Mr. Durant, and I now have his letter, written two months after, acknowledging receipt, and saying he is not taking such registry; and he does not let me know that he personally is expecting to do so. Mr. Flanders, to whom I also sent a copy, is now here, and he says nothing has yet been done. This disappoints me bitterly; yet I do not throw blame on you or on them.

I do, however, urge both you and them to lose no more time.

Governor Shepley has special instructions from the War Department. I wish him—those gentlemen and others coöperating—without waiting for more territory, to go to work and give me a tangible nucleus which the remainder of the State may rally around as fast as it can, and which I can at once recognize and sustain as the true State government. And in that work I wish you and all under your command to give them a hearty sympathy and support.

The instruction to Governor Shepley bases the movement (and rightfully, too) upon the loyal element. Time is important. There is danger, even now, that the adverse element seeks insidiously to preoccupy the ground. If a few professedly loyal men shall draw the disloyal about them, and colorably set up a State government, repudiating the Emancipation Proclamation, and reëstablishing slavery, I cannot recognize or sustain their work. I should fall powerless in the attempt. This government in such an attitude would be a house divided against itself.

I have said, and say again, that if a new State government, acting in harmony with this government, and consistently with general freedom, shall think best to adopt a reasonable temporary arrangement in relation to the landless and

homeless freed people, I do not object; but my word is out to be for and not against them on the question of their permanent freedom. I do not insist upon such temporary arrangement, but only say such would not be objectionable to me.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO W. B. ASTOR AND R. B. ROOSEVELT

EXECUTIVE MANSION, November 8, 1863.

William B. Astor, Robert B. Roosevelt, New York: I shall be happy to give the interview to the committee as you request.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO J. J. ASTOR, JR., R. B. ROOSEVELT AND
N. SANDS

(*Private, except to General Dix.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, November 9, 1863.

Gentlemen: Upon the subject of your letter, I have to say that it is beyond my province to interfere with New York city politics; that I am very grateful to General Dix for the zealous and able military and quasi-civil support he has given the government during the war, and that if the people of New York should tender him the mayoralty, and he accept it, nothing on that subject could be more satisfactory to me. In this I must not be understood as saying aught

against any one, or as attempting the least degree of dictation in the matter.

To state it in another way, if General Dix's present relation to the General Government lays any restraint upon him in this matter, I wish to remove that restraint. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO B. F. FLANDERS

EXECUTIVE MANSION, November 9, 1863.

My dear Sir: In a conversation with General Butler, he made a suggestion which impressed me a good deal at the time. It was that, as a preliminary step, a vote be taken, yea or nay, whether there shall be a State convention to repeal the ordinance of secession and remodel the State constitution. I send it merely as a suggestion for your consideration, not having considered it maturely myself.

The point which impressed me was, not so much the questions to be voted on, as the effect of crystallizing, so to speak, in taking such popular vote on any proper question.

In fact, I have always thought the act of secession is legally nothing, and needs no repealing. Turn the thought over in your mind, and see if in your own judgment you can make anything of it. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL A. E. BURNSIDE

WAR DEPARTMENT, November 9, 1863. 4 P. M.

Major-General Burnside, Knoxville, Tenn.:
Have seen despatch from General Grant about your loss at Rogersville. *Per contra*, about the same time, Averell and Duffie got considerable advantage of the enemy at and about Lewisburg, Virginia; and on Saturday, the seventh, Meade drove the enemy from Rappahannock Station and Kelly's Ford, capturing eight battle-flags, four guns, and over 1,800 prisoners, with very little loss to himself. Let me hear from you.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. G. MEADE

WASHINGTON, November 9, 1863. 7.30 P. M.

Major-General Meade: I have seen your despatches about operations on the Rappahannock on Saturday, and I wish to say, "Well done!" Do the 1500 prisoners reported by General Sedgwick include the 400 taken by General French, or do the whole amount to 1900?

A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAMS TO GENERAL J. M. SCHOFIELD

WAR DEPARTMENT, November 10, 1863.

General Schofield, Saint Louis, Mo.: I see a despatch here from Saint Louis, which is a little

difficult for me to understand. It says "General Schofield has refused leave of absence to members in military service to attend the legislature. All such are radical and administration men. The election of two Senators from this place on Thursday will probably turn upon this thing." What does this mean? Of course members of the legislature must be allowed to attend its sessions. But how is there a session before the recent election returns are in? And how is it to be at "this place"—and that is Saint Louis? Please inform me. A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, November 11, 1863.

General Schofield, Saint Louis, Mo.: I believe the Secretary of War has telegraphed you about members of the legislature. At all events, allow those in the service to attend the session, and we can afterward decide whether they can stay through the entire session.

A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO HIRAM BARNEY

(*Cipher.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

WASHINGTON, D. C., November 11, 1863.

Hon Hiram Barney, New York: I would like an interview with you. Can you not come?

A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO JOHN MILDERBORGER

EXECUTIVE MANSION, November 11, 1863.

John Milderborger, Peru, Ind.: I cannot comprehend the object of your despatch. I do not often decline seeing people who call upon me, and probably will see you if you call.

A. LINCOLN.

NOTE TO SECRETARY STANTON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, November 11, 1863.

Dear Sir: I personally wish Jacob Freese, of New Jersey, to be appointed colonel for a colored regiment, and this regardless of whether he can tell the exact shade of Julius Cæsar's hair.

Yours, etc.,

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO POSTMASTER-GENERAL BLAIR

EXECUTIVE MANSION, November 11, 1863.

My dear Sir: Mr. Crisfield's letter, which you inclose, is received. Let Mr. S—— procure the sworn statement of the election judges at any voting place as to what may be deemed the misconduct of any military officer, and present it to me, and I will call any such officer to account who shall by such statement appear to have violated or transcended his orders.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO E. H. & E. JAMESON

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., November 13, 1863.

E. H. & E. Jameson, Jefferson City, Mo.:
Yours saying Brown and Henderson are elected senators is received. I understand this is one and one. If so it is knocking heads together to some purpose.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS

WAR DEPARTMENT, Nov. 14, 1863. 12.15 P. M.

Major-General Rosecrans, Cincinnati, O.: I have received and considered your despatch of yesterday. Of the reports you mention, I have not the means of seeing any except your own. Besides this, the publication might be improper in view of the court of inquiry which has been ordered. With every disposition, not merely to do justice, but to oblige you, I feel constrained to say I think the publications better not be made now.

A. LINCOLN.

NOTE TO SECRETARY CHASE

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., November 17, 1863.

My dear Sir: I expected to see you here at Cabinet meeting, and to say something about going to Gettysburg. There will be a train to

take and return us. The time for starting is not yet fixed, but when it shall be I will notify you.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

INDORSEMENT ON NOTE OF SECRETARY STANTON

WAR DEPARTMENT, November 17, 1863.

Mr. President: It is proposed by the Baltimore and Ohio road —

First, to leave Washington Thursday morning at 6 A. M.; and

Second, To leave Baltimore at 8 A. M., arriving at Gettysburg at 12 noon, thus giving two hours to view the ground before the dedication ceremonies commence.

Third, To leave Gettysburg at 6 P. M., and arrive in Washington, midnight; thus doing all in one day.

Mr. Smith says the Northern Central road agrees to this arrangement.

Please consider it, and if any change is desired, let me know, so that it can be made.

Yours truly,

EDWIN M. STANTON.

[*Indorsement.*]

I do not like this arrangement. I do not wish to so go that by the slightest accident we fail entirely, and, at the best, the whole to be a mere breathless running of the gauntlet. But, any way.

A. LINCOLN.

Address delivered at the dedication of the
go here have thus far so nobly advanced
It is rather for us to be here dedicated to
the great task remaining before us - that
from these honored dead we take increased
devotion to that cause for which they gave

take and return us. The time for starting is not yet fixed, but when it shall be I will notify you.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

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A. LINCOLN.

Address delivered at the dedication of the
Cemetery at Gettysburg.

Four years and seven years ago our fathers
brought forth on this continent a new na-
tion, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated
to the proposition that all men are cre-
ated equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war,
testing whether these nations, or any nation
so conceived and so dedicated, can long
endure. We are met on a great battle-field
of that war. We have come to dedicate a
portion of that field, as a final resting
place for those who here gave their lives;
that this nation might live. It is rather
a fitting and proper that we should
do this.

But, in a larger sense, we can not ded-
icate — we can not consecrate — we can not
hallow this ground. The brave men, liv-
ing and dead, who struggled here, have con-
secrated it, far above our poor power to add
or detract. The world will little note, nor
long remember what we say here, but it can
never forget what they did here. It is for us
the living, rather, to be dedicated here to
the unfinished work which they who
gave have here thus far so nobly advanced.
It is rather for us to be here dedicated to
the great task remaining before us — that
from these honored dead we take increase
of devotion to that cause for which they gave
the last full measure of devotion — that
we here highly resolve that these dead shall
not have died in vain — that this nation,
under God, shall have a new birth of free-
dom — and that government of the people,
by the people, for the people, shall not pass
away from the earth.

Abraham Lincoln.

November 19, 1863.

The Gettysburg Address, November 19, 1863.

Facsimile of Lincoln's Autographic Copy of the Gettysburg Address, made by him for the
Soldiers' and Sailors' Fair at Baltimore, in 1864.

ADDRESS AT THE DEDICATION OF THE GETTYSBURG NATIONAL CEMETERY, November 19, 1863¹

FOURSCORE and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place for those who here gave

¹ There are three successive versions of the Gettysburg address — all identical in thought, but differing slightly in expression. The last of these is given above and is the regular outgrowth of the two which preceded it. The three versions are:

1. The original autograph MS. draft, written by Mr. Lincoln partly at Washington and partly at Gettysburg.

2. The version made by the shorthand reporter on the stand at Gettysburg when it was delivered, and printed in the leading newspapers of the country on the following morning.

3. The revised copy made a few days afterwards, upon a careful comparison of the other two.

Before delivering the address Lincoln told a friend: "It is a flat failure. The people won't like it." But it was received with enthusiasm by those who heard it and has ever since ranked among the world's great orations.

their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

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

LETTER TO EDWARD EVERETT

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

WASHINGTON, D. C., November 20, 1863.

My dear Sir: Your kind note of to-day is received. In our respective parts yesterday, you could not have been excused to make a short

address, nor I a long one. I am pleased to know that, in your judgment, the little I did say was not entirely a failure.¹

Of course I knew Mr. Everett would not fail, and yet, while the whole discourse was eminently satisfactory, and will be of great value, there were passages in it which transcended my expectations.

The point made against the theory of the General Government being only an agency whose principals are the States, was new to me, and, as I think, is one of the best arguments for the national supremacy. The tribute to our noble women for their angel ministering to the suffering soldiers surpasses in its way, as do the subjects of it, whatever has gone before.

Our sick boy, for whom you kindly inquire, we hope is past the worst.

Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

¹ Edward Everett was the orator of the day at the dedication of the Gettysburg National Cemetery. The next day he wrote a letter to the President in which he said: "I beg leave in this way to thank you for your great thoughtfulness for my daughter's accommodation on the platform yesterday. . . . Permit me also to express my great admiration of the thoughts expressed by you . . . at the consecration of the cemetery. I should be glad if I could flatter myself that I came as near to the central idea of the occasion in two hours as you did in two minutes. My son, who parted from me at Baltimore, and my daughter concur in this sentiment."

*TELEGRAMS TO GENERAL G. G. MEADE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, November 20, 1863.

Major-General Meade, Army of Potomac:
If there is a man by the name of King under sentence to be shot, please suspend execution till further order, and send record. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, November 20, 1863.

Major-General Meade, Army of Potomac:
An intelligent woman in deep distress, called this morning, saying her husband, a lieutenant in the Army of Potomac, was to be shot next Monday for desertion, and putting a letter in my hand, upon which I relied for particulars, she left without mentioning a name or other particular by which to identify the case. On opening the letter I found it equally vague, having nothing to identify by, except her own signature, which seems to be "Mrs. Anna S. King." I could not again find her. If you have a case which you shall think is probably the one intended, please apply my despatch of this morning to it. A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO ZACHARIAH CHANDLER

EXECUTIVE MANSION, November 20, 1863.

My dear Sir: Your letter of the 15th, marked "private," was received to-day. I have seen Governor Morgan and Thurlow Weed, sepa-

rately, but not together, within the last ten days; but neither of them mentioned the forthcoming message, or said anything, so far as I can remember, which brought the thought of the message to my mind. I am very glad the elections this autumn have gone favorably, and that I have not, by native depravity or under evil influences, done anything bad enough to prevent the good result. I hope to "stand firm" enough to not go backward, and yet not go forward fast enough to wreck the country's cause.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

NOTE TO SECRETARY SEWARD

EXECUTIVE MANSION, November 23, 1863.

My dear Sir: Two despatches since I saw you; one not quite so late on firing as we had before, but giving the points that Burnside thinks he can hold the place, that he is not closely invested, and that he forages across the river. The other brings the firing up to 11 A. M. yesterday, being twenty-three hours later than we had before. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO E. P. EVANS

EXECUTIVE MANSION, November 23, 1863.

E. P. Evans, West Union, O.: Yours to Governor Chase in behalf of John A. Welch is be-

fore me. Can there be a worse case than to desert and with letters persuading others to desert? I cannot interpose without a better showing than you make. When did he desert? When did he write the letters?

A. LINCOLN.

NOTE TO SECRETARY SEWARD

EXECUTIVE MANSION, November 24, 1863.

My dear Sir: A despatch from Foster, at Cincinnati, received half an hour ago, contains one from Wilcox at Cumberland Gap, without date, saying: "Fighting going on at Knoxville to-day." The want of date makes the time of fighting uncertain, but I rather think it means yesterday, the 23d. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL GRANT

WASHINGTON, November 25, 1863. 8.40 A. M.

Major-General U. S. Grant: Your despatches as to fighting on Monday and Tuesday are here. Well done! Many thanks to all. Remember Burnside.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL JOHN A. DIX, PRESIDENT OF THE UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, December 1, 1863.

Dear Sir: I have not been permitted until

to-day to present to the President your communication of November 23. He directs me to express his deep regret that his illness will prevent him from giving on this occasion expression to the profound interest he feels in the success of a work so vast and so beneficent as that which you are about to inaugurate.

Respectfully your obedient servant,
JOHN HAY, Assistant Private Secretary.

LETTER TO GEORGE OPDYKE AND OTHERS,¹ December 2, 1863

EXECUTIVE MANSION, December 2, 1863.

Gentlemen: Yours of the 28th ultimo, inviting me to be present at a meeting to be held at the Cooper Institute on the 3d instant, to promote the raising of volunteers, is received. Nothing would be more grateful to my feelings, or better accord with my judgment, than to contribute, if I could, by my presence or otherwise, to that eminently patriotic object. Nevertheless, the now early meeting of Congress, together with a temporary illness, render my attendance impossible.

You propose also to celebrate our Western victories. Freed from the apprehension of wounding the just sensibilities of brave soldiers

¹ Besides George Opdyke this letter was addressed to a committee composed of Joseph Sutherland, Benjamin F. Manierre, Prosper M. Wetmore, and Spencer Kirby.

fighting elsewhere, it would be exceedingly agreeable to me to join in a suitable acknowledgment to those of the great West, with whom I was born and have passed my life. And it is exceedingly gratifying that a portion, lately of the Army of the Potomac, but now serving with the great Army of the West, has borne so conspicuous a part in the late brilliant triumphs in Georgia.

Honor to the soldier and sailor everywhere who bravely bears his country's cause. Honor also to the citizen who cares for his brother in the field, and serves, as he best can, the same cause—honor to him, only less than to him who braves, for the common good, the storms of heaven and the storms of battle.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAMS TO MRS. LINCOLN ¹

EXECUTIVE MANSION, December 4, 1863. 9 1-2 A. M.

Mrs. A. Lincoln, New York: All going well. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, December 5, 1863. 10 A. M.

Mrs. A. Lincoln, New York: All doing well. A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, December 6, 1863.

Mrs. A. Lincoln, New York: All doing well. A. LINCOLN.

¹ Lincoln had been ill for some little time, hence these telegrams to allay Mrs. Lincoln's anxiety.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, December 7, 1863. 10.20 A. M.

Mrs. A. Lincoln, New York: All doing well. Tad confidently expects you to-night. When will you come? A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, December 7, 1863. 7 P. M.

Mrs. A. Lincoln, New York: Tad has received his book. The carriage shall be ready at 6 P. M. to-morrow. A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO C. P. KIRKLAND

EXECUTIVE MANSION, December 7, 1863.

Charles P. Kirkland, Esq., New York: I have just received and have read your published letter to the Hon. Benjamin R. Curtis. Under the circumstances I may not be the most competent judge but it appears to me to be a paper of great ability, and for the country's sake more than for my own I thank you for it.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF UNION SUCCESS IN EAST
TENNESSEE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, December 7, 1863.

Reliable information being received that the insurgent force is retreating from East Tennessee, under circumstances rendering it probable that the Union forces cannot hereafter be dislodged from that important position, and esteeming this to be of high national consequence,

I recommend that all loyal people do, on receipt of this information, assemble at their places of worship and render special homage and gratitude to almighty God for this great advancement of the national cause.

A. LINCOLN.

PROCLAMATION OF AMNESTY AND RECONSTRUCTION,
December 8, 1863

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

Whereas, in and by the Constitution of the United States, it is provided that the President "shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment"; and

Whereas a rebellion now exists whereby the loyal State governments of several States have for a long time been subverted, and many persons have committed, and are now guilty of, treason against the United States; and

Whereas, with reference to said rebellion and treason, laws have been enacted by Congress, declaring forfeitures and confiscation of property and liberation of slaves, all upon terms and conditions therein stated, and also declaring that the President was thereby authorized at any time thereafter, by proclamation, to extend to

persons who may have participated in the existing rebellion, in any State or part thereof, pardon and amnesty, with such exceptions and at such times and on such conditions as he may deem expedient for the public welfare; and

Whereas the congressional declaration for limited and conditional pardon accords with well-established judicial exposition of the pardoning power; and

Whereas, with reference to said rebellion, the President of the United States has issued several proclamations, with provisions in regard to the liberation of slaves; and

Whereas it is now desired by some persons heretofore engaged in said rebellion to resume their allegiance to the United States, and to re-inaugurate loyal State governments within and for their respective States; therefore

I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do proclaim, declare, and make known to all persons who have, directly or by implication, participated in the existing rebellion, except as hereinafter excepted, that a full pardon is hereby granted to them and each of them, with restoration of all rights of property, except as to slaves, and in property cases where rights of third parties shall have intervened, and upon the condition that every such person shall take and subscribe an oath, and thenceforward keep and

maintain said oath inviolate; and which oath shall be registered for permanent preservation, and shall be of the tenor and effect following, to-wit:

I, _____, do solemnly swear, in presence of almighty God, that I will henceforth faithfully support, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and the union of the States thereunder; and that I will, in like manner, abide by and faithfully support all acts of Congress passed during the existing rebellion with reference to slaves, so long and so far as not repealed, modified, or held void by Congress, or by decision of the Supreme Court; and that I will, in like manner, abide by and faithfully support all proclamations of the President made during the existing rebellion having reference to slaves, so long and so far as not modified or declared void by decision of the Supreme Court. So help me God.

The persons exempted from the benefits of the foregoing provisions are all who are, or shall have been, civil or diplomatic officers or agents of the so-called Confederate Government; all who have left judicial stations under the United States to aid the rebellion; all who are or shall have been military or naval officers of said so-called Confederate Government above the rank of colonel in the army or of lieutenant in the navy; all who left seats in the United States Congress to aid the rebellion; all who resigned

commissions in the army or navy of the United States and afterward aided the rebellion; and all who have engaged in any way in treating colored persons, or white persons in charge of such, otherwise than lawfully as prisoners of war, and which persons may have been found in the United States service as soldiers, seamen, or in any other capacity.

And I do further proclaim, declare, and make known that whenever, in any of the States of Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, and North Carolina, a number of persons, not less than one tenth in number of the votes cast in such State at the presidential election of the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty, each having taken the oath aforesaid and not having since violated it, and being a qualified voter by the election law of the State existing immediately before the so-called act of secession, and excluding all others, shall reëstablish a State government which shall be republican, and in no wise contravening said oath, such shall be recognized as the true government of the State, and the State shall receive thereunder the benefits of the constitutional provision which declares that "the United States shall guaranty to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each

of them against invasion; and, on application of the legislature, or the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.”

And I do further proclaim, declare, and make known, that any provision which may be adopted by such State government in relation to the freed people of such State, which shall recognize and declare their permanent freedom, provide for their education, and which may yet be consistent as a temporary arrangement with their present condition as a laboring, landless, and homeless class, will not be objected to by the national executive.

And it is suggested as not improper that, in constructing a loyal State government in any State, the name of the State, the boundary, the subdivisions, the constitution, and the general code of laws, as before the rebellion, be maintained, subject only to the modifications made necessary by the conditions hereinbefore stated, and such others, if any, not contravening said conditions, and which may be deemed expedient by those framing the new State government.

To avoid misunderstanding, it may be proper to say that this proclamation, so far as it relates to State governments, has no reference to States wherein loyal State governments have all the while been maintained.

And, for the same reason, it may be proper to further say, that whether members sent to Congress from any State shall be admitted to seats, constitutionally rests exclusively with the respective houses, and not to any extent with the executive. And still further, that this proclamation is intended to present the people of the States wherein the national authority has been suspended, and loyal State governments have been subverted, a mode in and by which the national authority and loyal State governments may be reestablished within said States, or in any of them; and while the mode presented is the best the executive can suggest, with his present impressions, it must not be understood that no other possible mode would be acceptable.

Given under my hand at the city of Washington, the eighth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the independence of the United States of America the eighty-eighth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State.

ANNUAL MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, December 8,
1863

FELLOW-CITIZENS *of the Senate and House of Representatives:* Another year of health, and of sufficiently abundant harvests, has passed. For these, and especially for the improved condition of our national affairs, our renewed and profoundest gratitude to God is due.

We remain in peace and friendship with foreign powers.

The efforts of disloyal citizens of the United States to involve us in foreign wars, to aid an inexcusable insurrection, have been unavailing. Her Britannic Majesty's government, as was justly expected, have exercised their authority to prevent the departure of new hostile expeditions from British ports. The Emperor of France has, by a like proceeding, promptly vindicated the neutrality which he proclaimed at the beginning of the contest. Questions of great intricacy and importance have arisen out of the blockade, and other belligerent operations, between the government and several of the maritime powers, but they have been discussed, and, as far as was possible, accommodated, in a spirit

of frankness, justice, and mutual good-will. It is especially gratifying that our prize courts, by the impartiality of their adjudications, have commanded the respect and confidence of maritime powers.

The supplemental treaty between the United States and Great Britain for the suppression of the African slave-trade, made on the 17th day of February last, has been duly ratified and carried into execution. It is believed that, so far as American ports and American citizens are concerned, that inhuman and odious traffic has been brought to an end.

I shall submit, for the consideration of the Senate, a convention for the adjustment of possessory claims in Washington Territory, arising out of the treaty of the 15th of June, 1846, between the United States and Great Britain, and which have been the source of some disquiet among the citizens of that now rapidly improving part of the country.

A novel and important question, involving the extent of the maritime jurisdiction of Spain in the waters which surround the island of Cuba, has been debated without reaching an agreement, and it is proposed, in an amicable spirit, to refer it to the arbitrament of a friendly power. A convention for that purpose will be submitted to the Senate.

I have thought it proper, subject to the approval of the Senate, to concur with the interested commercial powers in an arrangement for the liquidation of the Scheldt dues upon the principles which have been heretofore adopted in regard to the imports upon navigation in the waters of Denmark.

The long-pending controversy between this government and that of Chile, touching the seizure at Sitana, in Peru, by Chilian officers, of a large amount in treasure belonging to citizens of the United States, has been brought to a close by the award of his Majesty the King of the Belgians, to whose arbitration the question was referred by the parties. The subject was thoroughly and patiently examined by that justly respected magistrate, and although the sum awarded to the claimants may not have been as large as they expected, there is no reason to distrust the wisdom of his Majesty's decision. That decision was promptly complied with by Chile, when intelligence in regard to it reached that country.

The joint commission, under the act of the last session, for carrying into effect the convention with Peru, on the subject of claims, has been organized at Lima, and is engaged in the business intrusted to it.

Difficulties concerning inter-oceanic transit

through Nicaragua are in course of amicable adjustment.

In conformity with the principles set forth in my last annual message, I have received a representative from the United States of Columbia, and have accredited a minister to that republic.

Incidents occurring in the progress of our civil war have forced upon my attention the uncertain state of international questions touching the rights of foreigners in this country and of United States citizens abroad. In regard to some governments, these rights are at least partially defined by treaties. In no instance, however, is it expressly stipulated that, in the event of civil war, a foreigner residing in this country, within the lines of the insurgents, is to be exempted from the rule which classes him as a belligerent, in whose behalf the government of his country cannot expect any privileges or immunities distinct from that character. I regret to say, however, that such claims have been put forward, and, in some instances, in behalf of foreigners who have lived in the United States the greater part of their lives.

There is reason to believe that many persons born in foreign countries who have declared their intention to become citizens, or who have been fully naturalized, have evaded the military duty required of them by denying the fact, and

thereby throwing upon the government the burden of proof. It has been found difficult or impracticable to obtain this proof, from the want of guides to the proper sources of information. These might be supplied by requiring clerks of courts, where declarations of intention may be made, or naturalizations effected, to send, periodically lists of the names of persons naturalized, or declaring their intention to become citizens, to the Secretary of the Interior, in whose department those names might be arranged and printed for general information.

There is also reason to believe that foreigners frequently become citizens of the United States for the sole purpose of evading duties imposed by the laws of their native countries, to which, on becoming naturalized here, they at once repair, and, though never returning to the United States, they still claim the interposition of this government as citizens. Many altercations and great prejudices have heretofore arisen out of this abuse. It is, therefore, submitted to your serious consideration. It might be advisable to fix a limit, beyond which no citizen of the United States residing abroad may claim the interposition of his government.

The right of suffrage has often been assumed and exercised by aliens, under pretense of naturalization, which they have disavowed when

drafted into the military service. I submit the expediency of such an amendment of the law as will make the fact of voting an estoppel against any plea of exemption from military service, or other civil obligations, on the ground of alienage.

In common with other Western powers, our relations with Japan have been brought into serious jeopardy, through the perverse opposition of the hereditary aristocracy of the empire to the enlightened and liberal policy of the Tycoon, designed to bring the country into the society of nations. It is hoped, although not with entire confidence, that these difficulties may be peacefully overcome. I ask your attention to the claim of the minister residing there for the damages he sustained in the destruction by fire of the residence of the legation at Yeddo.

Satisfactory arrangements have been made with the Emperor of Russia, which, it is believed, will result in effecting a continuous line of telegraph through that empire from our Pacific coast.

I recommend to your favorable consideration the subject of an international telegraph across the Atlantic Ocean; and also of a telegraph between this capital and the national forts along the Atlantic seaboard and the Gulf of Mexico. Such communications, established with any rea-

sonable outlay, would be economical as well as effective aids to the diplomatic, military, and naval service.

The consular system of the United States, under the enactments of the last Congress, begins to be self-sustaining; and there is reason to hope that it may become entirely so, with the increase of trade which will ensue whenever peace is restored. Our ministers abroad have been faithful in defending American rights. In protecting commercial interests, our counsels have necessarily had to encounter increased labors and responsibilities, growing out of the war. These they have, for the most part, met and discharged with zeal and efficiency. This acknowledgment justly includes those consuls who, residing in Morocco, Egypt, Turkey, Japan, China, and other Oriental countries are charged with complex functions and extraordinary powers.

The condition of the several organized Territories is generally satisfactory although Indian disturbances in New Mexico have not been entirely suppressed. The mineral resources of Colorado, Nevada, Idaho, New Mexico, and Arizona are proving far richer than has been heretofore understood. I lay before you a communication on this subject from the governor of New Mexico. I again submit to your consideration the expediency of establishing a system for

the encouragement of immigration. Although this source of national wealth and strength is again flowing with greater freedom than for several years before the insurrection occurred, there is still a great deficiency of laborers in every field of industry, especially in agriculture, and in our mines, as well of iron and coal as of the precious metals. While the demand for labor is thus increased here, tens of thousands of persons, destitute of remunerative occupation, are thronging our foreign consulates, and offering to emigrate to the United States if essential, but very cheap, assistance can be afforded them. It is easy to see that, under the sharp discipline of civil war, the nation is beginning a new life. This noble effort demands the aid, and ought to receive the attention and support of the government.

Injuries, unforeseen by the government and unintended, may, in some cases, have been inflicted on the subjects or citizens of foreign countries, both at sea and on land, by persons in the service of the United States. As this government expects redress from other powers when similar injuries are inflicted by persons in their service upon citizens of the United States, we must be prepared to do justice to foreigners. If the existing judicial tribunals are inadequate to this purpose, a special court may

be authorized, with power to hear and decide such claims of the character referred to as may have arisen under treaties and the public law. Conventions for adjusting the claims by joint commission have been proposed to some governments, but no definitive answer to the proposition has yet been received from any.

In the course of the session I shall probably have occasion to request you to provide indemnification to claimants where decrees of restitution have been rendered, and damages awarded by admiralty courts; and in other cases, where this government may be acknowledged to be liable in principle, and where the amount of that liability has been ascertained by an informal arbitration.

The proper officers of the treasury have deemed themselves required by the law of the United States upon the subject to demand a tax upon the incomes of foreign consuls in this country. While such a demand may not, in strictness, be in derogation of public law, or perhaps of any existing treaty between the United States and a foreign country, the expediency of so far modifying the act as to exempt from tax the income of such consuls as are not citizens of the United States, derived from the emoluments of their office, or from property not situated in the United States, is submitted to your serious con-

sideration. I make this suggestion upon the ground that a comity which ought to be reciprocated exempts our consuls, in all other countries, from taxation to the extent thus indicated. The United States, I think, ought not to be exceptionally illiberal to international trade and commerce.

The operations of the treasury during the last year have been successfully conducted. The enactment by Congress of a national banking law has proved a valuable support of the public credit; and the general legislation in relation to loans has fully answered the expectations of its favorers. Some amendments may be required to perfect existing laws, but no change in their principles or general scope is believed to be needed.

Since these measures have been in operation, all demands on the treasury, including the pay of the army and navy, have been promptly met and fully satisfied. No considerable body of troops, it is believed, were ever more amply provided, and more liberally and punctually paid; and it may be added, that by no people were the burdens incident to a great war ever more cheerfully borne.

The receipts during the year from all sources, including loans and the balance in the treasury at its commencement, were \$901,125,674.86, and

the aggregate disbursements \$895,796,630.65, leaving a balance on the 1st of July, 1863, of \$5,329,044.21. Of the receipts there were derived from customs \$69,059,642.40; from internal revenue, \$37,640,787.95; from direct tax, \$1,485,103.61; from lands, \$167,617.17; from miscellaneous sources, \$3,046,615.35; and from loans, \$776,682,361.57; making the aggregate, \$901,125,674.86. Of the disbursements there were for the civil service, \$23,253,922.08; for pensions and Indians, \$4,216,520.79; for interest on public debt, \$24,729,846.51; for the War Department, \$599,298,600.83; for the Navy Department, \$63,211,105.27; for payment of funded and temporary debt, \$181,086,635.07; making the aggregate, \$895,796,630.65, and leaving the balance of \$5,329,044.21. But the payments of funded and temporary debt, having been made from moneys borrowed during the year, must be regarded as merely nominal payments, and the moneys borrowed to make them as merely nominal receipts; and their amount, \$181,086,635.07, should therefore be deducted both from receipts and disbursements. This being done, there remain as actual receipts, \$720,039,039.79, and the actual disbursements, \$714,709,995.58, leaving the balance as already stated.

The actual receipts and disbursements for the

first quarter and the estimated receipts and disbursements for the remaining three quarters, of the current fiscal year, 1864, will be shown in detail by the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, to which I invite your attention. It is sufficient to say here that it is not believed that actual results will exhibit a state of the finances less favorable to the country than the estimates of that officer heretofore submitted; while it is confidently expected that at the close of the year both disbursements and debt will be found very considerably less than has been anticipated.

The report of the Secretary of War is a document of great interest. It consists of—

1. The military operations of the year, detailed in the report of the General-in-Chief.

2. The organization of colored persons into the war service.

3. The exchange of prisoners, fully set forth in the letter of General Hitchcock.

4. The operations under the act for enrolling and calling out the national forces, detailed in the report of the Provost-Marshal-General.

5. The organization of the invalid corps; and

6. The operation of the several departments of the Quartermaster-General, Commissary-General, Paymaster-General, Chief of Engi-

neers, Chief of Ordnance, and Surgeon-General.

It has appeared impossible to make a valuable summary of this report except such as would be too extended for this place, and hence I content myself by asking your careful attention to the report itself.

The duties devolving on the naval branch of the service during the year, and throughout the whole of this unhappy contest, have been discharged with fidelity and eminent success. The extensive blockade has been constantly increasing in efficiency, as the navy has expanded; yet on so long a line it has so far been impossible to entirely suppress illicit trade. From returns received at the Navy Department, it appears that more than one thousand vessels have been captured since the blockade was instituted, and that the value of prizes already sent in for adjudication amounts to over thirteen million dollars.

The naval force of the United States consists at this time of five hundred and eighty-eight vessels, completed and in the course of completion, and of these, seventy-five are iron-clad or armored steamers. The events of the war give an increased interest and importance to the navy which will probably extend beyond the war itself.

The armored vessels in our navy, completed and in service, or which are under contract and

approaching completion, are believed to exceed in number those of any other power. But while these may be relied upon for harbor defense and coast service, others of greater strength and capacity will be necessary for cruising purposes, and to maintain our rightful position on the ocean.

The change that has taken place in naval vessels and naval warfare since the introduction of steam as a motive power for ships of war demands either a corresponding change in some of our existing navy-yards, or the establishment of new ones, for the construction and necessary repair of modern naval vessels. No inconsiderable embarrassment, delay, and public injury have been experienced from the want of such governmental establishments. The necessity of such a navy-yard, so furnished, at some suitable place upon the Atlantic seaboard, has on repeated occasions been brought to the attention of Congress by the Navy Department, and is again presented in the report of the Secretary which accompanies this communication. I think it my duty to invite your special attention to this subject, and also to that of establishing a yard and depot for naval purposes upon one of the western rivers. A naval force has been created on those interior waters, and under many disadvantages, within little more than two years, ex-

ceeding in numbers the whole naval force of the country at the commencement of the present administration. Satisfactory and important as have been the performances of the heroic men of the navy at this interesting period, they are scarcely more wonderful than the success of our mechanics and artisans in the production of war vessels which has created a new form of naval power.

Our country has advantages, superior to any other nation in our resources of iron and timber, with inexhaustible quantities of fuel in the immediate vicinity of both, all available, and in close proximity to navigable waters. Without the advantage of public works the resources of the nation have been developed, and its power displayed, in the construction of a navy of such magnitude, which has, at the very period of its creation, rendered signal service to the Union.

The increase of the number of seamen in the public service, from seven thousand five hundred men, in the spring of 1861, to about thirty-four thousand at the present time, has been accomplished without special legislation, or extraordinary bounties to promote that increase. It has been found, however, that the operation of the draft, with the high bounties paid for army recruits, is beginning to affect injuriously the naval service, and will, if not corrected, be likely

to impair its efficiency, by detaching seamen from their proper vocation and inducing them to enter the army. I therefore respectfully suggest that Congress might aid both the army and naval services by a definite provision on this subject, which would at the same time be equitable to the communities more especially interested.

I commend to your consideration the suggestions of the Secretary of the Navy in regard to the policy of fostering and training seamen, and also the education of officers and engineers for the naval service. The Naval Academy is rendering signal service in preparing midshipmen for the highly responsible duties which in after life they will be required to perform. In order that the country should not be deprived of the proper quota of educated officers, for which legal provision has been made at the naval school, the vacancies caused by the neglect or omission to make nominations from the States in insurrection have been filled by the Secretary of the Navy. The school is now more full and complete than at any former period, and in every respect entitled to the favorable consideration of Congress.

During the first fiscal year the financial condition of the Post Office Department has been one of increasing prosperity, and I am gratified in being able to state that the actual postal reve-

nue has nearly equaled the entire expenditures; the latter amounting to \$11,314,206.84, and the former to \$11,163,789.59 leaving a deficiency of but \$150,417.25. In 1860, the year immediately preceding the rebellion, the deficiency amounted to \$5,656,705.49, the postal receipts of that year being \$2,645,722.19 less than those of 1863. The decrease since 1860 in the annual amount of transportation has been only about 25 per cent., but the annual expenditure on account of the same has been reduced 35 per cent. It is manifest, therefore, that the Post Office Department may become self-sustaining in a few years even with the restoration of the whole service.

The international conference of postal delegates from the principal countries of Europe and America, which was called at the suggestion of the Postmaster-General, met at Paris on the 11th of May last, and concluded its deliberations on the 8th of June. The principles established by the conference as best adapted to facilitate postal intercourse between nations, and as the basis of future postal conventions, inaugurate a general system of uniform international charges, at reduced rates of postage, and cannot fail to produce beneficial results.

I refer you to the report of the Secretary of the Interior, which is herewith laid before you, for useful and varied information in relation

to the public lands, Indian affairs, patents, pensions, and other matters of public concern pertaining to his department.

The quantity of land disposed of during the last and the first quarter of the present fiscal years was three million eight hundred and forty-one thousand five hundred and forty-nine acres, of which one hundred and sixty-one thousand nine hundred and eleven acres were sold for cash, one million four hundred and fifty-six thousand five hundred and fourteen acres were taken up under the homestead law, and the residue disposed of under laws granting lands for military bounties, for railroad and other purposes. It also appears that the sale of the public lands is largely on the increase.

It has long been a cherished opinion of some of our wisest statesmen that the people of the United States had a higher and more enduring interest in the early settlement and substantial cultivation of the public lands than in the amount of direct revenue to be derived from the sale of them. This opinion has had a controlling influence in shaping legislation upon the subject of our national domain. I may cite, as evidence of this, the liberal measures adopted in reference to actual settlers; the grant to the States of the overflowed lands within their limits in order to their being reclaimed and rendered

fit for cultivation; the grants to railway companies of alternate sections of land upon the contemplated lines of their roads, which, when completed, will so largely multiply the facilities for reaching our distant possessions. This policy has received its most signal and beneficent illustration in the recent enactment granting homesteads to actual settlers. Since the first day of January last the before-mentioned quantity of one million four hundred and fifty-six thousand five hundred and fourteen acres of land have been taken up under its provisions. This fact, and the amount of sales, furnish gratifying evidence of increasing settlement upon the public lands notwithstanding the great struggle in which the energies of the nation have been engaged, and which has required so large a withdrawal of our citizens from their accustomed pursuits. I cordially concur in the recommendation of the Secretary of the Interior, suggesting a modification of the act in favor of those engaged in the military and naval service of the United States. I doubt not that Congress will cheerfully adopt such measures as will, without essentially changing the general features of the system, secure, to the greatest practicable extent, its benefits to those who have left their homes in defense of the country in this arduous crisis.

I invite your attention to the views of the Sec-

retary as to the propriety of raising, by appropriate legislation, a revenue from the mineral lands of the United States.

The measures provided at your last session for the removal of certain Indian tribes have been carried into effect. Sundry treaties have been negotiated, which will, in due time, be submitted for the constitutional action of the Senate. They contain stipulations for extinguishing the possessory rights of the Indians to large and valuable tracts of land. It is hoped that the effect of these treaties will result in the establishment of permanent friendly relations with such of these tribes as have been brought into frequent and bloody collision with our outlying settlements and emigrants. Sound policy, and our imperative duty to these wards of the government, demand our anxious and constant attention to their material well-being, to their progress in the arts of civilization, and, above all, to that moral training which, under the blessing of Divine Providence, will confer upon them the elevated and sanctifying influences, the hopes and consolations, of the Christian faith. I suggested in my last annual message the propriety of remodeling our Indian system. Subsequent events have satisfied me of its necessity. The details set forth in the report of the Secretary evince the urgent need for immediate legislative action.

I commend the benevolent institutions established or patronized by the government in this District to your generous and fostering care.

The attention of Congress, during the last session, was engaged to some extent with a proposition for enlarging the water communication between the Mississippi River and the north-eastern seaboard, which proposition, however, failed for the time. Since then, upon a call of the greatest respectability, a convention has been held at Chicago upon the same subject, a summary of whose views is contained in a memorial addressed to the President and Congress, and which I now have the honor to lay before you. That this interest is one which, ere long, will force its own way, I do not entertain a doubt, while it is submitted entirely to your wisdom as to what can be done now. Augmented interest is given to this subject by the actual commencement of work upon the Pacific railroad, under auspices so favorable to rapid progress and completion. The enlarged navigation becomes a palpable need to the great road.

I transmit the second annual report of the Commissioner of the Department of Agriculture, asking your attention to the developments in that vital interest of the nation.

When Congress assembled a year ago the war had already lasted nearly twenty months, and

there had been many conflicts on both land and sea with varying results. The rebellion had been pressed back into reduced limits; yet the tone of public feeling and opinion, at home and abroad, was not satisfactory. With other signs, the popular elections, then just past, indicated uneasiness among ourselves while, amid much that was cold and menacing, the kindest words coming from Europe were uttered in accents of pity that we were too blind to surrender a hopeless cause. Our commerce was suffering greatly by a few armed vessels built upon, and furnished from, foreign shores, and we were threatened with such additions from the same quarter as would sweep our trade from the sea and raise our blockade. We had failed to elicit from European governments anything hopeful upon this subject. The preliminary emancipation proclamation, issued in September, was running its assigned period to the beginning of the new year. A month later the final proclamation came, including the announcement that colored men of suitable condition would be received into the war service. The policy of emancipation, and of employing black soldiers, gave to the future a new aspect, about which hope, and fear, and doubt contended in uncertain conflict. According to our political system, as a matter of civil administration, the General Government

had no lawful power to effect emancipation in any State, and for a long time it had been hoped that the rebellion could be suppressed without resorting to it as a military measure. It was all the while deemed possible that the necessity for it might come, and that if it should, the crisis of the contest would then be presented. It came, and, as was anticipated, it was followed by dark and doubtful ways. Eleven months having now passed, we are permitted to take another review. The rebel borders are pressed still further back, and, by the complete opening of the Mississippi, the country dominated by the rebellion is divided into distinct parts, with no practical communication between them. Tennessee and Arkansas have been substantially cleared of insurgent control, and influential citizens in each, owners of slaves and advocates of slavery at the beginning of the rebellion, now declare openly for emancipation in their respective States. Of those States not included in the Emancipation Proclamation, Maryland and Missouri, neither of which three years ago would tolerate any restraint upon the extension of slavery into new Territories, only dispute now as to the best mode of removing it within their own limits.

Of those who were slaves at the beginning of the rebellion, full one hundred thousand are now in the United States military service, about

one half of which number actually bear arms in the ranks; thus giving the double advantage of taking so much labor from the insurgent cause, and supplying the places which otherwise must be filled with so many white men. So far as tested, it is difficult to say they are not as good soldiers as any. No servile insurrection, or tendency to violence or cruelty, has marked the measures of emancipation and arming the blacks. These measures have been much discussed in foreign countries, and contemporary with such discussion the tone of public sentiment there is much improved. At home the same measures have been fully discussed, supported, criticized, and denounced and the annual elections following are highly encouraging to those whose official duty it is to bear the country through this great trial. Thus we have the new reckoning. The crisis which threatened to divide the friends of the Union is past.

Looking now to the present and future, and with reference to a resumption of the national authority within the States wherein that authority has been suspended, I have thought fit to issue a proclamation, a copy of which is herewith transmitted. On examination of this proclamation it will appear, as is believed, that nothing is attempted beyond what is amply justified by the Constitution. True, the form of an oath is

given, but no man is coerced to take it. The man is only promised a pardon in case he voluntarily takes the oath. The Constitution authorizes the executive to grant or withhold the pardon at his own absolute discretion; and this includes the power to grant on terms, as is fully established by judicial and other authorities.

It is also proffered that if, in any of the States named, a State government shall be, in the mode prescribed, set up, such government shall be recognized and guaranteed by the United States, and that under it the State shall, on the constitutional conditions, be protected against invasion and domestic violence. The constitutional obligation of the United States to guarantee to every State in the Union a republican form of government, and to protect the State in the cases stated, is explicit and full. But why tender the benefits of this provision only to a State government set up in this particular way? This section of the Constitution contemplates a case wherein the element within a State favorable to republican government in the Union may be too feeble for an opposite and hostile element external to, or even within, the State; and such are precisely the cases with which we are now dealing.

An attempt to guarantee and protect a revived State government, constructed in whole, or in preponderating part, from the very element

against whose hostility and violence it is to be protected, is simply absurd. There must be a test by which to separate the opposing elements, so as to build only from the sound; and that test is a sufficiently liberal one which accepts as sound whoever will make a sworn recantation of his former unsoundness.

But if it be proper to require, as a test of admission to the political body, an oath of allegiance to the Constitution of the United States, and to the Union under it, why also to the laws and proclamations in regard to slavery? Those laws and proclamations were enacted and put forth for the purpose of aiding in the suppression of the rebellion. To give them their fullest effect, there had to be a pledge for their maintenance. In my judgment they have aided, and will further aid, the cause for which they were intended. To now abandon them would be not only to relinquish a lever of power, but would also be a cruel and an astounding breach of faith. I may add, at this point, that while I remain in my present position I shall not attempt to retract or modify the Emancipation Proclamation; nor shall I return to slavery any person who is free by the terms of that proclamation, or by any of the acts of Congress. For these and other reasons it is thought best that support of these measures shall be included in the oath; and it is be-

lieved the executive may lawfully claim it in return for pardon and restoration of forfeited rights, which he has clear constitutional power to withhold altogether, or grant upon the terms which he shall deem wisest for the public interest. It should be observed, also, that this part of the oath is subject to the modifying and abrogating power of legislation and supreme judicial decision.

The proposed acquiescence of the national executive in any reasonable temporary State arrangement for the freed people is made with the view of possibly modifying the confusion and destitution which must at best attend all classes by a total revolution of labor throughout whole States. It is hoped that the already deeply afflicted people in those States may be somewhat more ready to give up the cause of their affliction, if, to this extent, this vital matter be left to themselves; while no power of the national executive to prevent an abuse is abridged by the proposition.

The suggestion in the proclamation as to maintaining the political framework of the States on what is called reconstruction is made in the hope that it may do good without danger of harm. It will save labor, and avoid great confusion.

But why any proclamation now upon this sub-

ject? This question is beset with the conflicting views that the step might be delayed too long or be taken too soon. In some States the elements for resumption seem ready for action, but remain inactive apparently for want of a rallying-point—a plan of action. Why shall A adopt the plan of B, rather than B that of A? And if A and B should agree, how can they know but that the General Government here will reject their plan? By the proclamation a plan is presented which may be accepted by them as a rallying-point, and which they are assured in advance will not be rejected here. This may bring them to act sooner than they otherwise would.

The objection to a premature presentation of a plan by the national executive consists in the danger of committals on points which could be more safely left to further developments. Care has been taken to so shape the document as to avoid embarrassments from this source. Saying that, on certain terms, certain classes will be pardoned, with rights restored, it is not said that other classes, or other terms will never be included. Saying that reconstruction will be accepted if presented in a specified way, it is not said it will never be accepted in any other way.

The movements, by State action, for emancipation in several of the States not included in the Emancipation Proclamation, are matters of

profound gratulation. And while I do not repeat in detail what I have heretofore so earnestly urged upon this subject, my general views and feelings remain unchanged; and I trust that Congress will omit no fair opportunity of aiding these important steps to a great consummation.

In the midst of other cares, however important, we must not lose sight of the fact that the war power is still our main reliance. To that power alone can we look, yet for a time, to give confidence to the people in the contested regions that the insurgent power will not again overrun them. Until that confidence shall be established, little can be done anywhere for what is called reconstruction. Hence our chiefest care must still be directed to the army and navy, who have thus far borne their harder part so nobly and well. And it may be esteemed fortunate that in giving the greatest efficiency to these indispensable arms, we do also honorably recognize the gallant men, from commander to sentinel, who compose them, and to whom, more than to others, the world must stand indebted for the home of freedom disenthralled, regenerated, enlarged, and perpetuated. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, December 8, 1863

To the Senate and House of Representatives:
In conformity to the law of July 16, 1862, I most

cordially recommend that Captain John Rogers, United States Navy, receive a note of thanks from Congress for the eminent skill and gallantry exhibited by him in the engagement with the rebel iron-clad steamer *Fingal*, alias *Atlanta*, whilst in command of the United States iron-clad steamer *Weehawken*, which led to her capture on the 17th of June, 1863, and also for the zeal, bravery, and general good conduct shown by this officer on many occasions.

This recommendation is specially made in order to comply with the requirements of the ninth section of the aforesaid act which is in the following words, viz.:

That any line officer of the navy or marine corps may be advanced one grade, if, upon recommendation of the President, by name, he receives the thanks of Congress for highly distinguished conduct in conflict with the enemy, or for extraordinary heroism in the line of his profession.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT

WASHINGTON, December 8, 1863.

Major-General Grant: Understanding that your lodgment at Chattanooga and Knoxville is now secure, I wish to tender you, and all under your command, my more than thanks, my profoundest gratitude, for the skill, courage, and

perseverance with which you and they, over so great difficulties, have effected that important object. God bless you all! A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO A. G. CURTIN

EXECUTIVE MANSION, December 9, 1863.

My dear Sir: I have to urge my illness, and the preparation of the message, in excuse for not having sooner transmitted you the inclosed from the Secretary of War and Provost-Marshal-General in response to yours in relation to recruiting in Pennsylvania. Though not quite as you desire, I hope the grounds taken will be reasonably satisfactory to you. Allow me to exchange congratulations with you on the organization of the House of Representatives, and especially on recent military events in Georgia and Tennessee. Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

MESSAGE TO THE SENATE, December 10, 1863

To the Senate of the United States: I transmit herewith a report dated the 9th instant, with the accompanying papers, received from the Secretary of State, in compliance with the requirements of the sixteenth and eighteenth sections of the act entitled: "An act to regulate the diplomatic and consular systems of the United States," approved August 18, 1856.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

AMNESTY TO MRS. E. T. HELM

EXECUTIVE MANSION, December 14, 1863.

Mrs. Emily T. Helm, not being excepted from the benefits of the proclamation by the President of the United States issued on the eighth day of December, 1863, and having on this day taken and subscribed the oath according to said proclamation, she is fully relieved of all penalties and forfeitures, and remitted to all her rights—all according to said proclamation, and not otherwise; and, in regard to said restored rights of person and property, she is to be protected and afforded facilities as a loyal person.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

P. S. Mrs. Helm claims to own some cotton at Jackson, Mississippi, and also some in Georgia; and I shall be glad, upon either place being brought within our lines, for her to be afforded the proper facilities to show her ownership, and take her property.

A. LINCOLN.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA,

Washington County,

ss. :

I, Emily T. Helm, do solemnly swear in presence of Almighty God that I will henceforth faithfully support, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and the union of the States thereunder;

and that I will, in like manner, abide by and faithfully support all acts of Congress passed during the existing rebellion with reference to slaves, so long and so far as not repealed, modified, or held void by Congress, or by decisions of the Supreme Court; and that I will, in like manner, abide by and faithfully support all proclamations of the President, made during the existing rebellion, having reference to slaves so long and so far as not modified or declared void by the Supreme Court. So help me God.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, December 14, 1863.

Whom it may concern: It is my wish that Mrs. Emily T. Helm (widow of the late General B. H. Helm, who fell in the Confederate service), now returning to Kentucky, may have protection of person and property, except as to slaves, of which I say nothing. A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO DR. THOMAS COTTMAN

EXECUTIVE MANSION, December 15, 1863.

My dear Sir: You were so kind as to say this morning that you desire to return to Louisiana, and to be guided by my wishes, to some extent, in the part you may take in bringing that State to resume her rightful relation to the General Government.

My wishes are in a general way expressed, as well as I can express them, in the proclamation issued on the 8th of the present month, and

in that part of the annual message which relates to that proclamation. It there appears that I deem the sustaining of the Emancipation Proclamation, where it applies, as indispensable; and I add here that I would esteem it fortunate if the people of Louisiana should themselves place the remainder of the State upon the same footing, and then, if in their discretion it should appear best, make some temporary provision for the whole of the freed people, substantially as suggested in the last proclamation.

I have not put forth the plan in that proclamation as a Procrustean bed, to which exact conformity is to be indispensable; and, in Louisiana particularly, I wish that labor already done, which varies from that plan in no important particular, may not be thrown away.

The strongest wish I have, not already publicly expressed, is that in Louisiana and elsewhere all sincere Union men would stoutly eschew cliquism, and, each yielding something in minor matters, all work together. Nothing is likely to be so baleful in the great work before us as stepping aside from the main object to consider who will get the offices if a small matter shall go thus, and who else will get them if it shall go otherwise. It is a time now for real patriots to rise above all this. As to the particulars of what I may think best to be done in any

State, I have publicly stated certain points which I have thought indispensable to the reestablishment and maintenance of the national authority; and I go no further than this because I wish to avoid both the substance and the appearance of dictation.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

MESSAGE TO THE SENATE, December 15, 1863

To the Senate of the United States: In answer to the resolution of the Senate of the 11th of March last, requesting certain information touching persons in the service of this government, I transmit a report from the Secretary of State, to whom the resolution was referred.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

LETTER TO JUDGE HOFFMAN

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 15, 1863.

Hon. Ogden Hoffman, San Francisco: The oath in the proclamation of December 8 is intended for those who may voluntarily take it, and not for those who may be constrained to take it in order to escape actual imprisonment or punishment. It is intended that the latter class shall abide the granting or withholding of the pardoning power in the ordinary way.

A. LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAM TO MOTHER MARY GONYEAG

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., December 15, 1863.

Mother Mary Gonyeag, Academy of Visitation, Keokuk, Iowa: The President has no authority as to whether you may raffle for the benevolent object you mention. If there is no objection in the Iowa laws, there is none here.

A. LINCOLN.

PROCLAMATION CONCERNING DISCRIMINATING
DUTIES, December 16, 1863

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA:

A Proclamation.

WHEREAS, by an act of the Congress of the United States of the twenty-fourth of May, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-eight, entitled "An act in addition to an act entitled 'An act concerning discriminating duties of tonnage and impost,' and to equalize the duties on Prussian vessels and their cargoes," it is provided that, upon satisfactory evidence being given to the President of the United States, by the government of any foreign nation, that no discriminating duties of tonnage or impost are imposed or levied in the ports of said nation upon vessels wholly belonging to citizens of the United States, or upon the produce, manufactures, or merchandise imported in the same from the United States, or from any foreign country, the President is thereby authorized to issue his proclamation declaring that the foreign discriminating duties of

tonnage and impost within the United States are and shall be suspended and discontinued so far as respects the vessels of the said foreign nation, and the produce, manufactures, or merchandise imported into the United States in the same from the said foreign nation, or from any other foreign country; the said suspension to take effect from the time of such notification being given to the President of the United States, and to continue so long as the reciprocal exemption of vessels belonging to citizens of the United States, and their cargoes, as aforesaid, shall be continued, and no longer;

And whereas, satisfactory evidence has lately been received by me, through an official communication of Señor Don Luis Molina, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Nicaragua, under date of the 28th of November, 1863, that no other or higher duties of tonnage and impost have been imposed or levied since the second day of August, 1838, in the ports of Nicaragua, upon vessels wholly belonging to citizens of the United States, and upon the produce, manufactures, or merchandise imported in the same from the United States, and from any foreign country whatever, than are levied on Nicaraguan ships and their cargoes in the same ports under like circumstances:

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America, do hereby declare and proclaim that so much of the several acts imposing discriminating duties of tonnage and impost within the United States are, and shall be, suspended and discontinued so far as respects the vessels of Nicaragua, and the produce, manufactures, and merchandise imported into the United States in the same from the dominions of Nicaragua, and from any other foreign country whatever; the said suspension to take effect from the day above mentioned, and to continue thenceforward so long as the reciprocal exemption of the vessels of the United States, and the produce, manufactures, and merchandise imported into the dominions of Nicaragua in the same, as aforesaid, shall be continued on the part of the government of Nicaragua.

Given under my hand at the city of Washington, the sixteenth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and the eighty-eighth of the independence of the United States.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President:

WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State.

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, December 17, 1863

To the Senate and House of Representatives:
Herewith I lay before you a letter addressed to myself by a committee of gentlemen representing the Freedmen's Aid Societies in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati.

The subject of the letter, as indicated above, is one of great magnitude and importance, and one which these gentlemen of known ability and high character seem to have considered with great attention and care. Not having the time to form a mature judgment of my own as to whether the plan they suggest is the best, I submit the whole subject to Congress, deeming that their attention thereto is almost imperatively demanded.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAM TO GENERAL S. A. HURLBUT
(*Cipher.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, December 17, 1863.

Major-General Hurlbut, Memphis, Tenn.:
I understand you have under sentence of death, a tall old man, by the name of Henry F. Lockett. I personally knew him, and did not think him a bad man. Please do not let him be executed unless upon further order from me, and in the meantime send me a transcript of the record.

A. LINCOLN.

NOTE TO E. B. WASHBURNE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, December 18, 1863.

My dear Sir: The joint resolution of thanks to General Grant and those under his command has been before me, and is approved. If agreeable to you, I shall be glad for you to superintend the getting up of the medal, and the making of the copy to be engrossed on parchment, which I am to transmit to the general.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, December 18, 1863.

My dear Sir: I believe General Schofield must be relieved from command of the department of Missouri; otherwise a question of veracity, in relation to his declarations as to his interfering, or not, with the Missouri legislature, will be made with him, which will create an additional amount of trouble, not to be overcome by even a correct decision of the question. The question itself must be avoided. Now for the mode. Senator Henderson, his friend, thinks he can be induced to ask to be relieved, if he shall understand he will be generously treated; and, on this latter point, Gratz Brown will help his nomination as a major-general through the Senate. In no other way can he be

confirmed; and upon his rejection alone it would be difficult for me to sustain him as commander of the department. Besides, his being relieved from command of the department, and at the same time confirmed as a major-general, will be the means of Henderson and Brown leading off together as friends, and will go far to heal the Missouri difficulty. Another point. I find it is scarcely less than indispensable for me to do something for General Rosecrans; and I find Henderson and Brown will agree to him for the commander of their department.

Again, I have received such evidence and explanations, in regard to the supposed cotton transactions of General Curtis, as fully restore in my mind the fair presumption of his innocence; and, as he is my friend, and what is more, as I think, the country's friend, I would be glad to relieve him from the impression that I think him dishonest by giving him a command. Most of the Iowa and Kansas delegations, a large part of that of Missouri, and the delegates from Nebraska and Colorado, ask this in behalf of General C., and suggest Kansas and other contiguous territory west of Missouri as a department for him. In a purely military point of view it may be that none of these things are indispensable, or perhaps advantageous; but in another aspect, scarcely less important, they would give

great relief; while, at the worst, I think they could not injure the military service much. I therefore shall be greatly obliged if yourself and General Halleck can give me your hearty coöperation in making the arrangement. Perhaps the first thing would be to send General Schofield's nomination to me. Let me hear from you before you take any actual step in the matter.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT

WAR DEPARTMENT, December 19, 1863.

General Grant, Chattanooga, Tenn.: The Indiana delegation in Congress, or at least a large part of them, are very anxious that General Milroy shall enter active service again, and I share in this feeling. He is not a difficult man to satisfy—sincerity and courage being his strong traits. Believing in our cause, and wanting to fight for it, is the whole matter with him. Could you, without embarrassment, assign him to a place, if directed to report to you?

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO SECRETARY WELLES

EXECUTIVE MANSION, December 20, 1863.

My dear Sir: General Gilmore, believing that a joint movement of the army and navy is not likely to be made against Charleston very

soon, has written asking leave to operate independently of the navy for a time. As this application comes to me, I will thank you to inform me how long, according to any plan or reasonable calculation of the navy, it will be before it will need the actual coöperation of the army before Charleston.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON

(*Private.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, December 21, 1863.

My dear Sir: Sending a note to the Secretary of the Navy, as I promised, he called over and said that the strikes in the ship-yards had thrown the completion of vessels back so much that he thought General Gillmore's proposition entirely proper. He only wishes (and in which I concur) that General Gillmore will courteously confer with, and explain to, Admiral Dahlgren.

In regard to the Western matter, I believe the program will have to stand substantially as I first put it. Henderson, and especially Brown, believe that the social influence of St. Louis would inevitably tell injuriously upon General Pope in the particular difficulty existing there, and I think there is some force in that view.

As to retaining General Schofield tempo-

rarily, if this should be done, I believe I should scarcely be able to get his nomination through the Senate. Send me over his nomination, which, however, I am not quite ready to send to the Senate.

Yours as ever, A. LINCOLN.

PERMIT TO MR. AND MRS. CRAIG

EXECUTIVE MANSION, December 21, 1863.

Mr. and Mrs. Craig, of Arkansas, whose plantation, situated upon the Mississippi River a few miles below Helena, has been desolated during the present war, propose returning to reoccupy and cultivate said plantation; and it is my wish that they be permitted to do so, and that the United States military forces in that vicinity will not molest them or allow them to be molested, as long as the said Mr. and Mrs. Craig shall demean themselves as peaceful, loyal citizens of the United States. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 21, 1863.

Major-General Butler, Fort Monroe, Va.:

It is said that William H. Blake is under sentence of death at Fort Magruder, in your department. Do not let him be executed without further order from me, and in the meantime

have the record sent me. He is said to belong to the First or Second Pennsylvania Artillery.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO O. D. FILLEY

EXECUTIVE MANSION, December 22, 1863.

O. D. Filley, St. Louis, Mo.: I have just looked over a petition signed by some three dozen citizens of St. Louis, and three accompanying letters, one by yourself, one by a Mr. Nathan Ranney, and one by a Mr. John D. Coalter, the whole relating to the Rev. Dr. McPheeters. The petition prays, in the name of justice and mercy, that I will restore Dr. McPheeters to all his ecclesiastical rights. This gives no intimation as to what ecclesiastical rights are withheld.

Your letter states that Provost-Marshal Dick, about a year ago, ordered the arrest of Dr. McPheeters, pastor of the Vine Street Church, prohibited him from officiating, and placed the management of the affairs of the church out of the control of its chosen trustees; and near the close you state that a certain course "would insure his release." Mr. Ranney's letter says: "Dr. Samuel S. McPheeters is enjoying all the rights of a civilian, but cannot preach the Gospel!!!" Mr. Coalter, in his letter, asks: "Is it not a strange illustration of the condition of

things, that the question of who shall be allowed to preach in a church in St Louis shall be decided by the President of the United States?"

Now, all this sounds very strangely; and, withal, a little as if you gentlemen making the application do not understand the case alike; one affirming that the doctor is enjoying all the rights of a civilian, and another pointing out to me what will secure his *release!* On the second day of January last I wrote to General Curtis in relation to Mr. Dick's order upon Dr. McPheeters; and, as I suppose the doctor is enjoying all the rights of a civilian, I only quote that part of my letter which relates to the church. It is as follows: "But I must add that the United States Government must not, as by this order, undertake to run the churches. When an individual, in a church or out of it, becomes dangerous to the public interest, he must be checked; but the churches, as such, must take care of themselves. It will not do for the United States to appoint trustees, supervisors, or other agents for the churches."

This letter going to General Curtis, then in command there, I supposed, of course, it was obeyed, especially as I heard no further complaint from Dr. McPheeters or his friends for nearly an entire year. I have never interfered, nor thought of interfering, as to who shall or

shall not preach in any church; nor have I knowingly or believingly tolerated any one else to so interfere by my authority. If any one is so interfering by color of my authority, I would like to have it specifically made known to me.

If, after all, what is now sought is to have me put Dr. McPheeters back over the heads of a majority of his own congregation, that, too, will be declined. I will not have control of any church on any side.

Yours respectfully,

A. LINCOLN.

INDORSEMENT ON PETITION CONCERNING DR.
MCPHEETERS, December 22, 1863

The assumptions of this paper, so far as I know, or believe, are entirely false. I have never deprived Doctor McPheeters of any ecclesiastical right, or authorized or excused its being done by any one deriving authority from me. On the contrary, in regard to this very case, I directed a long time ago that Doctor McPheeters was to be arrested, or remain at large, upon the same rule as any one else; and that in no event was any one to interfere, by my authority, as to who should or should not preach in any church. This was done, I think, in a letter, in the nature of an order, to Mr. Dick. The assumption that I am keeping Dr. McPheeters from preaching in his church is monstrous. If

any one is doing this by pretense of my authority, I will thank any one who can to make out and present me a specific case against him. If, after all, the doctor is kept out by the majority of his own parishioners, and my official power is sought to force him in over their heads, I decline that also.

A. LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAM TO THE COMMANDER OF POINT
LOOKOUT

EXECUTIVE MANSION, December 22, 1863.

Military Commander, Point Lookout, Md.:
If you have a prisoner by the name Linder—Daniel Linder, I think, and certainly the son of U. F. Linder, of Illinois, please send him to me by an officer.

A. LINCOLN.

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, December 23, 1863

To the Senate and House of Representatives:
I transmit to Congress a copy of the report to the Secretary of State of the commissioners on the part of the United States under the convention with Peru, of the 12th of January last, on the subject of claims.

It will be noticed that two claims of Peruvian citizens on this government have been allowed. An appropriation for the discharge of the obligations of the United States in these cases is requested.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL N. P. BANKS

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., December 24, 1863.

Major-General Banks: Yours of the sixth instant has been received and fully considered. I deeply regret to have said or done anything which could give you pain or uneasiness. I have all the while intended you to be master, as well in regard to reorganizing a State government for Louisiana, as in regard to the military matters of the department; and hence my letters on reconstruction have nearly, if not quite, all been addressed to you. My error has been that it did not occur to me that Governor Shepley or any one else would set up a claim to act independently of you; and hence I said nothing expressly upon the point.

Language has not been guarded at a point where no danger was thought of. I now tell you that in every dispute with whomsoever, you are master.

Governor Shepley was appointed to assist the commander of the department, and not to thwart him or act independently of him. Instructions have been given directly to him merely to spare you detail labor, and not to supersede your authority. This, in its liability to be misconstrued, it now seems was an error in us. But it is past.

I now distinctly tell you that you are master of all, and that I wish you to take the case as you find it, and give us a free State reorganization of Louisiana in the shortest possible time. What I say here is to have a reasonable construction. I do not mean that you are to withdraw from Texas, or abandon any other military measure which you may deem important. Nor do I mean that you are to throw away available work already done for reconstruction; nor that war is to be made upon Governor Shepley, or upon any one else, unless it be found that they will not coöperate with you, in which case, and in all cases, you are master while you remain in command of the department.

My thanks for your successful and valuable operations in Texas.

Yours as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAM TO THE COMMANDER OF POINT
LOOKOUT

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., December 24, 1863.

Military Commander, Point Lookout, Md.:
If you send Linder to me as directed a day or two ago, also send Edwin C. Claybrook, of Ninth Virginia rebel cavalry.

A. LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAM TO U. F. LINDER

EXECUTIVE MANSION, December 26, 1863.

Hon. U. F. Linder, Chicago, Ill.: Your son Dan has just left me with my order to the Secretary of War, to administer to him the oath of allegiance, discharge him and send him to you.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL N. P. BANKS

EXECUTIVE MANSION, December 29, 1863.

Major-General Banks: Yours of the sixteenth is received, and I send you, as covering the ground of it, a copy of my answer to yours of the sixth, it being possible the original may not reach you. I intend you to be master in every controversy made with you. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, December 31, 1863.

Sir: Please fix up the department to which Curtis is to go, without waiting to wind up the Missouri matter. Lane is very anxious to have Fort Smith in it, and I am willing, unless there be decided military reasons to the contrary, in which case of course, I am not for it. It will oblige me to have the Curtis department fixed at once. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. G. MEADE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 5, 1864.

Major-General Meade: If not inconsistent with the service, please allow General William Harrow as long a leave of absence as the rules permit with the understanding that I may lengthen it if I see fit. He is an acquaintance and friend of mine, and his family matters very urgently require his presence.

A. LINCOLN.

MESSAGE TO THE SENATE, January 5, 1864

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives: By a joint resolution of your honorable bodies, approved December 23, 1863, the paying of bounties to veteran volunteers, as now practised by the War Department, is, to the extent of three hundred dollars in each case, prohibited after this fifth day of the present month. I transmit, for your consideration, a communication from the Secretary of War, accompanied by one from the Provost-Marshal-General to him, both relating to the subject above mentioned. I earnestly recommend that the law be so modified as to allow bounties to be paid as they now are, at least until the ensuing first day of February. I am not without anxiety lest I appear to be importunate in thus recalling your

attention to a subject upon which you have so recently acted, and nothing but a deep conviction that the public interest demands it could induce me to incur the hazard of being misunderstood on this point. The executive approval was given by me to the resolution mentioned; and it is now, by a closer attention and a fuller knowledge of facts, that I feel constrained to recommend a reconsideration of the subject.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL F. STEELE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 5, 1864.

Major-General Steele: I wish to afford the people of Arkansas an opportunity of taking the oath prescribed in the proclamation of December 8, 1863, preparatory to reorganizing a State government there.

Accordingly I send you by General Kimball some blank books and other blanks, the manner of using which will, in the main, be suggested by an inspection of them; and General Kimball will add some verbal explanations.

Please make a trial of the matter immediately at such points as you may think likely to give success. I suppose Helena and Little Rock are two of them. Detail any officer you may see fit to take charge of the subject at each point; and which officer, it may be assumed, will have au-

thority to administer the oath. These books of course are intended to be permanent records. Report to me on the subject.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL BOYLE

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., January 6, 1864.

General Boyle, Camp Nelson, Ky.: Let execution in the cases of Goddard, Crowell, Prickett, and Smith, mentioned by you be suspended till further notice.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR BRAMLETTE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 6, 1864. 2 P. M.

Governor Bramlette, Frankfort, Ky.: Yours of yesterday received. Nothing is known here about General Foster's order, of which you complain, beyond the fair presumption that it comes from General Grant, and that it has an object which, if you understood, you would be loath to frustrate. True, these troops are, in strict law, only to be removed by my order; but General Grant's judgment would be the highest incentive to me to make such order. Nor can I understand how doing so is bad faith and dishonor, nor yet how it so exposes Kentucky to ruin. Military men here do not perceive how it exposes

Kentucky, and I am sure Grant would not permit it if it so appeared to him.

A. LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAM TO OFFICER IN COMMAND AT
COVINGTON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 7, 1864.

Officer in Command, Covington, Ky.: The death sentence of Henry Andrews is commuted to imprisonment at hard labor during the remainder of the war.

A. LINCOLN.

INDORSEMENT, January 7, 1864

CINCINNATI, January 7, 1864.

To Hon. S. P. Chase: One Andrews is to be shot for desertion at Covington, to-morrow. The proceedings have never been submitted to the President. Is this right?

GOVERNOR HOADLEY.

[*Indorsement.*]

The case of Andrews is really a very bad one, as appears by the record already before me. Yet before receiving this I had ordered his punishment commuted to imprisonment for during the war at hard labor, and had so telegraphed. I did this, not on any merit in the case, but because I am trying to evade the butchering business lately.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO C. J. WRIGHT AND C. K. HAWKES

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 7, 1864.

Gentlemen: You have presented me a plan for getting cotton and other products from within the rebel lines, from which you think the United States will derive some advantage.

Please, carefully and considerately, answer me the following questions:

First. If now, without any new order or rule, a rebel should come into our lines with cotton, and offer to take the oath of December 8, what do you understand would be done with him and his cotton?

Second. How will the physical difficulty and danger of getting cotton from within the rebel lines be lessened by your plan? Or how will the owner's motive to surmount that difficulty and danger be heightened by it?

Third. If your plan be adopted, where do you propose putting the cotton, etc., into market? how assure the government of your good faith in the business? and how be compensated for your services?

Very respectfully,
A. LINCOLN.

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, January 7, 1864

To the Senate and House of Representatives:
I transmit to Congress a copy of the decree of

the district court of the United States for the southern district of New York, awarding the sum of seventeen thousand one hundred and fifty dollars and sixty-six cents for the illegal capture of the British schooner *Glen*, and request that an appropriation of that amount may be made as an indemnification to the parties interested.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

* TELEGRAM TO R. T. LINCOLN

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 11, 1864.

R. T. Lincoln, Cambridge, Mass.: I send you draft to-day. How are you now? Answer by telegraph at once.

A. LINCOLN.

NOTE TO SECRETARY CHASE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 11, 1864.

My Dear Sir: I am receiving letters and despatches indicating an expectation that Mr. Barney is to leave the Custom House at New York. Have you anything on the subject?

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

MESSAGE TO THE SENATE, January 12, 1864

To the Senate of the United States: In accordance with the request of the Senate, conveyed in their resolution of the 16th of December, 1863, desiring any information in my possession relative to the alleged exceptional treat-

ment of Kanas troops when captured by those in rebellion, I have the honor to transmit a communication from the Secretary of War, accompanied by reports from the general-in-chief of the army and the commissary-general of prisoners relative to the subject-matter of the resolution.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL N. P. BANKS

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 13, 1864.

Major-General Banks: I have received two letters from you, which are duplicates each of the other, except that one bears date the 27th and the other the 30th of December. Your confidence in the practicability of constructing a free-State government speedily for Louisiana, and your zeal to accomplish it are very gratifying. It is a connection than in which the words "can" and "will" were never more precious. I am much in hope that on the authority of my letter of December 24, you have already begun the work. Whether you shall have done so or not, please, on receiving this, proceed with all possible despatch, using your own absolute discretion in all matters which may not carry you away from the conditions stated in your letters to me, nor from those of the message and proclamation of December 8. Frame orders, and fix times and places for this and that, according to your own

judgment. I am much gratified to know that Mr. Dennison, the Collector at New Orleans, and who bears you this, understands your views and will give you his full and zealous coöperation. It is my wish and purpose that all others holding authority from me shall do the like; and, to spare me writing, I will thank you to make this known to them. Yours very truly,
A. LINCOLN.

* TELEGRAM TO MAJOR LAIDLEY¹

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 13, 1864.

Major Laidley: Please make a trial of the Amsterdam projectile, and report to the Secretary of War. Yours truly,
A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL Q. A. GILLMORE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 13, 1864.

Major-General Gillmore: I understand an effort is being made by some worthy gentlemen to reconstruct a loyal State government in Florida. Florida is in your department, and it is not unlikely that you may be there in person. I have given Mr. Hay a commission of major,

¹ There was no detail of the war neglected by Lincoln. He took keen interest in all improvements in equipment, and often gave up a great deal of time to examining and testing anything of that nature.

and send him to you, with some blank-books and other blanks, to aid in the reconstruction. He will explain as to the manner of using the blanks, and also my general views on the subject. It is desirable for all to coöperate, but if irreconcilable differences of opinion shall arise, you are master. I wish the thing done in the most speedy way possible, so that when done, it lie within the range of the late proclamation on the subject. The detail labor, of course, will have to be done by others; but I shall be greatly obliged if you will give it such general supervision as you can find consistent with your more strictly military duties.

Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO CROSBY AND NICHOLS

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 16, 1864.

Gentlemen: The number for this month and year of the "North American Review" was duly received, and for which please accept my thanks. Of course, I am not the most impartial judge; yet, with due allowance for this, I venture to hope that the article entitled "The President's Policy" will be of value to the country. I fear I am not quite worthy of all which is therein kindly said of me personally.¹

¹ An article written by James Russell Lowell.

The sentence of twelve lines, commencing at the top of page 252, I could wish to be not exactly as it is. In what is there expressed, the writer has not correctly understood me. I have never had a theory that secession could absolve States or people from their obligations. Precisely the contrary is asserted in the inaugural address; and it was because of my belief in the continuation of these *obligations* that I was puzzled, for a time, as to denying the legal *rights* of those citizens who remained individually innocent of treason or rebellion. But I mean no more now than to merely call attention to this point.

Yours respectfully,

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR BRAMLETTE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 17, 1864.

Governor Bramlette, Frankfort, Kentucky:
Your letter of the eighth is just received. To your question, "May I not add *q. e. d.*?" I answer "No," because you omit the "premise" in the law, that the President may in his discretion send these troops out of Kentucky; and I take it that if he shall do so, on the judgment of General Grant as to its propriety, it will be neither cruelty, bad faith, nor dishonor. When I telegraphed you I knew though I did not say so to you, that General Grant was about that

time with General Foster at Knoxville, and could not be ignorant of, or averse to, the order which alarmed you. I see he has since passed through Kentucky, and I hope you have had a conference with him.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO THOMAS B. BRYAN

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 18, 1864.

My dear Sir: I have received the two copies of the lithographed facsimile of the original draft of the Emancipation Proclamation, which you have had the kindness to send me, and in answer to your question, I have to say that although I have not examined it in detail, yet it impresses me favorably as being a faithful and correct copy.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO R. T. LINCOLN

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., January 19, 1864.

R. T. Lincoln, Cambridge, Mass.: There is a good deal of small-pox here. Your friends must judge for themselves whether they ought to come or not.

A. LINCOLN.

Major Eckert: Please send above dispatch.

JNO. G. NICOLAY.

LETTER TO GENERAL J. J. REYNOLDS

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 20, 1864.

Major-General Reynolds: It would appear by the accompanying papers that Mrs. Mary E. Morton is the owner, independently of her husband, of a certain building, premises, and furniture which she, with her children, has been occupying and using peaceably during the war until recently, when the Provost-Marshal has, in the name of the United States Government, seized the whole of said property, and ejected her from it. It also appears by her statement to me that her husband went off in the rebellion at the beginning, wherein he still remains.

It would seem that this seizure has not been made for any military object, as for a place of storage, a hospital, or the like, because this would not have required the seizure of the furniture, and especially not the return of furniture previously taken away.

The seizure must have been on some claim of confiscation, a matter of which the courts, and not the provost-marshals or other military officers, are to judge. In this very case would probably be the questions, "Is either the husband or wife a traitor?" "Does the property belong to the husband or to the wife?" "Is the property of the wife confiscable for the treason

of the husband?" and other similar questions, all which it is ridiculous for a provost-marshal to assume to decide.

The true rule for the military is to seize such property as is needed for military uses and reasons, and let the rest alone. Cotton and other staple articles of commerce are seizable for military reasons. Dwelling-houses and furniture are seldom so. If Mrs. Morton is playing traitor to the extent of practical injury, seize her, but leave her house to the courts. Please revise and adjust this case upon these principles.

Yours, etc.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL F. STEELE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 20, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL STEELE: Sun-
dry citizens of the State of Arkansas
petition me that an election may be
held in that State, at which to elect a governor
thereof; . . . that it be assumed at said elec-
tion and thenceforward that the constitution and
laws of the State, as before the rebellion, are in
full force, except that the constitution is so mod-
ified as to declare that "there shall be neither
slavery nor involuntary servitude, except in the
punishment of crime whereof the party shall
have been duly convicted; but the General As-
sembly may make such provision for the freed
people as shall recognize and declare their per-
manent freedom, provide for their education,
and which may yet be consistent, as a temporary
arrangement, with their present condition as a
laboring, landless, and homeless class"; and also
except that all now existing laws in relation to
slaves are inoperative and void; that said elec-
tion be held on the twenty-eighth day of March
next at all the usual voting places of the State,
or all such as voters may attend for that pur-

pose; that the voters attending at each place, at eight o'clock in the morning of said day, may choose judges and clerks of election for that place; that all persons qualified by said constitution and laws, and taking the oath prescribed in the President's proclamation of December the 8th, 1863, either before or at the election, and none others may be voters, provided that persons having the qualifications aforesaid and being in the volunteer military service of the United States, may vote once wherever they may be at voting places; that each set of judges and clerks may make return directly to you on or before the eleventh day of April next; that in all other respects said election may be conducted according to said modified constitution and laws; that on receipt of said returns, you count said votes, and that if the number shall reach or exceed five thousand four hundred and six, you canvass said votes and ascertain who shall thereby appear to have been elected governor; and that on the eighteenth day of April next, the person so appearing to have been elected, and appearing before you at Little Rock to have, by you, administered to him an oath to support the Constitution of the United States and said modified constitution of the State of Arkansas, and actually taking said oath, be, by you, declared qualified, and be enjoined to immediately

enter upon the duties of the office of governor of said State; and that you thereupon declare the constitution of the State of Arkansas to have been modified and amended as aforesaid by the action of the people as aforesaid.

You will please order an election immediately, and perform the other parts assigned you, with necessary incidentals, all according to the foregoing.

A. LINCOLN.

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, January 20, 1864.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives: In accordance with a letter addressed by the Secretary of State, with my approval, to the Hon. Joseph A. Wright of Indiana, that patriotic and distinguished gentleman repaired to Europe and attended the international agricultural exhibition held at Hamburg last year, and has, since his return, made a report to me which, it is believed, cannot fail to be of general interest and especially so to the agricultural community. I transmit for your consideration copies of the letter and report. While it appears by the letter that no reimbursement of expenses or compensation was promised him I submit whether reasonable allowance should not be made him for them.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

MESSAGE TO THE SENATE, January 21, 1864.

To the Senate of the United States: In compliance with the resolution of the Senate of yesterday, respecting the recent destruction by fire of the Church of the Compañia, at Santiago, Chili, and the efforts of citizens of the United States to rescue the victims of the conflagration, I transmit a report from the Secretary of State, with the papers accompanying it.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO OFFICER IN COMMAND AT FORT
INDEPENDENCE

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

WASHINGTON, January 22, 1864.

Military Commander, Fort Independence: Suspend until further order execution of Charles R. Belts, of Twelfth Massachusetts, and send me the record of his trial. A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO ALPHEUS LEWIS

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 23, 1864.

My dear Sir: You have inquired how the government would regard and treat cases wherein the owners of plantations, in Arkansas, for instance, might fully recognize the freedom of those formerly slaves, and by fair contracts of hire with them, recommence the cultivation of

their plantations. I answer, I should regard such cases with great favor, and should as a principle treat them precisely as I would treat the same number of free white people in the same relation and condition. Whether white or black, reasonable effort should be made to give government protection. In neither case should the giving of aid and comfort to the rebellion, or other practices injurious to the government, be allowed on such plantations; and in either, the government would claim the right to take, if necessary, those of proper ages and conditions into the military service. Such plan must not be used to break up existing leases or arrangements of abandoned plantations which the government may have made to give employment and sustenance to the idle and destitute people. With the foregoing qualifications, and explanations, and in view of its tendency to advance freedom, and restore peace and prosperity, such hiring and employment of the freed people, would be regarded by me with rather especial favor.

To be more specific, I add that all the military, and others acting by authority of the United States, are to favor and facilitate the introduction and carrying forward, in good faith, the free-labor system as above indicated, by allowing the necessary supplies therefor to be procured

and taken to the proper points, and by doing and forbearing whatever will advance it, providing that existing military and trade regulations be not transcended thereby. I shall be glad to learn that planters adopting this system shall have employed one so zealous and active as yourself to act as an agent in relation thereto.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, ———, 1864.

Confiding in the representations and assurances made and given by Hon. Brutus J. Clay, of Kentucky, that if permitted and afforded reasonable protection and facilities by the government, his brother-in-law, Christopher F. Field, and his son, Christopher F. Clay, having, prior to the rebellion, had ownership and lawful control of several plantations in Mississippi and Arkansas, would put said plantations into cultivation, upon the system of free hired labor, recognizing and acknowledging the freedom of the laborers, and totally excluding from said plantations the slave system of labor, and all actual slavery, and would neither do nor permit anything on said plantations which would aid the rebellion, it is hereby ordered that said Christopher F. Field, and Christopher F. Clay, or either of them, be permitted to so put said plantations, or any of them, into cultivation; and that the military, and all others acting by the authority of the United States, are to favor and facilitate said Field and Clay in the carrying forward said business

in good faith, by giving them protection, and allowing them to procure and take to the proper points, the necessary supplies of all kinds, and by doing and forbearing in whatever way will advance the object aforesaid; provided that no existing military or trade regulations, nor any military necessity be transcended or overridden thereby.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

NOTE TO SECRETARY CHASE

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 25, 1864.

My dear Sir: Not intending to hurry you, may I ask if the new provisions about trade in cotton and sugar are nearly ready to go into effect?

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

ORDER APPROVING TRADE REGULATIONS

January 26, 1864

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 26, 1864.

I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, having seen and considered the additional regulations of trade prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, and numbered LI, LII, LIII, LIV, LV, and LVI, do hereby approve the same; and further declare and order that all property brought in for sale in good faith, and actually sold in pursuance of said Regulations LII, LIII, LIV, LV, and LVI, after the same

shall have taken effect and come in force as provided in Regulation LVI, shall be exempt from confiscation or forfeiture to the United States.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL F. STEELE

WASHINGTON, January 27, 1864.

Major-General Steele: I have addressed a letter to you and put it in the hands of Mr. Gantt and other Arkansas gentlemen, containing a program for an election in that State. This letter will be handed you by some of these gentlemen. Since writing it, I see that a convention in Arkansas having the same general object, has taken some action, which I am afraid may clash somewhat with my program. I therefore can do no better than to ask you to see Mr. Gantt immediately on his return, and with him do what you and he may deem necessary to harmonize the two plans into one, and then put it through with all possible vigor. Be sure to retain the free-State constitutional provision in some unquestionable form, and you and he can fix the rest. The points I have made in the program have been well considered. Take hold with an honest heart and a strong hand. Do not let any questionable man control or influence you.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. G. FOSTER

WAR DEPARTMENT, January 27, 1864.

Major-General Foster, Knoxville, Tenn.: Is a supposed correspondence between General Longstreet and yourself about the amnesty proclamation, which is now in the newspapers genuine?

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL H. W. HALLECK

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 28, 1864.

Major-General Halleck: Some citizens of Missouri, vicinity of Kansas City, are apprehensive that there is special danger of renewed troubles in that neighborhood, and thence on the route toward New Mexico. I am not impressed that the danger is very great or imminent, but I will thank you to give Generals Rosecrans and Curtis, respectively, such orders as may turn their attention thereto and prevent as far as possible the apprehended disturbance.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO E. STANLEY

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 28, 1864.

Hon. Edward Stanley, San Francisco: Yours of yesterday received. We have rumors similar to the despatch received by you, but nothing very definite from North Carolina. Knowing

Mr. Stanley to be an able man, and not doubting that he is a patriot, I should be glad for him to be with his old acquaintances south of Virginia, but I am unable to suggest anything definite upon the subject.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO SECRETARY CHASE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 28, 1864.

My dear Sir: Herewith I return this proof-sheet of the new rules. I suggest two points, but do not urge them. First, that as the trust and emoluments of the agents are to be increased, should not their bonds be increased? Secondly, might it not be well to fix a maximum, as is sometimes done in acts of Congress, beyond which the one per cent. compensation shall not go in a year?

If the increase of business should necessitate the appointment of an additional agent, I would be glad for Charles K. Hawkes to be appointed. He is one of the three so favorably mentioned by the treasury and other officers at New Orleans, in the letter I read in your hearing twice or thrice, I believe. I have some reason to believe it would please General Banks, though he has not said so, that I have heard. I *have* heard that he and General Banks are old acquaintances and friends.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

***TELEGRAM TO GENERAL D. E. SICKLES**

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 29, 1864.

Major-General Sickles, New York: Could you, without it being inconvenient or disagreeable to yourself, immediately take a trip to Arkansas for me?

A. LINCOLN.

MESSAGE TO THE SENATE, January 29, 1864

To the Senate of the United States: I transmit herewith a report from the Secretary of State, in answer to the resolution of the Senate, respecting the correspondence with the authorities of Great Britain in relation to the proposed pursuit of hostile bands of the Sioux Indians into the Hudson Bay Territories.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL F. STEELE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 30, 1864.

Major-General Steele: Since writing mine of the 27th, seeing still further accounts of the action of the convention in Arkansas, induces me to write you yet again. They seem to be doing so well, that possibly the best you can do would be to help them on their own plan; but of this you must confer with them and be the judge. Of all things, avoid, if possible, a dividing into

cliques among the friends of the common object. Be firm and resolute against such as you can perceive would make confusion and division.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL N. P. BANKS

EXECUTIVE MANSION, January 31, 1864.

Major-General Banks: Yours of the 22d instant is just received. In the proclamation of December 8 which contains the oath that you say some loyal people wish to avoid taking, I said: "And still further, that this proclamation is intended to present the people of the States wherein the national authority has been suspended, and loyal State governments have been subverted, a mode in and by which the national authority and loyal State governments may be reëstablished within said States, or in any of them; and while the mode presented is the best the executive can suggest with his present impressions, it must not be understood that no other possible mode would be acceptable."

And speaking of this in the message [of December 8, 1863,] I said: "Saying that reconstruction will be accepted if presented in a specified way, it is not said it will never be accepted in any other way."

These things were put into these documents on

purpose that some conformity to circumstances should be admissible; and when I have, more than once, said to you in my letters that available labor already done should not be thrown away, I had in my mind the very class of cases you now mention. So you see it is not even a modification of anything I have heretofore said, when I tell you that you are at liberty to adopt any rule which shall admit to vote any unquestionably loyal free-State men and none others.

And yet I do wish they would all take the oath. Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

ORDER TO SECRETARY STANTON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 1, 1864.

Sir: You are directed to have a transport (either a steam or sailing vessel, as may be deemed proper by the Quartermaster General) sent to the colored colony established by the United States at the island of Vache, on the coast of San Domingo, to bring back to this country such of the colonists there as desire to return. You will have the transport furnished with suitable supplies for that purpose, and detail an officer of the Quartermaster's department, who, under special instructions to be given, shall have charge of the business. The colonists will be brought to Washington unless otherwise hereafter directed, and be employed and provided for

at the campus for colored persons around that city.

Those only will be brought from the island who desire to return, and their effects will be brought with them. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

ORDER FOR DRAFT OF 500,000 MEN

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 1, 1864.

Ordered, That a draft for five hundred thousand (500,000) men, to serve for three years or during the war, be made on the tenth (10th) day of March next, for the military service of the United States, crediting and deducting therefrom so many as may have been enlisted or drafted into the service prior to the first (1st) day of March, and not before credited.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

*TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR R. YATES

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 3, 1864.

Governor Yates, Springfield, Ill.: The U. S. Government lot in Springfield can be used for a Soldiers' Home, with the understanding that the Government does not incur any expense in the case. A. LINCOLN

LETTER TO EDWARD EVERETT

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 4, 1864.

My dear Sir: Yours of January 30 was received four days ago, and since then the address mentioned has arrived. Thank you for it.

I send herewith the manuscript of my remarks at Gettysburg, which, with my note to you of November 20, you are at liberty to use for the benefit of our soldiers, as you have requested.

Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

MESSAGE TO THE SENATE, February 4, 1864

To the Senate: In compliance with the resolution of the Senate of the twenty-sixth ultimo, requesting "a copy of all the correspondence between the authorities of the United States and the rebel authorities on the exchange of prisoners, and the different propositions connected with that subject," I transmit herewith a report from the Secretary of War and the papers with which it is accompanied.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

INDORSEMENT, February 5, 1864

Submitted to the Secretary of War. On principle I dislike an oath which requires a man to swear he has not done wrong. It rejects the Christian principle of forgiveness on terms of repentance. I think it is enough if the man does no wrong hereafter.

A. LINCOLN.

MESSAGE TO THE SENATE, February 5, 1864

To the Senate of the United States: In answer to the resolution of the Senate of yesterday on the subject of a reciprocity treaty with the Sandwich Islands, I transmit a report from the Secretary of State, to whom the resolution was referred.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR MURPHY

WASHINGTON, February 6, 1864.

Governor J. Murphy: My order to General Steele about an election was made in ignorance of the action your convention had taken or would take. A subsequent letter directs General Steele to aid you on your own plan, and not to thwart or hinder you. Show this to him.

A. LINCOLN.

