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Address of Col. Wade H. Cooper on Abraham Lincoln: extension of remarks of Hon. B. Carroll Reece of Tennessee in the House of Representatives Saturday, February 12, 1927

Wade Hampton Cooper

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ADDRESS OF COL. WADE H. COOPER ON

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. B. CARROLL REECE

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1927



UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON



EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. B. CARROLL REECE

OF TENNESSEE

Mr. REECE. Mr. Speaker, this evening in the Peabody Hotel in the city of Memphis, Tenn., there is being held a great celebration in commemoration of the birthday anniversary of Abraham Lincoln. The speaker of the evening is Col. Wade H. Cooper, president of the Continental Trust Co., of Washington, D. C. Colonel Cooper is a southern man, the son of a Confederate soldier. I have been furnished in advance with a copy of his speech to be delivered on this occasion. It is one of the finest tributes to Abraham Lincoln that it has ever been my pleasure to read. I ask unanimous consent to insert this speech of Colonel Cooper in the Record.

I may say in this connection that the Continental Trust Co.,

I may say in this connection that the Continental Trust Co., of which Colonel Cooper is president, is one of the few financial institutions in this country that threw wide its doors and made loans to veterans of the World War on their adjusted compensation certificates regardless of race, color, or creed, and regardless of whether or not they were customers of the bank. As a veteran of the World War I desire to take advantage of this

opportunity to express my appreciation of that service.

The speech referred to is as follows:

Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, to the informed it is very difficult to think of any country, great or small, without associating therewith the name of some great character produced by that country.

In France it is Mirabeau and his contemporaries of the French Revolution, Napoleon and his excursions into Moscow and into Egypt, where he reminded his soldiers that 40 centuries looked down upon them. In England it is the Duke of Wellington and his victory at Waterloo, or Lord Nelson and his victory at Trafalgar. In Germany it is Frederick the Great and Bismarck. In Scotland it is Wallace and Wycliffe and Bruce and Sidney. In Ireland it is Emmett and O'Connell and Grattan. In Italy it is Garibaldi. In Hungary it is Kossuth. In Austria it is Marie Teressa; and in Russia it is Katherine the Great.

In Cuba it is Marti. In Mexico it is Juarez. In the Dominican Republic it is Duarte. In Argentina it is San Martin. In Brazil it is Bonofacio. In Bolivia it is Sucre. In Chile it is O'Higgins. In Colombia it is Santander. In Guatamala it is Barrios. In Hondurss it is Morazan. In Panama it is Herrera. In Uruguay it is Artigas; in Peru it is Unanue; and in Venezuela it is Bolivar.

In our own great American Republic it is George Washington, its founder, and Abraham Lincoln, its savior and preserver.

This evening we are to talk about Mr. Lincoln. Forgetting for the moment his early life and his heroic struggles, let us consider Mr. Lincoln's public service and his life as a great statesman. He appeared in public life at that period in our history when the leading public men of the North and of the South were engaged in a great oratorical

combat over the question of human slavery and the extension of the same, finally terminating in the attempt of the Southern States to withdraw from the Union.

While Mr. Lincoln opposed the extension of slavery into the free States, he was never an abolitionist. I think it well for us to keep in mind the fact that the idea of the abolition of slavery originated in the South. For instance, General Washington, in a letter to General Lafayette in 1798, said:

"I agree with you cordially in your views in regard to negro slavery. I have long considered it a most serious evil, both socially and politically, and I should rejoice in any feasible scheme to rid our State of such a burden."

And again our own Thomas Jefferson, the apostle of human liberty in this country, said:

"Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that His justice can not sleep forever; that considering numbers, nature, and natural means only; a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation, is among possible events; that it may become probable by supernatural influence. The Almighty has no attribute which can take sides with us in such contest.

"Nothing is more certainly written in the Book of Fate than that these people are to be free."

It may be instructive as well as entertaining for you to know how Gen. Robert E. Lee felt on the eve of the great conflict. My endeavor this evening is educational and not oratorical and I am going to read you a brief portion of a letter of General Lee's to his son, C. W. Custis Lee, dated January 23, 1861, Referring in this letter to the existing troubles, General Lee concluded his letter as follows:

"As an American citizen, I take great pride in my country, her prosperity and institutions, and would defend any State if her rights were invaded. But I can anticipate no greater calamity for the country than a dissolution of the Union. It would be an accumulation of all the evils we complain of, and I am willing to sacrifice everything but honor for its preservation. I hope, therefore, that all constitutional means will be exhausted before there is a resort to force. Secession is nothing but revolution. The framers of our Constitution never exhausted so much labor, wisdom, and forbearance in its formation, and surrounded it with so many guards and securities, if it was intended to be broken by every member of the Confederacy at will. It was intended for 'Perpetual union' so expressed in the preamble, and for the establishment of a government, not a compact, which can only be dissolved by revolution, or the consent of all the people in convention assembled. It is idle to talk of secession. Anarchy would have been established, and not a government, by Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, Madison, and the other patriots of the revolution * * *. Still, a union that can only be maintained by swords and bayonets, and in which strife and civil war are to take place of brotherly love and kindness, has no charm for me. I shall mourn for my country and for the welfare and progress of mankind. If the Union is dissolved, and the Government disrupted, I shall return to my native State and share the miseries of my people, and save in defense, will draw my sword on none."

The letter, which we have just read, from General Lee tells how he stood. He was opposed to secession and regarded it as nothing but revolution. But General Lee, when the conflict became inevitable, became the leader of the military forces of the South. I can see him in his Gethsemane as the war clouds gather.

I know that General Lee was to the South as Moses was to Israel. I doubt if any greater tribute could be paid to General Lee than that paid him by Hon. Benjamin H. Hill, of Georgia. It is brief and I quote it:

"When the future historian comes to survey the character of Lee, he will find it rising like a huge mountain above the undulating plane of humanity, and he will have to lift his eyes toward heaven to catch its summit. He possessed every virtue of the great commanders, without their vices. He was a foe without hate, a friend without treachery, a private citizen without wrong, a neighbor without reproach, a Christian without hypocrisy, and a man without guilt. He was a Casar wihout his ambition, a Frederick without his tyranny, a Napoleon without his selfishness, and a Washington without his reward. He was obedient to authority as a servant, and loyal in authority as a true king. He was gentle as a woman in life; modest and pure as a virgin in thought; watchful as a Roman vestal in duty; submissive to law as Socrates, and grand in battle as Achilles."

The greatness of Gen. Robert E. Lee is now recognized by all people of all sections.

In order for us to have a proper appreciation of Mr. Lincoln it is necessary for us to have a proper understanding of his views and his acts and of the environment in which he lived and moved.

I have shown you that two of our greatest Americans—Washington and Jefferson, both southern men—favored the abolition of human slavery.

The Rev. Dr. John Newton, a noted Episcopal minister of London, England, about 75 or 100 years prior to the Civil War, published in book form some of his observations and experiences while engaged in the African slave trade.

Prior to his becoming a minister of the Gospel he had served in the capacity of an officer on an English vessel engaged in transporting and selling African slaves to the American Colonies and the West Indies. He tells of the evils growing out of the slave trade, some of which he says were too horrible for publication. He describes how the poor, ignorant male slaves were fastened in chains, bound hand and foot, and linked together in the lower part of the vessel, unable to move and without fresh air for weeks and weeks at a time. Sometimes they would die by the hundreds as the result of some kind of fever or some other sickness contracted while on board the vessel.

He recalls one occasion when 100 of the unfortunate slaves were thrown overboard into the sea to perish in order to save fresh drinking water for others. He recalls one occasion when the mate, an officer on a small vessel, became irritated at the cries of a baby in its mother's arms and finally in exasperation snatched the baby from its mother and threw it into the sea, leaving the poor mother to mourn and moan for her little child for days and weeks afterwards. And some of the impositions practiced upon the helpless female slaves were indeed unspeakable and unprintable. Such cruel practices as these were doubtless known to Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln.

I am speaking to you as a southern man, of southern birth, the son of a Confederate soldier named for Gen. Wade Hampton, one of the leaders of the Confederacy. No braver men ever stepped to martial music than the men who followed Lee and Jackson and Johnson. The bravery and courage of the Confederate soldier was only equaled by the bravery and courage of the men who followed Grant and Farragut and Sheridan and Thomas, who fought that our Republic might live.

It would seem that if our great American Republic is to endure that it would be a confederation composed of all the people regardless of section, a confederation of love and affection, a Union of loyalty and not disloyalty, a Republic of union and not disunion.

The oldest republic of which recorded history gives us any account is the Hebrew Commonwealth under the administration of Moses, one of the greatest, if not the greatest, lawgiver of all time. Then follows the ancient republics, including the Carthaginian Republic, the Lombard League, the Ionian League, the Athenian Republic, the Roman Republic, the Venetian Republic, the Florentine Republic, the Achaen League, the Beotian Confederacy, and the Aetolian League.

The Venetian Republic lived for about 1,300 years, having endured longer than any other of the ancient republics. The Florentine Republic lived for about 450 years, or the shortest lived of any of the ancient republics.

Therefore, if our own Republic should live for 300 more years, it will then only have lived as long as the life of the shortest of the ancient republics, the Florentine Republic.

It seems to me a difficult thing to appreciate a gift without appreciating the giver; a difficult thing to appreciate being rescued without appreciating the rescuer; a difficult thing to appreciate our great Republic without an appreciation of Abraham Lincoln who rescued and saved it.

A brief review of the record, as it is written, will only serve to increase your admiration and appreciation of Mr. Lincoln.

I believe Mr. Lincoln is his own best interpreter. I believe his papers, his writings, and his speeches reveal himself to us better than anything else.

I have not been able to find anywhere at any time, or in any place, any authentic statement that Mr. Lincoln ever advocated the abolition of slavery. He was opposed to slavery; he thought it a great moral wrong, but in all his speeches throughout his whole career from the time he entered public life until the Civil War, he stood for the Union, the Constitution, and the enforcement of the law. He had great respect for the Constitution—abhorring human slavery, he stood for the Constitution which sustained and supported it, but declaring always his opposition to its extension or its invasion of any free soil. He made his position clearly known in an address in Cincinnati in 1859 when he declared:

"I say that we must not interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists, because the Constitution forbids it and the general welfare does not require it. We must not withhold an efficient fugitive slave law, because the Constitution requires us, as we understand it, not to withhold such a law; but we must prevent the outspreading of the institution because neither the Constitution nor the general welfare requires us to extend it. The people of these United States are the rightful masters of both Congress and courts, not to overthrow the Constitution but to overthrow the men who pervert the Constitution."

One of Mr. Lincoln's greatest speeches was delivered at the Cooper Institute, New York, February 27, 1860. He had measured swords with the brilliant Stephen A. Douglas, and his speeches in that debate brought him into great prominence, so much so that the eastern Republicans wanted to see and hear him. He accepted an invitation to speak in Cooper Institute. His audience expected to hear a story-telling speaker. He disappointed them, entering into an immediate discussion of the greatest issue then before the people of the country. By his

earnestness and his sincerity he soon had his audience captivated. In the most kindly spirit he protested against the threat of the Southern States to dissolve and destroy the Union if they could not have their way in regard to slavery. I quote one short passage from that speech:

"Wrong as we think slavery is, we can yet afford to let it alone where it is, because that much is due to the necessity arising from its actual presence in the Nation; but can we, while our votes will prevent it, allow it to spread into the national Territories and to overrun us here in these free States? If our sense of duty forbids this, then let us stand by our duty fearlessly and effectively. Let us be diverted by none of those sophistical contrivances wherewith we are so industriously piled and belabored, contrivances such as groping for some middle ground between the right and the wrong, vain as the search for a man who should be neither a living man nor a dead man; such as a policy of 'don't care' about which all true men do care; such as Union appeals beseeching true Union men to yield to dis-Unionists, reversing the divine rule and calling not the sinners but the righteous to repentance."

Abraham Lincoln won the Republican nomination for President over William H. Seward in the wigwam in Chicago, where the Republican National Convention was held on May 16 to 18, 1860. The platform upon which he was nominated and elected provided briefly:

"1. That slavery must not be extended into the Territories and that it was the duty of Congress to exclude it therefrom by positive legislation.

"2. That it was not right to interfere with slavery in territory in which it then existed.

"3. That it was right to protect all persons in the exercise of their constitutional rights." (This was meant as assurance to the South that their slaves would not be taken away from them.)

This was the position which Mr. Lincoln had taken all along; the platform, according to his letter of acceptance, was thoroughly satisfactory to him. After a most exciting campaign he was elected.

On March 4th following he was duly sworn in, his old-time rival, Stephen A. Douglas, holding his hat while Mr. Lincoln delivered his inaugural address. It is important that all Americans, and especially all southerners, should hear these few lines from his address.

After all the only real democracy is a democracy of education, a democracy of intelligent information. There is no such thing as a democracy of blind ignorance. I believe it was Goethe who said that one of the prime requisites of genius was a passion to know the truth.

"Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."

No wonder the men of the South followed Lee and the men of the
North followed Grant.

I want you, if you will, to visualize Mr. Lincoln standing on the steps of the National Capitol at Washington at noon on March 4, 1861, and hear him as he uttered these words:

"Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that by the accession of the Republican administration their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that—

"I have no purpose directly or indirectly to interfere with the institution of slavery in the United States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so.

"Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations and had never recanted them; and more than this, they placed in the platform for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me, the clear and

emphatic resolution which I now read:

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

"'I now reiterate these sentiments, and in doing so I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible that the property, peace, and security of no section are to be in any wise endangered by the now incoming administration. I add, too, that all the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and the laws, can be given will be cheerfully given to all the States when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause, as cheerfully to

one section as to another."

And hear his earnest and sincere appeal from this same address:

"My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and well upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there be an object to hurry any of you in hot haste to a step which you would never take deliberately, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it. Such of you as are now dissatisfied still have the old Constitution unimpaired and, on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either. If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute, there still is no good reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land are still competent to adjust in the best way all our difficulty.

"In your hands, my dissatisfied countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the Government, while I shall have the most solemn one to 'preserve, protect, and

defend it.'

"I am loath to close. We are not enemies but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angles of our nature."

What a baptism of blood could have been avoided had his pleadings and his appeals been heeded? But, South Carolina had passed her ordinance of secession and when the Federal Government sought to provision Major Anderson and his men in Fort Sumter at Charleston Harbor, the fort was fired upon. State after State followed the example set by South Carolina and the Civil war was on.

On May 9, 1862, Maj. Gen. David Hunter, of the Federal Army at Hilton Head, S. C., took it upon himself to issue and did issue a proclamation declaring the slaves in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida to be forever free, these States at the time

comprising the military department of the South under charge of Major General Hunter.

President Lincoln, always honest, always fair, and always just, on the 19th day of May, or 10 days later, issued a proclamation, stating that he had no official knowledge of Major General Hunter's proclamation freeing the slaves in the States mentioned, but if true, it was without any authority whatever and utterly void. President

Lincoln further declared in his proclamation:

"I further make known that whether it be competent for me as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, to declare the slaves of any State or States, free, and whether at any time, in any case, it shall have become a necessity indispensable to the maintenance of the Government to exercise such supposed power, are questions, which, under my responsibility, I reserve to myself and which I can not feel justified in leaving to the decisions of commanders in the field. These are totally different questions from those of police regulations in armies and camps. On the 6th day of March last (1862), by a special message, I recommended to Congress the adoption of a joint resolution to be substantially as follows:

"Resolved, That the United States ought to cooperate with any State which may adopt a gradual abolition of slavery, giving to such State pecuniary aid, to be used by such State, in its discretion, to compensate for the inconveniences, public and private, produced by

such change of system.

"The resolution, in the language above quoted, was adopted by large majorities in both branches of Congress and now stands an authentic, definite, and solemn proposal of the Nation to the States and people most immediately interested in the subject matter. To the people of those States I now earnestly appeal-I do not argue-I beseech you to make the arguments for yourselves; you can not if you would be blind to the signs of the times. I beg of you a calm and enlarged consideration of them, ranging, if it may be, far above personal and partisan politics. This proposal makes common cause for a common object, casting no reproaches upon any. It acts not the Pharisee. The change it contemplates would come as gently as the dews of heaven, not rending or wrecking anything. Will you not embrace it? So much good has not been done by one effort in all past time as in the providence of God it is now your high privilege to do. May the vast future not have to lament that you have neglected it."

Nothing came of the above-adopted resolution, as none of the seceding States adopted measures providing for the abolishment of slavery, as

the resolution auggested.

And later, on September 22, 1862, President Lincoln issued a procla-

mation, containing among other things the following:

"That on the 1st day of January, 1863, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in open rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free, etc."

And then on December 1, 1862, after the issuance of the above proclamation, in a long message to the Congress of the United States President Lincoln earnestly urged the adoption of resolutions and articles amendatory to the Constitution of the United States providing for the issuance of United States bonds, to be delivered to any State in payment for the freedom of the slaves of that State, said State to abolish slavery "at any time or times before the 1st day of January, 1900."

President Lincoln made a long and earnest argument for the adoption of this amendment, stating how much blood and treasure it would save. He said:

"The plan is proposed as permanent constitutional law. It can not become such without the concurrence of, first, two-thirds of Congress, and afterwards three-fourths of the States. The requisite three-fourths of the States will necessarily include seven of the slave States. Their concurrence, if obtained, will give assurance of their severally adopting emancipation at no very distant day upon the new constitutional terms. This assurance would end the struggle now and save the Union forever."

None of President Lincoln's appeals, pleadings, or proposals were effective. Therefore, on January 1, 1863, in accordace with his previously announced purpose, he issued his famous emancipation proclamation, striking forever the chains of slavery from the black people of the South, declaring it to be a fit and necessary war measure for the suppression of the rebellion.

I give you the facts according to the official records at Washington.

All the time we find Mr. Lincoln working, pleading, and praying for peace.

Mr. Lincoln had his troubles in the North as well as in the South. He complained that his views and his policies were sometimes badly misunderstood or misrepresented in the North as well as in the South. He especially complained that the Boston Courier misrepresented him. And his letter to Horace Greeley, editor of the New York Tribune, in reply to Mr. Greeley's letter criticizing him, shows that Mr. Lincoln was not only a great statesman but a great philosopher as well. This letter will teach all of us a lesson in patience, forbearance, and kindness. Listen and hear how he handled Horace Greeley:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, Washington, August 22, 1862.

Hon. HORACE GREELEY.

DEAR SIR: I have just read yours of the 19th, addressed to myself through the New York Tribune. If there be in it any statements or assumptions of fact which I may know to be erroneous, I do not now and here controvert them. If there be in it any inference which I may believe to be falsely drawn, I do not now and here argue against them. If there be perceptible in it an impatient and dictatorial tone, I waive it in deference to an old friend whose heart I have always supposed to be right.

As to the policy I "seem to be pursuing," as you say, I have not meant to leave anyone in doubt. I would save the Union. I would save it the shortest way under the Constitution. The sooner the national authority can be restored the sooner the Union will be "the Union as it was." If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save llavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union and is not to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that.

What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do less whenever I believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do

more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause. I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors, and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views.

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

Yours.

A. LINCOLN.

As I emerged from Westminster Abbey in London last summer, I stood with uncovered head before the statue of Abraham Lincoln. As I stood there I wondered what human being could be so ungenerous or unjust as to withhold from this great man the tribute of praise to which he was so justly entitled, and what human being could become so embittered as to strike him down in death.

Was there ever a man clothed in human form more honest, more sincere, more earnest in his desire to deal fairly with all parties and all sections and save the Union? There is no doubt in my mind but that every time he struck a blow at the South for the preservation of the Union his heart bled. Indeed, his heart might well be compared to a great ocean with rivers of compassion and mercy flowing into it. That Mr. Lincoln was the best friend the South ever had, as well as the best friend the Nation ever had, all fair-minded men and women must agree when they know the record as it was really written.

Since Mr. Lincoln's untimely death numerous thrones of various kings and monarchs have trembled, tottered, and tumbled, never to rise again, but the gates of hell have not yet prevailed against our Republic which he died to save. And when you go home to-night I want all of you, if you are as courageous and brave as the men who followed Lee and the men who followed Grant—I want you to get down on your knees and whisper down, deep down, into the cold dead ear of Mr. Lincoln's honored dust—and tell him how thankful you are that the Great Republic which he died to save still lives.

Mr. Lincoln's letter to Mrs. Bixby reveals the character of the man. There is nothing finer or nobler than the sentiment expressed in this letter. Hear it:

"MY DEAR MADAM: I have been shown in the files of the War Department a statement of the adjutant general of Massachusetts that you are the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle. I feel how weak and fruitless must be any words of mine which should attempt to beguile you from a loss so overwhelming. But I can not refrain from tendering you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the Republic they died to save. I pray that our Heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom.

"Yours very sincerely and respectfully,

"A. LINCOLN."

And his speech at Gettysburg is a classic. It will be remembered as long as our Republic endures. I quote it:

"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 dedi-

cate a portion of that field as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that Nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

"But in a larger sense we can not dedicate—we can not consecrate—we can not 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."

The martyred President McKinley says that Mr. Lincoln was much impressed with the words printed on a silken flag which was presented to him just prior to his departure from Springfield to Washington. This inscription was taken from the first chapter of Joshua:

"Have I not commanded thee? Be strong and of good courage; be not afraid, neither be thou dismayed; for the Lord thy God is with thee, whithersoever thou goest. There shall not any man be able to stand before thee all the days of thy life. As I was with Moses, so shall I be with thee."

Upon my desk in the city of Washington I have a portrait of Mr. Lincoln, given me by some of my office associates, and immediately thereunder are some of his rules of human conduct, as follows:

"I am not bound to win, but I am bound to be true. I am not bound to succeed, but I am bound to live up to what light I have. I must stand by everybody that stands right; stand with him while he is right and part with him when he goes wrong."

The story of Mr. Lincoln's life has been often told, but like that of the Man of Gallilee, it never grows old.

Mr. Lincoln himself has told the story of his life much better than I can tell it. In brief and simple form he has told it from infancy to the time he became a great national character; at first declining and then demurring but finally yielding in 1859. To the pleadings of one who had urged him to give him the story of his life, Mr. Lincoln said:

"I was born February 12, 1809, in Hardin County, Ky. My parents were both born in Virginia, of undistinguished families—second families, perhaps I should say. My mother, who died in my tenth year, was of a family of the name of Hanks. My paternal grandfather, Abraham Lincoln, emigrated from Rockingham County, Va., to Kentucky about 1781 or 1782, where a year or two later he was killed by the Indians, not in battle but in stealth, when he was laboring to open a farm in the forest.

"My father, Thomas Lincoln, at the death of his father, was but 6 years of age. By the early death of his father and the very narrow circumstances of his mother, he was, even in childhood, a wandering, laboring boy, and grew up literally without education. He never did more in the way of writing than bunglingly to write his own name. He removed from Kentucky to what is now Spencer County, Ind., in my eighth year. It was a wild region, with many bears and other animals in the woods. There were some schools, so called, but no qualification was ever required of the teacher beyond 'readin', writin',

and cipherin' to the rule of three. If a straggler supposed to understand Latin happened to sojourn in the neighborhood he was looked upon as a wizard. Of course, when I came of age I did not know much. Still, however, I could read, write, and cipher to the rule of three. But that was all. The little advance I now have upon this store of education I have picked up from time to time under the pressure of necessity.

"I was raised to farm work-till I was 22. At 21 I came to Illinois, Macon County. Then I got to New Salem, where I remained a year as a sort of a clerk in a store. Then came the Black Hawk war; and I was elected a captain of a volunteer company, a success that gave me more pleasure than any I have had since. I went into the campaign, was elated, ran for the legislature the same year (1832), and was beaten-the only time I ever have been beaten by the people. The next, and three succeeding biennial elections, I was elected to the legislature. I was not a candidate afterward. During the legislative period I had studied law and removed to Springfield to practice it. In 1846 I was elected to the lower house of Congress. Was not a candidate for reelection. From 1849 to 1858, inclusive, practiced law more assiduously than ever before. Always a Whig in politics, and generally on the Whig electoral tickets, making active canvasses. was losing interest in politics, when the repeal of the Missouri Compromise aroused me again.

"If any personal description of me is thought desirable, it may be said that I am in height 6 feet 4 inches, nearly; lean in flesh, weighing on an average 180 pounds; dark complexion, with coarse black hair,

and gray eyes. No other marks or brands recollected."

There is the plain, simple, modest story as told by Mr. Lincoln himself. I think it would be interesting to you to hear a description of Mr. Lincoln as given by Col. A. K. McClure, of Pennsylvania, in 1861. Colonel McClure had been an ardent supporter of Mr. Lincoln, but had never known him personally; he therefore went to Springfield, III., to meet the President elect. Here is Colonel McClure's own story:

"I went directly from the depot to Lincoln's house," says Colonel McClure, "and rang the bell, which was answered by Lincoln himself opening the door. I doubt whether I wholly concealed my disappointment at meeting him. Tall, gaunt, ungainly, ill clad, with a homeliness of manner that was unique in itself, I confess that my heart sank within me as I remembered that this was the man chosen by a great Nation to become its ruler in the gravest period of its history. I remember his dress as if it were but yesterday-snuff-colored and slduchy pantaloons; open black vest, held by a few brass buttons; straight or evening dress coat, with tightly fitting sleeves to exaggerate his long, bony arms, all supplemented by an awkwardness that was uncommon among men of intelligence. Such was the picture I met in the person of Abraham Lincoln. We sat down in his plainly furnished parlor and were uninterrupted during the nearly four hours I remained with him; and little by little, as his earnestness, sincerity, and candor were developed in conversation, I forgot all the grotesque qualities which so confounded me when I first greeted him. Before half and hour had passed I learned not only to respect, but, indeed, to reverence the man.

What a fine inspiration it would be for every American boy, especially every poor boy, to visit the humble cabin home in which Mr. Lincoln was born in Kentucky.

Of course, Mr. Lincoln had his romances with the ladies when a young man. His first love was Ann Rutledge, and Mr. Lincoln was deeply grieved at her death.

Then a Miss Mary Owens, of Kentucky, attracted him and he became infatuated with her. But nothing came of it, and Mr. Lincoln finally married Miss Mary Todd, a well-educated, dashing young lady of one of the best families of Kentucky.

I am very sorry I have not the time to step into the beautiful garden of rhetoric and pick a few choice flowers for you ladies in regard to these various romances, but I must hurry on,

Some people have been unjust enough to say that Mr. Lincoln plunged our country into war; others have stated that he was without sympathy for the slaves in the South, and freed them to attack the women of the South. The record shows that both of the above statements are without any sort of foundation, utterly false and untrue in every respect, and could only be made as the result of prejudice or misinformation. The record shows that Mr. Lincoln had a horror of human slavery and exhausted every effort in seeking to avert the calamity of war.

If there is any one spot on the American Continent where Mr. Lincoln deserves a lasting monument above all others, it is on that very spot down yonder in the city of New Orleans where, when a boy, he witnessed the sale on the auction block of human slaves and which aroused his whole nature against the institution of slavery.

Ladies and gentlemen, God in His Providence moves in a mysterious way. He always supplies the man for the hour. Sometimes they come in single and sometimes in double column formation.

If we are searching the pages of history for a great law giver, we see in the dim distance the figure of Moses; if for a great prophet, it is old Isaiah; if for the founder of a great race, it is old Abraham; if for a great soldier, we see Alexander the Great, weeping for other worlds to conquer, or Hannibal, the mighty Carthagenian, knocking at the very gates of imperial Rome; if for a great scientist, it is Isaac Newton with his law of gravitation; if for a great astronomer, it is Copernicus of Galileo; if for a great philosopher, it is Socrates, Aristotle, or old Diogenes.

If you are looking for a great poet, it is Dante or Homer; if for a great historian, it is Gibbon or Hume or Macaulay; if for a great traveler, it is Marco Polo; and if for a great discoverer, it is our own Christopher Columbus.

If you are searching for a great musician, you hear the beautiful strains of Beethoven or Mozart; if for a great artist, you see Raphael's Madonna or The Last Supper by Leonardo or The Last Judgment by Michael Angelo; if it is a great statesman, you see the form of Bismarck or Disraeli or hear the voice of William E. Gladstone. If you are looking for the founder of a great nation, it is George Washington. But you may search all the pages of all the histories of all the countries on earth for all past time and you will find but one savior of a great Republic, and it is our own Abraham Lincoln.

I am about to close, and I want you to hear this quotation:

"Mind is the master power that molds and makes, And man is mind, and evermore he takes The tool of thought, and, shaping what he wills, Brings forth a thousand joys, a thousand ills; He thinks in secret, and it comes to pass; Environment is but his looking-glass."

We should not judge our fathers and our grandfathers too harshly because they tolerated human slavery. They were the victims of environment; and in deed and in truth environment is but a lookingglass.

In conclusion, let me say our country has been ever generous in its production of great men. I have great admiration for George Washington, the Father of Our Country, and many other great Americans; but to my mind Abraham Lincoln, the preserver and savior of our great Republic, surpasses them all. The spirit of that rugged man of sorrowful life and tragic death is a heritage and an inspiration to all our people, and touches alike the mansion and the cabin.

The greatest declaration ever made for human liberty, human rights, and human justice was the immortal emancipation proclamation of Abraham Lincoln in January, 1863, driving slavery forever from the soil of our great country. There is no other declaration in all history, from the very earliest dawn of authenticity, that even approaches this declaration for human freedom by Abraham Lincoln, save the declarations contained in Magna Charta, when the people wrested their rights from King John at Runnymede.

If I could send a message to-day to every boy and girl in my beloved country to point to them the upward paths of life, there are many great Americans, living and dead, whose footsteps I could bid them trace; but I should not fail to fix in their mental vision the path of glory that leads from the immortal rail splitter's cabin to the Olympus of eternal fame.

As a patriotic American, a son of the South, proud of our great country and its vast achievements, I reverently salute the memory of Abraham Lincoln, and give to-day the tribute of the South as I know it to exist in the hearts of her great people.

The name of Abraham Lincoln belongs to no section, but to the whole Nation and to the entire world. In every land and every clime where people love human freedom, human rights, and human justice their hearts and souls will ever thrill at the mention of his immortal name

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