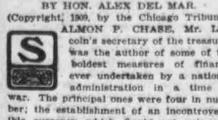
Inside History of the Fiscal Measures of the Lincoln Administration



war. The principal ones were four in numible currency which would not ruinously and supplies, were even greater. The \$2,000,000,000 of loans: the creation of a new Americans, but for the world at large, had system and the maintenance during four but merely a choice of cvils." years of the greatest armies and the most desperate war which the world has ever

These measures were described to me by tions, therefore, nearly always turned upon the finances. They took place of evenings, in his study, when the strain of the day's work had given place to postprandial re-

by personal contract with this illustrious statesman; I cannot revert to them without also remembering his strange victssitudes of fortune and the ingratitude of them. Mr. Chase, after handling billions in private that his salary scarcely sufficed to pay his household expenses.

His Unalloyed Patriotism.

veneration and affection. Notwithstanding tune of war." his ill timed yearnings for the presidency, his greatness of soul, his unalloyed pat- states was only about \$130,000,000! riotism, and his supreme confidence, which was it in the confederate states?" had manifested itself from the beginning of the civil war to the end of the reconmore glorious than ever.

States senator and as governor of Ohio. He was a candidate for the presidency in the republican national convention of 1860, and when Lincoln's nomination became imminent he threw his half a hundred votes to the winner.

The condition of the treasury at the outset of the civil war was most deplorable. I have heard Mr. Hartley and Mr. West, both of whom had been leading officers of the treasury for some twenty-five or thirty years, describe it almost with tears. The receipts from customs duties, almost the only source of revenue at that period, had fallen to \$39,000,000 a year. This was less than it had been ten years previously. The entire receipts, independent of loans, ent annual expenditures of New York City alone. Neither, Mr. Cobb, nor General Dix, nor Governor Chase could float a few millions of United States 6 per cent bonds at par, the bankers demanding 9, 10, and even 12 per cent, with the privilege at their time by paying the bonds into the tressury as cash for customs duties.

Bankers Exported Gold. They were not like the Doge Mocenigo. who, when Venice was threatened with war, placed his entire fortune at the service of the state, saying that if Venice fell his wealth would be no more worth to him. On the contrary, the moment trouble commenced, the metropolitan bankers made Governor Chase screwed \$50,000,000 out of them they all (with one honorable exception) went bankrupt and their "suspension" was followed by that of nearly every bank in the United States. They had openly exported \$120,000,000, and as there was no penalty for omitting to report exports of "specie" they had covertly exported almost as much again. It is a fair estimate to assume that their apprehensions had depleted the country of nearly \$200,000,000 of coins and bullion. Mr. Lincoin and his faithful minister battled with these conditions until the situation came to mean either defeat or greenbacks. As we shall presently see, greenbacks won the

It is evident, both from his speeches in the senate, the fiscal measures concerned with Mr. Lincoln, and his own earlier pubhe consideration of the financial situation, that Mr. Chase went into the treasury with the decermination to put an end to the monetary issues of private banks incorporated by the individual states. So early as midsummer, 1861, in a letter to Vice President Hamlin, he proposed a tax on "state" bank notes. At a later date in the same year he proposed "the organization should consist only of notes uniform in character, furnished by the government and secured, as to convertibility into coin by United States bonds deposited in the treasthe New York banks suspended. What occurred after suspension is best related

in Mr. Chase's own words:

Bankers Refused Bonds. "The government even at that early time the room a quarter a day, while the revenues did \$50,000,000 or \$60,000,000 of demand notes, pay- soldiers, what enabled the war to be car- learned, white people and colored people, able in coin and receivable for customs ried on until the union was restored, was north and south, how much the country as

(Copyright, 1909, by the Chicago Tribune.) convertible issues, whose value would de- tional bank system. One was as judis- will not say of mine, but of the Lincoln erous individuals in our own country depends upon the profits of trade." ALMON P. CHASE, Mr. Lin- pend solely upon their numbers or volume, pensible as the other. The result was that administration, as a whole, were proposed prompted large sacrifices upon evidences coln's secretary of the treasury, their usefulness and the integrity of the there never was a day when the treasury as auxiliary to the power to borrow money, of public and corporate indebtedness in our diffusion of the loans?" I asked. was the author of some of the government. I was well aware of the was not prepared to meet all demands," as an agency of the power to collect and markets, and large purchases of coln for boldest measures of finance dangers which lurk behind an inconvertible Here the judge sat down again, with the disburse taxes, and as an exercise of the remittance abroad or hearding at home. ever undertaken by a national currency; but the dangers in which the triumphant conclusion-"And that, I think, power to regulate commerce, and of the immense host for war without adequate say."

Lincoln's Ideas on Finance.

you on this subject?"

editor that I first came to know Mr. with the triumph of our arms and the this in order to note your reply." Washington, the fiscal measures of the to render them worth more than coin of the Lincoln administration. These conversa- same denomination; in other words, that than a dollar in coin. This view was supported by many eminent men in both houses of congress."

"It was the opinion of Ricardo, MacCul-I recall them with the pleasure afforded loch, Bastiat and other economists," I sug-

"That's all very well," rejoined Mr. Chase, facts, not with hypotheses. Whilst I might wheat crop. On the contrary, it is cur- "Is it a fair estimate that in 1861 there neglect of his country in not ameliorating have conceded the theory, I denied that the rency that should regulate trade and not were about \$20,000,000 in gold in the loyal of the public money and securities, died this the president agreed. There was no while the latter cannot, be fixed. Money tically the exception of a small balance in poor and in debt. He frequently complained certain way to limit the issues of incon- can be limited; trade is and ought to be the treasury, was exported during the folvertible notes. Therefore I always and lilimitable. Its tendency is to grow spas- lowing year?" upon all occasions held the convertibility of modically until it reaches the boundaries the notes in view; and if some people lost of distance, mechanical facilities and The society of Mr. Chase had long be- while others gained fortunes through the money. Its further tendency is to expand fore changed my original attitude of crit- decline in the notes and their subsequent to the boundaries of credit. In the abicism toward him into one of respect, rise in value, it could not be helped. For- sence of regulated money its still further

"You say, judge, that at the outbreak of it was impossible not to be impressed with the war the bank circulation in the loyal into ruin and bankruptoy." What

Bank Circulation in 1860.

"About \$40,000,000 in the southern states struction period, that the union would and \$12,000,000 to \$15,000,000 in the border emerge from all its trials stronger and states, making the entire paper circulation of the country about \$185,000,000. We made Within a month or six weeks after the careful inquiries on this subject and the election of Mr. Lincoln, Howell Cobb, then figures have remained strongly impressed office and cast his lot with the south, ment of the bank returns can afford no whereupon President Buchanan appointed adequate idea of the deplorable condition General John A. Dix of New York to fill of this paper currency. I have here a the vacant post. After Mr. Lincoln was memorandum which was prepared by the inaugurated as president he sent the names treasury for a member of congress who of his proposed cabinet to the senate, who took part in the debates on the subject. confirmed them all, including that of The whole number of banks in the United Lincoln, who, forty-six years ago last duced. In order to hold the negro in rate states of the same nation, the struggle Salmon P. Chase for secretary of the States, including those in insurrection, was month, signed the proclamation which set slavery it was necessary to keep him in treasury. Mr. Chase had served the coun- 1.492; say, for round figures, 1,500. Accord- my people free. try in many ways, latterly as a United ing to the "banknote reporters," there indifferent ones, so that it usually required brought back again-as we did sometimes- ple can undertake which is so ungrateful an expert to determine whether a note was dead. good or bad. Even when good, its value My mother was the cook on our planta- as that of holding down another individual who sold them at a profit to the employers It was my business to work these fans at out losing some time and some energy of labor, who in turn paid them to workingmen at par for wages. The workingmen paid them to the retailers from whom they purchased their household supplies, and the latter, in order to recoup themselves, charged 10 per cent more profit on own option to terminate the loan at any their goods than otherwise they would have been willing to accept. The system was vicious to the last degree, and, like all vicious systems, its chief burdens fell upon

"Do you remember what was the treasury estimate of gold and silver coins in the whole country at the outbreak of the war?" "Perfectly. The estimate varied from \$250,000,000 to \$300,000,000, of which \$100,000,000 were held by the banks. It was out of this haste to export their gold, so that when \$100,000,000 that I borrowed \$50,000,000 for the

Question of National Bank.

'Was it, or is it in contemplation to make the national bank system a stepping stone to a national bank of the United Stace?" The judge took some time before answering this question. He rose from his chair, took a turn or two about the room, then sat which I first heard it. down again and spoke slowly and deliber-

was quite conscious that such was its tendency. Was it Sully or Turgot who said way or other coupled with the name of of ours? The first words of the constitution established it beyond controversy: 'We the people of the United States,' not the states times pretty much the same thing. as entities, but the people of all the states. Such a social structure is national and it runs something as follows: inevitably demands a correspondingly national system of money. The circulation must fit the organs and vessels which are to carry it an the organs must correspond to the fluid which they are to distibute." "My point is, judge, was the national of banking associations whose circulation bank system which you originated designed to bring about or to hasten this corre-

"Neither one nor the other, but rather to conform to a correspondence created by ury." This plain intimation of the coming the constitution, but obstructed by the to which it referred was heaven. After the growth of corporations chartered by the war broke out, however, the slaves be states and permitted to exercise the na- gan to sing these freedom songs with tional prerogative of money."

"By the circumstances which arose out not amount to a tithe of that sum. The of the financial vicissitudes of the revolubankers would not accept the 5 per cent tion, permitted by a neglect and indifbonds of the United States at less than 20 ference that ripened into custom and preper cent discount; in other words, the best scription. When the civil war compelled the offer I could get was at the rate of \$40,000 - nation to act in its national capacity and 600 in coins for \$50,000,000 in bonds. To ac- especially as against some of the states cept the notes of the suspended banks for themselves, the utter incongruity and the revenues and employ them for expenditures serious defects of the state banking syswas out of the question, both because of tems at once became apparent. It was no their irredeemability, the varying dis- desire to centralize power that suggested counts at which they were current, and or promoted the national banking system, their inadequacy of volume. There were but simply necessity. The occasion descarcely more than \$150,000,000 of notes, manded enormous resources. Our commerce and much less than this sum in coins of all was curtailed, the revenues from customs kinds, curculating in the loyal states; and duties, the principal resource of the govno mechanical or credit devices then in ernment, were comparatively trifling. vogue could have sufficed to move this neither the war tariff not the internal fast enough to perform the ordi- revenue system were yet in effective operanary exchanges and at the same time to tion, foreign icans were tried but failed, ject. into and out of the treasury from and the only recource adequate to the 000 to \$2,000,000 per diem. The only emergency was domestic loans. It was to addate resource was greenbacks; to be float these that the national bank system red and gradually supplanted by a was, I will not say designed, but framed; circulation under federal regulation and the success of the measure is its best and control. We had already issued some defense. Next to the patriotism of our

and consumption. To regulate currency by fect its value, whenever congress shall see trade itself would be like regulating the fit to exercise that power for that pursize of the bushel by the amplitude of the pose." tendency is to soar into the boundless realms of speculation, there to collapse

administration in a time of country stood of having to marshal an is more than either Sully of Turgot could power to regulate the value of coin. Of cumstances tending to an advance in gold, the two first sources of power, nothing speculators employed all the arts of the ber; the establishment of an incontrovert- arms, ammunition, horses, accountrements Government Regulation of Currency. need be said. The argument relating to "While they are obliged to admit the them was long since exhausted, and is well carry the premium to the highest point. depreciate; the successful floating of nearly union, which meant so much not only for necessities created by the war your critics known. Of the other two, it is not needcontend that the only justification for your ful to say much. If congress can prescribe and untried national banking system in to be saved. The act of February 25, 1982, fiscal measures was their adventitious suc- the stricture, equipment, and management place of a long established state banking was not the adoption of a permanent policy, cess-in short, that they amounted to a of vessels to navigate rivers flowing belucky stroke and cannot be defended upon tween or through different states as a either economical or constitutional grounds, regulation of commerce, congress may as-"Was Mr. Lincoln in perfect accord with For example, they insist that the govern- suredly determine what currency shall be ment had no constitutional power to regu- employed in the interchange of their com-"Mr. Lincoln went further than I did," he late the volume of form to the require- n odities, which is the essence of comthe author himself. It was as a financial replied. "He entertained the notion that ments of trade. Of course, I only mention merce. Statesmen who have agreed in littie else have concurred in the opinion that Chase; it was as a financial officer of the restoration of peace, the strength of the Judge Chase here crossed his legs, put up the power to regulate coin is, in substance government that I again met him, when he government, the wealth of its resources, the the fingers of both hands to meet in a and effect, a power to regulate currency, lived in E street, and it was as a financial extent of its trade and the prudence of sort of arch and replied without hesitation, and that the framers of the correctness of this view, author that, after he had been appointed congress in limiting the issues would be "Leaving the volume of the currency to to intended. It may well enough be ad- lar diffusion of the bonds; and, third, to could be suggested. The successful placing to the chief justiceship, I discussed with sufficient to bring the greenbacks to par, be determined by the demands of trade," mitted that while congress confines its the establishment of the national bank note of 400,000,000 of 5.20s in 1863 distributed him at his new residence in H street, and, provided they were not excessive, even said he, "is a fallacy and was one of the regulation to weights, fineness, shape and system. I was all along opposed to any throughout the whole country not in possessdefects of the state banks system. Currency device, banks and individuals may issue further issues of legal tenders than what sion of the confederates amply justified is a measure of value and in order that it notes for currency in competition with under given circumstances a dollar in shall measure value with precision, cer- cein. But it is difficult to conceive by irredeemable paper might be worth more tainty and equity it should, like other what process of logic the unquestioned measures, be fixed not indeed absolutely, power to regulate coin can be separated but in reference to some obvious, certain, from the power to maintain or restore its and well recognized mark of trade-such, circulation, by excluding from currency all for example, as the growth of population private or corporate substitutes which af-

circumstances rendered it practicable and in trade currency, because the former can, states alone, the whole of which, with prac-

Coin Was Withdrawn.

loval states at \$210,000,000 and that in Nodemonetized and actually withdrawn from of new money?" use as currency or as basis for currency. The ignorant fears of foreign investors in has entered the circulation and raised Banque Royale (John Law's bank) or the Ingratior Roma!

Taking advantage of these and other cirmarket to stimulate that tendency and That point, however, was always a fletitious one. How much of the coin withdrawn from public view was exported we had no means to determine with any precision."

"To what particular measures of administration do you especially attribute the success of the immense and oft repeated loans you negotiated in 1863 and 1864?"

"First, in the discretion which congress reposed in the secretary of the treasury to choose his time for issuing greenbacks and were absolutely necessary.

everybody knew that I held by it and indevice usually floated the loan. On one occasion, when the New York bankers hesitated, I told them that unless they accepted my terms I would go back to Wash-"I can only say," replied Judge Chase, ington and issue such a flood of green-"that in November, 1861, we estimated the backs that it would soon cost them \$1,000 eral progress were never before and have considered in the banks and in circulation in the to buy a breakfast. Then I got the money." never been since so active and beneficial." Yet

"Yes; but only until the new currency

dues. We were now to embark upon in- first the greenbacks and second the na- tinued the judge, "the fiscal measures, I national and state bonds and other unm- prices. Permanently, the rate of interest French revolutionary assignate and man-What agencies were employed to secure

revenue officers and postmasters, to distribute the seven-thirties. At the outset it worked fairly well, but for reasons which need not be enlarged upon the plan had to be abandoned. After being satisfied that the capitalists were not rich enough to take all that necessity obliged us to offer. we turned again to the people, that exhaustless and unfalling source of every kind of satisfaction. (You are, of course, aware that I was formerly a democrat and that demos mean the people.)

Employs Jay Cooke.

banker of integrity and experience, as the person who, so far as I knew, appeared to be best qualified for the task. He was interest bearing legal tenders; second, to to go ahead. Of course, the treasury lent both the plan and the choice of an agent. I know of no parallel to this financial achievement. Meanwhile the national bank "The principle was my sheet anchor and system was absorbing the loans in another direction. It began by practically sweeping tended to hold by it so long as the cable away the entire state banks' circulation, would bear the strain. When an issue of converting an equal amount of capital into bonds became imperative I consulted the United States bonds and locking up the bankers. If they refused me, I issued such bonds in the treasury as security for the tion and again demand expenditures beyond an additional amount of currency as tended new circulation notes, thus taking them revenue, that day will, however, come at to make money cheap and lower the cur- out of the market. As the process conrent rater of interest to the point where tinued it passed beyond the boundaries of be retained on low interest at that amount, the seven-thirties, sixes, or fives of the the state banks' circulation until it ab- or some other security for circulation may government commanded a premium. This serbed several hundred millions of bonds, be devised, or, possibly, the vast supplies 000,000, and this, too, while a tremendous civil war was being waged and without injuring the business or prosperity of the

"Are you of the opinion, judge, that the "Judge, how do you account for the fact vember, 1862, the coin had been essentially rate of interest is affected by the supplies that the inconvertible greenback currency continental currency, the notes of the so much as a tombstone over them.

Said Judge Chase: "The attitude of congress, of the president, of the secretary of "My first plan was to employ a vast num- the treasury, in short of the entire governber of agents in innumerable places, chiefly ment, afforded the fullest assurance, that the notes would be paid at their face value in coin; they werde made receivable at par for bonds, the interest of which was payable in coin; a coin sinking fund was maintained; and the customs duties were always required to be paid in coin."

> "But did not the high premium on gold prove that these assurances were but lightly esteemed?"

"No," replied the judge. "It is a mistake to assume that the premium on gold correctly represented the depreciation of the greenbacks or the popular estimation "I employed Mr. Jay Cooke, an Ohio of the probability of their redemption in coin. The market supply of coin was not free, but largely controlled by enemies of placed under adequate bonds and directed the country abroad and by speculators at home. I could supply unquestionable evi-Meanwhile," concluded he, with a smile, "you may accept my emphatic declaration that such was the case."

I end these few memoirs of Chief Justice Chase with a quotation from one of his communications to congress in 1862. It seems almost prophetic:

"No early day will probably witness the reduction of the public debt to the amount required as a basis for secured circulation. Should no future wars arrest reduclast. When it shall arrive the debt may These various means enabled me to raise of our rich mines may render all circuladuring my term of office upward of \$1,700,- tion unadvisable except gold and the absolute representatives and equivalents, dollar for dollar, of gold in the treasury, or on safe deposit elsewhere. But these considerations may be for another genera-

Yet to this day the honorable remains of this great statesman and stanch patriot lie never fell into the ruinous condition of the buried in a Cincinnati graveyard, without

Estimate of Abraham Lincoln by a Former Slave

"As to the constitutional power," con-

were of this number only 250 whose issues heard the name of the great emancipator none but the poorest and most expensive were not counterfeited. The number of were these: When the war broke out I labor, but what was worse, to use all its kinds of altered notes was no less than was a small boy on a plantation in Frank- higher intellectual, moral, and religious 3,000; of imitation, 1,80); and of spurious lin county, in the southwestern corner of energies in defending, before the world, notes, 1,680; altogether 6,540 different kinds Virginia. We were living in a remote its right to hold another race, not merely of bad notes. Of the genuine notes there part of the country and, although the in a condition of ignorance, but of moral were over 7,000 various kinds-some exe- war was going on all around us, we saw and spiritual degradation. cuted by good artists, but most of them by little of it except when we saw them There is no task that individual or a peo-

> the first work I ever did. As a result, however, I was present at all the meals and tion. heard all the conversation that went on there. Incidentally I heard a great deal Under the influence of slavery the south I heard there was one name that stuck fast izing influences of the world. in my memory and that was the name of encountered at the "big house." which with different significance in the cabins of

Many a night before the dawn of day 1 have been awakened to find the figure of praying that "Marse Lincoln" might suc-

Attracted by Lincoln

Among the masses of the negro people "Although such was not my design. I on the plantations during the war all their dreams and hopes of freedom were in some system of money also depends upon the thoughts of freedom, I suspect they fresocial structure. Now what is this structure quently confused the vision of the Savior with that of the emancipator, and so salvation and freedom came to mean some-There is an old plantation hymn that

We'll soon be free,
We'll soon be free,
We'll soon be free,
When de Lord will call us home.
My brudder, how long,
My brudder, how long,
'Fore we done sufferin' here?
It won't be long,
It won't be long,
'Fore de Lord will call us home.

When that song was first sung the freedom of which it speaks was the freedom that comes after death, and the "home"

have quoted. Richmond immediately after it had been evacuated by the confederate armies the colored people, to whom it seemed almost as if the "last day" had come, greated the strange, kindly figure of the president as if he had been their Savior instead of merely their liberator.

There is a story of one old aunty who had a sick child in her arms when the president presed through the city. The child was alarmed at the surrounding riot, and was crying to come home, but the good woman self in order to accomplish the same ob-

"See, yeah, honey," she would say, look at de flavior, an' you will get well. Touch the hem of his garment, honey, an' yur pain will be done gone."

How Much It Owes Him. As the years have gone by we have all

a whole owes to the man who liberated laws can among friends? Suppose you go igan were formed, was largely settled by farther away other objects sink into inpeople who lived on or near as the system frequently was in the case again upon you." the Virginia plantation where I of the black man, the white man suffered was born, was that of Abraham quite as much from the evils that it proignorance. The result was that the south continue. Had it been possible to put an The circumstances under which I first condemned itself, not merely to employ

and so certain, in the long run, to fail, meal time and that, as I remember, was that might otherwise have been used in raising itself higher in the scale of civiliza-South Out of Touch.

about the causes and progress of the war, was fast getting out of touch and sympathy and though I understood very little of what with all the generous, upbuilding, and civil-

Abraham Lincoln, in giving freedom to Abraham Lincoln. The reason that I re- the black man, who was a slave, gave it at membered this name more than the others the same time to the white man, who was was because it was the one name that I free. He not merely loosened the enslaved forces of nature in the southern I heard repeated in different tones and states, but he emancipated the whole United States from that sectional and fratricidal hatred which led the white man in the south to look upon his brother in the north as an enemy to his section and himself, enemy not merely to the nation, but also Slave Hound of Illinois." ceed and that some day I might be free. to mankind. I have had some experience Under these circumstances the name of of physical slavery, and I have known, too, Indiana and Illinois, Wisconsin and Mich- near you. But as you move farther and who are down, but struggling to rise, Lincoln made a great impression upon me what it is to hate men of another race, and I never forgot the circumstances under and I can say positively that there is no form of slavery which is so degrading as that which leads one man to hate another because of his race, his condition, or the color of his skin.

All these things did not seem to clear to us before the war as they do now, and yet that the structure of society depended Lincoln. When the slaves sang those rude there have always been people in the south largely upon its system of money?" I con- plantation hymns, in which thought of who clearly saw the evils of slavery and tend that they are reciprocal; that the heaven and salvation were mingled with opposed them. If the times had permitted these men in the south to look calmly upon the course of events, they would have found themselves in close sympathy with Abraham Lincoln. Now that the exciteaway, not merely these men, but many others in the south, are beginning to see that during the whole course of the civil must settle down side by side as fellow citizens of the one indivisible republic.

Let Us Judge Not. Some one who was present when IIncoin heard the news of Lee's surrender said that Jeff Davis ought to be hung. greater vehemence, and they gained a new The president in reply quoted from his not judged." This was said at the close his command in readiness for action. of the war when the whole north was aflame with the news of victory. A year before, however, he had said in his jocular near Yellow tavern and prepare it for reway, "We should avoid planting and culti- view by President Lincoln. All through the war he saw, what southern statesmen either shut their eyes to or failed to see, that even had the south won in the war the old struggle between freedom and slavery would have gone on just the same, under other banners and other battle cries.

"Physically speaking," he said, in his first inaugural address, "we cannot sepakept trying to get the child to gase at the rate. We cannot remove our respective president, which she was afraid to do, and sections from one another, nor build an she would try to turn the child's fiend in impassible wall between them. A husband that direction, and would turn around her- and wife may be divorced and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of one another; but the different parts of our country cannot do this. They cannot but face to face, and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. It is impossible, then, to make that ercourse more advantageous. or more stisfactory, after separation than before. Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make lawe? Can treaties be

secretary of the treasury, resigned his high on my memory. But a mere formal state- (Copyright, 1909, by the Chicago Tribune.) the slaves. There is no one now, north or to war, you cannot fight always, and when southerners who were opposed to slavery, eignificance and it looms large and serene HEN I look back it seems to me south, who believes that slavery was a after much loss on both sides and no gain These men remained southerners in senti- above them. For the first time you see the that almost the first name I good thing, even for those who seemed to on either you cease fighting the identical ment and tradition. They did not cease to mighty edifice in its true proportions. learned, aside from those of the profit most by it; but hard and cruel old question as to terms of intercourse are love the south because they had gone into

Was Bound to Continue. Whether as separate nations, or as sepa-

between freedom and slavery was bound to

end to the conflict over slavery, between the people of the northern and people of the southern states, it would soon have broken out again within the southern states themselvese. It should never be forgotten that there was always a minority in the south which openly or in silence opposed slavery. After 1830, when the abolition agitation sprang up-in the north and it came to be considered a sort of treason in the south to lend any sort of favor to abolition sentiments, the opinions against connection of Lincoln with the south and slavery were no longer openly expressed in with southern anti-slavery sentiment, bevaried to inverse ratio to its distance from tion and as I grew up and was able to or another race that is trying to rise. It is the south, but the opposition to slavery did cause there are men in the south today the place of issue. Some good notes of the make myself useful my work was to attend not possible, you know, for an individual not cease. Thousands of people who sub- who are working, sliently and earnestly, middle western states were quoted in New my master's table at meal time. In the to hold another individual down in the mitted to the consorship that was at that still in the spirit of these elder generation York at only 95 per cent of their face value, dining room there was an arrangement by gutter without staying down there with time imposed upon the open expression of of anti-slavery men, in order to complete and some equally good notes of the southwhich a number of fans that hung to the him. So it is not possible for one race to opinion, sliently evaded the laws, and upon the work that Lincoln began. In a certain western states were quoted even lower. There was and feelings to the table could be moved devote a large share of its time and atten-

> colonize this class of citizens abroad. Southerner by Birth. not be forgotten that Lincoln was a south-

abolitionist.

voluntary exile from it. In a certain sense it is true, therefore, that the abolition movement of the middle west, which Lincoln represented, was the moral sentiment of the south turned against its own peculiar institutions. It was not the opposition of strangers nor of allens in tradition and sentiment that the south met in Lincoln and in the anti-slavery people of Indiana, Ohio, Kentucky and Illinois from whom he sprang. It was to a large degree the opposition of southerners to that institution of the south that not only endangered the union of the states, but was

slowly and insidiously destroying the south.

Are Direct Inheritors. I think it is important to point out this where rect inheritors of that moral sentiment of their freedom was assured. This is shown the south, which, as I have sought to sugby the fact of the constantly increasing gest, was represented by Abraham Lin- to honor and revere his memory. To the number of "free negroes," both in the coin and the southern anti-slavery men of south he appears, as I have said, no longer in spite of the efforts that were made to the middle west.

the country have learned to look with al- tions of the north he is the preserver of the No one knew these facts better than Lin- of the civil war. Many things that seemed coin. He mentions them in his debates of overshadowing importance forty or fifty for all time the liberator of their race. In with Douglas. In this connection it should years ago now look small and insignificant. Many persons who were in the foreground erner by birth. If he did not share the then have now moved into the background. prejudices of the southern people he at Looking at these persons and events from least understood and sympathized with a distance, as usually happens, they look them. In his debate with Douglas he spoke smaller and less significant. There is only as a southerner rather than as a northern one figure that seems to grow constantly bigger and more impressive as the years The extreme abelitionists of the eastern go by. It is with a really great man as it states were frequently violently opposed to is with a lofty tower standing in the midst him. Because of his attitude on the fugi- of a crowded city. As long as you are near my dear mother bending over me as I lay and led the white man in the north to tive slave law. Wendell Phillips wrote an it there are a multitude of smaller and huddled up in a corner of the kitchen, look upon his brother in the south as an article entitled "Abraham Lincoln, the more animated scenes and objects that dis-

He Looms Large. As it is with the tower in the city, so it

is has been with Abraham Lincoln, Year by year he looms larger above the horizon of our national life-a great, serene; beneficent figure-which seems to stretch its arms out to us, saying of that war as he did at Gettysburg: "It is for us, the living, rather to be dedi-

cated to that unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly ndvanced. 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 and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

Although each portion of the American people still look at Abraham Lincoln from a believe, that the whole country has learned as an enemy, but a wise and sincere friend northern and southern states, and this, too, As the years have passed all sections of To the people who have inherited the traditered views upon the men and the issues union, the second founder of the nation, but to the negro people he will remain the eyes of the excited and ecstatic freedmen at the close of the war Lincoln appeared not merely as a great man, but as a personal friend; not merely an emancipator, but a savior. I confess that the more I learn of Lincoln's life the more I am disposed to look at him much as my mother and those early freedmen did, not merely as a great man, not merely as a statesman, but as one to whom I can certainly turn for help and inspiration-as a great moral leader, in whose patience, toltract your attention and you get only the erance and broad human sympathy there The northwest territory, of which Ohlo, most distorted idea of the lofty structure is salvation for my race, and for all those

views-at Balley's Cross Roads, a few

miles out from Washington; after Antie-

tam, and opposite Fredericksburg-but they

had not impressed me as the last one did.

During the review an artillery duel be-

tween contending armies began. Beores of

As the president's carriage completed the

Four days later the closing campaign of

that army began; two weeks from that

from Appotation came the assassination

Tow fondly he and his soldiers were look-

ing for the end of the war which then

seemed so near. But the end found 1,000,000

fighting men in mourning, most of them

weeping like children at a parent's grave,

because their great, wise, brave, loving

Lincoln's Last Review of an Army Corps

ROUS. RETIRED.

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24, 1565. Before daylight the morning of the 25th General John B. Gordon's large confederate force surprised the Ninth corps in the south had no more sincere front of Petersburg, captured Fort Steadfriend than the abolitionist president of the man and many prisoners before he was United States, Abraham Lincoln. He, at checked and driven back with great loss least, never forgot, during all the long and in killed, wounded and prisoners. The atbloody struggle, that a time was coming tack was one of the most daring and skillwhen the men who fought for the south ful made on either side in the great war. and the men who fought for the union Had it been successful the Army of the the end of the seat nearest the soldiers. Potomac would have been cut in two and Tad, his youngest son, a little fellow, rode

The Second, Fifth and Sixth corps were immediately ordered under arms to be ready to move to the aid of the Ninth corps should two rods in front of the troops, thus giv- newest recruit, broke out in cheers without it need help. The Fifth corps had marched ing us a good chance to see our great "Permitted by whom?" and more definite meaning. To such an inaugural address, "Let us judge not that three miles in the direction of the battle commander-in-chief at close range, and Here the judge took another turn about extent was this the case that in George- we be not judged." Another said that the when an alde informed General Warren, the him an opportunity to look into the faces town, S. C., it is said that negroes were sight of Libby prison forbade mercy. "Let commander, that the enemy had been re- of men who for nearly four years had put in jail for singing the song which I us judge not." he repeated, "that we be pulsed, and directed him to halt and hold been helping him to preserve the union. Soon after noon General Warren was ordered to march his corps to a -rge field had fought at Bull Run, Antictam, Fred- closing review came Appomatox; five days

to the union cause.

vating too many thorns in the bosom of The president, General Meade and a cabi Petersburg while the battle was still on. The train was met by an ambulance, in which the president, Mr. Steward and Colonel Ruggles of Meade's staff were seated for a ride over the battlefield. Mr. Lincoln asked many questions, and among "What would have happened if General Lee had won and pushed his army through the union army?" "I think you would have been hurried down the James river and to Washington to escape capture." said Ruggles. "Not as bad as that, I hope, for I'm getting a good rest with the army." He asked to be driven to the field, where there were three or four thousand confederate prisoners. Among the prisoners were for many colored men, servants, cooks, hostiers, etc. Mr. Lincoln viewed the men in gray for a moment and broke the silence "Yes, colonel, there they are, in with:

cheers that meant something, not pumped When the Fifth corps were paraded for up applause.

give final instructions and let the troops dear old president, each one paying him the highest honor it could on a review. know who was going to review them.

The announcement that Mr. Lincoln was How vivid the scenes come back to me RESIDENT LINCOLN, one of coming to lock them over just before the down through the nearly forty-four eventtwo members of his cabinet and spring campaign was to open, brought ful years since that impressive war event-Generals W. T. Sherman and forth a roar of cheers, such as only men since Lincoln's last review of the army George T. Meade were at Geli- of a seasoned army can give. One of the corps. I had seen him in three other reeral Grant's headquarters, City orders was that each brigade should stand Point, Va., the night of March at "present" until the president had passed it, and then come to an "order." after which, at the call of the brigade commander, three cheers and a tiger" were to be given for the commander-inchief.

cannon roared, the white clouds from the exploding shells hung all along the Second The ambulance had been exchanged for a corps' front, and some of the flying pleces fashionable two-borse open carriage before sang saucy songs for the reviewer and the reaching our corps. The president sat in reviewed. undoubtedly great disaster would have come a black pony close to the carriage. drive, wheeled, and the horses started in a The reviewing party, which consisted of the rapid trot on the return trip to General Mead's headquarters, General Warren's president. General Meade, Secretary 25,000 soldiers, from major generals to the Seward, and little Tad Lincoln, rode about orders, and they kept-it up until Mr. Lincoln had passed the last brigade. Most of the time the president was standing, waving his hat and smiling. What a happy event it was. What a joyous parting.

There were twelve brigades in the corps and about 25,000 soldiers, the most of whom ericksburg, Chancellersville, Gettysburg; with Grant from the Wilderness down through Spottsylvania, North Anna and net minister left City Point on a special for Cold Harbor to Petersburg, and from there to Weldon Railroad and Hatcher's Run. As the president's carriage approached

the right of a brigade the commander gave the commands: "Attention!" der, arms!" "Present, arms!" Slowly, with his high hat held in his left hand, the president passed down the line to the brigade's left, his eyes seemingly glued on tained a crasy man who never missed a the bronzed faces before him. Then came march or battle, but he was sure to do these commands: "Shoulder, arms!" Order, strange and out of the place things. As arms!" "Now, all together, three cheers the president's carriage was opposite this for the president." Some of the commanders amended this by calling for cheers for "Father Abraham." One called for cheers stopped he dropped on his knees and began until the war is over-the man we love." How the sober, sorrowful face brightened his feet when Mr. Lincoln raised his hand

leader was not rejoicing with them. One more incident of the never-to-be-forgotten review should be mentioned. One of the companies of a western regiment concompany the crasy man left the ranks and fairly flew to the carriage and when it "Uncle Abe, the man we'll stand by to pray to Mr. Lincoln. His captain rushed after him and was about to pull him to when he heard those soldiers give cheers and said, "Never mind, captain, it may he knew there was loyal heart in - comfort him and it noss not bother me. J. A. WATROUS