Horace White on a Critical Period in Life of the Republican Party

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HE critical period in the life of Abraham Lincoln and in the history of the United States was embraced in the four he was the chief barrier against any sur-

render of the principles upon which he erect and firm, while if he failed none of

At Springfield, Ill., on November 20, 1800, ered by Lincoln. there was a celebration of the election of Palmer and Richard Yates. Mr. Lincoln history. They embrace the last words that out by a resolution offered by a fellow words: ing surges of disunion at the south, but he thought that the time for him to speak had not yet come. He wished to let his desired that the influence of this public meeting at his home should be peaceful and not irritating. To this end he wrote the following words and privately handed them to Trumbull, and asked him to make them a part of his own speech;

"I have labored in and for the republican organization with entire confidence that whenever it shall be in power each and all of the states will be left in as complets control of their own affairs, reistration. Those who have voted for Mr. guard well their suffrages that although of reconstruction on the basis of amnesty, what Mr. Taft says today. and they would not have voted for him had they expected otherwise. I regard it as extremely fortunate for the peace of the whole country that this point, upon which the republicans have been so long and so persistently misrepresented, is now brought to a practical test and placed beyond the possibility of a doubt. Disunionists per se are now in hot haste to get out of the union, precisely because they perceive they cannot much longer maintain an apprehension among the southern people that their homes and firesides are endangered by the action of the federal government. With such 'Now or military preparations in the south. It will curred in the midsummer of 1863. people the more easily to suppress any uprisings there which those misrepresentations of purpose may have encouraged." These words were incorporated in the newspapers, and the manuscript in Lincoln's handwriting is still preserved. Letters to Trumbull.

The following letters from Lincoln throw light on his attitude toward compromise after the election:

(PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL) "Springfield, Ill., Dec. 10, 1860.-Hon. L. Trumbull: My Dear Sir-Let there be no compremise in the question of extending slavery. If there be, all our labor is lost, and ere long must be done over again. The dangerous ground-that into which some of our friends have a hankering to run-is popsov. Have none of it. Stand firm. The tug has come; and better now than any time hereafter. Yours as over.

"A. LINCOLN." MS. (CONFIDENTIAL.)

man Trumbull: My Dear Sir-Yours in not respond simultaneously, but in a sort printion act of March, 1867, which unnoticed each and the concurrent action of the exclosing Mr. Wade's letter, which I herewith of rotation or procession, governed by the unsuspicious president, deprived him lating national government." Answerdo prove false and fix up a compromise the articles affected. Acting upon this sug- and made him practically a state "suspect," language. again- that is all. It is but repetition for on the subject. All of these works are the day when the inpeachment was deme to say I am for an honest enforcement long since out of print and forgotten, al- feated in the senate and the persecuted included.

"Mr. Gilmer of North Corolina wrote me and I answered confidentially, inclosing my letter to Governor Corwin, to be delivered not, as he might deem prudent. I now inclose you copy of it. Yours as ever. "A. LINCOLN." MS.

(CONFIDENTIAL)

"Springfield, Ill., Dec. 22, 1890.-Hon. Lyman Trumbull: My Dear Sir-Thurlow Wood was with me nearly all day yesterday and left at night with three short resolutions which I drew up and which, or the substance of which, I think would do much good if introduced and unanimously supported by our friends. They do not touch Washington with them, and says he will, first of all, confer with you and Mr. Halmy name be known in the matter. "Yours as ever

"A. LINCOLN." MB. Only One Approved.

that no future amendment should be made ould "review" their personal liberty awa. Only the first one met the approval

"Springfield, Ill., Dec. 24, 1860.-Hon. Lybe able to offer Mr. Blair a place in the cabinet, but I cannot as yet be committed on the matter to any extent whatever.

"Dispatches have come here two days in succession that the forts in South Carolina confederate privateers. will be surrendered by order, or consent at least, of the president. I can scarcely believe this, but if it proves true I will, if our friends in Washington concur, announce publicly at once that they are to preparations will proceed somewhat on this ide as well as on the other. Yours as ever, were most ample and satisfactory.

Lincoln had communicated his views to Seward both by letter and through Thur- The delegation applauded the president's low Weed, and it seemed probable that remarks, especially where he emphasized Beward was thus restrained from following his determination to punish the authors of restore and extend the Missouri compro- versally declared that Mr. Johnson at a his speech of January 31, 1861, was that the wishes of the people and borne himself liberty was no longer in danger, because, with great dignity, propriety and credit. It as he said, there were only twoney-four was over and over again boasted that in line of M degrees, 30 minutes, and west vided for the assumption of the presidential a statement of the adjutant general of Masof the Missouri boundary, embracing more office by the vice president, in the case sachusetts that you are the mother of five the Dred Scott decision, all United States the republic had made the best possible of battle. I feel how weak and fruitless territory was slave territory if anybody provision for such a calamity as that which must be any word of mine which should

Influences That Worked Together to Bring About Results of Lasting Benefit

opposition to slavery there? Mr. Seward to understand each other, it was as though invasions and to execute the fugitive slave satisfactory to the people of the south tion it depends to restore peace and perdid not address himself to this branch of the men on either side were looking at an law. This scheme Davis considered a quack had been elected. This belief is well the subject. The effect of his speech, how object through glasses of different color, remedy and he declared that he could not the hearts of the northern people, you of the minority section rests the duty to had received telegraph dispatches from the might burn your statute books and we maintain our equality and community must have been the principal one, because people that he would vote for the Critten- shiping different gods. Typical of the dis- employment of force to bring about a conhe alone could keep all the other barriers den measure in the end. That he did not putants were Jefferson Davis and Lyman dition of security which ought to exist vote on it at all must be ascribed to the Trumbuil, men of equally strong convic- without force. The present want of sethe others would have been of any avail fact that he knew that no compromise on tions and high breeding, and moved equally curity, he contended, could not be cured by and not fraternity now exists in the hearts trol." the territorial question would be consid- by love of country as they understood the an armed patrol, but only by a change of of the people that they are looking to their This was an explicit confirmation of what The pages of the Congressional Globe of which were on the general subject of de- union toward the minority section. Upon powers for their own protection. If there year earlier, had said was the chief dif- not to take any action at present. He said Lincoln and Hamlin, at which speeches 1800-61 make the two most intensely inter- bate and one his farewell to the senate. this text he argued in a dispassionate way be any good then which we can do it is ficulty of the north: "We must not only he would rather be hanged by the neck till

refused to acquiesce in the Dred Scott de- Janus were thrown open to the civil war, there should be an armed police force pro- me if I had to regard it as a union held to- obligations. If you can submit to them the Crittenden plan of adjustment, with cision. It had stood as a constant menace As the moment of parting approached the vided by federal authority to guard where gother by physical force. I would be happy that evidence. I feel confident that with the Powell amendment providing that it was embraced in the four region south of 56 degrees 30 minutes. The moment of parting approached the months succeeding his election as president. It is the commonly accepted belief that in this interval and the measures hat the party should now withdraw its hatred between the disputants, but failure states, to president. It is the commonly accepted belief that in this interval and the measures hatred between the disputants, but failure states, to president. It is the commonly accepted belief that in this interval and the measures hatred between the disputants, but failure states, to president. It is the commonly accepted belief that in this interval and the measures hatred between the disputants, but failure states, to president. It is the commonly accepted belief that in this interval and the measures hatred between the disputants, but failure states, to president. It is the commonly accepted belief that in this interval and the measures hatred between the disputants, but failure states are not states, to president. It is the commonly accepted belief that in this interval and the measures hatred between the disputants, but failure states, to president. A letter from Dr. William term. Davis made three speeches, two of sentiment in the majority section of the reserved rights and to their independent Lincoln, in his Cooper institute speech a were made by Senator Trumbull, John M. esting political volumes in our country's The first, singularly enough, was called for a considerable space, ending in these by sending evidence to them of that which let them (the south' alone, but we must

had been urged to say something at this the north and south had to say to each southerner and democrat, Green of Mis- "This union is dear to me as a union of constituents to fulfill in the spirit of jus- them alone."

could be given that that feeling existed in petuate the union of equal states; upon us January 25, 1861, says that Governor Yates might burn your statute books and we maintain our equality and community governors of Ohio and Indiana asking would cling to the union still. But it is rights; and the means in the one case of because of their conviction that hostility the other must be such as each can con-

I fear does not exist-the purpose in your somehow convince them that we do let than buy or beg a peaceful inauguration.

the commotion in the slave holding states with the commotion in the slave holding states with the commotion in the slave holding states with the influence of this mubile. Meanwhile he desired that the influence of this mubile be desired that the influence of this mubile in the slave holding states are subside. Meanwhile he desired that the influence of this mubile in the influence of this mubile in the slave holding states are subside. Meanwhile he desired that the influence of this mubile in the slave holding states are subside. Meanwhile he desired that the influence of this mubile in the slave holding states are subside. Meanwhile he desired that the influence of this mubile in the slave holding states are subside. Meanwhile he desired that the influence of this mubile in the slave holding states are subside. Meanwhile he desired that the influence of this mubile in the slave holding states are subside. Meanwhile he desired that the influence of this mubile in the slave holding states are subside. Meanwhile he desired that the influence of this mubile in the slave holding states are subside. Meanwhile he desired that the influence of this mubile in the slave holding states are subside. Meanwhile he desired that the influence of this mubile in the slave holding states are subside. Meanwhile he desired that the influence of this mubile in the slave holding states are subside. Meanwhile he desired that the influence of this mubile in the slave holding states are subside. Meanwhile he desired that the influence of this mubile in the slave holding states are subside. Meanwhile he desired that the influence of this mubile in the slave holding states are subside. Meanwhile he desired that the influence of this mubile in the slave holding states are subside.

COMMENCED to keep a dairy

after my return home from until about the time when I who had remained true to the flag. citizen has cause to still remember with of ex-secessionists from high office.

eral hundred union volunteers at my own phatically in his responses to delegations, that in February, 1865, Mr. Johnson was am equally opposed to consolidation." He lish. Let the dead bury the dead. expense, the offer to that effect appearing satisfaction. Even the extreme abolition- then opposed to the policy of the repub- agreed with Abraham Lincoln and disain the New York Herald of April, 1861. and they were received with the highest lican party. He was opposed to the disso- greed with the radicals under Charles Sum-Being physically incapable of bearing arms, lsts echoed them. Wendell Phillips, in a lution of the union, but not necessarily ner; he refused to recognize Vance as govthough I was anxious and offered to do so, speech at the Cooper institute, said that upon the ground that the union had a su- ernor of North Carolina and would not Lincoln's inauguration (accom-I devoted my energies to the cause of the for eight years he had "sat at the feet of preme light to exist." Answer-Just the consent to withdraw the federal troops uninterrupted, it is necessary to speak by panied by an explosion and paralysis of union and discussion of patriotic questions. Andrew Johnson," whose principles and opposite. Mr. Johnson repeatedly declared until the loyal citizens of that state had the card. Among my earliest efforts was a pamphlet actions he applauded, and whom "he had that "the union was designed to be a per- organized their own government. In reply entitled "Gold Money and Paper Money." entire faith." . . . "Andrew Johnson petulty and a republican example to the to a delegation of negro clergy he said: It is commonly believed that had Mr. It was this book furnished the occasion of was the fully trusted, needless to be world for all time." Never' is the maxim. I am glad of the an interview with Mr. Lincoln. This oc- watched leader of the American people,"

president of the United States.

took notice of two passages in the book plause. which had some bearing on subsequent in some of the public libraries.

Mr. Seward's Escape.

A few days after the surrender of General Lee at Appointtox court house the kind hearted president was stricken down by the the territoriel question. Mr. Weed goes to ghastly cicatrix extending from the right all," when he did not; and he was the unlin. I think it would be best for Mr. Seward most a miracle; yet his vitality was so self. I could name them, but I refrain. to introduce them, and Mr. Weed will let great that he recovered before his son, Foreign princes are now wasting the money him know that I think so. Show this to though both of them lingered for a long which was "lifted out of Boutwell's de-Mr. Hamlin, but beyond him do not let time under the anxious care of the surgeon plorable blunders.

The assassination of the president threw the country into the greatest confusion. General Johnson had not yet surrendered, The first of the three resolutions named General Dick Taylor in the south and Genwas to amend the constitution by providing eral Kirby Smith in the transmississippi were still in arms, and nothing but the giving congress power to interfere with prempt and decided action of President slavery in the states where it existed by Johnson prevented a recrudescence of the law. The second was for a law of con- desperate struggle. He was at once sworn gress providing that fugitive slaves cap- into office as president, making his headould have a jury trial. The third quarters in the treasury building, from ecommended that the northern states whence he promptly issued several important proclamations as president and commander-in-chief of the army and navy. of the committee to which it was referred. One proclamation expressed his detestapassed both houses by two-thirds ma- tien of the great crime that had been committed and his stern determination to pursue and punish its authors, a promise an Trumbuil: My Dear Sir-I expect to which he kept to the letter. Another one offered a reward of \$100,000 for the approhension of the criminals. Another one related to the operations of the armies, and still another to the union navy and the

Delegations from Illinois, Ohio, New York -indeed, from almost every state in the union-visited him from day to day, headed by the most distinguished men in the counbe taken after the inauguration. This sympathy with the excited state of the try, all anxious to obtain assurances in nation and to hear from his lips the course he intended to pursue. These assurances

Trying Crists. Weed in support of the Crittenden plan to the assassination; and the press almost unimise line. Steward's idea, as explained in most trying crisis had faithfully reflected slaves in the whole territory south of the those clauses of the constitution which prothan 1,000,000 square miles, although, under of the death of the former, the fathers of sons who have died gloriously on the field longer a practical one. His logic was de- continue the same policy toward the south- you only the cherished memory of the to a multitude of small tasks. It is a touch- America should possess.

Extracts from the Diary of Alex del Mar

cast my vote for Abraham Lin- That such was Mr. Lincoin's policy is wrote or did. He always disbelieved in and coin as president that the en- placed beyond controversy by his proclama- denied the right of secession,

declared the crator, and the autlence agreed 4. "Mr. Johnson's inauguration speech

Knew Him Intimately.

of greenbacks), he laughed good naturedly he always remained the leading spirit of nent." and remarked that the articles contained the movement. It was he who drew up 5. Said Mr. Boutwell: "Mr. Lincoln in at least one principle worthy of elabora- the original articles of impeachment; he his last speech declared that the secoding tion-namely; that under the influence of who amended and perfected them; he who states could become members of the Amer-"Springfield, Ill., Dec. 17, 1960-Hon Ly- sudden accessions of currency, prices do inserted that crafty clause in the appro- ican union only by the organized action of d. If any of our friends relative importance and marketability of of his constitutional command of the army Mr. Johnson held the same opinion and on the territorial question, I am for fighting gestion, I published an elaborate treatise and he who pursued Johnson not only to who continued to pursue him in magazine

articles long after his death. I also knew Mr. Boutwell. We were members of the same club and often met and incidentally touched upon matters of public interest, Indeed I have letters from him hand of one assassin, and both Mr. Seward dated within the last few years. He was and his son were terribly wounded by an- what is called an self-made man, strong, other, the design having been to also kill shrewd, suspicious and honest; but narrow, the vice president, Andrew Johnson, and so vindictive, ignorant of the broader phases cripple the administration, but through and relations of political life, ignorant of some chance the latter escaped. Six or finance and of the tricks of financiers, igseme thanks the change and it career when governor of Tennessee Yet so unsettled was the general condition seven years afterwards, while sitting with norant of foreign language and literature, past career when governor of Tennessee of affairs, so sensitive was the metropolitan Secretary Seward upon the back porch of of foreign intrigues, of foreign politics, and his residence in Washington, I asked him of its bearings upon our own. He was conto show me his wound. He exhibited a ceited in that he thought he "knew it ear downward almost to the collar bone. conscious tool of men far better informed That he was not killed outright was al- and more acute and designing than him- roe doctrine in reference to the occupation tion sanctioned by the sainted memory of

Not Opposed to Lincoln.

England in 1854, but it was not recognizing as citizens of such states those ognized it when he saw it; for it appears of the British people, but British as to the in almost everything that Johnson said, residence and influence of the instigators.

tries began to be of public interest. This tion of December 8, 1868, in which he an- 2 "When he became president he was ration of his lamented predecessor that spectively, and at as perfect liberty to was my first vote, for I was not quite of nounces his willingness to recognize any an opponent of negro suffrage." Answer— the government of the United States was choose and employ their own means of age in the preceding campaign, and I am loyal government which may be set up in Quite the contrary; he said the negroes had erected as a perpetuity; that the constituprotecting property and preserving peace happy now to recall that I voted for so the south by as many as one-tenth of the same rights as the whites, but that in tion provided for the admission of states, and order within their respective limits good and great a man. Let the youth of voters of 1800, and in his message to con- order to vote intelligently it was necessary but not for their secession or destruction. as they have ever been under any admin- the present day think over this fact and gress in which he proposed a definite plan for them to be trained. This is precisely Said he: "A rebellious state when it comes

Lincoln have expected and still expect this, half a century has since rolled away, a an oath of future loyalty, and the exclusion 3. From a casual roadside conversation it a high duty to protect and to secure to with Mr. Johnson, reported by his former those states a republican form of governpride and emotion the vote he cast for When the excitment attending the assas- chief of police in Tennessee, a man named ment;" "but such a state must be restored sination began to calm down the president Marshall, Mr. Boutwell says that "it must by its friends, not smothered by its ene-When the war took place I fitted out sev- enunciated these views more and more em- be accepted as evidence, quite conclusive, mies;" "I was opposed to dissolution and

Answers to Boutwell,

The president received me kindly and with him in a tremendous burst of ap- in the senate chamber, directed apparently to the diplomatic corps, excited apprehension," Answer-Mr. Johnson simply reevents. One passage alluded to "those I knew Mr. Johnson intimately; I was peated what Mr. Lincoln had already said in Mr. Trumbull's speech and were printed higher passions of our nature which lead with him a great deal; I knew his mind on in a formal document. Here the difference us to see fame only in the happiness and this subject; I knew, I saw, I felt, that he between the two ex-governors was most prosperity of our country." The other was: had no other object than to carry out Lin- marked. Mr. Boutwell was easily in-"There are higher motives with which to coin's policy precisely as Lincoln had fluenced by foreign "apprehensions," espeappeal to the ambition or even interest planned it; but no words of mine at this cially aristocratic ones. He had his eye of an executive-motives that exhibit to late day will suffice to establish a fact upon Mexico, upon Napoleon, upon the him the glorious destiny of being regarded the very converse of which was made the London haute finance, upon everything and the savior of his country, the protector of ground of an impeachment carefully drawn everybody who threatened the perpetuity its liberties, and the preserver of its fame;" up and managed by such astute lawyers of the union. Indeed, Mr. Boutwell himalmost a forecast of Lincoln's subsequent and experienced politicians as Thad Stevens, self admits this, where he says that Johnenshrinement in the hearts of his country- George S. Boutwell, John A. Bingham, Ben son adopted "without reserve the policy men. During the same year, upon being jamin F. Butler, Wilson, Logan and Wil- of Abraham Lincoln as president," which introduced to Secretary Chase, as the liams. At the first meeting of these man-included viewing "as enemies to the peace author of the papers subsequently pub- agers Governor Boutwell was choosen as and independence of the country the eflished in a pamphlet called the Paper their leader; and although he afterwards forts of any power to obtain new footholds Bubble (a protest against excessive issues gave way to the petty jealousy of Bingham, for monarchical government on this conti-

ment, for that was evidently the design of ble, for even if Mr. Johnson had the desire, of the constitution-fugitive slave clause though copies of them are still to be found president was hurried to his grave, but this remarkable paper; but there are one which in view of his past career and recent or two other points that need retouching, public assurances is inconceivable, happy to be able to concur with him.

Mr. Johnson frequently referred to his ple of the United States. as an earnest of his future policy. He state even 5,000 men good and true they of reconstruction." He reiterated the Mon-A few years ago Mr. Boutwell published that it was this intimation, coupled with and advised him to resign; while the small signed; yet at the last moment he was inan article in some New York magazine on the hostility of the British financiers, who fry of the London press followed their "The Impeachment of Andrew Johnson," in had invested \$600,000,000 in confederate leaders. which he sought to justify this proceeding bonds, and other large sums in confederate ally opposed to Mr. Lincoin's policy, or as tion of the subsequent and wholly un- his office and so became quite familiar with policy. Among his charges were the fol- later intrigue which grew out of it and had The commission had to report to congress a large fortune out of it. "I do not find evidence which will ment and the installation of Ben Wade as out. Hayes was engrossed in a report on justify the statement that Mr. Johnson was a revolutionary president. The intrigue the public debt; Colwell did practically the country has no reason to be ashamed secede from the union." Answer-Then he the initial attack, as will presently be and Elliott, and, to some small extent, mycould not have looked for it, nor have rec- shown, was essentially British; not British self. I collected material, Elliott formulated

Mr. Johnson repeatedly echoed the declaout of rebellion is still a state;" "I hold "The negroes had the same right as the Lincoln lived his superior tact, great preswhites to be free; but as to citizenship tige, and the hold he had upon the affecthey needed to be trained, and they must tions of the people would have enabled him not expect to live in idleness or to be sup- to carry out these measures of reconstrucported by the government." At a cabinet tion which caused Mr. Johnson so much meeting he pushed aside a suggestion to difficulty. There is no doubt that Mr. Lindeclare the negroes of the south entitled coin would have succeeded because, had to suffrage, saying that it was a question he lived, no French imperial instigator nor for each individual state. This is precisely British haughty financial press would have the same doctrine that has recently been ventured to attack him; there would have a faithful mirror of popular opinion (May struction of the southern states would have societies." 3. 1865); "Mr. Johnson's policy of recon- proceeded far more rapidly, more equitthroughout the union."

Issues Two Proclamations.

coadjutor and successor, and it must, therefore, be regarded as in every sense Space forbids any further consideration reflecting Mr. Lincoln's policy of reconof Mr. Boutwell's apology for the impeach- struction. No other view of it is admissi-Mr. Boutwell in conclusion says that "there Johnson could not have induced his cab- public affairs. was no evidence implicating the senators in inet to agree upon any measure on this the receipt of money or other valuable con- subject in opposition to Mr. Lincoln's views sideration" for their votes on the impeach- and their own judgment. Both the presiment trial; and that after the expiration dent and every member of the cabinet had of President's Johnson's term of office the their ears to the ground, and it was not consumption of whisky throughout the only imprudent, it was perilous to remove United States more than doubled; in both them. The reconstruction policy embodied of which statements the present writer is in the North Carolina proclamation was in perfect accord with the wishes of the peo-

Yet so unsettled was the general condition said: "If there shall be found in any rebel able to foreign persuasion that all of a sudden, over night as it were, the press, which will be deemed sufficient for the purposes the day before unreservedly approved, now wholly condemned the policy of reconstrucof Mexico by the French forces under Lincoln and endorsed by his colleagues and Maximilian and plainly intimated that now his cabinet. As stated before, the attack that the civil war was closed the attention came from England. The London Daily of the administration would be directed News called Mr. Johnson "a drunken meamong others matters to that objectionable chanic"; the Times said it was evident that he had intended to veto-such veto having invasion. There are reasons for believing "Mr. Johnson cannot execute the task," been carefully considered, drawn up, and

Familiar With Work

for its object the overthrow of the govern- in January; so I helped to straighten things

witnesses. The upshot of it all was that I the south would take account of. was appointed the first director of the aration of certain public papers. For this purpose I attended the president in the adjoining the president's office, the door between them being always open, which left me seeing but unseen; the silent witness of the episodes which I entered in my a division of existing territory, as the dairy, or which I can recall from memory. There were many other which it would be to take slaves to all the territories and imprudent and perhaps mischievous to pub- hold them there as property until ad-

In order to judge of the extent to which Jefferson Davis' minimum. the reconstruction policies of President before Mr. Lincoln's inauguration (ac-

Had Lincoln Lived.

On May 29, 1860, the president issued two or bereft like him of any adequate means that South Carolina would have taken important proclamations. The first ex- of defense; had he been treacherously de- back track, or that the other cotton states tended amnesty to the entire south, except- serted by those whose sworn duty it was would have looked on quietly at the coering fourteen classes of persons, chiefly the to support him, badgered by the metro- cion of South Carolina by a republican adleaders of the rebellion; the second related politan press and left to be made the mark ministration. to the reconstruction of the state govern- of every intriguant and plotter in the To one looking back at the republican nacoln and presided over by Mr. Lincoln's was no weakness about President Johnson. The now a have seen him in deep distress. When a president of the United States begins to

Johnson Ignorant of Finance.

In alluding to certain defects of character in Governor Boutwell which had a bearing upon his public life and his attitude toward Mr. Lincoln's successor in office, candor impels me to say that Mr. Johnson, at least in one respect, shared them with him. He, too, was backward in finance and ignorant of the tricks of financiers. He appeared to me, as indeed did another president, some years later, when I reported to him the evidence I had taken on behalf of the monetary commission, to "have no head for figures," a peculiarity which is not confined to presidents of the United States; state seceded. He would have preferred for I have found the same defect in per- that the accession movement should not sons occupying almost equally exalted positions, both in this country and England.

For example, Mr. Johnson was imposed upon, deceived, and cheated, in respect of the wool bill of March 2, 1867, a bill duced to destroy the veto and approve the bill. I have retained a copy of this veto. One of the men who overreached him was

In Johnson's State.

Weighed in the mperial scales of history a disbeliever in the right of a state to and the impeachment were American; but nothing, and the entire work fell on Welles, of its twenty-third president. He was fixed purposes of the secessionists at that mold from which have emerged the entire series of American executives. Whatever heated partisans or petty critics may say to the contrary, an American president has to pass through so many scorching fires before he can reach the White House that when he gets there he is thrice purified; he is iron and steel and adamant.

Last year (1907), a few days after the anniversary of Lincoin's birth, in the legislature of Tennessee, and upon a motion to of personal kindness; and it is a fortunate appropriate \$22,000 for the federal cemetery the reconstruction president and his two sons, Mr. Brownlow, a republican from one of the eastern districts, won the appliance applying to future acquisitions of territory. and vote of the house with a ringing speech in behalf of the appropriation. Said be; demands have arisen thereafter for the "Andrew Johnson's district furnished more acquisition of Cuba, Mexico, etc., for soldiers to the union service during the future slave states, to maintain the balance dark days of the rebellion than any con- of power in the senate? It was Lincoln's gressional district in the United States, and opinion that under the Crittended comvet we were 100 miles inside the confederate promise we should have to acquire Cuba

> left east Tennessee they were followed by civil war would have been prevented for bloodhounds; they bid their wives, daugh- the time being, and if the Powell amendters and sweethearts goodbye by moonlight at the old home spring and went across the mountains into Kentucky and still have remained a feetering sore and joined the union army, perhaps never to see duraful curse. All the elements of discord

> "President Johnson was a union democrat. He was a member of the United States senate from Tennessee and was the only senator of his party, north or south, stood by Abraham Lincoln in favor of the old fing and a united country. He was surrounded by the secessionists of the south, yet he enlisted in the cause of the nion, stood by the government, stood by Abraham Lincoln, and, as I have asserted heretofore and now again assert, that, taking his surroundings into consideration and next to Lincoln himself, he was the great- irrepressible conflict would have come est patriot of the civil war."

was the movement ir itiated by the legislature of Virginia, known as the John Tyler peace conference. This was bottomed on 20 meridian. A letter from Dr. William Jayne to Trumbull, dated Springfield, whether Illinois would appoint peace commissioners in response to a call sent out by the governor of Virginia to meet at Washington on the 4th of February. "Lincoln," he continued, "advised Yates he was dead on the steps of the capitol But Mr. Lincoln's words neither hastened meeting that would tend to quiet the ris- other before the doors of the temple of souri (December 10, 1860), who proposed that fraternal states. It would lose its value to tice and fraternal states. It would lose its value to tice and fraternal states. states. The effective public sentiment of the south was that avowed by Senator Mason of Virginia in a casual debate with Trumbull on December 2, 1856, when he said that the election of anybody by the republican party would result in a dismemberment of the union. The candidate, he added, might be a man of straw, the principles he represented were the only things

Mr. Lincoln's record was that of a man newly authorized bureau of statistics, com- opposed to the extension of slavery into merce and navigation, since amplified into the territories of the United States. If he the Department of Commerce and Labor, had spoken at the Springfield meeting After I had got matter in my department of November 20 and had said that he was working smoothly, I was summoned by the willing to divide the unoccupied and unpresident in 1865 to assist him in the prep- organized territory between freedom and slavery by a geographical line he would republican party in twain library of the White House, an apartment and disabled it from offering any effectual resistance to any other demands of the secessionists. Would such a declaration have stopped the secession movement?

Evidently not. They had demanded not Crittenden plan provided, but the right mitted to the union as states. That was Would the the republican party) have moderated their claims? Nobody who reads the history of those times can imagine such a thing.

Would Not Have Stopped It. Would the granting of all that they had

claimed before the election of Lincoln have stopped secession after his election? Not if Mason spoke the truth in his collequy with Trumbull. South Carolina took steps to secede before Lincoln was elected and it never paused an instant. It did not act upon any abstract theory about "equal rights in the territories." Its motor was one of internal combustion. It found apt enunciated by our president-elect, William been no American cabal to take advantage expression in the speech of Senator Wigfall H. Taft. All of these sentiments and views of such attack, organized a dynastic revo- of Texas, a native South Carolinan, who of Mr. Johnson were repeated by the press lution, or prefer articles of impeachment said: "I say to you that we cannot live throughout the country with almost unani- against him. Under the resolute and pop- in peace, either in the union or out of it, mous approval. Said the New York Herald, ular sway of Abraham Lincoln the recon- until you have abolished your abolition

Now if anybody fancies that it was possistruction has given universal satisfaction ably, and more happily for all concerned. ble to stop secession at this stage by sooth-But had he been exposed to the same ing words, or verbal promises, or Crittenallen hostility that assailed Mr. Johnson den compromises, he must believe either

ment of North Carolina upon a loyal foot- country-the fate that was reserved for tional convention of 1860 it is evident that ing. This document was the result of a his heroic and sorely tried successor- the choice for president from the outset careful and protracted consideration of the there is grave reason to believe that he, lay between Lincoln and Seward. No other Even Boutwell gave him credit for both been president instead of Lincoln there "intellectual ability and courage"; yet I would have been no armed resistance to the withdrawal of such southern states as then desired to secede. It was Seward's wipe the moisture off his spectacles there conviction that the policy of peace and must be something wrong in the state of noncoercion would have quieted the secession movement in the border states, and that the guif states would then have returned homeward like repentant prodigal sons. His proposal to Lincoln to seek a quarrel with four European nations which had done us no harm in order to arouse a feeling of Americanism in the confederate states was an outgrowth of this conviction. It was an immoral proposition, akin to that of Bismarck when he used France as an anvil on which to weld Germany together, but it was not an unpatriotic one, since it was bottomed on a desire to preserve the union without civil war.

Traces of this idea are found in the speeches of Jefferson Davis before his extend beyond South Carolina, and to that end he used all his influence against the coercion of that state. Seward may have derived his idea from Davis, or, more probably, was confirmed by him in an idea to which he was previously inclined.

The question has been much discussed, and is candidly treated by Mr. James Ford Rhodes in his admirable history, whether Crittenden's proposed amendment showing that it was based upon warships, confederate blockade runners and My father had been a treasury officer for an internal revenue officer; the other was to the constitution ought to have been opinions, utiterances and actions diametric- confederate cotton, which was the founda- many years, and as a boy I was much in an ex-governor. Both of them, as after- adopted or not. The only plausible arguward appeared, were actuated by gross ment for adopting it would have been to he sometimes termed it, the republican American attack upon Mr. Johnson and the treasury affairs. This now proved useful mercenary motives, and one of thom made prevent secession and civil war; and here lies a wide field for difference of opinion as to whether it would have prevented them or not. Garret Davis of Kentucky was in a position to know what were the stamped in that same severe but kindly time. In a speech in the senate on January 22, 1862, on the resolution to expel Senator Bright of Indiana, he said: "What have they said again and again?

The United States government-I believe they do not call it that; they call it 'Lincoin's government'-'may give us a blank piece of paper and it may ask us to write on that blank plece of paper our own conditions and terms and we can write no conditions and terms upon which we will ever consent to return to the union." The chances are ten to one that it would

not have been acceptable to the cotton states without the Powell amendment With that clause included, would not within a few years under a new "Oh, Mr. Chairman, when these soldiers threat of dusunion. But we admit that ment had been cast out, as Crittenden at the last moment desired, slavery would that had been seething and bubbling for forty years would have remained in full blast, except the single one of the territorial question, and that one would have left its sting behind in the north. Abolition societies would have multiplied. The underground railway would have done more business than ever. Other John Browns might have arisen. All these things would have operated upon the active fears and hot temper of the south just as before. Both sides would have used the interval brave course he pursued, I believe that, of mock peace to prepare for war, and the HORACE WHITE

President Roosevelt's Tribute to Lincoln Expressive Appreciation of His Character

From the Review of Reviews. HE deeds and words of the great

letters which has always appealed to me

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHING-TON, Nov. 21, 1864.-To Mrs. Bixby, Bosshown in the files of the War department

very sincerely and respectfully,

fective, however, since the republican party ern states as his predecessor, the policy of loved and lost, and the solemn pride that ing thing that the great lender, while thus during these three and a half years, had treating them still as states, but of only must be yours to have laid so costly a driven and absorbed, could yet so often

sacrifice upon the altar of freedom. Yours turn aside for the moment to do some deed "A. LINCOLN." thing for the nation that in addition to at Greenville, where repose the remains of men of the nation, and above all Any man who has occupied the office of doing so well each deed, great or small, he the character of each of the president realizes the incredible amount of possessed that marvellous gift of expression foremost men of the nation, administrative work with which the presi- which enabled him quite unconsciously to are one and all assets of ines- dent has to deal even in times of peace. He choose the very words best fit to commenotimable value to the republic, is of necessity a very busy man, a much rate each deed. His Gettysburg speech and Lincoln's work and Lincoln's words should driven man, from whose mind there can his second inaugural are two of the half be, and I think more and more are, part never be absent for many minutes at a time dozen greatest speeches ever made-I am of those formative influences which tend to the consideration of some problem of im- tempted to call them the two greatest ever become living forces for good citizenship pertance, or of some matter of less impor- made. They are great in their wisdom, and among our people. There is one of his tance which yet causes worry and strain, dignity, and earnestness, and in a loftiness Under such circumstances it is not easy for of thought and expression which makes particularly. It is the one running as fol- a president even in times of peace to turn them akin to the utterances of the prophets from the affairs that are of moment to all of the Old Testament. In a totally different the people and consider affairs that are of way, but in strongest and most human moment to but one person. While this is fashion, such utterances as his answer to true of times of peace, it is of course in- the serenaders immediately after his second finitely more true of times of war. No election, and this letter which I have quoted president who has ever sat in the White above, appeal to us and make our hearts House has borne the burden that Lincoln thrill. The mother to whom he wrote stood or been under the ceaseless strain in one sense on a loftler plane of patriotism which he endured. It did not let up by day than the mighty president himself. Her or by night. Ever he had to consider prob- memory and the memory of her sons whom iems of the widest importance, ever to run she bore to die for the union should be kept wished to take slaves thither. Three and a had befallen the country. Mr. Johnson's attempt to beguile you from the grief of risks of the greatest magnitude; and ever green in our minds; for she and they, in half years had passed since that decision election to the vice presidency as a union a loss so overwhelming. But I cannot rewas rendered and they had availed them- democrat, his experience as a union gov. frain from tendering you the consolation great dangers and great responsibilities was highest in our national existence. The selves of their opportunity only to the ex- ernor of Tennessee, and the retention of that may be found in the thanks of the shot the woof of an infinite number of small deed itself and the words of the great man tent of one slave to every 44,000 square Mr. Lincoln's cabinet just as his death republic they died to save. I pray that worries and small annoyances. He worked which commemorate that deed should form miles. Therefore he did not consider the bed had left it were regarded as sufficient our Heavenly Father may assuage the out his great task while unceasingly beset one of those heritages for all Americans question of slavery in the territories any assurances that the new president would anguish of your bereavement, and leave by the need of attending as best he could which it is of inestimable consequence that

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.