

# **NEWS** **from** **LINCOLN SESQUICENTENNIAL** **COMMISSION**

NATIONAL ARCHIVES BUILDING, WASHINGTON 25, D. C.  
REPUBLIC 7-7500 EXTENSIONS 8163 OR 8164

FOR FURTHER INQUIRY:

Richards Associates  
1737 DeSales St, NW  
Washington, DC  
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## FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Washington, D.C. -- The Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission has issued the first edition of the "Intelligencer", a newsletter highlighting events in the observance of the 150th Anniversary of Lincoln's birth. Other editions will be placed periodically throughout Lincoln Year.

The "Intelligencer" is a 4-page news bulletin giving dates and places of upcoming events, describing celebrations, activities, and various types of participation throughout the country.

Included in the first edition are news items concerning the issuance of Lincoln stamps; minting of a new Lincoln penny; joint session of Congress to be addressed by Carl Sandburg, distinguished Lincoln scholar; radio and television special programs planned; press and periodical coverage; and special exhibits and displays of Lincolniana.

Publication of two booklets available to the public is announced in the first edition -- a "Lincoln Handbook of Information" and a booklet on the "Lincoln Ideals". Both booklets and copies of the Intelligencer may be had by writing to the Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission, National Archives Building, Washington 25, D.C.

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**NOTE TO EDITORS**

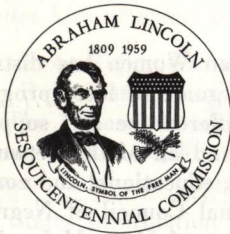
Enclosed is a copy of "The Lincoln Ideals".  
This booklet is offered free to newspaper readers  
who send their name and address on a postcard to:

Lincoln  
Box 1959  
Washington, D.C.

Additional copies are available from:

Richards Associates  
1737 DeSales St., N.W.  
Washington 6, D.C.





# The Lincoln Sesquicentennial INTELLIGENCER

a newsletter highlighting events in the observance  
of the 150th anniversary of Lincoln's birth

January, 1959

Washington, D. C.

Vol. 1 — No. 1

## *Memorandum from the Chairman*

This is the first edition of the Lincoln Sesquicentennial Intelligencer—a name selected, by the way, because of its popularity circa 1809. In this limited space, we cannot report all of the events taking place in the United States and throughout the world—but we will undertake to highlight major projects.

The Intelligencer will be issued periodically throughout Lincoln Year for distribution to national associations, unions, fraternal and governmental groups, media and interested individuals. Organizations are encouraged to place volume orders for distribution through their own channels. We welcome information for inclusion in the Intelligencer. Please address all correspondence to Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission, National Archives Building, Washington 25, D. C.

John Sherman Cooper, U.S.S.

Chairman, Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission

**PRESIDENT EISENHOWER PROCLAIMS LINCOLN YEAR • On December 29, 1958, the President issued from The White House a proclamation designating 1959 as "Lincoln Year". The enabling clause of the Proclamation states:**

**"Now, therefore, I, Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the United States of America, in accordance with the purposes of the Congress, do hereby call upon all agencies and officers of the Federal Government, upon the Governors of the States, and upon the American people, to observe the year 1959 as the Abraham Lincoln Sesquicentennial Year, and throughout this period—and especially during the week—February 5 to February 12—to do honor to Lincoln's memory by appropriate activities and ceremonies, by a restudy of his life and his spoken and written words, and by personal rededication to the principles of citizenship and the philosophy of Government for which he gave 'the last full measure of devotion'."**

**THE COMMISSION •** In April 1957 a drive began, led by the Lincoln Group of the District of Columbia, to have Congress create by law a national commission to celebrate the sesquicentennial anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln. Bills for that purpose were introduced in the House of Representatives by F. Jay Nimitz of Indiana, Peter F. Mack, Jr. and Leo E. Allen of Illinois, Fred Schwengel of Iowa, and Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania. In the Senate a similar bill was introduced by Senator John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky, supported by his colleagues Thruston B. Morton of Kentucky, Everett M. Dirksen and Paul H. Douglas of Illinois, Homer E. Capehart and William E. Jenner of Indiana. Enacted by the 85th Congress as P.L. 85-262, the Nimitz Bill was approved by the President Sept. 2, 1957. The measure provided for a Commission of 28 members, three of whom, the President, the Vice President, and the Speaker of the House, were *ex-officio* members. The remaining 25 members were chosen as follows: six from the House; six from the Senate; twelve appointed by the President and a statutory member, the Director of National Park Service or his representative. Commissioners were appointed in November. The Vice President named Senators Cooper, Church (Idaho), Dirksen and Douglas, Jenner, and Yarborough (Tex.). Speaker Rayburn chose Representatives Nimitz, Allen and Mack, Winfield K. Denton (Ind.), Frank Chelf and John M. Robison, Jr. (Ky.). President Eisenhower selected Miss Bertha S. Adkins, Victor M. Birely, John B. Fisher, and L. Quincy Mumford of Washington, Ralph J. Bunche and Walter N. Rothschild of New York, John S. Dickey of New Hampshire, R. Gerald McMurtry of Indiana, Rev. Paul C. Reinert of Missouri, Governor William G. Stratton of Illinois, J. R. Todd and William H. Townsend of Kentucky. (Sinclair Weeks of Massachusetts, has since replaced Mr. Todd who resigned in August, 1958). The statutory member is Conrad L. Wirth.

In January the Commission completed its organization, Senator Cooper was elected Chairman, rules of procedure were adopted, and an Executive Committee under the Chairmanship of Miss Adkins was appointed. Subsequent committee chairmen were named as follows: Honorary Members, Mr. Birely; National Organizations, Mr. McMurtry; Mass Media, Sen. Church; International Programs, Mr. Bunche; Special Celebrations, Sen. Dirksen; Schools and Colleges, Father Reinert.

In February 1958, the Commission submitted to Congress a preliminary report relating what had been done and outlining, in broad terms, its future plans. Congress voted an appropriation for the remainder of the fiscal year, with which the Commission selected staff and established temporary headquarters in the Lincoln Museum (Old Ford's Theater). Permanent headquarters were opened in the Archives Building in June with a staff of eight under the supervision of Prof. William E. Baringer of the University of Florida, who was selected as Executive Director. John E. Allen was named Assistant Executive Director.



*"You cannot institute any equality between right and wrong"—Lincoln*

**NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS HELP PROGRAM** • National Federation of Republican Women has distributed to 3,700 of its key leaders a copy of the Sesquicentennial Handbook of Information as a guide to local programming; National Association of Broadcasters, through its president, Harold E. Fellows, has offered the full support of its members which include most of the radio and television stations in the United States and all of the networks; The National Cartoonists Society is marshalling its talents for a year-long program of editorial, educational and commemorative cartoons to be created by many of the Society's outstanding members; The National Council of Negro Women launched a four year campaign on January 1 to raise funds for the erection of a statue of Mary McLeod Bethune, famed Negro educator in Lincoln Park, Washington, D. C.; organizational support is beginning to groundswell as the Sesquicentennial Program gets underway.

**LINCOLN ON TELEVISION** • At 9:30 p.m. Feb. 11, the National Broadcasting Co. will bring to over 30,000,000 viewers "Meet Mr. Lincoln"—an authentic half hour program about the life and times of Mr. Lincoln, a special project that has taken nearly a year to prepare.

On the Columbia Broadcasting System, at 8 p.m., Feb. 8, the Ed Sullivan Hour will feature Richard Boone, who is to play the part of Abraham Lincoln in the production, "The Rivalry", which opens on Broadway on Feb. 7. Mr. Boone will do an excerpt from the play.

The American Broadcasting Company will participate in the Sesquicentennial observance with spot announcements and special programs on radio and television during Lincoln Year.

**LINCOLN ON RADIO** • Beginning in February and throughout Lincoln Year, radio stations across the nation will broadcast a weekly series of 30-minute dramas based on episodes in the life of Abraham Lincoln. To be known as "The Lincoln Story, 1809-1959", scripts for the series have been adapted from essays by outstanding Lincoln scholars. The entire program was conceived and prepared by Broadcast Music Incorporated as a public service to the American people. Mr. Carl Haverlin, president of BMI, is a noted Lincoln and Civil War scholar and is an honorary member of the Sesquicentennial Commission.

**BUSINESS SUPPORTS OBSERVANCE** • Numerous business organizations are offering assistance in the Sesquicentennial project. John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Co. is distributing a booklet, "Abraham Lincoln, The Great Emancipator" and has made several hundred thousand available to the Commission; the American Association of Railroads is circulating an educational pamphlet in cartoon format, "Mr. Lincoln and the Railroads", has made 1,000,000 copies available to the Commission; the International Harvester Export Co., as a contribution to the United States Information Agency international observance program, has prepared and contributed 5,000 lithographs of the original work by Donald Mills showing the interior of the Lincoln Memorial; National Retail Merchants Association has distributed repro proofs of the Commission's seal for use by its 2,500 members in their local advertising; Kirby Block & Co., a New York buying office, has mailed to 500 major department stores a 14-page list of suggestions for store promotions tying in with the Lincoln Sesquicentennial. Scores of other industries are sponsoring broadcast programs throughout the year, publishing special Lincoln messages in their advertising and making other participation.

**LINCOLN DINNER** • One of the major events of the Lincoln Year will be a special banquet to be attended by national and international leaders at the Hotel Statler in Washington on the eve of Lincoln's birthday. The banquet is being arranged under the auspices of the Lincoln Group of the District of Columbia in cooperation with the Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission. President Eisenhower and former Presidents Herbert Hoover and Harry S. Truman are honorary sponsors of the Lincoln Group Banquet. All three have been invited to attend by Rep. Fred Schwengel (Iowa), President of the D.C. Lincoln Group, and Victor M. Birely, Chairman of the Banquet Committee. Mr. Birely is a member of the Sesquicentennial Commission and Vice Chairman of the Executive Committee. Arrangements have been made with the National Broadcasting Co. to have a film of the show "Meet Mr. Lincoln" shown during or after the dinner. Under the auspices of Columbia Records, a subsidiary of Columbia Broadcasting System, the famed Bales Chorus and Orchestra will present music of the Lincoln era.

**STATE ACTIVITY** • Twenty States and the Territory of Guam have completed plans for their participation in Lincoln Year. State Commissions have been established in Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Ohio, and Wisconsin. Similar commissions are in the process of formation in California, Connecticut, Florida, Iowa, Massachusetts, Texas, and West Virginia. State Historical Societies will coordinate Sesquicentennial programs in Michigan, Montana, New York, Pennsylvania, and Washington.

Thus far the following state chairmen have been appointed: Newton C. Farr, Ill.; Roy T. Combs, Ind.; Dr. William H. Townsend, Ky.; Oliver Carriere, La.; Floyd Haight, Mich.; Prof. Earl W. Wiley, Ohio; Richard F. Upton and Herbert W. Hill (co-chairmen), N. Hamp.; J. Doyle DeWitt, Conn.; Kyle McCormick, W. Va.; Lester W. Olson, Wisc.; J. R. Trace, Director of Education, will supervise the program in Guam.

**INTERNATIONAL SCENE** • November 15 marked the first international observance of Lincoln Year when Miss Bertha S. Adkins, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Commission, presented a replica of the Maness

*"History is not history unless it is the truth"—Lincoln*

bust of Lincoln to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, one of India's foremost Lincoln scholars and a world leader in women's affairs. The Rajkumari is currently leading a movement in India to establish a Lincoln museum. Roy P. Basler, Director of The Department of Reference, Library of Congress, and noted Lincoln scholar, has recently completed a two-month tour of Austria, France, England, Iceland, West Germany and the Netherlands where he lectured on Lincoln under the auspices of the International Educational Exchange Service.

The United States Information Agency has prepared an extensive overseas program for Lincoln Year. Books, radio, television, motion pictures, plays and exhibits are among the media to be used in proposed projects.

**SCHOOLS PROGRAM** • The National Education Association, under contract to the Commission, has developed a creative program for high school student participation. A comprehensive booklet describing the program which covers four categories: cartoons, editorials, essays, and original playlets for student production, will be mailed to all high school principals in the United States on Feb. 1. Indiana Teacher, official organ of the Indiana State Teachers Association, has carried special Lincoln covers since September, and will continue through May. Each issue contains a two-page, illustrated spread of teaching aids on the Lincoln theme and some Lincoln stories.

**NEW LINCOLN PENNY** • As a feature of the Lincoln Year, a new one cent coin is being minted for the first time in fifty years. The front of the new Sesquicentennial penny will remain unchanged. The reverse will feature a front view of the Lincoln Memorial and a rearrangement of the old wordage. President Eisenhower approved the coin on December 21 and production began in the Philadelphia and Denver mints on January 2. National distribution will begin on February 12, Lincoln's birthdate.

**STAMPS** • Designs for the 3 Lincoln Sesquicentennial stamps announced for issuance during 1959, were released by the Post Office on Nov. 22. They, with the 4-cent Lincoln-Douglas Debates commemorative issued August 27, 1958, complete the series of four stamps marking the 150th anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln. The series will be unusual in that each of the four stamps represents a distinct form of artistic expression: an old print, an oil painting, a sculpture, and a line and pastel drawing.

**MATERIALS TO AID CELEBRANTS** • The Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission has prepared a comprehensive "Handbook". It contains text of the Congressional Resolution establishing the Commission and setting forth its duties, a Chronology of Abraham Lincoln, Extracts from his Writings and Speeches, and a selected bibliography. It's an essential piece for groups planning special observance programs. Available through the Commission.

**ACTOR HONORED** • The Commission paid unusual tribute to the theatre's foremost portrayer of Lincoln roles on Dec. 3 when Prof. William E. Baringer, Executive Director of the Commission, presented two busts of Lincoln to Raymond Massey. Mr. Massey is an Honorary Member of the Commission.

**NOTE FROM THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS** • As an outstanding repository of Lincolniana, the Library of Congress serves as a center for Lincoln studies and wishes to collect and retain as complete a record as possible of all such celebrations in the coming year. Historical, patriotic, and civic groups everywhere are invited to cooperate in this effort by (1) informing the Library of plans completed or in preparation for any ceremonies and (2) providing, for the Library's collections, copies of any materials issued in observance of the Sesquicentennial Year. Specifically, the latter would include: Copies of circulars, broadsides, and posters; invitations, tickets, programs, menus; press announcements; copies of laws, proclamations, ordinances, decrees, or resolutions; addresses; reports of proceedings; privately printed books and pamphlets; special Lincoln issues of newspapers; photographs; tape or other sound recordings of broadcasts; documentary motion pictures and kinescopes of Lincoln TV programs; and occasional material of any other kind. Correspondence regarding such materials or plans for ceremonies and other forms of commemoration should be addressed to the Consultant in Lincoln Studies, Library of Congress, Washington 25, D.C.

**WHAT WERE LINCOLN'S IDEALS?** • Despite the volumes that have been written about Abraham Lincoln, no historian has ever attempted to summarize briefly the precise ideals which governed his living. A handsome booklet, "The Lincoln Ideals", has been prepared under the auspices of the Commission. It is available free of charge to the public. "The Lincoln Ideals" will be offered to radio and television listeners and viewers, to the readers of newspapers and periodicals throughout Lincoln Year. Those wishing copies will be asked to send postcard orders to "Lincoln, Box 1959, Washington, D.C." Volume orders are available to state and local Lincoln Commissions, fraternal, social and religious organizations, business and labor groups, for distribution to their members. Send orders to the Commission headquarters or to "Box 1959".

**ADVERTISING COUNCIL COOPERATES** • The Advertising Council included announcement of Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission observance plans in the January-February Radio-TV Bulletin. This important bulletin mention by the Council encourages active cooperation by the broadcast media in the program. It is the Commission's clear understanding with the Council, however, that the assistance requested from stations is not intended to displace any regular Council allocation, but is sought as an additional contribution of time over and above the normal schedule of participation in the Radio (or Television) Allocations Plan.



*"The loss of enemies does not compensate for the loss of friends"—Lincoln*

**UPCOMING EVENTS** • Feb. 1: National Archives opens month-long Lincoln exhibit; Feb. 11: Lincoln Dinner, Washington D. C.; Feb. 12: Joint session of Congress to be addressed by Carl Sandburg, distinguished Lincoln Scholar; commemorative wreath laying ceremony at Lincoln Memorial under auspices of the Loyal Legion; special year-long exhibit of Lincoln papers opens at Library of Congress, following joint session; second commemorative stamp will be issued at Hodgenville, Ky. with Gov. Chandler and others to participate; Feb. 15: special commemorative meeting at the Lincoln Museum in Washington; Feb. 27: Third commemorative stamp will be issued in New York City in observance of the 99th anniversary of Lincoln's Cooper Union Address.

**SPRINGFIELD CELEBRATION** • Several thousand persons are expected to attend a reenactment of the famed 1909 Lincoln Centennial Dinner at Springfield, Illinois on February 12. The event is sponsored by the Illinois Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission and will feature Willy Brandt, Mayor of West Berlin as principal speaker. Mr. Brandt's appearance, although of unusual timely interest in light of recent Berlin problems, was planned some months ago. Special arrangements are being planned for charter flight service from Washington to Springfield for guests who wish to attend both the Feb. 11 dinner in the Capital and the Illinois affair.

**WATCH FOR THESE** • In February, both publications of the Illinois State Historical Society, will be completely devoted to Lincoln. The *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* will carry articles by Allan Nevins, J. Monaghan, Raymond Dooley and R. G. McMurtry. *Illinois History*, distributed to over 15,000 high school students, will contain articles by Prof. W. E. Baringer and other Lincoln scholars. The January 1959 issue of *Americas*, official publication of the Organization of American States, printed in English, Spanish, and Portuguese, featured "The Uncommon Man", an illustrated article on Lincoln as seen by his Latin American contemporaries by Jose Antonio Portundo. Other articles and illustrations about Lincoln will be appearing in the following, among many others: *NEA Journal*, *NEA News*, *Look*, *Ebony*, *New York Times*, *This Week*, *TV Guide*, *Young America*, *Senior Scholastic*, *Junior Scholastic*, *NEA Trends*, *Parade*, *True*, *The National Jewish Monthly*, and *American Judaism*.

**ON CAMPUS** • Colleges and universities make obvious settings for appropriate Lincoln celebrations at almost any season of 1959. Two have already announced such plans.

The University of Illinois, long a noted center of Lincoln scholarship, and the academic home of the late James Garfield Randall, to whose research resources the Carl Sandburg papers have recently been added, will present a symposium Feb. 11 and 12, 1959, with lectures by several noted Lincoln authorities.

Lincoln College, at Lincoln, Ill., which also has a collection of Lincolniana, and bears the distinction of being located in the only town named for Lincoln before he became famous, will have a Lincoln convocation on February 6.

**COMMISSION ADOPTS OFFICIAL SEAL** • Early in January the Commission announced the adoption of an official seal to appear on all Sesquicentennial documents and publications during Lincoln Year. Designed by artist Garnet W. Jex, the seal makes its initial appearance on page one of this newsletter. Mr. Jex, Chief of Graphics, Bureau of States Service, U. S. Public Health Service, also designed the seal of the Civil War Centennial Commission.

**MISCELLANY** • Automobile license plates of Illinois and Indiana will carry Lincoln's name this year. Illinois tags have done so for some time with the legends "Land of Lincoln". Indiana is adding Lincoln for the first time as part of the Sesquicentennial, and Kentucky may do the same. The trend should become nationwide during Lincoln Year.

**LINCOLN LINE-A-DAY FILLERS FOR NEWSPAPERS** • The Commission has compiled over 150 brief, pithy quotes from the written and spoken words of Abraham Lincoln. Mr. Lincoln was a master of the terse but telling comment. The Commission will send the Line-A-Days to newspapers on request. They represent excellent filler material, and many newspapers may wish to display them on Page 1 throughout the year. A second compilation will be ready for distribution in June. Send requests (a postcard will do) to the Commission headquarters to order your Line-A-Days.

**PUBLIC RELATIONS COUNSEL APPOINTED** • On December 1, the Commission selected Richards Associates of Washington and New York to provide public relations counsel during the Sesquicentennial observance. Organizations and groups desiring programming aid and other guidance may direct their inquiries to the Richards organization. Offices are located at 1737 DeSales Street, N.W., Washington 6, and 10 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20.

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The Sesquicentennial **INTELLIGENCER** is edited and published by  
The Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission  
National Archives Building, Washington 25, D. C.  
Hon. John Sherman Cooper, U. S. S., Chairman  
Prof. William E. Baringer, Executive Director



# The Lincoln Ideals

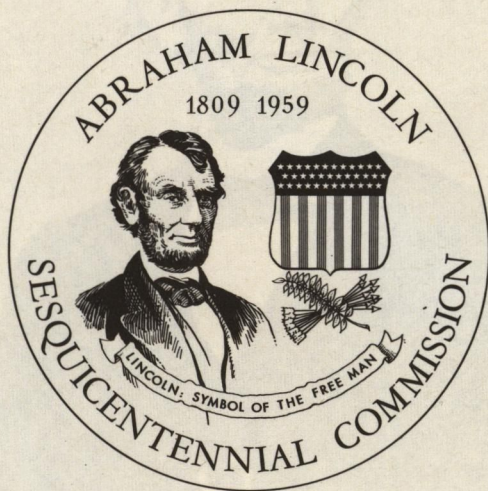


## *His Personality and Principles as Reflected in His Own Words*

The Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission  
Washington, D. C.



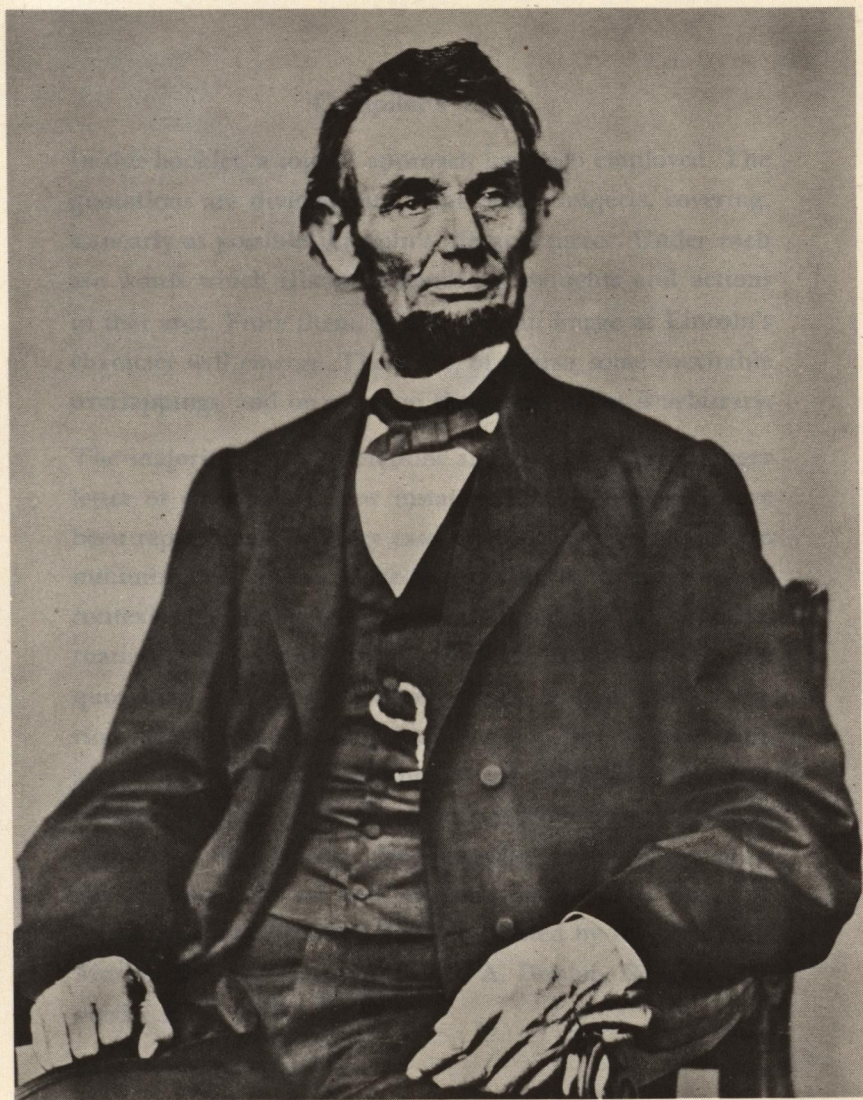
# The Lincoln Ideals



## *His Personality and Principles as Reflected in His Own Words*

The Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission  
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PHOTOGRAPH BY MATHEW B. BRADY, 1864

ABRAHAM LINCOLN



"I WAS BORN AND HAVE EVER REMAINED  
IN THE MOST HUMBLE WALKS OF LIFE."

The words of Mr. Lincoln which follow are some of those illustrative of his life, his personal and public problems, his devotion to his family and friends, and the values by which he lived.

### Compiler's Note

In this booklet, a topical approach has been employed. The quotations are divided into eight broad subjects, covering, as nearly as possible, Lincoln's life and career. Under each are words which illustrate Lincoln's thoughts and actions in that area. From them, it is hoped, an image of Lincoln's character will emerge. There are, of course, some inevitable overlappings, and on occasion the arrangement is arbitrary.

The majority of the quotations are passages from a longer letter or speech. In a few instances, entire selections have been reproduced. In every case, an effort has been made to minimize the violence done to meaning by quoting out of context. Lincoln's spelling, capitalization, italics, and punctuation have been preserved with these exceptions: (1) All quotations begin with a capital letter and end with a period, (2) Except in longer quotations, the original paragraphing is not followed. The sources are listed at the close of the quotations. For the reader's convenience the year of each selection precedes the quotation and editor's notes are bracketed. In all cases the text employed is *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Edited by Roy P. Basler, Marion Dolores Pratt, and Lloyd A. Dunlap, Rutgers University Press, 1953.



**"I WAS BORN AND HAVE EVER REMAINED  
IN THE MOST HUMBLE WALKS OF LIFE."**

*The words of Mr. Lincoln which follow are some of those illustrative of his life, his personal aspirations and problems, his devotion to his family and friends, and the rules by which he lived.*

**1859—**

Herewith is a little sketch, as you requested. There is not much of it, for the reason, I suppose, that there is not much of me. If anything be made out of it, I wish it to be modest, and not to go beyond the material. If it were thought necessary to incorporate any thing from any of my speeches, I suppose there would be no objection. Of course it must not appear to have been written by myself.

I was born Feb. 12, 1809, in Hardin County, Kentucky. My parents were both born in Virginia, of undistinguished families—second families, perhaps I should say. My mother, who died in my tenth year, was of a family of the name of Hanks, some of whom now reside in Adams, and others in Macon counties, Illinois. My paternal grandfather, Abraham Lincoln, emigrated from Rockingham County, Virginia, to Kentucky, about 1781 or 2, where, a year or two later, he was killed by indians, not in battle, but by stealth, when he was laboring to open a farm in the forest. His ancestors, who were quakers, went to Virginia from Berks County, Pennsylvania. An effort to identify them with the New-England family of the same name ended in nothing more definite, than a similarity of Christian names in both families, such as Enoch, Levi, Mordecai, Solomon, Abraham, and the like.

My father, at the death of his father, was but six years of age; and he grew up, literally without education. He removed from Kentucky to what is now Spencer county, Indiana, in my eighth year [1816]. We reached our new home about the time the state came into the Union. It was a wild region, with many bears and other wild animals still in the woods. There I grew up. There were some schools, so called; but no qualification was ever required of a teacher, beyond "*readin, writin, and cipherin,*" to the Rule of Three. If a straggler supposed to undersand latin, happened to sojourn in the neighborhood, he was looked upon as a wizzard. There was absolutely nothing to excite ambition for education.



Of course when I came of age I did not know much. Still somehow, I could read, write, and cipher to the Rule of Three; but that was all. I have not been to school since. The little advance I now have upon this store of education, I have picked up from time to time under the pressure of necessity.

I was raised to farm work, which I continued till I was twenty two. At twenty one I came to Illinois, and passed the first year in Illinois [1830]—Macon county. Then I got to New Salem [1831], at that time in Sangamon, now in Menard county, where I remained a year as a sort of Clerk in a store. Then came the Black-Hawk war; and I was elected a Captain of Volunteers—a success which gave me more pleasure than any I have had since. I went the campaign, was elated, ran for Legislature the same year [1832] and was beaten—the only time I have been beaten by the people. The next, and three succeeding biennial elections, I was elected to the Legislature. I was not a candidate afterwards. During this Legislative period I had studied law, and removed to Springfield to practice it. In 1846 I was once elected to the lower House of Congress. Was not a candidate for re-election. From 1849 to 1854, both inclusive, practiced law more assiduously than ever before. Always a whig in politics, and generally on the whig electoral tickets, making active canvasses. I was losing interest in politics, when the repeal of the Missouri Compromise aroused me again. What I have done since then is pretty well known.

If any personal description of me is thought desirable, it may be said, I am, in height, six feet, four inches, nearly; lean in flesh, weighing, on an average, one hundred and eighty pounds; dark complexion, with coarse black hair, and grey eyes—no other marks or brands recollected.<sup>1</sup>

#### 1832—

Every man is said to have his peculiar ambition. Whether it be true or not, I can say for one that I have no other so great as that of being truly esteemed of my fellow men, by rendering myself worthy of their esteem. How far I shall succeed in gratifying this ambition, is yet to be developed. I am young and unknown to many of you. I was born and have ever remained in the most humble walks of life. I have no wealthy or popular relations to recommend me. My case is thrown exclusively upon the independent voters of this county, and if elected they will have conferred a favor upon me, for which I shall be unremitting in my labors to compensate. But if the good people in their wisdom

shall see fit to keep me in the background, I have been too familiar with disappointments to be very much chagrined.<sup>2</sup>

#### 1836—

No one has needed favours more than I, and generally, few have been less unwilling to accept them; but in this case, favour to me, would be injustice to the public, and therefore I must beg your pardon for declining it.<sup>3</sup>

#### 1837—

Whatever woman may cast her lot with mine, should any ever do so, it is my intention to do all in my power to make her happy and contented; and there is nothing I can imagine, that would make me more unhappy than to fail in the effort.<sup>4</sup>

#### 1837—

I want in all cases to do right.<sup>5</sup>

#### 1838—

Others have been made fools of by the girls; but, this can never be with truth said of me. I most emphatically, in this instance, made a fool of myself.<sup>6</sup>

#### 1842—

My old Father used to have a saying that "If you make a bad bargain, hug it the tighter"; and it occurs to me, that if the bargain you have just closed [marriage] can possibly be called a bad one, it is certainly the most pleasant one for applying that maxim to, which my fancy can, by any effort, picture.<sup>7</sup>

#### 1842—

How miserably things seem to be arranged in this world. If we have no friends, we have no pleasure; and if we have them, we are sure to lose them, and be doubly pained by the loss.<sup>8</sup>

#### 1843—

Now if you should hear any one say that Lincoln don't want to go to Congress, I wish you as a personal friend of mine, would tell him that you have reason to believe he is mistaken.<sup>9</sup>

#### 1843—

The meeting, in spite of my attempt to decline it, appointed me one of the delegates, so that in getting Baker the nomination, I



shall be "fixed" a good deal like a fellow who is made groomsman to the man what has cut him out, and is marrying his own dear "gal."<sup>10</sup>

1843—

It would astonish if not amuse, the older citizens of your County who twelve years ago knew me a stranger, friendless, uneducated, penniless boy, working on a flat boat—at ten dollars per month to learn that I have been put down here as the candidate of pride, wealth, and aristocratic family distinction.<sup>11</sup>

1846—

We have another boy, [Edward Baker Lincoln] born the 10th of March last. He is very much such a child as Bob [Robert Todd Lincoln] was at his age—rather of a longer order. Bob is "short and low," and, I expect, always will be. He talks very plainly—almost as plainly as any body. He is quite smart enough. I some times fear he is one of the little rare-ripe sort, that are smarter at about five than ever after.<sup>12</sup>

1848—

Perhaps you have forgotten me. Dont you remember a long black fellow who rode on horseback with you from Tremont to Springfield nearly ten years ago, swimming your horses over the Mackinaw on the trip? Well, I am that same one fellow yet.<sup>13</sup>

1848—

In this troublesome world, we are never quite satisfied. When you were here, I thought you hindered me some in attending to business; but now, having nothing but business—no variety—it has grown exceedingly tasteless to me. I hate to sit down and direct documents, and I hate to stay in this old room by myself.<sup>14</sup>

1849—

I am not a very sentimental man; and the best sentiment I can think of is, that if you collect the signatures of all persons who are no less distinguished than I, you will have a very undistinguishing mass of names.<sup>15</sup>

1849—

The better part of one's life consists of his friendships.<sup>16</sup>

1851—

You already know I desire that neither Father or Mother shall

be in want of any comfort either in health or sickness while they live.<sup>17</sup>

1856—

Twenty-two years ago Judge Douglas and I first became acquainted. We were both young then; he a trifle younger than I. Even then, we were both ambitious; I, perhaps, quite as much so as he. With *me*, the race of ambition has been a failure—a flat failure; with *him* it has been one of splendid success. His name fills the nation; and it is not unknown, even, in foreign lands. I affect no contempt for the high eminence he has reached. So reached, that the oppressed of my species, might have shared with me in the elevation, I would rather stand on that eminence, than wear the richest crown that ever pressed a monarch's brow.<sup>18</sup>

1859—

I must, in candor, say I do not think myself fit for the Presidency.<sup>19</sup>

1859—

It is bad to be poor. I shall go to the wall for bread and meat, if I neglect my business this year as well as last.<sup>20</sup>

1860—

As to your kind wishes for myself, allow me to say I can not enter the ring on the money basis—first, because, in the main, it is wrong; and secondly, I have not, and can not get, the money. I say, in the main, the use of money is wrong; but for certain objects, in a political contest, the use of some, is both right, and indispensable.<sup>21</sup>

1860—

Remembering that when not a very great man begins to be mentioned for a very great position, his head is very likely to be a little turned, I concluded I am not the fittest person to answer the questions you ask.<sup>22</sup>

1860—

The taste is [for the Presidential nomination] in my mouth a little; and this, no doubt, disqualifies me, to some extent, to form correct opinions.<sup>23</sup>



1860—

Holding myself the humblest of all whose names were before the convention, I feel in especial need of the assistance of all.<sup>24</sup>

1860—

These men ask for just the same thing—*fairness*, and fairness only. This, so far as in my power, they, and all others, shall have.<sup>25</sup>

1860—

I can and will pay it if it is right; but I don't wish to be "diddled!"<sup>26</sup>

1860—

If I fail, it will be for lack of *ability*, and not of *purpose*.<sup>27</sup>

1860—

Our eldest boy, Bob, has been away from us nearly a year at school, and will enter Harvard University this month. He promises very well, considering we never controlled him much.<sup>28</sup>

1860—

The original of the picture you inclose, and which I return, was taken from life, and is, I think, a very true one; though my wife, and many others, do not. My impression is that their objection arises from the disordered condition of the hair.<sup>29</sup>

1860—

Gratefully accepting the proffered honor, [to inscribe a new legal work to him] I give the leave, begging only that the inscription may be in modest terms, not representing me as a man of great learning, or a very extraordinary one in any respect.<sup>30</sup>

1860—

As to the whiskers, having never worn any, do you not think people would call it a piece of silly affection if I were to begin it now?<sup>31</sup>

1860—

Yet in all our rejoicing let us neither express, nor cherish, any harsh feeling towards any citizen who, by his vote, has differed with us.<sup>32</sup>

1861—

My friends—No one, not in my situation, can appreciate my feeling of sadness at this parting. To this place, and the kindness of these people, I owe every thing. Here I have lived a quarter of a century, and I have passed from a young to an old man. Here my children have been born, and one is buried. I now leave, not knowing when, or whether ever, I may return, with a task before me greater than that which rested upon Washington. Without the assistance of that Divine Being, who ever attended him, I cannot succeed. With that assistance I cannot fail. Trusting in Him, who can go with me, and remain with you and be every where for good, let us confidently hope that all will yet be well. To His care commending you, as I hope in your prayers you will commend me, I bid you an affectionate farewell.<sup>33</sup>

1861—

Doubtless you begin to understand how disagreeable it is to me to do a thing arbitrarily, when it is unsatisfactory to others associated with me.<sup>34</sup>

1862—

The loss of enemies does not compensate for the loss of friends.<sup>35</sup>

1862—

I can only say that I have acted upon my best convictions without selfishness or malice, and that by the help of God, I shall continue to do so.<sup>36</sup>

1862—

Gen. Schurz thinks I was a little cross in my late note to you. If I was, I ask pardon. If I do get up a little temper I have no sufficient time to keep it up.<sup>37</sup>

1863—

My note to you I certainly did not expect to see in print; yet I have not been much shocked by the newspaper comments upon it. Those comments constitute a fair specimen of what has occurred to me through life. I have endured a great deal of ridicule without much malice; and have received a great deal of kindness, not quite free from ridicule. I am used to it.<sup>38</sup>



1864—

I am thankful to God for this approval of the people. But while deeply grateful for this mark of their confidence in me, if I know my heart, my gratitude is free from any taint of personal triumph. I do not impugn the motives of any one opposed to me. It is no pleasure to me to triumph over any one.<sup>39</sup>

## "... THE LAWYER HAS A SUPERIOR OPPORTUNITY OF BEING A GOOD MAN."

*From 1836 until his elevation to the Presidency, Abraham Lincoln was a practicing attorney in the courts of Illinois. Entirely self-taught, he became one of the leading lawyers of that state. In the passages following, Mr. Lincoln speaks on his profession.*

1850—

I am not an accomplished lawyer. I find quite as much material for a lecture in those points wherein I have failed, as in those wherein I have been moderately successful. The leading rule for the lawyer, as for the man of every other calling, is diligence. Leave nothing for to-morrow which can be done to-day . . . . Extemporaneous speaking should be practised and cultivated. It is the lawyer's avenue to the public. However able and faithful he may be in other respects, people are slow to bring him business if he cannot make a speech. And yet there is not a more fatal error to young lawyers than relying too much on speech-making. If any one, upon his rare powers of speaking, shall claim an exemption from the drudgery of the law, his case is a failure in advance.

Discourage litigation. Persuade your neighbors to compromise whenever you can. Point out to them how the nominal winner is often a real loser—in fees, expenses, and waste of time. As a peace-maker the lawyer has a superior opportunity of being a good man. There will still be business enough.

Never stir up litigation. A worse man can scarcely be found than one who does this. Who can be more nearly a fiend than he who habitually overhauls the register of deeds in search of defects in titles, whereon to stir up strife, and put money in his pocket? A moral tone ought to be infused into the profession which should drive such men out of it.

The matter of fees is important, far beyond the mere question of bread and butter involved. Properly attended to, fuller justice is done to both lawyer and client. An exorbitant fee should never be claimed. As a general rule never take your whole fee in advance, nor any more than a small retainer. When fully paid beforehand, you are more than a common mortal if you can feel



the same interest in the case, as if something was still in prospect for you, as well as for your client . . . .

There is a vague popular belief that lawyers are necessarily dishonest. I say vague, because when we consider to what extent confidence and honors are reposed in and conferred upon lawyers by the people, it appears improbable that their impression of dishonesty is very distinct and vivid. Yet the impression is common, almost universal. Let no young man choosing the law for a calling for a moment yield to the popular belief—resolve to be honest at all events; and if in your own judgment you cannot be an honest lawyer, resolve to be honest without being a lawyer. Choose some other occupation, rather than one in the choosing of which you do, in advance, consent to be a knave.<sup>40</sup>

1848—

In law it is a good policy to never *plead* what you *need* not, lest you oblige yourself to *prove* what you *can* not.<sup>41</sup>

1856—

You must think I am a high-priced man . . . . Fifteen dollars is enough for the job. I send you a receipt for fifteen dollars, and return to you a ten-dollar bill.<sup>42</sup>

1858—

I understand that it is a maxim of law, that a poor plea may be a good plea to a bad declaration.<sup>43</sup>

1858—

I am absent altogether too much to be a suitable instructor for a law-student. When a man has reached the age that Mr. Widner has, and has already been doing for himself, my judgment is, that he reads the books for himself without an instructor. That is precisely the way I came to the law.<sup>44</sup>

1860—

Yours of the 24th, asking "the best mode of obtaining a thorough knowledge of the law" is received. The mode is very simple, though laborious, and tedious. It is only to get the books, and read, and study them carefully . . . . Work, work, work, is the main thing.<sup>45</sup>

## "THE WILL OF GOD PREVAILS."

*The deep and abiding religious faith of Abraham Lincoln, increasing as he grew older, is reflected in the following quotations.*

1862—

The will of God prevails. In great contests each party claims to act in accordance with the will of God. Both *may* be, and one *must* be wrong. God can not be *for*, and *against* the same thing at the same time. In the present civil war it is quite possible that God's purpose is something different from the purpose of either party—and yet the human instrumentalities, working just as they do, are of the best adaptation to effect His purpose. I am almost ready to say this is probably true—that God wills this contest, and wills that it shall not end yet. By his mere quiet power, on the minds of the now contestants, He could have either *saved* or *destroyed* the Union without a human contest. Yet the contest began. And having begun He could give the final victory to either side any day. Yet the contest proceeds.<sup>46</sup>

1846—

That I am not a member of any Christian Church, is true; but I have never denied the truth of the Scriptures; and I have never spoken with intentional disrespect of religion in general, or of any denomination of Christians in particular . . . . I do not think I could myself, be brought to support a man for office, whom I knew to be an open enemy of, and scoffer at, religion. Leaving the higher matter of eternal consequences, between him and his Maker, I still do not think any man has the right thus to insult the feelings, and injure the morals, of the community in which he may live.<sup>47</sup>

1862—

In the very responsible position in which I happen to be placed, being a humble instrument in the hands of our Heavenly Father, as I am, and as we all are, to work out his great purposes, I have desired that all my works and acts may be according to his will, and that it might be so, I have sought his aid—but if after endeavoring to do my best in the light which he affords me, I find my efforts fail, I must believe that for some purpose unknown to



me, He wills it otherwise. If I had my way, this war would never have been commenced. If I had been allowed my way this war would have been ended before this, but we find it still continues; and we must believe that He permits it for some wise purpose of his own, mysterious and unknown to us; and though with our limited understandings we may not be able to comprehend it, yet we cannot but believe, that he who made the world still governs it.<sup>48</sup>

1863—

No one is more deeply than myself aware that without His favor our highest wisdom is but as foolishness and that our most strenuous efforts would avail nothing in the shadow of His displeasure. I am conscious of no desire for my country's welfare, that is not in consonance with His will, and of no plan upon which we may not ask His blessing.<sup>49</sup>

1864—

On principle I dislike an oath which requires a man to swear he *has* not done wrong. It rejects the Christian principle of forgiveness on terms of repentance. I think it is enough if the man does no wrong *hereafter*.<sup>50</sup>

I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me. Now, at the end of three years struggle the nation's condition is not what either party, or any man devised, or expected. God alone can claim it. Whither it is tending seems plain. If God now wills the removal of a great wrong, and wills also that we of the North as well as you of the South, shall pay fairly for our complicity in that wrong, impartial history will find therein new cause to attest and revere the justice and goodness of God.<sup>51</sup>

1864—

The purposes of the Almighty are perfect, and must prevail, though we erring mortals may fail to accurately perceive them in advance. We hoped for a happy termination of this terrible war long before this; but God knows best, and has ruled otherwise. We shall yet acknowledge His wisdom and our own error therein. Meanwhile we must work earnestly in the best light He gives us, trusting that so working still conduces to the great ends He

ordains. Surely He intends some great good to follow this mighty convulsion which no mortal could make, and no mortal could stay.<sup>52</sup>

1863—

Neither party expected for the war, the magnitude, or the duration, which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the *cause* of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not that we be not judged.<sup>53</sup>

1865—

The Almighty has His own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offences! for it must needs be that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh!" If we shall suppose that American Slavery is one of those offences which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South, this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offence came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a Living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope—ferently do we pray—that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue, until all the wealth piled by the bond-man's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash, shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said "the judgments of the Lord, are true and righteous altogether."<sup>54</sup>



**"IF SLAVERY IS NOT WRONG, NOTHING IS WRONG."**

*The life long abhorrence which Mr. Lincoln held toward slavery, and his efforts to contain and eradicate the evil are the subject of these passages.*

1864—

I am naturally anti-slavery. If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. I can not remember when I did not so think, and feel.<sup>55</sup>

1854—

If A. can prove, however conclusively, that he may, of right, enslave B.—why may not B. snatch the same argument, and prove equally, that he may enslave A?—

You say A. is white, and B. is black. It is *color*, then; the lighter, having the right to enslave the darker? Take care. By this rule, you are to be slave to the first man you meet, with a fairer skin than your own.

You do not mean *color* exactly?—You mean the whites are *intellectually* the superiors of the blacks, and, therefore have the right to enslave them? Take care again. By this rule, you are to be slave to the first man you meet, with an intellect superior to your own.

But, say you, it is a question of *interest*; and, if you can make it your *interest*, you have the right to enslave another. Very well. And if he can make it his interest, he has the right to enslave you.<sup>56</sup>

1854—

The ant, who has toiled and dragged a crumb to his nest, will furiously defend the fruit of his labor, against whatever robber assails him. So plain, that the most dumb and stupid slave that ever toiled for a master, does *constantly* know that he is wronged. So plain that no one, high or low, ever does mistake it, except in a *plainly* selfish way; for although volume upon volume is written to prove slavery a very good thing, we never hear of the man who wishes to take the good of it, *by being a slave himself*.<sup>57</sup>

1854—

Let north and south—let all Americans—let all lovers of liberty everywhere—join in the great and good work. If we do this, we

shall not only have saved the Union; but we shall have so saved it, as to make, and to keep it, forever worthy of the saving. We shall have so saved it, that the succeeding millions of free happy people, the world over, shall rise up, and call us blessed, to the latest generations.<sup>58</sup>

1854—

When the white man governs himself that is self-government; but when he governs himself, and also governs *another* man, that is *more* than self-government—that is despotism.<sup>59</sup>

1854—

This *declared* indifference, but as I must think, covert *real* zeal for the spread of slavery, I can not but hate. I hate it because of the monstrous injustice of slavery itself. I hate it because it deprives our republican example of its just influence in the world—enables the enemies of free institutions, with plausibility, to taunt us as hypocrites—causes the real friends of freedom to doubt our sincerity, and especially because it forces so many really good men amongst ourselves into an open war with the very fundamental principles of civil liberty—criticising the Declaration of Independence, and insisting that there is no right principle of action but *self-interest*.<sup>60</sup>

1854—

No man is good enough to govern another man, *without that other's consent*. I say this is the leading principle—the sheet anchor of American republicanism.<sup>61</sup>

1854—

Slavery is founded in the selfishness of man's nature—opposition to it, is [in?] his love of justice. These principles are an eternal antagonism; and when brought into collision so fiercely, as slavery extension brings them, shocks, and throes, and convulsions must ceaselessly follow. Repeal the Missouri compromise—repeal all compromises—repeal the declaration of independence—repeal all past history, you still can not repeal human nature. It still will be the abundance of man's heart, that slavery extension is wrong; and out of the abundance of his heart, his mouth will continue to speak.<sup>62</sup>

1855—

Our political problem now is "Can we, as a nation, continue



together *permanently—forever—half slave, and half free?*" The problem is too mighty for me. May God, in his mercy, superintend the solution.<sup>63</sup>

1855—

Our progress in degeneracy appears to me to be pretty rapid. As a nation, we began by declaring that "*all men are created equal*." We now practically read it "*all men are created equal, except negroes*." When the Know-Nothings get control, it will read "*all men are created equal, except negroes, and foreigners and catholics*." When it comes to this I should prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretence of loving liberty—to Russia, for instance, where despotism can be taken pure, and without the base alloy of hypocrisy.<sup>64</sup>

1858—

"A house divided against itself cannot stand." I believe this government cannot endure, permanently half *slave* and half *free*.<sup>65</sup>

1858—

As I would not be a *slave*, so I would not be a *master*. This expresses my idea of democracy. Whatever differs from this, to the extent of the difference, is no democracy.<sup>66</sup>

1858—

And then, the negro being doomed, and damned, and forgotten, to everlasting bondage, is the white man quite certain that the tyrant demon will not turn upon him too?<sup>67</sup>

1858—

But, slavery is good for some people!! As a *good* thing, slavery is strikingly peculiar, in this, that it is the only good thing which no man ever seeks the good of, *for himself*.<sup>68</sup>

1858—

That is the real issue. That is the issue that will continue in this country when these poor tongues of Judge Douglas and myself shall be silent. It is the eternal struggle between these two principles—right and wrong—throughout the world. They are the two principles that have stood face to face from the beginning of time; and will ever continue to struggle. The one is the common right of humanity and the other the divine right of kings. It is

the same principle in whatever shape it develops itself. It is the same spirit that says, "You work and toil and earn bread, and I'll eat it."<sup>69</sup>

1858—

What has ever threatened our liberty and prosperity save and except this institution of Slavery? If this is true, how do you propose to improve the condition of things by enlarging Slavery—by spreading it out and making it bigger? You may have a wen or a cancer upon your person and not be able to cut it out lest you bleed to death; but surely it is no way to cure it, to engraft it and spread it over your whole body.<sup>70</sup>

1858—

But let the past as nothing be. For the future my view is that the fight must go on.<sup>71</sup>

1858—

The cause of civil liberty must not be surrendered at the end of one, or even one *hundred* defeats.<sup>72</sup>

1858—

I am glad I made the late race. It gave me a hearing on the great and durable question of the age, which I could have had in no other way; and though I now sink out of view, and shall be forgotten, I believe I have made some marks which will tell for the cause of civil liberty long after I am gone.<sup>73</sup>

1859—

This is a world of compensations; and he who would *be* no slave, must consent to *have* no slave. Those who deny freedom to others, deserve it not for themselves; and, under a just God, cannot long retain it.<sup>74</sup>

1859—

We want, and must have, a national policy, as to slavery, which deals with it as being a wrong. Whoever would prevent slavery becoming national and perpetual, yields all when he yields to a policy which treats it either as being *right*, or as being a matter of indifference.<sup>75</sup>

1859—

In this contest, mere men are nothing.<sup>76</sup>



1859—

As Labor is the common *burthen* of our race, so the effort of *some* to shift their share of the burthen on to the shoulders of *others*, is the great, durable, curse of the race.<sup>77</sup>

1860—

God gave man a mouth to receive bread, hands to feed it, and his hand has a right to carry bread to his mouth without controversy.<sup>78</sup>

1860—

But fight we must; and conquer we shall; in the end.<sup>79</sup>

1864—

You are about to have a Convention which, among other things, will probably define the elective franchise. I barely suggest for your private consideration, whether some of the colored people may not be let in. . . . They would probably help, in some trying time to come, to keep the jewel of liberty within the family of freedom.<sup>80</sup>

1864—

I never knew a man who wished to be himself a slave. Consider if you know any *good* thing, that no man desires for himself.<sup>81</sup>

1864—

I presume the only feature of the instrument, about which there is serious controversy, is that which provides for the extinction of slavery. It needs not to be a secret, and I presume it is no secret, that I wish success to this provision. I desire it on every consideration. I wish all men to be free. I wish the material prosperity of the already free which I feel sure the extinction of slavery would bring. I wish to see, in process of disappearing, that only thing which ever could bring this nation to civil war.<sup>82</sup>

1864—

I retract nothing heretofore said as to slavery. I repeat the declaration made a year ago, that "while I remain in my present position I shall not attempt to retract or modify the emancipation proclamation, nor shall I return to slavery any person who is free by the terms of that proclamation, or by any of the Acts of Congress." If the people should, by whatever mode or means,

make it an Executive duty to re-enslave such persons, another, and not I, must be their instrument to perform it.<sup>83</sup>

1865—

I have always thought that all men should be free; but if any should be slaves it should be first those who desire it for *themselves*, and secondly those who *desire* it for *others*. Whenever [I] hear any one, arguing for slavery I feel a strong impulse to see it tried on him personally.<sup>84</sup>



## "FREE LABOR HAS THE INSPIRATION OF HOPE. . . ."

*Free labor, the direct antithesis of slavery, was to Mr. Lincoln one of the cornerstones of popular government. Below are some of his words on the subject.*

1859—

Free labor has the inspiration of hope; pure slavery has no hope. The power of hope upon human exertion, and happiness, is wonderful.<sup>85</sup>

1847—

In the early days of the world, the Almighty said to the first of our race "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread"; and since then, if we except the *light* and the *air* of heaven, no good thing has been, or can be enjoyed by us, without having first cost labour.<sup>86</sup>

1847—

To [secure] to each labourer the whole product of his labour, or as nearly as possible, is a most worthy object of any good government.<sup>87</sup>

1859—

There is no permanent class of hired laborers amongst us. Twenty five years ago, I was a hired laborer. The hired laborer of yesterday, labors on his own account today; and will hire others to labor for him tomorrow. Advancement—improvement in condition—is the order of things in a society of equals.<sup>88</sup>

1859—

Some men say that there is a necessary connection between labor and capital, and this connection draws within it the whole of the labor of the community. They assume that nobody works unless capital excites them to work. They say there are but two ways: the one is to hire men, and to allow them to labor by their own consent; the other is to buy the men and drive them to it, and that is slavery.<sup>89</sup>

1859—

By the "mud-sill" theory it is assumed that labor and education are incompatible; and any practical combination of them impossible. According to that theory, a blind horse upon a tread-mill, is a perfect illustration of what a laborer should be—all the better for being blind, that he could not tread out of place, or kick understandingly. According to that theory, the education of laborers, is not only useless, but pernicious, and dangerous. . . . But Free Labor says "no!" Free Labor argues that, as the Author of man makes every individual with one head and one pair of hands, it was probably intended that heads and hands should cooperate as friends; and that that particular head, should direct and control that particular pair of hands. As each man has one mouth to be fed, and one pair of hands to furnish food, it was probably intended that that particular pair of hands should feed that particular mouth—that each head is the natural guardian, director, and protector of the hands and mouth inseparably connected with it; and that being so, every head should be cultivated, and improved, by whatever will add to its capacity for performing its charge. In one word Free Labor insists on universal education.<sup>90</sup>

1847—

Upon this subject, the habits of our whole species fall into three great classes—*useful* labour, *useless* labour, and *idleness*. Of these the first only is meritorious; and to it all the products of labor rightfully belong; but the two latter, while they exist, are heavy pensioners upon the first, robbing it of a large portion of its just rights. The only remedy for this is to, as far as possible, drive *useless* labour and *idleness* out of existence.<sup>91</sup>

1864—

The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations, and tongues, and kindreds. Nor should this lead to a war upon property, or the owners of property. Property is the fruit of labor—property is desirable—is a positive good in the world. That some should be rich, shows that others may become rich, and hence is just encouragement to industry and enterprise. Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another; but let him labor diligently and build one for himself, thus by example assuring that his own shall be safe from violence when built.<sup>92</sup>